THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF STRATHMORE AND ITS HIGHLAND BOUNDARY ZONE
from
1100 A.D. to 1603 A.D.

by
JOHN GILBERT.

A thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. of Edinburgh University.

November, 1954.
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Note on method of treatment.

In this thesis the method of cross-sections has been adopted, each cross-section assuming what has gone before, with the whole prefaced by an account of the physical geography of the district to eliminate unnecessary repetition. There was, however, one difficulty to be overcome in adopting this method, namely, the rate of change of individual features was not always even either in time or space: in one area the control of drainage and flooding was progressing more rapidly than in another, or while woods were being destroyed here they were untouched there. The selection of two main periods separated by a full century reduces this difficulty, but since a brief treatment of that century has been sandwiched between the two, the uneven rate of some of the changes together with the effects of the Wars of Independence has been indicated.

At the beginning of each section there is a list of the maps which have a bearing on that section, whether they are the subject of direct reference in the text or not. In the appendix are collected various sources and references grouped according to subject matter and including some transcriptions of original documents from H.M. Register House. The bibliography supplements the appendix and is classified in a more general manner. The maps accompanying the text are numbered and references are to these numbers.
The references for place-names are given in the grid of the Popular Edition of the One-Inch Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland, published 1927. As this grid has now been replaced by the National Grid, the set of one-inch maps annotated during my research and used in the field has been included in the thesis to facilitate the locating of places.

1. Sheets: 45, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, and 64.
INTRODUCTION.

The conception of historical geography throughout this thesis is that which Mackinder expressed when he said "historical geography is the regional geography of the "historical present." The period selected for study lies between 1100 A.D. and 1603 A.D. and the area chosen is that part of Scotland which extends from central Perthshire north-eastwards to the sea, and includes the Highland Edge with the adjacent portions of the Highlands and Strathmore. The physical geography of the area is dealt with first and is followed by the regional geography of the three periods:

(i) the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, i.e., the centuries immediately before the Wars of Independence;
(ii) the fourteenth century, i.e., the century immediately following the Wars of Independence; and
(iii) the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, i.e., the centuries immediately prior to the Union of the Crowns. These regional cross-sections are not complete regional studies by themselves because in the second and third only the changes from the previous period have been described. This plan and treatment, it is hoped, will avoid the inevitable repetition which such a series of cross-sections entails.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

Strathmore, where in the past the Highlands and the Lowlands often met in war but where now they meet in peace, lies in the north-east of the Midland Valley. Geologically it is a syncline of Old Red Sandstone separated from the metamorphic rocks and intrusive masses of the Highlands by a belt of hard conglomerates, lavas, and phyllites, the last being closely aligned with the Highland Boundary Faults. On its south-eastern edge lies the anticline of the Ochil and Sidlaw Hills, composed of resistant volcanic rocks reaching to the coast south of Montrose and continuing northwards to Bruxie. Between these hills and the coast west of Dundee lies the alluvial Carse of Gowrie with its outcrops of Upper Old Red Sandstone, and between them and the coast east of Dundee a belt of andesitic lavas and Old Red Sandstone.

The whole area was glaciated, and boulder clays, sands, and gravels were deposited over its surface. In the Midland Valley the movement of the ice was, in general, from west to east, but in Strathmore variations in the pressure exerted by the Scandinavian ice produced at different times very different trends in the ice-movement, especially in the north-east where they are reflected in the glacial deposits. The deflection of the Aberdeenshire ice across Kincardineshire in a north north-east south south-west direction is related to a local black boulder.

Maps: 1, 2, 2A, 28, 3.
clay with marine arctic shells deposited by the Scandinavian ice. At a later stage, because of a change in the
Scandinavian ice, the Strathmore ice-sheet was moving from the south-south-west towards the north-north-east.
To this ice-sheet is attributed the bright red boulder clay of north-eastern Strathmore. Lastly, there was a
south-easterly advance of Highland ice which did not always reach the coast. The ground moraine of this ice
was grey in colour. The piedmont glaciers of this period left extensive moraines and fluvio-glacial deposits, e.g.,
in the valley of the Earn or the Glamis and Kirriemuir districts.

The glacial deposits of the central portion of Strathmore are shown on map no. /1. Boulder clay predominates
over fairly extensive areas in the east, but in the Highlands and in the Ochil–Sidlaw ridge this fertile
soil is confined to the valleys and to hollows among the hills. Fluvio-glacial gravels, forming a lighter soil
with better drainage, occupy much of the country between Forfar and the river Tay and are present at the mouths
of most of the Highland valleys, e.g., of the Turret, Erich, and Isla. To-day they are frequently covered
by rough pasture, heath, or woodland. Alluvial deposits are confined to the valley floors, e.g., the Erich-Isla
2. Land Utilisation Handbook of Angus.
and Luther. The soils of Strathmore, therefore, with
the exception of the alluvial areas are mostly formed
from glacial deposits.

The configuration of the ground divides Strathmore
into five sub-regions:

(i) Strathearn, divided into two by the Gask ridge;

(ii) The quadrilateral bounded on the west and east
by the Highlands and the Sidlaws respectively, in the
south by the ridge of Buchanty, and in the north by the
river Tay from Birnam to Kinclaven;

(iii) That part of the strath which lies between a
line joining Dunkeld-Kinclaven-Collace in the south-west
and the Turin ridge in the north;

(iv) The Turin ridge and the ridge between the
North and South Esks; and

(v) The Howe of the Mearns.

To the north-west of Strathmore lie the Highlands, separated
from it by a clearly defined edge which does not always
coincide with the boundary faults. This part of the district
lies between Drumalban and the sea and stretches from the
coast near Aberdeen to Glenartney in Perthshire, i.e.,
that portion of the highly dissected plateau of the Grampians
which lies to the south-east of their main watershed and
includes the upper basins of the Earn, Tay, Isla, Esks, and
Bervie. Altitude decreases towards the north-east, but in
their central portion there is a large triangular area.
between 800' and 2000' in height forming a gulf of lower hill country. Bounded on the east by a line from Menmuir to Ben Vrackie via Mount Blair its western limit is a line from Ben Vrackie via Aberfeldy and Amulree to Crieff. In general, this area coincides with the basin of the Tay. To the west and to the north of this area are summits over 3000': (i) the Breadalbane - Upper Strathearn group and (ii) the group forming the southern watershed of the river Dee.

Throughout this Highland area there is a general decrease in altitude towards the Highland Edge where a marked break in slope distinguishes it from Strathmore. In this amphitheatre of high land the streams and rivers flow towards the strath. Their valleys are narrow, flat-floored, and usually steep-sided, and in the case of the main streams offer a marked contrast to the surrounding high ground. It is possible to find areas of low ground penetrating along them well beyond the Highland Edge, e.g., in the valley of the Tay the 200' contour reaches almost to Grandtully. The floors of the valleys to the east of the Tay are, for the most part, higher than those to the west. In both there are river terraces and alluvial fans which are usually above flood level and therefore were attractive to the mediaeval population. Their sides frequently have a distinct break in their slopes and the upper slopes, being more gentle, were used for summer pastures.
Between the highlands and the strath proper is a foothill zone, separated from them in the north-east by a series of valleys parallel to the Highland Edge, e.g., in the area between the two Esks. In the extreme north-east beyond Stonehaven is the Mounth, an area of scattered moors between 260' and 800' in altitude and reaching to the coast, which was a formidable barrier to travellers in earlier centuries.

To the south and east of Strathmore lies the Ochill-Sidlaw anticline. Rising in the south-west to summits over 2000' in height and decreasing from these towards the north-east it is broken into separate groups of hills by transverse valleys some of which are occupied by misfit streams.

South of this ridge is the coastal area, including such regions as the alluvial Carse of Gowrie and the sands of Buddon Ness, both lying within the limits of raised beaches. The remainder of the area, between 200' and 600' in height, forms the southern slopes of the Sidlaw Hills. At its widest in the neighbourhood of Arbroath, it narrows towards the north-east and eventually disappears north of Montrose.

The present surface of Strathmore, for the most part, is between 500' and 600' above sea level. The lowest areas, i.e., the alluvium of the river valleys, are flat, inclined

to be wet and subject to flooding, and lie below 200'. On each side of this alluvium the ground rises to shelves of drier land extending outwards from the Highlands and from the Ochil-Sidlaw ridge. These shelves, the remains of old erosion surfaces, are divisible into two:

a. The Higher Lowland Peneplane, varying in altitude between 500' and 750'. This surface which fringes the Highlands is broken into separate parts by the streams emerging from the Highlands, and in some areas it forms the piedmont of the Highlands, e.g., in the Kirriemuir-Kingoldrum district where it is about three miles wide. The ridges subdividing the strath are detached portions of this surface, e.g., the ridge between Forfar and Brechin.

b. The Lower Lowland Peneplane, varying in altitude between 200' and 500'. It occupies most of the strath and is often separated from the former surface by a marked break of slope.

One of the major differences between Strathmore and the adjacent areas is the contrast in their surface gradients. As map no. shows Strathmore is a region of gentle gradient whereas the neighbouring high land is a region of strong relief and steeper slopes. Intermediate zones separate these areas and include part of the Higher Lowland Peneplane

1. See map p.427 in Great Britain, Regional Essays, by A. G.Ogilvie.
2. Gradient was of supreme importance to the mediaeval population in that it permitted or hindered natural drainage, thus encouraging or repelling the mediaeval husbandman.
This division is also found in the Howe of the Mearns, but the area of gentle gradient is much narrower and is confined to the alluvial flats. Areas such as Turin Hill form isolated regions of stronger relief within the strath.

The present drainage system of the district has three main trends:

i. North-west - south-east;

ii. West - east; and

iii. North-east - south-west or south-west - north-east.

In the Highlands east of the river Tay the first predominates, but small sections of the streams follow a west to east direction, e.g., the river Erich at Bridge of Cally and the river Isla at the Kirkton of Glenisla and again at Formal. West of Strath Tay the main drainage is from west to east or south-west to north-east, e.g., the river Tummel and Loch Tay and the river Tay to Ballinluig. In Strathmore all the trends are found, but the most frequent are south-west to north-east and west to east. The main west to east streams are the rivers Earn, Almond, Tay (between Murthly and Kinclaven) Lunan, and the Esks.

The Tay and its tributaries drain a very large part of the central highlands, and their valleys, though narrow, are lines of settlement and afford good routes into the Highlands and beyond. The Earn, although it does not drain a comparable area, also provides an important routeway. North-east of the Tay there is a further series of truly
highland valleys, but none of them drains a comparable area and with the exception of the Erich none of them is important as a routeway.

These rivers change their character once they debouch into the strath: they become less swift and exhibit features of maturity. The Earn between the bridge of Crieff and the sea falls 140', i.e., at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}'$ per mile, the Dean Water from the Loch of Forfar via the Isla to the confluence with the Tay 81', i.e., 2.8' per mile, and the Luther from near Fordoun station to its junction with the North Esk 90', i.e., 10' per mile. These slight gradients facilitate flooding, especially when the rivers and their tributaries are swollen with melted snow and heavy rains.¹

Frequently, the valleys of the main streams as they emerge from the Highlands are constricted, e.g., the Tay at Dunkeld, and gorges have been cut by them in the shelves skirting the Highlands, e.g., the Den of Airlie and the valley of the Tay between Kinclaven and Stanley. To leave the strath these rivers use six breaches in the Ochil-Sidlaw ridge:

a. Perth gap (Tay-Earn system);

¹. Flooding was of vital importance to the mediaeval population because the restrictions which it imposed on man were much greater then than now.
b. Rescobie gap (Lunan Water);
c. Brechin gap (South Esk);
d. Marykirk gap (North Esk);
e. Arbuthnot gap (Bervie Water); and
f. Stonehaven gap (Cowie Water).

The size of these gaps is not always indicative of the size of their streams or of their importance in the life and development of the strath. In addition, there are gaps at Newtyle, Inverarity, and Gleneagles. These nine gaps owe their origin to one of the following and were probably modified by some of the others:—

a. A west-east drainage system;
b. Glaciation;
c. Overflow channels; and
d. Erosion by tributaries of west-east rivers.

