

# The Drummond estate: Survival of the Scottish landed estate.



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## 1. Landed estates in nineteenth century Scotland

The nineteenth century has often been described as the Scottish Golden Age. Writers such as Devine and MacKenzie have recently pointed out the way the Scottish economy and intellectual society influenced the world at that time.<sup>1</sup> Scottish contributions in fields such as accountancy, management and education were broadly acclaimed.<sup>2</sup> Two reasons for this for this frenzy of activity have often been mentioned. On the one hand, there is the urban expansion and the resulting increase in urban activities. Amongst these activities are primarily heavy industry, commerce and scholarship.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand there is the industrialisation of the transport sector, best characterised by increasing railway connectivity and the introduction of the steamship.<sup>4</sup>

Classic economic history has put all these developments within the model of *Industrial Revolution*. In this model a developing capital-intensive agricultural sector with a causal connection to an industrialising urban society seems to spring up out of nowhere. Discussion remains whether the industrialisation of the cities forced the rural society to increase productivity, or whether increased rural productivity led to more labour force and agricultural produce in the urban areas.<sup>5 6</sup> Whether we see urbanisation as a cause or an effect of industrialisation, the result was visible in nineteenth century Scotland (and in other parts of the United Kingdom). The population in urban areas was booming, while rural life seemed to experience a drain in population.<sup>7</sup> Devine takes a closer look at the way the Scottish urban economy came to be an influent force in Europe, while summarily describing a declining rural economy. His orientation towards Scotland's success means he has little time to go into this decline in-depth.<sup>8</sup> MacKenzie is even less interested in rural life, and focuses on the integration of Scotland within the United Kingdom, and the impact this had on the Scottish and

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1 T.M. Devine, *The Scottish nation: 1700 – 2007* (Penguin 2006); M. Mackenzie, *Scotland and the British empire* (Oxford 2011); A. Mutch, 'Management practices and kirk sessions: an exploration of the Scottish contribution to management', *Journal of Scottish historical studies* 24 (2004) 1-19.

2 M.E. Scorgie, 'Progenitors of modern management accounting concepts and mensurations in pre-industrial England', *Accounting, business and financial history* 7:1 (1997) 31-59; T. Devine, *The Scottish nation: 1700 – 2007*, 389.

3 A. Herman, *The Scottish enlightenment: The Scots' invention of the modern world* (Harper Perennial 2006) 394.

4 S. Webster, 'Estate improvement and the professionalization of land agents on the Egremont estates in Sussex and Yorkshire, 1770-1835', *Rural history* 18 (2007) 47-69.

5 R.C. Allen, *The British industrial revolution in global perspective* (Cambridge 2009).

6 G. Clark, *A farewell to alms* (Princeton 2007).

7 Population census 1801 – 1891, Perth Library (PL), History Centre Collection (HCC) Inv. Nr. 1-4.

British identity.<sup>9</sup> He sees the Scottish role within the UK as the reason for Scotland's relatively successful period. To his eyes, orientation on a more urban economy is a logical result of the modernisation caused by this larger union. This line of reasoning is furthered by Arthur Herman, who places Scotland in a pivotal position within the development of modern Europe.<sup>10</sup> He emphasises the Scottish intellectual enlightenment, which was a source of inspiration for the rest of Western Europe. In this, he follows a recent line of research trying to put more emphasis on Scotland's uniqueness within the United Kingdom. This resurrection of Scottish nationalism has a lot to do with a referendum on Scotland leaving the United Kingdom in 2014. This referendum is a somewhat touchy subject because Scotland has been a part of the United Kingdom for the past three centuries. In emphasising the uniqueness of Scotland, these researchers try to explain why Scotland could or should be an independent nation.

### Research question

I want to examine how estate management on the Drummond estate reacted to changing circumstances in the nineteenth century. To do this, I will examine the relationship between landowner and tenants, with particular attention to the layer connecting the two: the estate management. For practical purposes this will require an analysis of the estate hierarchy, as well as a look at the way in which the estate dealt with its tenants when it came to financial transactions. Insofar as the estate hierarchy is concerned, this should be a relatively easy pursuit. The structure of the organisation has not changed much over the course of the years, so I will mostly focus on explaining why the structure was created, and how it functioned. An important topic that warrants research, when looking at the relationship between landowner and tenant, is the social function of the estate. Devine has written on the lavish spending of the Scottish nobility who aspired to integrate themselves into the Great Britain aristocracy<sup>11</sup>. These expenses, not so much as the basic upkeep of the estates, bankrupted many of the estates. Added to this was the cost for social activities sponsored by the estates.<sup>12</sup> In this category the first subjects that spring to mind are upkeep of churches, poor relief and education, functions which the Drummond estate fulfilled with some regularity. When analysing the choices made by landowner and estate management, these expenses should be included.

I will devote some attention to the Drummond family, the estate itself, and the positioning of the Drummond estate within the larger family holding. To place the estate within a context, I will look at the Perthshire region. After establishing this context, I will look at the development of income, and

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8 Devine, *The Scottish nation: 1700-2007*, 105.

9 Mackenzie, *Scotland and the British empire*, 228.

10 A. Herman, *The Scottish enlightenment: The Scots' invention of the modern world*.

11 Devine, *The Scottish nation: 1700 - 2007*, 273.

12 A. Hattersly, 'Paternalism and education on landed estates in rural Northumberland, 1850 - 1900', *Northern history* 44 (March 2007).

some case examples on estate management. Due to a lack of information on expenses, I will not go into these. I will assume expenses are constantly on the rise, due to inflation and new ways of taxing. For the development of estate income I will focus on both quantitative and qualitative sources. For the quantitative side I will look at ledgers and books concerning the returns on rental income and wood sales. For the qualitative side I will look into a case of non-payment by one of the estate's tenants. Further, I will look at two other qualitative case studies for the estate: one on justice, and one on regional development.

This approach will allow me to determine the context within which the landowner and the estate management had to make their decisions to ensure the estate survival. By doing this I will paint a nuanced picture of rural development in nineteenth century Perthshire, with emphasis on the relationship between landowner and tenant. This relationship is an important part of the research questions, as will be better explained in the chapters to come. To apply some logic to my research, I will look at several sub questions: Where did the nineteenth century Drummond family come from? What social economic changes occurred in Perthshire during the nineteenth century? How did the Drummond estate generate its income? How did social economic changes affect the relationship between landowner and tenant? How social was the estate's approach to tenantry?

## Historiography and debate

### On the functioning of estates

The focus of my thesis is on the way the rural elite adapted to the changing economic momentum, specifically the case of the Drummond estate. To do this, I have looked at the reasons why principles of profitability and clearance seemingly have not been applied to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Drummond estate. I have accepted Scotland's position within the United Kingdom as a given, and taken into account the chances and restrictions this imposed on the Scottish actors I have studied. Many changes took place in the nineteenth century, and the countryside was not spared the upheaval this caused. The economic situation changed from a rural elite trying to make a stable income, to an urban economy placing demands for food and other agricultural products. The previously influential position of the landowners was suddenly put under pressure, because dissatisfied tenants had alternatives. Quite some attention has been paid to the relationship between landowner and tenant. Ward mentioned in his writing the ambivalent feelings that owners have towards innovations on their estates, in which personal interests and business interests often seem to clash.<sup>13</sup> The introduction of management layers in estate management occasionally led to conflict, because the different actors were no longer intimately aware of each others' motives. The changes occurring in this landowner/tenant relationship that take place during times of economic shifts have been examined by Platteau, who has created a framework for analysing these.<sup>14</sup> This framework is mostly based on changes in (post) colonial India, but seems to be applicable to any society experiencing a changing balance between

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13 J.T. Ward, 'East Yorkshire: Landed estates in the nineteenth century', *E.Y. Local history series 23* (1967).

14 J.P. Platteau, 'A framework for the analysis of evolving patron-client ties in agrarian economies', *World development 23* (1995). 767-786.

urban and rural life. Tindley more recently added to the specific field of English estate relationships, by examining the interaction between landowners and tenants in 18<sup>th</sup> century England who fell into arrear.<sup>15</sup> Tindley concludes that (at least in his Sunderland case) landowners were more interested in maintaining long-term relations than in squeezing a short-term profit out of their leases. This view is not very popular in Scottish history, mainly because of a great many critical articles written against landownership after the second world war.<sup>16</sup> Around this time the feudal leases employed by landowners were limited by law, and this change was accompanied by attacks on the old elitist institute of landownership. Landowners were regarded as profit-driven capitalists, who had no personal connection to the tenants. *Source: J. Wheatley, The catholic workingman (1909).*

Tindley follows this view herself when discussing the management of Highland estates (in particular the way Evander McIver ran the lands) and isolates the role of management in the execution of painful decisions where the Highland Clearances were concerned.<sup>17</sup> Tindley goes as far as to claim that:

*"Indeed it was part of their remit to act as shock absorbers for resentment and conflict, protecting their employers from such unpleasantness."*<sup>18</sup>

### Highland / Lowland dichotomy

Though writers such as McGregor have tried to nuance the view of the landowner as a profit-driven agent, this view has not yet been eliminated altogether.<sup>19</sup> Much of this has to do with the different perceptions that exist with relation to Highland and Lowland estates. The Lowland estates were run very differently from Highland estates. The former were more highly

Figure 1: The greedy landlord



15 A. Tindley, 'Actual pinching and suffering', *The Scottish historical review* 230 (2011).

16 J. Mulvagh, *Madresfield, the real Bridgehead* (London 2006) 321.

17 A. Tindley, 'After the clearances: Evander McIver and the 'Highland question', 1835-74', *Rural History* 23 (2012) 41-57.

18 Ibidem, 43.

19 B.D. McGregor, 'Owner motivation and land use on landed estates in the North-West Highlands of Scotland', *Journal of rural studies* 4 (1986) 389-404.

populated, crop-based agricultural lands, while the latter were generally mountainous, more rugged regions, where cattle was often held and tenantry was less necessary. This differing population-pattern was caused by the labour-intensiveness of the two industries, which in turn was determined by the circumstances allowing either agriculture or cattle-keeping. Cattle-keeping was not a labour-intensive activity, requiring only a handful of employees to operate large areas of land. Agriculture on the other hand was still mostly manual labour, which meant that especially during the sowing- and harvest season a lot of seasonal labour was needed. Clearances have been seen as a problem for Highland estates, and thus as a problem of an economy based on cattle-keeping. In this sense, the Highland Clearances were caused by a demand for increased productivity in cattle-keeping (meaning a higher cattle-to-population ratio), while in the same period an increase in productivity in crop-oriented estates led to a demand for more farm labour there. That this is a generalisation, is clear. Devine has written on the Lowland clearances in south-western Scotland, concluding that population levels in this region dropped over the eighteenth century, while the population of Scotland as a whole increased.<sup>20</sup> He further concludes that in the Lowlands the process was relatively swift, with most of the activity concluded by the start of the nineteenth century. The Highlands on the other hand saw Clearance activity until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Devine, therefore, the dichotomy between Highland and Lowland has been exaggerated. The true difference, according to him, lies in the speed at which change took place. In McGregor's view on the other hand, the Lowland estates were more profit-oriented, while the Highland estates were generally leisure-oriented. These conclusions do not necessarily conflict, since land usage can be a determining factor in decision making. The conclusions McGregor draws though, are mostly based on the period after Clearances, in which a couple of Highland estates had failed to make the necessary innovations needed to keep up with a changing economic life. The leisure estates he describes may in that sense be seen as failed economically oriented Highland estates. Literature examining this is not readily available though, leaving me to circumvent this subject for the purpose of this thesis.

### Development of management

The Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom is considered to be the starting point of modern management. Earlier writers concerned with management had generally focused on the highest levels in government, primarily in the educational *Mirrors for Princes*. In the 3rd century BC, Chanakya had written on the way a prince should run his kingdom in India, while Machiavelli did the same for Italy in 1515.<sup>21</sup> It was not until the late eighteenth century that Adam Smith (and later John Stuart Mill) carried this line of thinking over to the private (entrepreneurial) domain, by focussing on the allocation of resources and the controlling of production.<sup>22</sup> Scotland had gone through its own golden age in that century, and management philosophy was easily adopted.<sup>23</sup> The Kirk sessions were a notable example of the practical application of this new philosophy. In estate management the introduction of double-entry bookkeeping in the fifteenth century had already been a notable

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20 T.M. Devine, 'The Lowland clearances and transformation of South-western Scotland', *The Royal Society of Edinburgh* (2011).

21 L.R. Gomez-Mejia, *Management: people, performance, change* (Irwin 2008).

22 A. Smith, *Wealth of nations* (London 1776).



improvement, since it allowed controlling of estate cash flows.<sup>24</sup> Further optimising of finance controlling had to wait until the theories of Smith and Mill were tested in urban industries. Only later in the nineteenth century, when the new practices of management in Glasgow and Aberdeen had proven successful in improving businesses, were these adopted in some of the Lowland estates, under pressure of certain owner's financial positions.<sup>25</sup> The introduction of these management strategies seems to have been oriented on providing a win/win situation. Not only should the estate always come out more profitable, but better estate management could also greatly benefit local population and industry.<sup>26</sup> Finding a balance between profitability and social function was often a matter of striking bargains, with landowner power apparently limited by public opinion.

The recognition of management practice in estate management has been a point of discussion in accounting history. A lot of the debate is about the usefulness of certain forms of accounting, directly related to profitability. Woolf argued in 1912 that medieval manorial officers employed management techniques.<sup>27</sup> Drew expanded on this by stating that 'manorial estates had what we would call target.'<sup>28</sup> Chatfield charted the various techniques used by these medieval officers, while Noke took a closer look at the form and content of methods such as internal control and auditing.<sup>29</sup> It was not until 1982 that Yamey did research into the practical use of the charge/discharge accounts used in this medieval bookkeeping.<sup>30</sup> A general consensus in accounting history seems to be the introduction of modern bookkeeping (it: double-entry bookkeeping) in the nineteenth century. Britnell in 1993 discussed the merits of the English manorial system of accounting, as well as the Italian system of

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23 W.M. Mathew, 'Animus, absenteeism, and succession in the Keiller marmalade dynasty, 1839 - 1919', *Journal of Scottish historical studies* May (2008) 44 - 61.

24 J.R. Edwards, 'Merchants' accounts, performance assessment and decision making in mercantilist Britain', *Elsevier* (2009).

25 G. Bertocchi, 'The law of primogeniture and the transition from landed aristocracy to industrial democracy', *Journal of Economic Growth* 11 (2006) 43 - 70.

26 R.T. Simmons, 'Planning industrial development - The Norfolk estate, Sheffield, 1800-1914', *Planning perspectives* (1997) 409.

27 A.H. Woolf, *A short history of accountants and accountancy* (London 1912).

28 J.S. Drew, 'Manorial accounts of St, Switun's priory, Winchester', *English Historical Review* Jan (1947) 20 - 40.

29 C.W. Noke, 'Accounting for bailiffship in thirteenth century England', *Accounting and Business Research* (1981) Spring 137-151.

30 B.S. Yamey, 'Accounting in the Middle Ages, 500-1500', in *Further essays on the History of Accounting* (New York 1982).

double-entry bookkeeping. He concludes that the English system has been undervalued, because it did not seem to be solely oriented on profit-making.<sup>31</sup> Both Bryer and Noke in 1994 conclude that a manorial accounting revolution had to wait for the successful introduction of double-entry bookkeeping into the industrial enterprises.<sup>32</sup> Even then, the larger estates were more likely to adopt these changes. These estates are more sensitive to the effect of relatively small changes. In a small organisation, keeping track of numbers is a lot less abstract, making the administration more of a cash flow business than a long-term financial model.

