THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS
OF RURAL TRADESPEOPLE IN SCOTLAND

With specific reference to Lowland Perthshire,
c.1750 - c.1950.

Volume I.

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PhD
University of Edinburgh
1990
For Anna.
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and is the product of my own work.

Signed:                      Date: 23.12.90.
This thesis investigates the economic and social geography of small scale craft producers and production in the context of a rural area of Lowland Scotland. The study area and time period chosen were Lowland Perthshire, c.1750-c.1950.

Chapter One presents a summary of evidence which points to the likely importance of the trades in rural Scotland in an historical context. This chapter also outlines the main features of the study area.

Chapter Two details the methodological considerations necessary for this study, assesses the sources used, and describes the methods adopted.

In Chapters Three and Four the importance of the trades in long term change in the countryside is illustrated. Chapter Three focuses on the period of the agricultural Improvements, c.1750-c.1849., and examines both the effects of change on the craft sector and the tradespeople, and also assesses the role of the tradespeople as agents of change. Chapter Four develops a picture of the form of craft production in the nineteenth century, and focuses on the economic aspects. A quantitative analysis of changing numbers in the craft sector is also presented for 1861-1940.

The economic theme is continued in Chapter Five which focuses on the involvement of the small scale producers in the credit system. The importance of credit in production is considered, as is the spatial availability of credit and how this varied over time.

Chapter Six turns the focus of attention to the social characteristics of the trades by examining the role of the family in small scale production. In addition, features such as family size, structure and the occupations of family members are discussed.

Social characteristics are further examined in Chapter Seven. While the small master tradespeople can be assigned as part of a petite bourgeoisie group in structural terms, it is necessary to assess whether such a class can be isolated on the grounds of social relationships and values. Features such as servant holding, the social relations of the credit system, formal organisation among masters and operatives, and local politics are examined to this end.

In the conclusion, Chapter Eight, the main points of the thesis are summarised. It is concluded that the tradespeople formed an important socio-economic group.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people who must be thanked for their assistance in completing this thesis. Firstly, my thanks must go to my supervisors Ian Morrison and Bob Morris. Their behaviour has been a credit to their professionalism - if only all post-graduates could receive the same interest and attention.

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Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

My grandfather, Harry Young, was born in the Perthshire village of Methven, on the twenty eighth of September, 1898. His memories of his childhood in that village, taking in as it did the early years of the twentieth century, include an appreciation of the great range of village trades and shopkeepers.

There was Alexander Johnstone the baker, who provided Harry with his first job, as delivery boy. Robert Donaldson built carriages, and hired one out to Harry's own father who travelled to earn his livelihood as a molecatcher. James Anderson owned the smiddy where Harry would go after (or instead of) school. Andrew Bullions ran a grocery business and provided lodgings for Harry's brother-in-law (a blacksmith). My great-great-grandfather, Archie Young, was a rival grocer to Bullions. As most reminiscences of Scottish rural life suggest, even in the early twentieth century the village tradespeople appeared as important figures in the local economy and society.¹

An engineering apprenticeship started in 1912 at the Cromwellpark works on the River Almond introduced him to the ranks of the skilled workers in one of Perthshire's many textile factories. The apprenticeship was interrupted by the First World War, followed by a spell of unemployment in Glasgow, which led Harry back to Perthshire to look for work. Back in Methven, he took up in the molecatching trade with his father and uncle, and continued after they retired. The trade made him a well known figure in the district, at least as 'the molie'.

In 1930 he married Isabella Gorrie, the daughter of Maxwell Gorrie, a master tailor. Maxwell had his own business in the village of Pitcairngreen, and was a fine boardwalk singer. His fund raising concerts for the Luncarty Temperance Hotel were his undoing, however, as the amount of free drink with which the band was plied caused him to succumb to alcoholism.

On marriage, Harry moved to the village of Pitcairngreen where he has since lived for sixty years, catching moles until the 1960s. Molecatching was supplemented by harvest work, working as a postman and in a filling station, and cultivating garden produce. His long residence in the village involved him in the Village Committee, and he is still a Church Elder.

A sketch of one individual's life, then, introduces a study of the economic and social geography
of the rural trades in Lowland Perthshire. It is a life, however, which reflects much of the experience of those in the trades, both in rural Scotland and elsewhere. In his experience, a period of waged employment preceded one of working 'on own account', and he followed his father into a trade. In the context of the rural labour market the following of multiple occupations was necessary to make a living, and occupational mobility involved movement not only from employee to self-employment, but a change of occupation as well. Marriage involved interaction within the trade sector, a sector in which temperance often made all the difference between a comfortable living, and a living much less so. Geographical stability within village society provided the opportunity of involvement in local social institutions.

As will be seen, the key events of one rural tradesman's life point to many of the features that were characteristic of the experience of those engaged in the rural trades.

The important point here is that all this took place in the twentieth century, and in close proximity to Perth, one of the ten largest cities in Scotland in terms of population. As has been noted of the late nineteenth century

"the experience of rural society...concerned a diminishing proportion of the people of Scotland, but it was still the way of life found in a large part of the country...[and] the rural experience
had a political and social importance far beyond any quantitative evaluation of its significance."²

An important part of that rural experience, as has been suggested, was the presence of the rural trades. It is possible to assess the numerical significance of the crafts within the study area of Lowland Perthshire. Figure 1.1 shows a list of the types of occupations considered in this thesis, and the frequency of their occurrence in a sample drawn from six villages in Lowland Perthshire.³ The two hundred and fifty one tradespeople enumerated comprised twenty six percent of the occupied village population. The semi-industrialised handloom weavers comprised a further nineteen percent of the occupied population in the villages, giving the craft sector a total representation of forty five percent.⁴ Including the agricultural labour force in the calculation, the craft sector still accounted for sixteen percent of the occupied population.⁵ In 1891, considering Perthshire as a whole (but excluding Perth City) the crafts accounted for thirteen percent of the occupied


³See Chapter Two, Section 2.4.1.

⁴S.R.O, census enumerator's books sample, 1851.

⁵Ibid.; see also Chapter Seven, Figure 7.1.
**Figure 1.1**

**Numbers in trades in Lowland Perthshire Villages, 1851**

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<td>Brewer</td>
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<td>Carpenter</td>
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<td>Flesher</td>
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<td>Gardener</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harness maker</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joiner</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molecatcher</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meal miller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millwright</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riddle maker</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sawmiller</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocking knitter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winder</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 251

Percentage of occupied population 26

Source: Census enumerator’s books sample, 1851.
population.⁶

Yet despite this numerical significance, within the literature regarding the economic and social history of rural Scotland there is a notable lack of academic work on this group. Studies of sixteenth and seventeenth century rural society and agriculture have certainly noted the presence of, and suggested the importance of, the trades.⁷ However, most work has tended to focus upon the agricultural labour force when considering the period of the agricultural Improvements and the nineteenth century.⁸

Most of these works are of course general ones on rural topics, and cannot be expected to cover all areas in detail. However, the references which they make to the craft sector in rural Scotland are worth attention. They draw attention to two main structural changes.

⁶P.P., CVIII, 1893. Census. pp. 88-94, 466-71, 582-5, 793-6; see also Chapter Seven, Figure 7.2.


Firstly, they note the increase in the demand for the products and services of the craft sector during the period of the agricultural Improvements. Secondly, they draw attention to the decline of the rural trades due to improvements in transport and the expansion of the markets of factory produced goods. In these cases, however, those engaged in the trades are seen as objects of change, and little is said of their role as agents of change. In addition, it is reasonable to suspect that such changes varied in their effect on individual crafts.

The literature is particularly lacking with respect to the social characteristics of the trades. Much attention has been paid to the changing social positions of, and relations between, landowners, capitalist farmers, and farm servants and day labourers. The focus upon these groups is of course valid. However, with the movement of former sub-tenants and cottars to newly created villages, important sub-


10 For example, Whittington, op cit, p. 157; Campbell and Devine, op cit, p. 48; Cameron, op cit, pp. 153, 156.

groups were also preserved in the social structure. Among these were the tradespeople. These groups occupied a new position (in structural terms at least) as village dwellers and sometimes owners of small property. Recent research has in fact noted the survival and importance of other intermediary groups in nineteenth century rural Scotland.¹²

The few studies of the rural trades in Scotland do indeed point to their economic and social importance. Sprott's chapter¹³ presents a very useful introduction. He points from mainly qualitative evidence to several of the features of the trades mentioned above; examines the tradespeoples' role as agents of action to a greater extent; and notes the varying experience of different trades. In some cases he points to topics which require further quantitative research, such as geographical or occupational mobility, and provides useful qualitative evidence to show why these points are important. In others, such as the role of women in craft production, he falls into the trap of repeating stereotyped views of the trades without thorough substantiation.


¹³Sprott, op cit.
Cameron's chapter, which focuses on the north-east lowlands, covers similar topics. However, he makes the interesting suggestion that the tradespeople, as village dwellers, formed part of a society which was peripheral to the farmtouns. Interaction did occur frequently between the two, however, and the necessary economic contacts were also opportunities for social interaction. The function of the craft workshops as meeting places in the community, and of travelling tradespeople visiting farms, suggests an interesting linking role for those engaged in the trades in the local community.

Gauldie's volume on the Scottish country miller shows the importance in social and economic terms of one particular trade in the rural setting. In addition to providing much factual information, it serves to highlight the importance of the interaction of the trade with the agricultural sector, and to illustrate the social distinctiveness that the following of a trade could confer. Again, qualitative evidence is presented where quantitative could have been used as substantiation, such as the discussion of marriage patterns or occupational continuity between generations. However, this valuable qualitative

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14 Cameron, op cit.
evidence points the way to further research. The rural handloom weavers are given a comprehensive coverage in Murray's volume for the period 1790-1850.\textsuperscript{16}

Two other studies point to similar features. Heaton's work on agricultural smithing in the Kippen area\textsuperscript{17} using oral tradition again shows the importance of the trades to the agricultural sector. Somerville's edited volume of the diary of two Peeblesshire masons highlights the vital importance of such tradesmen in the fundamental changes in landscape, settlement, housing and transport which occurred during the agricultural Improvements.\textsuperscript{18}

The history of small scale production and producers in other parts of the United Kingdom, and indeed in Europe, has been reassessed in recent years. Groups such as master tradesmen and shopkeepers had a striking presence in economic development and the fabric of social life in a variety of contexts.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Heaton, T. 1981 "Coal-Black Smith: A study of agricultural smithing in Kippen based on the recollections of Andrew Rennie" Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation, University of Stirling. 3 volumes.
  \item \textsuperscript{19}See, for example, Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) 1984 Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. 283pp.
\end{itemize}
particular, small scale production has been shown to have undergone a variety of responses to industrialization. These included decline, transformation and growth - the development of large scale units of production did not simply mean the end of small producers.\textsuperscript{20} Indeed, it has been shown that in some contexts craft production, though in an altered form, remained an important type of production alongside centralised and mechanised industries.\textsuperscript{21} Similarly, as a social group the crafts have at times had an influence upon society which was of a much greater significance than their economic position would have suggested.\textsuperscript{22}

The aim of this thesis is therefore to investigate the historical importance of small scale producers and production in the context of a rural area. Section 1.2 below introduces the study area - Lowland Perthshire - 


\textsuperscript{21} For example, in the Birmingham metal trades - Behagg, C. 1984 "Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50" in Crossick and Haupt, op cit, pp. 137-154.

which has been chosen for this purpose. Chapter Two details the methodological considerations necessary for this study, assesses the sources used, and describes the methods adopted.

Chapters Three and Four aim to redress the balance of rural studies by showing the importance of the crafts in long term change in the countryside. As noted above, it has been suggested that important overall changes occurred during the period of the agricultural Improvements and during the late nineteenth century. Chapter Three focuses on the former period, and examines both the effects of change on the craft sector and the tradespeople, and also assesses the role of the tradespeople as agents of change. Chapter Four develops a picture of the form of craft production in the rural area, and focuses on the economic aspects, as

"the economic history...of small enterprise is the area about which we know least, and yet it is in many ways the most important." 23

A quantitative analysis of change in the craft sector is also presented, to put descriptions of such change 24 on a firmer footing, and to provide

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24 See Sprott, op cit.
comparisons with rural England\textsuperscript{25} and urban Scotland.\textsuperscript{26}

The economic theme is continued in Chapter Five. This chapter focuses on the involvement of the small scale producers in the credit system. Put crudely, the general experience of the craft sector in the United Kingdom was that

"small producers became dependent first on commercial and then industrial capital, tied by the superior competitive, financial and distributive resources of the larger firms."\textsuperscript{27}

Credit was a vital mechanism in the operation of this process. In large urban centres such as Edinburgh and Birmingham credit was an important enabling factor in production, which at the same time undermined the economic independence of the small producer.\textsuperscript{28} It is thus important to consider the importance of credit in the operations of small producers in the rural setting.

Chapter Six turns the focus of attention to the social characteristics of the trades which these economic features influenced, by examining the role of the family in small scale production. Women have been shown to have played an important role in a number of trades,

\footnotesize{

\textsuperscript{26}Knox, op cit.

\textsuperscript{27}Crossick and Haupt, op cit, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{28}Knox, op cit, pp. 57, 253-4; Behagg, op cit, p. 142.
}
and in a number of different contexts.\textsuperscript{29} In addition, close ties between the family and the craft enterprise have been noted in some cases,\textsuperscript{30} but have also been questioned in others.\textsuperscript{31} However, the common association between family and enterprise raises a question mark over the statement that the trades in rural Scotland were "one of male monopoly", with tradesmen relying "little on female assistance."\textsuperscript{32}

The social characteristics of those engaged in the trades is further examined in Chapter Seven, which is the last before the conclusion. While journeymen tradesmen and tradeswomen are usually seen as members of the working class, in some cases the labour aristocracy,\textsuperscript{33} master tradesmen and employers are


\textsuperscript{30} Crossick and Haupt, op cit, p. 20; Knox, op cit, p. 68.


\textsuperscript{32} Sprott, op cit, p. 143.

usually placed as members of a lower middle class group often termed the 'petite bourgeoisie'. How the literature on class theory relates especially to the small scale craft producers has been discussed elsewhere by another author, therefore only a short discussion is presented below.\textsuperscript{34}

The petite bourgeoisie have been seen as a class of owners of their own means of production and distribution. This distinguished them from the working class. Importantly, they mixed the use of their own capital and their own labour, the latter point distinguishing them from white collar workers.\textsuperscript{35} However, the necessity of the small master to engage in the work process him/herself forms, for some writers, a dividing factor between the petite bourgeoisie and the small capitalist. This latter division is blurred, however, and theories generally fail to give any coherent reasoning behind defining a cut-off point between these two groups on the grounds of the amount of labour employed. Some definitions hold that the petite bourgeoisie employed no labour, while others

\textsuperscript{34} For a discussion of the class position of the petite bourgeoisie see Knox, \textit{op cit}, chapter one.

postulate a numerical upper limit of employees.\textsuperscript{36} In reality, this problem of definition reflects the great range of craft enterprises that existed, as will be seen.

It is certainly possible to identify tradespeople who could be included in this class according to the above definition. However, such a definition, based as it is on the relation of the group to their means of production, is rather crudely economically deterministic. Chapter Seven therefore examines whether such a class can be isolated on the grounds of social relationships and values.

Moving from the recollections and the life of one rural tradesman, and an understanding of the numerical importance of the trades in a rural area, through the academic literature on rural Scotland, to the wider literature of the history of small scale production provides several pointers to the likely importance of craft production in rural areas. The persistence of such a form of production in an apparently largely unaltered form well into the twentieth century is of interest in itself. Thus this thesis seeks to investigate the topics which the review presented above

\textsuperscript{36} Wright, \textit{op cit}, holds that the petite bourgeoisie employed no labour, while Knox, \textit{op cit}, suggests that they did employ labour, and decides on a working definition of an upper limit of twenty employees.
suggests would be of importance in understanding the rural trades.

As a prelude to this, an outline is presented of the study area which has been chosen for this purpose.

1.2 THE STUDY AREA

The study area chosen was Lowland Perthshire. This area corresponds to a geographical unit consisting of the Carse of Gowrie, Strathmore and Strathearn, which is bounded in the north by the Highland Boundary Fault, and on the south by the Tay and the Ochils. The area consists of forty three parishes (see Figure 1.2), and Figure 1.3 shows the location of placenames mentioned in the text. The reasons for focusing on this area are considered in Chapter Two, Section 2.4.1.

Lowland Perthshire has had a long history of agricultural production, and the export of agricultural produce. In addition to local production, the area had become an important centre for the black cattle trade and for exporting grain by the end of the seventeenth century.\(^\text{37}\) By the time of the Old Statistical Account at the end of the eighteenth century, Lowland Perthshire exhibited a mixture of pre-improvement infield-outfield farming systems,\(^\text{38}\) and innovations in farm organisation, crop rotation and the deployment of

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\(^{37}\) Whyte, op cit, pp. 191, 228.

\(^{38}\) For example in Abernethy parish - O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 4.
Lowland Perthshire

Parishes
Lowland Perthshire Placenames

Figure 1.3
labour, usually referred to as the agricultural Improvements.\textsuperscript{39} The Carse of Gowrie was an important fore-runner in the process, with new crops and a six-part cropping system introduced from 1775, though of course other elements of improvement pre-dated this.\textsuperscript{40}

During the nineteenth century in Lowland Perthshire a mixed agriculture evolved. This was based on the rotation of crops, with the emphasis on cash cropping of grain and potatoes, combined with the finishing of beef cattle and sheep on turnips. While the acreages devoted to the various items varied in response to depression or upswing in the agricultural sector, this mixed system formed the basis of agricultural production in Lowland Perthshire over the rest of the study period. During the nineteenth century in Perthshire

"production from the varied types of farms...reached a high level, and techniques in both crop and animal husbandry were such that the district became well established as a progressive

\begin{itemize}
  
  \item \textsuperscript{40}O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 373.
\end{itemize}
and important agricultural area."41

The most notable developments later in the century were the developing market garden sector42 and the cultivation of soft fruit from 1890.43 Throughout the century labour saving machinery came into use, particularly in hay-making and corn harvesting.

In industry, the area was dominated by the production of textiles. The textile industry in Perthshire is one which is well documented.44 Perthshire's physical geography was an important influence, with suitable soft water conditions and sites for the exploitation of water power.45 Of particular importance to the development of the industry was Perthshire's marginal location relative to both the linen trade of the east, and the cotton trade of the west.46 During the

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43 Catto, op cit, p. 43.


45 Turner, op cit.

46 Ibid.
eighteenth century Perthshire was an important linen producing area, and was influenced by both Glasgow and Dundee, and Perth was one of Scotland's most noted textile towns.\textsuperscript{47} The influence of Glasgow helped the establishment of cotton manufactures between 1780 and 1810 in parallel to their developments in the west. However, during the early 1800s, particularly due to the effects of the Napoleonic Wars, Perth's fortunes as a textile centre decreased, and by 1849 Perth was no longer called a place of any great manufactures.\textsuperscript{48}

However, a reassociation with the linen trade of the east, with mechanised weaving established in 1851, founded a tradition of fine linen which lasted until the twentieth century. Cutting across the competition of cotton and linen was a long established minor manufacture of wool. Throughout these changes Perth rose as one of the most important cloth bleaching, finishing and dyeing centres in Scotland.\textsuperscript{49}

Regional employment figures show that Tayside had the highest percentages of the male occupied population in agriculture in east central Scotland, and the highest percentage in textiles apart from the Borders, in 1851, 1881 and 1911.\textsuperscript{50} However, other forms of

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 124.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 126.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., pp. 127-8.
manufacturing in Perthshire (excluding Perth City) accounted for twenty seven percent of the occupied population in 1851, and even by 1891 accounted for thirteen percent.\textsuperscript{51} Thus manufacturing, which included the craft sector, was throughout the period of quite high importance in employment terms.\textsuperscript{52}

Transport developments were also important within the area. Even by 1800 most roads for wheeled vehicles were comparatively recent, and comprised parish (or statute labour) roads and turnpikes.\textsuperscript{53} The post road through the Carse of Gowrie between Perth and Dundee was built in the 1790s, and by that time turnpike roads linked Dundee with Strathmore.\textsuperscript{54} At the time of the Old Statistical Account several parishes were poorly supplied with roads.\textsuperscript{55} Turnpiking certainly improved matters,\textsuperscript{56} and though financially they may not have been successful they were probably seen as one of a series of necessary improvements.\textsuperscript{57} Sea transport was long of


\textsuperscript{52}See also Bell, K.M. 1979 "Industry" in Taylor, op cit. pp. 50-56.

\textsuperscript{53}Moncrieff, J.C. 1979 "Roads" in Taylor, op cit. p. 68.

\textsuperscript{54}Lenman, op cit. p. 76.


\textsuperscript{57}Lenman, op cit. p. 148.
importance to the area. Perth was a major east coast port, and it was supplemented by a series of small harbours along the Carse of Gowrie, principally for the export of agricultural produce. Perth harbour itself handled a variety of imports and exports, but an ambitious scheme of river and harbour improvements in the 1840s was eclipsed by the development of the railway network.\textsuperscript{58}

The development of the railway system in Lowland Perthshire originated with the opening in 1831 of the Dundee-Newtyle line, which also employed horses, stationary engines and sail power to cope with the steep incline.\textsuperscript{59} By 1849, Perth was the focus of four companies lines, and was connected to Glasgow, Forfar, Edinburgh and Inverness.\textsuperscript{60} The extensive branch railway network, largely for the carriage of agricultural produce, was basically complete by 1866.\textsuperscript{61} The development of the railway system had important economic and social implications for the area. The economic integration of Lowland Perthshire with the rest of the United Kingdom was facilitated, and the local economy stimulated.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 152.  
\textsuperscript{59}Ibid., p. 154.  
\textsuperscript{60}Patterson, J.H. 1979 "Railways" in Taylor, \textit{op cit}, p. 80.  
\textsuperscript{61}Patterson, \textit{op cit}, p. 82; Angus Railway Group 1983 \textit{Steam Album. Volume 3. Perthshire.} Angus Railway Group, Yorkshire. pp. 3-4.
Crieff serves as an example of the impact of the opening of a branch railway. In 1845 it was reported that:

"for some years past the corn trade of Strathearn has been leaving Crieff and concentrating in Auchterarder...The carrying of the Scottish Central Railway through the vale of the Earn will render Crieff altogether isolated and deprive her of a great part of her former trade."\(^{62}\)

The lack of a branch line was certainly perceived as disadvantaging the trade of the town, and efforts were made to persuade the railway company to link the town to the rail network. With the final connection of the town in 1856 it was reported that:

"already the effects of this railway are felt and appreciated. Two banks have sprung into existence in Comrie...A stage coach, to suit the trains, now runs between Crieff and Comrie...Feuing has fairly set in...The termini is [sic] crammed with exports and imports."\(^{63}\)

The developments in the railway system were the last major innovation in the transport system until the introduction of the motor car, though improvements in the road network continued.

Lastly, it is important to consider population change, both in relation to the developments outlined above, and to assess any effect on the craft sector. Data at a parish level were collected from Webster's

\(^{62}\) *Courier*, May 29, 1845.

\(^{63}\) *Advertiser*, March 20, 1856.
private census of Scotland of 1755\textsuperscript{64} and from the printed census tables in the Parliamentary Papers.

There are various problems associated with compiling data from these sources over such a long time period. Firstly, the areal unit referred to, the parish, changed over time, both in size and shape, and in administrative definition. Thus an arbitrary set of boundaries was chosen to give a diagrammatic representation of population change, and the most accessible set of boundaries used.\textsuperscript{65} However, boundary changes were identified and taken into account in the interpretation of change.

The parish as a unit does in some cases subsume a range of changes. For example, Blairgowrie parish contained a growing market town, part of the lowland area and a large hinterland which extended into Highland Perthshire. Thus any analysis must be aware of the possibility of different changes occurring within a parish.

The accuracy of the sources is of course open to some question. Both Webster’s census and the early official censuses probably under-enumerated to some extent. Census values for population could vary with the time of year the census was taken, for example due


\textsuperscript{65}O.S. One inch to one mile, Seventh Series, 1967.
to temporary migration associated with seasonal employment patterns. However, it has been concluded by other researchers that these sources are accurate enough to be used for cautious analysis.

Figure 1.4 shows a measure of population change on a parish basis for the period 1755-1801. The parishes with the largest increases were those which contained important sites of the textile industry and/or an expanding market town. Examples include Crieff, Auchterarder, Coupar Angus and Redgorton. Population increase was also seen in and around Perth, again connected to developments in the textile industry. These parishes often had adjacent parishes which showed a population decrease, suggesting that short distance migration to sites of factory textile production was an important factor in population change (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.3).

The Improvements were also having an affect on the population. Several parishes (e.g. Kinnaird, Abernyte or Collace) showed a decline in their population. This was to some extent related to the consolidation of farms and the clearance of cottagers. As noted in 1799

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Lowland Perthshire

Population change, 1755–1801

Figure 1.4

% population change

-100 < -66
-66 < -33
-33 < 0
0 < 33
33 < 66
66 <= 110
"where the farms are enlarged, and the country enclosed, there is no doubt that the population has decreased in particular districts or farms." 69

This process was also occurring within those parishes which showed an increase of population, but the overall population of the parish was maintained due to the growth in the villages 70 (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4). Thus the important feature of population change during this period was the relocation of population from agricultural parts of parishes into villages, particularly those associated with textile production. Migration and emigration also took place, but a net growth in population of three percent did occur between 1755 and 1801.

Population change in the period 1801-1851 is shown in Figure 1.5. The textile industry and agrarian change were again major influences. Those parishes with sites of textile production again showed a growth of population, and in this respect Blairgowrie and Rattray were particularly notable. Clearances of cottagers also continued throughout this period. As was the case nationally, population rose overall in this period, which was at least partly due to an increase in inoculation and vaccination. 71 Certainly in Methven an

69 Robertson, J. 1799 General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth. Board of Agriculture, Perth. p. 54.
70 Ibid.
71 Flinn, op cit, p. 120.
Lowland Perthshire
Population change, 1801–1851

Figure 1.5

% population change
-66 <= 166
-33 <= 66
0 <= 33
-33 <= 0
-66 <= -33
-100 <= -66
increase in population was attributed to the "general introduction of vaccine innoculation."\textsuperscript{72} The change in agriculture to more intensive production, particularly the introduction of the turnip which required a high input of casual labour and extended the working year, meant that demand for labour from this sector was maintained.

Population peaked in 1851 in Lowland Perthshire, and thereafter declined very slowly over the next century. The decline in handloom weaving was a significant factor in this decrease.\textsuperscript{73} The level of population was maintained partly by the expansion of towns such as Crieff and Blairgowrie. Smaller market towns such as Auchterarder, Coupar Angus and Alyth maintained populations of between fifteen hundred and two thousand over most of the period.

Between 1901 and 1951 the majority of the parishes experienced a decline in population (see Figure 1.6). This was generally attributed to the lack of employment in rural areas, the increasing mechanisation of farming which was reducing the need for labour, decline in rural industries, demographic factors, the impact of the wars, and the attractions of town life over rural. As noted of Collace parish

\textsuperscript{72}N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{73}Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North-East Scotland" in Devine (ed.), op cit, p. 21.
"the reasons for this [decrease in population] are the same as in any other rural parish; a reduction in the size of families, increased mechanisation in agriculture, and the growing attraction of life in towns accentuated by the centralisation of higher education in the more populous areas.""74

An account from St. Martin's parish illustrates the impact of the mechanisation of agriculture, where

"because of the general use of machinery there are now fewer workers required on farms. On one large farm operations are now carried out by four or five men where formerly double that number would have been required."75

Parishes where population was maintained were largely those with a larger town which became a successful tourist or retirement centre, notably Crieff.

These paragraphs present an outline of the study area, and more detailed studies have been indicated where relevant. As Section 1.1 concluded, there are several pointers which suggest that a study of the trades in a rural area would be important. Before the series of analysis chapters which address the issues discussed above, Chapter Two considers the research design and the methodological considerations behind the study.

74 Taylor, op cit, p. 282.
75 Ibid., p. 318.
Chapter Two
Research design and methodological considerations

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter One outlined the main points which this study has examined, and established the background to the study area chosen. This chapter deals with the research design and the methodological problems which had to be addressed, and outlines some of the practicalities of the research.

Section 2.2 sets out to define some of the categories of analysis which may have been ambiguous. The use of terminology is outlined and justified. The distinction between 'rural' and 'urban' as the terms are used in this study is defined. The types of occupations focused upon are outlined and explained.

In Section 2.3 the main sources used in this study are assessed. Qualitative sources are assessed for their possible biases and inaccuracies. The printed census, and the use of the census enumerator's books, are examined only for the main points of concern for this study. Similar points are examined for the Registrar General's marriage certificates. The representativeness of material drawn from trade directories, and especially from sequestration cases, is assessed. The main area of concern of these two assessments is to check how representative of the total population of businesses the material they contain is.
The methods developed in the course of this study are outlined in Section 2.4. The sampling schemes adopted are outlined, and these were developed with reference to the available sources and the definitions arrived at in Section 2.2. The main practical outcomes of the adoption of computer analysis are also presented. Examples are given of the benefits derived from this approach in the areas of data capture and manipulation, analysis, and display of results.

The conclusion (Section 2.5) summarises the main points of this chapter.

2.2 CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

Firstly, the term 'tradesman' may require some explanation. In Scotland it means the equivalent of 'craftsman' or 'artisan'. Indeed, throughout this study the terms tradesman and craftsman are used interchangeably. However, the use of the term 'tradesman' is gender specific. It reflects and reinforces an established view of craft production as one of male monopoly. As will be shown (see Chapter Six) women were to be found as owners of craft businesses,


and as skilled workers in certain trades. This is not to deny that in the so called 'male' trades the labour was divided along sexual lines, with males typically performing the full-time, skilled work. However, as will be argued in Chapter Six, to try and understand the nature of craft production in Lowland Perthshire by focusing on male, full-time tradesmen would not lead to a proper understanding of the nature of that sector. Thus to write only about tradesmen would be inaccurate and would also convey an implicit message about the importance of women in the trades. It is important that

"scientific writing, as an extension of science, should be free of implied or irrelevant evaluation of the sexes."\(^3\)

To achieve this aim the term 'tradesman' is used to apply specifically to male workers, 'tradeswoman' is applied to female workers. Where the whole population of craft workers is referred to the term 'tradespeople' is employed, or a term such as 'those engaged in the crafts'. The interchangeable terms 'craftsman', 'craftswoman' etc. have also been used in the same way. This may seem awkward to the reader at first, as it did to the author, but the intention is accurate and unbiased communication.

It is important to define what is meant by 'rural' tradesmen. The object of this study has been to redress

\(^3\) Anon 1989 "Guidelines for the use of non-sexist language" Area, 21(2). p. 115.
the balance in studies of craftsmen which has predominantly been concerned with urban locations. In a study of the development of the British petite bourgeoisie for example it was considered that

"Britain...lacked a peasantry, a rural petite bourgeoisie. It is as an urban formation that the British petits bourgeois developed."

However, this point referred more to the situation in England, where most work on urban craftsmen has been set. While the peasantry of Lowland Scotland, composed largely of the cottars, was to a large extent cleared from agricultural areas during the agricultural improvements (a process which continued throughout the nineteenth century), this did not simply involve the straightforward polarisation of Scottish agricultural society into landlord/capitalist farmer and landless agricultural labourers. There was an important initial shift in Lowland Scotland from scattered cottar town to newly established villages, which became important sites of local services, trades and industrial production (See Chapter Three, Section 3.3). The inhabitants

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5 Geoffrey Crossick, per. com.

of these villages as feuars of land could not of course have been considered strictly speaking as peasants (subsistence farmers who were also small landowners), but nevertheless they formed important intermediary groups in rural areas. However, throughout the nineteenth century, villages and market towns in Lowland Perthshire retained an important involvement in servicing the agriculture of the area. The same study quoted above notes the likely importance as sites for tradesmen of towns

"with a substantial commercial and service function, where tertiary activities and small consumer industries proliferated [including] locally orientated county and market towns."