The present system is a modification of an earlier west-east system which was disrupted by a change in base level and the consequent increase in the erosive power of the rivers. ¹ Typical elbows of capture are to be seen at several points, e.g., Kinclaven and Ballinluig.

The remnants of this former drainage system and the present network of rivers have played an important part in the district's growth. Badly drained and marshy valleys no longer present difficulties of the same magnitude to the inhabitants. Nevertheless, fields in the strath are

¹. S.G.M. Vol. 56/1 p. 146. D. Linton.
partially flooded and waterlogged, even where modern methods of drainage are used. How much more extensive must this flooding have been in earlier centuries when the inhabitants' knowledge of draining and their ability to drain were decidedly less and all underground drainage was by natural means.

As this district stretches from Drumalban to the sea, its climate ranges from that experienced in central Perthshire to that typical of the eastern coasts of Angus and Kincardineshire. Winds are mainly westerly and south-westerly, but in the wind-rose for Trinity Gask in Strathearn there is a marked easterly component.

Rainfall which varies from 60" in the west and in the higher parts of Angus to less than 30" on the coast has the same seasonal regime throughout, approximately two thirds of the yearly total falling between August and January (inclusive). Most of the district has less than 40" per year and the strath receives less than 35". Mean annual temperature also has a west to east gradation, being, in general, lower the higher the station is above sea level. The range of temperature is between 20°F and 22°F. No month reaches 60°F. But at Trinity Gask, Muthill, and Pitlochry the average July mean temperature is over 58°F. None of the stations with records of more than five years falls to 32°F in January. Lednathie however, drops to 34.8°F and Johnston Lodge, Kincardineshire, to 36°F. Throughout

1 cf. Photograph 24. 2. Map No. 3.
the lower ground the growing season extends from April to October, but the whole area is subject to spasmodic frosts within these limits, e.g., frost has been recorded at Crieff on 6th May. A southern exposure results in slightly higher temperatures, e.g., the mean annual temperatures of Crieff and of Trinity Gask are rather higher than that of Muthill, and that of Fettercairn than that of Johnston Lodge.

By applying the lapse rate per 100 feet for Ben Nevis\(^1\) it is possible to estimate the temperature throughout the year of the Highland areas, e.g., by using Kettins near Coupar Angus the temperatures of the Highland valleys of Angus may be calculated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Kettins(^2)</th>
<th>Bellaty, Cammock, Pitlochrie (850 feet)</th>
<th>Dalvany (1050 feet)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>49.8</td>
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<td>O.</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table emphasises the later springs and lower summer

2. Kettins is near the abbey of Coupar Angus, the other places being holdings of that abbey in the Braes of Angus.
temperatures of these Highland valleys. Aspect, however, may counteract this to some extent.

With regard to rainfall Strathmore lies in a rain-shadow, the driest part of the district being around the lower Tay and Isla valleys. In addition there is a distinct bay of lower rainfall extending beyond the Highland Edge which includes the upper Tay and Isla basins and is demarcated by the 40" isohyet. Lying to the east of the higher hills of central Perthshire it corresponds fairly closely to the area of lower hill country already noted. This is the only area where the 40" isohyet crosses the Highland Edge except in the valley of the North Esk in the lee of the Hills of Wirran. In both areas the main valleys are transverse to the direction of the prevailing winds.

The climate of this district, therefore, is of two types:-(i) Lowland, and (ii) Highland. The first is distinguished from the second by the rather lower temperatures and higher rainfall. In the main, the 35" isohyet follows the transition between them.

In mediaeval times surface water and water-logged surfaces were much more common than at present. Rime and ground fog, therefore, would be more prevalent, particularly in flat areas. It would make such areas unattractive to the inhabitants and would also lead to the more frequent occurrence of ague.
References to weather are not frequent, and those which do exist suggest how close to the weather the inhabitants of those early centuries lived. Usually it is the abnormal which is noted because of its greater impact on the lives of the people. Whenever appropriate these have been included in the historical introductions at the beginning of each of the three periods.
PART ONE.

THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

To appreciate fully the historical geography of the district during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it is necessary to review briefly the main events and trends of those centuries about which an old poet sings:

"Quhen Alysandyr oure Kinge wes dede,
That Scotland lede in luwe and le,
Away was sons of ale and brede,
Of wyn and wax, of gamyn and gle.

Our gold was changyd into lede,
Cryst, borne into Vyrgynyte,
Succoure Scotland and remedee,
That stad perplexyte." ¹

These oft quoted lines, appearing in Wyntoun but attributed to an earlier date, mourn the death of Alexander III and the passing of the golden years of his reign which were, in some respects, the climax of his predecessors' policies.

Scotland lay on the fringe of the European scene and the happenings there influenced its life, sometimes directly sometimes indirectly. Within the Church a great monastic

¹. Wyntoun: Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, Book 7, lines 3619-3627.
Revival had imbued some sections of its organisation with a pioneering spirit and brought civilisation to many backward areas. In the thirteenth century the various orders of friars added an energetic missionary zeal. These men travelled far and wide: two of them, one an emissary of the Pope and the other an emissary of St Louis, penetrated into Mongolia. The Crusades only lost their attraction in 1270 A.D. They had, however, stimulated commerce and had introduced the West to the East. By the beginning of the fourteenth century the Babylonish captivity of the Church had begun, and the Papacy, though still a power in the lands of Europe, never regained its former greatness.

Merchants and craftsmen were organising themselves into guilds, and certain areas and towns, e.g., Frisia, Augsburg, and Paris, were achieving international renown for their products. Each year a constant stream of merchants made their way to the six fairs of Champagne. An alliance contracted in 1241 A.D. between Lübeck and Hamburg laid the foundation of the Hanseatic League. There now was a regular system of trade from one country to another, and the outlines of the economic system of Europe as it remained until the discovery of America were now being drawn.

These centuries also saw a revival of learning: the writings of the ancient Greeks were being read in Western Europe. Great numbers of wandering students were travelling
the roads of Europe on their way to attend universities such as those of Paris and Padua. It is noteworthy that the majority of these men belonged to the middle classes. Coincident with this revival of learning was a great growth in architecture. Even in war, which had been a primary interest of the noble classes, changes were occurring. No longer was the mounted knight supreme: the archer was ousting him from this position.

By the beginning of the twelfth century a growth in municipal liberties is evident, and by the end of that century many of the towns of Europe had obtained positions of special privilege. The growth of cities was particularly noticeable in Germany and Italy in contrast with France and Spain which had become organised as national states.

In short, the Middle Ages were disappearing, and much of the Europe we know today was gradually appearing out of the old Europe of the Empire and the Papacy.

Scotland was brought within the orbit of these developments by the Anglo-Norman knights who followed David I on his return from England, by the Church which provided a regular channel for the new ideas, by merchants, and by travellers, until at the death of Alexander III it was, in the words of a modern historian, "relatively to her resources, the most prosperous country in Europe."

Until 1124 A.D. various elements had striven for mastery of the kingdom, but with the accession of David I.
the Anglo-Norman section of the community increased in power until eventually supreme. A feudal system was developed, the Celtic Church was ousted and the Roman started on the road which led to its control of the religious life of the nation. A legal system was developed, commerce was increased, the kingdom enriched and urban life expanded. David's reign saw a lessening of the Celtic influence in the kingdom, and the continuation by his successors of his policies permitted changes which after a century and a half had so helped to improve the life of the country that the poet could in all sincerity eulogise Alexander III and his times.

Ecclesiastically Strathmore and the adjacent Highlands were divided into four diocesan episcopates, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Saint Andrews, and Brechin with Aberdeen having jurisdiction over a small area in the north. Although "in earlier days there had been bishops at ... Dunkeld, at Dunblane, . . ." these were Celtic and their sees were constituted or reconstituted at a later date. Dunkeld was established by Alexander II, and Dunblane, Brechin, and Aberdeen by David I. Saint Andrews was in existence before the twelfth century. The ecclesiastical taxations of the thirteenth century illustrate how this system had developed and rental books of a later date show its further development.

Parishes have now appeared, and by the end of the

1. Dowden: Mediaeval Church, p.7.
thirteenth century an assessment of the churches of Strathmore had been compiled. Many of these churches were or were to be connected with the religious houses founded throughout the land. The monastic movement was an integral part of the ecclesiastical policy which David I fostered. In the twelfth century there were founded in Strathmore:

i. Scone 1114-1115 Augustinian;
ii. Coupar Angus 1164 Cistercian;
iii. Arbroath 1178 Tyronensian; and
iv. Inchaffray 1195 Augustinian.

Through the endowments of kings and nobles these became large landowners in the strath. Others situated outside the district, e.g., Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Dunfermline, and Lindores also held lands within the district. In addition, there were priories, e.g., Restenneth (1159), the houses of the various orders of friars, e.g., Dominicans at Perth (c. 1236), and at Montrose (1230), nunneries, e.g., Elcho near Perth, and hospitals. The several maps drawn to illustrate the distribution of churches and of monasteries and their possessions and to show the extent of the dioceses indicate how widespread the possessions of the church were and emphasise its importance in the life of these centuries.

1. Bagimond's Taxation, etc.
2 Maps 8, 9, 10, 11, 11 A.
In matters temporal also there were changes. Under the influence of Malcolm Canmore and his successors the Celtic forms of government gradually disappeared or were incorporated into the Anglo-Norman forms favoured by the kings. Of these new forms the sheriffdom was one of the most important. Its introduction into Scotland was as old as the reign of David I, and according to the dates of their creation the movement passed from south to north. Sheriffdoms were sub-divided, e.g., into quarters, but as more evidence of this is available for the next period, it will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Another change was the granting of land by charter, a procedure favoured by the Anglo-Norman supporters of the king and one to which the Celtic nobility were pleased to subscribe. This was an integral part of the feudal system which was now being developed. The relationship which feudalism engendered between lord and vassal in all strata of society was an essential part of the social structure of these centuries. It was "the culmination of a process by which the individual ownership of land was transferred into dependant tenure and it tended to nurture the cohesion of the body politic and social."¹

Although at this time land was still the main source of wealth, industry and commerce were increasing. The original markets were local, but their trade extended until

¹ MacKinnon: The Constitutional History of Scotland.
it included as wide a range of commodities as is found in the Assisa de Tolloneis which is attributed to David I.  
Wool, hides, skins, and fish were the main exports and wines, spices and salt the principal imports. Most of this trade passed through the east coast ports.  

This economic expansion aided the growth of towns. Some were erected into burghs and were granted rights and trading privileges which they guarded jealously. Within this district there were the following burghs:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Erection</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>1171-1185</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbroath</td>
<td>1165-1214</td>
<td>Ecclesiastical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auchterarder.</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>1165-1214</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forfar</td>
<td>1124-1153</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montrose</td>
<td>1124-1153</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1124-1153</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the remaining nuclei of population Brechin was styled a city and had the right to hold a market. The richest burghs were outside the district but those within were by no means the poorest in the country, e.g., in 1327 A.D. Perth paid £160 in rent, Aberdeen and Berwick alone paying more. What proportion of their inhabitants came from abroad is not known, but in the twelfth century Flemings were often present. This together with the movement of Scotsmen abroad tended to broaden the minds of their inhabitants and to accelerate the introduction of new ideas and customs.

1. I. Grant: Social and Industrial History, p.113  
2. See E.R. Vol 1  
3. See Appendix for authorities.  
4. E.R. Vol 1 p.51  
These movements, all part of the general development of Western Europe, were affecting the lives of the people and the culture of the district: the Anglo-Norman influence, the growth of the king's authority, the development of the feudal system, the organisation and strengthening of the Roman Church, the growth of burghs and of trade, all helped, singly and collectively, to mould the life of the inhabitants of Strathmore and to modify its appearance. Many events and their dates, battles and rebellions, have been omitted from this summary, not because they are of no importance, but because their inclusion would have made this summary unnecessarily tedious.

VEGETATION.

Although much of the area was still in its natural state at the end of the thirteenth century, major changes were appearing in the vicinity of towns and settlements and the extant evidence of charters indicates what these changes were and also enables a general picture of the vegetation to be drawn.

