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Policies, Brae, and Hill Grounds: A Microarchaeology of an Ochils Estate

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By KEVIN GRANT *and* MICHAEL GIVEN

SUMMARY: This paper seeks to explore life during the post-medieval period in a small part of the Ochil Hills in Perthshire, Scotland, and in doing so, demonstrates how landscape archaeology can uncover stories which reflect the complexity and nuance of life in the past. This narrow strip of land has been part of the Keltie estate since at least the 16th century. It includes a castle and policies close to the busy villages of Dunning and Auchterarder on the road to Perth, braes where an ever-changing patchwork of farming has left a palimpsest of human activity, and open hill grounds where few people now stray beyond the quad-bike tracks that cut across the landscape.

Drawing on a range of approaches, this paper explores the stories uncovered through a programme of landscape archaeology. This includes considering the dramatic changes and reformations that have shaped the landscape over recent centuries, histories of specific people and places - and the relationship between the two. It asks questions of the role of archaeology in telling these stories and considers how a variety of approaches can reveal a multitude of voices and narratives from the past.

INTRODUCTION: MICROARCHAEOLOGY AND AN OCHILS LANDSCAPE

The Ochil hills of Central Scotland are penetrated on all sides by small glens carved by burns and streams carrying water from the uplands to the straths and plains of Perthshire, Fife and Stirlingshire. Today, these uplands are very sparsely occupied, and feel remote, quiet, and 'natural'. For thousands of years they have been host to all kinds of human activity, including prehistoric forts, medieval villages, and post-medieval industry and agriculture that was part of a global network of trade. As part of the Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot (SERF) project, run by the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen from 2006 to 2017, a programme of landscape survey was undertaken on part of the Northern slopes of the Ochils (FIG. 1).

A recent publication explains in detail the method and background to the programme of walkover survey, and explores previous work in the area¹. The approach taken was interdisciplinary, using archaeological field survey, documentary research, place-name studies, and aerial photography. Although the landscape survey set out with clear research questions, the fieldwork and research progressed organically over the years. A long-term engagement with the landscape, ongoing since 2006, allowed time for reflection – rethinking and reframing the survey as excavations on the valley floor progressed and students and staff interacted with the landscape over many seasons. In this way themes and narratives were allowed to emerge naturally as we explored, rather than being led by the need to address pre-existing historical meta-narratives. The fieldwork progressed in dialogue with the other forms of research, each informing the other.

The theoretical approach mirrors that of the methodology – we set out with a well-stocked theoretical toolbox, intending to find out which would be most use as fieldwork and research progressed. A broad range of theory from landscape archaeology has therefore influenced the approach to the landscape, including representational and experiential understandings of how people interact with the environment in broad terms as well as paradigms particularly important in historical archaeology, such as that of scale². The intention was not to reconcile these ideas into a

single unified theory, but to be led by the landscape, finding contradiction or multiple viewpoints as a source of interest or insight rather than evidence of an approach being 'right' or 'wrong'.

Both the fieldwork and the documentary and cartographic research revealed particular loci of activity in the landscape that were a focus of human activity. These loci seemed to have their own biography and history closely tied with the people who lived and worked there (and with our own engagements). Seeing that these small areas had a wealth of interest, microhistory became an important tool which is central to our approach here. Microhistory first emerged in the 1970s, drawing on the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's³ concept of 'thick description' – an attempt to examine a particular event in minute detail, exploring not only the event itself but its cultural and social context and subtext, revealing wider truths about society and culture. Microhistories attempt this exercise on events in the past. It is now a developed sub-discipline⁴.

In archaeology, the microhistorical approach seems to have found particularly fertile ground in post-medieval contexts⁵ where the relatively greater amount of documentary evidence allows for detailed analysis of specific places, people, or events. Explicitly working from the specific to the general is seen as subversive of conventional histories, as 'attempting to comprehend how people in the past construed their experiences rather than how those people fit into preconceived analytical structures'⁶. This was seen as particularly important to our own approach, which seeks to avoid an overreliance on existing narratives and paradigms which have been used to consider post-medieval Scotland⁷

This paper therefore draws inspiration from microhistorical approaches in closely examining the fine detail of particular places in a case study area, rather than trying to give more comprehensive or 'complete' account of a historic landscape. Detailed narratives are presented about three areas of this strip of the Ochils, moving in steps from the immediate surroundings of the castle and its estate (referred to as its 'policies' in the historical documents) on the valley floor, to the improved pasture, and the hillgrounds of the high Ochils. At each of these stopping points, theories and paradigms of

historical landscape archaeology are drawn in to find ways of understanding how the landscape was used and understood in the past. In pulling these ideas into a narrative inspired by the approach of microhistory, we seek to create a 'microarchaeology', where close and detailed examination of the archaeological record might reveal wider insights into post-medieval Scotland. In the conclusions, we discuss the effectiveness of these ideas and consider the merits of this approach.

The case study is a single estate in Strathearn. Flowing with water from Scores Burn to Keltie Burn, a steep defile runs down the north face of the Ochil hills, with high plateaus on each side (FIG. 2). Within the parish of Dunning, it is bounded by Rossie Law to the west and the Black Hill of Kippen to the east. The steep gully of Scores Burn rises to a plateau at around 430m by Chapel Hill on the east and Black Hill on the west. Beyond, to the south is the Common of Dunning, an important communal grazing in use from at least the end of the 16th century⁸. The 3km-long cross-section traverses varying lands and their use, from the main road just outside the busy crossroads village of Dunning, to the formal gardens of Keltie castle, to the gently sloping improved fields of Baadhead farm, to the steeply sloping grazing of the abandoned Scores Farm, and finally the open ground and fences of the Ochils proper. Within, and often adhering to, these geographical boundaries is the Keltie estate – the story of the people who lived and worked there is closely entangled with that of the landscape.

POLICIES

At the northernmost end of the estate, 1.7km south-west of Dunning, lies a small three-storey L-plan house described in the *National Record for the Historic Environment* (NRHE) as a 'Laird's House'. The NRHE defines this as 'a medium-sized domestic residence of a lesser landholder c.1560–c.1750'⁹ which accords with Nigel Tranter's description of it as a 'small laird's house'¹⁰. A dormer above the door gives a date of 1600, though this is likely to have been from an earlier house. The building as it stands appears to date to 1686, according to a carved stone now inside the building¹¹. The building is in good condition and has likely changed relatively little externally since the end of the 17th century.

The first possible references to Keltie as a distinct landholding are in the mid-15th century (RMS2: 62), but the earliest references to the estate and its family are from the 16th century when 'Ringan Bonare' of Keltie is named in legal documents (GD198/225). During this tenure of the Bonar family there is the problem not only of a lack of documentary evidence but a general lack of understanding of the nature of medieval settlement in rural Scotland to contend with¹². It is not until the 18th century and later that there is sufficient evidence to begin to consider the story of Keltie castle and its owning family in the wider landscape.