In this study 'rural' is defined as referring to an area where the principal element in the economy is agriculture. Rural tradesmen are thus those concerned with producing for, or servicing, agriculture and the local population reliant (either directly or indirectly) upon agriculture as the main factor affecting the local economy. As will be illustrated, rural tradesmen by this definition were located in villages (Chapter Three, Section 3.3) and increasingly in market towns (Chapter Four, Section 4.7). Such settlements of course changed in nature over time, and in this area some such as Crieff or Blairgowrie became important sites for the textile industry. Thus it is important to

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7 Crossick, op cit, p. 62.
justify the definition of such sites as rural. Was migration from, for instance, Edinburgh to Crieff an example of urban to rural migration? Both in the size and the form of these settlements there is little problem, but how far is it possible to subsume the changing function of towns such as Blairgowrie within such a definition so that it retains any meaning?

Rural sociology is one discipline which has attempted to define the differences between rural and urban in its studies. Any simplistic classification derived from Tonnies' Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft rural-urban continuum approach would be inappropriate. It is important to view agriculture as industry. Similarly, it is important to be cautious about implying friendly relations between master and men in small scale rural production. This does not mean that

"any attempt to tie patterns of social [and economic] relationships to specific geographical milieux is a singularly fruitless exercise [or that] it is the basic situation of conflict or stress that can be observed in highly urbanised or

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9 For a summary of the development of this approach see Newby, op cit, pp. 95-99.

though this does acknowledge the difficulties in separating urban and rural in advanced capitalist societies. Particularly within Lowland Scotland, and in many other areas, local studies are vital before generalisations about the region as a whole can be made. A more useful approach to attempting to delineate a rural area, if we allow that the focus for this must be an agricultural area, is to follow the example of recent writings by geographers concerning the Region. The spatial division of labour, or the use of space by capital, is

"in part the outcome of a whole series of previous rounds of accumulation each superimposed on the other." Capitalist accumulation is a very complex process, which makes definitions of regions on the basis of economic homogeneity or self-containedness difficult if

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14 Urry, op cit, p. 467.
not meaningless.\textsuperscript{15} In particular the areas defined by such characteristics will change over time. Thus the focus of defining local areas for study has concentrated on labour markets.\textsuperscript{16} It is possible to see Lowland Perthshire as a unit of study which could be classified as rural, both in terms of the use of space by capital, and with reference to the area's labour market.

While the picture is a complex one, the most consistent sector in which sequential layers of capital investment occurred in this area was in agriculture. Throughout the whole period under consideration agrarian investment was the most consistently dominating feature of the economy. The areas of Strathmore, Strathearn and the Carse of Gowrie which comprise the study area were known as agricultural districts, and the hiring fairs of farm servants reflected this. Certainly the textile industry was a major additional influence, but one which varied over time (see Chapter One). These two sectors interacted in a fashion which determined a local labour market which had distinctive characteristics.

The competition between the agricultural and the textile sectors for labour was probably most evident in

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
Lowland Perthshire of all the Eastern Lowlands. This competition, and the associated scarcity of labour, particularly with regard to seasonal and women's work, distinguished Perthshire at an early stage.\textsuperscript{17} Even by 1793 "the rapid success of the manufactures" had drawn population from the country to the towns, and helped to cause a labour shortage in agriculture. In 1792 the handloom weavers refused to work at the harvest for less than the 2s.6d. per day they could earn at the loom.\textsuperscript{18} This was a long term feature of the local labour market. In 1870 it was noted that

"field work for women is more uncertain in Perthshire than in the south of my district, there is a greater demand for manufacturing labour, and with an improvement in the management of labour there must come an improvement in the wages of female field workers."\textsuperscript{19}

The better wages offered by industry were an important influence upon the labour market, as

"wages at the factories in Dundee, Perth, Blairgowrie or in places out of the county, are better and more certain than the hard labour and uncertain wages of out of door work."\textsuperscript{20}

Conversely, movement of labour from textiles into agriculture sometimes took place. While developments in the textile industry initially drew women from agricul-

\textsuperscript{17}Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North-East Scotland, 1770-1914" in Devine (ed.), \textit{op cit}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 51.
ture, as factory production decreased the viability of home spinning women moved back to agriculture for employment. For example, in Gask parish in 1838,

"there is now but little encouragement for females to spin, many of them are employed in the labours of the field."21

Throughout the nineteenth century handloom weavers turned to agricultural labouring for employment when trade was poor (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8). Within the textile industry itself the labour force was noted as differing from other areas. In 1843 it was noted that the bleachfields in the neighbourhood of Perth employed more children, and those at an earlier age, than in Forfarshire.22 Within agriculture "the labour structure in Perthshire was...almost unique."23

Thus the craft sector within Lowland Perthshire was operating within a distinctive local labour market. Nevertheless, the main influence was that of the agrarian economy, though its distinctiveness owed much to the influence of the textile industry. The market towns within the area were involved in servicing this area. This can be seen from the composition of the

customers of the tradesmen in these towns, as determined from the book debts of tradesmen recorded in sequestration cases. The study of the markets of these tradesmen (Chapter Four, Section 4.6) also confirms this. Thus it is possible to view these towns as part of a rural area, where excluding them from analysis by defining them as urban would be an unrealistic division. Much of the industry in the largest towns such as Crieff or Blairgowrie was related to the agricultural sector, such as milling, brewing or tanning. Even the textile industry relied on locally grown flax in its initial stages, though foreign imports constituted the usual source by the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{24} The textile industry in Perthshire was influenced by its marginal position to the industries of Glasgow and Dundee, which affected subsequent rounds of investment in cotton and linen/jute, and spinning, weaving and bleaching/finishing.\textsuperscript{25} On occasion, such as in 1834 or 1870, depression in the textile sector could influence the local economy in a way unrelated to the agrarian sector. However, the textile sector, though important in its role of defining the local labour market, was

\textsuperscript{24}For example, local flax was used at the Blairgowrie mills in 1795, though was largely replaced by imports from the Baltic ports by 1843 - O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 126; N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 921.

secondary in importance to agriculture in defining this area.

Though this study is concerned with rural tradesmen it says little about one of the numerically largest groups of tradesmen, the handloom weavers, and similar trades related to the textile industry. In part this is due to the existence of a volume devoted to the history of the weavers, but it also reflects the different experience of this group in terms of the economic structures of the sector. From an early stage handloom weaving, and similarly spinning, was organised on an outworking system. Manufacturers distributed yarn to weavers, who made up the pieces of cloth, which were then returned to the manufacturers for sale. The process was usually facilitated by local agents. In Collace parish in 1797 agents purchased yarn from the Dundee mills and brought it to the parish in carts, and distributed it among the weavers. The webs were then resold in Dundee. Weavers in Auchterarder, Fowlis Wester and Crieff worked for the Glasgow manufacturers, again with agents controlling the carting of yarn and


cloth between the sites.\textsuperscript{28}

In addition, the textile sector was one of the first to move to factory production. The introduction of the machine production of yarn led to a decline in hand spinning, and in Collace parish in 1797 it was stated that "spinsters have been obliged to have recourse to the loom."\textsuperscript{29} The introduction of power looms was a later development, and at Blairgowrie in 1843 "the whole of the weaving [was] done by hand looms", despite the fact that spinning was completely industrialised by this time.\textsuperscript{30} Thereafter, however, the introduction of machinery led to a decrease in handloom weaving. Thus the handloom weavers formed a distinct group among craftsmen in the economic sense, because they were organised by manufacturers on a putting out system, and were rapidly superseded by mechanised production early in the nineteenth century. A similar transformation occurred in the other textile trades such as spinning or heckling.

However, the tradesmen considered in this study, such as the smiths, tailors or shoemakers, were not constrained by an economic relationship of this type. There appeared to be no organisation of outworking by


merchants or manufacturers in this area as there was in the textile trades. This contrasts with certain areas of England, for example around Northampton, where rural shoemakers were organised by agents and merchants, who collected and marketed their products.\textsuperscript{31} The different economic circumstances of the textile trades has therefore been used to distinguish them from the other trades, and thus they are not considered in great detail in this study.

Another group which is not considered in great detail in this study is retailers. This may not seem surprising in a study of craftsmen, but in actual fact the distinction between craftsmen and retailers is often hard to draw. Many trades combined both a productive and a distributive element, such as baking or shoemaking. It was not uncommon for tradesmen also to be retailers when following multiple occupations (See Chapter Four, Section 4.5). Retailing shared many of the economic characteristics of small scale production, for instance in its involvement in the credit system (see Chapter Five), and sometimes shared social characteristics\textsuperscript{32} (see Chapter Seven). Thus retailing


\textsuperscript{32}Several instances are given in Crossick and Haupt, \textit{op cit.}
is never entirely separate from this analysis, and is accordingly given a degree of consideration below. Nevertheless, it is felt that specialist retailing involves considerations beyond those central to the present study.\footnote{For a summary see Crossick, G. 1984 "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case" in Crossick and Haupt, op cit, pp. 63-5.}

2.3 SOURCES

Data were extracted from a variety of qualitative and quantitative sources for analysis. As in any study it is important to understand the socio-economic and cultural background of the creation and preservation of sources, in order to be able to assess the validity of the data derived. This section reviews the sources from this perspective. As noted above particular attention is given to the use of trade directories and sequestrations, where less work has been carried out on the problems they present to the historian than, for example, the census. For each source an examination is made of possible biases that may appear in the record, and how this affects their representativeness.

2.3.1 Qualitative material

A variety of sources was examined to derive qualitative material on a number of topics. Such material is difficult to assess for accuracy, and it must be used with care. However, sources such as the Old
Statistical Account or local histories can be used to provide information on a variety of topics, such as changes in agriculture or the local industries of a parish.

The three Statistical Accounts of Scotland, surveyed in the 1790s, 1830/40s and the 1950s, were examined. The Old Statistical Account is a useful source for documenting changes in the late eighteenth century. However, it undoubtedly focuses on certain aspects of change and in a certain way. The reports were written by local ministers, who were generally in favour of improvement, and quick to praise its advantages. Statements as to the extent and pace of change must be treated with caution, and it is important to retain a long term view of changes, and not to be misled into gaining an impression of a period of fundamental change purely around the period the accounts were written. However, parish ministers were also quick to point out areas where improvement was lagging. The Old Statistical Account unsurprisingly focuses on the major changes that were occurring, and it is often less informative about features which were taken for granted, such as womens' work and to a certain extent craft production.

It is also important to try and establish how applicable comments about improved standards of living or changing patterns of consumption were across the
whole population. A statement based on the obvious greater prosperity of farmers may not be applicable to the more numerically important labouring population. However, recently the qualitative material in this account has been employed on a more systematic basis, and it was considered that it has perhaps been underestimated as a source for qualitative statements regarding changing economic and social structures. In some cases there would appear to have been collaboration between neighbouring ministers in the compilation of accounts.\textsuperscript{34} Similar problems also occur in using the other accounts, but with care and an appreciation of the nature of the source they form a valuable record.

Various local histories were examined which pertained to Lowland Perthshire.\textsuperscript{35} In general these were not compiled on any systematic or scientific basis, in some cases forming little else than records of reminiscences of the area where the author lived. However, such records were undoubtedly informed by much local knowledge, and probably of greatest concern is the

\textsuperscript{34}This point and others were raised by Professors T.C. Smout and T.M. Devine at the one-day seminar \textit{Scottish and Swedish Rural Society, c.1750-c.1930. Institute for Advanced Urban Studies, St.Andrews, 11th November, 1989.}

selective nature of the evidence presented. For instance, when considering the rural crafts, it is obvious that these local histories focus more on the well established firms which have been handed down in the family for generations, than the more ephemeral enterprises, perhaps run as sidelines. Probably the most informative and the most reliable of these local histories is George Penny's Traditions of Perth.\(^{36}\) Penny gives a good account of changes around Perth in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but, in common with other such sources, he focuses on the more remarkable features and changes. In particular, the exact time period that he refers to is sometimes ambiguous, and care must be taken in ascribing the evidence presented to certain periods. The development of local history societies\(^{37}\) has led to the publication of modern local histories which do generally attempt some more systematic analysis. The careful use of a range of these sources can be helpful in gaining an outline of, for example, the main rural industries or employments, and of notable changes in the area.

Occasional quotations from contemporary novels are included where they are considered to be supportive of

\(^{36}\) Penny, *op cit.*
\(^{37}\) E.g. The Forfar Historical Society; Department of Extra-Mural Education, University of Dundee.
quantitative material, or supply information in their own right. Literature provides a useful form of source material for historical geographers, and also provides a perspective on how people experienced their world. The work of the Aberdeenshire author William Alexander has been used here to illustrate various points regarding social relations in the rural Lowlands. However,

"to consider the novel as a source for anything other than one man's perception of his subject without knowing what influenced his development would be very dangerous."^40

While a biography of Alexander is lacking, it was his stated intention to

"portray...some forms of character not uncommon in the rural life...the effort being to make the purely ideal persons introduced literally true to nature, as it had manifested itself under his own eyes, or within his own experience, in their habits of thought and modes of speech."^41

While Alexander's work was particularly noted for its


^40 Whittington, op cit. p. 82.

authentic regional dialogue, his observation of society was also considered accurate. The Scotsman noted that

"a picture of rural life which, for truthfulness to nature, rivals photography. The different grades of the population, their pursuits, their manners and morals, their ways of thinking...are reproduced, in the minutest detail, with almost startling reality."

Thus it seems that Alexander's comments were considered to reflect accurately on the rural society of his day.

Three nineteenth century local newspapers were examined for evidence relating to the local economy and society, and in particular for the development of trades unions and masters' associations (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.6). The papers sampled were the Perthshire Courier and General Advertiser (which from 1834 had the sub-title of the Farmer's Journal and Central Scottish Advertiser), the Perthshire Advertiser and Strathmore Journal, and the Perthshire Constitutional and Journal. The scheme adopted to sample these newspapers is outlined below in Section 2.4.1. However, it is important to consider the ideologies behind the production of the newspapers, in case bias may have been introduced into reporting.

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42 This and other citations are included in Alexander, *op cit.*

43 The *Courier* was consulted in the National Library, Edinburgh, and the *Advertiser* and the *Constitutional* in the Sandeman Public Library, Perth.
The Courier was established in 1809 by the Morison family of Perth, who were well known local printers, to support a struggling Tory government. The Advertiser was founded in 1829. Its owners claimed political impartiality, but it was often in direct opposition to the Courier. It adhered to a "cautiously progressive course, which retained middle class support...without alienating agriculture by any definite attitude against the Corn Laws or on the Church question." Despite this it was often in its early years vociferous in its Liberal political stance, referring to the Courier as a Tory paper, and noting that "Toryism and tyranny have with us been always synonymous." The Constitutional was founded in 1835, and its initial purpose was to organise a local Tory revival inspired by Peel. It received the same treatment from the Advertiser, which referred to it as the "Un-Constitutional - The gratis veracious Tory publication."

Though it was rare for these papers to express any sentiment over trade disputes, attitudes did on occasion vary in the press regarding labour protest. In 1834

46 Advertiser, April 16, 1835.
47 Cowan, op cit, p. 155/6.
48 Advertiser, July 2, 1835.
the Courier dismissed the "uniform and unfailing results of such miserable and infatuated combinations. Our own neighbourhood already affords an example of how vain and transient must ever be their existence, and how foolish and fruitless their exertions."  

The unionism of the Dundee handloom weavers during 1834 was greeted as

"A very fallacious and absurd idea...gaining ground in the minds of the workpeople."  

After the 1830s the Courier reported such incidents impartially though with praise for amicably settled disputes. By contrast the Advertiser seemed to be in favour of reasonable action by labour. Of the attempt of the Crieff tailors to advance their wages in 1855 it stated

"we are happy to notice any movement made by working men to improve their condition, more especially when they are seconded in it by their employers."  

The Blackford shoemakers threatened strike action in 1866 for an advance in wages, and the Advertiser considered that

"we hope the employers will see it their duty to comply with this request, as their workmen, as a class, have been considerably behind the average wage of other tradesmen."  

Thus the papers differed in their attitudes to

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49 Courier, June 26, 1834.  
50 Courier, May 29, 1834.  
51 Advertiser, November 29, 1855.  
52 Advertiser, April 12, 1866. 

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Figure 2.1: Reported strikes and wages/hours agitations, 1830–90.
industrial action. However, a more important point regarding the analysis in Chapter Seven was how comprehensive was the coverage of industrial action and of combination among masters. Figure 2.1 compares the number of strikes and wages and hours agitations as reported in the Advertiser and the Courier. While it is clear that the two papers were not consistently reporting such events in terms of numbers, they did both show similar patterns in the frequency of occurrence of action. In particular, both papers highlighted 1866 and 1872 as significant years. However, it is likely that newspapers are not sufficient by themselves to outline completely the development of formal organisations, but are useful as indicators of such developments.

Qualitative material was also drawn from sequestration cases, and this material is assessed below (Section 2.3.4).

2.3.2 The Census and the Registrar General's Marriage Certificates

The use of both the census enumerators' books and the printed census abstracts has received considerable attention in the literature, though with a notable
concentration on the returns for England and Wales.\textsuperscript{53}

However, it is important to outline the problems of the census which affect this particular study, and also to illustrate how this study can offer some insight into its use in the context of rural Scotland. Many of the problems of the census are duplicated in the use of the Registrar General's marriage certificates, and this is discussed in the appropriate sections.

An important starting point for understanding some of the limitations of the census is that the census authorities were not primarily concerned with gathering occupational data for economic analysis. They were most anxious to determine the industrial sector an individual was employed in, an attitude which reflected the medical aspects of the census, and a preoccupation with the effects of working with different materials.\textsuperscript{54}

Nevertheless, the census forms one of the most important sources for the investigation of the social and economic characteristics of a population in the nine-


\textsuperscript{54} Higgs, 1989, op cit, p. 79.
teenth century. The problems in its use stem from the ideology behind its compilation and changes in the definitions of its enquiry.

One problem with the census which is particularly relevant to this study is the procedure for enumerating persons with multiple occupations. As will be shown (see Chapter Three, Section 3.5.3; Chapter Four, Section 4.5) the following of multiple occupations by tradesmen was a common feature. The question of multiple occupations was covered from 1851 when the instructions stated that

"a person following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupations in the order of their importance."

For publication the census clerks abstracted the occupation that appeared "most important", usually the first, but despite subsequent more specific instructions

"one may have some doubts about the exhaustiveness of the recording of multiple occupations."

Certainly there appeared to be no consistent enumeration between the different enumeration districts in the sample taken, and other sources reveal in some cases a complex combination of occupations. In addition, there were no specific instructions as to recording seasonal occupations. To some extent it is likely

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55 Cited in Ibid., p. 80.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
that the Registrar General's marriage certificates suffered from similar problems, though whether any attempt was actually made to issue instructions to standardise these entries is not known. Multiple occupations were recorded, though in a sample of one thousand, one hundred and ninety two occupational titles from two hundred and ninety eight marriages, only seventeen, or one percent, were multiple. In addition, it is clear that such enumeration varied according to the whim of the registrar, or possibly the insistence of the individual.

A particular problem for this study, given the focus on the family in craft production in Chapter Six, is the enumeration of the occupations of women. The process of taking and analysing the census was not a value-free exercise. It was constructed by men who had certain assumptions about the position of women in society i.e. women tended to be defined as dependents, while men were defined in terms of their labour. The important issue is that

"if the census reveals itself as part of the process by which gender divisions were defined, it cannot be used uncritically to study gender divisions in Victorian society."\(^8\)

The census appears to have under-enumerated women's

\(^8\)Higgs, E. 1987 "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses" History Workshop Journal, XXIII, pp. 59-60, 76.
economic activity in a number of areas. Much women's work was part-time, casual or seasonal, and as noted above provision for the enumeration of such work was not made in the census. The domestic work of women was directly or explicitly excluded from the census. The work of married women may have been hidden by the husband filling in the household schedule for status reasons, and the occupational column for married women was to be left blank by enumerators unless they had a specific paid occupation. This may have helped to restrict the enumeration of women's employment to their involvement in the market economy, but it was not consistently carried out. For the censuses of 1851 to 1871 census clerks employed categories such as 'shoemaker's wife' for those women supposed to take part in their husband's business, but again this was inconsistently applied and the actual category is confusing. All these factors can be shown to have had a considerable impact on the enumeration of women's occupations. For the sample employed in this study there were one thousand, five hundred and two females aged over twelve years in 1851, and one thousand, three hundred and twenty eight in 1861. Of these totals two

percent were recorded as scholars, fifty five percent were returned with an occupation, and forty three percent were recorded as having no occupation in 1851, while the figures for 1861 were three percent, fifty two percent and forty five percent respectively. A study of London for the 1851 census also suggests greater than fifty percent of women were returned as having no occupation. Given that for the vast majority of the working class all family members probably had to contribute to the family economy, and that, as will be seen in Chapter Six, family members were significant in craft production, this represents a significant underenumeration of women's employment. Of the two hundred and ninety eight brides in the marriage register sample, only forty two (or fourteen percent) did not have an occupational title assigned to them (occupational titles were not enumerated for the mothers of the brides and grooms). Only seven cases (two percent) were enumerated vaguely as 'at home.' Thus enumeration of women's occupations is more consistent in this source, but of course this is not useful for attempting to reconstruct the industrial structure of the area. However, it does suggest that at least eighty four percent of women at time of marriage had an occupation, which gives some measure of the underenumeration of the census. To gain insight into the significance of women's involvement in production it is
obvious that other sources will have to be employed.

Attempts to distinguish between masters, journeymen and apprentices are complicated in the census enumerators' books.\textsuperscript{60} Enumeration was inconsistent, and this was at least partly due to fluid nineteenth century work practices. This of course causes problems when trying to analyse differences between masters and journeymen, and between these status divisions and, for example, farm servants. The answer to this problem has been to base any analysis based on status divisions only on those cases where there is no ambiguity, i.e. 'master', 'employer' or 'journeyman' is clearly stated, and returns as to labour employed given. This often reduces sample sizes to unusable values, even in a sample population of this size, in which case attempts at analysis between status divisions are abandoned and the craftsmen analysed as a group. In 1891 three columns were introduced onto the enumerators schedules for the recording of employment status as 'employer', 'employee' or 'on own account'. In 1901 only one column was provided in which one of the above categories was to be entered. These returns were abstracted into tables published in the printed census abstracts,\textsuperscript{61} and

\textsuperscript{60}This section refers to Higgs, 1989, \textit{op cit.} pp. 89-93.

are used both in this chapter and Chapter 4. The census authorities were reported to be disappointed with the accuracy of the 1891 returns in particular, and though they may for various reasons have exaggerated this "the returns under this head were plainly imperfect."62 No systematic assessment of the accuracy of these tables has been undertaken, however, and thus it is important to attempt this before the tables are used.

The main question is whether the tables could be used to provide an indication of the total population of businesses in the area, which would be calculated by adding the returns for 'employers' to those 'on own account'. The different method of enumeration combined with a greater accuracy in 1901 compared to 1891 means that the two tables cannot be used to explore changes over time. The returns under this heading were inaccurate due to a number of reasons: people may have inflated their social position by claiming employer status, multiple occupations confused the issue (with a person being an employer in one and employed in another) as did subcontracting. An attempt is made to assess the accuracy of these tables below with reference to trade directories, and this matter is returned to below.

Within the marriage certificates the recording of

status distinctions in the trades appeared to be more consistent. However, it is obvious that there was variation between the practices of different registrars, with some according status distinctions to every individual, but others only in some cases, or not at all. Thus no attempt was made to carry out an analysis which employed the occupational titles as status distinctions, but the craft sector was considered as a whole.

The census also provides problems with the definition, both in enumeration and interpretation, of such categories as 'household' or 'family'. In this study the family or household is represented by the idea of a "co-residing group", as defined and used by other workers in such studies.63 As noted, the problems behind these issues are well documented elsewhere, but it is important to note that, even when this convention is adopted, changes in the enumeration procedure mean that the 1851 and 1861 censuses are not strictly comparable.

In 1901 a column to enumerate those 'working at home' was added to the census schedules. However, the

exact meaning of this column proved to be vague. Did it include servants or housewives, for example? The census authorities did not comment on the accuracy of the data, and it must be used carefully.\textsuperscript{64}

Using the printed census tables to investigate the changing numbers of individuals within certain economic sectors is also problematical. The census tables have been used in this study to investigate change in the craft sector for Lowland Perthshire (see Chapter Four, Section 4.7) between 1861 and 1911. The most usual method of improving inter-censal comparability is to produce an industrial classification known as the Booth-Armstrong classification.\textsuperscript{65} However, the categories constructed by this method cannot completely correct for errors introduced in the compilation of the census tables, and are most accurate at the highest level of amalgamation, in which the employed population is classified into nine major groups.\textsuperscript{66} These groups, such as 'mining', 'building' or 'manufacture' are too crude to be useful for an analysis of change within certain craft sectors, and an alternative method was adopted here for the data presented in Chapter Four. Using the census tables it was impossible to amalgamate

\textsuperscript{64}Higgs, 1989, \textit{op cit.}, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{65}Armstrong, \textit{op cit}, pp. 226-310; this chapter also contains a detailed description of inter-censal changes in enumeration.
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., p. 248.
the returns to produce a category which represented the craft sector as a whole. Problems such as changing occupational titles, changing definitions of titles, inconsistent enumeration of women's work (particularly married women's work), and the changes in the reality of what an occupational title represented all lead to inconsistencies between censuses. Thus it was decided to compile time series of the numbers enumerated within specific occupations which were taken to be representative of certain craft sectors, and to express these as a ratio per one thousand of the total population. Particular attention was paid to which occupations were chosen. Only those cases where the occupational title remained consistent over the whole time period were chosen. For instance, occupational titles such as 'tailor', 'builder', 'sawyer' and 'butcher and meat salesman' remained consistent in each census year. In addition, there was probably little change in the actual occupation which was represented by these occupational titles. In some cases it was possible to combine occupations in the earlier censuses to make categories correspond to those in later censuses, but this was only done where consistent categories could be found. Thus it was possible to add the numbers enumerated as 'staymakers' to those returned as 'milliners and dressmakers' in the 1861 and 1871 censuses, to create a category comparable to that of 'milliners,
dressmakers and staymakers' which was used after the 1881 census.

The values obtained were then calculated as a ratio of numbers per one thousand of the total population. This corrected for demographic change, and also put the focus on an examination of changing importance within the overall structure, rather than on accepting the validity of the values in absolute terms. This focus was also assisted by examining the overall change in the ratio values between 1861 and 1911, and the identification of long term trends, rather than inter-censal changes.

This approach is necessary to make use of the data in such a way as to construct meaningful series, and to minimise the problems of changes which were produced by the nature of the census only. However, it does mean that only certain types of occupations are focused upon. It probably excludes from analysis those occupations in sectors where changes in production were occurring. In these sectors the changing occupational title probably reflected the changing nature of the work. This type of analysis also does not account for new occupations that were being created, such as the traction engine owners or operators that became more common towards the end of the century. It also takes no account of transformations of occupations within small scale production and servicing. An example in this case
would be the evolution of smith work into agricultural engineering, or into garage owning. Thus these series must be taken as representative of change in the more traditional craft sectors, rather than presenting a full picture of stability or decline within small scale production.

2.3.3 Trade directories

Trade directories, due to assumptions regarding their containing internal inaccuracies and biases, were previously little used by historical geographers in Britain. However, an assessment of directory reliability and publication of a comprehensive guide to British directories has helped to draw more attention to directories as a source. In the present study information was abstracted from Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire. This was a county directory produced by a local publisher, issued between 1885 and 1939. While nothing is known about the methods of compilation used for this directory, its aim was to provide a


\[68\text{1889, 1895, 1900 Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire. D. Leslie, Perth.}\]
"directory...including register of proprietors, farmers, merchants, public officials, and clergy in the county."\textsuperscript{69}

It was thus compiled to be a general directory, combining a commercial component and a street directory component.\textsuperscript{70} Directories were often biased in their coverage towards middle class groups, and neglected to enumerate, for example, servants or labourers.\textsuperscript{71} Leslie's Directory also exhibits this limitation, as labourers, domestic servants and farm servants were not enumerated. However, this is largely a problem of directories when using them to attempt to determine overall structures, and in this study the aim is to focus on certain occupational groups. Therefore, it is more important to determine how consistent the coverage of those groups is, and in particular, how representative of all craft firms are those that appear in this record.

To begin to attempt this it is possible to compare the numbers of businesses recorded in the 1891 census as discussed above with numbers of businesses recorded in the trade directory for the same area (Figure 2.2). This comparison also assumes that Leslie's Directory is recording businesses and not just occupations. Assuming this, Figure 2.2 becomes a test as much of the value of the census tables as the trade directory data.

\textsuperscript{69}Ibid., title page.
\textsuperscript{70}Shaw and Tipper, \textit{op cit}, p. 355.
\textsuperscript{71}Shaw, \textit{op cit}, p. 34.
### Figure 2.2
Numbers of businesses in certain sectors in Perthshire,\(^1\) 1891 census and 1890 trade directory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>1891 census(^2)</th>
<th>1890 trade directory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot/shoemaker</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coachmaker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaker/milliner</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltster</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch/clock maker</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^1\)Excludes Perth City.

\(^2\)For explanation of calculation see text.
Do the two in any way reveal a consistent enumeration of craft businesses in the area, or are they completely incomparable, and equally inconsistent? In some cases the values returned are remarkably consistent, notably in the case of watchmakers, tailors, maltsters, coachmakers, butchers and brewers. For some trades, however, there are wide discrepancies, such as bakers (plus thirty relative to the census), smiths (minus fifty four), shoemakers (minus forty four) and millers (plus thirty one). The dressmaker/milliner sector shows a major discrepancy, and this point will be returned to when considering sequestrations.

Thus for some occupations neither the census tables nor the trade directories can be used as totally reliable measures of the total number of businesses. With caution, however, they can be used as descriptive indicators with differing distortions. For this reason Figures 4.3 and 4.4 in Chapter Four express the proportion of businesses run 'on own account' as a percentage of the total workforce, rather than of the total number of businesses indicated in the census tables. There are certain occupations, however, where the totals recorded in the two sources are similar, as noted above. To calculate the value of the average firm size, the number of those enumerated as 'employed' in each sector in the census tables was divided by the number enumerated as 'employers.' It was not possible
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Leslie's</th>
<th>Lamburn's</th>
<th>Slater's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot/shoemaker</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet mkr/upholsterer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaker/milliner</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltster</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason/builder</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter/decorator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawmiller</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor/clothier</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinplate worker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 Includes the parishes of Blairgowrie, Rattray, Clunie, Bendochy, Lethendy, Kinloch and Persie.
to break the census information down into categories corresponding to individual occupations, thus allowing those occupations where enumeration was suspect to be excluded. However, taken in the aggregate, it was felt that the figures derived could be used as indicative of the magnitude of the average firm size.

Figure 2.3 compares Leslie's Directory with two other directories for a part of Lowland Perthshire, and compares the numbers of craft and retail firms enumerated. For the most part the three directories were quite consistent in terms of the numerical level of coverage achieved. Figure 2.4 takes this comparison a step further by comparing the actual firms found in Leslie's Directory against the 'total' population of distinct firms found in the three directories, and this information is summarised in Figure 2.5. It is important to note that this forms a total population in a statistical rather than an absolute sense, and is composed of a total directory population of firms. Of the total population compiled from the three directories Leslie's enumerated on average eighty percent of firms. Craft firms were recorded more consistently (eighty one and a half percent) than retailing concerns (seventy two percent). It is obvious that directory coverage began to be more selective where there was a large total population of firms to choose from.
Figure 2.4
Comparison of Leslie’s directory coverage versus Lamburn’s and Slater’s, 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Blairgowrie 1</th>
<th>Dunning/Errol 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total firms</td>
<td>Found in Leslie’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot/shoemaker</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet mkr/upholsterer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cart owner/contractor</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer/implement mkr</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax/tow/jute spinner</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruiterer/greengrocer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer/general dealer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joiner</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltster</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason/builder</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter/decorator</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw miller</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinplate worker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy dealer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch/clock maker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: as Figure 2.2.