Marshland, moorland and woodland were the principal associations of the lower ground with, as at present, heather and alpine associations in the Highland areas. Maps have been drawn to illustrate the distribution of

1 Maps 4, 5.
2 Photographs 1-14.
these associations in different parts of the district. Map no. 4 has been based on the direct and indirect references to vegetation in the chartulary of Inchaffray and other sources. The flat alluvial valley floors were bog, making communication across them difficult and restricting the occasional settlement to islands of dry ground. In Angus there is further evidence of this (map no. 5). There the present Loch of Forfar, Restenneth Moss, Rescobie Loch, Balgarres Loch, Chapel Mire, and probably Balmadies Loch are the much reduced remnants of fens. Another area lay between Kincardine and Luthermuir. Most of the glacial hollows, which are floored with a dark peaty soil, had at this period a marsh association, e.g., the Loch of Baikie. Apart from rushes, reeds, and other water loving plants the dominants of this association were alders, willows, and, where drier, oaks. These often formed veritable thickets and when combined with the high water content of other areas made communication across this association seek the drier and more open areas, e.g., the Forfar crossing, which had the additional advantage of being short.

Changes, however, were now occurring within its limits: ploughing and grazing, wherever the water content was sufficiently low, were modifying the vegetation, and the church at least was beginning to attempt to drain and so

1. Coupar Breviary No. 23, etc. and various references in R.M.S.
reduce the water content in some areas that cultivation would be possible.¹ Such areas, though small when compared with the extent of the association, represented the beginnings of a movement which by modern times has reclaimed most of this association for agricultural use.

In the drier areas of the low ground there was a heath association of poor grass and heather with scattered pine trees. This moorland formed the larger areas of open ground, and its importance to the inhabitants is seen in the numerous references to "communa pastura," "mora," and in a few instances "wastina." Every vill and burgh had its common moor, e.g., Brechin had the Moor of Montboy, Blairgowrie had the Moor of Blair, and the Moor of Orchill was for the use of the surrounding settlements, all providing the "pastour fawall and heddir" so necessary to the mediaeval community.² Several of these moors, much reduced in size, are still in existence, e.g., Montreathmont, Nigg, and Madderty. Closely related to the sandier and more gravelly soils this associated occupied areas of higher altitude than the alluvium and covered much of the remnants of the 500'-750' surface, e.g., the Moor of Blair. There was, and is, another area of heath association, the Highlands, much larger than that of Strathmore. Trees, however, would be absent from its higher reaches. This was the association of the royal forests, e.g., of Clony and Alyth.³

1. Inch. Chart. No. XXXVII; 1218 A.D.
2. See p. 27 note 84.
3. Lib. de Scorn No. 152.
The third main association was woodland. In general, it covered the remainder of the strath and extended on to the lower slopes of the Highlands gradually thinning out until the tree-line was reached where it gave way to heathland. These woods were of primary importance to the inhabitants.

Birch, oak, and pine were the common trees. The birch, found not only in the exposed areas at the heads of valleys but also on the lowlying moors, was the natural dominant of the higher altitudes. On poor soils and on moderately well drained peat the pine predominated and in such areas formed an integral part of the heath association, e.g., on the dry peat and sandier soils of Montreathmont Moor and in many of the "foresta" where it grew singly or in small clumps. In the Highlands there were large stands of pure pine, the Black Wood of Rannoch being a remnant of one of these. Towards their upper limit the pines mingled with the witch to produce a birch-pine association, a frequent occupant of the areas immediately below the open moorland. Between these two areas of pines were the oak woods. The areas which the oak selected also attracted the mediaeval husbandman resulting in a close relationship between its distribution and that of early settlement.

In some districts hazel, a tree usually confined to the

1 Photographs 7, 8.
2 " 12, '3.
sides of streams, was fairly common and would colonise where oak had grown. It may also have been a member of the shrub community of the oak woods. Broom was also found throughout the gravelly soils and dry peat of the low moors but at this early date it was a natural growth and not sown as will be seen later.

With a background of at least two thousand years before 1100 A.D. man's activities were bound to have an important accumulative result upon the vegetation. Changes had occurred in the natural vegetation before 1100 A.D., but by 1300 A.D. still more and greater alterations had been wrought by man and his domestic animals, e.g., the increase both in number and in extent of arable areas and the grazing of greater numbers of stock had helped to modify the appearance of the landscape. At this period, however, the traveller saw not the continuous stretches of arable land which meets the eye to-day but forest broken here and there by small patches of arable land and by larger areas of low moor, marsh, and fen. Out of this landscape has developed modern Strathmore.

AGRICULTURE.

In these early centuries husbandmen had many difficulties with which to contend; poor or non-existent drainage, slope,

1. Lind. Chart. No. 73. 2. Inch. Chart. No. CV.

3 Map 6.
and aspect combined with vegetation to restrict their activities. Pastoral farming was the mainstay of the agricultural system of the district. Meadows, woods, and moors provided the pasture, and, although private pasture was not unknown, the grazing areas, which also supplied other easements, were usually occupied by a group of adjoining settlements. Nothing could be done to impede the use of this pasture, usually referred to as common pasture. Upland moors provided summer shealings, and in winter the woodlands provided much of the pasture. The latter were also used in summer except during the season of pannage. The meadows supplied natural hay. Indeed all the grazing was on natural grasses.

1. Matthew Paris in his map of Great Britain labels the inhabitants of this area "pastoral."
2. Inch. Chart. No. CVII 1278 A.D.
3. Most grants of land were given at this period "cum communi pastura."
4. "...The land which is called Cotken in Kather Mothel" (the high ground to the north of Ardoch) "was free common pasture in the time of my (Earl of Strathearn) ancestors for all men dwelling round the said land. Thus no one is to build a house on that pasture or to plough or to do anything whence others may impede the use of the pasture." Chart. Lind. No. XXVII. 1244-1258 A.D.
5. Reg. de Aberbr. Vol.1 No. 89, 1204-1211 A.D., states that the shealings at Glenfarquhar were in use from Pasch to the Feast of All Saints. This seems a long season and no doubt it would vary with the weather. For a general use of the word 'shealing' see Chart. Inch. App. No. 1, 1172-1178 A.D.
6. How far this contributed to the impoverishment of the woods can only be surmised, but there is no doubt that it did contribute.
7. A.P.S. Vol.1, p.323; Reg.de Aberbr. No. 65, 1203-1214 A.D.
8. R.Vol. 1, p.3 (Perth) 1262 A.D.; p.7 (Forfar) 1266 A.D.; p.21 (Kincardine) 1266 A.D.
That there was some limitation on the extent of common pasture per holding and on the number of animals to be grazed on it is indicated by phrases such as "with as much common pasture as pertains to so much land," the acreage of land being the basis of computation, or "with common pasture for x animals," the number of animals being the basis of computation. Apparently it was a general but not a universal practice to allocate grazing on the common pasture at the rate of 10 oxen or cows for every bovate, e.g., every 13 acres, of cultivable land (terra arabilis).

The animals comprised cattle, sheep, horses, goats, and swine, and were usually tended by herds whose main duties were to prevent the animals trespassing and to guard them against attack. To facilitate recognition, e.g., of strays, they bore distinctive markings. Cattle, sheep, and horses were found throughout the district, but goats and swine were more restricted in their distribution, the latter being more numerous in the oak woods. Cattle were more densely distributed over the low ground with its

1. Chart. Lind. No. XXXVII: 1 bovate - 10 beasts of burden, 30 sheep, and 1 horse.
   Reg. de Aberb. No. LXVII: 2 bovates - 20 animals, 4 horses.
2. Reg. de Aberb. No. CCCXL: 1 bovate is granted with common pasture "as much as pertains to so many animals," the animals being 10 oxen, 20 cows, 100 sheep, 4 horses, and 1 bull.
3. Chart. Inch. No. CVIII: "If any of the animals of the abbot... trespass upon his pasture, the penalty is to be limited to one penny for each act of trespass." 1278 A.D.
4. Chart. Coup. No. XLV: Alexander II orders his sheriffs and bailies to restore to the Abbey "omnia averia sua et maxime suis signis signata:" which are found in their bailies. This refers to strays. 1240-1241 A.D.
richer pastures whereas sheep were more commonly found on
the higher ground and on the poorer pastures of the low
ground.\textsuperscript{1} The former provided meat, milk, and leather, and
were used as draught animals. In their husbandry a certain
degree of specialisation was practised: from the returns
of the sheriffs for 1264-1290 A.D. it is apparent that
the crown lands of the central strath were valued as
dairying regions, probably because of richer pastures.\textsuperscript{2}
Cheese, that from Cule being superior in quality, was an
important item in the accounts of the two more northerly
sheriffdoms, but in the accounts for Perth beef is more
important than dairy products.\textsuperscript{2} Sheep also yielded milk,\textsuperscript{3}
and their mutton but it was in their wool that their main value lay.

The animals were scraggy and of poor stock, and the
lack of good feeding during the winter must often have
meant the passing of spring and the arrival of summer before
the animals were in condition which explains the lactation

\textbf{1. E.R. Vol. I p.9:} sheep at Barry and Glenisla;
Reg. de Aberb. No. 314: 30 cattle and 100 sheep at Garvock;
Chart. Inch. No.IVII: 20 cows and 60 sheep at Fowlis; and
Chart. Lind. No. XXXIII: 10 cattle and 30 sheep at Newtyle.

These references suggest a ratio of cattle to sheep
of 1:3. The ratio for 1949 A.D. is 1:4 for these counties.

\textbf{2.} At Perth in 1264 A.D. 400 carcasses of cows were bought
and in 1266 A.D. 360 carcasses were bought for the winter
table of the king at Kinclaven. These were salted. (This
practice alleviated the difficulty of providing winter fodder).
Not only were cows paid as waytinga at Forfar, but large
quantities of cheese were also received, e.g., in 1289-
1290 A.D. 2,925 stones of cheese were received from the
demesne lands of Forfar, Glamis, Kinnalt, and Coul. At
Kincardine payments of cheese and also of cows for beef
were made.

\textbf{3. Statutes of Scottish Church,}

period of cows averaging only 140 days. Fleetness was a necessary characteristic of all stock.

During these early years the authorities saw a real menace to arable farming in the "multitude of scheip and bestis." So grave indeed was this danger that men were ordered to live on their lands and not waste them and the countryside with extensive pastoral farming. Other attempts were made to promote arable farming, and inducements were offered to further reclamation from the waste, but the system of tenure of the ordinary farmer did not help. It is for the lands of the church that references to this are most frequent. The monks could take a longer view in their planning because they came nearest to realising the Utopian dream of all tillers of the soil, fixity of tenure.

Great tracts of the countryside were unsuitable for the plough: the current agricultural practice did not eliminate the natural variety of the soil. Lack of drainage and of protection against flooding restricted the efforts of the inhabitants to areas of good soil and of good natural drainage, both surface and underground, with the result that most of the arable land lay above the alluvium and on the more gently sloping land on each side.

1. Statutes of the Scottish Church, Nos. 97 and 107, 1225 A.D.
4. Chart. Lind. No. XC111
5. Lib. de Scon No. 146
of the strath. The reclaimed lands, the essarts, were in the more easily cleared and more accessible areas of moor and wood. 1

Of the cropēx grown cereals were the most important, and in the redendum clauses of charters and in the accounts of the sheriffs references to them are frequent, providing evidence of their distribution. Barley was the most widely grown, being found at Forfar, Glamis, and Kincardine, 2 barley ale was brewed at Rath and Kinfauns, 3 and barley flour was ground at Clova. Oats appears in the accounts of the sheriffs of Forfar and Perth but not in those for Kincardine. Wheat was not a common crop north of Perth, the only references found being for Strathearn, the Carse of Gowrie and Gardyne. 6 None of these grains was of commercial importance, although there was some trade in them, e.g., the king bought four chalders of wheat at Perth in 1262 A.D. 7 They were grown to satisfy the husbandmen's personal needs and, therefore, the failure of the grain crop meant real hardship to the inhabitants. Further evidence of the cultivation of cereals is seen in the distribution of mills and the desire to own a mill, the multures paid by the sucken thirled to the mill being a definite attraction, e.g., Arbroath Abbey possessed

3. Lib. de Scon No. 75.
4. Reg. de Abern. No. 127, 1225 A.D.
at least ten mills, Scone four including one windmill,¹ and Inchaffray two, and all burghs and holdings of any size had at least one.²

Unfortunately, exact information about the methods of cultivation practised in the district are fairly rare, and although the various injunctions about cultivation contained in charters and Acts of Parliament indicate the aim of good husbandry, they do not necessarily describe the methods followed in this district. One edict advocates that ploughing and sowing should start in February but this date is obviously early for this area, especially for its Highland parts.³ The plough was drawn by oxen, but foot ploughs must also have been in use. Most probably the fields were cropped until their yield was so small that further cultivation was not worthwhile. The cultivator relied mainly on the natural fertility of the soil, but the folding of animals would improve the fertility of small patches and rest periods would allow it to recover some of its original fertility.