KELTIE AND THE DRUMMOND FAMILY: A DESIGNED LANDSCAPE

In 1692, only shortly after the current castle was built, the estate was bought by a branch of a prominent local family, the Drummonds¹³ – literally prominent in the case of the nearby hill Drummond's Top¹⁴. It is around this period that Keltie first appears in the cartographic record, on James Stobie's map of the later 18th century, where a small standardised symbol denoting a larger house is used, rather than the bespoke treatment the illustrator has given to the nearby house of Duncrub. Similarly, Keltie is dwarfed by Duncrub on Roy's map of the mid-18th century (FIG. 3).

An evocative map of the castle and policies survives in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS) (RHP 5148) which gives a far more detailed picture of the castle and its grounds (FIG. 4). The document is undated, and the only information supplied by the NAS is that it may be 18th century. It survives in the papers of the Earls of Airlie, who inherited Keltie in 1827 after the death of Mark Drummond (GD16/27/323). Although the map is undated, a faint emendation in pencil reads 'Improved plan of the policies at Kelty Castle. The property of Major Drummond of Kelty': given that the map was prepared for the Drummond family, not the Earls of Airlie, this likely gives a terminus ante quem of 1827. A clue to the identity of Major Drummond can still be found today in the parish church of Dunning, where one of three bells in the steeple still in use is marked with the inscription:

T. Mears of London fecit. This Bell was presented to the Parish Church of Dunning by Mark Howard Drummond, Esq. of Kelty, Major of the 72nd Regiment of Albany Highlanders, in

token of his attachment to his native parish, and of his zeal to promote religious, industrious, and early habits among the parishioners.—August 3d, 1825.

It is therefore suggested that the map shows the policies as they were in the time of Major Drummond, perhaps within a decade or two of 1800 – certainly the style is similar to other examples of a very late 18th century date¹⁵.

Maps have been often been perceived as tools of the powerful, who sought to project a birds-eye view of control and organisation on the physical landscape¹⁶. In Scotland, mapping, particularly estate mapping, is strongly associated with the process of Improvement and change in rural landscape and ways of life, both in academic literature and wider culture¹⁷. This map, however belongs to the earlier tradition of mapping ornamental gardens¹⁸, where maps were intended as objects of prestige in themselves. These plans were often highly decorative, complete with drawn elevations of the buildings on the estate, coats of arms, and elaborate descriptions of the landowner's titles within ornamented cartouches¹⁹. Although far more modest, the plan of Keltie sees Drummond engaging in the fashionable elite pursuit of cartography, inscribing his taste on paper where it can be appreciated and admired.

The driveway from the north is carefully planned so that its elegant curves present a picturesque first view of the castle through the Wellingtonias and other dispersed standard trees planted across the lawn. This sweeping drive is typical of the 'fashionable informality' of Scottish landscape gardens of the late 18th century²⁰, where formal linear structures were making way for a wilder idea of landscape, based on ideas of the sublime²¹. The modern drive follows the same route, but interestingly it is not depicted on the first and second-edition Ordnance Survey maps. Instead, a straight track (also depicted on Stobie's map of 1783) runs down from the main Dunning-Auchterarder road, just east of Milhaugh, thereby avoiding the site of Keltie Mill and Wester Keltie farm. Judging by the indications of 'old lines of fences and roads' on the estate map, this swung down to the east and south of the castle and headed westwards, perhaps to join the modern track

to Baadhead, which clearly respects the 19th-century field boundaries. It then continued up to Scores Farm and beyond, where we detected traces of paths which carefully traversed the spurs and bluffs as it headed up towards the Common of Dunning (see below). The chronology, then, shows a dynamic landscape with the garden reworked in the 18th century to reflect new, picturesque ideas of landscape gardening, then returning to a more linear, functional pattern during the industrialisation of Keltie estate, only to return to the picturesque in the 20th century.

Another feature typical of this landscape gardening is the summerhouse on top of the hill in Keltie Wood, reached by a carefully meandering woodland walk. There is another excellent example of this in the next estate to the West. When this estate was taken over by the Haldane family in the 1860s, they remodelled the landscape to include a circular promenade marked on an 1862 estate map. This climbs through the woods, crosses the earthworks of the 'Pictish Camp' of Ogle Hill, and includes two summerhouses. One of these was located on the north-western edge of the Iron Age hillfort of Ogle Hill, 4.3km south-west of Keltie Castle, with broad views over the Earn. The SERF excavations in 2015 found five metal supports which were driven into the bedrock in a circular foundation measuring c. 6.4 x 4.5m. Of the 282 handmade iron nails that were discovered, some showed signs have being removed from the wood, suggesting that the summerhouse was dismantled rather than decaying on site. Clearly the structure was built of wooden planks or split logs nailed together. Sherds of bottle glass, two crown tops, cherry stones and a few ceramic sherds suggest that picnics were carried up the promenade, and eaten while enjoying the controlling view and the antique aura of the 'Pictish camp'²².

The formal, symmetrical garden on the estate map is in striking contrast to the sweeping drive and the circular promenade, and provides a foil to the wilder appearance of the rest of the gardens. Both the summerhouse and formal gardens represent another classic feature of the 18th century designed landscape where it was perceived that enclosed formal spaces represented the domestic and

feminine in contrast to the masculine wildness of nature²³. Today, an overgrown hedge and the remnants of structural box are all that remain of the formal garden.

In the late eighteenth century these policies were planned to be both picturesque and visible or at least easily accessible from castle. Adjacent to these but comparatively hidden away were the functional areas. The plan shows areas set aside for outfields and for parks, these last probably for cattle grazing. The walk to the summerhouse winds through a coppice, carefully tended productive woodland. Set discreetly away from the house is a U-shaped range of buildings described in the plan as 'office houses'. These buildings do not survive, and are absent from the first edition OS map of the area which was surveyed in 1859, suggesting perhaps that they went out of use and were robbed for other purposes or perhaps even that they were planned but never built. The simple courtyard layout is typical of planned farm and estate buildings of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, where the emphasis was on a plain, symmetrical arrangement, intended to emphasise order and utilitarianism in contrast to older, vernacular structures²⁴. Such designs reflected the ideology of Improvement, a national movement which saw building forms and designs spread through essays in journals of improving societies²⁵, as well as in 'how-to' style instruction manuals covering all aspects of agriculture for the consumption of landowners keen to stamp this new ideology on the landscape²⁶.

A close reading of the surviving archaeology and cartographic evidence paints a picture of Keltie as the home of a locally significant family very much in tune with the fashions and norms of the elite of the time. Keltie castle and grounds are not in any sense a grand example of any of these fashions, being on a more modest scale than the landscape statements made by larger estates such as Duncrub whose extensive policies are visible on Stobie's map of 1783 (FIG. 3). It does, however, show how national and international ideas penetrated across society, and across the landscape. Only one snippet of the documentary evidences gives us a picture of how the family may have been perceived locally:

The writer of the article in the Old Statistical Account of the parish (date about 1797) says: -

'The house of Keltie is not of a recent date, and is deservedly far-famed for the genuine hospitality of an open and generous-hearted family. Stories are still told of the social gatherings which used to assemble in the old castle, yet standing entire at the mouth of Keltie Den' ²⁷

Although evocative, the author of the original account may have been at pains to have painted his local benefactors in a positive light and his experience may not have been typical. However, it does suggest that the ideal of homely-ness and hospitality was aspired to.