1 Includes the parishes of Blairgowrie, Rattray, Clunie, Bendochy, Lethendy, Kinloch and Persie.
2 Includes the parishes of Dunning, Forteviot, Forangallowny, Errol, Abernyte, Inchturie, Kilsindie, Kinnaird, and St. Madoes.
3 The total of firms in Leslie’s directory plus those found in Lamburn’s and Slater’s but not in Leslie’s.
Figure 2.5

Comparison of Leslie's directory coverage versus Lamburn's and Slater's, 1890: summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Total firms</th>
<th>% found in Leslie's</th>
<th>Total firms</th>
<th>% found in Leslie's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blairgowrie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dunning/Errol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All firms</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All retailers</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All crafts</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: as Figure 2.2.
Another important point when assessing directories as a source is the question of whether coverage varied spatially. In some cases directory coverage varied with settlement size, with larger settlements having a better coverage, as sales were more likely in these sites and directory compilation was more economically rewarding.\textsuperscript{72} Figure 2.5 shows that for all firms directory coverage was consistent between the parishes containing the larger towns of Blairgowrie and Rattray, and the smaller villages of Dunning and Errol. Retailers were actually better enumerated in the village sites, which again probably relates to the total number of firms, whilst crafts were fairly consistently enumerated in both areas.

The above analysis suggests that coverage of the craft sector by Leslie's Directory was consistent enough to make it a valid source for analysis. However, it is obvious that in certain cases compilation involved a selective procedure, which may mean that the firms in the directory are not representative of the craft sector as a whole, and this point needs further investigation. It may have been that this directory relied on subscriptions, in which case probably only the more established concerns would have been able to afford to be included. It is possible to cross check which type of firms appeared in the directory from

\textsuperscript{72}Shaw, \textit{op cit}, p. 32.
business histories, sequestration cases and oral tradition.

The directory does successfully enumerate several firms which were well known locally and in some cases nationally. Thus it would seem to have covered fairly consistently the larger scale enterprises, as would have been expected. Leslie’s Directory enumerated large scale manufacturing concerns in the textile, brewing and agriculturally related sectors. Examples include Lumsden and Mackenzie’s various bleaching and finishing works around Perth, and R. & D. Sharp’s Blackford Brewery. However, in the craft sector the directory also recorded most of the established and larger scale craft firms. These included David Millar’s coachmaking business in Crieff, David Hally & Sons (blacksmiths) in Auchterarder, and the agricultural engineering firms of Bissett’s of Blairgowrie and John Doe in Errol (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4). Larger firms were probably given more emphasis in the directory, particularly for the towns where larger numbers of firms would have necessitated some selection procedure in directory compilation. As an example, for 1900 the firm of John Bissett and Sons in Blairgowrie is enumerated four times, as 'agricultural engineers', 'agricultural implement makers', 'blacksmiths', and 'iron and brass founders'. One apparent omission which might have been expected to have been enumerated was
the firm of F.M. Fleming & Son at the Old Rattray Engineering Works.

Thirteen firms found in sequestration cases were also traced in the trade directories. The range of liabilities of these firms at time of bankruptcy (between 1890 and 1900) was £74-£1221, and the range of assets was £96-£1001. This suggests that the directory was enumerating some fairly small concerns in some cases, and a range of firms was found. Andrew Haggart, a joiner and boat builder in Abernethy (recorded as a joiner in the directory), started his business with £70 of capital, but of its eight year life span he had to admit that

"from the time I started business I was just able to get an existence and that was all."\(^7^3\)

The business concerns of John Dow, a slater, hotel and restaurant owner in Bankfoot, were more substantial. In addition to employing hotel staff he was also subcontracting other tradesmen for his building contracts.\(^7^4\) At the other end of the scale was James Wilson's coachbuilding business. Wilson had liabilities of £1221 when he became bankrupt, and sold carriages in Dundee, Edinburgh and London, and had also owned a showhouse in Dundee. At times he employed up to nine men.\(^7^5\)

\(^7^3\) S.R.O., CS318/45/125.  
\(^7^4\) S.R.O., CS318/41/96.  
\(^7^5\) S.R.O., CS318/40/264.
It is also possible to assess the types of firms that were recorded in Leslie's Directory for 1910 using oral tradition.\textsuperscript{76} This analysis reveals that the directory was enumerating businesses rather than occupations for the most part, and again a range of levels of enterprise can be identified. Alexander Johnstone, a baker, had his own business and employed several men, including the interviewee Mr. H. Young as an errand boy. All of Johnstone's sons followed him into the family business. James Anderson, a blacksmith, was also the vet and employed one man in his own business, and John Murrie employed several men in his smithing business. The butcher's firm of Whannel also owned another branch in the village of Almondbank. The building firms of John and Peter Keay each employed a number of men, including Peter's sons, and each mason within the firms also had one labourer. Peter and John had separate firms rather than a family firm due to a dispute within the family. The grocers and drapers business of Archibald Young, Mr. H. Young's grandfather, kept vans to market produce locally. In contrast to these more established firms it is clear that the directory was also enumerating more marginal concerns. Thomas Reid, enumerated as a watchmaker, was

\textsuperscript{76} The firms were recalled by Mr. H. Young of Pitcairngreen who was born in Methven in 1898.
also the postmaster and pursued watchmaking more as a sideline. Charles Taylor's activities as a coal merchant were another sideline, which he combined with working his pendicle, requiring both to make a living. James Pullar, described as a cart and wheel wright in the directory, also took side jobs in carpentry and painting, particularly with regard to houses.

Thus it would appear, especially for the smaller settlements where the total number of firms was less, that Leslie's Directory was recording a range of firms. It recorded both full time, large scale enterprises and also those firms run as a sideline, sometimes only by one person. Thus the directory did not exclude all of the more marginal concerns. This conclusion is also important in that it has implications for the results of the analysis of persistence rates and the construction of the ratio series representing numbers of businesses (Chapter Four, Sections 4.4 and 4.7). If the directory was only enumerating the better established firms, the picture gained of persistence rates would be distorted, as these firms would probably have survived better than the more marginal concerns where failure would have been more common. In the case of the ratio series, changes in numbers would probably have appeared less dramatic than they really were if only the well established firms had been recorded.
2.3.4 Sequestrations

A large amount of research was conducted with the aim of assessing the reliability of sequestration records as a source in historical analysis. This was undertaken both because it was felt that it was important to assess the representativeness of the material in the source, and because the research would be of value to other historians. An extended analysis is presented in Appendix I. This section summarises the main points of that analysis, and reference should be made to Appendix I for substantiation of the points made below.

The legal records of sequestration (a form of bankruptcy) in Scotland survive from 1795 to 1914. The series of records used in the present analysis is known as the Concluded Sequestration Processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act. This series was used because it covers the period from 1856 to 1914, which is the focus of most of the following chapters. Given that the cases in this record are of firms that went bankrupt and ended up in this record it is important to consider what type of firms the source provides information about.

When employing sequestrations as a source certain limitations must be kept in mind. The material in the sequestration processes represents a group of firms which were of small to medium size in terms of the
amount of capital employed. In general, neither the very small nor the very large firms were to be found in this source. Thus it is representative of a particular stratum of firms. Certain types of firms, in terms of the occupation followed, may have been under or over represented, thus using sequestrations in an aggregate form as indicators of bankruptcy rates is not possible. Great care must be taken with how the source is used with respect to the involvement of women in business.

Thus it is important to bear the limitations of the sequestrations in mind. However, it is probable that the group of firms involved was numerically important. In terms of labour power the norm in this area was for small firms (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2). If it was possible to produce a frequency distribution curve of firm sizes (based on capital or labour), then it is likely that it would look like a normal distribution curve skewed towards the smaller end of the scale. A slice through the middle of this curve would hence contain a large number of cases. This middling group of firms was likely to have been important in terms of the local economy, and in local capital formation. The sequestrations certainly contain information regarding a complex suite of firms. Thus an assessment of the source must conclude that sequestrations form a very useful source of information on a wide variety of topics.
2.3.5 Relating sample populations

Having considered the representativeness of the main sources it is important to consider the implications of this survey. This study draws its conclusions from the analysis of a variety of records. The approach adopted has been one of relating information from different statistical populations, which form subsets of the population of total craftsmen, and between which there is a certain amount of overlap. This approach has been adopted because one of the aims of the research is to present a broadly-based, long-term study of change over time. It was concluded from a review of the literature that a general study of the crafts in a rural setting was necessary both as a comparative study (to contrast with previous work on urban areas), and to provide the background to more detailed studies, such as those presented on the credit system (Chapter Five) and the family (Chapter Six) later in this thesis.

Nominal record linkage (defined here as linkage on the basis of surnames) between the census, trade directories, sequestrations and other sources such as probate inventories would have built up a more detailed picture of small craft businesses and businessmen/women. But record linkage studies are by their nature restricted in the time period they can cover. Certainly within the confines of the present
study to pursue such an approach when attempting to assess long term changes was considered impracticable. The aim here is therefore to establish a context which may be useful for further research, perhaps in due course using a nominal record linkage approach. Therefore relating general statistical populations was judged to be acceptable within the practical constraints to which a study such as the present one is subject.

With this approach, from the consideration of the representativeness of the source data, it would seem a mistake, for example, to combine uncritically conclusions drawn from the trade directory analysis with that of the sequestrations analysis. Thus the assessment of sources presented above is important in that it establishes to what extent the various sources can be related to each other. The census would have enumerated nearly the entire population of tradespeople. Marriage certificate data would provide information on those craft families where a member or members were involved in marriage, which was presumably a representative sample. This data set included both operative and master tradespeople. Qualitative material probably represents the whole of the craft sector, though as pointed out, this may have been selective in a non-systematic way, compared to, for example, trade directories.
However, both the trade directories and the sequestration processes have a narrower focus, and are more selectively representative of the entire population of those in the craft sector. The analysis of the trade directory used in this study revealed that its coverage of individual firms was good, and that it was quite consistent spatially. More importantly it was found that the directory enumerated a range of enterprises, from full time, large-scale firms down to smaller, more marginal businesses. Thus it was concluded that despite its narrower focus the trade directory sample reflected the range of enterprises which were found in the area in a manner which was consistent enough to confirm its use as a source.

The sequestration processes were found to be representative of a still narrower range of concerns. Specifically they were shown to refer to firms which were of small to medium size in terms of the capital they employed, as far as this could be measured by their assets and liabilities. It is therefore important to bear in mind whenever evidence is presented which is derived from the sequestrations that this refers to this particular stratum of firms. However, with regard to the size distribution of the total population of firms, it is likely that sequestrations actually refer to a numerically important group. In addition, the types of firms represented also formed an important
group in economic terms. Lastly, this source dealt with a complex group of firms, some of which were also found in the trade directory.

Thus it can be concluded that, while both these sources have a narrower focus than the others employed, there is still sufficient overlap to justify careful combination of the conclusions arising from their analyses.

2.4 METHODS

2.4.1 Sampling scheme

Having identified the sources which seemed best suited to address the issues of concern in this study, it was necessary to draw samples from them. Sampling had to proceed in some logical fashion which meshed with the nature of the sources available and the methodological considerations outlined above, and which avoided a biased sample.

The sampling scheme was determined initially by its geographical extent. Lowland Perthshire was chosen as a suitable study area for several reasons. It fulfilled the criteria of a study area which had a mixed farming system, with the settlement pattern made up of villages and small market towns. It is an area which has a comprehensive background literature concerning agriculture and industry.77

77 See, for example, Gray, op cit; Turner, op cit.
Lowland Perthshire had a well established cash economy by the early nineteenth century, and a well developed credit network, enhanced by the development of the textile sector (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4). The pattern of landholding was also significant, as the area was not dominated by a few large landowners whose actions might have made the local economy or the area's development unusual. In Redgorton parish in 1795, for example, land was owned by a total of four heritors who represented a range of sizes of landed interest; the Duke of Atholl, Lord Methven, Colonel Graham of Balgowan and Mr. Drummond of Logiealmond. In 1874, eleven of the largest holdings in Perthshire accounted for only forty two point seven percent of the county. This contrasts strongly with areas such as Buteshire, where four landowners owned ninety six percent of the whole county, or Sutherlandshire, where the Duke of Sutherland owned ninety one percent of the county.

Within the confines of the geographical area sampling was concerned with enumerating total populations as far as possible. This was considered necessary because there was little ready-made

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79 Campbell and Devine, op cit, p. 65.
comparative data available for most of the analyses carried out, and thus it was necessary to carry out comparative analysis within this study itself. Thus a one hundred percent sample was extracted from the trade directories. It was also feasible to carry out a one hundred percent sample of all sequestration cases relating to tradesmen between 1856 and 1914, but due to the nature of the record not every case recorded the same information, and thus sample sizes varied in the final analysis. Geographically, sequestrations were more commonly located in the market towns of the area, such as Crieff, Blairgowrie or Coupar Angus. This does not necessarily represent a bias in the data, however, as more firms would be located at these sites in the first place. The marriage certificate sample was drawn on the basis of selecting all cases where the groom was a tradesman, within certain geographical limits. The parishes chosen for this analysis were the same as those which were sampled in the census analysis, and the reasoning behind the choice of sites is outlined below.

Of the three local newspapers sampled, the Courier provided the longest continuous series (1809-1929). Since change over time was an important point theme of the investigation every issue of the Courier was examined for the period 1830-1890. The evidence extracted was cross checked by examining the Advertiser
and the *Constitutional* at five year intervals, and also for certain selected years which the Courier suggested were significant in labour relations. However, the original copies of the other two papers were in very bad condition, and it was only possible to sample these where microfilm copies were available. This restricted sampling to the periods 1837-75 for the *Advertiser* and 1836-50 for the *Constitutional*.

Choice of sample sites depended on the fulfilment of a variety of quantitative and qualitative criteria. As the analysis presented in Chapter Three (Section 3.3) suggests, tradesmen were likely to be found in the villages and market towns of the area. It was considered that a more useful foundation for future comparative studies would be laid by securing a one hundred percent coverage of the sample settlements, rather than a partial coverage. Practical considerations thus placed the focus on fairly small settlements (those with a total population of less than two thousand) rather than the larger ones of the region. This was not felt to be inappropriate, in view of the rural emphasis of the study as a whole.

Samples of whole parishes were drawn to add comparative material representing that part of the population directly involved in agriculture. Sample sites were chosen where population change was not dramatic around the census years (all sample sites had
a smaller population change than for Lowland Perthshire as a whole), and where the sex ratio of the population was as close to the average as possible. The choice of sites was further influenced by considering the economic development of the parishes. Sites were chosen where agriculture was the main economic activity, and where settlements were largely concerned with servicing an agricultural hinterland through services, retailing and markets, though of course the village population was also engaged in various industrial pursuits. The sample sites chosen were the complete parishes of Methven and Collace, and the villages of Almondbank, Collace, Forteviot, Kinrossie, Longforgan, Meigle and Methven.

It is important to remember that there was nothing unusual about industry in rural areas. However, certain industries had a significant effect on the local economic, social and demographic structures. This was particularly the case in this region with the textile industry, associated as it was with factory based production. Thus the village of Almondbank, where employment was largely found in spinning, weaving and bleaching, was also sampled, to provide a contrasting occupational group for comparative purposes.

2.4.2 Computerised methods in the research process

Recent years have seen a significant increase in the use of computers in historical research and
teaching. This study has made use of a number of packages for the manipulation and analysis of data, and the presentation of results. The author assessed available software for its applicability to the kinds of historical analysis required here, under three headings - data capture and verification, manipulation and analysis, and display - and examples are provided from the experience gained in this study.

Data capture from primary sources, of course, takes place in the archives. Data sets are collated by the manual copying of material from the original source to build up a handwritten or possibly typewritten sample. The next step in any computerised study is usually the coding of elements of the data, such as occupations, locations and data on individuals such as sex or kin relationship. In this study census data were hand recorded from microfilm with the intent of ultimately processing records within the Oracle Relational Database Management System (RDBMS), a commercial sector software product originally developed for business applications. Oracle was also used to analyse the material drawn from the trade directories.

For example, the series of national and international conferences organised by the Association for History and Computing, and their journal History and Computing, and the establishment of the Computers in Teaching Initiative Centre for History and Computing, at Glasgow University, which publishes the newsletter Craft.
These analyses involved the designing by the author of a data model, the building of Oracle tables to implement this model, and the construction of forms for data entry and update (see below).

The use of database software was found advantageous at the data capture stage. It was adopted in order to deal with the traditional problems of transferring a large volume of data from the source into a usable form, and in this case into a machine readable form. Thus from the start computerised methods were built into the whole approach adopted, from data capture to final display.

At the data capture stage, the use of the database was an advantage in that it was possible to quickly develop code sheets which were taken to the archive. An initial sample was taken from the census from which it was possible to compile a list of commonly occurring occupations. With the 1851 and 1861 censuses the recording of occupational titles was fairly limited for this area, for example catch-all titles such as 'farm servant' or 'textile worker' commonly occurred, which made it easy to quickly establish a code sheet. This initial sample was also used to design a standard form for data capture (see Figure 2.6), and the code sheets were used in the archive to code the forms directly from the microfilm. As work progressed, additional occupational titles were noted, and after every archive
Figure 2.6
Standard form used for recording data from the census enumerators' books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H/CD</th>
<th>ADCD</th>
<th>NAME1</th>
<th>NAME2</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>BPCD</th>
<th>O/CD</th>
<th>C/ACD</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>SC</th>
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<tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>JAMES</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>MARY</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>CAN</td>
<td>CATHERINE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>412</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>MCDIE</td>
<td>MARGARET</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>MCDIE</td>
<td>JESSIE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>JAMES</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>DUNCAN</td>
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<td>575</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ARCHIBALD</td>
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<td>594</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>DUNCAN</td>
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<td>594</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
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<td>CATHARENE</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ANDREW</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
session the database table was updated, and a new occupational coding, ordered alphabetically by title and/or by code number, was produced for the following day. On a simpler level, this could also be achieved by using an editor or a word processor to maintain a list, but the researcher would have to ensure that the entries were ordered alphabetically, whereas the database can be used to automatically order output in this way. This process was also used for the locational information, which cut down on transcription when the same areas were sampled for the 1861 census as in the 1851 census. With the trade directory data, coding was written directly onto the photocopied sheets, again using a regularly updated code sheet.

As with the other major datasets used in this study the availability of free data preparation in the form of data entry into computer files was a major feature in making this type of analysis possible. The coded sheets of census data, and the coded photocopies of trade directory material, were entered into computer files by the data preparation unit. These data were then bulk loaded into the database using the Oracle SQL*LOAD facility. Where the researcher does not have access to a data preparation service the sample size may have to be reduced. However, a serious

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\(^{82}\) Data entry was carried out by the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre (ERCC) Data Preparation Unit.
consideration should be the purchase of a portable computer which, where there were facilities provided, could be taken into the archives. In this case data entry would be directly into a machine readable form, and this would combine data capture and data entry into one operation, reducing the time required and the possibilities of error. Data would then be uploaded to the mainframe or PC where analysis was to be undertaken.

An important consideration in any computerised study, particularly where data entry is carried out independently, is that of verification. Computerised data entry, like all other steps in the analysis, allows the introduction of errors into the data set, which must be checked for before any analysis.

At the data entry stage the use of database software can help maintain data integrity. The Oracle database allows the construction of forms for data entry and editing. A form is a screen display, with areas of the screen corresponding to the fields within the database, through which data can be typed into the database, and other operations performed. The significance of this in terms of data verification is that certain checks can be built into the form. For example, if a column has been specified as a number type column then alphabetical characters cannot be entered via the form, but an error message will be
returned. Field lengths can be set to prevent values which are too long being entered, and a limited range specified, which prevents values not between a specified minimum and maximum figure being entered. Other checks can be constructed using field-level triggers. Thus it is possible to design forms in a way which reduces the likelihood of errors being introduced during data entry.

Within the Oracle RDBMS it is possible to produce output in various ways which allow identification of errors, and to update individual records. To take a simple example, it may be wished to check that there are no typing errors within a particular column. This column may be composed of all the entries of firm names taken from trade directories, where the purpose is to establish the persistence rates of firms over a period, by attempting to link firms by name, business and location. Data are manipulated and extracted from within Oracle by writing queries, composed of a series of commands and qualifiers, in Structured Query Language (SQL). As SQL is used across a variety of databases, the experience of using Oracle is of wider application. Writing macros in SQL is considerably easier than writing them in, for example, FORTRAN.

particularly for simple operations. Thus it would probably be of advantage to historians with little computer experience. However, SQL does have its limitations, and for advanced work an advanced language such as P-FORTRAN may be necessary.

A query was written to produce an alphabetically ordered list of the distinct fields in the name column of the database table. The distinct qualifier is used to ensure that, for example, if 'SMITH, A.J.' had four entries in the table, it would only be returned once in this list, thus suppressing output of unnecessary data. Thus any typing errors can be easily identified from this listing, as shown in Figure 2.7. Having identified any such errors, a macro (a file containing a list of commands) can be written to update the field in error. To correct the errors in this example the macro in Figure 2.8 was written, which prompts the user to enter the name in error (so that it can be located in the database) and then to enter the correct spelling. The appropriate field(s) are then updated within the database. Where a name is returned and it is uncertain whether it is mistyped or not, all the information pertaining to the record can be selected from the database, to allow the record to be re-checked against the original transcription or source.

This approach was also used to standardise names which were used for the record linkage. This need to
Figure 2.7
Oracle select statement and resulting output
revealing typing error

```
SQL> SELECT DISTINCT NAME FROM FIRMS
      ORDER BY NAME;

NAME

ABELS, ALEXANDER
ABELS, THOMAS W.
ABERCROMBIE, JOHN
ABERCROMBIE, MARTHA
ABERNETHY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY
ABERUTHVEN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.
ADAM & BLACK
ADAM & CO.
ADAM, DAVID
ADDM, DAVID
ADAM, ELIZABETH
ADAM, GEORGE
ADAM, ISABELLA

<typing error on this line>
```
Figure 2.8

Oracle macro to update name fields in error

SET VERIFY OFF
UPDATE FIRMS
SET NAME='&RIGHTNAME'
WHERE NAME='&WRONGNAME';

On the terminal screen this would appear as:

SQL>&MACRO

Enter value for RIGHTNAME: ADAM, DAVID
Enter value for WRONGNAME: ADDM, DAVID

One record updated.

SQL>
standardise names constitutes a possible drawback for using databases for this type of analysis with some sources. However, it is less important when considering names drawn from a late nineteenth century trade directory which was fairly standardised anyway. In this case standardisation of names mostly involved dealing with the evolution of firms. For example, a typical change was from John Smith, to John Smith & Co. or John Smith & Son, perhaps to John Smith and Sons. The number of cases where this was necessary was small, and standardisation was quicker to achieve once the data were entered into the database than when still in the medium of photocopies.

The computerisation of data manipulation and analysis was also found to be advantageous, and some important points can be drawn out. Firstly, computerisation has great potential for increasing the volume of data used in an analysis, particularly if it can be used to increase the efficiency of data capture. Obtaining large sample sizes just for the sake of it is to be avoided, of course, but especially for subgroups a certain sample size is necessary for results to be statistically meaningful, and in certain cases a large data set may be necessary e.g. in the study of a town or city. Once data are held within a package there

is great flexibility in the uses to which it can be put, and the time spent on data entry can be justified by the greater returns of a flexible computerised data set. For example, the trade directory data were initially used to calculate persistence rates of firms (Chapter Four, Section 4.4), but it was also possible to produce locational data to map the markets of firms (Chapter Four, Section 4.6); produce simple counts of numbers (Section 2.3.3); to investigate whether any firms in the sequestration record were enumerated in the directory (Section 2.3.3); and to investigate the occupational composition of the local councils, parochial boards and so on (Chapter Seven, Section 7.7).

One part of a data set can also be used for other analysis. For example, an Oracle table was developed which held the locations of settlements on the National Grid, and these data were used in the analysis of trade directories, sequestrations and business material, as well as producing general diagrams. A further feature is the use of data sets and knowledge gained in other studies. The maps used in this study have made use of a digitised outline of the U.K. which was compiled for the new issue of the Historical Atlas of Scotland. It was also possible to make use of an Oracle table of settlement locations which is currently being compiled for a study of internal migration in early nineteenth
century Scotland. Where computerised studies can be made more widely available there is great potential for avoiding duplication of work and for gaining practical benefit from previous research.

An obvious benefit of computer assisted analysis is the increased speed compared to manual methods. The benefits of using powerful databases or statistical packages, such as the Minitab package used in this study, are obvious when handling large volumes of data, even if performing fairly simple calculations. While statistical packages usually allow sophisticated tests such as correlation or chi square testing, often the data that the historian is using is not rigorous enough to support such analyses. One of the benefits of the Minitab package is that its exploratory data analysis (EDA) options allow simple investigations of the data. Means, medians and comparison of simple descriptive statistics such as these are easily obtained. Even low quality graphic output allows for rapid assessment of patterns in data sets. Examples in this study include simple boxplots of the range of values of liabilities

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85 I would like to acknowledge the work of David Gray and David Tidswell, of the Department of Geography at Edinburgh University, for access to this material.

86 The creation of an historical data archive is currently being undertaken by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.
and assets of sequestrated firms (see Appendix I, Figures I.1 and I.2), and histograms of the number of employees in firms (Chapter Four, Figure 4.1).

This study has been to some extent concerned with the analysis of spatial patterns, and here computer assisted mapping has been found useful for analysis, and for the display of results. The mapping package GIMMS was used for all the maps produced in this thesis. It was found to be particularly useful because of its flexibility, which allows the user a great deal of control regarding the manipulation and display of data. For example, to draw out the characteristics of population change (see Chapter One) it was possible to produce a series of maps with the calculated population change variable divided between a variety of classifications, such as a quantile or an arithmetic classification, or one in which the class intervals were user defined.

In the case of the maps of the sources of trade credit of the rural firms (see Chapter Five) the GIMMS package was useful in a number of ways. Proportional point symbolism representing the amount of credit originating at a particular location could be automatically calculated. Computer mapping was also found useful because the maps were repetitive in their use of locational features such as coastlines and towns. The geographical coverage of the maps varied
considerably, but the GIMMS package could be used to
draw maps of a different scale and coverage from one
polygon file. Soft copy of output, drawn onto a
graphics screen, allowed rapid assessment of patterns,
with the required map finally produced on a pen plotter
or through a laser printer for high quality graphics.

A particular area of investigation of this study
has been to make map production simpler and faster by
constructing menu interfaces between the user, the
mapping package and the data files. This was found to
be particularly useful for the analysis of the spatial
patterns of the provision of trade credit (Chapter
Five). In this instance the requirement was for a
series of maps, each map displaying the data from one
firm. It was necessary to produce around eighty
individual maps, so a method was required which was
rapid and simple. Examples of the end results can be
seen in Chapter Five (Section 5.5).

Figure 2.9 illustrates the procedure developed to
produce the maps. This involves using GEOLINK, a

87 This method and the material presented below has
been published in Young, C. 1989 "Computer Assisted
Mapping of the Credit Fields of Nineteenth Century
Rural Tradesmen in Scotland" History and Computing,
1(2), pp. 105-11; Young, C. 1989 "Historical
applications of GIMMS and GEOLINK" GIMMS Newsletter,
9, pp. 5-6; Young, C. and Tidswell, D.P. 1990
"Applying GIMMS and GEOLINK to analysis in
historical geography" in Harrington, V.P. (ed.)
College, Dublin. pp. 34-47.
Figure 2.9
Structure of map production
general purpose interfacing package. A GEOLINK mask file is run, which is a command file which the user develops to fit his or her own particular needs. This combines input from three sources to produce a GIMMS command file. The program prompts the user for certain input from the terminal, and combines his/her responses with 1) GIMMS commands which are the same for every map and which are embedded in the mask file, and 2) data selected from data files which vary from map to map. The resulting GIMMS command file is submitted to a batch processing queue automatically, either to produce a plot file or a screen display, and it combines the point data located on the national grid, with the polygon file of the United Kingdom, to produce a proportional point map.

Figure 2.10 shows the series of screens which prompt the user at the terminal to input the parameters which change with each map run. Firstly plotter or terminal output is selected. Then the map origin and scale are specified. Thirdly, the map required is selected by entering the appropriate code number for that data set, and the option of having the credit sources named on the map is given. If then names are selected they are also output to the terminal. Then the data read by the mask file to produce the point symbolism is also read to the terminal, and finally the user is prompted as to whether another map run is
Figure 2.10
GEOLINK screens for map production

1

***** Hello Craig, welcome to CRAFTMAP. *****

PLOTTER OR TERMINAL OUTPUT?: terminal

2

***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE *****

Default values give map of Scotland, 0,0 for U.K.

GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500):2550

GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000):6400

Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K.

GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0039):0.015

3

***** SPECIFY WHICH MAP TO DRAW *****

PLEASE ENTER DATA CODE NUMBER:CS319'S90

MAP IS OF: George-Macfollan-Clothing-Coupar-Angus-1882.

NAME MAP LOCATIONS? Y

PLACEnAMES

***********
Perth
Fochabers
Bredential
Elgin
Coupar-Angus
Bonnie
Edinburgh

4

*** CAUTION: if YLOC is less than 64e6 then point is off map ***

Data read:

YLOC XLOC LEVEL

************
3100 7220 4.
3150 7290 1.
3200 7270 1.
3250 6450 1.
3200 7400 1.
3410 7530 2.
3260 6740 1.

RESTART MASK FILE? (default is n):
required. Thus with answers to only six questions at
the terminal, the map is designed and produced on the
plotter or terminal screen, whilst information is suppl-
ied to the user to check the progress of the mapping
run.

Figure 2.11 shows a part of the GEOLINK mask file
to show how input from the terminal, data files and
embedded GIMMS commands are combined to produce a GIMMS
command file (Appendix II contains a print out of the
complete mask file, and an example GIMMS command file).
In this section the user is asked if the names of the
locations are required. If the answer is yes, then the
loop opens the data file and finds the required parcel
of data which is marked by the code previously entered
from the screen (see Figure 2.11). It then reads the X
and Y co-ordinates and the names, until the dummy
variable 99999 is read, at which point the loop is
exited, and the mask file continues with other tasks.
Using substitution variables within an embedded GIMMS
*TEXT command allows the automatic production of a
series of *TEXT commands which write the placenames at
the appropriate map locations. Figure 2.12 shows a part
of the GIMMS command file produced by the mask file,
and the *TEXT commands shown were produced by the loop
in the GEOLINK file entering the X and Y co-ordinates
and the placename until the loop was exited.