### Sources for this research

For my research I have looked mainly at primary material regarding the estate and the people living there. Where necessary I have looked at external archives and libraries, as well as additional secondary literature regarding cases I have run into.

The primary material I have looked at falls into two categories. The first category is the financial documentation relating to the running of the Drummond estate. This material had not yet previously been catalogued, so getting it into a practical shape was my primary concern. After this was done, I focussed on picking out relevant data, based on my periodization.

The second category of primary material I looked at was the material available at Drummond Castle, mostly relating to personal affairs of the landowners, though occasionally business-related material was also addressed to the landowners personally. For purpose of studying concrete cases, this material has proven to be invaluable.

For secondary literature on the region, the library in Perth had a lot to offer. Especially in the field of local history quite some work has been written, though the quality of the work cannot always be verified using other sources. This makes most of the material available there useful as a guideline in research, or as illustration for material gathered in other fashions. Since I have focussed on material available at the Drummond estate itself, this should not be a problem.

### Layout of the research

In my thesis I have first taken a look at the Drummond estate itself. I will show how the land came to be in the possession of its current owner. Following this I will take a look at the way the estate was managed, looking at both personnel and bookkeeping. Finally, I will also look at the region itself, with special care to its economic potential.

After this start, I will delve deeper into some of the way in which the estate was supposed to be an economically solvent unit. I will look at the various forms of income that the estate generated, and how these could fluctuate throughout the nineteenth century.

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31 R.H. Britnell, *The commercialisation of English society 1000-1500* (Cambridge 1993).

32 C.W. Noke, 'Agency and the excessus balance in manorial accounts' in R.H. Parker and B.S. Yamey (eds.) *Accounting history: some British contributions* (Oxford 1994).

In the next chapter, I will delve deeper into the financial documents I uncovered, to show how the nineteenth century impacted the estate. Added to this, I will try to show how the estate agents responded to these changes, and what this meant to the position of the landowners.

In the last chapter, I will turn this analysis around. Instead of looking at the numbers, I will look at several case studies that impacted the region and the estate, to see how these broader economic developments were dealt with. Where possible, I will try to relate these developments to the material discussed earlier.

Concluding, I will give an answer to my earlier posed questions, and I will answer my research question.

## 2. Introduction into the Drummond estate and Perthshire

In this chapter I will devote attention to the context for my research into the estate management for the Drummond estate. I will first discuss the Drummond family history, to give the reader some idea of where the family comes from. Then I will give a brief overview of the history of the Drummond estate itself. Finally, I will look at the history of the Perthshire region, to give the reader an idea of the context in which the Drummond estate functioned.

### History of Clan Drummond

In this section I will give an outline of the Drummond family. I will trace the history of the clan from its creation, through historical developments up until our current age. In so doing I will set the stage for the next two chapters.

The Drummond family starts, like most noble Scottish families, with its clan origins. As is the case with most clans, the history of clan Drummond is something of a legend. The exact truth is probably hard to determine, but all accounts point to a Hungarian prince Maurice (son of King Andreas from Arpad) coming to Scotland in either 1055 or 1066 to found clan Drummond.<sup>33</sup> Oral history claims that Maurice came to Scotland with Edward the Exile (of the English throne).<sup>34</sup> What we know for sure, is that Edward came to England with his children Edgar and Margaret. He died shortly after arriving there, leaving his children to live at court with their mother Agatha. After ascending to the throne in 1066, Edgar surrendered to William of Normandy at the battle of Berkhamsted within two months. Of Maurice, no evidence of his whereabouts is known at this point. He had by this time apparently rendered some service to the descendants of Edward the Exile, because his descendants were given the lands of Drymen (out of which the name Drummond evolved). The first of this family line was Malcolm of Drymen.<sup>35</sup> With the family name of Drymen (or Drummond) also came the governorship of Lennox, a region near Glasgow on the western side of the country.

The earliest written references to the Drymens (in the district of Lennox) date back to 1199.<sup>36</sup> In this period a certain Gilbert de Drummyn (chaplain to the Earl of Levenax) was witness to a charter signed by his Earl. A descendant of his, Malcolm de Drymen was witness to several charters signed by the third Earl of Levenax, between 1225 and 1270. He already owned several lands around Lennox, but these were not near as extensive as the ones that the family would later be handed by royal decree.

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33 <http://www.scotweb.co.uk/info/drummond/>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

34 J.I. Robertson, 'At the core of history: clan Drummond', *Scotland Magazine* 26 (2006).

35 <http://www.houseofnames.com/drummond-family-crest>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

36 Ibidem.

After the foundation of the clan, it was not until the fourteenth century that a recorded clan chief, with family lands, actually used the name Drummond. Malcolm Beg fought at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, after which king Robert I granted him lands in Perthshire. This was done as payment in return for excellent services rendered during that battle. The grant of lands after the battle of Bannockburn is generally considered to be the start of the noble line of Drummond. Later, in 1345 Clan chief John Lord Drummond married an heiress of the Montfichets, by which means he obtained the castle at Stobhall, making it the Drummond Clan Home in later centuries.<sup>37</sup> Due to some untimely deaths, this family home would be out of sight for the next century though. John was the first of the line to actually use the name 'Drummond, instead of 'Drymen'.

With the introduction of the name Drummond, and the grant of the Perthshire lands, the influence of the clan started to grow. Two of Malcolm Beg's grandsons were to later swear fealty to Edward I, while his great-granddaughter Annabella gave birth to a boy who would grow up to be king James I of Scotland. She had married Earl John Stewart, who was High Steward of Scotland at the time and later ascended to the throne as King Robert III of Scotland. This marriage tied Clan Drummond ever closer to the Scottish throne, which some of the other (Lowland) Clans considered a worrisome development. Thus, by the early fifteenth century, Clan Drummond was well-established, but also drawing jealous looks from their peers.

### **Early happenings, fifteenth and sixteenth century**

Sir Malcolm, who was the eldest great-grandson of the first Malcolm, obtained Stobhall Castle from his aunt Queen Margaret Drummond, thus bringing it back into family hands. She had earlier obtained these lands from her husband, King David II of Scotland. Sir Malcolm was murdered by Highland raiders in 1403, leaving his younger brother John to continue the family line. His great-grandson (also a John) became a MP and the first actual Lord Drummond in Scottish peerage.

In 1490 the Drummonds had to fight their first recorded clan war, against Clan Murray (with which they had long been maintaining tense relations). The Murrays were a neighbouring Clan, and the Scots have a long tradition of neighbouring clans fighting one another. This Clan war went down well for the Drummonds, ending in a deciding victory on the battlefield for the Drummonds. Afterwards, the Murrays who had fled the battle were by accident discovered in a small church, when one of their clansmen attracted the attention of a search party of Drummonds looking for them. This clansman, apparently unaware of his predicament, decided to fire an arrow at the search party, rather than stay in hiding. He killed one of the Drummond men, but also betrayed the hiding place of his kin. This resulted in the burning-down of the Kirk by the angry Drummonds, and the deaths of some eight score Murrays. This act led to years of violence and small scrimmages, though it never again came to an all-out Clan war.

Shortly after, the Drummonds were granted the honour of building a new castle. They ran into a piece of bad luck with the royal line, however. In 1501 Margaret Drummond attracted the attention of King James IV of Scotland. He was quite in love with her, and for that reason originally declined to marry Mary Tudor, who was the daughter of King Henry VII of England. The Scottish nobility, consisting mostly of Lowlanders feared that this would give Clan Drummond too much power. To prevent this,

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.rampantscotland.com/clans/blclandrummond.htm>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

they conspired to kill Margaret (and in the process two of her sisters) by poisoning her food.<sup>38</sup> This led to King James IV marrying Mary Tudor instead, which enabled the union of the Scottish and English Crowns a century later.

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.scotweb.co.uk/info/drummond/>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

### **Consolidating the family name, seventeenth and eighteenth century**

In 1605 James Drummond (who was a descendant of Margaret's father John) became the first Earl of Perth. After him, the third Earl of Perth, chief of Clan Drummond at the time, rode out against the Royalists at the battle of Tippermuir in 1644, where he joined sides with James Graham (the first Marquess of Montrose). He was taken prisoner a month later, at the battle of Philipaugh. This proved to be a turning-point for the Clan, because it was not until 1689 that the Clan rode out to do battle again. The Civil War had proven to be the prelude to more than 40 years of peace.<sup>39</sup>

These years of peace were ended with the Jacobite rebellions of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During these rebellions, Clan Drummond supported the Jacobite cause, favoring the Exiled King over the English King. Ironically enough, Drummond's Volunteer Regiment, a force of Scottish troops stationed in Edinburgh, fought on the side of the English at the battle of Prestonpans in 1745.

When King James VII came to the throne in 1684, James Drummond (fourth Earl of Perth) had already converted to Catholicism, effectively throwing in his lot with the Jacobites. His older brother John was forfeited by Scottish Parliament in 1695, leaving James to continue the line. He was created Duke of Perth in 1695 by James II. His son, the second Duke of Perth, became one of Bonnie Prince Charles' closest advisors. He was involved with the siege of Carlisle, as well as the battles of Falkirk (1746) and Culloden (1746). This branch of the family died out with Edward Drummond (James' fourth son) dying in 1750. For their support in the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 the Drummonds titles and property were twice forfeited.

### **Recent history, the nineteenth and twentieth century**

The last of these forfeited titles were handed back to George Drummond (then to become Earl of Perth) in 1853, through an Act of Parliament. Lands had already been restored early on in the eighteenth century, when James Lundin (descendent of the forfeited John Drummond) bought back the family lands. He restyled himself James Drummond, 4<sup>th</sup> earl of Perth. It was not until his son assumed the role of Lord Drummond that all the family titles were restored.<sup>40</sup> After this, the family line continues with Clementina Sarah Drummond, who married to Lord Willoughby de Eresby. She was followed by Clementina Elizabeth Drummond, after which the line runs all the way on to its current owner.

In the twentieth century, the family once again played a role in politics, with James Eric Drummond (the 16<sup>th</sup> Earl of Perth) serving as secretary-general of the League of Nations. He was also a British ambassador to Rome, and a chief advisor on foreign publicity at the Ministry of information during World War II. Nancy Astor, a born American and grandmother to the current Lady Willoughby de Eresby was the first woman to sit as a member of Parliament in the British House of Commons.

The successor of James Eric Drummond, John James Drummond, was able to buy back the family home, Stobhall castle, after more than a century of being outside of family control. It has recently been sold off when James David Drummond, son of the 18<sup>th</sup> Earl of Perth, moved to London.

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.scotweb.co.uk/info/drummond/>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.rampantscotland.com/clans/blclandrummond.htm>, viewed on 21 July 2013.





## The family in history

From this section it is obvious that the Drummond family has seen both fortunes and misfortunes. From the moment when the family was closely linked with the Royal line of Scotland, to the forfeitures after the Jacobite risings, the family and the estate were in constant motion. In this thesis we will look at the nineteenth century, a period in which the family lands have been restored after the forfeitures, and when peerage had become something British, rather than Scottish.

## History of the Drummond estate

In this section, I will go into some general information on the Drummond estate. I will look at the estate's management hierarchy, its geographic positioning, the villages it was made up of, and some expansion and decline of the estate. I will also give a short introduction into the bookkeeping done on the estate.

## Estate management

The management of estate was generally pretty straightforward. At the top of the hierarchy was always the landowner. This owner usually employed an estate factor (or agent) who would run the affairs of the estate in his name, though the various Barons and Baronesses Willoughby de Eresby were the actual owner and were generally involved with the estate management as a whole and in detail. The estate factor would often delegate matters to a bailiff.<sup>41</sup> In a modern context, the bailiff can be described as an executive manager. He was responsible for executing the wishes of the landowner, as well as the day to day running of the estate. This which would occasionally cause conflicts with the factor, who was ultimately responsible for the financial affairs of the estate.<sup>42</sup>

The factor was more than just financially responsible. He also was the one who was supposed to look at alternative ways of generating income and developments on a macro-economic scale, being the landowner's primary stand-in. In the case of a holding such as the Drummond estate was part of, a further layer had to be applied. Not only was there an estate factor, but there had to also be someone looking at the holding finances.

In the main period covered in this thesis the Drummond estate was part of a conglomerate of estates, owned by the Drummond-Willoughby de Eresby family. The other parts were the Lincolnshire estates in England and the Gwydir estate in Wales.

The owner communicated with the general agent for the conglomerate of estates, who also was one of the factors of one estate. There was no rule that the factor of one specific estates was automatically the general agent. It was, however, customary that within the estate's hierarchy there was circulation of permanent staff over the various estates.

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41 R.E. Pearson, *Lord Willoughby's Railway: the Edenham Branch* (Willoughby Memorial Trust 1986).

42 J.G.W. Scheltinga, *Gwydir estate 1814-1914: the management, finances and decline of a landed estate in North Wales in the nineteenth century* (Cardiff 1992).

### Geographic position and villages

The Drummond estate was situated in between the Highlands and Lowlands. Most arable land was suitable for crop rotation, causing the region to share Lowland-characteristics. In the nineteenth century, which I have studied, the estate was made up out of two geographically separated regions. The Stobhall estate was located close to the city of Perth, in south-eastern Perthshire, while the Drummond estate was located in the south-western part of Perthshire, near the border with Stirlingshire. The eastern part was oriented towards cattle-keeping, while the larger western part was basically crop-land. The western region comprised some real estate in villages, apart from farms and farmland. This real estate was centred around the towns of Crieff, Muthill and St. Fillans.

In *A history of Crieff* (and the Statistical accounts) attention is paid to the relatively modest rental prices charged by the Drummond estate, leading to the question whether the Drummond estate fell under the category of 'Lowland' high rentals and low evictions, or 'Highland' high rentals *and* high evictions.<sup>43</sup> More on the villages will follow in the last paragraphs of this chapter.

On the estate itself not too much has been written. Most of what has been put down comes from local histories and flyers promoting the Drummond Castle Gardens.<sup>44</sup> Historical research into the estate itself is nonexistent until now, because the archives have not previously been opened to the public.

Recently, Richard Leonard wrote on the distribution of landownership in Scotland in 1989, mostly debating the fact that rich landowners owned over half the land in the country. His findings were that 579 private landowners owned half the land in Scotland, thus making it the narrowest concentration of land wealth in all of Europe.<sup>45</sup> In the Perthshire region, which is where the Drummond estate is located, a total of 377,979 acres of land are available, of which 201,376 acres are held by 23 private landowners with pieces of land over 1,000 acres. Of these 201,376 acres, a rough estimate of about 65,000 is owned by the Drummond Castle estate

#### 1: Landownership in Scotland (1989)

<b>REGION</b>	<b>Area (acres)</b>	<b># of owners &gt; 1,000 acres</b>	<b>Acreage held</b>	<b>Percentage of Region</b>
FIFE	325,865	41	111,300	34.5%
CENTRAL	666,007	92	331,336	49.7%
TAYSIDE (Perthshire)	377,979	23	201,376	53.3%

Source: R. Leonard, *Who owns Mid-Scotland and Fife*.

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43 A. Porteous, *The history of Crieff* (1912).