CASH RENTS AND INDUSTRY

In 1827, after the death of Mark Drummond, the estate passed to his cousins the Ogilvies, the Earls of Airlie. A huge number of papers are available in the NRAS which cover all aspects of the Keltie Estate under the tenure of the Ogilvies and give a far more granular level of detail on the running of the estate (DG16/27/323). In the same year that they inherited, their accountant wrote to the factor of the estate encouraging him to make serious efforts to get some of the estate's arrears paid, particularly in cash (GD16/27/232). Changes to the landscape in the years following suggest ongoing efforts to make the estate profitable. Although the very picture of a quiet country estate, the location of Keltie castle in the wider landscape created significant opportunities. Nearby lies a road which travels east into the town of Dunning, an important cross-roads town that lies along a natural routeway that has been important for millennia²⁸. In the later nineteenth century, the landscape took on a new aspect which directly challenged the decorative and picturesque forms of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries and took advantage of the estate's position by this important road.

In 1863 an accessible deposit of montmorillonite or fuller's earth, a smectite-rich sedimentary clay used for fulling or cleansing woollen cloth, was discovered 350m up the Keltie Burn. Production started in 1893 by the newly-formed Scottish Fuller's Earth Company, managed locally by Bernard Rollo. A notice in the *Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* of the same year proudly noted that it possessed 'a delicate flesh tint', and boasted of the 'extensive machinery and plant for the purification of the earth'²⁹.

The quarry itself is mostly obscured by a large rocky landslide on a steep slope, though there is a very substantial and well-made track cut into the steep sides of the valley leading towards the castle. Immediately adjacent to and fully visible from the castle is the packing-house (24 x 3m) and the remains of the tank-room, which originally had five settling tanks of which three remain, now filled in as garden beds. A purpose-built light railway took the settled fuller's earth from the packing-house, under the walls of the castle and out to a farm close to Dunning. From here it went to Findony mill in Dunning to be finely ground and used locally or exported by mainline rail. Dunning itself was a centre for weaving in the mid-19th century, with 148 weavers on the 1841 census rising to 246 in 1861, almost half of the population of the town. The main challenge of the Scottish Fuller's Earth Company in the early days was the 'unwillingness of the railway companies to adjust their rates so as to place Dunning on equal terms to compete with Bath.' Its main use, that of fulling wool in the 'Castle Keltie woollen mills', continued to 1914, but its export for the pharmaceutical industry continued via 'Keltie Products Ltd' until 1938³⁰.

What is striking about this landscape is that a major industrial operation took place some 30m from the walls of the castle. The probably quiet country life of a generation or two before was replaced by the noise and smell of the fuller's earth being brought in, left in settling tanks, dug out and packed, then taken out by rail. The packing-house and tanks were built directly over the landscaped path leading towards the formal garden. All this represents a significant disruption to the landscape gardening of perhaps just a generation or two before, suggesting that the castle and gardens had

changed from a place of hospitality and expression of taste by an established local family to a secondary estate owned by a large family which was expected to earn its keep. Perhaps more fragrant but just as commercial is Keltie Mill 500m north-west of Keltie Castle. This was marked on the 1862 Ordnance Survey map, but according to a local source by the later-19th century it was used to grind locally-grown lavender to be used for lavender bags to keep clothes fresh.

After the demise of the fuller's earth industry, the area immediately south of the fuller's tanks were landscaped into an elaborate complex of paths and stone steps, returning the area to part of a landscaped garden, part of the amenities of the castle which remains today the country house of a regionally significant landowner. Over just a few generations, this landscape had been radically transformed, from formal and decorative, to a stylised, picturesque wildness, to industrial, and back to an informal landscaped garden.

BRAES

To the east of Keltie Castle is an area of improved fields, which run southwards and uphill from the farm of Wester Keltie to the farmstead of Baadhead, which was abandoned less than a generation ago (for a map see FIG. 5). The documents refer to these lands as 'braes' – a Scots word originally derived from the Gaelic '*bràigh*', meaning the upper parts. A greater amount of documentary evidence for this part of the landscape allows us to create a more detailed picture of life and change here. By the early nineteenth century the area was split between three farms: Lawbank to the west below Rossie Law; Baadhead, slightly uphill to the east; and Scores, significantly higher up on less favourable terrain. Rentals from 1840 list the extents of Baadhead, Scores and Lawbank, with land described as 'Hillground and Braes' making up a large proportion. In the case of Scores, hillgrounds made up over 90 percent of the overall land, with only a small amount of land described as 'croft' or outfield (GD16/27/323). Baadhead and Lawbank have a more balanced proportion of each type of land.

Little survives of Lawbank other than low footings (CANMORE ID 140672). The depiction on the first edition OS map shows a range of at least four rooms of irregular size and shape forming one long building, set within an irregularly shaped curvilinear enclosure and yard. Nearby field boundaries, which survive as low banks underlying the modern field divisions, also belong to this tradition and are likely contemporary with its occupation. Sites similar to Lawbank can be found across Perthshire and indeed much of rural Scotland, and would be considered typical of a 'pre-improvement' or early improvement form, likely occupied since at least the 18th century.³¹ It appears as unroofed in the first edition Ordnance Survey, surveyed in 1859. It does not appear on any census records, suggesting that it was untenanted by the census of 1841.

BAADHEAD AND THE WHYTE FAMILY

Opposite the Lawbank Burn lies the abandoned farmstead of Baadhead. It makes up a substantial complex, a far cry from the vernacular buildings of the pre-improvement period seen at Lawbank. Immediately after the Napoleonic wars, it was tenanted by William Whyte (GD16/29/164), whose family would be tenants of Baadhead until the 1880s. At the time of the census of 1851, the first in which the farm can be clearly identified, William, now 60, lived with his grown-up children William, Janet, and Jane. William Junior's occupation states 'Farmer's Son' but it seems 'Farmer's Daughter' was not considered an occupation as his sisters have none listed. William Senior is reported as being a farmer of 400 acres and employing two labourers. His farm is in the top five largest in the census of Dunning parish making the Whytes substantial tenants by 1851, not simple agricultural labourers.

In 1817, Scores Farm further up the north-facing slope of the Ochils was also held by the tenant of Baadhead, William Whyte (GD16/29/164). It was advertised for sale repeatedly from 1817 to 1820, but an owner does not appear to have been found as it remained in the hands of the Whyte family. We do not know exactly when Scores Farm was abandoned, but it appears that its abandonment gave the Whytes an opportunity. At some unknown time, perhaps upon its abandonment at the

start of the nineteenth century, Lawbank also became part of the Whyte's holdings, making them the only farmer in the entire upper part of the estate.