In a similar fashion the title and other text and
Figure 2.11
Section of the GEOLINK mask file

```
ICM
ICM
:QU "NAME MAP LOCATIONS?:" NAM
:PR
:IF NAM YES Y yes y
:PR
:PR PLACENAMES
:PR
:NE SPOOL CRNAMES.DAT
:DE X Y NAME
:FI :CODE
:SK
:BL
:RE IX !Y !NAME
:IF X 99999
:EX
:EI
:PR !NAME
"TEXT MAPUNITS IX !Y REALSIZE HT 0.1 'NAME' "
:EL
:EI
:CL CRNAMES.DAT
:ICM
:ICM

<put question to terminal>
<IF statement if answer is Y>
<print line to terminal>
<open data file>
<declare variables>
<find the required data>
<begin loop>
<read variables>
<if data = 99999>
<then exit>
<print data read to terminal>
<end if>
<close data file>
```
$NEWGIMS

*TEXT MAPUNITS 3520 7360 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Newdownie'  (*TEXT commands*)
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3360 7320 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Dundee'  (generated by GEOLINK)
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3220 7400 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Coupar-Angus'  (GEOLINK loop)
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3260 6740 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Edinburgh'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2580 6650 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Glasgow'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3110 7230 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Perth'

*DRAWMAP FILE=11

*END
*STOP
design features are automatically incorporated into the GIMMS command file and hence the map. Thus map production is extremely rapid, and a number of repetitive maps can easily be produced without constant manual editing of command files. In addition, the construction of menu interfaces has great potential for allowing inexperienced users to gain the full benefit of the kinds of complex analysis and display which computerisation offers, without having to invest a great amount of time in learning to use the packages involved.

The adoption of computerised analysis in this study has involved making certain decisions, and overcoming certain problems, which have implications for any computerised study. It is important not to forget the usual emphasis on assessing the sources used, and the old computer adage of 'garbage in, garbage out' holds true. It is important also to assess the returns of the benefits of computer analysis against the time taken to learn to use the package(s). Within the limits of this study it was concluded that the benefits were sufficient to justify the adoption of computer analysis. A vital feature of any such analysis is the emphasis that must be placed on the drawing of pilot samples which are used to test the applicability of the available computer packages. It is worthwhile checking that the intended analysis actually is
feasible with a very small number of records before engaging in major data entry. This is particularly true when employing relational database systems, where the user must decide on the structure of the database, and how the different elements within it are related. This is connected to the importance of having worked carefully through the historical background to the types of questions which will be put to the data, rather than being drawn into "possibility driven" research. On the other hand, it is also important not to allow the format of computer packages to impose a structure on the data which distorts its own structures, though with fairly standardised sources this is less of a problem.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined several points about the research design adopted, how the methodological problems were tackled, and about the conclusions regarding the adoption of computer technology as an integral part of the research method. It has sought to outline and justify the principles behind the practice, by defining the terminology adopted, assessing the sources used, and describing the methods employed.

The following chapters present the results of the implementation of the methods adopted to analyse the

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sources, to address the issues which have been considered to be of importance. Throughout the following material it is important to bear in mind the limitations of the sources discussed in this chapter.

In the following chapter a general picture is presented of the involvement of tradespeople in the transformation of the economy and society of Lowland Perthshire between c.1750 and c.1840.
Chapter Three

Small scale production in Lowland Perthshire, c.1750-c.1840.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to outline the involvement of the rural tradespeople in the transformation of the economy and society of Lowland Perthshire between c.1750 and c.1840. During this period a fundamental change occurred in the area's economy and society, a change largely related to the series of innovations in agriculture usually known as the Improvements (see Chapter One).

Put crudely, at the beginning of the period examined the economy and society of Lowland Perthshire were dominated by an agrarian regime which still retained features which controlled the organisation of production and distribution in a non-market fashion. By 1840, Lowland Perthshire was one of Scotland's most notable capitalist farming areas. This change was typified by the spread of a market economy based on cash exchanges, for example in return for labour or in exchange for goods, and where there was less regulation of economic relationships.

Though this change occurred largely between c.1750 and c.1840, it is important that the longer term developments are acknowledged. Improvement both pre-dated and continued after these dates. In addition,
some earlier features continued to survive. However, the period defined was one of concentrated and significant change in the agrarian regime, local economy, landscape, settlement pattern and society. This chapter seeks to assess to what extent small scale producers were agents of change. In addition, it examines the experience of those employed in this sector in terms of the socio-economic changes they underwent in this period.

The first section of the chapter outlines the position of tradesmen within the pre-improvement estate structure (see 3.2). The tradesmen were tenants or cottars and much of their role was defined by this standing. However, their trades involved certain distinctive economic (and social) relationships within the estate, such as the process of thirlage. This section outlines the non-market relationships which those people involved in the trades were engaged in.

The chapter continues by examining the role of those involved in the trades in the changes associated with the agricultural improvements. Change in the settlement pattern is described in section 3.3, and landlord policy regarding the relocation and retention of skilled workers during the Lowland clearances is examined.

In section 3.4, the increasing demand for the products and services of the craft sector is explained.
This is particularly related to the developing market economy of the area, the causes of which are discussed. Changes in the structure of demand are examined for the products and services of the building, food, dress, agricultural servicing and consumer durables trades. In addition, it is shown how the craft sector was able to respond to this increasing demand.

Section 3.5 examines the effect that this increasing market demand had on the craft sector. Change in the numbers of those involved in the trades is examined, and the increasing opportunities for craft production are illustrated. The increasing division of labour is outlined. The involvement of the tradespeople in the spreading cash economy is shown with reference to cash wages, landholding, subsistence production and cash exchanges in the market.

The conclusion (Section 3.6) summarises the changes occurring in this period which have been dealt with in this chapter. In particular, the role of those involved in the trades as agents of, or objects of, change is assessed.

3.2 THE TRADES IN THE PRE-IMPROVEMENT PERIOD

The economic and social position of the tradesmen in pre-improvement times can be outlined (no references were found to women working in the trades for this period, but this does not rule out their presence). There is a danger in presenting a starting point for
any historical study which implies a static and homogeneous view of the past. Change undoubtedly occurred both in agriculture and the estate structure prior to 1750. For example, enclosure was taking place near to Crieff as early as 1706, and payment of farm rents in kind had been commutated to cash payments in Perthshire by the end of the seventeenth century.\(^1\) Similarly, recent work has shown how the tenantry on estates in the North East of Scotland were in fact stratified in socio-economic terms in the seventeenth century.\(^2\)

However, as a starting point for a study of the changing nature of craft production during the agricultural improvements certain features of the pre-improvement situation can be presented to highlight later changes, provided it is remembered that a more detailed study would reveal a more complex picture of variation over time and space.

In seventeenth century Scotland the estate was the basic unit of land organisation, and the estate commun-


ity was highly economically and socially interdependent. Within this structure the tradesmen's position was largely defined by their belonging to the class of small tenant farmers, or as cottars. However, their trades probably distinguished them somewhat from the other tenants, as suggested below, making them "a distinct group in the community."

Craft production was carried out largely on a part time basis, and other occupations were also followed. In addition to agricultural production, through their own farm or croft, other types of craft production may have been exploited. It has been suggested that in the comparatively flexible craft situation of the countryside, tradesmen may have overlapped areas of work in a way that would not have been allowed by the burgh guilds. Cordiners and soutars also dealt with tanning, and smiths with selling lime and iron which they

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3 Whyte, op cit, p. 29.
5 Sanderson, op cit, p. 41.
6 Ibid., p. 183.
obtained as they bought raw materials from the burghs. Stephen Forbes, smith in the Barony of Urie in 1622, was also paying tax for the privilege of brewing. Most production was probably for local markets.

Another feature of the rural trades at this time was that they were fairly limited in type. A study of the poll tax returns for Aberdeenshire show a lower limit of three to five percent of the active male workforce having industrial occupations, which it was suggested may have represented the basic level of specialised craft production that was required by a dispersed farming community. Trades noted included weavers, tailors, leather workers, smiths and wrights. Other tradesmen at the time included masons, slaters, dykers, gardeners, thatchers and carters. However, a notable feature of the pre-improvement period was that it was an age of 'do-it-yourself' in many craft skills, and "every farmer and every other man, in the lower ranks of life, was his own artificer almost in

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8 Barron, op cit, p. 48.


10 Whyte, 1979, op cit, p. 38.
Thus the numbers of tradesmen were fairly low, craft production was generally on a part time basis in conjunction with other occupations, and very specialised trades were rare.¹²

The tradesmen as tenants or cottars were involved in a system of payment, of rent for example, which was dominated by payment in kind or services, though even in the seventeenth century cash payments were made on the two estates (in Kincardineshire and Stirlingshire) used as examples here. In 1714 on the lands of Balgair, all landholders were ordered to pay their rents in

"both silver and victual, keans, casualties and services dew."¹³

Tradesmen were expected to maintain a service as a part of the rental of the plant and land. In 1634 in the Barony of Urie in Kincardineshire Stephen Forbes the smith was paying for rental

"tene markis, ane dussone of lyning clayth, and vphaldis ane pleuches smyth work in the mainse of Wrie."¹⁴


¹⁴ Barron, op cit, p. 46.
The annual payment of cloth as part of his rental may have been because of the connections that he had with Aberdeen.\(^{15}\) In the same year, Magnus Milne was paying for the tenantry of the mill and the mill lands with a mixture of meal, bere, hens, "ane milne swine" and peats.\(^{16}\) In terms of the socio-economic stratification of society at this time it is interesting to note that in Urie in 1634 the rental roll reveals the smith's croft and the mill and mill lands as being two of the three most expensive tenancies.\(^{17}\) Wages paid to tradesmen were also partly in kind, such as the gallon of ale due to "the measons building att Bargairs dyke" on the lands of Balgair in 1729,\(^ {18}\) though in some areas this was declining in the seventeenth century.\(^ {19}\)

Craft production within an estate was subject to certain regulations laid down in the baron courts. These regulations ensured that the craftsmen provided a service to the estate, and also controlled craft production to some extent. The best known of these regulations was thirilage, which applied to the trades of the miller and the smith. To some extent, thirlage

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 69.  
\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 74-5.  
\(^{18}\) Dunlop, op cit, p. 28.  
\(^{19}\) Fraser, op cit, p. 8.
represented an economic privilege for these trades as it enforced a series of non-market relationships. However, it also represented a constraint upon economic development (see Section 3.4.4).

Under this regulation, other tenants on the estate within a certain area, or sucken, were thirled (or bound) to go to a certain mill or smiddy, such as in the Barony of Urie where

"ewerie man within the nether barony...salbe thir- lit to wirk thair haill irne wark with Stephen Forbes, smyth in Cowie."

As part of their rental these tradesmen also had to be "raddie at all tymis quhan occacioun beis to serwe the grung", and both sides of the relationship were enforcable by fines. Thus, although abuses did occur, these tradesmen benefited from a market which was dedicated to their business. In payment, the miller claimed multures, a fraction of the meal being ground, and the smith benefited from fixed annual payments. These consisted of sharpening corn, a payment of corn for sharpening the tenants' plough irons, and smiddy bow or smiddy boll, which was a boll of meal levied on the tenants of the estate for the upkeep of the smiddy.

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20 Barron, op cit, p. 46.
21 Ibid., p. 8.
Tenants also had to contribute time and labour, or pay fines, towards the upkeep of the mill or smiddy. In 1728 on the lands of Balgair the baron court

"recomends to the Birlamen to goe to the milne and kilne and sight the samen as to the sufficencie thereof...as also to consider the dame head and how the water is keeped in."²³

On the same estate tenants were expected to pay a levy for stones for the mill structure, carry these stones to the mill, keep up the mill superstructure, and transport the mill products to market.²⁴

To a certain extent controls operated upon entry to a trade, which served to limit numbers. The occupation of forester was subject to the control of the baron court, and in 1617 Thomas Buchan was "creat froster for the tor and wattersyd", and was required to swear an oath of faithful service.²⁵

Regulations which were essentially economic tariffs were also enforced. A brew cess or tax of a stone of tallow was extracted from all those brewing ale in the Barony of Urie, and in 1616 two tenants were fined "ten pundis for brewing but [without] tollerans of the Laird."²⁶

On the same estate each tenant was required to give sufficient bere to the maltman so that "the

²⁵ Barron, op cit, p. 64.
²⁶ Ibid., pp. 17, 21, 25.
malt may be sufficient to serve his house."

To some extent, the economic privileges of the tradesmen was probably reflected in their social status. In the Barony of Urie, the millers and also their pickiemen, or mill servants, were given the power of being "officiar to thame selffis, and be their presents givis thame power to poynd for all dissobedience thair milne service."28

As has been pointed out, it would be a mistake to regard the tenantry as a homogeneous mass, unstratified in socio-economic terms. Similarly, it could be misleading to suggest that the tradesmen who were subject to the regulations of the baron court were necessarily great beneficiaries from thirlage and other craft controls. Thus Stephen Smith, the blacksmith in Cowie in 1604 complained that

"smeddie collis [smiddy coals] was risen to hiecher prycis and mair scant to be had thane they war of befor, Throw the quhilkis he was vnahble to susteyn the work of the grund without great loiss to hyme self."29

Thus it is important to bear in mind that craft production was a matter of individual entrepreneurship, with loss or profit possible. In addition, in some areas wages and prices were fixed by the Justices of the Peace.30 Nevertheless, it seems clear that regula-

27 Ibid., p. 25.
28 Ibid., p. 29.
29 Ibid., p. 8.
30 Fraser, op cit., pp. 6-9.
tion of craft production in some trades must have given them an advantage in terms of restricted competition and captive markets. The operation of such regulations would certainly have helped to support a largely non-market economy.

The existence of exclusive craft privileges in the burghs, enforced by the urban guilds in conjunction with the burgh councils, restricted the potential markets of the rural producers. In some cases rural craft produce was marketed in the burghs, as in the case of the shoemaking trade in Lowland Perthshire. Before 1770 in the burgh of Perth

"the trade was confined entirely to the manufacture of shoes of a heavy description for the home market; many of these were made by shoemakers in the country, who had a pit or two for tanning their own leather."\(^{31}\)

However, magistrates in burghs made special regulations for rural craft producers who brought their produce to the burghs for sale.\(^{32}\) The craft and guild incorporations of the burghs upheld exclusive privileges which allowed them to control the marketing of rural craft produce within the burghs. When rural shoemakers brought their products for sale at the shoe market on South Street

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\(^{31}\) Penny, *op cit.*, p. 240.

"a deputation from the [burgh] trade, with their officer, visits the market for the purpose of inspecting the quality of the shoes exposed, and if found insufficient they are confiscated."33

In Kirriemuir, even by the early nineteenth century, customs were levied on unfreemen attending markets. Every shoemaker's stand carried a levy of up to 2d., and ld. was charged on each pair of cart wheels exposed for sale.34 In Perth in the eighteenth century meal was subject to a market tax.35 Similarly, country fleshers attending the meat market in Perth were prohibited from unloading their pack animals until the meat was sold, and had to pay market dues to the corporation.36 At Newburgh annual licenses to trade had to be purchased by non-burgesses, and in Forfar "petty customs" were charged on "articles exposed within the burgh by unfreemen."37

The enforcement of the exclusive privileges varied in time and space, and between different incorporations (see Section 3.4). Nevertheless, they were an important part of the non-market relationships which were a controlling factor on rural craft production. The exclusive privileges in the burghs upheld a trade

33 Ibid., p. 205.
35 Penny, op cit, p. 199.
36 Ibid.
monopoly in the urban areas, restricted employment opportunities for rural labour, and were a barrier to economic development in general.\(^3^8\) However, it is possible that the more flexible situation in the rural areas allowed the tradespeople there to play a more important role as agents of change in the developments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

3.3 SETTLEMENT CHANGE

During the period under consideration the settlement pattern of the area underwent a significant change. This change was associated with the "lowland clearances",\(^3^9\) which involved the large scale reorganisation of the population distribution through the displacement of the cottar or sub-tenancy class from the agrarian landscape, and the destruction of crofts and cottar-touns. For the most part the initial movement of the rural population was to local newly formed villages,\(^4^0\) where industrial employment, notably in textiles, was available. Thus, considering Lowland Perthshire as a whole, the population level did not

\(^{3^8}\) Fraser, op cit, pp. 18-9.


drop because growth in the villages compensated for this shifting of population from the cottar-touns (see Section 3.4). A spatial division of labour arose, with villages and market towns developing as manufacturing sites, and their hinterlands being dominated by improved agriculture. Of the parish of Alyth in the 1830s it was stated that

"the inhabitants of the country part of the parish are almost exclusively engaged in agriculture, those of the village in weaving and the retail trade."\textsuperscript{41}

In Rattray parish a similar picture could be seen, as there

"the inhabitants of the country are all engaged in agricultural operations; those of the village in trades and manufactures."\textsuperscript{42}

When Robert Ainslie reported the conclusions of his estate survey to Thomas Graham of Balgowan in 1773 he advocated agricultural improvement, but recommended that

"great care should be taken to preserve the greatest number of people by allocating suitable and convenient little possessions to them on reasonable terms."\textsuperscript{43}

This development occurred over time in several different locations throughout Lowland Perthshire,\textsuperscript{44} and

\textsuperscript{41}N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 1122.  
\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 243.  
\textsuperscript{43}N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16280.  
elsewhere in Lowland Scotland.\textsuperscript{45} An important question when examining the effects of such migration upon small scale producers and production was, to what extent was landowner policy regarding settlement in the new villages biased to favour the craft sector? There is evidence that in some areas, on the lands of certain landowners, those working in the craft sector were seen as a necessary part of the local economy, and were treated preferentially in the process of relocation in villages. In Little Dunkeld parish in 1792 landlords were

"beginning to collect weavers and other handy-craftsmen into small villages"\textsuperscript{46}

In Caputh parish in 1839 the villages were

"the properties of the respective land-owners, which they have built chiefly for the accommodation of their labourers and tradesmen."\textsuperscript{47}

More specifically, certain landowners operated some form of selection procedure regarding who they considered suitable for allocation of a feu in a village. Advertising and active recruitment policies were employed by some landowners.\textsuperscript{48}

When the third Earl of Breadalbane established the village of Kenmore in the mid-eighteenth century, tradespeople were allocated houses rent free, but had

\textsuperscript{45} Lockhart, 1980, \textit{op cit.}
\textsuperscript{46} O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 422.
to petition the estate for the privilege. When a shoemaker petitioned for a house he claimed he was "as useful to the country" as the smith, merchant, fisher and bellman, who all sat free of rent.\textsuperscript{49} In 1788, when a baker petitioned the estate of Thomas Graham for the lease of the inn at the planned village of Pitcairn-green, Graham's factor wrote that there was

"no reason to admire him and his wife is not considered famous.\textsuperscript{50}\"

Graham was following a complex procedure for relocating his population, negotiating terms for leases that had not expired, cajoling his tenantry and trying to attract feuars who had to build according to very specific terms specified in their tacks. In 1788, Graham was trying to reach an agreement with the blacksmith over his croft so that the land could be incorporated within the new village.\textsuperscript{51} In 1792, with regard to one tenant whose land he wished to enclose, Graham instructed his factor

"If he is refractory threaten him with more rent for overcropping."\textsuperscript{52}\"

At Coupar Angus feuers were advertised in 1809, and in particular the factor was seeking

"a good wright...who understands house work, and


\textsuperscript{50}N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16198.

\textsuperscript{51}N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16282.

\textsuperscript{52}N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16409 83.
the making of carts, ploughs, and other farming implements; he may be accommodated in one of the above possessions most convenient for the estate in general, and will meet with good encouragement."  

Within Lowland Perthshire at least it would appear that preferential treatment of tradespeople in the allocation of feus was an integral part of the agricultural improvements. However, it is important not to ignore the entrepreneurial achievements and aspirations of those involved in the trades at this time. As will be illustrated below, tradespeople were actively taking advantage of opportunities created. One contemporary writer attributed the growth of villages in part to "the desire, which every man has, of being independent, or at least having a property he can call his own."  

In the planned villages of Perthshire and Angus ninety to ninety five percent of new household heads who had migrated less than forty kilometres were craftspeople and agricultural labourers, with the remainder mostly merchants and manufacturers. The village of Newtyle provides a good example of how village formation was influenced by short distance migration and feuing of ground by local manufacturers, merchants and those employed in the craft sector. Thirty seven percent of building plots were purchased by Dundee manufacturers who built and sublet weavers' 

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53 Courier, June 2, 1809.
54 Robertson, op cit, p. 57.
cottages. Many plots were also purchased by tradesmen originating in Strathmore.\textsuperscript{56} In other locations the establishment of tradespeople in villages was a different process from that of selected petitioners settling in planned villages and building houses to a certain standard. In many of the Angus villages their cottages were built

"upon allotments of waste land, which they occupy either upon a long lease, or a feu. Some of these are only temporary erections, built of turf with a mixture of stones...until they get their lots of land reduced to cultivation...Their rural operations are carried on during the intervals of their professional work."\textsuperscript{57}

However, it is often clear that landlord policy was operating in favour of retaining skilled manufacturing workers in the countryside. The move from estate tenant or cottar to being a village feuar entailed certain changes which were highly significant, as will be dealt with below.

3.4 INCREASED DEMAND FOR CRAFT PRODUCTION

The period under consideration saw an increase in the demand for the products and services of the craft sector. This increase in demand was due to a number of causes which are outlined below.

One of the main factors was the "progressive

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.

prosperity of the country", measured in terms of a local economy which was increasingly based on cash exchanges and integrated with larger markets. There was of course considerable fluctuation in the economy between 1750 and 1850, but certain overall structural changes can be cited as influencing the demand for craft production and services. Developments in the transport network aided an increase in trade, as in Forfar parish in 1792 where

"articles of commerce are greatly more numerous within these few years," such as wine, table beer, porter, and superfine cloths.\(^{59}\)

Associated with this increase in commerce was the growth of the cash economy. The important point seems to have been that, in general, more cash was circulating "whether real, by commerce, or fictitious, by paper currency.\(^{60}\) Movements in cash wages are dealt with below (see 3.5.4) and show, for the artisan classes at least, an increase in the cash component of wages. Both in the case of wages and rents less payment was made in kind. In addition, the regulation of wages and prices by the local justiciary was abolished in 1813,\(^{61}\) and thus market forces would have become more important in the determining of wage rates, and hence the amount of

\(^{58}\) Robertson, *op cit*, p. 91.
\(^{60}\) Robertson, *op cit*, p. 340.
\(^{61}\) Fraser, *op cit*, p. 96.
cash circulating. This increase in cash and credit can be related to two major developments in the area, the agricultural improvements and the development of the textile industry.

In agriculture, the need for substantial investment to implement improvements, the general increase in the size of holding, the increase in the rentals of farms, and the increasing profits from improved agriculture all led to a new class of tenant farmer or owner occupier.62 There were gradations within the class of course, but as a generalisation tenant farmers tended to be men of capital, as

"the assumption of the responsibilities of the tenant without very much capital could well lead to quick failure and descent."63

Thus farmers in Forfar parish in 1792 had

"experienced a change in their...expenditure as perceptible as what has taken place among the inhabitants of the burgh."64

Not only were the new class of farmers men of capital, but they had different tastes and social manners,65 as witnessed in the farmers of Blairgowrie in the 1830s;

"the habitual style of living which now prevails among this class marks the acquisition not only of

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62 Smout, op cit, p. 288.
63 Gray, op cit, p. 55.
new tastes and refined habits, but the means of gratifying them...the social condition of the farmer...is unquestionably both elevated and improved.\textsuperscript{66}

The movement to a market economy for agricultural produce also increased the amount of cash circulating.

The development of the textile industry had an important effect on the cash economy. The development of the putting-out system in both spinning and handloom weaving led to increased employment opportunities especially for female family members. In Lowland Perthshire these occupations formed an important source of cash income, for instance

"farmers were then [c.1780] in the practice of keeping a number of maids, principally with a view to spinning - the produce of their labour forming the chief source from whence the rent was made up."\textsuperscript{67}

The introduction of factory spinning, and a shift to cotton textiles, by 1794\textsuperscript{68} had an important impact on the earning power of this part of the labour market, as it decreased the opportunities for home spinning.\textsuperscript{69}

However, the increase in the numbers of handloom

\textsuperscript{67}Penny, \textit{op cit.} p. 136; also O.S.A., Vol. XI, pp. 132, 457, 571.


weavers in the late eighteenth century\(^7\) also increased the amount of cash circulating in the economy. By the 1830s the large handloom weaving population of Lowland Perthshire formed an important market for agricultural produce.\(^7\) Other trades were also largely dependent upon the handloom weaving sector, such as the wrights that the weavers paid for the repair of their looms.\(^7\)

An economic downturn in the handloom weaving sector had a depressing effect on the rest of the economy, particularly in agriculture, as

"the whole neighbourhood knows when an advance comes to the operative's wages; they feel that there will be a freedom of money; and when a depression comes, they know they must seek another market."\(^7\)

The establishment of large factory textile sites caused competition with agriculture, and raised the level of wages in most sectors.\(^7\) In addition to increasing the amount of cash circulating, the textile industry was important in stimulating the development of the credit system. The putting out system relied heavily on credit,\(^7\) and long term credit was necessary for the operations of the larger manufacturers. The manufacturers at Ruthven printfield in the late eight-

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\(^7\) Turner, op cit, p. 126.
\(^7\) P.P., X, 1834. p. 223.
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 226.
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 223.

\(^7\) Penny, op cit, p. 256; O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 206.
teenth century

"were able to push business to any extent, as they had their yarn at six months' credit, and sold their goods at four months."\textsuperscript{76}

Population increase was another factor in the increased demand. As shown in Chapter One, there was in Lowland Perthshire a significant reorganisation of the distribution of the population through consolidation of farms in many parishes. In some parishes subsequent emigration caused a decrease in the population, but in most the initial movement was to the newly created villages. Growth in village development helped to increase the level of the population, which in Lowland Perthshire showed a three percent increase between 1755 and 1801, and an increase of eighteen percent between 1801 and 1831. As noted in 1799

"allowing that there is a decrease of population on the farms, the increased population of the towns far overbalances that decrease."\textsuperscript{77}

Thus the size of the market in demographic terms continued to increase throughout this period. In addition, the move to the villages involved a change in the involvement of the population in subsistence agriculture (see 3.5.4). The growing concentrations of population which were less involved in subsistence prod-

\textsuperscript{76} Penny, \textit{op cit}, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{77} Robertson, \textit{op cit}, p. 54.
uction increased market demand. For example,

"In the town and villages of the low country, many will purchase, who do not rear [cattle]. This constitutes the existence of all markets, both for butcher meat and every other article. Wherever the demand is greater than home-produce can supply, that demand must be supplied from other places."

The ending of compulsory services to landlords, and of regulations such as thirlage which helped maintain non-market relationships was important. The Thirlage Act of 1799 did not abolish thirlage but laid down the proper procedures by which estates might be freed of it. Indeed, change did not always follow immediately upon the passing of this legislation. In fact, thirlage had been disintegrating in a piecemeal fashion throughout Lowland Perthshire. By the 1790s in Monedie parish at least

"the people are now emancipated from the disagreeable obligation to particular mills, and smithies; and left at full liberty to go where they please."

Thirlage was roundly condemned as a hindrance to improvement. In the 1790s it was stated that

"thirlage operates in every instance as a tax on industry, and is in high degree unfavourable to the

78 See also Mendels, F. 1972 "Proto-industrialisation: the first phase of the industrialisation process" Journal of Economic History, 32. p. 245.

79 Robertson, op cit, p. 345.


improvement of the country."\(^{82}\)

However, this period of strong feeling against thirlage in the late eighteenth century was one during which rents were rising rapidly and grain production was increasing (which made the amount of grain lost through multures larger).\(^{83}\)

In some cases farmers bought up thirlage rights in order to abolish it. In Dunning parish

"these servitudes were found to be real grievances, and therefore were mostly bought up by the tenants."\(^{84}\)

The implications of the removal of these features of the economy are considered below (Section 3.4.4).

The ending of the exclusive privileges in the burghs might have been expected to add to this market demand. However, their enforcement had varied in time and space, and between trades. Problems were experienced in enforcing them in the major urban areas in the seventeenth century, and they were sometimes relaxed during periods of expansion in the eighteenth century. However, it has been suggested that the Scottish courts upheld these privileges much later in Scotland than in England.\(^{85}\) The early decades of the nineteenth century saw for the most part a decrease in the enforcement of


\(^{83}\)Gauldie, op cit, p. 58.

\(^{84}\)O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 149.

\(^{85}\)Fraser, op cit, pp. 19-21.
these regulations. In Forfar in the 1830s exclusive privileges

"were generally considered...as an evil, and...the corporations would willingly give them up."\(^{86}\)

The deacon of the shoemakers considered that the privilege was "broke through on a small scale every day" and was not worth enforcing.\(^{87}\) However, the large burghs, especially Perth, did make attempts to enforce these privileges.\(^{88}\) As late as 1839 the Perth shoemakers were "resolved to protect their old rights and privileges", and prosecutions were made by the wrights' in 1841 and the bakers' in 1843. However, by 1841 the hammermen had resolved to give up these privileges.\(^{89}\) The exclusive privileges were finally abolished in 1846.

Thus the decline of the exclusive privileges was a gradual one which took place over a period of time before their abolition. Therefore this was not of sudden advantage to the rural producers. In the case of Perth, the burgh had expanded beyond the jurisdiction of the corporations. Thus the suburbs of Perth became the sites of trades wishing to escape the dues of the

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\(^{87}\) Ibid.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 310; Penny, op cit, p. 201.

\(^{89}\) Courier, May 30, 1839; November 4, 1841; March 16, 1841; June 10, 1841.
The absence of exclusive privileges also allowed more competition within the burgh, and certain industries expanded. In Perth the shoemaking trade expanded and rural shoemakers rarely attended the shoe market. However, the decline and eventual abolition of the exclusive privileges would have led to a greater freedom in the general trade of the area, and aided the formation of the market economy.

This increasing demand for the products and services of the trades can be shown to have affected a range of industrial sectors. However, it is important to carefully consider how widespread across society this demand was. Contemporary improving writers were obviously struck by the increase in consumer consumption, and generally present a picture of an increased standard of living across all classes. Due to the lack of quantitative measures of increasing craft production, general qualitative statements must be treated with care. Each socio-economic class would have had a different level of consumption dependent on income, and increased demand may have been concentrated within the numerically smaller middle classes. In addition, all households would have been constrained in their purch-

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91 Penny, op cit, pp. 240, 137.
asing power by such factors as the family life cycle. Working class households may have followed patterns of consumption that were constrained by seasonal and social influences, perhaps buying luxury goods only for festivals such as Hansel Monday. Therefore the evidence available must be used critically to provide qualitative statements of changes in the structure of demand.

3.4.1 Building

The building trades were stimulated by village development, by changes in the standard of housing, by enclosure which called for considerable dyking operations, and by developments in the transport network.

As noted above, changes in the settlement pattern associated with the relocation of the rural population had a significant effect on the landscape. The various building trades in particular were actively involved in this process, with local tradesmen feuing ground and erecting houses for profit. The first houses at Bridge of Earn were built by John Gilloch, a wright and undertaker, who obtained a ninety-nine year lease of one and a half acres of ground in c.1769.92 John McEwan, also a wright, feued land in the village of Muthill between 1801 and 1831 and built four properties which were then leased out.93 Feuing began at Mylnefield in 1830, and in the period 1830-32 land was taken

93 S.R.O., CS318/5/216.
for building on by two masons, an auctioneer, and a
toll keeper and spirit dealer.\textsuperscript{94} By 1795 the village of
Longforgan had undergone extensive building activity,
as

"all the houses capable of being made habitable
have been repaired; between 50 and 60 new houses
have been built by the present proprietor, besides
two sets of farm offices for larger farmers,
several barns and byres, and two smithies, all
within the village."\textsuperscript{95}

The standard of housing improved also,\textsuperscript{96} resulting
in an increase in demand for mason work. In Monedie
parish in 1794 even the "lower farmers" when requiring
new houses employed masons to build them of stone,
mortar and lime.\textsuperscript{97} In Blair Atholl in 1838 it was
recorded that "tradesmen and cottars" live in comfort-
able houses built of stone and lime.\textsuperscript{98} Again, it is
important to question how widespread across society
these improvements were effected, but in 1799 it was
considered that

"The cottages of the poor are very mean in places;
but in this county the dwellings of the labourers
and married servants are keeping pace with the
houses of the farmers."\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{94} Gauldie, H. 1981 "The Quarries and the Feus. A
History of Invergowrie" Waterside Press, Dundee. p. 74.