Agricultural holdings varied greatly in size, some being large and worked by tenants, others small and tilled by their owners. The smallest holding mentioned is the toft, one at Fowlis Wester being defined as six perches

1. Lib de Scon No. 74,
2. These mills were usually driven by water power and were situated on a stream or fed by a mill race. Chart. Inch. No. XXXIV, 1210-1218 A.D.
3. APP.S. Vol. 1, p. 67, No. 1
4. 
square, but further grants often increased the size of such holdings. Crofts came next in size and at Petlandy a croft and toft together contained a quarter of an acre. Vills were of widely varying size. Alongside this division by name was a division by land measurement in which the ploughgate with its divisions the husbandland and the oxgate were used. The foundation charter of Scone abbey in 1120 A.D. mentions ten holdings ranging in size from 104 acres to 1040 acres, the extent of each being described in carrucates. The Celtic davoch of 416 acres was occasionally found in the strath, but it occurred more frequently in the Highlands and the less accessible areas to the north. In general, the Saxon system had been imposed on the Celtic, e.g. the husbandland (26 acres) was frequently called a "rath" by the writers of charters.

1. Chart. Inch. No. LV1, 1226-1234 A.D.
3. Chart Inch. No. CV, 1275 A.D. An acre was 54,760 sq. ft., being 25% greater than the English acre.
4. Lib. de Scon No. 1 1120 A.D.
5. The following list gives the locations of davochs within the district:
   - Balegillegrand - Reg. de Aberb. No. 74, 1204-1211 A.D.
   - Carrenbrogyn, Lathkerry, Tulecary, Brebkereth, and Tullelde - Reg. de Aberb. No. 102, 1234 A.D.
   - Petmengartenach - Reg. de Aberb. No. 242, 1221 A.D.
   - Westercarinquoy - Trans. Roy. Chart. 1328 A.D.
   - Slanys near Kinneff - Trans. Roy. Chart. 1367 A.D.
   - Weem and Abyrefallybeg - Trans. Misc, Chart. and Papers 1296 A.D.
   - Glentilt - Trans. Misc. Chart. and Papers. 1344-1347 A.D.
   - Magna Blar - Lib. de Scon No. 67.
to signify the local name for a holding of this size

By the late thirteenth century, therefore, the agricultural development of the district had progressed, and, although pastoral farming was still the more important, arable farming did not now lag so far behind. Improvements in drainage were appearing and the desire to extend the cultivated area was abroad. Soon, however, the country was plunged into war, and much damage was done to the land which because of the ravages of the combatants and the ensuing neglect frequently returned to the waste from which it had often been so recently won. Nevertheless, during these centuries were laid the foundations upon which the tillers and pastoralists of subsequent centuries built.

SETTLEMENT.

A fairly reliable guide to where the population lived may be obtained by combining the distribution of place-names recorded by 1300 A.D. with the distribution of the

1. Reg. de Aberb. No. 1: "...of two bovates of land which is called Rath." Chart. Inch. No. 111, 1223-1224 A.D.: One quarter of Dunphalin on the Ern is called Rath, thus making the holding a ploughgate.
2. Map no. shows this distribution and is based on Early Sources of Scottish History by A.O. Anderson; Celtic Scotland by Skene; and appropriate references in charters.
3. Maps: 6; 9; 10; 15; 17; 18; 31A; 31B; 31C; 32; 34; 35; 36.
churches in existence by the same date,\(^1\) the place-names indicating the spread of settlement and the churches the probable local foci. The resultant distribution, however, is incomplete to the same extent as the sources themselves are incomplete.\(^2\)

The maps showing the distribution of settlement reveal a similarity in the choice of site throughout the area and an analysis of the sites discloses a uniformity in the factors controlling this choice. In general, there are four belts of settlement, each related to drainage and access to certain types of terrain and vegetation. The wet flats and the valley floors for the most part, were avoided unless the inhabitants were seeking isolation, e.g., the hermit who first occupied the Isle of the Masses in the

1. Map no.\(^{14}\)A states the distribution\(^{14}\) of churches and is based on Bagimond's Roll and the Taxatio Ecclesiastica Antiqua.

2. Although the caption\(^{34}\) of maps nos\(^{35}\) states “settlement before and after 1300 A.D., it is felt that between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the real difference is one of density and not area. Many could only be dated "by x A.D.", e.g., a site might be first recorded in 1310 A.D. and, though in many instances it is reasonable to say that it was in existence before this date, it cannot be assumed. These maps, however, do indicate the pattern of settlement at 1300 A.D. but not its density distribution.

The accuracy of the density distribution of such maps depends upon the completeness of the records. A well documented area appears to be, and may well have been, more densely settled, but it is unwise to conclude from the maps that it was so without corroborative evidence. In addition, change, migration, and disappearance of place-names introduce obvious difficulties, e.g., Achadlongsigh is now assumed to have been Craig in Madderty and is now called St Davids, Monzievaird church does not now occupy the original site, and Aberlednoch has disappeared.
marsh of the Pow, or were considering defence, e.g., Glamis castle.

The following is an attempt to classify settlement according to site, and for this purpose the district has been subdivided into eight sub-regions:

1. Strathearn.
   a. South of the Earn.
      (i) Hillfoot of Ochil Hills.

   Settlement was distributed along the piedmont of the Ochil Hills and of the high ground to the south and west of Muthill. Bardrill, Rossie, and Ecclesiamagirdle are illustrate the type of site selected and Dunning and Auchterarder were examples of local foci whose importance depended upon that of the routes and valleys which they commanded. The adjacent high ground provided the upland pasture and fuel, the nearby areas of well-drained land, when cleared of wood, the cultivable ground, and the alluvial floors of the valleys of the tributaries of the Earn and the wetter glacial hollows furnished meadowland and wood.

   (ii) Edge of Earn Terrace.

   These settlements occupying sites along the northern edge of the river terrace lay above the 50' contour, e.g., Fortheviot, Dalreoch, and Kinkell. For them the open woodland between the Earn and the Ochil Hills provided fuel and pasture, the slopes of moraines and the better drained portions of the terrace the cultivable land, and the haughs of the Earn and its tributaries the meadows. Most probably there were
areas in the Ochil Hills which were used for summer pasture.

(iii) Scattered settlement between (i) and (ii).

Usually the area between the above groups of settlement was avoided, but an area with good natural drainage frequently attracted the mediaeval inhabitants, e.g., Duncrub, Mukrand, and Tullibardine. This group of settlement did not stretch and west of Muthill, its inhabitants used the surrounding area to satisfy their economic needs.

b. Northern Slopes.

(i) Northern Edge of Pow Marsh.

A narrow strip of gravelly soils at the northern edge of the marsh and at the foot of the adjacent slope with its good drainage attracted settlement, e.g., Kintocher, Drumphin, and Calsayend. The last two, however, were related to crossings of the marsh. The boulder clay of the slopes immediately above these sites provided cultivable land.

(ii) The Braes of Fowlis Wester.

This was considered a good site by the population of the thirteenth century. Certainly it was one much coveted by the monks of Inchaffray, vide their possessions around Petlandy and Drummy. It was well drained, provided good arable land with wood and meadow nearby, and had hill pastures on the hill of Buchanty. Methven to the east was a local focus and in the flat at its foot on an outcrop of Old Red Sandstone thinly covered with boulder clay stood the Earl of Strathearn's castle of Fowlis.

'Photograph 22.'
c. The Gask Ridge.

(i) Southern Slopes.

Dupplin, Cairnie, Trinity Gask, Dolcorachy, Innerpeffray, and Dolpatrick are typical of this group, and all are on or immediately above a strip of gravel. The slopes of the ridge provided naturally drained land and its flat summit pasture and fuel.

(ii) Northern Slopes.

Again a fringing belt of gravel between the alluvium of the Pow marsh and the boulder clay of the slopes attracted settlement, e.g., Abbey, Balfour (now Williamstone), Woodend, and Arbennie. Drainage was good, and meadow, arable land, and pasture were readily accessible.

(iii) Summit of Ridge.

Exposure was important here: Craig and Dubheads were on the western slopes of the Cowgask burn, thus avoiding the prevailing westerly winds, and Raith, Ardunie, and, to a lesser degree, Bellyclogloss have a southern exposure.

d. The Pow Marsh.

In this marsh there were two settlements; the abbey of Inchaffray, a dry-point settlement, and Inchbrakie, a strong-point settlement.

e. Upper Strathearn.

(i) The North Side of the Valley.

(ii) The Southern Side of the Valley.

There is insufficient to do little more than to divide
the settlements of this area into these two groupings, a division which the churches of Monzievaired, and Strowan, Tullichettle, and Comrie supports. West of Tom-a-Chaistel the marshy floor was avoided. Local foci were related to valley crossings and the opening of a tributary valley onto the main valley, e.g., Comrie, and the sites of the churches mentioned.

From this analysis of the settlements of Strathearn their it is clear that its pattern was decided by natural drainage, soil, and the economic needs of the inhabitants. Sloping ground with its better drainage attracted men and within these slopes the belts of gravel which fringe the main slopes and are adjacent to the alluvial flats were most favoured. The alluvium, generally, was avoided because of its excessive water content and the danger of flooding, and the higher land also was disliked because of exposure. These two areas, however, were important to the well-being of the inhabitants and access to them was essential. On the other hand, many certain features, e.g., a valley mouth or a crossing of a river or marsh, often gave some settlements or groups of settlement more than local importance. In lower Strathearn there was a marked parallelism in the arrangement of settlement, whereas in upper Strathearn these belts converge until they virtually meet to the west of Comrie, near Dunira.
11. The Quadrilateral, Dunkeld-Strathord-Glamis-Lintrathen.
   a. South of Isla-Dean Water.
      (i) Lower slopes of Sidlaw Hills.
      This group of settlements was located on the boulder clay at the foot of these slopes, e.g., Keillor, Kinnochtry, Kettins, and Newtyle. It corresponds to group la (i).
      (ii) The Coupar Angus Ridge.
      This ridge is separated from the Sidlaw Hills by a poorly drained flat and coincides with the northern edge of the a portion of the lower lowland peneplain where it overlooks the alluvium of the Isla. The islands of boulder clay lying along this ridge were occupied by settlement, e.g., Layston, Keithock. It corresponds to group la (ii).
      At one point the alluvium which forms part of the flat separating this ridge from the Sidlaw Hills disappears and two areas of boulder clay come together, thus forming an easy crossing. Meigle grew up at this site.
   b. North of Tay-Isla-Dean Rivers.
      (i) Again the northern edge of the lower lowland peneplain was chosen because of soil, drainage, and aspect. Meikleour, Bendochy, Aberbothrie, Balhary, and Balendoch are typical of this area.
      (ii) The Lower slopes of the Highland Edge.
      Tullyneddie, Kinloch, Blairgowrie, Rattray, and Alyth are examples of this group, and the choice of this area was controlled by the same factors as operated for group lb (i).
      The parallelism seen in Strathearn appears again in this
area and the same factors were decisive in the choice of site. The importance of boulder clay, when well drained, is emphatically as a soil suitable for the mediaeval husbandman, is emphasised.