The census returns paint a picture of a family expanding their substantial holdings. By 1861, William, now 78, is a farmer of 500 acres employing three people including a domestic servant, Isobella Angus, ploughman Peter Miller and general servant John Boag. Ten years later William Junior has taken over the farm, living with his unmarried sister Jane, now 47, which who is described as a Housekeeper. Three servants are also living on site, one of whom is likely a domestic servant. By the 1881 census, the last in which the Whytes feature, Jane is the 55-year old head of the family. She lived on a farm of 847 acres, employing three men, with her 23-year old niece, a 16-year old domestic servant, Eliza, from Aberdeen, and Peter Miller, long-standing farm servant to the family.

There are several ways one could frame this family narrative. We could see the Whyte family as aspirational and successful whilst other farms and landholdings on the estate failed. Despite pressure from the estate to sell Scores, the Whyte family consolidated their grip on farming in the upper part of the estate, taking in the brae and hill ground above Scores and the lands of Lawbank, almost doubling the size of their holdings to become one of the most significant tenants in this small corner of Strathearn. Certainly, an interesting narrative could be spun regarding Jane Whyte. A teenager at the time of King William IV, she remained unmarried but ended up in the unusual position of being head of her household, running a substantial farm with domestic and farm labourers. Initially listed on the census as a farmer's daughter, by 1871 her brother William had inherited and Jane was now Housekeeper. Housekeeper was a paid role of some status, a direct representative of the 'mistress' of the house whose role was management, not physical labour³². In a world where many women in rural parts of Scotland could aspire to little beyond domestic drudgery, this role of managing the household affairs was one of some status and respectability. Ten years later, she is herself the head of the household and farmer of 847 acres, employer of three men and one girl, and providing for her adult niece, Mary. We can, perhaps, imagine Jane dying peacefully in

her bed at Baadhead in the home that her family had steered successfully through a turbulent century of change in rural Scotland.

It is all too easy to see a landscape where farmsteads were being abandoned as one of loss, where the people were struggling victims – to think teleologically that the process which has led to fewer people on the land must have been one of failure. This viewpoint would see William Whyte as feeling somewhat under siege. During his lifetime the immediate area, and likely much of the lower slopes of the Ochils, changed from a busy patchwork of farms with mixed economies, perhaps with long-standing traditions like the use of the Common of Dunning, to virtual abandonment in many areas. The familiar vernacular farmsteads of his neighbours were gradually abandoned as their businesses failed or were driven out by an estate keen to see cash rents paid to its new owners. We could see the evidence of the abandonment of Baadhead in the 1880s as the Whyte family becoming victims of Improvement and rationalisation of uncaring estates who simply needed, and perhaps wanted, fewer people living on the land. However, the family history gleaned from the records does not support this bleak view – and neither does the architectural history of Baadhead itself.

Much of the current configuration of the farm was in place by the 1840s and 50s. However, the layout of the farm shows that it was not laid out in a single phase, starting perhaps as a small cluster of buildings including perhaps a longer 'range'. In the 1840s the two buildings which now form the L-shaped cluster were in place. One was a purpose-built barn and byre, with hayloft at the northern end accessed from outside and a byre evidenced by the blocked ventilator. The other building also appears to have a byre end, with the other containing a large window, perhaps to allow in light and fresh air for work such as dairying. This window may have been a later addition, inserted in the later 19th or early 20th century to comply with new hygiene legislation³³.

At some point before 1859 a curved linking building was built connecting the two structures (FIG. 9). The northernmost building was remodelled into stables and cart house, with large doors and

purpose-built stalls. This may well reflect changing agricultural practice, with industrially produced ploughs and other horse-drawn machinery becoming more common. In the later 19th century a large fank was added for processing flocks of animals, taking on the function of earlier pens of earthen banks we can see on the uplands. By the late 19th century, the description of the tenants as shepherds suggests that little arable was taking place. The stables and byre are likely to have been used less and less into the 20th century, until the abandonment of the farmstead as a domestic dwelling and the use of its buildings as ancillary to the large corrugated shed, used for modern sheep and cattle farming.

Baadhead also contains evidence of architecture that is more than functional. Although the curved connecting structure linking the L-shaped buildings appears to make little sense from a practical point of view, such round buildings were a very common part of the Improved farm movement³⁴ where they were intended to reflect the rounded colonnades of classical architecture. The overall layout of the farmstead perhaps also speaks to the ideology of improvement, where a loose scatter of buildings has been turned, partly through the building of the curved extension, into a more rectangular shape enclosing a yard. In contrast to the multi-use spaces of 'pre-improvement' farms, is a clear marker of a move toward a new way of conceiving space – one that was also occurring in domestic spaces across the UK³⁵ and its colonies³⁶.

Other elements of the construction also speak to the ideology of 'High Farming' – a movement starting in the middle of the 19th century which advocated a scientific approach to farming³⁷. These include metal ventilators, custom-built cattle feeders and stalls, a large, well-ventilated hayloft, increased lighting and other hygiene measures such as whitewashing. The prominent water-pump outside the farmstead is highly decorative, with a swirling circular pattern on the flywheel perhaps designed to create a pleasing effect as it spun.

Together with the documentary evidence, the archaeology and architecture of Baadhead farm suggest that the Whyte family were more than struggling victims of processes of change in the

landscape. To some degree they embraced the ideologies of the time, changing and modernising their farm building to reflect, modestly, the ideals of the Improvers and High Farmers. Although these small features which can be read in Baadhead pale in comparison to model farms and the grand schemes of rich landowners, their expression tells us much about how the Whytes may have conceived the landscape and their place in it – and perhaps their plans for the future. What we cannot clearly say, from the evidence available and within the scope of the work undertaken in Keltie, is the extent to which such change may have been driven by orders from the estate of which the Whytes were tenants. For much of their time at Baadhead, Keltie Castle was no longer home to an aristocratic family, but factors or agents for the estate may have played a role in encouraging improvements – even if only by setting rents that the Whytes would only be able to pay by staying competitive.

HILL GROUNDS

Moving south and uphill from Baadhead farmstead, the land rises first gradually and then steeply, rising from 160m to a plateau at 300m. Whilst the land around Baadhead and Lawbank is now improved pasture with clear evidence of arable in earlier times, this natural change in topography gives a feeling of entering the uplands, particularly as the view to the north opens up and the broad flat valley of Strathearn with its neat fields of crops is laid out to the viewer. On the eastern side, a high track leads deeper into the Ochils, and likely follows an older, perhaps medieval transhumance route in the Common of Dunning³⁸.

Perhaps as a result of the less intensive use of the uplands in recent decades, at first glance the uplands give the false appearance of being 'empty', devoid of human activity. The documentary record also gives this false sense in the highest upland areas. In the earlier periods, when settlement extended higher into the uplands, fewer documents survive than do for later periods. For more recent periods, the uplands were worked by people living often at some distance, making it harder to link named individuals with particular parts of the landscape. These 'documentary uplands' mean that the archaeological remains take a greater role in understanding how people lived and worked here.

This land is part of the holdings of Scores, with over 90% of it described as 'Hillgrounds' in the sales documents of the early 19th century (GD16/27/323). At the centre of this land, on the high plateau above and to the east of the Scores Burn, lies Scores Farmstead, where at least five buildings and a corn-drying kiln are set within a revetted enclosure (FIG. 13). A dry-stone sheep fank overlies these remains, while a large and dramatic ash tree stands along the farmstead's enclosure boundary. As with Baadhead, the remains on the farmstead reveal a story of change in the uplands.