\textsuperscript{95} O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 326.
\textsuperscript{96} Whittington, \textit{op cit}, p. 155.


\textsuperscript{99} Robertson, \textit{op cit}, p. 59.
The standard of accommodation provided for single farm servants was generally poor in quality, but was located within the newly built farm town.\textsuperscript{100}

Enclosure of land by dyking was an integral part of the agricultural improvements. This created a demand for labour from masons. Some idea of the vast amount of work undertaken is given by the example of one landowner in Muckart who by 1837 had

"within three years... built stone dykes of more than nine miles in length, lipped and pointed with lime."\textsuperscript{101}

This improvement was accompanied by extensive hedging, trenching and drainage. Newspaper advertisements from the early nineteenth century display the extent of the demand, and reveal the long term labour demands of such improvement. The successful contractor for the enclosures at Balmaw Farm would

"for the first five years immediately following their being finished, be bound to scour ditches and preserve the hedges by proper pailing."\textsuperscript{102}

The developments in the transport network also created a demand for building workers, from labourers to skilled craftsmen. There was an increase in turnpike construction post 1790, notably the road between Perth and Dundee.\textsuperscript{103} Three branches were extended from this to the harbours of Polgavie, Errol and Inchyra by the

\textsuperscript{100} Whittington, \textit{op cit}, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Courier}, January 13, 1809.
\textsuperscript{103} Lenman, \textit{op cit}, pp. 76, 147.
Carse of Gowrie proprietors who had formed themselves into a group of road trustees, administering the commutated statute labour of their lands. Thus in Longforgan parish there was, due to "turnpike roads...a great demand for labourers of every description."\(^{104}\)

Bridge building was another notable development which created a demand for mason work.

3.4.2 Food

An increase in cash income, combined with changing tastes and less reliance on subsistence production among the population, led to an increased demand for food items which were previously considered a luxury. In this sector a more obvious division in the purchasing power of different elements of society can be seen, related to inflation of food prices, particularly regarding such luxury goods as butcher's meat and wheaten bread.

In Forfar parish by 1792 there were "few artificers who cannot well afford to treat themselves and their families frequently with meat and wheaten bread, considerable quantities of both being consumed by them."\(^{105}\)

Increased consumption of these items can be shown to have occurred throughout the area,\(^{106}\) in marked contrast to the previous situation where a person with a

small amount of beef or tea would have "concealed it from his neighbours like murder."\(^{107}\) In rural areas of Perthshire in the eighteenth century marts were bought communally because of the expense. Small farmers and cottars bought loaves and butcher meat in Perth for the Hansel Monday feast

"although for the next twelve months not a bit of flesh was seen by their families."

Changes in agriculture, notably the increase of cattle rearing associated with turnip raising, and particularly with the spread of stall feeding of cattle in the winter, led to fresh beef becoming more available, and the salting of winter beef declined. Around 1760, bakers only heated their ovens twice a week

"as loaf-bread was never used by the bulk of the people, their principle business lay in baking oat cakes."\(^{108}\)

However, it is evident that certain elements of society were disadvantaged by price increases. Differences in earnings and in the cash component of wages between occupations began to show up the differentials in the purchasing power of labour. In 1792 it was noted that price increases were affecting those living on "annuities",\(^ {109}\) though it is difficult to define exactly which group in society this quote refers to. Farm servants' diet remained largely oatmeal, potatoes

\(^{108}\) Penny, op cit, pp. 137, 133, 24.
and milk, with butcher meat "used only on special occasions."\textsuperscript{110} Most families in Angus were using tea and wheaten bread by 1813

"but among cottagers this is a rare, and always a ceremonious entertainment...Among people in better circumstances, tea is used once, and more frequently twice, every day. All classes use butcher meat...but tradesmen...and the better class of farmers use them once, and sometimes twice, every day."\textsuperscript{111}

However, even in 1792 it was

"universally allowed that labouring people purchase more of these articles now, and are better able to do it."\textsuperscript{112}

By 1833 one observer commented that even the labouring population was purchasing more tea, sugar and wheaten bread.\textsuperscript{113}

3.4.3 Dress

Changes also occurred in the standards and fashions of dress. This led in some cases to an increase in demand for the products of the clothing trades. Changes in the standards of dress seem to have occurred throughout society, being visible "in the dress of all ranks."\textsuperscript{114} The dress of farm servants was included in this change, as was the dress of farmers, merchants and manufacturers both in town and

\textsuperscript{110}Headrick, \textit{op cit.}, p. 500.
\textsuperscript{111}Ibid., p. 501.
\textsuperscript{112}O.S.A., Vol. XIII, p. 256.
\textsuperscript{113}P.P., V, 1833. \textit{Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.}
\textsuperscript{114}O.S.A., Vol, XIII, p. 257.
However, this increase in demand had different effects. The demand was increasingly for finer, better quality fabrics, often from England. For example, in Crieff it was noted that

"instead of the grave and solid productions of the country, the gay cloths, silks, muslins, and printed cottons of England, adorn on Sunday almost every individual."\(^{116}\)

Across all ranks in society cottons, linens, and finer woollens were replacing coarser cloths. This increasing reliance on English cloth must have affected to some extent the market for home produced cloth, and its associated cottage industry. With the establishment of bleaching and printing complexes from 1790 better quality cloth tended to become available locally at lower prices. This was certainly so by the 1830s, helping the spread of the new fashions.\(^{117}\)

In addition, the change in fashions was not always beneficial to local craft type production. In the parish of Mains it was noted that

"few bonnets are worn; the bonnet-maker trade in the next parish is given up."\(^{118}\)

In Perth, the staymaker's trade was ruined by a change

in fashion favouring short waisted gowns, which constituted "a death blow to the staymakers."\textsuperscript{119}

3.4.4 Agricultural servicing

One product of the agricultural improvements was an increasing demand within the rural area for labour. Improved agriculture required more skills and commonly more labour and not less. The effect of the new husbandry was to create a multiplicity of new jobs, and to increase demand for specialized labour needs on the land.\textsuperscript{120} This increase in demand can be illustrated with reference to three main changes in agriculture; the end of services and regulations such as thirlage, the streamlining of the agricultural labour force, and changes in agricultural technology.

An important feature of pre-improvement agriculture was the provision of services to the landowner by tenants and sub-tenants. In Longforgan parish tenants had previously to

"plough...sow, reap, carry it to the barn yard, thresh it out, and take it to market; to fetch lime, stone, slates, and sand...plant all the trees on the estate; to give so many days labour...in short, there was scarce any kind of servitude about the place they were not bound to perform."\textsuperscript{121}

With the discontinuation of the cottar system, and the relocation of population from the farm touns to the

\textsuperscript{119}Penny, \textit{op cit}, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{121}O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 324.
villages, this form of labour was no longer available. However, the early improvements required great amounts of labour for enclosure and drainage, and this was compensated for in two ways. Within the agricultural workforce, the increased demand for labour demanded by the new rotations especially turnip husbandry, involving intensive ploughing, weeding and dunging, spreading the workload over the whole year, was solved largely by the retention of the long hire system for farm servants, which maintained a permanent labour force on the farm.\textsuperscript{122}

However, the labour demands of improvement required for enclosure and drainage were met by a variety of semi-skilled or skilled workers, such as masons, dykers, hedgers and drainers. The majority of drainage work was carried out in the nineteenth century following the introduction of tile drains (from 1826), the subsoil plough (1831) and the drainage Acts of the 1840s. The villages were the source of such labour, either as skilled craftsmen or as day labourers. As noted above, though the 'lowland clearances' involved the relocation of population from the agricultural areas, this was compensated for by the growth of population in the villages up to the 1830s.

\textsuperscript{122}Devine, T.M. 1984 "Introduction" in Devine (ed.), \textit{op cit}, pp. 3-5.
Another feature of the agricultural improvements was the ending of many of the controls on craft production (see Section 3.2), and in particular thirlage (see Section 3.4). As noted, thirlage was abolished at different times in different places, and the contrast between areas with or without thirlage illustrates the competition that trades such as milling and smithing were now subject to. In Longforgan parish, where some tenants were still thirled

"they could have got their crops manufactured cheaper at other mills, where, naturally, the rates were lowered to those who were not obliged to frequent them, in order to invite customers."\(^{123}\)

As one minister at the time observed

"why am I well served by my tailor and shoemaker? - Because he is afraid of losing my custom. The same is [now] the case with millers; and the servitude of thirlage is fast wearing out."\(^{124}\)

Ministers admittedly did have a lot to lose through thirlage, because much of their stipend was paid in grain.

A previous study by another authoress has argued that thirlage did not operate as a block to development because even before the Act of 1799 it was possible to remove it.\(^{125}\) However, the removal of thirlage clearly required both an act of will on the part of farmers and an amount of capital to buy up the thirlage rights. If it had not been felt that thirlage imposed a block on

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\(^{123}\) O.S.A., Vol. XI, p. 371; also Ibid., p. 149.
\(^{125}\) Gauldie, op cit, pp. 60-1.
development then it is unlikely that the pursuit of its abolition would have occurred. The fact that it was finally done away with on a large scale when the market economy was becoming dominant suggests that the new class of farmers (see Section 3.4 above), who after all were men with the necessary capital, perceived it as a block and actively removed it.

The effect of this open competition (as a result of the removal of thirlage) was obvious in milling, where it was at least partly responsible for the reduction in the number of rural mills from five thousand in 1730 to three thousand in 1830, though later mills were often better equipped and of greater capacity. However, numerical increases in other types of mills did occur at this period. Mill building was initiated by three groups: landowners; merchants and manufacturers; and tenants and artisans. Tenant farmers, millers, and tradespeople in the textile trades such as weavers, hecklers and waulk millers employed masons, joiners and millwrights to construct mills. However, this latter group had a restricted access to credit and relied on landowners for leases of land and water power, thus they tended to concentrate

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on small scale projects related to farming and handloom weaving. From the 1760s onwards tenants were building lint mills in Perthshire where flax cultivation was well established, and many small scale waulkers took to building waulk and carding mills in Perthshire parishes in the early nineteenth century. A later development of the nineteenth century was the construction of farina mills to supply starch to the bleachfields.\textsuperscript{127}

As previously noted, two features of the improved agriculture were great economy of labour, and the extension of labour demand throughout the year, which was met within agriculture by the long hire system. However, this new farming regime was also highly dependent upon servicing by skilled craftsmen. Dykes and hedges required maintenance drawing on the skills of the dyker and hedger in the long term. Greater attention to cultivation required the services of the molecatcher and the vermin destroyer to reduce crop damage. Perhaps most important was the change from oxen to horses as the prime motive power within agriculture. Horses required a large capital investment, and much care and feeding, and thus they had to be used as economically as possible, principally by extending their working year. In Perthshire the new regime gave two hundred days of ploughing per horse per year plus

\textsuperscript{127}Ibid., pp. 300-1.
carting, harrowing and other operations. The change over to horse power was largely complete by 1820, and in this time obviously the role of smith work in shoeing horses and maintaining implements would have increased dramatically, especially since oxen were not shod.

Alongside the introduction of horses into agriculture there was an associated change in agricultural technology, and this was another factor affecting market demand in the craft sector. However, it is important to note in this context that

"the changes of the first generation of improvement were carried out almost entirely with the old style tools and techniques to the point where distinct advances in kind became feasible, drawing in their wake a new technology."  

The reason behind the relative lateness in improvements in technology was the integration of implements and the landscape with, for instance, the old Scotch plough being symbiotic with the rigs. At the heart of improvement was the scrapping of the distinction between arable and grazing, which became integrated into new combined rotations. Important elements in the new crop rotations were sown grasses and root crops such as turnips, but these required that the ground was much improved, for example, by stone clearance and drainage,

\[128\] Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North-East Scotland" in Devine, (ed.), op cit, pp. 15-16.

\[129\] Sprott, op cit, p. 146.
and the scaling down and straightening of the rigs. Thus the introduction of much new technology such as harrows, seed drills and especially reaping machinery occurred after the drainage revolution of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Two of the earlier and most important pieces of new technology were improved plough types and threshing mills. New horse drawn plough types reduced the size of the labour force required for ploughing, and the introduction of threshing mills simplified one of the most labour intensive parts of the harvest, thus aiding the streamlining of the agricultural labour force. New demands were made for the skills of wrights and millwrights, and the range of blacksmith work increased. Plough types improved over a period of time as the ground was improved, starting with modifications of the old Scotch plough, with the introduction of Small's swing plough in 1780. However, no one plough type came to dominate during this period, and the diversity of plough types was noticeable. In the 1790s ploughs in Lowland Perthshire ran the range from "Small's plough", "an English plough...Not Small's", a new plough "considered an improvement on Small's", to the "mongrel" or "the Scotch plough, constructed on the same principles, but of neater workmanship."130 This diversity of plough types was only sustainable by the

130 O.S.A., Vol. XI.
presence of smiths, many of whom manufactured their own ploughs, and an increase in the use of iron. By the 1830s it was stated regarding smithing that

"in this branch of trade there has been an amazing increase, as also in the variety and elegance of the articles manufactured. The introduction of turning lathes into smithys has made a complete change in that line of business."¹³¹

Greater availability of raw materials associated with industrial and transport developments aided these changes. Pit coal was more available, and the establishment of iron works, notably the Carron works in 1759, and developments in metal technology led to more iron becoming available. Within agriculture by 1799 this was benefitting the blacksmith as

"such a quantity of iron is annually consumed, as would have been thought incredible by the grandfathers of the present farmers."¹³²

Later improvements in agricultural technology also increased demand. "No sooner were roads attended to, than carts introduced"¹³³ was the claim in 1799, and joiners or wrights combined with smiths in their manufacture. By the same year

"all the implements of husbandry [were] constructed according to better models and made of better materials."¹³⁴

Improvements were made across a range of implements, including rollers, harrows and fanners, all of which

¹³¹ Penny, op cit., p. 242.
¹³² Robertson, op cit., p. 91.
¹³³ Ibid.
¹³⁴ Ibid.
commonly involved much iron work. Importantly, as shown especially in the diversity of plough types, it was a time of experimentation in which the ingenuity and creativeness of the skilled craftsman was vitally important. The manufacture and maintenance of farm implements became "the workmanship of regular tradesmen."\(^{135}\)

3.4.5 Consumer durables

A similar increase took place in the demand for and ownership of various luxury items such as watches and clocks, and other household objects. In Forfar parish it was noted in 1792 that

"about 50 or 60 years ago there were not above 7 tea-kettles, as many hand bellows, and as many watches in Forfar; now tea-kettles and hand-bellows are the necessary furniture of the poorest house in the parish, and almost the meanest menial servant must have his watch."\(^{136}\)

By 1790 in Mains parish, there was "scarce a family" that did not have at least one tea kettle, with a similar rise in the ownership of clocks and watches.\(^{137}\)

3.5 EFFECT OF DEMAND ON THE CRAFT SECTOR

The increased demand for the products and services of the trades as outlined above could be expected to have had an impact on the economic structures of small scale production. This impact could have expressed

itself in a combination of several factors, the evidence for some of which will be addressed below. Increasing demand might produce a rise in the numbers involved in craft production, an increasing specialisation and division of labour, and a change in work patterns from part-time to full-time. In addition, tradespeople could have become more involved with cash exchanges in the market economy.

3.5.1 Increasing numbers

Change in the number of those employed in the trades is a variable which it is impossible to quantify. Figure 3.1 shows ratios of numbers in the trades per one thousand of population, to give some idea of the level of numerical significance of the craft sector. The lack of any other sources from which numbers of tradesmen and tradeswomen could be compared precludes examination of change over time. Poll tax records are incomplete for Perthshire, and at any rate are of too early a date for comparison. Comparison with similar data from the New Statistical Account shows lower ratios in every case except tailors in the 1830s/40s, but again the two data sets are not strictly comparable. Other suitable data sets are absent.138

However, it is possible to make a qualitative assessment of the creation of opportunities for involv-

138 I would like to acknowledge the advice of Dr. P. Vassey of West Register House on this matter.
Figure 3.1  
**Ratios of tradesmen per 1000 of total population, 1790s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter/carrier</td>
<td>7.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler/harness maker</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatcher</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>9.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher/flesher</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax dresser</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>2.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of parishes (n) 38

*Source: O.S.A., Vol. XI and XII.*
ement in the trades during this period, which would have led to an increase in numbers. As discussed, the initial improvements created more work for ditchers, dykers and hedgers which was satisfied by day labourers residing in the villages, so numbers probably increased in these occupations while demand remained high. For the skilled tradesmen and tradeswomen, increasing market demand coupled with a still fairly laggard transport system led to the creation of new opportunities.

At the time

"the manufacturer, mechanic and tradesman, redoubled their efforts to supply the increasing demand for the conveniences of life."\(^{139}\)

However, in some areas demand was outstripping supply, as

"the tradesmen do not fully supply the parish with the commodities in which they deal."\(^{140}\)

In some cases demand was supplied by nearby towns.

However, a still poorly developed transport system coupled with a demand which was greater than supply was creating new employment opportunities. In Longforgan parish

"about 25 or 30 years [before 1792] there were but two sixpenny wheaten loaves brought from Perth: There is now a baker in the village, who sells bread to the amount of two hundred pounds a year."\(^{141}\)

The increase in the demand for butcher meat led to the

\(^{140}\) O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 444.
situation where

"in every village there is a butcher, and the towns are sufficiently provided with people of that profession."\(^{142}\)

As noted above (see 3.4.1), builders were quick to take advantage of the new possibilities created by the improvements. The joinery trade was "greatly expanded by the demand for carts", and joiners became "an essential part of every rural community."\(^{143}\) In the second half of the eighteenth century the numbers of mills of different types, excepting meal mills, also increased. In Mains parish between 1760 and 1790 sixteen new washing mills (for yarn), five new mills for beating thread and cloth, and five new barley mills were constructed.\(^{144}\)

Thus opportunities were being created in the craft sector for more numbers to take up. Any increase in numbers engaged in the trades was probably enhanced by the increasing division of labour, but possibly tempered by changing work patterns.

3.5.2 Division of labour

Concurrent developments in agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and the increased demand for work from the craft sector led to specialisation in production. As noted in 1799

\(^{142}\)Headrick, op cit, p. 501.
"whenever the society is advanced to that stage, in which the commercial and manufacturing systems begin to be united to that of agriculture, the division of labour takes place; every man follows a distinct profession."\(^{145}\)

In Lowland Perthshire the combined influences on the craft sector as noted above led to the situation where

"In every little village there are artists of various denominations, who in the present state of society, when arts are divided into proper classes, are daily employed, ministering to the accommodation of the country around them. These tradesmen, in the earlier stages of society, were not equally necessary, when every farmer and every other man, in the lower ranks of life, was his own artificer almost in everything. This division of handicrafts will become more distinct every day, and every man will consequently become more expert in his own profession. Hence one great cause of the establishment of villages."\(^{146}\)

The division of labour was increasingly separating agricultural labour and others. By 1813 it was stated

"we must distinguish between mechanics, who are wholly, or chiefly, employed in trades or manufactures, and labourers who are wholly, or chiefly employed in agriculture."\(^{147}\)

Just as within the agricultural labour force where, for example, the position of ploughman was emerging as a specialised and full time position, tradespeople were becoming increasingly specialised, and new trades were emerging. Two of the most important were the millwright's trade, particularly in connection with the building of threshing mills, and the trade of farrier,

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\(^{145}\) Robertson, op cit, p. 57.

\(^{146}\) Ibid., p. 282.

\(^{147}\) Headrick, op cit, p. 490.
which arose in conjunction with the introduction of horse power.

3.5.3 Changing work patterns

As noted above, one feature of the pre-improvement tradesmen was that they conducted their trades on a part-time basis, with time spent otherwise in agriculture and communal services. With an increase in the demand for work in this sector a shift from a pattern of part-time involvement to full-time employment in the trades might reasonably have been expected. As outlined below (see 3.5.4) there was a shift at this time among those involved in craft production away from subsistence production in agriculture, and towards a focus on a trade as the basis of getting by. However, those in the trades did not on the whole become totally landless. In particular in this context tradespeople were commonly involved in multiple occupations, which took account of seasonal opportunities and the need to avoid under- or unemployment in the winter months. In St. Madoes parish in the 1790s they were also

"employed in the salmon fishing in the Tay during the summer, and carry on their other occupations during the rest of the year."\(^{148}\)

Slaters in Doune migrated to work in towns in the summer, and returned home for the winter months, where

"some of the more industrious among them learn other trades, such as weaving, shoemaking, &c. which they practice when the season will not permit

the work of slating."\textsuperscript{149}

The weavers of Auchtergaven

"many of whom are young women; many are also labourers, masons, wrights in summer, and almost all of them turn out to the shearing in harvest."\textsuperscript{150}

Thus, although it is difficult to know exactly which groups of tradespeople, e.g. masters or journeymen, male or female, these comments applied to, it is obvious that during this period it was still typical for those in the trades to be engaged in a variety of activities.

3.5.4 Increasing engagement in the market economy

Reference was made above (see 3.4) to the increasing involvement of the population of Lowland Perthshire in the market economy. This can be illustrated, and further investigated, by considering the experience of the rural tradesmen and tradeswomen during this period. In particular, the increase in cash wages and patterns of landholding, and by implication subsistence food production, will be focused on.

An analysis of cash payments of wages can be carried out using data from the Statistical Accounts. Problems with analysing wages from this source, combined with significant payments in kind, the importance of the income derived in various ways by other family members and the need to deflate wage series using

\textsuperscript{149} O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 533.
relevant indices, all preclude analysis of the relative standard of living. However, these data can be used to illustrate an increasing cash component in wage payments, and to investigate differences between different occupations.

Figure 3.2 shows the average daily payment to tailors, masons, wrights and carpenters between c.1770 and c.1850. All trades show an increase in the amount of cash component in the wage. There is an obvious hierarchy within the craft sector, with masons generally receiving greater cash payments than wrights and carpenters, and with tailors consistently receiving a low cash wage component. The greater emphasis on cash wages over the period is consistent with the picture of a growing cash economy in the area. Tailors continued to receive food at the place of employment as part of their payment, which probably explains their consistently lower cash payment. However, those in the clothing trades probably benefited from more continuous employment as they worked indoors, while masons were.

Figure 3.2
Average daily cash wages of tradesmen, 1790-1840

Source: O.S.A., N.S.A.
probably faced with the shortest working year.

Figure 3.3 shows average yearly rates of cash payments to tradesmen and male farm servants. The yearly rates for tradesmen were based on the assumption of two hundred and ninety days employment per year, or, where summer and winter rates were known, of one hundred and ninety two days in summer and ninety eight days in winter,\textsuperscript{152} and assume no harvest earnings. The tradesmen’s cash wage component was higher than that for farm servants for all trades, which is consistent with the farm servants receiving payments in kind which were valued at up to sixty percent of their total wage.\textsuperscript{153} Cash wage payments by the 1830s and 1840s seem to have been increasingly more significant for tradesmen than male farm servants.

Figure 3.4 shows average daily payments to tradesmen compared to day labourers. For the skilled trades of masons and wrights cash wage payments were consistently higher than that for day labour. Day labour rates were higher than tailoring rates, but the vital feature in this case was the continuation of employment, with the trades offering more stable employment than day labouring. Qualitative statements suggest that

\textsuperscript{152} Based on Goldie, \textit{op cit: O.S.A.}, Vol. XI, p. 45; Vol. XII, pp. 126, 759.

Figure 3.3
Average yearly cash wages of tradesmen and male farm servants, 1790-1840

Source: O.S.A., N.S.A.
Figure 3.4

Average daily cash wages of tradesmen and day labourers, 1790–1840

Source: O.S.A., N.S.A.
trades and manufactures were providing a more secure living than day labouring, at least at the end of the century. In 1796 it was stated that

"there are taylors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, and weavers; all of them well employed, and able to provide for their families."\textsuperscript{154}

By contrast, the experience of day labourers seems to have been less secure. A labourer's wages were considered to have been sufficient to support a family "except in case of sickness or misfortune", and that

"it is in the winter months only, that the labouring...poor run the greatest risk of want."\textsuperscript{155}

These graphs only show data for certain occupations, and only for the working class. The income of farmers cannot be calculated on a daily basis. Similarly, much of craft production was carried out by individuals who were self employed, whose income is also difficult to quantify as bargains were struck with individual employers, for example

"Smiths generally contract for farm-work for the year; but what they receive depends a good deal on the nature of the soil and other circumstances."\textsuperscript{156}

However, the general increase in wages over the period included

"other tradesmen, as smiths, weavers etc., [who] work by the piece, and have advanced their demands

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., pp. 542, 340; in addition compare the statements on pp. 286, 44 and 49.
\textsuperscript{156} N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 1012.
by the same proportion."\textsuperscript{157}

The differences in the cash wage between occupations probably go some way towards explaining the differences in demand from different ranks in society noted above. A general increase in the cash component of wages is consistent with the increased use of cash in the economy of the area. Recent research suggests that these advances in cash wages were a part of the changes which saw higher real wages in 1830 compared to 1760. For skilled workers this led to a more varied diet, better clothing and the acquisition of a broader range of consumer goods, but for the un- and semi-skilled gains were probably limited to smaller improvements in diet and dress.\textsuperscript{158}

Changes in landholding during this period present a complex picture. A general model would be of those engaged in the trades losing their connection to the land as they became landless village dwellers, and hence more dependent on their trades for subsistence and on the market for produce. However, such a model of change cannot be sustained completely. The 1790s certainly were a period of change. Tradespeople, as tenants, cottars, pendiclers or crofters, were occupiers of holdings ranging from small farms of around thirty acres to small plots of only one acre. In

\textsuperscript{158}Treble, \textit{op cit}, p. 205.
Longforgan village there were also

"manufacturers, tradesmen, and labourers, who have no land, but all of them have yards (gardens) attached to their houses."\textsuperscript{159}

The landuse of such holdings was predominantly agricultural, though ground was used for keeping horses for transport and for raising flax. Cows and horses were commonly kept.\textsuperscript{160} Some small scale food production was also carried out, but it is clear that the land held was not in itself sufficient to support tradesmen and tradeswomen, but that they were increasingly dependent on their trades for subsistence.\textsuperscript{161} In general the ground served to "contribute to their subsistence and comfort", and occupiers were

"under the necessity of following some other occupation than that of farming."\textsuperscript{162}

Thus those engaged in craft production did not entirely lose their connection with subsistence production in the villages. However, there is an obvious change in the dependency upon such production, and often land had to be rented in addition to the feu for such purposes. In Little Dunkeld parish in 1792 it was stated that "a tradesman pays for an acre and a cow's grass 30s."\textsuperscript{163} As noted above (see 3.4), the accumulation in villages of a population less dependent on land

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., pp. 283, 286, 416, 422, 571.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., pp. 257, 286, 571; Vol. XII, p. 669.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., p. 416.
created market demand, and helped develop a cash economy for agricultural products. In particular, handloom weavers formed an important cash market for milk, butter and potatoes.\textsuperscript{164} In Kinnoul parish in 1795

"large quantities of potatoes are planted by some farmers, which are sold, when growing, in small lots, to tradesmen and labourers."\textsuperscript{165}

Thus, while it is important to note that tradespeople were not entirely landless, they were increasingly engaged in purchasing food in a cash economy.

In addition, rentals of village plots were also due in cash, rather than labour duties and provision of a service. Patrick Grey, a carpenter and an early feuar in the village of Pitcairngreen, paid a tack duty of £3.5.0, and in addition 2/- annually for "use and ornamentation of the village."\textsuperscript{166} James Rutherford was paying £12 for the inn in 1788, with £1.10.0 for grass rental.\textsuperscript{167} For some trades commercial transactions in land were necessary. For example, grass walks or fields were let on an annual basis by public auction to butchers who required land to keep cattle on before slaughter.\textsuperscript{168} Cash was also increasingly necessary to purchase raw materials.

\textsuperscript{164}\textit{P.P., X}, 1834, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{166}\textit{N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16294.}
\textsuperscript{167}\textit{Ibid., MS 16282.}
\textsuperscript{168}\textit{P.P., VIII(2), 1836. Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture.} p. 243.
3.6 CONCLUSION

The period c.1750-c.1840 was in Lowland Perthshire one of concentrated inter-related change in agriculture, economy, industry, commerce and transport. The underlying basis of these developments was the change from an economy which still retained some significant non-market relationships, to a market economy based on cash exchanges. As noted, longer term developments must not be forgotten. In particular, it is important not to be misled by use of the Old Statistical Account into suggesting that most of the changes occurred in the 1790s. This source gives a snapshot view of these changes at the end of the century, but also contains much retrospective material. Furthermore, Improvements were still ongoing in some parishes nearly fifty years later, at the time of the New Statistical Account.

This chapter has focused upon change, and deliberately so. However, it is important to also acknowledge continuity. While it is possible to identify fundamental overall structural changes in both economy and society, this does not mean that features which did not change were mere aberrations which can be dismissed from analysis. A point which will be returned to below is the continuation of certain social groups. In agriculture, the perpetuation of the long-hire system for farm servants, rather than the creation of a pool of casual labourers, was related as much to the needs
of the new farming regime,\textsuperscript{169} as to traditionalism.

Certain features of the craft sector also displayed continuity. Those involved in the trades continued to pursue multiple occupations, and sometimes maintained some connection with subsistence agriculture. Production in some cases remained part-time, and served local markets. These were features which were to persist throughout the nineteenth century (see Chapter Four). In particular, there was a continued dependence upon the craft sector for the provision of local services and production, particularly with regard to agriculture. In 1837 the parish of Trinity Gask was still

"an entirely agricultural parish. We have two or three weavers, as many masons and carpenters as are required for the work of the parish, two shoemakers, but no tailor."\textsuperscript{170}

In the parish of Rhynd in 1842 there were

"two or three tradesmen, whose labours are continually required."\textsuperscript{171}

Though the picture varied spatially and by sector, there is no overwhelming evidence to suggest that the craft sector as a whole underwent a decline during this period. Rather it was a picture of expansion and


\textsuperscript{171}Ibid., p. 363.
of a change in form.\textsuperscript{172}

This chapter has illustrated the nature of the role of those engaged in the rural trades in implementing and supporting the changes in agriculture, landscape and economy that occurred during this period. However, it is necessary to assess how important these people were as agents of change. The driving force behind change was traditionally seen as coming from a small group of landowners, assisted by key figures such as land surveyors and estate officials.\textsuperscript{173} Certainly in Lowland Perthshire some landowners were paying considerable attention to the improvement of their lands. Thomas Graham of Balgowan had his lands surveyed by Robert Ainslie, who submitted his first general report in 1773.\textsuperscript{174} Ainslie suggested that Graham's lands would benefit from remodelling in the form of "extensive farms as objects of Improvement for people of more opulence...also making suitable Inclosures for artificial grasses and other crops."\textsuperscript{175}

Thus landowners and surveyors were undoubtedly important as innovators in the process of improvements. However, when such a view leads to statements such as

\begin{itemize}
  \item Similar processes have occurred elsewhere, see Menden, \textit{op cit.}, p. 246.
  \item N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16280.
  \item Ibid.
\end{itemize}
"the crucial role played by land surveyors in the Improving Movement has been stressed... but it is important to note also that the geometrical lines of the landscape of rural Scotland can be largely attributed to their work alone" 176

it is obvious that the importance of other groups in the process is not sufficiently recognised.