III The Area between Area II and the River South Esk.

a. South of the Dean Water.

Group II a (ii) has now merged with group II a (i) and settlement is found at the hill-foot on gently sloping ground and above the alluvial flats.


(i) Junction of Alluvial and Gravel Areas immediately north of Dean Water.

This group includes such settlements as Baikie, Cossans, and Ballindarg. Again aspect, soil, and drainage were the decisive factors, as in group II b (i).

(ii) Lower Slopes of Highland Edge.

This group continues group II b (ii) and includes such sites as Kirriemuir, and Kinnaniel.

In this area to the north of the Dean Water the better natural drainage together with a larger extent of boulder clay caused settlement to be more disseminated. Therefore, (i) and (ii) are less clearly defined than in area II.

C. Oathlaw and Moor of Montreathmont.

By the laws of the country Oathlaw, i.e., the forest of Flat, and the Moor of Montreathmont were virtually closed to settlement, the population settling around them. The
two main exceptions were Aberlemno and Melgund Castle.

d. South of the Estuary of the South Esk.

Along the south bank of the estuary is a strip of gravel separating the alluvium of the Esk from the boulder clay of Craig and Kinnell. This strip was selected by a group of settlements, e.g., Maryton, Bonnington, and Carcary.

IV. The Area between Forfar and Arbroath.

Here the slopes of low hills and well drained and cultivable land attracted the inhabitants, e.g., Fothringham, Craignathro, Balmasbanner, Dunnichen, Lour, Bumbaroo, and Cairncortie.

V. The Area between the North and South Esk.

This low ridge provided a suitable environment, and the settlements along its sides, though transverse to the general trend, agree in principle in the type of site selected, e.g., Maisondieu, Keithock, Stracathro, Pert, Ardoch, and Dun.

VI. The Howe of the Mearns.

a. Southern Side.

(i) Northern slopes of Hills of Garvock and of Arbuthnott.

Settlement was restricted to the lower slopes of these hills, e.g., Conveth, Kair, and Scotston, because the floor of the strath was too wet and the Hill of Garvock was a hunting forest.

(ii) Coastal Area.

Settlement was usually related to harbours, strong-points and routes through the hills to the Howe, e.g., Benholm,
Catterline, and Inverbervie.

b. Northern Side.

(i) Foothill Area.

The sites selected were at the edge of the piedmont thus avoiding zone and the marshy flats of the low ground, e.g., Fern, Menmuir, Edzell, Fettercairn, Kincardine, and Mondynes. Where a Highland valley opened on to the strath or a transmontane route left the strath the settlement had greater importance, e.g., Kincardine.

(ii) The Highland Edge.

In the valleys of the Paphrie, the West Water between Burnfoot and Witton, and the upper reaches of the Luther are such settlements as Navar, Neudos, and Glenfarquhar. Their sites may have been selected because their inhabitants desired upland pasture, i.e., they may have originated as shealings as, for example, did Tipperty. They were also chosen, however, with regard to drainage and cultivable land.

VII. The Mounth.

This area of bog and moor and of windswept hill was not favoured by the mediaeval population. The sites selected were near the sea or along the main road to Aberdeen. There were, however, a few settlements scattered throughout the region, wherever conditions of soil, drainage, and aspect were suitable.

VII. The Highlands.

Settlement was restricted to the valleys. It usually
avoided the flat floors and occupied the drier land of the lower slopes. In general, the same factors decided the choice of site and the same influences controlled the importance of individual settlements.

To sum up this analysis it is seen that the pattern of settlement throughout Strathmore and in the Highland valleys was longitudinal and was decided by these factors:

a. Avoidance of the valley floors and of flats where there was high water content and liability to flooding;
b. Better drainage afforded by the belts of gravelly soils fringing many of the valleys;
c. The advantages which areas of boulder clay offered to the mediaeval husbandman; and
d. The need for pasture, either in meadow, wood, or moor, and the need for fuel, either wood or peat.

Castles, however, because of their function did not always conform to the above pattern. Rather do they show a closer relation to routeways, and their distribution is shown on map no. 25. Since the Dark Ages the main line of movement had migrated from the northern side of Strathmore to the southern and was changing from the earlier west to east trend to a south-west to north-east alignment. Many of the castles, therefore, on the southern side of the Strath,

1. Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, Ordnance Survey.
2. There were 10 castles on the southern route between Perth and Brechin but only 2 on the northern route between Clunie and Menmuir.
were related to this route and to cross routes leading through the hills to the south or through the marshes to the north. No doubt several of the castles shown on the map had replaced earlier fortified sites. Many were motes and probably all were built of wood, the use of stone being rare at this period and worthy of special mention.

Two facts emerge from the distribution of castles:-

a. The poverty of castles in the north-east and in the south-west of Strathmore and in the Highlands, and fairly

b. The regular spacing of the royal castles between Auchterarder and Forfar.

For the first lack of evidence may be partially responsible also but it is most likely that such a dearth is related to the conditions prevailing in these areas at this time. As fairly regards the second is the regular spacing along a routeway related to the length of a day's journey of the King and his court?

The following list sets forth the royal castles of the district, numbered as on the map of castles in existence before 1300 A.D. and includes a brief analysis of the site of each:

1. Auchterarder. This castle was once the head of a

1. E.R. Vol. 1, 1264-1266 A.D., refers to the use of wood in the building of the castle of Kettins, but E.R. Vol 1, 1290 A.D. refers to the new stonework at the castle of Stirling. The destruction of the local forests during the Wars of Independence and the need to import timber from "Estland" may have hastened the introduction of stone-built castles during the next century.
sheriffdom and commanded the Glen Devon and to a lesser extent the Strath Allan gaps.

2. Scone. A royal residence from early times. Scone and Perth lay in a region which contained more past capitals than any other of similar size.

3. Kinclaven. This royal castle was protected on the north, east, and south by the river Tay. The routes of the Tay and Isla came under its surveillance in addition to the main ferry across the Tay between Dunkeld and Perth. Its appearance suggests a "heaped up" mound, and as it stands on a route of the Dark Ages it may have been built originally on the site of some earlier fort guarding the exit of this route onto the strath.

4. Clony. Standing on the west side of the loch of Clunie this castle was a hunting castle. Its appearance suggests a "heaped up" mound, and as it stands on a route of the Dark Ages it may have been built originally on the site of some earlier fort guarding the exit of this route onto the strath.

5. Kettins. Originally in a thanage which later became a barony this royal castle on the route from Perth to Forfar was also on the route from Coupar to Dundee. Its exact position is not known but the farm of the Mains may have been the demesne lands called Bordland in a charter of Robert I.

6. Inverqueich. Standing on a height at the confluence of the Isla and Alyth rivers its position was strong and easily
fortified. It was the hunting castle for the royal forest of Alyth.

7. Glamis. Built on the lowest terrace and surrounded by marsh it guarded one of the crossings of the strath at a narrowing of the alluvium.

8. Forfar. The only evidence that there was a castle here is the Castle Hill. It was the head of the sheriffdom of the same name and was a favourite residence of the early kings. Built on dry ground between the nearby marshes and lochs where the main route to the north-east crossed from the south side of the strath to the north it occupied a strong position and one of definite strategic importance.

9. Menmuir. This was the castle of a thanage on the northern side of the strath.

10. Kincardine. Built on a terrace overlooking the alluvium of the Howe of the Mearns this castle was the head of the sheriffdom of Kincardine and a royal residence of some importance. It guarded the entrance to the much used Cairn o' Mount route to Deeside and was a favourite hunting castle, vide, the Deer Dyke and Halkerton.

11. Cowie. This castle was the last outpost of the royal power in the north-east south of the Grampians. It controlled the route to Durris in Deeside via the Slug road and to Aberdeen via the "Calsay" Mounth. It was built on a cliff to the of Stonehaven.
12. Durris. The exit of the Slug road into Deeside and the crossing of the Dee there was guarded by this castle. 

13. Montrose. Guarding the mouth of the South Esk and together with the Red Castle on Lunan Bay and Bervie castle, protected the coast.

These royal castles with the exception of Kettins, Menmuir, and possibly Inverqueich were garrison castles, guarding against invasion from the Highlands and the north-east and from the sea and were the permanent residences of the sheriffs and thanes and temporary residences of the kings. Strong points were their customary sites, some being strong because of surrounding marshes, others because protected by water and rivers, and still others because built on heights and cliffs. The importance and strategic value of the routes which they controlled decided their importance.

Throughout the district there were several nuclei, towns and burghs. From the middle of the tenth century Scotland had been participating in the "renaissance of town life" then occurring throughout Europe, the peculiar business of the Scottish burgh from the time of David I being concentration upon trade. An examination of their sites and situations shows how much these contributed to this function. Auchterarder, Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Montrose, and Aberdeen were either ports or nodal points of some importance. Arbroath was an ecclesiastical burgh.

1. Scottish Burghs, p. 45:
and the abbey was granted the right to construct a port. Brechin was not a burgh, but it had the right of holding a market "on the Lord's Day," granted by David I.

In addition to the burghs there were other nuclei where groups of buildings clustered around some focal point, a castle, a monastery, a crossroads, or a meeting place, e.g., Crieff, Dunkeld, Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus, and Kincardine. In contrast to the Burghs many of these settlements lay on the north side of Strathmore at the mouths of Highland valleys. Villages in the modern sense of the word were virtually non-existent at this period, but many of the farms must have supported from 50 to 100 people. The map showing the distribution of churches is also a map of local foci as has already been noted, and according to a taxation of about 1290 A.D. these totalled 73.

There remains one other type of settlement, abbeys and cathedrals. Their buildings must have towered above the dwellings of the inhabitants of the district; Arbroath Abbey was, and still is, an imposing landmark. Usually the abbeys avoided settled areas; for example, Coupar Angus stood at the western end of the Moss of Meigle on land that was originally part of the king's chase, Restenneth priory was a dry-point settlement in the marsh to the east of Forfar, and Inchaffray stood on an island in the marsh of the Pow. An examination of the site of the last still reveals its insular quality. The lower parts of the
surrounding fields are waterlogged and even under water in winter despite the depth of the drainage ditches. The island on which the abbey stands is clearly demarcated by the richer grasses besides by height. This is easily seen on an air photograph as is the fact that this higher area must have been surrounded by an earthen dyke at an early period although all trace of it has now disappeared.

The two cathedrals, Brechin and Dunkeld, because of their function, occupied settled areas, the former at a river crossing, the latter at a valley mouth, but both at nodal points of long standing.

**POPULATION.**

The number of the inhabitants of the district cannot be stated exactly, but by converting the taxable value of the eleven bishoprics of Scotland into percentages of the total value and by assigning to each a similar proportion of the total population of Scotland which one authority gives as 400,000 in the thirteenth century an estimate can be made for the bishoprics within the area. Moreover, it has been calculated that 5.3 people corresponded to £1 of auld extent or 3.5 people to one mark. By substitution, therefore, the valuations, temporal and spiritual, can be converted into numbers of people. According to this method

2. Maps II A; 33.
there were about 75,000 inhabitants within the district, and of these 19,000 were responsible for the tax of ecclesiastical wealth. Unfortunately the exact area of each valuation is not known and therefore no exact density distribution can be stated, but it was approximately 20 people per square mile. Since the Highlands and the Ochil-Sidlaw Hills were almost devoid of population except in the valleys, the density distribution in the strath and on the coastlands must have been higher. In addition, there were areas of moor, marsh, and wood throughout these. It may, therefore, be estimated that in the settled areas of the strath and highlands the density distribution of population was nearer 40 people per square mile than 20.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Prior to this period there had been at least two distinct systems of communications, the Roman and that of the Dark Ages. How far the mediaeval population adopted the Roman network cannot be stated definitely, but the change in the importance of some places and the comparative rarity of

1. Since the temporal valuations were for the three sheriffdoms (A.P.S. Vol.1, pl41), Gowrie and the coastal areas are included in this figure.
2. Map, based on Bagimond's Roll was the source from which this figure was calculated.
3. In 1931 A.D. this figure was 117 persons per square mile.
4. It has been assumed that those roads marked on the O.S. maps as Roman were Roman.
5. Maps: 23; 24A; 24B.
of wheeled traffic reduced the need for such roads. On the other hand, as movement was from south-west to north-east in both periods, it seems probable that the mediaeval population would use some sections of the Roman system. The routes of the Dark Ages linked the east with the west via the valleys of Teith, Earn, and Tay. The main north road went via Dunblane, Rottearn near Ardoch, Forteviot, Scone, Brechin, and Dunnottar, and from there crossed the Mount to Banchory. At Scone it was joined by a route from the west which followed the valley of the Earn and farther north another route from the west via Dunkeld, Blairgowrie, Alyth, and Kirriemuir joined it near Brechin. This network bears a close resemblance to that of the thirteenth century.