44 <http://www.drummondcastlegardens.co.uk/s/index.php?ID=6>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

45 R. Leonard, *Who owns Mid-Scotland and Fife* (Labour party European office, 1989).

### **Size and expansion of the Drummond estate**

During the fourteenth century Clan Drummond was starting to gain preeminence among their Scottish peers. After the battle at Bannockburn(1314) Malcolm Beg was granted lands in Perthshire, most of which have remained a Drummond family possession throughout. These lands primarily centered around Muthill and Crieff, with the Stobhall parts of the estate not being added until the purchase of these lands by John Drummond in 1345.

Several decades later the Lord Drummond was granted permission by King James IV to build a castle near Muthill. The first stones were placed in 1491, with completion never quite being accomplished because of several adjustments over the centuries. This castle (Drummond Castle) still stands, and has become the centerpiece of the Drummond estate and family. It has seen some revisions and restorations over the centuries. During the Wars of the Three Kingdoms the lands were overrun by Oliver Cromwell, who in 1653 sacked the castle. After this somewhat disastrous year James Drummond, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl, started construction of the mansion at Drummond Castle, before being imprisoned after the deposition of King James by William of Orange. He had to flee to France, for his own safety, but the lands remained in family possession. This changed after the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745. During these uprisings the Drummonds supported the Jacobite side, and had to pay dearly when the English troops won the war. Sentiment ran against the rebels who elected to support a claimant to the throne who was far from popular in the rest of the United Kingdom. The fact that Jacobite support could primarily be found in the Highland area did not help either. In 1750 the Drummond lands were declared forfeit, and the state took over. In 1784 the estate was sold to Captain James Drummond (no title, because the lands and titles had been declared forfeit). From that point on, the lands never again left Drummond hands, though various small pieces of land were acquired and sold at differing stages in history. The estate was, for example, expanded with the Meiggarr lands, while selling of the Stobhall part of the estate in recent years.

In 1807 the Drummond estates (or Perthshire estates) were by means of marriage coupled to the Lincolnshire and Gwydir estates owned by the Willoughby d'Eresbys. The marriage between Peter Burrell and Clementina Sarah Drummond meant that all the estate finances became part of a larger whole. In this way the Drummond estate managed to evade the dangers posed to many 19<sup>th</sup> century estates in Scotland, by allying with a financially very healthy English landed estate. Administration of the estate has from that point on switched from locally oriented to centrally oriented (from Lincolnshire). The larger scale meant that short-term losses could be evened out.

### **Bookkeeping on the Drummond estate**

Bookkeeping on the estate was done on multiple levels, though it was not until halfway into the twentieth century that the highest possible level (the balance sheet) was introduced.

Under the balance sheets came the ledgers, in which a financial statement for the separate operational divisions within the estate was done. This statement was apparently more interesting for use in the client-relationship than for financial controlling, since the statements for divisions other than rents and feus are often absent. Note has to be taken here that some of these ledgers might have been lost. However, in the ledgers on (for example) woodland, multiple years are often put in the same volume, whereas the statements on rents are carefully administered in separate volumes. Even when these volumes could easily accommodate two or three consecutive years.

On the lowest (and most detailed) level came the cashbooks. Generally used for administration of one single division, these cashbooks gave an overview of the individual expenses and incomes generated within a division. The cashbook was generally administered by the estate factor or one of his underlings, and could be used to trace all the amounts named in the ledger to individual transactions and persons.

### **The Drummond estate in history**

Like the family, the Drummond estate has seen a lot of change over the century. Because of the actions of its owners, the land has been transferred due to forfeiture by the Crown, reacquired by a titleless Clan chief, expanded towards Meiggar, and then sold off again, with the family home at Stobhall and surrounding lands also being lost.

### **History of the Perthshire region**

In this section I will give an outline of the history of the Perthshire region, up until the nineteenth century. I will focus primarily on the cultural and economic history of the region, constructing a context for the later research into the estate itself.

#### **Perthshire**

The Perthshire region was located in Central Scotland, to the northwest of Edinburgh and to the east of Glasgow. During the nineteenth century, some 100.000 to 150.000 people lived in the region, which was centred around the city of Perth.<sup>46</sup> The river Tay passed through Perth, enabling a connection to the Forth, and onwards to open sea.

The usage of land in the Perthshire region was largely dictated by physical circumstances.<sup>47</sup> When discussing Scotland and usage of land, people tend to classify a region as being either Highland or Lowland. Perthshire was (mainly due to its size) one of the few regions that had the Highland Boundary Fault running right down the middle. This fault line divided the region between the older, rockier north and the younger more fertile south. Near Comrie, which was at a certain point part of the Drummond estate, there is still a somewhat active branch of this fault line, which leads to occasional earthquakes.<sup>48</sup>

The oldest written records are from a time when the Romans invade Scotland in the first centuries AD. They encountered a variety of Pictish tribes, most of which did not have anything of interest for the Romans. Their resistance to Roman conquest led the Romans to construct the Hadrian wall, which signified the northern border of the Roman empire. With the deterioration of the Roman power, Christianity was the next important thing to happen to the Perthshire area. The early Picts, who had been living in Fife, had been building fortresses from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. It was not until the late-Pictish societies that Christianity really seemed to get a hold on society. Not surprisingly, this late-Pictish period was also seen as early-Scottish society. It was in this transition period that the

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46 PL HCC, Population census 1801 – 1891.

47 D. Omand, *The Perthshire Book* (Edinburgh 1999) 3.

48 [http://www.strathearn.com/st\\_history.htm](http://www.strathearn.com/st_history.htm), viewed on 21 July 2013.

union between the Pictish and the Scottish kingdoms took place. This union under the MacAlpin dynasty resulted in a dominant Scottish influence, that completely submerged the Picts in Perthshire.<sup>49</sup> The very fact that union took place is an indication of the threat posed by Viking raiders, forcing these peoples, that were never very compatible, to turn to one another for help. The resulting scenario was still not a very attractive one to the Picts. Recent raids by Vikings on the Perthshire lowlands in the ninth century had however weakened them to a point where they were in desperate need of allies, and to have an ally dominate them seemed preferable to dying.<sup>50</sup>

In the tenth century centres of early Christianity were beginning to pop up all over Scotland. One of those centres was Muthill, where a close link seems to have existed between the local Culdee centre, and the major ecclesiastical foundation at Dunblane. Much of what transpired here is however unknown, because of a lack of surviving documentation. This period in Perthshire history can truly claim to be a 'dark age'. It is not until the second half of the twelfth century that extensive records are once again available. By this time something of a centralised government has sprung up, with the Scottish King ruling the country through his noblemen and the cities.

During the middle ages, Perthshire had two primary burghs: Auchterarder and Perth.<sup>51</sup> Both these burghs were centres of political, military and economic power.

### History of Perth

The town of Perth was the most successful burgh in Perthshire. Located as it was as the furthest inland port of Eastern Scotland, it had good trade opportunities with Germany and the Low Countries. Goods did not have to be moved far from and to the port. The trade relations, both British and foreign, brought the town quite some benefits. Both English and Flemish immigrants, for example, brought skills and expertise with them. From the thirteenth century on the town specialised itself in leather-working, woodworking and malting: trades that resulted in products that were easily shipped.

Between 1590 and 1668 the chronicles of Perth were written, detailing important or unusual events in Perth. In these chronicles, among other things is noted the departure of James VI for London, leaving the town without the prestige that comes with having a royal residence. In a time when Glasgow was on the rise, thus putting a strain on the Perth trade, this loss of royal support was felt, especially since James only came back once after his coronation as king of England. Added to this was the increasing competition from local markets, organised by 'regalities, baronies and other unfree places within their precincts'.<sup>52</sup> Measures were taken against these competitors, such as restrictions on trade to and from them. This did not seem to help much though, since a report published later that

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49 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Perth,\\_Scotland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Perth,_Scotland), viewed on 21 July 2013.

50 <http://www.gateway-to-the-scottish-highlands.com/History-of-Perthshire.html>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

51 Omand, *The Perthshire book*, 60.

52 'Register containing the state and condition of every Burgh within the kingdom of Scotland, in the year 1692', in *Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, (1881), 60.

year claims that towns such as Dunkeld, Dunblane and Crieff handled respectively 12,000, 8,000 and 6,000 Scottish pounds worth of trade. All these markets were located in the Lowlands, because the Highlands had no easily accessible strategic locations. Crieff for one functioned as a gateway for cattle coming down from the Highland, en route to Lowland (and English) buyers.

Misharvest and the threat of national taxes caused business to turn cutthroat at the end of the seventeenth century, resulting in many lawsuits between Perthshire towns (mostly Perth against competing markets). Accounts of English visitors made on behalf of the English Parliament indicate that Perth was to their eyes a reasonable market, with up to 40,000 pounds of goods exported. They did however question the options for further expansion of the town (and trade) because innovation did not seem to be high on the agenda.<sup>53</sup>

### History of Auchterarder

Auchterarder is a town first mentioned in writing in 1200, when the town received the status of Royal Burgh. This document seems to have vanished though, leaving the earliest existing mention of the town in 1227, during a land transaction to the convent of Inchaffray. The town was known across Europe as 'the town of a hundred drawbridges', because of the narrow bridges leading across the gutter to the front doors of houses. The town was torched in 1716, by the Jacobite Earl of Mar and his army. This was done as a way to punish the townsmen for supporting the English King. The town was rebuilt at a rapid pace, mainly due to the large handloom industry. In the 1830's a lot of people moved from Auchterarder to Delphi, New York. This was probably due to stagnating labour chances. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (in 1892) the town was awarded a new Burgh status (after the old one had been lost with the razing of the town by the Earl of Mar), meaning that a civil administration was set up for the express purpose of managing the town. For trade purposes Auchterarder was less influential than Perth. The town was primarily oriented towards the handloom industry, and its site did not lend itself well to extensive trading. Out of the way of both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and lacking a river capable of handling the large volumes of trade that the river Tay could, the influence of Auchterarder could be directly related to the production of its weavers.

### History of Crieff, and regional scenery

The Advocates Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland include a series of volumes associated with Sir Robert Sibbald, who did a detailed description of the Perthshire landscape in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century from his position as Geographer Royal. He paid particular attention to land usage for the important towns in the region.<sup>54</sup> One of his main feats was to emphasise the diversity and size of the Perthshire region. He summarised the land as being '*very well mixed the high grounds being proper for pasture and the lower very fruitfull in Cornes having many lochs rivers + waters in it...*'. He also noted '*an abundance of woods, and much planting every where*'. One of the largest woods he came across was Glen Artney. He also described the upland regions as being populated by '*a great many*

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<sup>53</sup> 'Report by Thomas Tucker upon the settlement of the revenues of excise and customs in Scotland', in *Early travellers in Scotland*, eds P Hume Brown (1891. Fascimile rep. 1978), 171-172; Thomas Morer, 'A short account of Scotland...' in *Ibid.*, 285-286.

<sup>54</sup> Charles W.J. Withers, *Geography, science and national identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge 2001) 81.

*deer and roe and wild horse and Cowes*, while at the same time mentioning Strathmore as *'ane fertile country for cornes well planted and plenished with many houses of ye nobility and gentry'*. His view of the region does contrast with John Adair's maps of Strathearn, Stormont and Gowrie of ca. 1685, but the overall picture does paint the scenery. He also notes how boats on the river Tay make many a stop, and do not always reach for Perth itself, hereby acknowledging the decline of the centre of the region.

All these sightings combined amount to a picture of a shifting momentum.<sup>55</sup> In this very period, the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, Glasgow was gaining prominence in the west (mainly due to its metallurgy and shipbuilding), while Edinburgh (political power) and Aberdeen (trade and shipbuilding) had always been strong powers on the east-coast. Perth was trapped in between, and served a rural backcountry, with traditional trades. The industrialisation that was fuelling other areas of the country seems to have passed Perth by, while navigation of the Tay was becoming increasingly hard. The bigger ships could no longer reach Perth, unless the river was deepened, meaning that products from the Perthshire region had to be shipped to other markets for distribution. Surprisingly, the uprising of '45 at Culloden meant that for the Stuarts, any dream of an ascent to the throne was over; for smaller towns such as Crieff, this was actually a good thing. Both the period of the uprisings and the peaceful circumstances created afterwards were beneficial to these towns. The end of cattle raids and improvements on general Wade's road network of the 1720s and 1730s meant that Crieff as a town could grow, with a specialisation in cattle and handcrafted artefacts. With the end of the uprisings, the last other sources of mayhem would also disappear from the region. Very telling for this new era was the fact that the Crieff gallows were taken down and moved to Perth in 1746: the town could orient itself more towards trade, and no longer had a dire need for law keeping.<sup>56</sup>

### The Perthshire region, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Perthshire region was did okay on the economic front ,relying mostly on craftsmanship, agriculture and trade. With the economic decline of Perth, and only marginal success of other towns such as Auchterarder and Crieff, the region was starting to fall behind in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with uprisings over, the region could begin afresh, but was seriously hindered by a lack of industrialisation. This resulted in a population drop from the 1830's onward, visualised in table 2.

#### 2: Population in the Perthshire area

	1801	1831	1851	1881
Population	126,366	142,900	133,147	130,282

Source: Library of Perth (LP) History Centre Collection (HCC) Population census 1801, 1831, 1851, 1881.

This population drop was also felt on the Drummond estate. Taking the number for the towns of Callander, Crieff and Muthill, table 3 emerges.

#### 3: Population in Callander, Crieff and Muthill

	1801	1831	1851	1881
Population	8.038	9.929	8.512	8.225

55 <http://www.perthshire-scotland.co.uk/crieff3.htm>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

56 M. Campbell, *Crieff* (Spectrum 1987) 20.

*Source: LP HCC Population census 1801, 1831, 1851, 1881.*

This population drop in rural areas was a trend common in Great Britain, where the urban areas were drawing people, innovation and investments.

Along with this population development, economic development was on a downward slope for Perth. By the time the 19<sup>th</sup> century ended, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh were firmly positioned as the most influential cities of Scotland. Perth had missed out.

### **An estate in a stagnating region**

From the paragraphs above a picture emerges of several different parties. First there is the Drummond family. From integrating itself with the Royal line, the family has now barely survived the Jacobite uprisings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The 19<sup>th</sup> century is very much about surviving and improving the family image. The Drummond estate itself has been temporarily lost during the uprisings, but is now once again in family hands, and as sizeable as it ever was. The Perthshire region is not doing as well, however. After centuries of relative prosperity, the region has failed to industrialise, as indeed other regions have done. The only thing that still makes the area economically viable is trade, manufacture of handmade goods, and agriculture.



### **3. Drummond estate: generating an income for the family**

The Drummond estate has generated income for its owners in various ways. Besides the value represented by the land itself, there is extensive cattle-keeping and agriculture taking place, which provides income either due to direct ownership or tenantry. The sale of wood (grown on the land) is also a steady factor of income. Beside this, there is also the letting and leasing of agricultural land and houses generating a half-yearly income for the landowner. In this section I will discuss the various forms of income and the impact they had on the estate.

#### **Letting, leasing, feus and rent collection**

The letting (or leasing) of houses and land enabled the landowners to make a steady income, without having to spend a lot of effort on development or the running of a business. Leases were generally done for a longer period of time, and were subject to rather strict rules (the feus). These feus determined that the occupant could do little other than use the building or land for purposes put down by the landowner. This meant that the letting of property was a relatively simple business, since most complicated matters involving changes in land and houses were banned from the onset. Though some money had to be invested in the upkeep of buildings and infrastructure, this was by no means a big investment. The bigger issue with this kind of income was the relationship towards the residents of the area, which could easily be undermined by the strict relationship between patron (landowner) and client (tenant). On this relationship between tenant and client, regarding feus and rentals, more attention will be paid when discussing feudal payments.