Scores farm appears on Stobie's map of 1783, suggesting a reasonably substantial and certainly noteworthy structure. Following the chronology observed by SERF in the area, and on the other side of the Ochils at Menstrie Glen, 1783 would have seen Scores undergoing a period of significant

change in land use brought about by changing farming practice, particularly increased cattle-rearing³⁹. The farmstead was abandoned by 1815 when it was advertised repeatedly for sale in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* at a cost of one pound, nine shillings and thruppence (GD16/29/164).

Plane-table survey of the farmstead in 2012 allows us to consider what this 18th century phase of the farmstead may have looked like (FIG. 14). Buildings A to D are arranged organically within an enclosure set into the deep slope. Building D has some evidence of a possible winnowing door, perhaps marking it out as a barn – its close proximity to a corn-drying kiln, set into the farmstead's enclosing embankment wall, supports this. An enigmatic building, with its thick walls and large, squaring shape, building A is assumed to have been a dwelling, although its original form is much obscured by robbing. Building C, a rectangular structure separated into two sub-sections, may represent a byre, accommodation, or both. Building B, built into the large embankment on the South of the complex, may contain the ephemeral remains of a kiln-bowl, perhaps representing a kiln-barn, several of which are contained within 18th century and earlier farmsteads at Menstrie Glen⁴⁰. This was perhaps in use when a significant amount of arable was occurring in the area of the complex.

This later-18th century farmstead lay in the midst of an intensively used landscape, with complex systems of enclosures being used for tathing – the creation of enclosures on poor soil to be manured by livestock and then used as arable, in order to win the maximum amount of produce out of this upland landscape. Although the social and economic drivers of this form of landscape use are discussed elsewhere⁴¹, it is worth considering how this affected people's relationship with the surrounding land. Such intensive use would require, and create, a deeply detailed knowledge and understanding of the landscape: each fold in the land; the way that water drained off the hills; slight changes in fertility created by soil and weathering processes; and memories of previous land uses and their continuing effects. Those who inhabited Scores in the eighteenth century had a close and intimate knowledge of the surrounding land, despite it being dismissed as unproductive hill-ground just a generation later.

At least one, or perhaps two, further phases of change can be seen at Scores. Building E, a range over 25m long, separated into three compartments, is a difficult structure to interpret. It overlies building C, confirming it is of later date, and is of a more regular, dry-stone construction than the earlier buildings, whose tumbled banks perhaps suggest turf and stone construction. There is no evidence of entrances, although these may have been blocked up later. It is significantly narrower than buildings A and C, and is subdivided unequally, with one subdivision 13m long and two smaller. This is quite an unusual arrangement in the area, where more equal sub-divisions are more common for farmsteads of this period⁴². The longer shape of the main subdivision may mark it out as having a particular use, perhaps managing animals. A byre for cattle may be a possibility, given the other evidence for cattle management in the landscape, but another possibility is a sheep house.

Sheep houses, used for housing sheep at night, are seen in Scotland from the 17th century, but most were constructed in the early 19th century, when several particularly harsh winters revived interest in the structures⁴³. With a lack of documentary evidence for the use and occupation of Scores Farm, we have to look to nearby parallels. In Menstrie Glen, where the surviving documents do allow for a more detailed understanding of how the landscape was used, at least five sheep houses are referred to in 18th century documents, and two were identified at Ashentool and Loss during survey work by RCAHMS⁴⁴. The one at Ashentool, with three compartments and lack of any obvious entrances, is similar in character to structure E; its dimensions of 12.2m by 3.1m internally almost exactly match those of the largest compartment of structure E at 12.8 by 3m. The location of structure E, near the upper edge of what was presumably in the infield area, is also typical of those found at Menstrie Glen. Structure E may therefore represent an early stage of sheep farming at Scores, when arable and cattle raising had declined. This may have occurred after control of the land moved to the Whytes at Baadhead. Without people living at Scores many of the more intensive elements of farming practice may no longer have been possible. However, a lack of documents which discuss extensive sheep farming means this is speculative.

Sheep houses generally fell out of favour by the mid to late nineteenth century as sheep breeds became hardier⁴⁵ and were often replaced with open sheepfolds to provide shelter from harsh weather. Certainly, that is what happened at Scores, where a large dry-stone sheep fank was built into the structure, incorporating the walls of the earlier buildings and putting these out of use (FIG. 14; FIG. 15). Records in the estate papers contain a receipt for the construction of the sheepfold in 1818 (GD16/29/164/1). In 1859 the Ordnance Survey recorded the sheepfold, but the buildings must have already been reduced to low footings, and their use may have already been beyond living memory. A small twinning pen, used to bond fostered lambs with ewes through close confinement, gives some idea of how the fank was used, with small numbers of shepherds tending sheep, particularly during lambing season. A lack of documents means that we know the names of none of the shepherds or their families, and it is hard to know what their experience may have been like here. However, the field archaeology does suggest a substantial change in how the farmstead was used: a people-intensive and complex system of farming and life on the uplands was replaced with a low intensity regime of grazing over the course of just a couple of generations, and perhaps suddenly.

Moving further up the hillside, as the land slopes up steeply to the south of Scores Burn, the earthen banks and pens which characterise the period when the uplands saw intensive use peter out. On these highest uplands, there is little evidence of human activity beyond the boundaries which mark the divisions of the land. In Menstrie Glen, archival sources show that many stone march-dykes were built in the 1760s⁴⁶. References to such boundaries on the Keltie estate appear early and then frequently in the estate papers. A receipt from 1818 describes the building and maintaining of 'march dykes', land divisions on the uplands, most of which are still in use today. These documents confirm that the small quarries to be found on the uplands are related to the construction of these stone dykes. Our survey demonstrated the quarries were characteristically less than 100m from the stone dykes: this was especially clear on Casken Hill. Such work was undertaken by a combination of local tenants and professional dykers who then billed the estate for their labours. There appears to

have been a constant process of repair and maintenance to these structures, suggesting they were an important part of how the landscape was used and managed.

Sheep farming was clearly prevalent on the uplands by 1818, when the Scores Farm sheepfold was constructed. The dykes and land division can also be seen as part of this process; they are well-maintained walls which are intended to enclose animals as much as mark boundaries. Although requiring frequent repair and bringing people periodically to the uplands, these boundaries represent a more passive form of farming than what may have gone before, where animals are left to range openly with little intervention for long periods.

The first wire fences recorded in the documents are from 1847, marking the division between Keltie and Knowes (GD16/29/164/8). The continuity of boundaries being expressed in different physical forms consists of the four adjacent phases of this very straight boundary (US122; FIG. 16). The original dry stone wall was later raised by a series of short iron fence posts on top with an interval of 2.45–2.75m. Beside it are two generations of fence posts, the most recent constructed in 2008, with a very clearly metric interval of 2m between posts. The latest barbed wire fences, made of mass produced timbers and fittings, appear very modern, but it is worth noting that some of the fences in place today mark boundaries that were already long in place by the 12th century⁴⁷. Although the land they enclose is used and occupied in very different ways, of all the structures in the Ochils they are likely have had the longest period of continuous use.