It is notable that Ainslie suggested to Graham not to take up farming himself. 177 Much of the improvements were in fact undertaken by tenant farmers. 178 A tack of 1790 for the farm of Over Benchill between the Duke of Atholl and Lieutenant Charles Stewart stated that

"the whole grounds hereby lett should be laboured and managed in the method and according to the rules of good husbandry hereafter mentioned." 179

The tack then proceeds to detail several Improvement practices which had to be followed. As already noted, tenant farmers had to have a considerable amount of capital to take on the responsibilities demanded in the new leases. In addition, they were prepared to aggressively develop the new agrarian regime. In some cases, as noted above, this involved expending capital to buy up thirlage rights in order to remove a block on


177 N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16280.


179 N.L.S., Lynedoch MSS, MS 16294.
development.

This example also points to the fact that the tenant farmers recognised the importance of the craft sector to improved agriculture, though it had to be competitive and responsive to market demand. As shown in Section 3.3, this was also recognised by the landowners when they attempted to retain skilled craft labour on their land in newly formed villages. While those involved in craft production cannot be advanced as prime motivators behind improvement, it is necessary to stress the importance of their role in enabling the changes that occurred.

An important point which requires further research is the extent to which the economic privileges seemingly enjoyed by the tradesmen, such as thirlage, allowed them to accumulate capital. The accumulation of capital within small scale production has been suggested as part of the development of inner contradictions, in terms of social and productive relations, within the feudal system, which were important in the development of capitalism.\textsuperscript{180} The outline of the economic structures of craft production presented in this study suggest that this point is worthy of further attention, though it is questionable whether such structures were

more beneficial to the landowners or to the tradesmen.\textsuperscript{181}

It is obvious from the analysis presented in Section 3.4 that the rural tradespeople played a major role in the implementation of the improvements. Those "geometrical lines of the landscape of rural Scotland" would not have been possible without the infrastructure they provided - masons to cut the stone and build dykes, smiths to provide the necessary technical support for new technology, and tailors, shoemakers, butchers and bakers to supply the market demand for ready made goods from the inhabitants of the newly formed villages.

At the same time, however, it would be wrong to present the involvement of the trades as simply responding to the external forces of demand for services and labour. As shown above, those involved in the trades were quick to take advantage of the new economic opportunities offered (Sections 3.4 and 3.5.1). In addition, they also provided an innovative stimulus in the field of new technology (Section 3.4.4). Thus the importance of those involved in the trades must not be overlooked when considering this period of fundamental change.

In turn, it is important to consider the impact of

the changes in the economy on the craft sector itself, and the individuals forming it. As noted above, small scale craft production continued to be an important feature in the economy. However, combined with the spatial shift of production and producers to the villages (Section 3.3) there was an important economic change. The ending of any craft privileges meant that the trades now operated within market conditions. Greater opportunities now existed for the formation of businesses. The development of craft enterprises in this area bears some similarity to models of fixed retail development where the average retail operating cost is related to the level of economic development. With economic development, purchasing power becomes greater and more concentrated, and hence the operating costs of the fixed dealer fall and the market becomes permanent, first in structural and then in operational terms (see Section 3.4). It then becomes possible for craftsman-retailers to establish fixed shops, as compared to the earlier periodic markets (see Section 3.5.1). The economic developments in the craft sector in Lowland Perthshire bear similarities to a period of development which in other contexts has been called "proto-industrialisation", involving

"the rapid growth of traditionally organized but market oriented, but principally rural industry...accompanied by changes in the spatial organization of the rural economy."\textsuperscript{183}

The opportunities offered for capital accumulation also offered the chance of the development of status distinctions. In a fashion, this represented a continuity of some of the earlier features of those involved in the trades (see Section 3.2). However, the chance for economic and social distinction now rested on market forces and not craft controls. Thus the improvements and associated developments laid the basis for the formation of a class of small producers in the rural economy and society. The spread of the market economy, combined with a still poorly developed transport system and lack of national markets in many sectors, created niches which individuals with the necessary skills and entrepreneurship could fill if they so wished.

This point thus refers to a modification of an economic group by the processes operating during the agricultural improvements. What were the implications for the social structure? In part, the importance of the rural craft workers has been overlooked in the literature because of the attachment of rural sociology to a rigid definition of capitalist agriculture as synonymous with a polarised social formation, composed

\textsuperscript{183} Mendels, \textit{op cit.}, p. 241.
of landlords and capitalist farmers opposed to a proletarianised labour force. Intermediate groups were supposedly ground out of the social formation.\textsuperscript{184} Such a view has been modified in recent years. In the north-east of Scotland the survival of a peasantry and of crofting during the nineteenth century has been related to the fact that the capitalist farmers relied upon their labour to maintain the new agricultural regime adopted, and to bring marginal land under cultivation.\textsuperscript{185} In a similar fashion, the rural craft workers were not "shaken out"\textsuperscript{186} of the social formation because they were perceived by the landowning and farming classes as vitally important for agricultural production. In addition, as noted above, considerable economic opportunities were created.

The following chapters of this thesis aim to investigate the development of the craft sector from this starting point. In the following chapter the economic structures of small scale craft production in the later nineteenth century are outlined.


\textsuperscript{186}Ignatieff, \textit{op cit}, p. 133.
Chapter Four

Economic structures of craft production in nineteenth and early twentieth century Lowland Perthshire

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Craft production and producers were an integral part of rural Scotland throughout the nineteenth century, and remained so well into the twentieth century.¹ In the urban setting, small scale production underwent a variety of responses to industrialization and the formation of large scale economic units. These included decline, transformation and growth - the development of factory production did not simply mean the end of the small master producers.² As Chapter Three established, the agricultural improvements modified rural craft production and stimulated the craft sector as a whole, and laid the basis for the organization of rural craft production in the nineteenth century.


However, little is known of the economic structures of craft production in rural Scotland, and only a qualitative account of change in this sector exists. Thus this chapter has two main objectives. Firstly, it seeks to establish a picture of the economic structures which were characteristic of craft production in nineteenth and early twentieth century Lowland Perthshire. Secondly, it develops a quantitative measure of numerical change within the craft sector in Lowland Perthshire between 1861 and 1940, and examines the processes which caused this change.

Section 4.2 examines the composition of the craft labour force. The typical organization of production is outlined, firm size examined, and the proportion of the workforce composed of one man businesses assessed. Section 4.3 provides some indication of the earnings of the craftsmen within a small business environment. The existence of contract working within the craft sector is established.

Persistence rates of firms are investigated in Section 4.4. This is followed by an examination of the reasons for business failure. Occupational mobility between wage labour and self-employment is examined.

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3 This point has been noted of studies of such groups in an European context, see Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. 1984 "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus" in Crossick and Haupt, op cit, p. 10.

4 Sprott, op cit.
with business failure and expansion illustrated. Geographical mobility associated with occupational mobility is discussed.

In Section 4.5 the following of multiple occupations, and patterns of alternative investment of business profits, are examined. The size and characteristics of the markets for craft produce and servicing are described in Section 4.6.

Long term change of the numbers engaged in various craft sectors is outlined in Section 4.7. Change is examined between 1861 and 1911 using census data, and between 1890 and 1940 using trade directories.

In the conclusion (Section 4.8), the nature of the relationship between these elements is examined. A picture is presented of the 'typical' mode of craft production in this area, and its features are used to explain continued multiple occupations and the pattern of investments. Structural change in the craft sector is analysed, and change related to internal economic structures within sectors, local economic structures, change in agriculture, and national developments in markets and the transport system.

**4.2 COMPOSITION OF THE CRAFT LABOUR FORCE**

The dominant feature of the craft production in the nineteenth century was that it was organized in the form of small productive units. These were typically owned and administered by master tradesmen, or by
tradeswomen, employing a small number of journeymen and/or apprentices. Wage earning journeymen were also to be found employed by estates or farmers. For example, at the end of the century woodmen, hedgers, dykers and garden hands were all to be found as estate employees. However, for the most part they were present as employees of master tradesmen/women. The one-person business, operated without full-time waged labour was not atypical.

As argued in Chapter Three, the effect of the changes concurrent with the agricultural improvements was to establish a system of craft production based on small businesses. Enumeration of status distinctions in the Statistical Accounts was poor, but in some cases the workforce was explicitly outlined. The parish of Coupar Angus had two hundred and forty five masters in 1795, but only fifty eight journeymen and apprentices, an average of zero point two four employees per firm. In the shoemaking sector, fifteen master shoemakers had on average one journeyman or apprentice each. Numbers of employees were also low in Kilspindie parish, where on average each of the four blacksmiths had one apprentice, there was only one apprentice between the

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three shoemakers, and two between the four house and cartwrights. The two distilleries had only five men employed in each. In the parish of Muckhart in 1833 there were thirteen master tradesmen, but only eleven journeymen and apprentices. In 1844 in Kinfrauns parish it was stated that "most artisans...are masters and apprentices." Figure 4.1 shows histograms of the number of employees in firms for four sectors in 1851. The census enumerators' books give the number of employees where a tradesman is stated as a master or employer (no women were stated as employers), but this was not carried out consistently. Where the number of employees is zero this indicates a master working without employees. Poor enumeration of status meant that it was often difficult to identify whether a tradesman was a master working on his own account, or a journeyman, and therefore the number of firms with no employees is probably under-represented in these histograms. In addition, the census data give no indication of the involvement of family labour in production (see Chapter Six). The histograms clearly show that in 1851 firm size was typically very small. The building trades show the largest firm size, but even in these cases the maximum

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8 P.P., XXIII(IV), 1844. Poor Law Enquiry (Scotland). p. 218a.
Figure 4.1
Numbers of employees per firm, 1851

Numbers of employees in the food trades. n=10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers of employees in the agricultural servicing trades. n=16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 *****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 *****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers of employees in the building trades. n=16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 *****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2 **</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers of employees in the clothing trades. n=35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>7 *****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 *********</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8 *********</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 *****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 ***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.
number of employees was eight. For all firms with journeymen the average number of employees was two point five \((n=63)\), with at least eighteen percent \((n=77)\) of the total labour force masters working on their own account.\(^9\)

A small number of sequestrated firms gave numbers of employees, revealing an average size of four point two employees \((n=13)\), with a range of numbers of employees from one to ten. One person businesses were common.\(^10\) In England in the same period smithing firms typically employed two to four men,\(^11\) while Scottish millers usually had between one and three men.\(^12\)

In addition it is clear that firm size varied depending on circumstances. Hugh McMahon, a clothier in Blairgowrie, had between three and seven journeymen, but usually five or six, "depending on business." John McLauchlan had variously four or five journeyman shoemakers, while James McMartin had two, but at times none at all.\(^13\) As one nineteenth century writer recalled of

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9 S.R.O., Census enumerator's books sample, 1851.
10 S.R.O., Concluded Sequestration Processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act, CS318/319.
his local wright, he had several apprentices, "and when business was brisk there would even be a few journeymen hands."\(^{14}\) When business was slack the journeymen went on the tramp for work (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.3), or were able to exploit other work opportunities that were available in the rural area.

By the end of the century official statistics became available which allow a crude assessment of the composition of the craft labour force in Perthshire. In 1891 the average firm size in Perthshire (for firms with at least one employee which were outside of Perth City) was four point six employees (n=1389), with fifty six percent (n=3128) of the total workforce on 'own account.' By comparison, Perth City had figures of twelve point nine (n=420) and thirty eight percent (n=676).\(^{15}\) As a crude context Figure 4.2 shows the percentage of the workforce 'on own account' in certain industries for locations throughout Scotland in 1891, distinguishing between the main cities and the rest of the county. In each case, with the exception of Stirling and Stirlingshire, the percentage of the workforce 'on own account' is higher outside the

\(^{14}\) Inglis, James 1894 Oor Aín Folk David Douglas, Edinburgh. p. 39.

\(^{15}\) P.P., CVIII, 1893. Census. pp. 582-5, 793-6. See Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2 for a discussion of the means of calculation of, and problems with, the derived values in this section.
### Figure 4.2

**Percentage of total workforce in certain sectors on own account in 1891**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County/burgh</th>
<th>% on own account</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>15928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen¹</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>33920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forfarshire</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>35226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>59306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>15745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirlingshire</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>19468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>3928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh²</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>17124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh³</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>78849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanark</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>149339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>188944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹ County figures exclude city figures.
² Aberdeen includes Peterhead.
³ Edinburgh includes Leith.
cities. Comparing counties, the agricultural counties of the north east show the highest percentages.

Figure 4.3 shows the same values calculated for selected groups of trades in Lowland Perthshire. Calculation of values at the level of individual trades was not always possible because the printed census table is not detailed enough. It is not possible to tell, for example, what proportion of operative carpenters were employed by master carpenters, or by other building trades, but it is possible to amalgamate categories into groups. Because of problems with the use of these printed census tables (see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2) it is only possible to use them as indicators of overall patterns. Within individual trades the pattern of smaller rural firm size, and a greater percentage of the rural workforce working 'on own account' is seen. The only exceptions are a larger rural firm size for brewing/distilling and gardeners/nurserymen.

Thus, throughout the nineteenth century firm size in the rural trades in Lowland Perthshire remained small. At the end of the century this was true even by comparison with Perth, which was hardly a notable industrial centre. In addition, much rural production was still carried out by firms with no full time employees. Manufacturing trades such as furniture, metal working, coach making and saddling, and manufacture of small goods (watches, guns etc.) had greater
**Figure 4.3**

*Average firm size and percentage of workforce on own account*  
**Perthshire and Perth, 1891**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector/trade</th>
<th>Average size n</th>
<th>Average size n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perthshire (exc. Perth)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing/distilling</td>
<td>6.1 (9)</td>
<td>2.8 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food processing</td>
<td>3.8 (136)</td>
<td>7.3 (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food retailing</td>
<td>2.5 (147)</td>
<td>3.0 (64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>4.5 (343)</td>
<td>10.9 (65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter, carrier</td>
<td>17.4 (23)</td>
<td>49.3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener, nurseryman</td>
<td>25.7 (31)</td>
<td>9.6 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach mkr, wright, saddler</td>
<td>2.8 (34)</td>
<td>12.3 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>5.8 (214)</td>
<td>9.0 (124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engine/machine mkr</td>
<td>6.6 (25)</td>
<td>45.0 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>3.7 (20)</td>
<td>12.1 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalworking</td>
<td>2.6 (151)</td>
<td>19.1 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td>5.3 (3)</td>
<td>9.0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch/gun/toy mkr</td>
<td>2.2 (19)</td>
<td>3.2 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking</td>
<td>4.2 (35)</td>
<td>30.0 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector/trade</th>
<th>Percentage of workforce on own account</th>
<th>Percentage of workforce on own account</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perth City</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing/distilling</td>
<td>0.0 (66)</td>
<td>0.0 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food processing</td>
<td>9.8 (713)</td>
<td>5.5 (346)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food retailing</td>
<td>26.0 (722)</td>
<td>18.1 (310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>6.3 (2081)</td>
<td>0.6 (780)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter, carrier</td>
<td>10.3 (487)</td>
<td>1.3 (153)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener, nurseryman</td>
<td>9.5 (1061)</td>
<td>5.1 (158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach mkr, wright, saddler</td>
<td>7.2 (139)</td>
<td>0.9 (107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>32.5 (2292)</td>
<td>11.1 (1383)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engine/machine mkr</td>
<td>5.6 (215)</td>
<td>0.0 (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>15.5 (110)</td>
<td>5.1 (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalworking</td>
<td>7.4 (597)</td>
<td>1.6 (184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td>0.0 (20)</td>
<td>0.0 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch/gun/toy mkr</td>
<td>35.6 (90)</td>
<td>9.8 (61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking</td>
<td>6.9 (203)</td>
<td>2.1 (95)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

than seven percent of the workforce on 'own account.' For the carrier trades this figure was over ten percent, while the food processing trades were also significant in this respect. As noted (see Appendix I) numbers of those working on their own account were probably over-estimated in sectors such as the clothing trades and food retailing. Those trades which had none of the workforce 'on own account' were significantly those which had undergone geographical concentration and had changed in organization to large scale industrial production i.e. shipbuilding and brewing.

4.3 EARNINGS AND CONTRACTS

A limited amount of information is available which gives some idea of the earnings of the tradesmen in the sequestrated firms. Figure 4.4 shows yearly earnings derived from craft businesses, and provides some wage data for journeymen in the skilled trades. The wage data are not intended to be taken as a very accurate measure of journeymen's wages in Lowland Perthshire, as the data values vary in location, with some referring to urban areas, and assume full employment within a year. They are intended to indicate the maximum potential earnings through skilled wage labour as a basis for comparison with the level of business profits. The use of urban data here is not an unrealistic comparison, given the mobility characteristics of the tradesmen, with urban-rural and rural-urban migra-
**Figure 4.4**

Master's earnings and journeymen's wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>Journeyman</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>£150 ave. profit/year - living expences of £30/year</td>
<td>£57²</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>£156 ave. profit/year - living expences of £100/year</td>
<td>£66⁴</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>£78 takings/year on manufactured goods £416 takings/year on sales of which £156 profit</td>
<td>£52⁵</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>£70 ave. profit/year 'did not always exceed expenses'</td>
<td>£79²</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coachbuilder</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>£47 per year (drawn weekly)</td>
<td>£79²</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>£57 per year</td>
<td>£57⁶</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>£65 per year</td>
<td>£57⁶</td>
<td>1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker/grocer</td>
<td>1881-5</td>
<td>£150 profit/year 'after expenses/keep of family' (turnover £3640-4160 p.a.)</td>
<td>£78²</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>£60-70 profit/year</td>
<td>£89²</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>£52-65 'clear' profit/year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹S.R.O., CS318/319.  
³Journeyman smith, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/12/269.  
⁴Journeyman shoemaker, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/15/295.  
⁵Journeyman joiner, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/16/310.  
⁶Journeyman mason, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/21/111.  
⁷Journeyman smith, journeyman joiner, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/30/172.  
⁸Journeyman butcher, Lowland Perthshire, CS318/40/316.
tion associated with occupational mobility (see Section 4.4). Neither set of data is intended to represent total income, particularly given the other activities of many of those engaged in the trades (see Section 4.5).

The earnings data tend to confirm that the firms represented in the sequestration records were run on a small-medium scale. The maximum profit of the examples given here was £150 per year, or roughly twice the top skilled wage rate. However, these data point to the existence of a strata of firms which overlapped with skilled wage labour in terms of cash earnings, and in some cases business profits were less than the theoretical maximum which could have been derived from wage labour. This would also have been related to the life cycle stage of the firm, with recently established firms showing only small profits to begin with. However, the data do serve to illustrate the existence of a strata of firms where earnings were small, and close to that of wage labour. The reality of the grocer who in 1899 was making £60-70/year in profit was, in his words, that "I never saved any money but I was able to keep myself."\(^{16}\)

Another feature of small scale production was that in some sectors tradespeople were employed on a contract basis, which must have restricted the reality of

\(^{16}\text{S.R.O., CS318/34/244.}\)
being an independent master. In Kinfauns parish in 1843 it was stated that masters were "paid according to agreement with employers."\textsuperscript{17} In 1838 it was stated that

"smiths generally contract for farm work by the year; but what they receive depends a good deal on the nature of the soil and other circumstances."\textsuperscript{18}

The building trades in particular were characterised by contracting, and of subcontracting other tradesmen. Tradesmen were contracted to repair and upgrade many farm houses, as can be seen in the numerous reports in the county newspapers (see Figure 4.5). As an example, in 1882 it was reported that

"considerable additions and alterations are about to be effected on the dwelling houses and farm steadings at North Corston [Coupar Angus]...and the work has been contracted for as follows: Mason work, Mr. Ritchie, Burrelton: joiner work, Mr. MacDonald, Coupar Angus; slater work, Mr. Anderson, Coupar Angus; and plumber work, Mr. Laird, Blairgowrie."\textsuperscript{19}

Tradesmen who had contracted for a job often subcontracted others to do the additional work. John Dow, a slater, had in 1894 for one piece of work "a Stanley man who was subcontractor." Thomas McIntosh, a builder, gained a contract valued at £5200 for work at Dunalis-ter House, one of the gentry's seats at Blairgowrie. McIntosh carried out the mason work, but subcontracted a plumber, wright, painter, glazier, bell hanger and

\textsuperscript{17}N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 1217.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 1012; also Sprott, op cit, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{19}Courier, July 18, 1884.
### Figure 4.5

**Building contracts and contractors in Lowland Perthshire: 1882, 1883, 1884**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contract</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Contractor</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Corston, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Mr. Ritchie, mason</td>
<td>Burrelton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. MacDonald, joiner</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Anderson, slater</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Laird, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Gask steading, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Mr. D. Reid, mason</td>
<td>Leys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Adam, joiner</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. A. Baxter, slater</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Laing, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knollhead steading, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Mr. T. Smith, mason</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Messrs. Ross and Wallace, joiners</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. C. Anderson, slater</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Doig, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley steading, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Mr. D. Reid, mason</td>
<td>Leys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Messrs. Ross and Wallace, joiners</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. C. Chrichton, slater</td>
<td>Meigle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Laing, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton of Hallyburton, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Mr. D. Reid, mason</td>
<td>Leys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Messrs. Ross and Wallace, joiners</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. A. Baxter, slater</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Laing, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flatfield, Coupar Angus</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Messrs. Watson and Robertson, masons</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. A. Baxter, slater</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. J. Doig, plumber</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stralochy steading, Murthly</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Mr. Buchanan, mason</td>
<td>Spittalfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Robertson, joiner</td>
<td>Dunkeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Messrs. Frew and Son, plumbers</td>
<td>Perth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Reid, slater</td>
<td>Perth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** *Courier*, July 18, 1882; August 21, 1883; August 5, 1884.
plasterer, as well as a quarrier for the stone.\textsuperscript{20} Building contracts could prove troublesome, as extra work necessitated by delays or underestimates had to be paid at day rates by the contractor.\textsuperscript{21} The yearly contract was certainly perceived as restrictive by smiths in mid century. In 1866 the smiths of the Carse of Gowrie formed a union

"for the purpose of fixing their prices. This Union fixed a tariff of prices. The Committee recommended the discontinuance of all contract work."\textsuperscript{22}

One Perthshire molecatcher explained the realities of killing moles on a contract basis, when he stated

"ye could work steady or at other times ye were laid off wi' the weather or that. Ye'd to work extra hours to make up - ye wisnae paid extra, but ye got yer money that was due ye. Ye didnae get overtime, it was all contract work - ye made yer bargain - kill the moles for six months or twelve months per year. An' if the farmer had a lot o' moles he would send word t'ye - 'come an' do this' - it was just the same money."\textsuperscript{23}

However, subcontracting of small producers by larger scale enterprises, where a manufacturer supplied raw materials to the small master on credit and controlled the distribution and marketing of the finished product, does not seem to have been a feature of this rural area. This relationship formed an important restraint on the independence of small producers in

\textsuperscript{20}S.R.O., CS318/41/96, CS318/8/246. 
\textsuperscript{21}S.R.O., CS318/8/376. 
\textsuperscript{22}Melville, L. 1935 Errol: It's Legends, Lands and People. Thomas Hunter and Sons Ltd., Perth. p. 60. 
\textsuperscript{23}Mr. H. Young of Pitcairnngreen recorded April 1987.
urban locations,24 and also in some rural ones.25 With the exception of the handloom weavers of Lowland Perthshire who were operating within a well established putting out system, there appeared to be no organisation of outworking by merchants and manufacturers. Where contracts did exist they were between the tradesmen and tradeswomen and their customers, operating within local markets (see Section 4.6).

4.4 PERSISTENCE RATES, OCCUPATIONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

Previous studies of small scale production and master craftsmen have made much of the fluid and unstable nature of this sector.26 Firms were often short lived, and movement between waged employment and self employment common. This movement had various social implications, but here it is the economic considerations which are concentrated on. Persistence rates of firms are presented and contrasted across a range of trades. These findings lead to further enquir-


ies regarding the nature of the craft sector, including reasons for business failure, occupational mobility, and associated geographical mobility.

4.4.1 Persistence rates of craft firms

Figure 4.6 shows the persistence rates of craft firms in Lowland Perthshire between 1890 and 1900, as calculated from trade directories. The values are expressed as the percentage of firms present in 1890 surviving to 1900. In addition to data on firms, the turnover of individuals who were agents and professionals is also given for comparison. Figure 4.7 shows these data as ranks for the different sectors, with the higher ranks (1-8) representing higher persistence rates.

Those sectors in the higher ranks were the cereal processors (millers etc.), blacksmiths, other skilled trades, the building trades and tailors. Those sectors around the average value were shoemakers, dressmakers, milliners and merchants. Those with a consistently low rank were agents, bakers, fleshers/butchers, inn/hotelkeepers, retailers and professional occupations. The craft sector showed more stability than the retail sector in 1890-1900 (fifty five percent compared to forty two percent), but was similar to the merchants (in the period 1890-1900 fifty five percent of craft firms persisted compared to fifty six percent of merchants).
Figure 4.6

Firm persistence rate in Lowland Perthshire: percentage

% firms surviving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm/occupation</th>
<th>1890-1900</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agents</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleshers, butchers, game dealers</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millers, brewers, maltsters/distillers</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking trades&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other skilled trades&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders/masons</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaters, plasterers, painters, plumbers</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers, milliners</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemakers</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors, clothiers</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innkeepers/hoteliers, restarauteurs</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retailers</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average/total</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>2415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft ave./total</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>1048</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire.

<sup>1</sup> Joiners, cabinet makers, cartwrights, coopers, sawmillers.
<sup>2</sup> Watch mkrs., agricultural implement mkrs., engineers, tinsmiths, coach makers/hirers, traction engine makers/owners.
<sup>3</sup> Textiles, farina, mineral water manufacturers etc.
<sup>4</sup> Schoolteachers, doctors/surgeons etc., solicitors, clerks, architects, factors, contractors.
Figure 4.7

Firm persistance rate in Lowland Perthshire: rank order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm/occupation</th>
<th>1890-1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Millers, brewers, maltsters/distillers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders/masons</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other^ skilled trades</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaters, plasterers, painters, plumbers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors, clothiers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemakers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers, milliners</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers^3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking trades^1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleshers, butchers, game dealers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retailers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals^4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innkeepers/hoteliers, restauranteurs</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire.

^1 Joiners, cabinet makers, cartwrights, coopers, sawmillers.
^2 Watch mkrs., agricultural implement mkrs., engineers, tinsmiths, coach makers/hirers, traction engine makers/owners.
^3 Textiles, farina, mineral water manufacturers etc.
^4 Schoolteachers, doctors/surgeons etc., solicitors, clerks, architects, factors, contractors.
Data for Edinburgh for the same period suggest that a high turnover rate (or low persistence rate) of firms was associated with the more labour intensive industries.\(^{27}\) The more capital intensive industries of milling, brewing, distilling and malting certainly conform to this suggestion in this area, being consistently the top ranked sector. For the low ranked sectors, baking, butchering and retailing also support this idea. However, many of the other types of firms are inconsistent with this situation, for example, inn/hotelkeeping was also capital intensive but was consistently among the lowest two ranks. Similarly, the building trades and tailoring all had high persistence rates, but were fairly labour intensive. The distinction between shoemakers and tailors is interesting, showing considerable diversification within the clothing trades, perhaps related to national developments (see Section 6.8).

Other comparable data can be presented on the stability of rural firms. Firms which ended up in the sequestration processes between 1856 and 1914 had operated on average for nine point one years (n=58). These cases ranged from firms which failed after just one year, to one which had operated for fifty years. Most of these firms failed within four years (thirty six percent), with twenty six percent failing after

\(^{27}\) Gray, op cit, p. 132.
five to nine years, and twenty two percent at ten to fourteen years. The remaining sixteen percent lasted fifteen years or longer.\textsuperscript{28} Though not strictly speaking directly comparable with the trade directory analysis, this meant a persistence rate of thirty eight percent over ten years. This result is consistent with the argument that sequestrations are representative of small to medium scale firms, and thus suggest a lower persistence rate for craft firms because they contain a greater proportion of smaller, less stable enterprises. The trade directory by contrast gives a more average value for stability in the craft sector.

4.4.2 Occupational mobility

Evidence of failure and creation of firms implies occupational mobility, specifically between wage labour and self employment. Important points to consider are: how easy was it to set up in business throughout the century; what were the causes of business failure in the craft sector; to what extent did firms in the craft sector illustrate adaptability to changing conditions; and what sort of movement occurred? In addition, it is worthwhile examining the connection between occupational mobility and geographical mobility.

It is possible to gather some evidence that occupational mobility from wage labour to self employ-

\textsuperscript{28}S.R.O., CS318/319.
ment remained a viable aspiration for journeymen in Lowland Perthshire throughout the nineteenth century. The composition of the rural craft labour force, with its high proportion of masters working on own account compared to urban areas (see Section 4.2), suggests that there was greater opportunity for setting up in business in rural areas. In Crieff in 1838 it was stated that

"the tradesmen here, very few individuals excepted, are all on a level; no one chooses to serve another, after he understands business himself."  

This quote refers to the largest market town in the area, in a year when the economy was buoyant, so care should be taken in applying it over time and space, but it is likely to have applied to other expanding towns in the area at the time.

Figure 4.8 shows the average value and the range of values of the start-up capitals of craft firms between 1856 and 1914. The average value remains fairly constant throughout the period. Perhaps more importantly the range of start-up capital required was large, and at times firms were started with very little capital. This suggests that it was fairly easy in terms of capital requirements to set up some kind of craft business, though starting with such low capital led to instability in these firms, as shown below.

In most cases the technological requirements of

\[^{29}\text{N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 508.}\]
Figure 4.8
Start capital of craft firms in Lowland Perthshire, 1834-1904

1834-57

---I + I

0 100 200 300 400 500

Pounds

1858-1880

---I + I---

0 100 200 300 400 500

Pounds

1881-1904

---I + I---

0 70 140 210 280 350

Pounds

+ = median */O = outlying values I = quartiles

these trades remained low, which reduced the need for large amounts of start capital. Even after four years in operation, the joiner's tools of the firm of Scott & Battison were only valued at £20.\textsuperscript{30} William Wisley laid out £35 on the fittings for a butcher's shop and slaughterhouse in 1901.\textsuperscript{31} The tools in the smiddy and turning shop of Robert McKenzie in Craigie were worth around £21 in total. In the smiddy they comprised three anvils, one set of bellows, blocks (two), vices (two) and two lever press drills. The turning shop contained two turning lathes, one with back motion, and some vices.\textsuperscript{32} The only machinery in George MacFarlane's clothier's shop at Coupar Angus consisted of one sewing machine,\textsuperscript{33} though it was noted of Auchterarder by the end of the century that the introduction of sewing machines had the effect of "minimising the labour of the tailor and the seamstress."\textsuperscript{34} The existence of "machine workers in leather"\textsuperscript{35} in the area in the 1860s points to some introduction of machinery into the shoemaking trade. However, the fact that these operatives were all female suggests that this machinery had

\textsuperscript{30} S.R.O., CS318/34/333.  
\textsuperscript{31} S.R.O., CS318/46/401.  
\textsuperscript{32} S.R.O., CS318/29/242.  
\textsuperscript{33} S.R.O., CS319/590.  
\textsuperscript{35} S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates sample.
only been introduced to certain parts of the shoemaking process, and that skilled work was still the preserve of male handicraft workers.

Another important point is the origin of this start capital. Forty-one percent (n=78) of a sample of craft firms started using money saved from previous earnings as waged employees, showing that movement from journeyman to master was possible.\(^{36}\) The age:sex structure of masters and journeymen in the 1851 census (Appendix V) is consistent with males following a period of waged employment before setting up as a master. Journeymen are concentrated into the lower age groups, while masters show a much greater concentration in the 30+ age group.