The collection of rent takes place twice a year, during Martinmas and Whitsunday. These two days mark the end of autumn and the beginning of spring, a timing very relevant to the agricultural way of life.<sup>57</sup> Yearly payments of rent were done at various times in history, but were considered too harsh a burden on farmers. A farmer's income was low, and the payment of a full year's rent would deplete most farmers' reserves. Without these reserves, an occasional crop failure would mean that farmers would have trouble staying in business. Another fear was for the rate at which arrears would increase, should a crop failure coincide with the single point of year when rental payment was due.

Rent collection was usually done in one of two common ways. The first (and oldest) was for the estate factor (or one of his deputies) to visit all the tenants in the area and collect the payable sum there. This involved a lot of travelling around, especially since return trips were often necessary. People would not have the money at hand, or a lack of clarity regarding payment would result in further investigations before any definite payment could be made. The second way of collecting rent developed out of a desire for greater efficiency from the estate point of view. Instead of roaming the area to collect rents the estate factor would make himself available at some central point (usually the estate office) and have the tenants come to him. This meant that people could come in when it suited them, increasing the chance of successful payment (eg. enough money at hand, and all official papers at hand in case of disputes).

On the Drummond estate the second model of rent collection was adopted in the eighteenth century. Records from the Pitkellony House (in Muthill) indicate that almost all rental payments for that part of the estate were made there during a two-week period. In the nineteenth century Stobhall was a part

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.scottishrecordsassociation.org/newsrkv004.htm>, viewed on 21 July 2013.

of the estate, but rent collection for that region was handled by the local office of the estate factor. Making a 40 mile journey just to pay the half-year's rent seems to have been seen as too much to ask for.

The build-up of arrears has been an issue of its own in estate management. Whenever a tenant failed to pay the agreed-upon rent at the collection date, that tenant was in arrears, unless the estate factor decided to give the tenant a temporary reduction on his rent. Giving a reduction was generally done to well-behaved tenants, who had a justifiable cause for not paying (all) the rent over a certain period of time. If a reduction did not help relieve the financial pressure, the arrears would come into play. Arrears were payments overdue, which meant that the tenant had not lived up to his side of the tenantry agreement. Since quite a lot of tenants however, came to be in arrears at one point or another, evicting these tenants was not really an option. The solution lay in extending credit to tenants who had run across a stretch of bad luck, while getting rid of the tenants who had a habit of falling into arrears. For tenants who were in chronic financial problems, the redemption of arrears could be an important source of relief. These redemptions, as well as the unpaid debts of evicted tenants were filed under the heading 'bad debts'. Bad debts formed a very undesirable part of the income sheet, and were (as we will see) something of a rarity. After discussing feudal payments, I will give a more in-depth look at the resulting information in the ledgers.

### **Feu duty**

Beside the payment of rents, the United Kingdom has long known (and still knows to some degree) a tradition of feudal duties. These duties derive from a time when the payment of rents was less important than serving the landowner (or in the Scottish case: Clan-chief) in other ways, such as military service, or menial jobs in household or on the land. Though all but abolished these days, the payment of feu duties was still a normal practice in the nineteenth century. Feu duties came not only in monetary payment (which was usually around 10% of the rentals), but was most visible in the restriction it imposed on the use of land and building.

Because of a lack of strong government in the rural housing sector in nineteenth century Britain, most of the new housing being developed was due to private investors. These investors were mainly the landowners, since they already had the land, and it cost them little to develop it. Many of the landowners in this Victorian era were actively concerning themselves with the appearance of the villages they built, and part of this concern was expressed in the control they maintained on the houses and land they leased. In these feudal contracts the exact specifications of the property were mentioned, prohibiting any alterations which would affect the appearance of the named property. These feudal ties, on top of the normal rental agreement, ensured that the rural areas maintained a very conservative look and feel. The monetary payments relating to these feu duties were low, because they could only be increased (eg. adjusted for inflation) whenever the landowner was succeeded. Though probably quite expensive at first, by the nineteenth century the planning-agreements in the feudal contracts were more noticeable than the monetary payments.

During the entire nineteenth century the feus were an active part of the agreement between tenant and landowner, and thus helped determine the relationship between the two. As we shall see in one of the examples in chapter four of this thesis, the feudal payments were not undisputed. When questioned, discussions frequently led to legal proceedings.

## Letting, leasing and feus in numbers

During the course of my research I was able to use all the archive material stored in the Drummond Estate Office. The records kept herein are not complete, primarily because quite some of them have been destroyed during a fire several years back. Others that have survived the fire are yet to be studied, repaired and again catalogued before they can be useful.

I have for that purpose decided to study several complete series of numbers concerning the yearly rent collection. By choosing complete series, spaced some time apart, I can give a relatively accurate description of the development of the estate. The periods I will be studying are 1818 – 1828, 1831 – 1841 and 1860 – 1869. For each of these periods I will first give a description of the relative worth of the information contained in the ledgers, before zooming out to analyse some trends that occur.

After this, I will also devote some attention to other forms of income for the estate, primarily the sale of wood. I delve into this subject because of accusations made by Richard Leonard in his volume on the landowners in Scotland.<sup>58</sup> He claims that a lot of land is being used for forestry, because that is more profitable than developing the land. I intend to verify whether woodland gains have indeed become a more prominent portion of estate income over the nineteenth century. I have no intention of getting involved in the debate opened by Leonard, which is why I will not continue this line to the present, nor will I be looking at other forms of land development. His line of reasoning deals with the current situation in landownership, while I will be looking at historical developments.

Finishing this chapter, I will examine whether a clear shift in income generation has taken place between income generated by rentals and woodland.

### Rental income

The information I have gathered is a summary of the yearly ledgers. In these summaries an overview is presented of the various properties the estate is comprised of, and the payment status of these properties. The first column in these summaries represents the basic rentals, after which follow the possible reductions on these rentals, as well as arrears carried forward from the previous years. A sum payable is based on this information, after which the actual payments are processed and bad debts are written off. The resulting balance is carried over to the next year, and should ideally be valued at 0, though in reality this seldom happens.

With this in mind, one of the things the reader should still realise beforehand, is that property is occasionally bought or sold. This means that some holdings will occasionally vanish from the ledgers, while other may appear, or change. For this reason I have also included a count of the number of contracts kept on each area of property. This number indicates the amount of contracts on which any form of financial activity took place, be it payment of rent or writing off a bad debt.

Income from rented property comes in the form of basic rent and feu duty. In earlier times this feu duty was added to the income from rentals, making it difficult to sort out which is which. An illustration of this can be found in the ledgers for the first period, from 1818 until 1828. In these ledgers a total sum payable is calculated, based upon rent and feu due as well as arrears from earlier years. These arrears are not split up in rent and feu, creating an information gap. This leads to a legal environment in which nothing can be said as to the nature of outstanding debts, a situation clearly undesirable under any and all circumstances. This situation was remedied by the 1830's, when the arrears for rent and feu were recorded in different columns.

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58 R. Leonard, *Who owns Mid-Scotland and Fife* (Labour party European office 1989).

When looking at the different properties it is immediately fairly obvious that these differ greatly in size and value. The parish of Muthill for example boasts a tremendous amount of rented farms when compared to the other properties, while the parish of Callander has pages filled with information on rented lands, and hardly any on rented farms at all. These differences in size mean that any changes in income should be put into perspective, by comparing them to the whole of estate affairs. Rising arrears on the ledger are often a sign of local problems, and only very occasionally signify a structural regional problem.

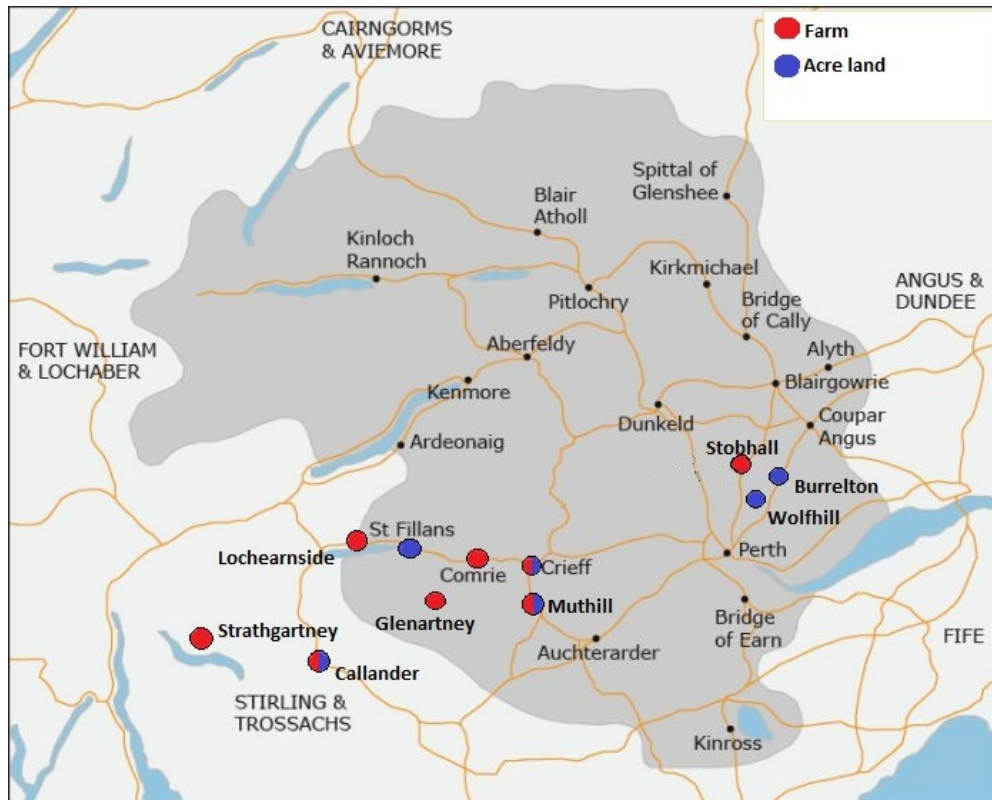
For in-depth information on the conduct surrounding bad debts, I will illustrate one such case in the next chapter, when discussing the measures taken against tenants who did not pay the rent (for whatever reason). Suffice it to say for now that bad debts generally led to the vacating of property, be it land and/or housing. This vacating was generally not long-term, indicating a willingness by local people to enter into agreement with the Drummond estate. Any downturn in the level of income generated by a part of the estate can thus be seen as a decline in the price of renting property, and not so much as an undesirability of the land itself. Prices were often adjusted to meet demand, but due to the number of people looking for their own piece of land, declines were incidental.

One final word before going into the numbers themselves, on the subject of legal entities. Rent was always due the landowner. In the absence of a landowner (such as during the forfeiture of the estate, or after the death of a landowner) the ledgers were made up in name of the crown or the trustees of the estate. During the execution of a will or a transition of land from one owner to another, debts and arrears were often dealt with rather rigorously. Settlements were made with all debtors, meaning that the executor got all the money he could out of the estate ledgers, while leaving the new landowner with a populace that was not indebted to him in any way.

## Estate in 1818<sup>59</sup>

In 1818 the estate was made up out of several villages and the farm lands between them. The villages were Strathgartney, Callander, Lochearnside, Glenartney, Crieff, Muthill and Stobhall. Land rent and feus were also collected for land in St. Fillans and Burrelton. A map indicating their geographic distribution is added below.

Figure 2: Perthshire region



For as far as farms were concerned, the biggest contributors by far were Muthill and Stobhall. These two comprised a total of 202 out of 240 farms in the estate. Strathgartney and Callander by comparison were made up of only 5 farms, whereas Crieff had only 4. Lochearnside and Glenartney were slightly bigger at respectively 11 and 13 farms. Where the rental of acre land is concerned, the picture is somewhat different. Crieff is by far the biggest party, with 217 rented pieces of land, while Muthill and Callander follow with respectively 152 and 138 pieces of land. St. Fillans also enters the equation here, with 41 pieces of land.

The worth of the possessions within the estate varies greatly. In this period of time, valuations were based upon the yearly rent, multiplied by a fixed number. This would mean that within the estate the most valuable rental properties can be determined by way of table 4.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Ledgers 1818 – 1828, Estate Office Muthill (EO Muthill), Financial Collection (FC) Inv. Nr. 29-45.

<sup>60</sup> For practical purposes the numbers I use in this chapter have been rounded to the nearest Pound Stirling, causing minor fluctuations between my calculations and the ledger sheets to occasionally arise. These changes should not impact the validity of the data.



#### 4: Worth of contracts over farms by property (in Pounds)

Property	# of contracts	Rental income	Price per contract
Strathgartney	5	560	112
Callander	5	701	140.20
Lochearnside	11	1,592	144.72
Glenartney	13	1,781	137
Crieff	4	238	59.50
Muthill	117	7,050	60.26
Stobhall	85	5,277	62.08
<b>Average</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>17,200</b>	<b>71.67</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate: Survival of the Scottish landed estate*.

Whether this difference in value is due to the size of property or the intrinsic value of the land is hard to determine, since this would require a look at the original property contracts. These can be investigated, but only at the expense of great effort. Future research into this area might be valuable.

For the land rentals a similar overview can be made, which would lead to the data which is displayed in table 5.

#### 5: Worth of contracts over acre land by property (in Pounds)

Property	# of contracts	Rental income	Price per contract
Callander	138	309	2.24
Crieff	217	231	1.06
Muthill	152	452	2.97
St. Fillans	41	28	0.68
<b>Total</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>1,020</b>	<b>1.86</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

It is clear from these numbers that renting a farm (with adjacent land) was far more expensive than simply renting a small piece of land only. The Crieff area was known as an area with very reasonable rental prices for land, but these prices show a big difference to the more serious agricultural properties. This difference in 'reasonability' of land prices becomes all the more obvious when we look at the state of arrears in this first year of our series. Listed below is an overview of the arrears for the year 1818, both for farm (table 6) and land rentals (table 7).

#### 6: Overview of arrears over farms (in Pounds)

Property	# of contracts	Rental	Arrears	Arrears (% rental)
Strathgartney	5	560	0	0
Callander	5	701	27	3.8
Lochearnside	11	1,592	127	8.0
Glenartney	13	1,781	450	25.3
Crieff	4	238	20	8.4
Muthill	117	7,050	619	8.8
Stobhall	85	5,277	350	6.6
<b>Average</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>17,200</b>	<b>1,595</b>	<b>9.3</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

### 7: Overview of arrears over acre land (in Pounds)

Property	# of contracts	Rental	Arrears	Arrears (% rental)
Callander	138	309	0	0
Crieff	217	231	3	1.3
Muthill	152	452	1	0.2
St. Fillans	41	28	0	0
<b>Average</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>1,020</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.4</b>

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

It is clear that the low price of the rental of land means that people seldom run into problems paying the rent. On top of that, if a tenant fails to pay the rent, this individual sum of cash is so small it hardly registers. For the rented farmlands, arrears are significantly more common. The average of arrears comes out at just below 10% of the rent, meaning that one in ten farms apparently has some difficulty fulfilling their financial obligations. Glenartney seems to be a rather extreme example, with over a quarter of the rent open as arrears. This subject might warrant further investigation. Likely it will turn out a dispute was ongoing with several farmers at the time.

On top of the farms and land rental, there is also the case of feu duty. As discussed earlier, the feu duties were an important part of the contract arrangements. In these earliest years of bookkeeping, there is some overlap between the rent of acre land and feu duty, because these were administered under the same heading. Luckily, in this case, no large arrears have arisen yet. Had this been the case, it would have been downright impossible to separate arrears on acre rental from arrears on feu duty. This is a situation that will arise later, and will demand a revising of the ledger layout. The overview of feu duty follows in table 8.