DISCUSSION: MICROARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO AN OCHILS LANDSCAPE

It was always the intent of the landscape survey that the fieldwork should be in dialogue with the historical and documentary research, but it has also been in dialogue with the theoretical approaches of those involved and of previous approaches to the place and period. Recent reviews of the archaeology of post-medieval Scotland have shown that interpretation has often been driven by questions from other disciplines which foreground national historical and economic processes rather than individual agency and regional difference⁴⁸.

Since the start of the 21st century, a small movement in Scottish post-medieval archaeology has sought to question these wider historical narratives through approaches contrasting local case studies and lived experience with national experience. These have drawn on a broad range of theoretical models: empirical landscape archaeology combining fieldwork and a wide range of resources to understand land-use and change⁴⁹; critical economic history⁵⁰; considering the impact of family and individual biographies on settlement change⁵¹; post-colonial archaeology⁵²; Modern and contemporary politics⁵³; historical ethnography⁵⁴; vernacular architecture⁵⁵; and experiential approaches⁵⁶.

What ties many of these works together is a focus on the small-scale and the particular, the belief that examining landscapes and places in detail can reveal new stories or interesting viewpoints. This is in contrast with many of most influential works in the wider historical study of the period⁵⁷ whose general models have often set the direction of archaeological enquiry. Many of the themes and ideas present in these approaches also emerge in this study.

NARRATIVES AND BINARIES

At the most basic level, many of the changes in the case study area are in line with well-accepted historical narratives of change in rural Scotland, such as improvement and industrialisation. The broad story is one of a gradual move from intensive agricultural activity in the uplands, areas previously occupied by small farmsteads with mixed economies, to grazing, particularly to sheep. Significant depopulation of much of the uplands also occurred, with farming of these areas passing to a small number of consolidated farms. Certainly, there is nothing in our microhistory which refutes any of these narratives. What our case study offers is a local and contextual account of how some of these historical narratives played out in this part of Perthshire⁵⁸, giving a chronology for these changes that helps to add to resolution and variability to narratives of national change that can smooth out local difference.

The ScARF Modern panel encourages us to ‘localise, contextualise and, in doing so, problematise historical abstraction’⁵⁹. In this case study, family history has proved useful in doing so, for example in challenging the idea of abandonment. Certainly, many people left the land, often never to return. The story of the Whyte family, however, reminds us that land was often not abandoned, but rather changed its tenancy and use. The retraction of arable farming from the uplands of the Ochils was for the Whyte family an expansion, allowing them to extend their holdings and increase grazing at a time when farming was moving away to more reliance on grazing⁶⁰. This story of consolidation also played out on the other side of the Ochils in Menstrie Glen, although perhaps a generation earlier⁶¹, showing just how much variation can be found even within a single region.

Binary opposites have often dominated the study of post-medieval Scotland, such as a perceived opposition between landlord and tenant, which has often reduced groups to homogenous caricatures⁶². The story of the Whyte family and their land provides an interesting challenge to this. During the early period of tenancy, the estate sought repeatedly to sell Scores, depriving them of important grazing land. On the other hand, they also benefitted greatly from the failure of their neighbours’ farms, consolidating their holdings and rising to become substantial farmers with servants of their own. The owners of the Keltie estate in many ways play up to the role of the chief-turned-landlord by seeking to replace inherited responsibilities and land with revenue-raising estates, but we also see them engaging in attempts at industry, taking advantage of local and national commercial opportunities. Historical models sometimes attempt to explain the process of grand historical change in ways which can be teleological, and de-emphasise individual action⁶³. This case study shows multiple agents in the landscape across the social scale engaging in their own economic strategies, often at the expense of others – a situation also revealed by other close case studies of change in the post-medieval rural landscape⁶⁴.

A challenge in this case study, as is often the case, is the absence in the documentary record of the largest portion of society – the labourers themselves. Their view points and stories rarely survive in

the archaeological record, making it hard to understand the motivations and experience of this social group, as well as their relationships to tenants, landlords, and landscape change. We do have references to the farm servants and domestic servants of the Whytes in Baadhead, and can appreciate their landscape and social context, even if we cannot access their specific experiences of life on the Keltie estate. On the rare occasions where this level of study has been possible⁶⁵, it has revealed how individual lives and families shape the landscape as well as the structures and buildings which now form part of the archaeological record.

Another crucial binary opposite is that between pre- and post-improvement landscapes. All too often these are used as period terms, useful in separating chapters in a book⁶⁶ but suggesting an overly simplistic model of change. In this specific case study, farmsteads like Scores and Baadhead show constant changes of use, both gradual and sudden, from an ever-changing pattern of tathing enclosures to sudden abandonment. This paper then joins the growing body of work demonstrating more nuanced understandings which emphasise variety and complexity over simplistic models⁶⁷.

IDEOLOGIES

In seeking to focus on local practice and local case studies, we must not forget that national, even international, ideologies influenced people's actions and experiences. This case study has shown the depth to which some ideologies penetrated Scotland's countryside at many social levels. In some cases there is clear evidence of ideas and ideologies being *applied* to the landscape, albeit local expressions of these ideas, shaped by local people and conditions as much by global forces.

The designed landscape of Keltie castle expresses Enlightenment ideas through its landscaping, particularly in its classical tendencies and interest in the sublime. This paper does not comprise an in-depth reading of a landscaped garden, which has been very successfully undertaken elsewhere⁶⁸, but many of the classic features of enlightened landscape gardening can be found at Keltie. Sublime beauty is expressed by the siting of a summerhouse and the carefully planned 'meandering' paths that lead you there; the wild and the ordered are juxtaposed in a flower garden, and an approach

road allows glimpses of your destination as it winds through the carefully located trees. The architecture of the buildings proposed for the estate also reflect classical ideas of architecture, with ordered courtyards and symmetrical, planned layouts which contrasted with earlier vernacular traditions. Although on a smaller scale than many of the great houses of Scotland, in performing this expensive practice they would have shown themselves as just as much members of the elite as their richer, more influential peers and neighbours.

The 'ideology' of Improvement certainly seems to be present in the landscape in the form of the use of space and architecture at both Keltie and Baadhead. 'Improvement' can be a problematic term in the study of the post-medieval rural landscape as it is not necessarily a useful tool for understanding how people experienced change across a wide range of places and across long periods of time. However, there is no doubt that the elite, at least, would have conceived of and discussed an 'ideology' of Improvement, an ethic that influenced their decisions, long-term plans, and their attitudes toward their estates and tenants⁶⁹. Certainly, there were a huge range of books and pamphlets being circulated by improving societies such as the Board of Agriculture with the express intent of pushing this ideology forward⁷⁰, even offering prizes to encourage experimentation (e.g. GD112/12/12, GD201/6/39 1810).