There is less evidence to guide one in a description of the network of secondary roads, but the registers of the different religious foundations contain several references to roads, particularly in the records of perambulations where their use as boundaries suggests a degree of permanence was attached to their location by the inhabitants.

In general, movement was and had been along Strathmore, and the alluvial marshes forced the main longitudinal routes onto the higher and drier ground on each side. Transverse routes did exist wherever the absence or narrowing of the marsh made crossing possible, e.g., the road from the Woodend of Incheviot to Drumphin across the Pow marsh in

1. See Map of Britain in the Dark Ages. 2. See map no. 3. Chart. Lind. No XV; Chart. Inch. No 6V; Reg de Aberb. No 230 4. The railway was the first route to follow the valley of the Pow. See also the Howe of the Mearns.
Strathearn. There were other restrictions: royal forests were prohibited areas, and a landlord could prevent passage through his lands. For example, Alexander II in 1235 A.D. granted a right of way through the royal forest of Alyth to the monks of Coupar Abbey to their lands in Glenisla, and in 1230 A.D. Gilbert de Hay granted to the same abbey "free transit without hindrance with their goods on my lands by all ways and paths by which my men go," i.e., they were allowed to use the existing roads.² Rivers were natural barriers except where firm ground, absence of marsh, and shallow water permitted a ford. In due course a bridge would be built if the traffic warranted it. Made of wood these were liable to be destroyed by floods, e.g., the bridge of Perth in 1210 A.D.³ Stone bridges were rare and in the thirteenth century there were only three:

1. The bridge at Perth;
2. The Bridge of Earn; and
3. The bridge at Maryton.

To maintain a bridge the returns from certain specified lands were often allocated, e.g., Drumsled in the Heans was sold to pay for the maintenance of the bridge of Bechin.⁶ Over wider rivers and tidal estuaries there were ferries, e.g., at Montrose⁷ and at Kinclaven.⁸

1. This implies a crossing of the alluvium to the north.
2. Trans. Misc. Chart. & Papers 1230 A.D.
4. Lib. de Scon No. 143
5. Reg. de Aberb. No. 144, 1218-1240 A.D.
6. Ibid. No. 245, 1218-1246 A.D.
7. Ibid. No 9, 1178-1180 A.D.
The roads of this period were really tracks, virtually impassable in bad weather and the paved or dirt roads which the Romans knew were really non-existent except in towns. It is not until the era of the turnpike and the military roads of Wade that this district again experienced a period of road building. Travel was often very slow. As examples of journeys made at this time the routes of two travellers of very different status have been mapped. The first is that of Bishop David who in 1242 A.D. and in 1243 A.D. journeyed throughout the district dedicating churches. His speed was about ten miles per day. The second journey is that of Edward I in 1296 A.D.. He spent thirteen days in actual travelling between Stirling and Aberdeen which must be considered quick even although the intervening halts would enable his entourage to rest. Unfortunately, there are no records of an ordinary traveller but probably the journeys of Bishop David correspond closely enough to what such a traveller would have done to allow one to assume that his speed was typical of this period.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS, TEMPORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL. ²

Throughout this district there were three types of territorial divisions, civil, e.g., the earldoms, ecclesiastical, e.g., the bishoprics, and administrative, e.g., the sheriffdoms. Prior to this period Pictish Scotland

1. See map no. 24A and 24B.  
2. Maps: 8; 9; 11; 11A; 12; 13; 21; 22.
was "subdivided anciently by seven brothers into seven parts. Of these the principal is Angus with the Mearns so named after Oengus, the eldest; and the second is Athole and Gowrie, the third is Strathearn with Menteith; and Gowrie, the third is Strathearn with Menteith; the Fourth of the parts is Fife with Fothriff;...." This part of the description is said to date from the time of King Nectan. Strathmore is here divided into areas known by the old regional names. The continuation of this description, which is attributed to the twelfth century, does not take these areas in the same order and states "the first kingdom extended from the excellent piece of water called in Scottish the Froch, in British Werd, in Roman Scotewateri, i.e., Aqua Scottorum, which divides the kingdom of the Scots and the English, runs near to the town of Stirling as far as another nobleriver called the Tay. The second kingdom (extended) from the Tay to the Hilef encircling (the first) like the sea as far as the mountain that is called Athran in the northern part of Stirling....." In this part the boundaries are natural features. In each the sub-divisions are separated by physical features which were also barriers, e.g., the Tay, and Strathmore is divided into Strathearn and menteith, Athole and Gowrie although in the second account Gowrie is attached to Fife, and Angus with the Mearns.

Strathearn's importance lay in its position in the south next the Britons and in its having good communications via

1. De Situ Albanie in A.O. Anderson's Sources of Early Scottish History Vol. 1, CXVI.
the Earn and to the south via Strath Allan. It thus occupied a key position which included the sites of the ancient capitals of Scone, Forteviot, and Abernethy. Its boundaries at this early period were rather vague, and no definite limits can be stated for two reasons:

i. lack of suitable evidence; and

ii. the boundaries were zones and as such were not clearly delimited.

It is only from scattered references stating that certain places were in the earldom that an estimate of its extent may be obtained. ¹

The Earldom of Strathearn is the direct successor of this earlier Strathearn and its extent may be estimated from the charters granted to and by the earl. ² The southern boundary at the mouth of the Glen Devon gap lay on the plain between the Ochil Hills and the Forth to ensure control of this gap which was not always under the earl's control, e.g. Auchterarder at its northern end was a sheriffdom in 1290 A.D. and closely associated with Clackmannan by Edward I. Elsewhere this boundary coincided with the Ochil scarp. On the east the Tay formed the

¹ For example Early Sources of Scottish History.
boundary, but there is no definite evidence of this and it must be remembered that Keillor Castle is mentioned as lying within the earldom, though it may have been an isolated possession such as Cortachy which the earl acquired by marriage in 1237 A.D. It is noteworthy, however, that at the junction of the Tay and Isla land was owned on both banks. This was an addition to the original extent and supports the theory that the original earldom did not cross the Tay. That it was necessary to hold this area because of its strategic importance is uncertain, but from earliest times it had been fortified: there was the Cleaven Dyke, a barrier against the north, the Roman camp at Inchtuthill guarding the routes of the Tay. It was here that two areas of higher ground, probably covered with more open vegetation, than the low lying alluvium, approached to the river's edge and formed a crossing of the marsh. Meikleour, therefore, was of considerable importance. The northern boundary probably corresponded in a general way with the watershed separating the Almond and the tributaries of the Earn from the waters of the Tay, but where it xxx the Tay. In the west there was much debatable ground in the higher area at this period though the rental for 1480 A.D. shows that the intermont valleys of the upper Earn basin all belonged to the earldom. The early earldom thus included the Earn and its tributaries together with the Almond and the southern 1.Hist, MSS. Com. Reports Vol. VII No. 2, 1195-1199 A.D.
and western banks of the Strathmore Tay in the north and the Ochil Hills in the south.

Atholl was said to be the second most important region. With a king of its own who was nearly always related to the kings of Pictland it was a gateway into Moray and lay athwart their routes to the north via the Tay and its tributaries. It was not considered "citra Moneth" but was usually associated with Moray and Ross. Its extent is shown on the map though at times the earl's lands lay beyond its limits. Centred round the Highland portion of the Tay this earldom was gradually divided among smaller barons who held their lands from the earl, and although normally confined to this river basin it sometimes extended beyond its limits because of family connections. Much of the modern parishes of Caputh, Kinclaven, and Bendochnan have been in the frontier zone between Atholl, Angus, and Strathearn but had by the twelfth century been claimed and divided between them.

In the ancient division of Scotland Angus with the Mearns was the principal kingdom. It was bounded on the south by the Tay, on the west by the Isla, on the east by the sea and on the north by the watershed of the Grampians, and when the kingdom was consolidated under the Celtic

1. Early Sources of Scottish History p.234 739 A.D.
2. See references in Hist. MSS. Com. Reports Vol. VII
regime was ruled by mormaers who were of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the annals of the kingdom.\textsuperscript{1} By 1150-1187 A.D. this title had given way to that earl who by 1214 A.D. was one of the principal earls of the kingdom. It is difficult to define the extent of this to which this earldom penetrated into the Grampians, but it is probable that the glens became retreats for the Celtic population and that the earldom, as stated, reached to the watershed. The principal town of the earldom was Forfar.\textsuperscript{2}

In the "Brief Description of the Kingdom of Scotland" in the Chronicles of the Picts and the Scots\textsuperscript{3} it is stated that "the land of Anegus is 20 leagues in breadth and in length more than 30. And there are two castles Dundee and Forfar. And there follows a certain waste which is called the Mounth where there is a very bad passage without food, in length 60 leagues and in breadth 16." By comparing the length of the Mounth with that of Angus it is seen that the former must have extended much farther south than at present and it would seem that the name was used to include all, or at the least most, of the Mearns which suggests the inhospitable nature of the Mearns at this early date.

This earldom lay across the main routeway to the north-east and contained much land which was suitable to the mediaeval husbandman. It was thereby attractive to the

\textsuperscript{1} Early Sources of Scottish Hist. p. 446.
\textsuperscript{2} An assize of William the Lion in 1185 A.D. decreed that all warrants in Angus should come to Forfar.
\textsuperscript{3} Skene's edition pp 214-215.
new settler, e.g., the Norman. Like Athole and Strathearn this earldom was one of the links with the Dark Ages and like them its character was changing. 

Within these three earldoms there were many smaller baronies with the earls as their immediate superiors. Some, however, were created out of the forfeitures after the Wars of Independence and from Crown lands, e.g., Kettins. There was a tendency for these to be reasonably compact areas and the Highlands they often were closely related to a valley or part of a valley, e.g., thanage of Glentilt.

The district was also divided into three major administrative units, the sheriffdoms of Perth, Angus, and Kincardine. Under the influence of Malcolm Canmore and his successors the Celtic forms of government gradually disappeared either by being abolished or by being incorporated into the Anglo-Norman forms which these kings favoured and of which the sheriffdom was one of the most important. Its introduction into Scotland is at least as old as the time of David I; and by his reign had reached the south of this area.

Scone 1128-1136 A.D.  
Perth 1147-1153 A.D.  
Forfar 1162-1164 A.D.  
Kincardine 1165-1178 A.D.

These dates by which the sheriffdom was known to be in existence show a south to north movement, i.e., a movement along the

1. For example, see Red Book of Grantully No. 69, ca. 1260.  
2. Lawrie No 94, Reg de Dunf. No29.  
3. Lawrie Nos 202, 248, Lib de Scon No.5.  
4. Lib de Scon No 17.  
main routeway to the north-east. The power of the king was expanding along Strathmore and as it advanced so did the sheriffdom, the symbol of his authority, replacing the Celtic forms.

Gradually the area under the sheriff's authority extended until it became necessary, at least in Perthshire and Forfarshire, to subdivide the sheriffdom into quarters, frequently based on earlier divisions of the district. Scone, which originally was a separate sheriffdom, was joined to Perth. It has been said that "the Scottish sheriffdom appears to have been an artificial unit coinciding with no previous land division and ruled by no geographical bounds." All the lands owing suit and service at the sheriff's court constituted the shire.