### 8: Overview of feu duty by property (in Pounds)

Property	# of contracts	Feu duty	Arrears
Callander	138	36	0
Crieff	217	325	0
Muthill	152	93	0
St. Fillans	41	15	43
Burrelton	42	13	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>590</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>43</b>

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

The administration of *arrears* in this case has been done under a separate heading in the ledger. This heading was obviously a patchwork, because it was a column added to the ledger for this specific event, that was removed afterwards.

After the arrears are processed, a new amount due is determined, after which a column representing the *cash paid* is added. The amount due is subtracted by the cash paid, after which a provision is added for tenants who are evicted. Tenants are usually allowed some leniency in arrears and reduced rent, but at a certain point the estate will take its loss. This loss (in the form of rents not collected) is written off in the ledger as *bad debt*. This is done so that non-collected rents do not interfere with management expectations. The total *balance due* at the end of the year is thus compensated for evicted tenants, meaning that a sound financial administration, both for internal and external use, is



present. To illustrate how this can be relevant, table 9 will give an insight into the way the farm rentals in 1818 were closed.

**9: Balance over farms at end of 1818 by property (in Pounds)**

Property	Rental	Arrears (from 1817)	Balance due (end 1818)
Strathgartney	560	0	0
Callander	701	27	78
Lochearnside	1,592	127	330
Glenartney	1,781	450	1,445
Crieff	238	20	0
Muthill	7,050	619	1,173
Stobhall	5,277	350	410
<b>Total</b>	<b>17,200</b>	<b>1,595</b>	<b>3,438</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

The *arrears* from 1817 came to a total of 9.3% (1595 pound on a total of 17.200 pound). The *balance due*, which is carried forward to 1819 as arrears, came to a total of 20% (3438 pound on a total of 17.160 pound rental in 1819). This is a serious rise in arrears, primarily explained by big rises in arrears in the Glenartney and Muthill area.

For the acre land and feus, the picture is somewhat unclear, because of the earlier mentioned overlap in administration. While we cannot make a clear split between acre rental and feu duty, it is clear that arrears are rising in this section of the estate as well. Table 10 illustrates this.

**10: Balance over acre land/feu at end of 1818 by property (in Pounds)**

Property	Rental + feu	Arrears (from 1817)	Balance due (end 1818)
Callander	345	0	40
Crieff	556	3	247
Muthill	545	1	143
St. Fillans	43	43	6
Burrelton	13	2	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,502</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>443</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

At the start of 1818 there were arrears from 1817 totalling 3.3% (49 Pound on a total of 1502 Pound) of the rental income for 1818. By the end of 1818 these arrears had risen to 29% (443 Pound on a total of 1505 Pound rental in 1819). This rise can primarily be attributed to rising arrears in Crieff and Muthill.

**Longer trends in the estate**

The numbers and examples mentioned above give some insight into the way we can interpret the information in the ledgers. To make this data meaningful in a social economic context, two things need to happen. First a longer time frame is needed, so that we can witness changes taking place. This bigger perspective is what we will go into now. Second, we need some examples on a microeconomic level, which we will discuss in the next chapter. I elect to go into the timeframe first, because it will give us some context for the cases I will discuss in the next chapter. I will look at the data chronologically, so I will first discuss the 1818-series, before moving on to the 1830-series and 1860-series. After this I will finish off with a complete overview of the 50 year period.

For the 1818-series I have initially compiled an overview with the trends over all the series' years in some key areas. I have looked at the totals for *Amount due*, *Balance due*, *Cash paid* and *Arrears*. What immediately attracts the eye is a clear shift between the years 1822-1823. Between these years, some inconsistency in the estate management has apparently arisen and subsequently been resolved, because arrears and balances due suddenly peak, while there is also a marked increase in the *cash paid* over this period. (table 11)

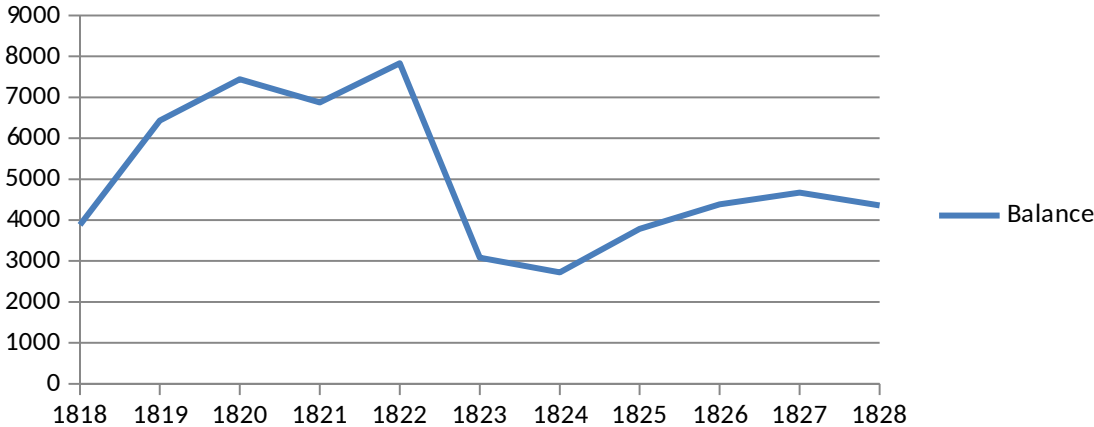
11: Overview of ledger for farms over entire series 1 (in Pounds)

Year	Amount due	Balance due	Cash paid	Arrears
1818	20,352	3,883	16,469	1,602
1819	22,752	6,429	16,322	4,046
1820	24,498	7,444	17,052	5,884
1821	22,534	6,877	15,600	6,402
1822	21,179	<u>7,829</u>	<u>13,350</u>	6,926
1823	21,809	<u>3,076</u>	<u>18,732</u>	<u>7,057</u>
1824	19,343	2,719	16,618	<u>3,078</u>
1825	20,111	3,782	16,328	2,724
1826	20,695	4,386	16,308	3,483
1827	21,109	4,671	16,133	4,386
1828	21,133	4,357	16,459	4,406

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

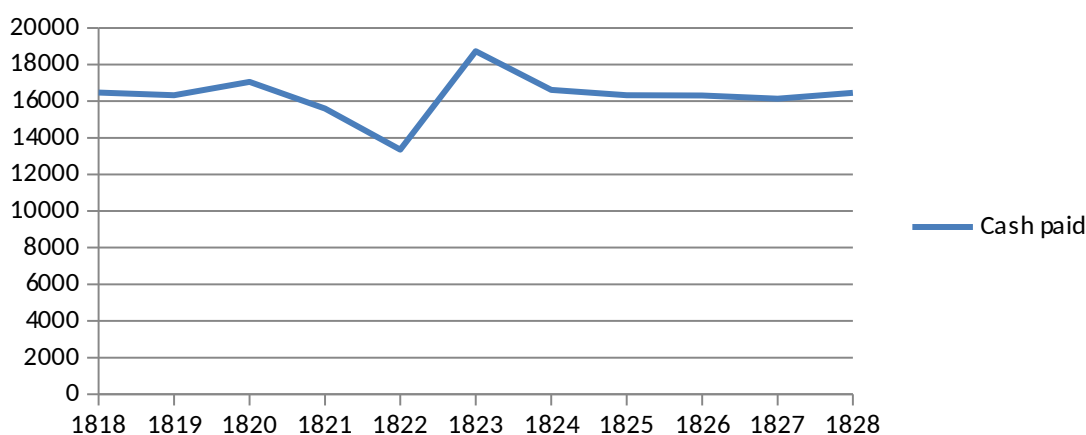
Displayed graphically, the result would be as in the following figures:

Figure 3: Balance due



Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

Figure 4: Cash paid



Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

During the 1820s, the rise in *Balance due* seems rather hard to explain. Looking at the *Cash paid*, there is not a sharp decline until 1821, while the balance due is on the rise from 1818 to 1822. Looking at the underlying numbers, the *balance due* seems to be roughly equal to a rise in *arrears*. Possibly then, payment of rent was a chronic problem, and the initial dip in *Cash paid* was an outraged response by tenants to new policy by estate management on non-paying tenants. Very telling is the introduction of a column for *deduction* of the rent in 1821. This could point to an attempt by the estate management to prevent a situation of growing arrears from spiralling out of control.

12: Rental deduction over farms (in Pounds)

Year	Rental	Deduction	Sum payable	% of rent deduced
1818	17,200	0	17,200	0
1819	17,160	0	17,160	0
1820	16,922	0	16,922	0
1821	17,436	2,835	14,601	16.3
1822	17,548	4,720	12,828	26.9
1823	17,332	4,022	13,309	23.2
1824	17,234	2,455	14,778	14.2
1825	17,238	1,394	15,843	8.0
1826	16,995	1,263	15,731	7.4
1827	17,765	2,512	15,252	14.1
1828	17,874	2,532	15,341	14.1

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

Taking these *deductions* (table 12) into account, it is clear that the tenants had a decent relation with the landowners. Over the 1820's a total deduction of 21.733 Pound was given, amounting to more than a year's worth of rent. The *rental* over the series above was worth a total of 190.704 Pound, meaning that the 21.733 Pound deduction was a write-off of 11.4%.

To isolate the origins of the financial difficulties that forced the estate managers to innovate, it is possible to pinpoint the areas that were most in need of deductions. Below in table 13 is an overview of the first series by property, with the numbers added up over the entire length of the series.

13: Rental deduction over farms by property (in Pounds)

Property	Rental	Deduction	Sum payable	% deduced
Strathgarney	6,100	733	5,360	12.0
Callander	6,597	810	5,780	12.2
Lochearnside	17,996	2,227	15,763	12.4
Glenartney	17,874	2,229	15,637	12.5
Crieff	2,897	192	2,701	6.7
Muthill	77,028	8,628	68,395	11.2
Stobhall	60,361	6,599	53,757	11.0

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Though the absolute numbers of *deduction* come mostly from Muthill and Stobhall, this can be attributed to the fact that rental income from these properties was far higher than from other properties. Relatively speaking, the percentages of rentals deduced seem to be roughly equal across the entire estate. Only Crieff seems not to have been affected as much, with only half as many deductions needed.

Isolating the problem even further, we can take a look at the development of *deductions* over rentals for acre land during the first series. Table 14 gives an overview of just that.

14: Rental reduction over acre land (in Pounds)

Year	Rental	Deduction	% deduced
1818	1,021	0	0
1819	1,013	0	0
1820	1,007	0	0
1821	939	0	0
1822	1,023	196	19.2
1823	1,008	176	17.5
1824	966	113	11.3
1825	955	0	0
1826	912	0	0
1827	898	0	0
1828	906	0	0

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

From these numbers it is apparent that around the year 1821/1822 the estate started responding to an apparent problem some of the tenants had with paying the rent. For the farm rentals, a deduction went into effect during the year 1821, amounting to some 16.1% of the total rent. The acre land rental followed a year later, with 19.2% of rent being deduced over 1823. Interesting here would be to find out whether the deductions took place in one specific area, or whether these were part of a

broader regional problem. We found earlier that farm rental deductions over the entire series have been geographically widespread, the numbers for the acre land rentals are listed in table 15.

15: Rental reduction over acre land by property (in Pounds)

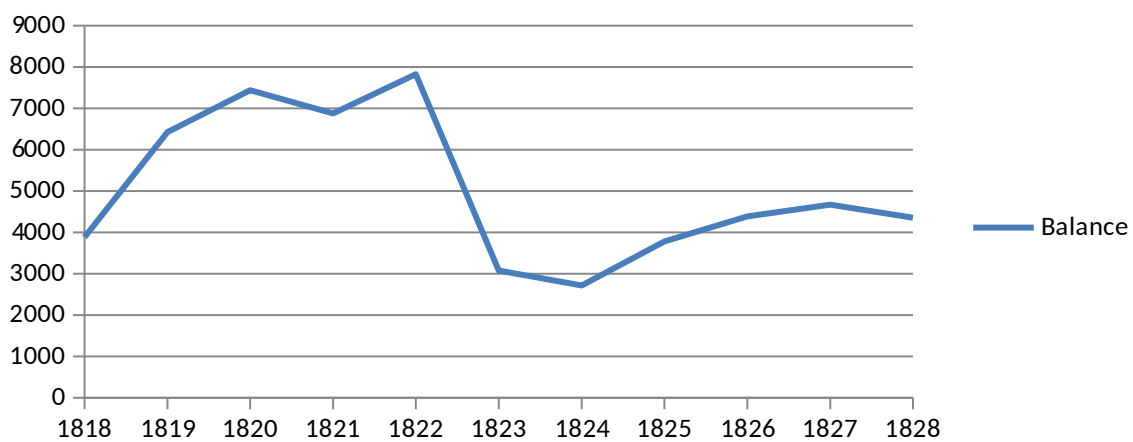
Property	Rental	Deductions	% deduced
Callander	3,317	177	5.3
Crieff	2,317	68	2.9
Muthill	4,049	184	4.5
St. Fillans	948	50	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,631</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>4.5</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Relatively speaking, deductions in acre land rental seem to have taken place with relatively equal impact in Callander, Muthill and St. Fillans. Though all these possessions are located in the south-western part of the estate, it is hard to claim this was a regional effect. This is due to the fact that Crieff, the only other acre land property in the region, had only half the relative amount of deductions that the other properties in the area had. Two options are available now: either Crieff was an exception to economic downturn (with both farm- and acre land tenants not affected) or the deductions on the other properties were caused by some random occurrence. The fact that both farms and acre land rentals in Crieff remain unaffected does seem to indicate that whatever happened passed Crieff by.

Looking at the balance due over the first series, we can conclude that the early 1820's formed a problematic period. The estate management was forced to adopt measures to ensure future income, while relieving the tenants of some financial stress. After these problems were over, the amount of money as entered into the Balance due once again seems to be on the rise.

Figuur 5: Balance due



Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

In the next paragraphs we will take a look at the second of our series, extending from 1831 through 1841. In this series we will take a look at the development of the *Balance due*, to determine whether a solution to the chronically rising arrears was found.

### Estate in 1831<sup>61</sup>

The ledgers from the 1830's onward have been divided into three different sections: farms, acre land and feus. Though it cannot be proven, this is probably due to the difficulty in administrating arrears for both acre land and feu duty in the old system. The new system means that debts in either of the three sections can easily be kept separated from other debts, lending the system the clarity sometimes missing in the earlier system.

At the end of the previous series Meiggar was introduced in the farms section. The farms under this heading were located in Comrie, and part of the Meiggar estate. This estate had to sell off some of its property. In the 1831 series, the farms section thus finds the property of Comrie added to the existing names. Further, in the acre land section, Alichmore is added with quite a substantial income. In the feus section Wolfhill has been added, as part of the Stobhall estate.

The first thing apparent when looking at the ledger for 1831 is the fact that *deductions* have continued unabated. They have in fact even risen: from 2,532 in 1828, to 2,624 in 1831. A second thing that catches the eye is the high amount of write-off on bad debts (569 Pounds). This seems to pose a real break with the past, since the total amount of *bad debts* written off during the first series totals 355 Pounds on farms. Notable is the fact that of these 355 Pounds, 294 Pounds were written-off during the last two years of the first series. This could indicate a new approach by management in dealing with indebted tenants.