Some of their ideas certainly appear to have influenced the landscape in ways we can see today. The instruction from the Ogilvie family accountant to the factor of the day to increase cash rents may represent at least an awareness of the potential for changes to agricultural practice to increase cash yields. By then, there may have already been some experimentation on the estate, with the use of sheep houses to protect the animals which many estates saw as a source of increased profits. The gradual re-ordering of Baadhead from a cluster of vernacular buildings to a courtyard farm complete with architectural flourishes and features to improve hygiene is also evidence of changing ideas. These elements show that ideologies encouraged and proselytized in London committee rooms were reaching deep into the countryside, and across the social scale.

DWELLING AND WORKING

The evidence from this landscape study also gives us some ideas how people lived and worked the land, and perhaps how they conceived of it. ScARF encourages us to 'explore the reciprocal relationship between people and place and the practices through which places were lived and inhabited'⁷¹. A dwelling perspective ⁷² may be useful here. This idea suggests that it is by dwelling in the landscape, by doing and engaging, that the world becomes meaningful. The linked concept of taskscape, which suggests understandings of landscape are created by the tasks people undertook in them, often repeatedly, is useful to the archaeologists as these tasks often leave archaeological evidence.

The path up to the summerhouse on top of the hill in Keltie Wood or on Ogle Hill created the experience of climbing, of physical effort being expended in the environment, giving a feeling of scale and visceral engagement with the topography of what was seen as a 'sublime' or 'natural' landscape. The Improvement and scientific ideas which encouraged specialised buildings created environments at Baadhead Farm which were new and particular – the experience of light sloping through the vents in the byre, the sounds and smells of cleaning out stone and cement drains. Working in these environments would have created new understandings of the space and the world, which were in striking contrast to previous spaces in earlier vernacular farms.

The incomplete nature of both the archaeological record and the documentary sources made it challenging to understand the lives of the common people who worked on the land, although some broad conclusions can be made about how that experience changed over time. The complex systems of tathing and seasonal and periodic cultivation and grazing at Scores are the remains of a taskscape in which the inhabitants of the farmstead engaged intimately with every slope and fold of the landscape, using a detailed knowledge of local conditions to draw crops and grazing from the land. The wire fences on the uplands today represent a more passive relationship with the land, where tasks occur infrequently, along a small number of quadbike tracks, and sheep graze independently

much of the time. Such varied engagements with the landscape would have engendered very different understandings of it, understandings that are much more difficult to evidence and harder to explain than the elite ideologies which have left a large literature in their wake. It needs a close reading of landscape to acquire even a glimpse of how people lived, worked, and created the landscape in this corner of the Ochils.

SCALE, LANDSCAPE AND MICROHISTORY

One of the key questions of post-medieval archaeology, and indeed of landscape archaeology, is the relationship between ideologies of landscape and individual practice and action, as outlined in ScARF modern panel theme two – Reformations. A related issue which is of importance for the global practice of Historical Archaeology is that of scale, the relationship between wider global trends and the local and particular⁷³. One aspect of this issue of scale might be understanding how global economic trends drove local change and practice in a place like the Ochils⁷⁴. As we have seen, ideas and ideologies also operate at different scales. Orser recommended a dialectical approach to this question, an approach also suggested by ScARF⁷⁵, where there is a dialogue between scales and where approaches should find inspiration and interest by moving between and across scales. It is suggested here, and elsewhere⁷⁶, that the concept of landscape can be useful in understanding these issues at both a theoretical and methodological level.

There are a great many approaches to landscape which have influenced the SERF project as a whole. Representational approaches see landscape as a ‘text’ which can be read to reveal cultural understandings⁷⁷. The plan of the landscaped gardens of Keltie is a literal representation of these cultural understandings, and a good illustration of these ideas. This approach would also see Keltie and Baadhead as Enlightenment, Improvement, and High Farming writ large on the landscape: the landscape of sublime gardens, ordered farmsteads and scientific application allows us to read into the cultural and social ideas of those who lived and worked there.

Materialist approaches to landscape, however⁷⁸, would suggest that it is a fallacy to think that culture has an ontological existence⁷⁹: only action and practice in the landscape are real, hence our understandings of landscape are created through daily practice across the landscape. More recently, non-representational theory has sought to bridge the gap between representational understandings of landscape and those of dwelling⁸⁰. This suggests that representations are in and of the landscape – ideas, symbols and ideologies are not abstract concepts to be imposed but effects to be experienced and shaped by direct engagement with the environment. As we have discussed, there are many places where we see lived experience in dialogue with culture and ideology, where global ideas meet local understandings, decisions, and individual views of the world. It is these dialogues and relationships that are inscribed in the landscape for us to see, not simply a set of ideologies.

CONCLUSION: MICRO-ARCHAEOLOGIES OF LANDSCAPE

All of the many ideas of landscape discussed in the previous section, even when contradictory, have influenced the approach taken in this article. It is in the dialogue between these ideas, and between the different scales at which they operate, that complex and nuanced understandings may be found which mirror the complexities, often contradictions, of everyday life and landscape.

The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework encourages us to ‘produce micro-archaeologies which develop observations about cultural and social trends from individual life stories’⁸¹. The case study here, which presents elements of microhistory and interweaves the stories of both place and people, is an attempt to do so. It is hoped that it has been successful in revealing themes of wide significance from close study of the local and particular.

There are, of course, challenges with a micro-archaeological approach as presented here. One is the requirement for a richness of evidence to produce granular detail. By necessity, this will leave gaps – what were the names of the people who lived and worked at Scores? Who were the Keltie estate factors who worked with the Whyte family over two generations of farming? What roles did the upland shepherds play and what was their relationship with the farmers below? These gaps will

often widen both as we go further back in time and move away from the people and places that generated the most paperwork. Microhistory also lacks 'comprehensiveness'. A statistical analysis of landholding, output, and population across a wide area of the Ochils would no doubt reveal much about social processes and change, as well as reveal variations between estates and areas.

Microhistories are in a sense unapologetically incomplete and uncomprehensive: they are intended as snapshots which are in dialogue with larger-scale approaches, not in opposition to them.

In our explicit consideration of scale, we have aimed to demonstrate that a microhistorical approach can be a strikingly fruitful one when looking at the complex entanglements of the local and global to be found in many post-medieval landscapes. 'Micro-archaeologies' such as the one we present here can provide a grounding effect, tying theoretical and historical concepts and narratives closely to real places and people. We have also that this paper shows that an archaeological approach, particularly that of landscape archaeology, can enrich understandings of life in Scotland's modern rural landscapes.