An important issue here would have been control of entry to the trades, particularly through apprenticeship. Apprenticeships were still undertaken in Lowland Perthshire in the mid-century, as can be seen from the apprentices enumerated in the census sample. In some cases indentures were still enforced. When David Stewart, a Coupar Angus shoemaker, became bankrupt in 1856, his son James claimed damages

"in so far as the said David Stewart is said to be liable in the penalty in an Indenture between him and the said James Stewart his apprentice and it is said that the Apprentice has been obliged to go to another master and he craves as damages\(^{36}\)

\(^{36}\)S.R.O., CS318/319.
However, in Scotland, which lacked any equivalent of the Statute of Artificers by which statutory apprenticeship was laid down, the system of apprenticeship and its duration was informal and varied between crafts. The period 1850-90 saw a general collapse of the system of indentured apprenticeship throughout Britain. After mid-century at least, apprenticeship does not seem to have been a major issue in the rural craft sector of Lowland Perthshire. Newspaper reports of strikes in this area reveal that the issues behind the actions were consistently wages and hours, and no disputes were found during this study regarding control of entry to the trades (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.6). While the sequestration cases reveal some individuals following a traditional life cycle path of apprentice-journeyman-master, in many cases it is clear that formal training was never undertaken. In addition, people were found moving between different trades (see Section 4.4.3). It has been suggested that the acquisition of skill involved a process that was qualitatively different in rural compared to urban areas, with

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37 S.R.O., CS319/60.
greater emphasis placed in the former on all-round skills rather than the specialization required of the urban areas.\textsuperscript{40}

There were a variety of reasons for business failure. Undoubtedly one of the main reasons was the involvement of these firms in the credit system. Dependency on credit led to situations where the manufacturer or merchant extending the credit could cause bankruptcy by demanding payment of bills. This subject is dealt with in full in Chapter Five. An important point about many of the sequestrated firms was that they were undercapitalised. As shown in Figure 4.8, these firms had often extremely low levels of initial capital, which led to difficulties in running the firm. As the Trustee of one miller/farmer's estate noted

"Mr. Caw's bankruptcy arose from innocent misfortunes... He had all along to struggle with a small capital."\textsuperscript{41}

A watchmaker and jeweller noted similar problems in 1899 when he noted

"The principle reasons for my getting into difficulties were over stocking and want of capital... not having sufficient capital to meet claims when they fell due."\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40} Knox, W., \textit{op cit}, p. 183; also Samuel, \textit{op cit}, p. 59; Fraser, \textit{op cit}, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{41} S.R.O., CS319/262.

\textsuperscript{42} S.R.O., CS318/46/59; also CS318/15/295, CS318/38/59, CS318/46/401, CS318/55/194.
The lack of capital caused problems by making it difficult to pay debts (see Chapter Five). With money tied up in stock and credit to customers, firms got into difficulties as they tried to expand, or their business was too large for their resources. Mr. McAllister, a coachbuilder in Denny stated in 1872 that

"I wish to explain that I had not been able to get into business to an extent to renumerate one for the wages and expenses I necessarily incurred."\(^4\)\(^5\)

William Keay, a Blairgowrie bootmaker, attributed failure of his firm to expansion which he could not sustain

"I had a smaller business at that time [1851]...About 1853 or 1854 I began to expand my business by keeping a stock of ready made goods and after that I began my system of [discounting] bills which went on increasing with my business."\(^4\)\(^6\)

Increased expenditure was part of the failure of one Crieff cabinet maker in 1866. The business "expanded considerably", from employing one journeyman to two journeymen and three to four apprentices.\(^4\)\(^5\) The shoemaker McLauchlan's business failed due to "the circumstance of my business having grown on me too rapidly."\(^4\)\(^6\) Having too much stock on hand was another common problem.\(^4\)\(^7\) William Keay the bootmaker had to sell off leather at less than its value to gain cash

\(^{43}\) S.R.O., CS318/17/259. 
\(^{44}\) S.R.O., CS318/11/145. 
\(^{45}\) S.R.O., CS318/10/233. 
\(^{46}\) S.R.O., CS318/15/295. 
for wages, as did McIntosh the coachbuilder, who sold or exchanged carriages at a loss to pay high wage costs.\textsuperscript{48}

Poor business management was also a cause of failure, of which overstocking was also an example. Of fifty two craft firms which expressed an opinion, thirty five percent reported either keeping no business books at all, or not balancing them properly. Marie Stewart, a widow continuing her husband's saddlers business, stated that

"I kept books myself as I was able, but I never balanced them...as I never balanced my books I never knew exactly my position."\textsuperscript{49}

Mr. Buchan, a watchmaker in Blairgowrie, balanced his books monthly, but had not taken stock for four years. One saddler in Inchture stated in 1857 that

"I did not balance my books and cannot tell whether I made profit or loss but I must have lost."\textsuperscript{50}

The extending of credit to customers often led to 'bad' debts i.e. those which had been allowed to go unpaid so long they were considered unrecoverable. Twenty one percent of firms discussing reasons for failure at least partly attributed it to bad debts (n=52). On average, book debts totalled £182 (n=51), but could be as high as £1700 in some cases.\textsuperscript{51} Preventing bad debts was a part of running a good business, and had to be

\begin{footnotes}
\item[49] S.R.O., CS319/254.  
\item[50] S.R.O., CS318/6/37, CS318/2/100.  
\item[51] S.R.O., CS318/319.  
\end{footnotes}
actively pursued (see Chapter Five, Section 5.4).

Failure could also be attributed to circumstances beyond the control of those engaged in the trades, though these no doubt worked in combination with the types of limitations outlined above. Downswings in the economy brought increased bankruptcies.\(^5\) Mr. McMartin, shoemaker in Birnam, noted the "dullness of trade" in 1878 as part of the reason for his failure,\(^5\) at a time when the local economy was suffering the effects of the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank. Peter Wynd, an Inchture baker, attributed failure to "losses on flour by the fall in the markets"\(^5\) up to 1870, and wheat prices had fallen steadily between 1867 and 1869. Rising prices could also cause problems for these small firms. High land prices in 1854 lost money for Mr. Brown, a flesher and cattle dealer, who was renting grass parks for keeping stock.\(^5\) A general slump in trade rapidly reduced profits in the small firms.\(^5\)

Trade slumps and failures tended to highlight the inter-relations between firms. In Crieff in 1861 it was announced

\(^5\) S.R.O., CS318/17/367.
\(^5\) S.R.O., CS318/2/14.
"we regret to have to announce a failure in the shoemaking trade here at present, inasmuch as the deficiencies will fall pretty hard on the place."\(^{57}\)

In Blairgowrie in 1870 it was noted

"the mercantile trade of the town has been of late very gloomy and depressed, owing to various causes; and some sensation has been caused owing to a number of failures taking place, in some cases where they were not expected. It is rumoured that the failure of [Messrs. James Dick and Son, grocers and clothiers] has been the cause of, at least, one of the other failings.\(^{58}\)

Part of the failure of Guthrie's Wright's business in Ballendrick in 1857 was the loss of £14 when Hector Munro, a saddler in Bridge of Earn, became bankrupt in 1848.\(^{59}\)

Given the diversification of interests of these firms, failure could result from poor business in some of the sidelines exploited. Natural factors, such as poor harvests and disease, whether of stock or of tradespeople themselves, also led to business failure. William Lowe, a builder, lost money in 1877-80 due to disease and poor weather destroying the potatoes he was dealing in; Donald McDonald, a flesher and grazier, lost profits when his cattle died of pleuroneumonia in 1859; and Mr. Scott's carpentry business failed after ill health caused him to lose heavily on contracts.\(^{60}\)

\(^{57}\) Courier, December 10, 1861.
\(^{58}\) Courier, March 8, 1870.
\(^{59}\) S.R.O., CS318/2/69.
Occupational mobility in the present context involved the movement from wage-earning journeyman to self-employed master, the possible return to wage labour, and the chance of continued upward movement over a rather blurred division into the ranks of the small capitalist. Movement from journeyman to employer was a possible step in Lowland Perthshire at this time. To give some examples, Mr. Laing, a partner in the mason's firm of Laing and Scott located in Guildtown, moved from being Scott's foreman to his partner in 1857. Before starting his own business as a joiner and grocer in Lochee in 1900, James Stewart "wrought at the joiner trade with two different masters." In the words of Peter Wynd, a baker in Inchture, in 1871

"I began business on my own account nine years and a half ago. Before then I was a journeyman baker."

Other examples are discussed when considering geographical mobility below. Differences in the persistence rates of firms in various sectors perhaps indicate differing opportunities for upward mobility, with a high business turnover perhaps implying more opportunity for journeymen to establish firms.\(^6\)\(^2\) To a certain extent this ties in with those firms which had a high turnover, were labour intensive and required relatively low amounts of capital, such as baking, butchering and

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\(^6\)\(^2\)Gray, *op cit*, p. 132.
also retailing (see above), but the pattern is not totally clear.

However, this movement was by no means always permanent. The marginal nature of some of these enterprises was illustrated in the joinery firm of Robert Reid, started in 1864, who combined contract work (as a master) with jobbing work (as a journeyman).\(^6\) Failure in business could result in a downward movement back to waged labour. One boat builder and joiner in Abernethy had to sell his business to pay a debt, and went back to working as a jobbing joiner.\(^4\) Thomas Mackie worked for his father as a fencer until 1871 when he set up in business as a joiner in Bridge of Earn. When his business failed in 1874, he had to work as a labourer for 5d. per hour, as his joiner’s tools had been sequestrated.\(^5\) However, failure in business sometimes only meant a temporary return to wage labour. Peter Wynd was able to restart business as a baker in 1864 despite having fallen bankrupt to the tune of £289. When Donald McGregor became bankrupt in 1896 it was for the second time in five years. He had restarted his bootmaking business immediately after his discharge by gaining credit from Glasgow merchants. After his failure in 1888, David Jack, a baker and grocer, stated

\(^6\) S.R.O., CS318/16/310.
\(^4\) S.R.O., CS318/45/316.
\(^5\) S.R.O., CS318/21/321.
"I intend to start business again, but not with capital of my own...I have not been promised money with which to start business. I have an idea where I might get a start, but I do not say what it is in the way of."

The end of one business and the starting of another was not always due to bankruptcy, however. As noted for the retail trade, success was not always achieved by enlarging the establishment, but might come from owning a succession of shops, each one being sold at a profit (see below).

In addition, firms certainly overcame problems and expanded to become very viable concerns. An important feature of successful firms was their flexibility and willingness to adapt to new products and markets. In Crieff the principal firm of millwrights was for many years that of George Morgan and Sons. George Morgan came to Crieff in 1829 as a foreman to superintend the erection of meal mills. He stayed on in the town and set up in business in 1832, expanding into engineering and timber merchandising. In 1874 a successful coach-building firm was established by David Millar and Thomas Clark. In 1879, Clark and Millar was dissolved, and each partner set up on their own account. Mr. Clark went into carriage building as the Crieff Carriage Works, and then the Strathearn Coach Works in 1883. The

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firm took up selling and hiring bicycles, and after Mr. Clark's death in 1901 his sons became involved in the motor trade.68

Agricultural engineers, country garages and steel fabricators often evolved from roadside smiddies.69 Robert Hally's business in 1935 illustrates a half way stage, described as a 'blacksmith and cycle agent' at the Smithy Filling Station, by Dundee.70 Significant in Lowland Perthshire in this type of expansion and evolution were a number of agricultural engineering firms which began life as country blacksmiths' businesses. In 1863 it was predicted that

"Mr. Bisset, smith, Balcairn, has commenced making reaping machines, and from the specimens of work we have seen done by them...he promises to be successful."71

By 1867 this prediction had become reality, as

"the demand for reaping machines seems to be steadily increasing, and those made in this district have become special favourites, judging from the amount that are being made and sent to all parts of the country. The manufactory at Marlee had become quite an institution of the times. Where but a few years ago a common roadside smithy and cartwright's shop stood, there is now a large and complete machine makers establishment...The skill and energy of the Messrs. Bisset in designing and


69 Sprott, op cit. p. 151.

70 N.M.A.S., Country Life Archive, receipt in the account books of David Hally & Son, agricultural blacksmiths, Burrelton.

71 Courier, August 25, 1863.
carrying out the improvements of their favourite machines are certainly highly creditable to them."72

In 1876 the firm was renamed the Greenbank Engineering Works, and carried on a large export trade on a worldwide basis. A measure of its specialisation was that it was the only producer of self-binding reapers in Scotland, with the only other British competition based in Lancashire.73 Other reaping machines were manufactured and sold to a wide market by Thomas Lawton "smith and agricultural implement maker, [which] were in use in the neighbourhood, and several on order throughout the country."74

In 1867, John Peebles of Errol was involved in "improvements in motive power engines",75 and the parish was the site of specialist engineering firms which developed and exported agricultural and jute making machinery in the late nineteenth century.76 John Doe's Implement Engineering company was established at Errol Station, and introduced portable thrashing machinery to the area.77 The firm of F.M. Fleming and Son had its origins in a "plain smithy", and in 1873 became

72Courier, July 16, 1867.
74Advertiser, August 31, 1865.
75Courier, August 27, 1867.
77Taylor, op cit, p. 367.
the Old Rattray Engineering Works with a local and export trade in light engineering. By the twentieth century the firm was selling its 'turnip-topper' throughout Britain and the Republic of Ireland.\textsuperscript{78}

4.4.3 Geographical and occupational mobility

An interesting feature of occupational mobility was that it was often accompanied by geographical mobility. Movement associated with apprenticeship was well known. In the late eighteenth century it was stated that in Perthshire

"numbers of young men and women...leave the parish yearly to go to service, or to learn trades in the low countries"\textsuperscript{79}

and the movement of apprentices to towns was not uncommon.\textsuperscript{80}

However, less is known about movement subsequent to completion of apprenticeship. In some cases it is obvious that urban to rural migration was a necessary step in the move from wage labour to self employment, after a period of gaining skills and savings in the urban environment. William McEwan served his apprenticeship with his father in Crieff, then worked as a journeyman in Glasgow and Crieff in 1849-50, before returning to Glasgow to complete his training. In 1856

\textsuperscript{78}Taylor, \textit{op cit.}, pp. 251, 315.
\textsuperscript{79}O.S.A., \textit{Vol. XII}, p. 752.
\textsuperscript{80}Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. 1986 "Patterns of migration of apprentices into Aberdeen and Inverness during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" \textit{Scottish Geographical Magazine}, 102, pp. 81-92.
he returned to Crieff and set up his own business.\textsuperscript{81} John Docter trained as a lawyer's apprentice in Perth until 1850, then moved to Glasgow to work in a lawyer's office. In 1854 he moved to Pitcairngreen in Lowland Perthshire where he took up dealing in wood and potatoes. Upon falling into debt, he moved to the village of Methven in 1857 where he worked as a bank agent before setting up in business again.\textsuperscript{82} David Jack worked as a bakery manager in Dundee before moving to Blairgowrie in 1881 to establish his own baker's and grocer's business. Robert Lawrence, who had previously worked as a steward in Aberdeen, a butler in Carlisle, and a hotel worker in Edinburgh and Blairgowrie, later took on a hotel in Blairgowrie.\textsuperscript{83} This type of movement may have reflected the relatively easier establishment of businesses as discussed above, and certainly would have reflected influences such as a lower property value in rural areas.

Just as the move from wage labour to self employment sometimes involved geographical movement, so did the reverse process. For example, Thomas Mackie moved from Bridge of Earn to Glasgow to find work as a labourer after he became bankrupt in 1874 as his joiners tools were sequestrated. His brother who also

\textsuperscript{81}S.R.O., CS318/12/269.
\textsuperscript{82}S.R.O., CS318/10/75.
\textsuperscript{83}S.R.O., CS318/34/174, CS318/51/171.
worked in Glasgow may have assisted his finding employment. Alexander Baillie, a quarryer at Mylnefield moved to Dundee in 1861 after bankruptcy because he owned property there.\textsuperscript{84}

As noted above it was common for small scale enterprises to follow a pattern of establishing a business then selling it for a profit, before starting the next business. In some cases this was used as a means to attempt to avoid business failure. Hugh McMahon, began his business career as a boot and shoe seller in Edinburgh, but had to sell up in 1849 owing £100, and he moved to Dundee to work in the same line, taking his stock with him. In Dundee he later took up as a spirit dealer and grocer, both businesses leaving him with a total of £300 in debts. In 1854 he moved to Blairgowrie and set up as a general dealer and managed to clear these debts. Alexander Buchan sold his Perth watchmaker's business to another watchmaker there in 1839, and moved to Blairgowrie to establish another watchmaker's there to pay off his debts. William McEwan, a wright, started other businesses in Auchterarder and Blackford in 1857 after becoming bankrupt in Muthill, and had since moved on to Glasgow.\textsuperscript{85}

Movement also accompanied expansion and the sale of successful businesses. David Cousins owned a series

\textsuperscript{84} S.R.O., CS318/21/321, CS318/14/14.  
\textsuperscript{85} S.R.O., CS318/21/321, CS318/6/37, CS318/5/216.
of hotels in various locations. He sold his first hotel in Alloa for £850, bought another for £120 which he sold twelve months later for £475. Then he owned a small pendicle at Pitgobar for five years, before paying £800 for the Kelty Bridge Inn, on which he borrowed another £595. Colin McCaul owned hotels in Tillicoultry, Alva and Alloa before coming to Crieff in 1837 where he bought the Drummond Arms Hotel and Alichmore Farm, with £500 of his own capital, and £3050 raised through loans. Starting with only one journeyman in the cabinetmaking trade, Alex Martin moved several times within Crieff as his business "expanded considerably" to comprise two journeymen and three to four apprentices. In 1858 he bought property within Crieff, and built a house and workshop for c.£600. A move of business within Blairgowrie for David Jack, baker and grocer, involved investment of £425 in property and £1900 in improvements to the shop and house. 86

Geographical mobility was also an important influence on the social standing of the trades, and the mobility characteristics of different occupations and their effects on involvement in social affairs. These are considered in Chapter Seven (Section 7.3). However, from the above evidence it is possible to conclude that occupational and geographical mobility

were quite closely related. Individual mobility could be extremely complex, and involve a number of different factors. The occupational mobility of tradesmen shows that there was considerable movement into and out of the small scale craft sector, although this movement was typically between wage labour and self employment, with fewer firms making the move to the small capitalist position, and few middle class males entering the trades. Analysis of father-son occupational continuity backs up this latter statement (see Chapter Six, Section 6.5).

4.5 MULTIPLE OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER INVESTMENTS

A persistent feature of rural craft firms throughout the century, and one which was a continuation from pre-improvement times, was the following of multiple occupations. In addition, a related feature was the investment of profits not back into the business, but in other types of investment.

Evidence of tradesmen following multiple occupations was derived from the census enumerators' books, Registrar General's marriage certificates and sequestration cases (see Appendix III). None of these sources were compiled specifically to enumerate the following of multiple occupations, and the first two

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supply only occupational titles. The census and the marriage certificates would not have recorded multiple occupations consistently, and the census generally recorded what was considered the first occupation. No information is given on how work was organised, and status distinctions are not recorded consistently. Women’s work appears to be under-enumerated, particularly with respect to how work in the household and child rearing overlapped with productive work. However, certain aspects of multiple occupations among tradesmen can be outlined.

The combination of a trade with some form of landholding was fairly common. The land held varied in its description from farm to croft or pendicle. Sometimes the two were related, such as fleshers dealing in cattle, or innkeepers farming to produce food and fodder for the inn. In addition, cases from the sequestration material show tradesmen dealing in agricultural produce, both stock and crops, rather than producing it. In some cases multiple occupations were followed in order to carry out various stages of the production process, for example, an engine smith who was also an iron turner, a builder who was also a

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quarrier, and a master tanner who was also a shoemaker. In some cases, the combination of occupations took advantage of one set of skills, such as combining saddling and shoemaking, or hedging and fencing. Use of a common power source is apparent in the combination of meal and saw miller, which also had the advantage of making use of the power despite the different seasonal patterns of meal milling.

Multiple occupations may have been pursued to avoid seasonal under- or unemployment, for example, the mason who also worked as a sawmiller, or the master millwright who also manufactured chains and other machines, both cases where some work could be carried out indoors in cases of bad weather. One firm of molecatchers based in Methven in the late nineteenth century combined the service of killing moles with the manufacture and retailing of moletraps. Young trees were cut with the permission of estate foresters, wire purchased from ironmongers and the traps made in a shop equipped with turning and boring lathes. The traps were made in bad weather, but also particularly in the late summer, when the growth of crops meant that access to the fields for trapping moles was impossible.89

The distinction between production and retailing

89 Mr. H. Young, molecatcher, Pitcairngreen, interviewed in July, 1989, referring to his father's and uncle's business.
was also blurred in some cases. Fleshers also often dealt in cattle, millers sometimes acted as agents of meal, and tailors and shoemakers were found both manufacturing and retailing clothing. Engagement in the production and retailing of unrelated produce was also found. Shoemakers, tailors, joiners and bakers were found who were also engaged in the grocery trade, one tailor was also a book agent, and one weaver also acted as a butcher.

Within the context of the small firm this combination of occupations across sectors could become quite complex. George MacFarlane, principally a tailor and clothier in Coupar Angus until 1862, also acted as an auctioneer. In addition, along with his father, he bought and raised small numbers of pigs and cows, which were sometimes sold on to dealers in Perth. John Dow, a slater, also ran a hotel and restaurant in Bankfoot until 1894. As another sideline he owned his father's dwelling house and used the premises for his coal merchant's business. William Lowe operated a quarry as part of his builder's business in Blairgowrie until 1882. However, between 1877 and 1881 he dealt in potatoes, buying from local farmers and selling on to buyers as distant as London and Ireland. The money from the building and the dealing sides was mixed together.

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90 S.R.O., CS319/590.
91 S.R.O., CS318/41/96.
as part of one business.\textsuperscript{92}

Profits from businesses were another area where a variety of different opportunities were exploited to make a living. The majority of profits were probably re-invested into the business, particularly at certain periods of the business life cycle. However, it is obvious that in some cases money was invested in other ways, rather than in expanding the business. As shown above, one possible alternative was diversification of production, or engagement in retailing along with manufacturing.

One typical source of alternative investment, which has been noted for master tradesmen throughout Europe in the nineteenth century,\textsuperscript{93} was in the building of housing for sale or lease, typically for the working classes. This was typical especially of the building trades in Lowland Perthshire. William McEwan, a wright, owned five properties in the village of Muthill in 1858, four of which were inherited from his father. These produced an annual rent of £27 10/- from a total of ten tenants, comprised of masons, a carter, a weaver, a blacksmith, a shoemaker and labourers.\textsuperscript{94} In 1860, Thomas McIntosh, a builder, was deriving a total

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\textsuperscript{92}S.R.O., CS318/27/237.
\textsuperscript{93}Crossick and Haupt, op cit, pp. 48, 63, 77, 79, 82-4, 171, 199.
\textsuperscript{94}S.R.O., CS318/5/216.
of £71/year in rentals from two properties. Matthew Dunn, a builder and contractor owned three properties in the village of Dalginross in 1872, including a small tenement occupied as weavers' shops and dwelling houses. Lickley and Co., a firm of builders in Lochee, owned a Dundee tenement with fifteen tenants. Property was also used as security to gain loans, as in the case of Robert Dow, a wright and house carpenter in Blairgowrie in 1861, who extended the shop and dwelling house he had bought, and used it to gain a loan of £500.

Property involved fairly large scale investment (typically greater than £1000), but other opportunities were available for investing money on a smaller scale, i.e. up to £300. Lending money, particularly to other small scale businesses, was one option. From a sample of seventy eight sequestrated craft businesses which supplied information, nine percent gained their start capital as cash from other businesses, which was the third most significant source (see Chapter Five, Section 5.2). To give some examples, a Mr. Miller, baker in Stirling, lent £250 to help establish Colin McCaul's hotel business in Crieff in 1837. James McLeish, a

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95 S.R.O., CS318/8/246.
96 S.R.O., CS318/21/111.
97 S.R.O., CS318/46/211; also CS318/8/321, CS318/34/333.

240
Bankfoot shoemaker, was loaned £150 by Agnes Brown, a
dressmaker in Perth, to start his business. When
James McIntosh started the Crieff Carriage Works in
1887, a bootmaker and a teacher invested £50 each in
the concern. On a larger scale, John McRostie,
flesher and cattle dealer in Crieff, laid out nearly
£860 to a manufacturer there, who subsequently failed
in business.

Two other types of alternative investments were
connected to the increasing development of financial
services in the later nineteenth century, namely the
stock market and insurance companies. Stocks, shares
and insurance policies may have represented a method of
investing small profits which made the money still
readily available, rather than just as a means to make
money. One rural merchant held five shares in the
Central Bank of Scotland worth £258, and three in the
Forth and Clyde Railway Company worth about £15, but
sold these when in financial difficulty and

"the price of my bank stock went to my creditors in
Glasgow and Stirling and the price of the railway
shares went for the same purpose." David Jack, a baker and grocer in Blairgowrie, stated
in 1888 that he had had "a good many dealings in shares
since I began business." Unfortunately, these dealings,

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100 S.R.O., CS318/55/194.
101 S.R.O., CS318/40/264.
102 S.R.O., CS318/1/75.
103 S.R.O., CS318/6/219.
conducted through an Edinburgh agent, lost him £450, despite a range of investments in the Prairie Cattle Co., Arizona Copper shares, Western Ranch and the Canadian North West Land Co.\textsuperscript{104} John McCrostie, in addition to his various other interests, held five shares in the Crieff Junction Railway, and Mr. Turner, a bootmaker, held one share in the Kilsyth Model Building Society.\textsuperscript{105}

Life insurance policies may have been viewed as short term investments as much as for their original purpose, though the amount raised on a policy if cashed-in was of course lower than the policy value itself. Cashed-in policies were used frequently as assets by bankrupt tradesmen and tradeswomen. John McCrostie held a life insurance policy with the Life Association of Scotland, James Brown (another flesher) held joint life insurance with his wife to the value of £150, the firm of Scott and Battison, joiners in Aberfoyle held two insurance policies, Alexander MacKenzie, baker in Alyth, held a policy worth £100, and Peter McGregor, a Crieff joiner, held four policies with the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company.\textsuperscript{106} Policies may have been used as a means of preventing sequestration of assets. By the Married Womens' Policies of

\textsuperscript{104}S.R.O., CS318/34/174.
\textsuperscript{105}S.R.O., CS318/1/75, CS318/45/311.
\textsuperscript{106}S.R.O., CS318/1/75, CS318/2/14, CS318/34/333, CS318/36/222, CS318/33/227.
Assurance (Scotland) Act of 1880 a life assurance policy taken out by a married man for the benefit of his wife and children did not form part of his estate, and was not reducible on any grounds of insolvency. The only exception to this Act was in cases where it could be proven that the policy was effected and premiums paid in an attempt to defraud creditors.¹⁰⁷

Life insurance policies were also common among farm servants, as opposed to contributing to Union funds. In 1893 it was noted that in East Central Scotland benefit societies were unpopular among farm servants, but that the Prudential Life Insurance had a large membership.¹⁰⁸

Less mention is made of using bank accounts in the craft sector as a means of saving. Probably this does not come through in sequestration records as all cash resources were exhausted, and because other investments had the possibility of greater returns.

The following of multiple occupations suggests that factors were operating which restricted the total specialization of craft occupations. This is also suggested by the utilisation of alternative investment

opportunities. This point is further considered in Section 4.8 below. An important element in this context was likely to have been the market size attainable by these firms, and this is considered in the following section.

4.6 MARKET SIZE IN SMALL SCALE PRODUCTION

Data drawn from business account books and from the business material preserved in the sequestration cases allow investigation of the geographical size of the markets of craft firms. This point is worth investigating as the viability of firms depended very much upon the nature of their marketing facilities.\footnote{Behagg, \textit{op cit}, p. 142.}

Appendix IV contains maps showing the markets of craft firms in Lowland Perthshire. The data available regarding the markets of these firms show that in most craft sectors firms had small, localised markets. A similar situation applied in Victorian England, where few rural firms had a nation-wide system of distribution.\footnote{Holderness, B.A. 1981 "Agriculture and Industrialization in the Victorian Economy" in Mingay (ed.), \textit{op cit}, p. 197.} These markets can be considered small compared to the markets in other productive sectors where the geographical area covered was much larger. In agriculture many farms were tied into a national market for produce, operating through dealers and the railway
system. In addition to supplying the local market, grain, potatoes and cattle were exported on a national basis. Textiles produced in the area were exported on a worldwide basis. Firms in Auchterarder at the end of the nineteenth century, for example, exported to Australia, India, China and New Zealand, as well as throughout the United Kingdom.111

By comparison the markets of these craft firms were predominantly within Lowland Perthshire, and often limited to within a few miles of the business location. The importance of the market should not be assumed to be simply a function of its areal extent. Where population density was high, the area of the market could be smaller, but the turnover higher. However, for many of the firms illustrated here population density was low within the market areas. In addition the data available here show that production or servicing was carried out for the local population, and no firms were found producing for larger merchants or manufacturers.

Various reasons can be cited to help explain the small market size of these firms. These firms were generally small scale (see Section 4.2), and with limited capital and resources may have been unable to expand to encompass bigger markets (Section 4.4.2).

Transportation must also have played an important

111Taylor, op cit, p. 496.
role in market size. Thomas Graham, a baker and grocer, spent "three days in the week and sometimes oftener with the cart" marketing produce, and David Jack employed two vanmen to distribute his goods.\textsuperscript{112} Investment in horses and carts was probably beyond many of the small firms in this area. The small markets of smiddies were obviously related to the limitations of moving horses or machinery for maintenance, especially as this was often an evening job, with farm servants expected to carry plough irons to the smiddy after evening stables.\textsuperscript{113} Similarly shoemakers and tailors often worked in the evenings to serve farm servants and labourers after their day's work.\textsuperscript{114} As discussed below, the development of the railway network aided the expansion of markets in some sectors.

An important limitation to the size of markets of these firms was the nature of the products produced and services supplied. For the most part these firms were producing non-specialised commodities for the local community, such as clothing or food stuffs, and were servicing a local area. Within some trades, however, specialisation and creativity were also restrictive. In

\textsuperscript{112}S.R.O., CS318/11/97, CS318/34/174.
\textsuperscript{113}P.P., XXXVI, 1893-94, p. 162.
smithing, work was small scale and creative in approach.\(^{115}\) Each smith was distinct in their skills, for example producing purpose built implements on request,\(^{116}\) or making shoes specifically to match the hooves of individual horses in the area.\(^{117}\) Preference for certain implement styles was due to the nature of the terrain and prevalent agricultural techniques often defined by tradition.\(^{118}\) These factors were often local in nature, and this meant that smith work was orientated towards the local area.

However, product specialisation could provide the opportunity for successful expansion, particularly when coupled with developments in the transport network. As noted above (Section 4.4.2) smiths were able to expand into agricultural engineering due to the demand for reaping machines, and this demand was much wider spread than the local area. The Hally plough, built at the Baads smiddy in Auchterarder, was sold throughout Scotland. The Bissett's reaping machines were "made and sent to all parts of the country", and Lawson had "several on order throughout the country."\(^{119}\) Agricultural and jute machinery was exported by specialist

\(^{115}\) Chartres and Turnbull, *op cit*, p. 324.

\(^{116}\) Ibid.

\(^{117}\) Sprott, *op cit*, p. 149.

\(^{118}\) Holderness, *op cit*, p. 196.