#### 16: Bad debts by year (in Pounds)

Year	Bad debts	Year	Bad debts
1818	0	1831	569
1819	0	1832	53
1820	0	1833	130
1821	55	1834	312
1822	0	1835	19
1823	0	1836	139
1824	6	1837	50
1825	0	1838	34
1826	0	1839	26
1827	116	1840	200
1828	178	1841	122
<b>1818 series</b>	349	<b>1831 series</b>	1,654

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Also interesting when comparing the 1818 and 1831 series is the difference in development of basic *rental income*. During the 1818 series rental income seems to be declining, with an upward surge at the end of the series. If we compensate for the fact that Meiggar possessions were added around

<sup>61</sup> Ledgers 1831 – 1841, EO Muthill, FC, Inv. Nr. 51-61.

that time, the rental income seems to be on a downward slope. The rental income for the 1831 series seems to be indicating the exact opposite, with a steady rise in income (table 17).

17: Farm rental income by year and indexed (in Pounds)

Year	Rental farms	Meiggar income	Year	Rental farms
1818	17,200		1831	17,826
1819	17,160		1832	18,053
1820	16,922		1833	17,980
1821	17,436		1834	18,179
1822	17,548		1835	18,411
1823	17,332		1836	18,552
1824	17,234		1837	18,825
1825	17,238		1838	18,989
1826	16,995		1839	19,030
1827	16,847	918	1840	19,199
1828	16,956	918	1841	19,208
<b>1818 series indexed</b>	98.6%		<b>1831 series indexed</b>	107.8%

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

From a purely accounting point of view, this is a very good development. The worth of the estate possessions being rented out has apparently grown by 7.8%, as opposed to the decrease by 1.4% during the earlier decennium. Whether this theoretical growth has also persisted in higher returns in something else entirely. As we have seen, write-offs on *bad debts* have risen, and so logically we could also expect a rise in *arrears* and/or *deductions*.

18: Rental, deduction and arrears for farm rents by year (in Pounds)

Year	Rental	Deduction	% deduced	Arrears	% in arrears
1818	17,200	0	0	1,602	9.3
1819	17,160	0	0	4,046	23.6
1820	16,922	0	0	5,884	34.8
1821	17,436	2,835	16.3	6,402	36.7
1822	17,548	4,720	26.9	6,926	39.5
1823	17,332	4,022	23.2	7,057	40.7
1824	17,234	2,455	14.2	3,078	17.9
1825	17,238	1,394	8.0	2,724	15.8
1826	16,995	1,263	7.4	3,483	20.5
1827	17,765	2,512	14.1	4,386	24.7
1828	17,874	2,532	14.1	4,406	24.7

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.



#### 19: Rental, deduction and arrears for farm rents by year (in Pounds)

Year	Rental	Deduction	% deducted	Arrears	% in arrears
1831	17,826	2,624	14.7	2,089	11.7
1832	18,053	2,571	14.2	1,774	9.8
1833	17,980	2,852	15.9	1,857	10.3
1834	18,179	2,692	14.8	1,657	9.1
1835	18,411	2,978	16.2	1,342	7.3
1836	18,552	2,677	14.4	1,364	7.4
1837	18,825	2,531	13.4	1,406	7.5
1838	18,989	1,579	8.3	1,214	6.4
1839	19,030	1,521	8.0	1,310	6.9
1840	19,199	2,342	12.2	1,431	7.5
1841	19,208	2,781	14.5	1,352	7.0

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

Arrears have dropped from an average 26.2% (table 18) of the yearly rental in the first series to an average of 8.2% (table 19) of the yearly rental over the period in the second series. Deductions have stabilised around 14% of the rental, but most telling is the heading of *cash paid*, displayed in table 20.

#### 20: Cash paid over the years (in Pounds)

Year	Rents	Year	Rents
<b>1818</b>	15,358	<b>1831</b>	14,948
<b>1819</b>	15,240	<b>1832</b>	15,345
<b>1820</b>	16,047	<b>1833</b>	15,197
<b>1821</b>	14,434	<b>1834</b>	15,488
<b>1822</b>	12,046	<b>1835</b>	15,391
<b>1823</b>	17,429	<b>1836</b>	15,693
<b>1824</b>	15,396	<b>1837</b>	16,436
<b>1825</b>	15,157	<b>1838</b>	17,278
<b>1826</b>	15,264	<b>1839</b>	17,361
<b>1827</b>	14,952	<b>1840</b>	16,735
<b>1828</b>	15,212	<b>1841</b>	16,011
<b>Total</b>	<b>166,535</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>175,883</b>

Source: Scheltinga, The Drummond estate.

Though the series are only three years apart, the income over an eleven year period has risen sharply. The increase difference between the two series is 9,348 Pound, or 5.6%.

The total amount of rents seems to have gone up, while arrears and deductions have gone down. Profitability of the estate seems to have gone up over the first half of the nineteenth century.

For as far as feus are concerned, an overview of feus due, arrears and arrears can be found in Table 21.

### 21: Feu duty over series 2 by year (in Pounds)

Year	Feu	Arrears	% of feu
1831	488	2,156	441,8
1832	500	2,295	459,0
1833	393	2,341	595,7
1834	393	825	210,0
1835	393	890	226,5
1836	394	987	250,5
1837	394	904	229,4
1838	397	911	229,5
1839	392	961	245,2
1840	352	1,066	302,8
1841	351	348	99,0

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

The numbers in table 21 show some very different results from the number for farm and acre land rentals. Where these last two have seen impressive rates of 26% rents in arrears, the lowest point that arrears in feu duty reaches over the second series is 99%. These numbers are so extreme as to warrant further specification. Table 22 gives us an overview of the arrears for feu duty over the second series, by property.

### 22: Overview of arrears in feu duty by property for series 2(in Pounds)

Property	Rents	Arrears	% of rents
Callander	382	225	58,9
Crieff	2,589	11,792	455,5
Muthill	987	1,027	104,1
St. Fillans	128	4	3,0
Burrelton	220	533	242,3
Wolfhill	107	81	75,8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,413</b>	<b>13,662</b>	<b>309,6</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Obvious properties where the estate experienced difficulties in collecting feu duty were Crieff, Burrelton and Muthill. Especially Crieff, representing a large proportion of the total income in feu duty (86,3%) disrupts the overall picture. This situation might be interesting to study, because there was clearly something happening to the collection of feu duty. For the purpose of this thesis, delving that deep would however distract from the story.

### Estate in 1860<sup>62</sup>

Obvious from the first page of the 1860 series is the fact that both Meiggar and Alichmore seem once more to have been sold off. These properties have entirely disappeared from the books. Interesting is the fact that this does not seem to have affected the total income, displayed below in table 23.

<sup>62</sup> Ledgers 1860- 1869, EO Muthill, FC, Inv. Nr. 80-89.

### 23: Difference in worth 1841-1860

Year	Rents	Value Meiggar	Compensated worth
1841	19,208	361	18,847
1860	19,935	0	19,935

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

While value (compensated for the disappearance of Meiggar from the books) has risen by 1,088 Pounds, we should not forget that this rise of 5,8% took place over a period of 19 years, meaning a yearly increase of 0,3%. In this sense the growth of value for rents is probably lower than the inflation at the time, meaning that growth of the estate has come to a halt.

For the 1860-series only ten years of statistical data are available, as opposed to eleven years for the earlier two periods. When comparing the series, this should be taken into account. For the last year of the series (1869), information on farm rentals is only available for the first half year. For practical purposes I will adjust these by doubling them, so that a more complete picture of estate developments can be formed. An overview of this adjustment can be found in table 24.

### 24: Farms rents over 1869 ( in Pounds)

Property	Rents in 1868	Rents in 1869	Compensated 1869
Strathgartney	1,350	675	1,350
Callander	754	378	756
Lochearnside	1,725	874	1,748
Glenartney	1,750	875	1,750
Crieff	495	252	504
Muthill	9,424	4,962	9,924
Stobhall	6,064	3,147	6,294
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,564</b>	<b>11,165</b>	<b>22,330</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

With these numbers in mind we can construct a full development of estate income over the 1860s. For accounting purposes it would be interesting to compare this income overview with overviews of the earlier periods, to see how income is developing. This display will be given in table 20.

## 25: Overview of the third series (in Pounds)

Year	Rental	Arrears	Arrears as %	Bad debts
1860	19,935	255	1.3	6
1861	20,326	470	2.3	23
1862	20,435	155	0.7	3
1863	20,738	536	2.6	33
1864	21,050	269	1.3	3
1865	21,059	0	0	5
1866	21,417	297	1.4	3
1867	21,387	499	2.3	3
1868	21,564	834	3.9	3
1869	22,330	498	2.2	107

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Based on this overview we can conclude that arrears still fluctuate, though they average 381 Pounds annually. Bad debts have all but disappeared, with an average of 18,90 Pounds outstanding annually. The rents have risen from 19,935 Pounds in 1860 to 22,330 Pound in 1869; a rise of 12% over ten years' time, or 1.2% annually.

Deductions seem to have disappeared entirely, while arrears as a percentage of the rent have kept going down. From 26.2% in the first series, to 8.2% in the second series, and 1.8% in the third series.

## Long-term developments

In table 26 we will look at some of the developments that are visible on the estate as a whole during the nineteenth century. This first glance will be at farm rentals only, after that we will look at acre land rentals and feu duty.

## 26: Series overview of farm rents (in Pounds)

Period	Rents	% increase	Deduction	% of rent	Arrears	% of rent
1818-1828	190,704	3,9%	21,733	11,4%	49,994	26,2%
1831-1841	203,252	7,8%	27,148	13,4%	16,796	8,2%
1860-1869	210,241	12,0%	0	0%	3,813	1,8%

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

During the nineteenth century the return on farm rentals has been rising at an increasing pace. Both absolute numbers in yearly rents (start and end of series), and total return over the series have gone up significantly. Deductions seem to have been a necessity throughout the period, only disappearing as a factor in the last series. Arrears have been an issue that has seen notable improvement over the nineteenth century, dropping from a total of 26% to less than 2% of the farm rentals.

The number of contracts for farm rental have been rather constant over the course of the nineteenth century, with a slight tendency towards a lesser number of these contracts. The acre land rentals have experienced quite some change, going from an average of 664 contracts in the first series, to 386 in the second series and 455 in the third series (table 27).

## 27: Development of contracts

	1818-1828	1831-1841	1860-1869
Farms	216	232	202
Acre land	664	386	455

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

This would suggest that some clearances may still have taken place early in the nineteenth century. I have not come across any further evidence for this though.

## 28: Series overview of acre land rents (in Pounds)

Period	Rents	% increase	Deduction	% of rent	Arrears	% of rent
1818-1828	10,648	11,0%	485	4,6%	ND	ND
1831-1841	11,026	22,5%	1	0,1%	2,688	24,4%
1860-1869	10,990	-3,3%	0	0%	2,077	18,9%

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

The calculation of arrears on acre land rental is not possible over the first series, due to some indiscriminate bookkeeping on that account. For as far as the acre land rentals are concerned, margins seem to have been under pressure. Percentages of arrears are relatively high over the entire period, and deductions were given only rarely. The income itself was on the rise during the first half of the century, but the 1860-series already shows a decline in total income.

## 29: Series overview of feu duty (in Pounds)

Period	Feus	% increase	Arrears	% of feus
1818-1828	5,320	-2,0%	ND	ND
1831-1841	4,447	-28,1%	13,684	307,8%
1860-1869	3,872	11,2%	2,690	69,5%

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

The developments of feu income is clearly not a prime source of income for the estate. Although the income of feus has risen over the course of the third series, the overall image is one of a steep decline. From a total of 5,320 Pounds worth of feu in the first series, to only 3,872 Pounds in the third series. The percentages of arrears are also highly unfavourable, with the constantly high arrears in the second series leading to a percentage of 307,8 for arrears as part of the total feu income. Obviously an issue in feudal payment had to be resolved, for people were hardly paying feu duty at all.

## Woodland

The growing, cutting and selling of woodland requires larger stretches of woodland to be a continuing business. With the Knock of Crieff (and many other unnamed woodlands) available, making a regular income from the sale of wood was definitely an option. The profitability of this business can be something of an issue, because the growth of new woodlands requires quite some time, and the cutting and transportation of the wood requires man-hours to be paid for. On the other hand, wood was still a relatively important resource in nineteenth century Scotland, where fencing, repairs to houses and fireplaces required a constant stream of decent wood. For the estate, this use was far too limited to even remotely deplete the amount of wood available. For industries such as mining and construction, there was always a demand for wood. This situation of supply and demand resulted in the sale of wood to external parties. As indicated earlier, Leonard argued that in modern-day Scotland a lot of emphasis is put on the use of land for wood planting, because it is far more interesting financially speaking than tenantry. In the early nineteenth century, this does not appear to be the case. The possible shift in priority put on these sales should provide an interesting view on estate management. In these paragraphs I will devote some attention to the way the woodlands were used as a source of income, before giving a short overview of the development of woodland sales.

### Woodland in numbers

To put the numbers involved with wood sales into perspective, the first thing I will do is to compare the returns for wood sales with the returns on letting and leasing. For this purpose I will use the year 1837, since I have complete numbers for both wood sales and letting/leasing available in that particular year.

#### 30: Returns for wood and letting/leasing over 1837 (in Pounds)

Origin	Income	% of total income
Woodland	240	1,3%
Letting/leasing	17,837	98,7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,077</b>	

Source: EO Financial Collection Inv. Nr. 817.

What is immediately clear from these numbers is that wood sales were not a significant source of income for the Drummond estate in 1837. With a meager 1,3% of all income generated by wood sales and letting/leasing, this branch did not have a true impact. If this were an exceptional situation, this might be different, but further numbers show for other years around that time the numbers are much the same. On a monthly basis, the income was generally highest in June, with 43 Pounds worth of wood sold in 1837. If we compare this to several other years available, table 31 arises.<sup>63</sup>

#### 31: Returns on wood sales over a single month (in Pounds)

June 1837	June 1838	June 1839	June 1840	June 1845	June 1846
<b>43</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>51</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

<sup>63</sup> Wood Book for 1837 – 1846, EO Muthill, FC, Inv. Nr. 817.

Based on this information, and knowing that the month June is indicative of the rest of the year's sale of wood, we can conclude that wood sales were not an important source of income during the 1830s and 1840s. Alternative uses of wood, such as the earlier mentioned repairs to houses and fencing, are not included in these numbers. The argument could thus be raised that there was some merit to woodlands for this very purpose. Though this cannot be discounted, I hope that the number for the later nineteenth century are enough to illustrate my point in wood sales prominence.

For these later numbers more coherent administration was available, enabling me to give an overview on a yearly basis. To compensate for this, I will mirror these numbers to the 1830s/1840s numbers on a yearly basis. To calculate these, I will multiply these by the same ratio for June compared to the rest of the year as used in 1837. Though by no means fully accurate, it should at least give the reader some insight into the development of wood sales.

### 32: Monthly and yearly income from wood sales (in Pounds)

June 1837	June 1838	June 1839	June 1840	June 1845	June 1846
<b>43</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>51</b>
1837	1838	1839	1840	1845	1846
<b>240</b>	<b>273,5</b>	<b>44,5</b>	<b>72,5</b>	<b>111,5</b>	<b>284,5</b>

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

With these numbers in mind, a comparison is possible to the returns on wood for a later period in the history of the estate, namely 1865 to 1875.<sup>64</sup>

### 33: Yearly income from wood sales (in Pounds)

1837	1838	1839	1840	1845	1846
<b>240</b>	<b>273,5</b>	<b>44,5</b>	<b>72,5</b>	<b>111,5</b>	<b>284,5</b>
1865	1868	1872	1874		
<b>1,398</b>	<b>1,862</b>	<b>1,308</b>	<b>2,072</b>		

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Even taking a large margin for error since I do not have the full numbers, it still appears as though the return on wood sales has gone up by at least a factor four during a twenty year period. For the first ten year period no marked increase in sales is noticeable, which makes the contrast to the later period all the more remarkable.