Through time, however, natural features would fix some of the bounds, e.g., the shires of Perth and Forfar eventually extended to the watershed between the Dee and Strathmore, but other factors played a part, e.g., Kincardine extended beyond the Dee to ensure control of the river crossing and the routes through the Mounth. The headquarters of each was at an important centre: Perth was the natural focus for the Tay and Earn basins, Forfar was an important crossing of the alluvial lowlands of the strath, and Kincardine controlled important routes.

There was another unit, the thanage, which was named after a place rather than a district. Map no. 22 shows that
practically all modern Kincardine was divided into thanages and that their number decreases towards the south. In Kincardine there were at least eight, in Angus eight, and in Perthshire the same number. In the last they were in the more remote parts, e.g., Glentilt, or they included strategic points, e.g., Dunning, Scone, and Auchterarder. In Angus they were common along the northern slopes of the Sidlaw Hills and their distance apart corresponds roughly to a day's march. They were also of strategic importance, e.g., Kettins lay at the northern end of a route through the Sidlaws from Dundee and Gowrie and Glamis at an easy crossing of the marshy flats of Strathmore.

Throughout the district there were other units, frequently smaller in size than those above, and much more common in occurrence. One charter refers to the territory of Scone; another dated 1211-1214 A.D. speaks of "Dunnechtyn cum tota schyra, .... Kyngoldrum cum tota schyra," and in 1188-1189 A.D. the church of Monikie is granted to Arbroath abbey "cum communi pastura tocius parrochie de muniekk." How far these were geographical regions it is difficult to say but they all suggest areas related to a particular place and the last introduces the idea of a church and its parish.

1. Lib. de Scon Nos 2 and 40.
2. Reg de Aberb. No. 1
3. Ibid. No. 22.
4. Dowden in his Mediaeval Church attributes this division into parishes, each assigned to the charge of a priest, to the Anglo-Norman influence of the twelfth century.
In Mincardine the area of a parish often corresponds in a general way with that of a thanage: Fettercaith thanage became the parish of Fettercairn, Aberluthnot developed into the parish of Aberluthnot Arbuthnott, and Newdosk was the predecessor of the parish of Newdosk which was later joined to Edzell. The thanage of Morphie has no counterpart among the parishes, being contained within the parish of St Cyrus. The thanage of Cowie was represented by several parishes, Nigg, Banchory-Devenick, and Fettersoss. In Angus Aberlemno, Menmuir, Inverkeilor, Tannadice, and Glamis were all thanages and today are parishes, and in Perthshire Forteviot, Dunning, Strowan, Fortingal, and Scone have all arisen from thanages. Abthaneries, i.e., the lands of the Celtic church, were sometimes the forerunners of parishes, e.g. the abthanery of Madderty and the parish of Madderty. Crown lands other than thanages occasionally developed into parishes because they tended to become areas apart from the surrounding lands. This is especially true of royal forests: Oathlaw was the royal forest of Plater and Garvock coincides with the Hill of Garvock, a hunting ground. In the strath important settlements such as castles became the foci of the surrounding districts which very often formed the lands of the lord of the castle. Some parishes developed out of these. In the Highlands river valleys were the natural units and these usually became parishes.
Linked to the Dark Ages by such territorial divisions as the thanage the modern parish often retains the land divisions of he eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. When a district could be called the "schyra de Scon" in a grant of land, it must have represented some generally accepted division of the time and in Kingoldrum was referred to in a similar fashion and by 1257 A.D. its boundaries are stated. The monks in recording the perambulations of these areas were verifying the boundaries of existing divisions.

The monks were responsible for a certain rearrangement. The "schyra de Dunnichen" was granted to Arbroath and, sometime later, receiving the lands of Dunbarrow naturally contained in the parish of Idvies or Kirkden the abbey separated them from that parish and joined them to Dunnichen. Innerpeffer was separated from Arbirlot and added to the "scyra de Aberbrothoc." Probably this was to simplify the administration of their territories.

Nothing has been said about the pattern of parishes as it will be fully discussed in the third period.

In addition to these divisions there were the ecclesiastical divisions, the bishoprics. There were the bishoprics of Dunblane, Dunkeld, Brechin, and St Andrews. Of these Dunkeld and Brechin had their cathedrals within

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1. Lib. de Scon No. 26 refers to the parish of Scone.
2. See map no.
the district. St Andrews was much larger than the others and by 1290 A.D. its churches in this district were grouped into three deaneries\(^1\) as follows:

- Mearns....13 churches
- Angus....40 "
- Gowrie....20 "

These groupings correspond to natural regions, Gowrie being separated from Angus by the Sidlaw Hills and Angus from the Mearns by watershed between the North and South Esks. This diocese did not penetrate into the Highlands except in two areas, the lower Isla and the valleys of the left bank tributaries of the Luther: it was mainly confined to Strathmore and the coast. Of its churches ten were on the highland side of Strathmore, thirty-three were within four miles of the coast, and of the remainder only two can be said to have been in hilly country, Garvock and Lundie, the remaining twenty-eight being on the southern side of Strathmore. The map, no. 8, shows four main groupings:

(i) Around Perth;
(ii) Around Dundee;
(iii) Strathmore; and
(iv) Around Montrose and Ethie.

Proximity to the sea and ease of communication with the sea were naturally important in a diocese which had its head church in a port.

1. Taxatio Ecclesiastica Antiqua.
The diocese of Brechin was not divided into deaneries, but this does not necessarily mean that it was compact. Much of it lay within the Highlands extending north to the main watershed and beyond to Strachan, but it also had under its control a strip of country from Parbridge to the Grampians which included Monieky, Dunnichen, Farnell, Maryton, and Stracathro. It thus lay athwart Strathmore at the junction of Angus with the Mearns and owned churches in both.

Dunkeld was subdivided into the deaneries of Atholl and Drumalban in the thirteenth century, but by the early sixteenth century its deaneries were Angus, Atholl, and Fife and Strathearn. Confined mainly to the Highland valleys of the upper Tay and to the district of Stormont it was more truly Highland in its outlook than either St Andrews or Brechin. A few isolated churches in Strathmore and the Sidlaws belonged to it but these were relics of the former greatness of the original Celtic church.

Dunblane included Strathearn and had a fairly large Highland area under its control in addition to the western Ochil Hills. It lay across the main route between Perth and Stirling and was composed of the drainage basins of the Teith, Allan, and upper Earn.

With the exception of St Andrews these dioceses each contained lowland strath and Highland valleys. The seats of their bishops and their cathedrals were in the most
convenient centre for the diocese. Dunblane and Dunkeld were both gap towns and Brechin was a route centre.

As the church revenues of this period were almost entirely dependent upon the agricultural prosperity of the region, ecclesiastical taxations of the thirteenth century should indicate the agricultural prosperity of the various deaneries. The average payment per church was 26 marks, the computation of this being based on the returns for St Andrews and Brechin in the Taxatio Ecclesiastica Antiqua. Gowrie was above average, Angus and the diocese of Brechin average, and the Mearns below average. The valuation map, no. //A. illustrates these differences, and permits one to compare the economic prosperity of different areas within the district.

The reasons which decided the extent and bounds of these dioceses are now in a large measure a matter of conjecture. For example, in the Mearns Strachan, Glenbervie, and Catterline were in the diocese of Brechin, Banchory-Ternan, Maryculter, and Banchory-Devenick in that of Aberdeen, and the remainder in that of St Andrews. It may be that Brechin's three churches were the last trace of some earlier route into Deeside which avoided the Mounth, Strachan and Glenbervie being at the northern and southern ends respectively of the Highland section and Catterline serving as the port. St Andrews, having the more powerful supporters because of its adherence to the Crown, annexed the better routeways
via Bervie, Arbuthnot and Fordoun and also that by Dunnottar, both leading to Durris. All the littoral churches except Catterline were in the latter diocese—Marykirk, i.e., Aberluthnot, and Arbuthnot lay on river gaps at the southern and northern ends of the Hill of Garvock; Laurencekirk was accessible from either gap, the port of Benholm via Garvock; the remaining churches of Newdosk, Fetterscairn, and Fordoun were related to the route along the northern side to of the Howe of the Mearns, valley mouths, and probably to the royal castle of Kincardine; Durris and Fettersessco were at opposite ends of the Slug road. Ease of communications was obviously of importance in grouping of these churches in one diocese. The churches of Aberdeen which come within the district lay along the valley of the Dee although the area of their jurisdiction reaches to the sea and separates Nigg from the other churches of St Andrews.

Apart, therefore, from historical reasons the limits of a diocese were partly conditioned by geographical causes. If the capital of the see was inland, the majority of its churches were inland. River systems, ease of communications, e.g., Fern in the diocese of Dunkeld stood on the route of the Dark Ages which followed the northern side of Strathmore and passed through Dunkeld, both influenced the growth and extent of the diocese and the distribution of churches. Because this Roman Hierarchy was superimposed upon a Celtic
Church, monastic rather than parochial, it may be that it has retained some of its features and it is not surprising, therefore, to find communications featuring in the distribution of churches within a diocese.

Following upon the erection of these bishoprics came the foundation of the monasteries of which the following either were in this district or owned lands within it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Monastery</th>
<th>Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1072</td>
<td>Dunfermline</td>
<td>Benedictines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1114-1115</td>
<td>Scone</td>
<td>Canons Regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1147</td>
<td>Cambuskenneth</td>
<td>Canons Regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1164</td>
<td>Coupar Angus</td>
<td>Cistercians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1178</td>
<td>Arbroath</td>
<td>Tironensians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1195-1200</td>
<td>Inchaffray</td>
<td>Canons Regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1195</td>
<td>Lindores</td>
<td>Tironensians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1227</td>
<td>Balmerino</td>
<td>Cistercians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scone had been and was a place of political importance and its churches, sixteen in number plus at least seven chapels, were mainly in the valley of the Tay and in Gowrie. Inchaffray was endowed by the Earls of Strathearn and its earliest acquisitions were in the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey. Not a rich abbey it was one of the most compact, and its churches, except for a few such as Kilbride in Argyleshire, were all in Strathearn. The only Cistercian abbey within the district was Coupar Angus. A pass in the Sidlaw Hills gave access to the Carse of Gowrie, and a
narrowing of the alluvium of the Isla at this point gave them access to the northern side of the strath. Hence this abbey was interested in three districts, the Carse, the environs of the abbey, and Glenisla and adjacent lands. Arbroath Abbey stood at the mouth of the Brothock and lay on the margin of an area admirably suited to the mediaeval husbandman. Founded by William the Lion and surrounded by territorial tokens of his favour it became one of the wealthiest abbeys in the kingdom. Its churches stretched along the east of the country but mainly north of the Tay, 17 being in Aberdeenshire, 22 in Angus and the Mearns, 1 in Perthshire, and two as far distant as Kilmacho in Nithsdale and Haltwhistle in Northumberland. These in this district were in two groups:—

(i) the coastal group which stretched from near Dundee to Nigg, but was mainly centred between Dundee and Montrose; and

(ii) the Strathmore group which was concentrated between Forfar and Newtyle and was divisible into two sub-groups, one on each side of the strath.

Ease of communication had influenced this distribution.

Such was the distribution of the churches of the monastic foundations lying within the district. By its foundation charter Scone received 2,840 acres of land, Arbroath 260, and Inchaffray 3. Arbroath was the abbey of northern Strathmore, and the east coast, Coupar, for which there is no foundation charter, and Scone the Abbeys of the lower Tay and Gowrie.
Inchaffray the abbey of Strathearn, and Lindores predominant along the northern edge of the Ochil Hills and around Abernethy.

To illustrate how the monks extended and administered their territorial possessions the following paragraphs examine in detail some of the possessions of Arbroath abbey. To do this satisfactorily it has been necessary to continue their story beyond 1300 A.D.