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NOTES

- ¹ Given et al. 2019, 3-4, see also Given 2020
- ² Orser 2009
- ³ Geertz 1973
- ⁴ Ginzburg, Tedeschi, and Tedeschi 1993, Levi 2001, Walton, Brooks, and DeCorse 2008
- ⁵ Yentsch 1994, Wilkie 2004, Corbin 2001, Beaudry 2008
- ⁶ Beaudry 2008, 176
- ⁷ Given et al. 2019, 107
- ⁸ Given et al. 2019, 18
- ⁹ HES N.D.
- ¹⁰ Tranter 1963, 124-5
- ¹¹ HES N.D
- ¹² Dalglish 2002, 485
- ¹³ Wilson 1906, 120
- ¹⁴ McNiven 2016, 18
- ¹⁵ Gibson 2007, 22, Fleet, Wilkes, and Withers 2012, 134
- ¹⁶ Delle 1998, Wylie 2007, 121-130, Aldred and Lucas 2019
- ¹⁷ Glendinning and Martins 2008, Friel 1981
- ¹⁸ Gibson 2007, 16-17
- ¹⁹ e.g. Fleet, Wilkes, and Withers 2012, 135
- ²⁰ Fraser 2017, 156
- ²¹ Gibson 2007, 17
- ²² Poller 2015, 15–16, 20
- ²³ Fraser 2017, 172-3
- ²⁴ Glendinning and Martins 2008, 28-30, 45
- ²⁵ Glendinning and Martins 2008, 31
- ²⁶ Stephens 1842
- ²⁷ Wilson 1906, 120
- ²⁸ Given et al. 2019
- ²⁹ Trade 1893, 477
- ³⁰ Robertson 1986, 226
- ³¹ RCAHMS 1994, 1990, RCAHMS and Historic Scotland 2002, 25-29, Cowley and Harrison 2001, Glendinning and Martins 2008, 8-12
- ³² Jay 2005, 247-251
- ³³ Glendinning and Martins 2008, 89
- ³⁴ Glendinning and Martins 2008 e.g. figs. 2.19, 2.31.
- ³⁵ Mackie 2008, 2006
- ³⁶ King 2006, Delle 1999
- ³⁷ Glendinning and Martins 2008, 75-77
- ³⁸ Given et al. 2019, 91-92
- ³⁹ Cowley and Harrison 2001, 26-29, Given et al. 2019
- ⁴⁰ Cowley and Harrison 2001, 37
- ⁴¹ Given et al. 2019, 103-5
- ⁴² Cowley and Harrison 2001, 37
- ⁴³ Callandar 1988, 3-4
- ⁴⁴ Cowley and Harrison 2001, 60
- ⁴⁵ Callandar 1988, 4
- ⁴⁶ Cowley and Harrison 2001, 50

- ⁴⁷ Rogers 1992, 292-4
- ⁴⁸ Bezant and Grant 2016, Dalglish 2009, 2003
- ⁴⁹ Cowley and Harrison 2001, Boyle 2003, Atkinson 2016
- ⁵⁰ Adamson 2014
- ⁵¹ Campbell 2009, Geddes and Grant 2015
- ⁵² Given 2004
- ⁵³ Dalglish 2010, Ascherson 2002
- ⁵⁴ Symonds 2000, 1999a, b, Gazin-Schwartz 2001, Grant 2019 2014
- ⁵⁵ Mackie 2008, 2006
- ⁵⁶ Lelong 2000, Grant 2018
- ⁵⁷ Devine 1994, Dodgshon 1998, Hunter 1976, MacInnes 1996
- ⁵⁸ as discussed in Given et al. 2019, 107
- ⁵⁹ Dalglish and Tarlow 2012
- ⁶⁰ Given et al. 2019, 99-105
- ⁶¹ Cowley and Harrison 2001, 29
- ⁶² Dalglish 2002, 492
- ⁶³ e.g. Dodgshon 2000
- ⁶⁴ e.g. Adamson 2014, Boyle 2003
- ⁶⁵ Geddes and Grant 2015, Campbell 2009
- ⁶⁶ e.g. Glendinning and Martins 2008, Cowley and Harrison 2001
- ⁶⁷ Cameron 2001, Geddes and Grant 2015, Adamson 2014, Campbell 2009, Dalglish 2003, Worth 2021 forthcoming
- ⁶⁸ Fraser 2017, Rhodes 2021
- ⁶⁹ McKichan 2008, Tarlow 2007
- ⁷⁰ Board of Agriculture of Great Britain 1806
- ⁷¹ Dalglish and Tarlow 2012, 7.2
- ⁷² Ingold 1993
- ⁷³ Orser 2009
- ⁷⁴ Given et al. 2019
- ⁷⁵ Dalglish and Tarlow 2012, 3.5
- ⁷⁶ Bezant and Grant 2016, Dalglish 2009, Dalglish and Tarlow 2012
- ⁷⁷ Cosgrove and Daniels 1988
- ⁷⁸ Wylie 2007, 99-102
- ⁷⁹ Mitchell 1995, 110
- ⁸⁰ Thrift 1996, 1999, Lorimer 2008
- ⁸¹ Dalglish and Tarlow 2012, 4.2

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LIST OF FIGURE CAPTIONS

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. View looking south-east during fieldwork in 2010 across the Thorter Burn, down Scores Den (ravine in middle ground) to Keltie Wood, with Strathearn beyond. The single ash tree marking Scores Farm is visible on the left. (Michael Given)

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Location map showing the context of the research and places mentioned in the text (Oscar Aldred licence (© Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252))

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Extract from maps by William Roy (mid-18th century) showing Keltie.

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Map of the policies of Keltie Castle, c. 1800 (south is at the top). Key: 'References. 1 Upper Cuthil outfield. 2 Barnyard park, 3 Kelly Castle, 4 Garden. 5 Ground for flower Garden. 6 West side of Morrishill & Fore park. 8 South park. 9 Band park. 10 Coppice wood. 11 Summer house. 12 Office Houses. old lines of fences and roads. 13 Pyat hill. A. Gorrie des.' (RHP 5148)

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Map of Keltie policies, Baadhead and Rossie Law. Dunning is just off the map to the north-east. The black rectangle marks the location of the estate map in FIG. 5. (Oscar Aldred © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252))

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Keltie Castle gradually revealed from the curving driveway, seen here from the south-east

FIG. Error! Main Document Only.. Former packing-house for the fuller's earth operation, with the settling tanks raised up immediately beyond, and the quarry 350m up the wooded hillside behind

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Baadhead from Rossie Law, looking east in 2012. Keltie Burn runs from right to left through the wooded area in the centre of the photo, with Keltie Castle and policies just off the photo to the left. Lawbank farm is just out of site behind the trees in the bottom left.

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Elevation of interior curved section of Baadhead farmstead, looking west, showing entrance and windows. A blocked ventilation hole can be seen in the building on the right.

FIG. 10. Sketch plan of Baadhead farmstead. (Kevin Grant)

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** NW elevation of Baadhead bard and byre, showing curved wall on the right. The straight joint is clearly visible in the wall, roughly where the wooden fence meets the building.

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Pump at Baadhead Farm

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Scores Farm marked by enclosure and ash tree, looking south-west across Scores Burn, with turf-banked enclosures visible on both sides of the burn and Piperstones Hill in the background. (Michael Given)

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Plane table survey of Scores Farmstead, 2012 (Kevin Grant)

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Looking north-west toward Strathearn with the sheepfold of Scores Farmstead in the foreground.

FIG. **Error! Main Document Only.** Successive boundaries on the eastern marches of Keltie estate: stone dyke; metal fence-posts on top; modern fence with wooden posts (US122) (Michael Given)