\(^{119}\) Courier, July 16, 1867; Advertiser, August 31, 1865.
engineering firms from Errol on a worldwide basis, which led to the long term establishment of these firms.\textsuperscript{120} The development of the rail network was a major factor in such expansion of markets. By 1860 the Strathmore line had thirteen branches into primarily agricultural areas. Railway development was followed by the growth of implement manufacturers located in small country towns with railway connections.\textsuperscript{121} The retail market of the Methven molecatchers who manufactured traps in the off season was widespread due to the production of a specialised product with little competition, plus the availability of the railway network. The traps were made at the time when "that was the main trap, the wooden trap wi' the spring on it",\textsuperscript{122} and traps were sold for retailing by garden shops and ironmongers as far afield as Dumfries and Castle Douglas. Wilson's coachmaking business in Crieff sold wagonettes of their own make in Dundee, Edinburgh, and London.\textsuperscript{123}

Little is known of how consumer choice affected market size. Consumers were of course free to chose a particular firm, but perhaps those engaged in the trades operated some sort of mutual acknowledgement of

\textsuperscript{120}Melville, \textit{op cit.}, p. 63.  
\textsuperscript{121}Sprott, \textit{op cit.}, p. 151.  
\textsuperscript{122}Mr. H. Young, \textit{op cit.}  
\textsuperscript{123}S.R.O., CS318/40/264.
territory, perhaps through their contacts in the Trade Protection and Masters' Associations which developed in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Chapter Seven). One Perthshire molecatcher recalled a kind of 'tradesman's honour' which operated in the early twentieth century

A: "I had a district, ye see, an' mostly all the people in that district all employed me, and the nearest molecatcher to me - there were a couple o' brothers, I think, doon aboot Forgendenny way - they had one or two places down by Dunning, an' I had one or two places in there aboot the same place...there was one man in Crieff, but he never came much into my district. An' that's aboot it, unless ye got some retired keeper or somethin', wantin' odd jobs an' gettin' telt by the farmer if he could do it cheaper n'r me."

Q: "And would these others ever come into what was your district, or did they stick to their own?

A: "Well, it was understood really that, eh, they recognised you had a district."\(^{124}\)

This admittedly took place against a backdrop of falling competition in molecatching in the area, but some kind of co-operation may have operated between tradespeople, perhaps implicitly. Certainly the maintenance of friendly business relations must have been an important consideration.

The significance of small, local markets was their effect on the long term viability of the craft sector. The development of centralised production and national markets, coupled with improvements in the transport network, has been suggested as encouraging the demise

\(^{124}\) Mr. H. Young, *op cit.*
of local markets and rural crafts (see Section 4.8). This point is returned to after a description of numerical change in the craft sector.

4.7 STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE CRAFT SECTOR

Change over time in the numbers engaged in craft production in various sectors are displayed in Figures 4.9 and 4.10. The method of calculation, and the associated problems with using this material were discussed in Chapter Two (Section 2.3.2). The values give an indication of the changing labour market share of craft sectors, and are intended to give some idea of the overall direction of change, rather than absolute change between certain years. The census figures show ratios based on total numbers involved, and are for the whole of Perthshire, including Perth itself, and therefore they probably conceal variations in rates and directions of change between Perth, market towns and villages. This approach has the compensating advantage of keeping the geographic unit of analysis constant, and the census data do give an important overall context to change. The trade directory data, with ratios based on numbers of firms, allows a more focused investigation, with the market towns (Abernethy, Alyth, Auchterarder, Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus, Crieff, Dunblane and Rattray) distinguished from the surrounding small villages and parishes.

Taking each sector in turn it is possible to
Figure 4.9
Ratios of tradespeople per 1000 of population in Perthshire, 1861-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shoe/bootsmaker, patten and clog maker</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1074</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>765</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milliner, dressmaker, staymaker</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1533</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>1432</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>1646</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirtmaker, seamstress</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>714</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher, meat salesman</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>166</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker, confectioner</td>
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<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>425</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>316</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltster</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skinner, furrier</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>76</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, joiner</td>
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<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
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<td>1462</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>1431</td>
<td>1037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater, tiler</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Occupation</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
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</tr>
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<td>179</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>186</td>
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<td>Blacksmith, whitesmith, striker</td>
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<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>809</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler, harness maker, whipmaker</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<td>112</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>77</td>
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<td>523</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>699</td>
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<td>Farrier, vet</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Woodman, forester</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>249</td>
<td>332</td>
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<td>688</td>
<td>408</td>
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<td>Coach, carriage maker</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>102</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright, millwright</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet mkr., upholster, furniture broker</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total population: 133500 127768 129007 122185 123283 124342

Source: P.P., Census, various volumes.
### Figure 4.10

**Ratios of businesses per 1000 of population in Perthshire, 1890-1940**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgh</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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| Burgh population | 20831  | 20109  | 20370  | 20191  | 19315  | 20257  |
| Other population | 38661  | 36736  | 37904  | 38334  | 38032  | 37796  |

**Source:** Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire.
outline different changes between craft sectors, and compare the census-derived series with that derived from the trade directory to check if the directions of change indicated are consistent. The clothing trades in Perthshire all showed an overall decline between 1861 and 1911, though tailors and dressmakers showed a slight upward movement in their ratios in 1881-91. The trade directory series suggest that, at a finer level of investigation, much of this decline probably occurred in the villages (which show declining ratios), while ratios in the market towns peaked early in the twentieth century (in 1910 for dressmakers and tailors, and in 1930 for shoemakers). Within the food processing trades different experiences are observed. Butchers and bakers appear to steadily increase in importance up to 1911 in the census series, and hold their labour market share fairly steadily in the burghs from the trade directory evidence. Again the difference between the market towns and the surrounding rural areas is seen, with declining ratios of both butchers and bakers. Milling shows a general decline in both series, but again persists more strongly in the market towns. Malting and brewing maintain fairly consistent levels in the county and the market towns, but show a slight decrease outside the market towns. The building trades show more fluctuation than other sectors, but overall, in both series and for the different geographical
areas, they demonstrate a fairly steady set of ratios.

Within the agricultural service sector there are some contrasting patterns. Smiths and saddlers show an overall decline inside the whole county, a pattern repeated in the trade directory series for the villages. Within the market towns the decline is less noticeable, but certainly occurs for smiths post-1900. By contrast the series for gamekeepers and foresters/woodmen both show a steady increase, though there is some problem with changes in occupational title here, while the trade of farrier is steady over the 1861-1911 period. On the whole the woodworking sector shows a picture of decline in Perthshire in the period 1861-1911. Coachmaking showed a slightly different pattern, with a peak in the ratio in 1901, followed by decline. By contrast, wheel and millwrights, cabinet makers and sawyers and turners all showed an overall decline. The series for tanners and skinners show an overall decline within an already small sector for the period 1861-1911, and watch and clockmakers in the period 1890-1940 show the recurring pattern of decline in rural areas outside of the market towns.

The above brief description of the direction of change in the various craft sectors requires more explanation, and this is addressed in the conclusion, with reference to earlier sections. One point to note here is the consistent difference between the more
stable pattern in the movement of ratios in the market towns, compared to the consistently declining ratios of the villages and agricultural areas. These variations are concealed within the values for Perthshire as a whole, but the overall context of change within the county can be outlined.

The building sector was a relatively stable sector in all areas and in both series. On the whole the processing of agricultural produce in the food and drink sector was also fairly stable, with increases in the trades combining craft and retail, such as butchers and bakers. Again, this was not true of the smaller towns and villages. The clothing trades for the county as a whole declined, and the same picture appears for the trade directory series, but it is apparent that the decline occurred at different times for different clothing trades e.g. shoemakers compared to tailors, and between geographical contexts. Agricultural service displayed an overall decline, but not a dramatic one. Trades associated with the new sporting estates (gamekeeping, forestry) in fact increased consistently up till 1901. For the woodworking trades, with the exception of coachmaking until 1901, the picture was one of overall decline.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The first aim of this chapter was to establish a picture of the economic structures which were charact-
eristic of craft production in Lowland Perthshire in
the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The
economic structures revealed in the analysis probably
apply to the majority of craft firms. However, it is
important to remember the limitations of the sources in
terms of their representativeness, as outlined in Chap-
ter Two.

Craft production in the area throughout the period
under consideration was characterised by its small
scale nature. Numbers of employees were small and low
levels of capital were employed. The markets of these
firms remained small and local in coverage. There was a
great deal of occupational mobility into and out of the
craft sector, and this was accompanied by geographical
mobility. It has been argued above that the opportun-
ities to establish new businesses were perhaps greater
in this rural area than in the urban environment.
Contracting was a feature which may have restricted the
independent nature of small master production. Although
little information is available, it appears that there
was little major technological change in the operations
of these firms. The exceptions to this generalisation
were of course those firms which successfully developed
into agricultural engineering companies and suchlike,
and there was an increased supply of semi-finished
goods to the firms in Lowland Perthshire. Finally,
there existed a range of enterprises, from one-person
firms carried out on a part-time basis, to well established firms which could afford to expand and take on some waged employees. Some firms earned no more for their owner than a skilled employee's wage, while others became nationally or internationally famous for their products.

Overall, then, craft production remained small scale. This feature helps to explain the following of multiple occupations, and of investing business profits 'laterally' into other opportunities, rather than 'vertically' back into the firm. The key factor in the following of multiple occupations was the market size the craft firms could control. As noted above (Section 4.6) the markets of these firms remained predominantly local and small in size. Where markets for a particular product or service were too small to sustain production, total specialization of production was not possible. 125

One possible response to this was greater mobility in order to extend markets. As noted above, the bakers David Jack and Thomas Graham used horses and carts to market their goods. 126 Thomas Mackie, a joiner based in Bridge of Earn, took jobs "at a distance", and had a

125 This feature was also true of rural England; see Chartres, J.A. 1981 "Country Tradesmen" in Mingay (ed.), op cit, p. 304; Chartres and Turnbull, op cit, p. 324.

gig to enable him to travel.¹²⁷ Travelling joiners were not uncommon in other parts of Scotland.¹²⁸ Trochrie Turning Mill, owned and run by Andrew Reid, contained £100 worth of fixed plant, including turning lathes, blocking machines, circular saw benches, boilers, furnaces and drive belts. However, it notably also contained a "travelling saw bench, saw pulley and grindstone."¹²⁹

However, the problems caused by lack of capital and the nature of the services and the goods produced all inhibited the expansion of markets. Dependency on the credit system exacerbated these problems (see Chapter Five). In addition to its representing a response to seasonal under- or unemployment, the following of multiple occupations was also an effect of the small markets of these firms. The use of a number of craft skills also reflected a low level of competition in some small settlements, which meant that other opportunities were available. Combining a craft with some subsistence food production, or some form of commercial activity such as dealing or retailing, was often a response to short term liquidity problems when working on an accounts basis.¹³⁰ Alternatives within

¹²⁷ S.R.O., CS318/21/321.
¹²⁹ S.R.O., CS318/16/312.
¹³⁰ Chartres and Turnbull, op cit, p. 324.
the local labour market were also made use of during downswings in the economy.\textsuperscript{131}

The handloom weavers in particular took advantage of agricultural and railway labouring and other occupations such as wood cutting or bark peeling when the trade was poor. In 1861, for example, the weaving trade at Crieff was poor, but it was stated that

"all the able bodied among the weavers...can find plenty of employment in the neighbourhood at draining, trenching and reclamation of waste lands."\textsuperscript{132}

In 1862 the weavers were pursuing

"gardening, salmon fishing, and other out-door occupations... to keep down the number of unemployed."\textsuperscript{133}

During a depression of trade in Auchterarder in 1878 following the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank there were

"still numbers of tradesmen going about the town idle. Masons and joiners were working last week in the turnip fields adjoining the town...the wages being 9s. a week. Last year the same parties were working in Glasgow at 33s. a week."\textsuperscript{134}

The following of multiple occupations thus represented opportunistic entrepreneurship, the need to diversify to maintain income in areas of low demand, and the exploitation of a flexible labour market in times of economic depression. For the small producers,

\textsuperscript{131}See also Sprott, op cit, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{132}Courier, April 23, 1861.
\textsuperscript{133}Courier, March 25, 1862; also Courier, June 3, 1842; April 21, 1848; May 5, 1859 and many other cases.
\textsuperscript{134}Courier, November 26, 1878.
the diversity of occupations may also have represented an opportunity to preserve a measure of independence in the face of contract and economic control by larger units of production.

For the small businessperson faced with these realities of expanding his or her business, the question of investment of profits became one which found a solution outside of the firm. As noted, some firms did indeed expand into larger, full-time concerns, particularly where some kind of product specialization was pursued. However, even in sectors such as smithing where this was possible, expansion was restricted by the problems of embracing the techniques or capital requirements of iron founding.\(^{135}\) In addition to the economic constraints, it is important to consider the motives and aspirations of the business owners themselves. As will be argued in Chapter Seven (Section 7.8), many of these business owners considered the firm as a means of making a modest living, rather than expressing an entrepreneurial mentality which was totally concerned with continual expansion and increases in profit. This outlook, probably combined with an assessment of the economic realities of their situation, led to business owners using property, stocks and shares, and other employment opportunities as ways to get by. These alternatives probably offered some greater measure of

\(^{135}\) Holderness, *op cit*, p. 196.
security, compared to risking expansion into large scale concerns.

The second aim of the chapter was to present a picture of structural changes in the craft sector between 1861 and 1940, as presented in Section 4.7. The factors behind these changes are explained below, with reference to the economic structures of the craft sectors, local economic structures, change in agriculture and national developments in markets and the transport system.

The economic structures of the craft sectors themselves would have been important factors. Figure 4.11 summarises the economic structures of selected sectors, and indicates the direction of overall change in the sector. In all sectors, as indicated above, the unit of production remained small. However, as noted in the introduction, small size in itself did not necessarily lead to decline in a particular sector. This is further evidenced by the different experiences of different sectors, with a few showing some increase over the period, others in decline, and others remaining stable. The degree of working on 'own account' reflected the organisation of production in the craft sectors.

Those sectors with a high percentage of the workforce working on their own account may be expected to have found it more difficult to compete with larger economic units of production. Indeed, in some sectors,
## Figure 4.11

**Summary table of economic features and change by sector**

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<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Firm size</th>
<th>% of workforce on own account</th>
<th>Persistence rate</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<td>average</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>stable</td>
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<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>late peak</td>
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<td>small</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>average</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
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<td>Malting/brewing</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>average</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>stable</td>
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<td>decrease</td>
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<td>decrease</td>
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<td>Woodworking</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>average</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>decrease</td>
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</table>
such as milling, agricultural servicing, and the clothing trades, it is possible to suggest a correlation between a high proportion of the workforce working on their own account and overall decline. As argued elsewhere (see Appendix I) it is likely that the high occurrence of 'own account' working in the clothing trades represented a high incidence of putting out, sub-contracting and sweating, rather than a high incidence of independent masters. This would reflect a transformation in the clothing sector towards this type of production in response to national developments in the industry (see below). Malting and brewing, where 'own account' working was completely absent, and the building trades, where it was less common than in other sectors, both showed stability in terms of numerical change. Similarly, these sectors probably owed their stability partly to a more 'rationalised' organization of production. However, in the craft/retailing occupations, such as butchers and bakers, businesses run on own account were common, but these occupations actually increased in number until 1901. Thus other factors, in conjunction with the economic structures of the trades themselves, were obviously having an important influence.

Where the persistence rates of firms were low, it may have been expected that these sectors would have been subject to change, as economic pressure made small
scale production in these sectors less viable, while higher persistence rates would have correlated with more stable sectors. This relationship can be seen in the building, clothing, woodworking, and the malting/brewing sectors. However, other factors are again obviously involved in change in those sectors where this relationship does not hold true. In addition, it is important not to present too simplistic an analysis, and to remember that these are crude indicators used here. The trades of the butcher and the baker are a good reminder that although such occupations were typified by instability in Lowland Perthshire, these sectors persisted, and indeed increased in importance here due to demand in the market towns. Although the ratios presented here are corrected for demographic changes, it has been shown that retail provision could outstrip population growth, since it depended upon such factors as the purchasing power of the population, or changes in the structure of retailing.\footnote{Wild, M.T. and Shaw, G. 1975 "Population distribution and retail provision: The case of the Halifax-Calder Valley area of West Yorkshire during the second half of the nineteenth century" Journal of Historical Geography, 1. pp. 202-3.}

The move from small firms, often only one man enterprises, to larger firms based more on employer-employee structures may have had important implications for the persistence of local trades. Quantitative sour-
ces with which to assess this point are unavailable. Qualitative evidence, however, suggests that this change was taking place in the early twentieth century. For example, the village of Pitcairngreen in the early twentieth century could boast a joiner, blacksmith, tailor, slater and cobbler despite being within five miles of Perth. However, after the 1920s those in the trades working on their own account were displaced by tradespeople employed by or contracted to firms, as one local inhabitant noted

"there was firms that began to take up. A man would start up a building firm, ye see, and employed workmen. The like of the village people, a joiner did joiner work, ye see, same with the tailor, an' they firms came in, an' took all the jobs - an' the former tradesmen just fell out, couldn't pick up the work."\(^{137}\)

Thus the formation of larger firms, particularly contractors, was important in the decline of the crafts, and this point is related to developments in local economic structures and the transport system.

An important change within the area was that the trades were becoming concentrated in the market towns. Even small scale production was becoming concentrated, taking advantage of the economic linkages of the service centres. This factor helps to explain the differences shown between the market towns and the villages in terms of the changing importance of the trades (see Section 4.7). Of great importance in this

\(^{137}\) Mr. H. Young, Pitcairngreen, interviewed July 1985.
process was the introduction of the motor car. The trades were now able to service a much wider area from the market towns, and many accounts can be found of vans and travelling shops taking over from the tradespeople based in the smaller villages. In Caputh by 1963 it was noted that

"local tailors and shoemakers have vanished from the parish and there has been a tremendous increase in the number of tradesmen who have extended their service via the motor van."

In Dunning it was noted by 1967 that

"three drapers, one saddler, two blacksmiths' shops, three tailors, three confectioners and one grocer have closed down in the time of the writer. But on the other hand, 7 motor vans tour the parish and the surrounding countryside selling grocery, butcher and baker's supplies."\(^{138}\)

Tradespeople themselves were more able to cover the rural areas from the towns, which had an increasing sphere of influence. In Trinity Gask parish by 1953 it was noted that

"modern methods of manufacture have drawn the craftsmen from the country to the town"

and in Tibbermuir parish, adjacent to Perth

"the countryside has been impoverished too by the gradual loss of its tradesmen...All tradesmen have to be brought from Perth or Methven...This is perhaps mainly due to the close proximity of a large country town such as Perth which tends to draw into itself from the countryside specialist trades."\(^{139}\)

\(^{138}\) Taylor, \emph{op cit}, pp. 268, 528; also pp. 232, 285, 339, 368, 416, 473, 511, 553.

\(^{139}\) Ibid., pp. 574, 489.
From the consumer point of view motor transport also made access to towns much easier, where a wider choice of goods was an added attraction. In Madderty by 1951 it was noted:

"the various trades which a century ago were useful in Madderty, have now disappeared since transport is easier and the people can travel into the towns to buy what they need with greater variety to satisfy their demand."\(^{140}\)

The building trades contrasted with the pattern of change in the other sectors in that they showed a greater stability over the period. The localised nature of markets and the special nature of the service provided meant that this sector retained a structure of small-master production, although economic independence within this section was constrained by contracting and sub-contracting as noted. The building sector did not develop a national market, and activity was typified by a series of fluctuations in demand on a national basis.\(^{141}\) Within Lowland Perthshire a similar pattern prevailed, with the building trades undergoing a series of peaks in demand throughout the period.

The 1860s saw an increase in building activity following the establishment of the branch railway network, due to an increase in economic activity and also the increasing popularity of the area for summer visitors. In 1861 it was noted of Crieff that it was

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\(^{140}\) Ibid., p. 550; also pp. 285, 348, 432, 528.

\(^{141}\) Knox, E., *op cit*, p. 206.
"rapidly becoming a fashionable resort for the
visitors from Edinburgh &c. resulting in a lack of
accommodation. This obstacle, however, will soon
evidently be removed, as there are more villas at
present in the course of erection than for some
years past."\textsuperscript{142}

1863 saw the landed proprietors feuing their grounds
more freely and more houses being built, and masons,
joiners, slaters and plasterers "all working at pretty
good wages."\textsuperscript{143} Building activity was also brisk at
Dunkeld, Auchterarder and Alyth,\textsuperscript{144} but less work was
in progress in the middle years of the decade. The
early 1870s saw another upsurge in activity which
lasted until 1878.\textsuperscript{145} In that year the effects of the
collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank also put a stop to
building in the area,\textsuperscript{146} although by the early 1880s
prospects were good again.\textsuperscript{147} As Figure 4.5 illustrates,
although firms in Perth and Dundee were carrying
out building work in the area in the 1880s, most of
those firms contracted were located in the market towns
and villages, such as Coupar Angus, Dunkeld, Burrelton
and Meigle. In the 1890s estate owners were refurbishing and building houses, especially for married men, to

\textsuperscript{142}Courier, April 16, 1861.
\textsuperscript{143}Courier, May 26, 1863.
\textsuperscript{144}Courier, July 16, 1861; January 21, 1862; December 29, 1863.
\textsuperscript{145}Courier, September 21, 1869; April 10, 1870; October 20, 1870; March 21, 1872.
\textsuperscript{146}Courier, November 26, 1878.
\textsuperscript{147}Courier, August 16, 1881; August 29, 1882.
try and combat the loss of labour in agriculture.\textsuperscript{148} Legislation in the 1930s enforced the upgrading of farm servants' housing.\textsuperscript{149} The building trades continued to persist in the area well into the twentieth century, as at Comrie in 1951 where

"there is the work afforded in the upkeep of the houses in the district so that a number are employed in the building, carpentry and painting business."\textsuperscript{150}

Thus the building trades maintained their presence in the area because the nature of the service provided was locally orientated, and because there was a long term demand, sustained by a series of peaks in building activity.

The effect of changes in the agricultural sector lay at an intermediate level between changes in the local economy and national developments, and reflected both these factors. For some trades in particular decline was especially associated with changes in agriculture. From approximately the mid-nineteenth century technical innovation in agriculture was centered around reaping and binding, and mechanical sowing. However, such innovation was still based on horse power, which continued to require the services of the smith.


\textsuperscript{149}Sprott, \textit{op cit}, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{150}Taylor, \textit{op cit}, p. 511; also pp. 278, 315, 358, 432, 528.
The overall decline in smithing over this period probably relates to the gradual shedding of labour, which continued in the agricultural sector, necessitating (and to some extent reflecting) the introduction of these labour saving devices. However, the real decline in the smithing/saddling sectors came later than in other trades, once the first adequate hydraulically equipped, mass produced tractor\textsuperscript{151} came on the market in 1945, and combine harvester technology was more available. Smithing, as noted above, was one sector which was notable due to its ability to adapt to cope with new technologies. Several smiths successfully made the move into agricultural engineering. With the introduction of the tractor, smith work was required less, but some smiths adapted to the repair of modern commercial machinery, and smithies became equipped with electric welding plant and electrically powered lathes. In 1953 it was noted that

"no local industry has undergone so great a transformation within recent years...From the mechanisation of the farm has evolved the mechanisation of the 'smithy'."\textsuperscript{152}

However, as with the introduction of tractors,

\textsuperscript{151}The history of the introduction of the tractor is of course more complicated than this - see Cameron, op cit, pp. 202-6.

\textsuperscript{152}Taylor, op cit, p. 432; also 285, 392, 467, 473, 511, 566; examples of the decline of smith work can be found in pp. 238, 330, 348, 422, 511, 528, 553, 566; also Sprott, op cit, p. 152.
developments in agricultural implements introduced the effects of national and international markets. The introduction of the concept of the inter-changeability of parts (which reduced production costs), combined with a developing transport system, led to the spread of mass produced implements.\textsuperscript{153} Local production of such implements also continued, of course. However, from 1850 the English Ransome and Howard plough, and from 1870 the American Oliver plough became more common. After 1850, once fields were properly drained and levelled American reaper-binder machinery was marketed, in addition to local products. Jack and Allan carts were an alternative to local models.\textsuperscript{154} Thus while the products of local trades were still important, the rural tradespeople were increasingly becoming agents and maintainers of the products of larger firms.

On a national scale, the operations of industrial capital, merchant capital and finance capital would all have affected the rural craft sector. Each was usually closely interlinked, and to consider them separately is to present a slightly artificial analysis. However, as noted (Section 4.3), neither merchant nor industrial capital in this area organised small scale craft production in such a way as to make it supportive of larger scale units i.e. on a putting out system as seen

\textsuperscript{153} Holderness, \textit{op cit}, p. 198.  
\textsuperscript{154} Sprott, \textit{op cit}, pp. 150-1.
in the handloom weaving sector. The key point to emerge from the analysis of the markets of these rural firms was that in most sectors production continued to be orientated towards local markets, with producers and consumers related on a direct one-to-one basis. This factor was a vital influence controlling the economic viability of small scale production.

The development of the railway network and an improved road network, coupled with the development of centralised production and national markets, had an important effect on rural small scale production. It has been suggested that these changes encouraged the demise of local markets, and hence the rural trades themselves.\textsuperscript{155} One contemporary observer considered in 1861 that

"the facilities of transit which attract the buyer to the cheapest market, [destroy] the business of the small tradesman, who is forced, in self-defence, to remove from country locations."\textsuperscript{156}

Similarly, it was noted of rural Scotland in general in 1870 that the

"increasing means of locomotion and improved machi-


nery have put an end to the village tradesman."\textsuperscript{157} In Victorian England, the access which farmers had to industrialized or mass produced commodities was a serious check to the viability of the craft sector, and the railway system undermined the self-sufficiency of agricultural communities.\textsuperscript{158} The growing volume, variety and cheapness of factory made goods in England restricted the work of the rural crafts and increased the importance of the retailing sector. Nearly all of the traditional crafts remained, but they increasingly relied upon the supply of half-finished goods, such as iron axles, saddlers' ironmongery or sawn planks.\textsuperscript{159}

Thus the interaction of markets at different spatial scales, between the local markets of the craft producers and the national markets of centralised industries, requires consideration. With this point in mind the focus becomes the operation of industrial and mercantile capital, and their role in expanding the markets for mass produced consumer goods, and how this in turn affected the rural craft producers.

The shoemaking industry in particular was one of the earliest to mechanise and concentrate geographic-


\textsuperscript{158} Holderness, op cit. p. 186; Mingay, op cit. p. 182.

ally, as was the clothing industry, though in both cases small scale production in a modified form continued to be important. Edinburgh was the site of the largest shoemaking factory in Scotland by 1869. Factory production was firmly established nationally by 1880, and by 1911 half of footwear manufacturing was concentrated in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. Between 1855 and 1880 the growth of the 'ready-made' trade in the tailoring sector was affecting urban producers. Merchant capital played a major role, replacing local bespoke markets with sales through middlemen in growing and often distant markets. Industrial production also had an important effect. In Leeds, for example, one factory was producing more than a million garments per year using gas and steam powered machinery.

The response of the craft sector was one of transformation. Rural shoemakers in the north east switched to selling factory made footwear, and consumer choice changed to 'off-the-peg' clothing in the 1920s and 1930s. Mass production in modern industry had an


163 Cameron, op cit, p. 156.
important impact upon rural producers in the clothing sector in the long term. There were no shoemakers in Auchtergaven parish by 1963 due to the "modern mass production of footwear in general", and in Blackford

"it was found difficult for these comparatively small firms to compete with the many large concerns throughout the country so, between 1925 and 1926, the last brewery and boot-factory closed down."164

The rural clothing sector suffered from decline noticeably earlier than other trades. For example, in Abernyte where the tailor and cobbler gave up business around 1900, but the smith and the carpenter were still in business until the 1950s.165

The baking trade seems to have increased in importance in Lowland Perthshire up to 1911, and until around 1930 in the market towns. On a national basis the baking trade remained small scale in organisation until the end of the century, and with the continued production of a perishable product, markets necessarily remained local. There was no competition from a national market until the twentieth century, but developments in the milling sector had an important effect. The picture of gradual decline in rural milling is consistent with changes on a larger scale. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards there was a decline in milling in the North-East, though the one-man meal mill

164 Taylor, op cit, pp. 348, 502; also p. 285.
165 Ibid., p. 332; also pp. 268, 320, 358, 528.
did persist until the 1830s.\textsuperscript{166} From the 1870s, millers were exposed to competition from steam mills in coastal towns processing cheap prairie grain, but the adherence to oatmeal in rural Scotland helped maintain the levels of milling.\textsuperscript{167} On the whole, however, bakers became more dependent on large scale flour millers and flour merchants.\textsuperscript{168}

In the brewing and malting sector the picture of change can also be explained with reference to national developments. Brewing had largely consolidated into an urban based industry in the 1820s, which displaced most country brewing, thus by the time of the series investigated here brewing as a craft was largely finished.\textsuperscript{169} Although the brewery at Blackford was given up in the 1920s, and the industry further concentrated around Glasgow and Edinburgh, Perth maintained its rank as the seventh largest brewing employer in Scotland between 1871 and 1911.\textsuperscript{170} The influence of the changing nature of the brewing industry is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

As noted above, the building sector remained typified by its local orientation, and did not suffer

\textsuperscript{166} Cameron, op cit, p. 153.  
\textsuperscript{167} Sprott, op cit, p. 151; Gauldie, op cit, p. 231.  
\textsuperscript{168} Knox, E., op cit, p. 252.  
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., pp. 169, 199.
from competition from a national market. Thus small-master production remained common, but the economic reality of the masters' position was qualified by sub-contracting.

Thus it can be seen that in some sectors, particularly in shoemaking, tailoring and also partly in agricultural servicing, the expansion of the market for mass produced goods caused the decline of the rural trades. In others, such as baking or building, the lack of national markets combined with the local orientation of production, led to a greater stability of these sectors. In Victorian England most rural crafts were in decline by 1880-1900, and had virtually disappeared by the 1930s.\textsuperscript{171} In Edinburgh, even the small scale building and baking sectors were under pressure by the end of the century, and tailoring was in decline as an independent trade during the period 1855-80, and especially after 1885. Shoemaking was changing in form by 1888, and was pushed largely into retailing and repair work by the 1890s.\textsuperscript{172}

Compared to these patterns of decline, the trades in Lowland Perthshire seem to have lagged behind national developments. Small scale baking increased its labour market share in the area to 1911, and remained

\textsuperscript{171}Chartres and Turnbull, \textit{op cit.}, p. 327; Mingay, \textit{op cit.}, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{172}Knox, E., \textit{op cit.}, pp. 238, 245, 247, 251.
important in the market towns until the 1930s. While shoemaking was declining overall from 1861, it remained persistent in the market towns, finally declining from 1930 onwards. Tailoring saw a decline from 1881 for Perthshire as a whole, but peaked in importance in the market towns in 1910. The trades associated with the agricultural sector, particularly those connected with horses, continued to be important until the 1940s.

In the latter part of this conclusion the focus has been placed upon the role of industrial and mercantile capital and their part in expanding national markets for mass produced goods. Competition with centralised industry has been shown to be an important factor in the decline of some craft sectors in this rural area. The role of merchant capital in organising rural production for larger markets, it has been argued, was limited compared to the situation in some urban areas. Research on Edinburgh has shown that merchant capital played an over-arching and transforming role which left urban production small scale in many sectors, but organised it so that it was supportive of expanding national markets i.e. production was increasingly for the merchant and not directly for the customer.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 252-3.} Within rural Lowland Perthshire this does not seem to have been the case, and production remained orientated towards local markets consisting of indivi-
idual consumers.

This allowed the small scale producers more economic independence, which accounts for the later decline of the crafts in this rural area. On the whole, in the mid-nineteenth century the rural craft sector was a viable one. From that point on change occurred which varied on a sectoral basis. However, no sectors saw any dramatic decline such as occurred in handloom weaving. Importantly, though transformation did occur within the craft sector (as noted above), the development of many features of the urban economy, such as sweating, putting-out and sub-contracting, did not seem to be used as a response to economic pressures. Retailing did increase in importance relative to manufacturing, but the majority of the rural craft firms seemed to maintain a constant organization of production throughout the period, and this was probably linked to the continuing local nature of their markets.

Chapter Five goes on to consider more closely the role played by merchant and financial capital in rural small scale production, particularly by focusing on the operation of the credit system.