Comparing the return numbers on wood sales to the return numbers on letting/leasing is only possible for the earlier years, and the years 1865 and 1858 in the later period. This yields the results in table 34.

### 34: Returns for wood sales and letting/leasing (in Pounds)

Origin	1837	%	1865	%	1868	%
Woodland	240	1,3	1,398	6,0	1,862	7,4
Letting / leasing	17,837	98,7	22,096	94,0	23,151	92,6
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,077</b>		<b>23,494</b>		<b>25,013</b>	

<sup>64</sup> Wood book for 1865 – 1875, EO Muthill, FC, Inv. Nr. 675.

Source: Scheltinga, *The Drummond estate*.

Returns on wood sales as a percentage of the total returns generated by wood sales, letting and leasing has gone up from 1,3% in 1837 to 7,4% in 1868. This marks a clear increase in significance, for which further studies would probably provide written proof.

## Land sales

The sale (and acquisition) of land was one of the easiest ways of investing and disinvesting capital. With inflation a constant, and ever fluctuating exchange-rates, one of the few relatively safe ways of ensuring a constant return on money was to buy land. This land could then be used for several commercial purposes, or let to private parties willing to pay rent. In times of capital shortage (or disappointing returns on the land) the sale of a piece of land could be used as a means to quickly accumulate cash. Traditionally speaking, this sale of land was almost unheard of on the larger estates. These were generally very capable of generating such returns, that it was easier to borrow cash than to sell the lands. In the nineteenth century however, this form of disinvestment became a rather common sight, since many of the traditional landowners found themselves under urgent financial pressure. Scottish aristocracy had long been used to the court in Edinburgh, which was a far less expensive place to be than the royal court of England, of which Scotland partook after the Union between England and Scotland in 1707. Lavish spending on clothing, travel and residence in the capital of the United Kingdom meant that most of the income from the Scottish estates went into short-term fashion. Also, with this kind of expenditure, debts would pile up, meaning that when a landowner died, there were quite some debtors to pay off before succession could take place. This often caused a need for sale of sizable pieces of land. At the same time, the returns on land rental went down because of rapid urbanisation, meaning the investors were less likely to lend the aristocracy money that it had earlier. Under these circumstances, landowners suddenly found themselves faced with an unprecedented situation in which their word and possessions were no longer considered a decent enough backing for moneylenders. Land had actually to be sold to generate short-term income.<sup>65</sup> This increase in available land on the market meant that other parties suddenly had openings in the rural real estate market. New landowners (many of which were wealthy merchants) would buy lands for long-term investing, as land had always been used, and were able to do so at reasonable prices because the value of both land and aristocracy was on the decline.

## Cattle-keeping and agriculture

Most estates were rurally oriented. The possession of large areas of land meant that orientation towards a rural mode of capitalism was general practice, seeing as investments in real estate and industry were more of an urban thing. Accepting this meant that landowners had to make decisions regarding the sort of agriculture or cattle-keeping that they saw as the most profitable for their land. In the case of the Drummond estate several options were open to the landowners. As a rule, the keeping of sheep was one of the easiest options. Sheep required little other than grass and open space, both of which were abundant in both the Scottish highlands and lowlands. Cows shared similar characteristics when it came to demands on the land, but had the distinct disadvantage of being

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65 D. Cannadine, 'The landowner as millionaire: the finances of the dukes of Devonshire, c. 1800 - c. 1926', *The Agricultural History Review* Vol. 25 (1977) 77 - 97.



more expensive. This made them unattractive for individual farmers, though estate-owned farms would often include a sizeable herd of cows for the production of dairy products and beef. For as far as agriculture goes, most of the lands were arable, meaning that the cultivation of potatoes or wheat was possible. Other kinds of plantation included cabbage, lettuce and radish. Many of the farms on the estate had at least a small garden for private use, while the larger agriculturally aimed farms specialised in a single product. With all this in mind, the family and staff had to be fed as well, so there was usually some home-farming taking place. Drummond Castle had a plantation for that purpose, as well as some cattle and wild stock grazing on the castle grounds.

### **Shifting income on the landed estate**

From the numbers gathered above, a clear portrait of shifting income on the Drummond estate can be painted. With collection of feu duties constantly under pressure, while these posed only a marginal form of income, the feus were obviously not the kind of income the estate hoped to generate. More important was probably its conservative function of preventing changes to layout of land and building.

Rents were also hit hard during the nineteenth century, primarily because of incidents. With decisive action by estate management, problems in this kind of income could be resolved, leading to a very steady income during the later nineteenth century. Arrears went down significantly, while bad debts were rarely sustained by the end of the nineteenth century. Though the rents themselves probably did not rise harder than inflation, this source of income did show some prospect in reliability.

Wood sales, as a final constant factor in income, were very much on the rise during the nineteenth century. From the early nineteenth century, where wood sales provided only 1,3% of all income, to a situation in which wood sales were almost 10% of the total estate income. Wood sales were more constant than other forms of income generated, with none of the issues that tenants would raise. They would thus require less input from the estate management, while wood prices would go up all the time. Anyone looking at the income numbers can reasonably be expected to figure out why an income based on wood sales would be far more attractive to a landowner than an income based on tenantry. Less effort in upkeep of relations, coupled to a lower maintenance upkeep and rising prices for wood meant that wood sales were the gold of nineteenth century Scotland.

## **4. Case studies: the practical side of estate management**

In the previous chapter we have taken a look at the way the estate income was impacted by shifting priorities in estate management. The diminishing returns on feu duties, constant income from rents and increasing sales of wood paint a picture of an estate that is sailing a steady course. What has been lacking this far is some indication of what actually transpired on a micro-level of estate management. I have not shown how bad debts were dealt with in open writing, nor have I shown how the estate management took position when economic opportunities presented itself. In this chapter I will take a closer look at these two situations, and also take a look at the 'police' function of the estate. I will in that way test how the results found in the ledgers actually translate to an operational level. First will come an overview of a case in bad debt taking place during the 1830s, followed by an example of the policing function of the estate. To finish I will take a look at the

position of the estate when it came to regional development. I will show where the landowner stood when it came to constructing a new railroad line. The result of this will be an indication of the operational approach underlying the numbers in the previous chapter.

### **Handling a tenant in chronic arrears**

During the 1830s a priority was obviously made of increasing the profitability of rented property. For acre land, a decreasing line was visible early on in the 1830s, lasting until 1834. After this point, arrears stabilised at a slightly higher level. One of the problematic tenants was to be found in Muthill, where James Davidson (profession: shoemaker) leased a piece of land at a price of 5 Pound Stirling per annum. The Muthill area was one in which acre land arrears stabilised around 60 Pound Stirling per annum, average. At five Pound rent annually, this would have been a very visible situation that the estate management had to address. In the following paragraphs we will take a look at the official correspondence kept in the Drummond archives relating to this case. The dossier was recorded as 'Petition: Lord & Lady Willoughby de Eresby against James Davidson. 1832'.<sup>66</sup> The dossier consist of three letters, each approximately one page of A4 writing.

#### **Entering the petition**

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1832 a letter was sent by Lewis Kennedy, estate factor for the Drummond estate. This letter was addressed to the Baron bailiff of the Barony of Muthill, and contained a petition to address the problematic situation of one of the estate's tenants. This tenant (James Davidson) had been running in arrears for several years now. With Martinmas coming up in several months Lewis Kennedy was afraid that the tenant would leave the region to escape his debtors, and that he would sell all the produce of the land he rented to fund his escape. Kennedy petitioned the bailiff on behalf of the landowners to hypothecate the crops on the land. If the rent was not paid at Martinmas, these crops could then be sold to cover the loss.

Interesting about this letter is the fact that the main argument used here is the possibility of the tenant vacating the rented property without paying. The arrears that have been built up seem only to be mentioned by ways of showing the bailiff that the tenant is not very credit-worthy, and are not the main problem. Both the petition itself, which centres around the possibility that the tenant might run off, and the motivation for hypothecating crops (to pay for this year's rent and expenses in case of non-payment by the tenant) clearly look at the current year. This action seems to be oriented towards preventing a further build-up of arrears, rather than reducing the current outstanding arrears.

#### **The petition enacted**

On the 22<sup>th</sup> of September a note was issued by John Sinclair, officer of the law for the Barony of Muthill. In this note he details how he served an exact copy of the petition filed by Lewis Kennedy to John Davidson. After serving the petition, Davidson was asked to answer several questions as to the completeness and truthfulness of the petition. These questions were to be answered within six days after serving the petition. After the petition was served, Sinclair did an inspection of the lands concerned, taking careful notice of the status of the property and creating an inventory. Also, a collection of goods and crops worth roughly that year's rent and expenses were secured on

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<sup>66</sup> Petition: Lord & Lady Willoughby de Eresby against James Davidson 10 sept 1832, Drummond Castle (DC) Boxes Collection 1 (BC 1).

hypothecary grounds as requested in the petition. These goods and crops were not to be touched or in any way handled until the petition had been brought before a judge. A list of the goods and crops secured was drawn up and a copy handed over to Davidson. To further cement the procedure, two witnesses were present. Both George Ferguson and Daniel McIntosh were from Muthill, and would be brought before the jury to secure the legitimacy of the whole operation should this become doubtful in any way.

The execution of the petition clearly favours the petitioner. Based on the accusations brought forward in the petition John Sinclair could demand both answers and secured goods, until the case was brought before a judge. After serving the petition, the tenant had six days in which to come up with a decent defence. If not, he would be liable to have the secured goods sold on public auction.

### **The judgement**

On the fifth day of December 1832 a ruling was done in the case of Lord and Lady Willoughby against James Davidson. Davidson himself was not present, nor had he in any way responded to the questions posed to him by the bailiff. The judge granted the petition, and warranted the sale of goods secured and on the property by public auction. Interesting to note here is that enough should be sold to cover the year's rent and expenses, but also the outstanding arrears on the leased land. The public auction was to be advertised by the town council and the parish church, and at the actual auction James Ferguson should be present on behalf of the petitioners.

The granting of this petition is quite remarkable, since no word has been received from the defendant. This means that the judge could not possibly estimate whether the sale of belongings would bring the defendant into any form of financial or subsistence problems. Seen from an estate point of view, the ruling was fairly obvious. Clear evidence of arrears was available, and no defence on the accusation of running off without paying the rent was given. The petition thus served to relieve the estate of a problematic relationship with a tenant, while preventing the writing off of bad debts.

### **Prosecuting criminal offense**

From the above it is apparent that the landowner knew when to call upon the justice system. This case was relatively easy, mostly because the facts were obvious, and the defendant refused to appear before the judge or hand in a statement, leading to a less than favourable ruling for him. In the following case the landowners will address another local, this time for the setting of snares on privately owned land. The defendant in question does have a defence this time, consisting of several people making statements on his behalf. On the second of November 1871 the trial was held.<sup>67</sup>

### **The complainer**

The complainer, in this case the Trustees of the late Lady Willoughby, has lodged a complaint against Duncan Reid. They accuse this inhabitant of Crieff of having set snares on the Plantation of the Drummond Castle. As proof they have the written statements of William McGregor, David Wintow

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67 Copy. Proof of both parties in the complaint, Lady Willoughby and Duncan Reid, DC BC 8.

and George Christie, all assistant gamekeepers for the Perth estate. The written statements of these men all come down to the following story.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1871 one of the gamekeepers comes across several snares set in the Plantation. Aware that poachers are probably active, he rounds up two of his colleagues. The three of them then spend the night camped close to one of the snares, waiting to see who will come to empty the snare in the morning. From 4 o'clock to about 7 o'clock they wait, until finally three men approach the snare and bend down to see whether anything is in it. At this point, the assistant gamekeepers approach the man and ask them for their names. One of the men then races off, and is for a short while pursued by George Christie. Though the man escapes, all of them have seen his face. As he has lived in the area for almost three years, they have recognized him. After the other two men, who are not locals, have shown them where the other snares are, the gamekeepers report them and the defendant to their superiors, who then file an official case with the justice of peace.

Reading the statements it is clear that the men have been well-rehearsed in how to present a good story to the judge. Their stories are short, concise and full of very accurate timeframes. Apparent from the onset however is the fact that apart from their statements, no evidence is at hand to condemn the defendant. It will thus be the word of the three assistant gamekeepers against the word of the defendant and whoever might speak up for him.

### **The defendant**

For the defendant himself no rebuttal of the above mentioned statements is present. This might be part of another dossier, or the defendant might not have given a statement at all. What is present is the statement of several witnesses who give testimony in favour of the defendant.

The first person to speak up on behalf of the defendant is John Ferguson, sheriff officer in Crieff. He was lying in bed, lodged with the defendant's mother, on the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> October and overheard the defendant speaking to someone by the fireplace. Though he did not actually see the defendant, he asked him what time it was. The response he got obviously belonged to the defendant, and it told him that it was around seven o'clock in the morning. When the sheriff actually rose from his bed, between nine and ten o'clock, the defendant was present. It is noted after his statement, that dawn was breaking when he woke up, and that he had no idea who the defendant was speaking to.

Another person, James Jack, who was a labourer working on the defendant's mother's house at the time, also spoke out on behalf of the defendant. He claimed to have arrived at the house around 7 o'clock, at which time the defendant was present there. Asked by the solicitor for the prosecution how he knew the time, Jack answered that he had a clock in his house. He times that clock with the railway clocks regularly, leaving him to utterly trust the time displayed on the clock. Since it was only a five minute walk from his house to the defendant mother's house, he could be fairly certain that it was 7 o'clock. Another labourer, George Brown, who worked with James Jack collaborated this story, though he was not quite as certain as to the exact time, since he did not have an accurate clock. He could however be fairly certain that they were there between 7 and 8 o'clock, and that the defendant was there at the time. Everyone else, he noted, was still asleep at that point.

The cross-examination by the prosecuting solicitor focussed very much on the exact times at which people had seen the defendant. Given that clocks were by no means as omnipresent and accurate as they are these days, such a debate is however quite futile. The margin of error when it came to timing could not be questioned any further than it always was.

### **The verdict**

The verdict by the judge was a short scribbled note on the end of the documentation. The very day that these proceedings took place, it was noted that:

*“The justice having advised the proof, finds the complainth not proven and dismisses the case.”*

Where in a clear-cut case of arrears the estate could possibly expect some leniency from a judge, a true prosecuting for a criminal offense was not nearly as easy. Without direct evidence, and facing witnesses (amongst which a sheriff) who were willing to speak for the defendant, the judge could do little else than declare the case dismissed.

## **Developing the region**

In the above cases we have looked at the way the landowner defended its own interests from internal factors (being local inhabitants). In this last case we will be looking at the way the landowner dealt with external factors that threatened to change the status quo. In this case we will be looking at the plans for construction of a railway line to Crieff. We will look at the position of the landowner, the position of the inhabitants of Crieff and the opinion of a farmer who sees the railway line threatening his livelihood.

### **The landowner**

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1844 a meeting was held to discuss the extension of the Scottish Central Railway to the Crieff area.<sup>68</sup> This meeting was held by a provisional committee, part of which were John Errington (engineer) and Lord Willoughby de Eresby. Lord Willoughby de Eresby (or Peter Robert) was a steam machine enthusiast, who put a lot of effort into introducing steam power into agriculture. He was also responsible for the construction of the Edenham branch railway line in Lincolnshire, which opened for business in 1857.<sup>69</sup> This was not an altogether strange development, since it took quite some capital to make the investments necessary to industrialise. A well-industrialising region might well lead to landowners shifting their attention from land exploitation to industrial activities.<sup>70</sup> During this meeting, Lord Willoughby de Eresby expressed his support for the adoption of the Pow Burn Line. He went so far as to proclaim that he would not only

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<sup>68</sup>Excerpt from Minute of Meeting of Provisional Committee Scottish Central Railway, held at Perth on 18 October 1844, DC BC 4.

<sup>69</sup>R.E. Pearson, *Lord Willoughby's Railway: the Edenham Branch* (Willoughby Memorial Trust 1986) 11.

<sup>70</sup>D. Spring, *The English landed estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830-1880*.

subscribe towards the construction of that part of the railway, but that he would also wield his influence to try and get the Act passed. Mr. Errington supported this plan, by stating that he was satisfied with the importance of this railway branch. He went so far as to recommend the railway be built, if further investigation could prove that the amount of existing traffic was indeed sufficient to generate the kind of results that this extra investment would require. The investigation to determine this would have ample time, since it would not have to be passed until the parliamentary session of 1846. If work were started that year the Crieff branch would be finished around the same time as the main line. The meeting was closed with a summary expressing the desirability of the Crieff branch, also as a ways of enhancing the profitability of the main line.

### **The farmer**

A critical voice could also easily be found. Where the landowners generally favoured the completion of a railway, smaller landowners were by no means as enthusiastic, especially when the railway line was supposed to pass across their land. On the 22nd of April 1846 an application was made to Lord Willoughby de Eresby by a small landowner in the Crieff area.<sup>71</sup> This landowner professed to potentially suffer serious injury by the construction of the Crieff branch. The landowner has recently acquired the land and feels that because of this short relationship with the area, his wishes have not been taken all that seriously. His main complaint centres around the fact that construction of a curve in the railway near his house will make the traffic situation unsafe for his family, as well as leading to the construction of an unsightly earthen wall. According to the farmer, he had objected earlier to both the company directors and the local mayor. Both had given their word that they would see about alteration of the railway line if he promised not to raise opposition against the Bill. They had however not lived up to their promise, and now the Bill had been passed and the farmer was confronted by the construction of a railway line close to his house. He clearly indicates that he is not opposed to railway lines per se, but that the total disregard of the directors of this company was making it hard not to oppose them. Closing, he extends his well wishes to Lord Willoughby de Eresby, in the full expectation that his case will be heard and seriously discussed.

### **The town**

Whereas the landowners stood to gain a lot from the new railway line, and the small landowners could see it as a threat, the majority of the population still lived in the towns. In this case the town of Crieff put forward their opinion on the new railway line in a memorial to the provisional committee.<sup>72</sup>

Opening their memorial, the writers refer to the fact that the county of Crieff represents some 25,000 inhabitants at that time, making it a large traffic market. The writers see benefits to all parties involved: themselves as the local interests, the shareholders of the railway as a second party and the general travelling public as a third party.

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71 Letter concerning the Scottish Central Railway 22 April 1846, DC BC 4.

72 Letter concerning the Scottish Central Railway 28 October 1844, DC BC 4.

For the first party, the advantages would be many: 1) cattle and agricultural produce could be moved far cheaper 2) Wood and minerals could be sold on more profitable markets 3) the district had quite some slate that was worth practically nothing in the Crieff area, but was actually quite valuable abroad 4) the sale of whisky would boom with more export opportunities 5) Mills and tan workeries are plenty 6) there was quite some waterpower in the area, leading to possibilities of manufacture.

For the second party there were also some obvious advantages. 1) the large population in the area would mean a lot of goods shipped to and fro the area 2) the large population would also mean a lot of commuting 3) increase in slate production would mean even more goods shipped 4) the distilleries and mills in the area would also bring in quite some goods 5) tanneries and water-powered manufactories would be easier to reach.

For the third party, the advantages would be in disclosure and cost. Because a tunnel would not have to be constructed (as the proposed line would require) cost and construction time could be saved. Apart from this the construction of a tunnel and subsequently a bridge over the Earn would mean that the entire Trossachs part of Perthshire might be bypassed, which would have disastrous effects on the local population. Something the shareholders would do well to consider, because they already had other railway lines in the region, which might be affected by this.

Concluding, the Crieff inhabitants feel that they have painted how the Crieff branch is far preferable to the other branch, primarily because their region is the more populated and industrious of the two. They submit their plea in the full confidence that the committee will see the wisdom of what they are trying to say.

### **Buying off the unlucky ones**

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of August construction of the railway line was finally underway, though a decision on where to link to the existing railway network had not yet been made. Correspondence changed in nature. Some people would obviously be happy, while others would be unhappy. Least happy of all were undoubtedly the people who were forced to move, or saw their lands diminish in value. These people would have to be compensated. In a note by Lady Willoughby discussion takes place as to the moneys in damages that should be paid to the claimants.<sup>73</sup> Though the exact nature of the payments is not always clear, it can be deduced that a certain Mr. Mitnose has probably been paid for more than he has delivered, while the gentlemen Lander, Grant and Bryer also have no further rights to payments. Mr. McMalrett and Mr. Drummond do deserve more payments, as does Mr. McLawnie. The MonCrieff account, it is argued, should not be given more than 60 Pounds as compensation, while the Drummond account should be paid fully.

No account was available with a total overview of the costs involved buying up the land for railway construction purpose. Generally though, these costs were relatively high, exceeding the ordinary value of the land, because people would have to be convinced to leave their homes. It can thus be debated that the ones who had eventually to leave their land were the lucky ones, since the Crieff branch railway line was a financial and organisation burden for most other parties.

### **The railway line**

73 Account current between Lady Willoughby de Eresby and Mrs Dundas Nilson in reference to settlements of claims against the Scottish Midland Railway Company 17 August 1852, DC BC 4.

The train service to Crieff finally commenced on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1856. With twelve years between the initial adoption of the plan for a Crieff branch and the actual realisation, the plan can be considered less than perfect. Several parties had been involved at certain stages, with the Scottish Central Railway first adopting the plan in the 1840s, and then abandoning it for the Crieff junction Railway Company to finally realise the plan in the 1850s.

The main reason for delay was financial, with a preference being given to a railway junction connecting to Perth, which meant that the connection for Crieff would be a branch, not high on the list of priorities.<sup>74</sup> Though the townsfolk of Crieff had argued against the costs involved with constructing a tunnel at Moncrieff Hill, the investing parties saw more potential in Perth. If the Pow Burn Line had been constructed, Perth might well have ended up a second-rate town when it came to economic activity. Now Crieff itself was at risk of becoming second-rate.

The townfolk's fears in this were well-grounded. With the main line bypassing Crieff, the area missed out on most of the economic boom of the second half of the nineteenth century, with some growth in the late nineteenth century, but no true pioneering work in manufacturing to sustain them in the twentieth century. Perth on the other hand received a direct connecting line. Obviously, when the choice had to be made between the small rural town of Crieff, and the large volume trading town of Perth, the decision had been an easy one. Alternative plans to connect the railway line at Greenloaning, which was part of the main railway line, failed for financial reasons. When the line was eventually opened, it was as a part of a side branch. Connections to (and relations with) the main railway line were bad. The railway line was closed in the twentieth century, and most remnants of the line have long since been removed.

### **Developing the region?**

The influence exerted by Lord Willoughby de Eresby was not enough to convince others to bypass Perth. The plan to introduce a railway line to Crieff was an ambitious one, and threatened the economic development of Perth, which had seen more than enough threats arise from competing towns in the last hundred years. The effort itself though was a clear indication of the landowner's intention: the more economically active the region, the better. His attempts at introducing steam-powered ploughing and peat-burning machinery in an attempt to bring industrial appliances closer to the local inhabitants were other initiatives that were undertaken, though never quite as successful as desired.

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<sup>74</sup> [http://perthshirecrieffstrathearnlocalhistor.blogspot.co.uk/2012\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html](http://perthshirecrieffstrathearnlocalhistor.blogspot.co.uk/2012_06_01_archive.html), viewed on 21 July 2013.



## **5. Conclusion: The survival of the Scottish landed estate**

The object of this thesis was to give some insight into the way the Drummond estate management reacted to changes in the nineteenth century. To do this, I have looked at several sub questions to support my answer to this research question. Below, I will go into each of these sub questions, before answering the research question.

### **Where did the nineteenth century Drummond family come from?**

The Drummond family is one of the older Scottish lines, with ties to English the aristocracy as well from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward. The family traces its roots to the Hungarian prince Maurice, and from him to the Drymen of Lennox, before obtaining the Perthshire family holdings in the fourteenth century. The family became well-known by marrying into the Royal line, but this also begot them some enemies. When the British throne passed the family by, political events led to a more marginal role. Changing circumstances led to financial difficulties for many noble Scottish families. By linking up to the Lincolnshire-based Willoughby de Eresby family, the Drummonds managed to survive where many other aristocratic houses could not compete with the wealthier of British aristocracy. The uprisings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were a difficult time for the Drummonds, because they sided with the Stuarts. When they lost, their titles and lands were taken, and winning those back was a long process. In the nineteenth century this was all accomplished, and the Drummonds were once again part of the British aristocracy.

### **What social economic changes occurred in Perthshire during the nineteenth century?**

Perthshire was having a hard time keeping up with developments in the more urban areas, such as Edinburgh and Glasgow. Industrialization and trade were the major movers in nineteenth century Scotland, and both seemed to pass the region by. Lacking easy access to coal and iron ore, keeping up with Glasgow on the industrial count was difficult. Trade on the other hand depended heavily on good infrastructure and a willingness on the part of traders to conduct business in your town. With the lack of manufactured goods in Perth, coupled to the river Tay becoming increasingly difficult to navigate, the outlook for the region was not good. There were some commercially active towns, such as Crieff and Auchterarder, who catered to Lowland and English traders. Their main trade ware was in agriculture and handcrafted goods though, both of which failed to generate the amounts of capital needed to give the region an impulse. The Perthshire region was falling behind when compared to the more urban areas in Scotland. This generated a feeling of decline and lack of innovation. This in turn meant that industrialists skipped the region for the most part, and agriculture and the hand loom industry became even more important.

### **How did the Drummond estate generate its income?**

As to the question of income, I hope to have made a good show of my information. The division suggested in the literature chapter of this thesis, regarding land usage and the Highland/Lowland-dichotomy, can be adequately answered. The Drummond estate was primarily an income-generating estate, rather than a sporting estate. The extensive financial information available clearly shows how the estate management was trying to improve the returns on assets. Some hunting and other gentlemanly sports do occasionally pop up in the books, but are by no means a primary concern. In the Highland/Lowland dichotomy, the Drummond estate tends to be a Lowland estate primarily. It has the agricultural potential needed to attract agricultural workers, and favours crops over cattle-keeping. The estate is one of the borderlands between Highland and Lowland. Looking at the geography it is clear that none of the lands can be considered true Highland, for the simple reason that they have a lower altitude. This means that even the less-accessible parts of the estate can still be used to grow woods (as per example Glenartney).

A shift in priority does seem to have taken place, from an 18<sup>th</sup> century focus on rental income, to a steady income from tenants and an increasing sale of wood (and possibly other produce). This shift seems to have primarily been a way of generating 'easier' money. Without the added work of dealing with problematic tenants, the landowner would have more time to pursue matters that really interested him, while minimizing the friction with the local population. The Drummond estate thus deescalated matters in a social economic situation, where people were drawn towards the urban areas. They did this by making life easier on the people that stayed behind. More investment was made in the relationship between landowner and tenant, while opportunities for economic growth were found in the sale of wood, which was less likely to generate ill-feelings with the local population.

#### **How did social economic changes affect the relationship between landowner and tenant?**

One thing that has become abundantly clear is that the Drummond estate and the local population had a symbiotic relation. The usage of land, the upkeep of buildings and infrastructure, and the development of the region have all been factors wherein the estate could and did play a significant role. On the other hand, this relationship also caused friction. The rules laid down by the landowners in this relationship were not always considered fair, which often led to violation of these rules. Violations, on any level, could eventually lead to justices having to step in to try and mend that which had been broken. Plans made by the landowner would not always conform to the idea that locals had on usage of the land, meaning that the ancient question of 'who owns the land' once again popped up. This discussion is ongoing. Because of the symbiotic nature of the estate, any change from one party meant that the other party would feel the consequences. Times of economic downturn meant that the estate might have to jump in and lend a helping hand. This could be done by giving reductions or allowing arrears to build up, or even by handing out foodstuffs and farming materials. If, on the other hand, the estate tried to increase its own profitability, for example by introducing new farming methods and machinery, the added costs of introduction would have to be shared between the parties, at risk of the tenants refusing adoption.

#### **How social was the estate's approach to tenantry?**

It seems that a shift of income priority from tenantry to wood sales has also meant that the estate could put more effort into maintaining relationships with its tenants. Forcible evictions have dropped over the nineteenth century, along with arrears. A better assessment of the creditworthiness of new

tenants can have something to do with this, but a more social (and less rigorous) approach would certainly have something to do with this as well.

When it came to assessing the value of regional development, the landowner would of course look at his own profits. For purpose of furthering the plans though, it seems that the public interest was certainly harnessed where useful, leading to a symbiotic relationship in this case as well. Since prospering tenants were more likely to raise the value of land and regularity of rental payment, it was in the estate's interest to make sure that the region was developed sooner rather than later. Being social could thus be very rewarding.

### **Adapting and surviving**

The Drummond estate adapted to a stronger, better organized group of tenants by shifting their income generating in a different direction. This deescalated the situation, while allowing for an increase in income. To general advancement of the region, the landowner was more than prepared to speak out in favor of regional development, though in the end his influence was not limitless. External factors made that the Perthshire region did not develop as its inhabitants would have liked. A result of this is the tendency towards small trade and handcrafting that is prevalent throughout the region. This has not limited the Drummond estate however, which is still in existence today. Adaption to changing circumstances and maintaining good relations have been crucial in this regard.

## Archival source material

### Drummond castle archive

#### White box collection

Boxes 1	1808-1882: Petition. Lord and Lady Willoughby de Eresby against James Davidson.
Boxes 4:	
-	18 October 1844: Excerpt from Minute of Meeting of Provisional Committee Scottish Central Railway, held at Perth on 18 October 1844.
-	28 October 1844: Letter concerning the Scottish Central Railway.
-	22 April 1846: Letter concerning the Scottish Central Railway.
-	17 August 1852: Account current between Lady Willoughby de Eresby and Mrs Dundas Nilson in reference to settlements of claims against the Scottish Midland Railway Company.
Boxes 8:	Copy. Proof of both parties in the complaint, Lady Willoughby and Duncan Reid.

### Drummond estate office archive

#### Financial collection

Inv. Nr. 29-45	Income ledgers for the period 1818 – 1828.
51-61	Income ledgers for the period 1831 – 1841.
80-89	Income ledgers for the period 1860 – 1869.
675	Wood book for 1865 – 1875.
817	Wood book for 1837 – 1846.

### Perth library

#### History Centre Collection

Inv. Nr. Unknown	Population census for Great Britain 1801.
Unknown	Population Census for Great Britain 1831.
Unknown	Population Census for Great Britain 1851.
Unknown	Population Census for Great Britain 1881.

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