In the mearns near Fordoun the original grant of land made by William the Lion in 1178 A.D. was a carrucate of land in Mondynes to which was added the Abbeyton. In 1204-1211 A.D. Balfeith was acquired along with the right of common pasture and fuel in Kinkell and Conveth and rights of shealing in Tipperty, Crosspath, and Glengarquhar. The davoch of Pittengardher was obtained in 1221 A.D. and added to in 1238 A.D. by the grant of the two Tipperties, Kynkell, Kulbak, and Monboddo. Drumsleed had been received by 1236 A.D. and was held in free forest, but was sold in 1218-1246 A.D. for the upkeep of the ''Brig of Brechin'' As compensation for an attempted eviction the monks received the mill of Conveth with pertinents which they leased to a tenant in 1245 A.D. keeping the multures of one bovate for themselves. This same tenant had already received Scotston and Halton. By 1265 A.D. the abbey held Dovenaldston and Fasdavach but granted them infeu-farm to the Earl of Buchan. The former, however, is granted to John de Crag in
1342 A.D. In the same year they let "their villis in the Mearns, Kulbak, Kynkel, Neulandis, Fasdvach, Glenferkeryn, Tuberthatys and Blarys" for ten years at a rental of 40/- for the first year, 60/- for the second, £4 for the third, and increasing by one pound for each subsequent year until the tenth when it would be £11. This rental also stated that the tenant will cause all the villis to be kept and inhabited to the best of his ability and that when his lease is ended "he will leave in every vill one house suitable for a husbandman with sufficient barn." In 1354 A.D. a quitclaim of Kulbak shows that Newlandis, proof that the monks were adding new lands to their original grants. This account shows that the abbey was acquiring land in this area for the first century until it owned the territory enclosed approximately by the Bervie on the north-east and south-east, the Grampians and Strathfinella Hill on the north and north-east, and a line from Pheato to Fordoun station on the south side, i.e., an area which included a sufficient variety of terrain to satisfy the needs of a mediaeval community.

Occasionally in the thirteenth century a large grant of land has been perambulated and records of its sub-divisions under the abbey have been kept. Dunnichen and Kingoldrum were such, both having been granted to Arbroath at its foundation by William the Lion. The marches of Dunnichen are stated
in 1280 A.D., and although many of the place-names are now lost it is possible to reconstruct the northern boundary with fair accuracy. The district lay around a hill which provided its tenants with common pasture and in the low ground there was amoss. Mainly composed of old red sandstone with outcrops of andesitic lava forming the higher land it is entirely covered except for those heights with boulder clay, and was an area of agricultural value to the mediaeval husbandman. During the fourteenth century the monks leased these lands and it is difficult to say whether any of this "shire" was retained in their own hands. It shows how a grant of a large tract of territory was broken down: the various amenities, e.g., mill, brewhouse, and pasturage, of the area were leased either separately or in conjunction with stated holdings. Kingoldrum in contrast to Dunnichen lies across the Highland Edge and is divisible into three zones, (a) the old red sandstone area to the south, (b) the piedmont zone with its andesites, conglomerates, slates and intrusive rocks, and (c) the Highland area of altered grits. The low ground is mainly covered with gravels and boulder clay which gradually thin out until they finally disappear in the areas of higher ground. The gravels are usually in the hollows among the foothills and the boulder clay on the slopes, the largest extent of the latter being to the west of Kirriemuir. The first perambulation occurs in 1253 A.D. and later ones are based on it. Parts of it were soon in See map no. 20 for Dunnichen and map no. 14 for Kingoldrum.
tenants' hands, e.g. Kennyn Muchardyn by 1199. In 1351 A.D. a reference to the mill of the Kirkton of Kingoldrum shows that there were other husbandman than the abbey's in this area and that the latter had reduced multures at the mill. By the fifteenth century many of the holdings have been let either as wholes or in parts, sometimes on a basis of a fixed number of years, sometimes on a different. The monks were here following the normal practice of dividing the larger tract of land and would not allow their tenants to sub-let. The farms were mainly in the hillfoot zone: the Pearsies on gravels at the mouths of Glens Prosen and Carity and the others on boulder clay. The higher ground formed the pasture and the main woods of the area were near the Pearsies.

Map no. 19 is based on the recorded perambulations. In these the western boundary is described in most detail whereas the eastern boundary after it leaves the Prosen is so described that it cannot be marked on the map with any degree of certainty. It may have been as marked or it may have been as the present parish boundary, but the perambulation stated that it went south after leaving the Prosen and continued so to a well, thereafter going to a cross-stone on the south side of Dromakallyow, which has been taken to be the ridge of Culhawk, and then south "o'er to Leitfye." This area, therefore, bears a close resemblance to the modern parish of Kingoldrum.
These examples show that the monks proceeded to add to an original grant or to sub-divide it according to its size, and in both instances administered it according to their ideas of good husbandry. They reclaimed suitable areas, developed the amenities of the district in their own interests, and watched that their tenants did not allow their holdings to decline.

The lands of Coupar abbey lay across the strath and were grouped into the following areas to facilitate management:

(i) The Barony of Keithock
   a. Fra the Reid Croce West
   b. Fra the Reid Croce Eist.

(ii) "lands"aboune the Wateris of Ilay and Areicht"

(iii) Glenlyay.

These three divisions are based on physical features and in them the monks had separated their holdings in the Highlands from those along the Highland edge which in turn they separated from those in Strathmore. The whole arrangement bears a close resemblance to the divisions of the lands of Scone which were:

(i) The Barony above the Water of Isla;

(ii) " " under " " " "

(iii) " under the Bras;

(iv) " in Angus.

Physical factors again decided the groupings.

The only other abbey whose possessions were almost
entirely restricted to this district was Inchaffray. Its site differed from the other three in that it was on the Highland side of the strath and in a marsh. The growth of its possessions again illustrates how an abbey acquiring a piece of land in an area usually acquired others in the same district. In this case it is possible by tracing the sequence of grants of land to see how to begin with land suitable for agriculture was acquired, i.e., the land on the sloping ground to the south of the abbey, and was followed by land of better exposure on the south-facing slopes to the north of the abbey. Elsewhere it is shown to what an extent these monks developed some of these grants.

In Strathearn the monks of Lindores held lands along the northern slope and hill-foot of the Ochill Hills. They also owned property at Newtyle on the northern slopes of the Sidlaw Hills. The Abbey itself was in a similar position, and its monks may, therefore, have been susceptible to such situations. It is also possible that communications were partly responsible, one of the greatest difficulties of the thirteenth century and one which the monks would be certain to try to alleviate by acquiring lands in suitable districts. Restenneth Priory, one of the smaller ecclesiastical centres despite the fact that it owned lands in about twenty parishes, was well situated for travelling to its possessions because of its position near one of the
important route center of the area. It is not suggested, however, that that was why this site was chosen, but it may have contributed to the distribution of their lands.

Economic requirements imposed a certain loose pattern on the distribution of the lands owned by each monastery. Some of their possessions had to provide arable land for grain, some pasture for their flocks, and some fuel. Coupar abbey, for example, had arable land in the strath, pasture in Glenisla and lowlying moors, and fuel in the moor of Blair. The lands of Arbroath in the Mearns formed a similar pattern: there was low ground suitable for cultivation, mosses for fuel, and higher lands for shealings. Each had one or more granges within its possessions and frequently their distribution when examined as parts of a whole reveals this same pattern. These early monks had a good eye for cultivable land and frequently their possessions lay on what is now some of the best farming land in the district.

During this early period the monks developed their lands which soon passed from self sufficiency to the production of a surplus, e.g., wool exported from Coupar to the continent. They were agricultural pioneers in Strathmore and by precept and example did much to improve the district and to lay the foundations of its modern agriculture.

1. Scone... Crag, Kinfauns, and Rath.
   Inchaffray... Mains of Madderty
   Dunkeld... Clunie and possibly Belmont.
   Coupar... Aberbothrie, Airlie, Balbrogy, Coupargarnge, Kincreich, and Carsegrange.
   Arbroath... Conan and Monifieth.

2 Map 10
Such was Strathmore and its Highland border in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Much of the country was untouched by man, but his inroads into the waste and woodland, his buildings and his towns, and his trade and movements had begun to modify the landscape, at first only slightly but later in ever increasing degree. The foundations had been laid for the growths of the subsequent centuries and the movements, customs, and habits started at this period developed until three hundred years later many of the features of this landscape had disappeared.
PART TWO.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

At the beginning of this century Scotland was at war with England. The first scene in this struggle ended with the battle of Bannockburn and the first act closed with the Treaty of Northampton in 1328 A.D., but in 1332 A.D. the nobles dispossessed by Bruce sought the return of their properties and fighting broke out again, continuing until the end of the decade. A short interlude followed after which Scotland under the leadership of David II attacked England on the behalf of France. David was captured at Neville's Cross in 1346 A.D. and was released ten years later under promise of a ransom of 100,000 marks, a crippling sum to Scotland which had endured a scorched earth policy for half a century.

Although the struggle with England was always present, occasionally flaring up into armed conflict, the internal struggle between Crown and nobles now overshadowed it and the country was on the verge of feudal anarchy.

"Oppression did sa lowd hys bugle blaw
That nane durst ride bot into feir of weir
Jok-upon-land that time did miss his meir." ¹

Angus was subjected to raids by the "savage Scots" under such leaders as the Wolf of Badenoch, and it was not till the

¹ Lindsay. ² Lib. Plusc. X, chap. XI, 1391 A.D.
reign of James I that there was an attempt to make "the key keep the castle and the bracken bush the cow."

The records of this century bear testimony to the devastation wrought by these struggles and indicate how much suffering had been endured since the golden age of Alexander III. In the Acts of Parliament for 1366 A.D. there is published a true valuation and a valuation according to the auld extent of the sheriffdoms and dioceses of the country. The relevant entries for this district are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheriffdom</th>
<th>Auld Extent</th>
<th>Verus Valor 1366 A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>£26,192.6</td>
<td>£23,087.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forfar</td>
<td>£23,320.8</td>
<td>£22,240.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kincardine</td>
<td>£1,088.10</td>
<td>£722.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dioceses</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dunblane</td>
<td>£607.13</td>
<td>£376.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunkeld</td>
<td>£1,206.5</td>
<td>£602.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brechin</td>
<td>£441.3</td>
<td>£321.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Andrews²</td>
<td>£5,414</td>
<td>£3,507</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After making allowances for the areas represented by these figures but not within the district, e.g., parts of St Andrews, the assessment for our district in the thirteenth century was £14,300 but in 1366 A.D. was between £8,000 and £8,500, a very large decrease.

1. A.P.S. Toll, pl41.
2. St Andrews included a large area outside the district and the others smaller areas.
An examination of some of the returns in the Exchequer Rolls, e.g., the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1330 A.D. to 1342 A.D. also reveals a similar decrease although here it may not be due entirely to the devastation of war but also to the difficulties of collection in these troubled times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1331 A.D.</th>
<th>1332 A.D.</th>
<th>1341 A.D.</th>
<th>1342 A.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sheriffdoms</td>
<td>£ 1474 18 0½</td>
<td>£ 1500 17 9</td>
<td>£ 1500 17 9</td>
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<td>Burghs</td>
<td>£ 499 16 2½</td>
<td>£ 318 3 4</td>
<td>£ 318 3 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>£ 1799 9 6½</td>
<td>£ 379 8 3¼</td>
<td>£ 379 8 3¼</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are also reflected in such entries as "and no more because of destruction." One authority states that "the whole land of Mearns, Angus, and Gowry was laid waste."

Abowte Perth then wes the cuntre
Sa wast that wonyr wes to se
For intill welle gret space thereby
Wes nothir hows lewyd na herbry

Sa gret defawte wes nere that stede
That mony were in hungyr dede." ³

References to weather in the fourteenth century are rare, but one authority tells us that in 1339 A.D. "there was a great dearth and scarcity of provisions in Scotland." ⁴

No doubt, the weather aggravated the results of the fighting.

1. E.R. Vol.1 p418, 1332 A.D.
2. Lib. Plusc. IX chap.XXXV. Also mentioned in Fordoun p585.
3. Wyntoun Bk. VIII line 5563 et seq. ⁴ Lib. Plusc. IX chap. XXXVII
There are, however, three references to plagues:

a. 1349-1350 A.D. The Black Death which exacted a heavy toll of the population;¹

b. 1362 A.D. "A death sickness among men raged exceedingly in the whole kingdom of Scotland;"² and

c. 1380 A.D. In this year "began the third plague wherein likewise a great part of the inhabitants of the kingdom were swept away by pestilence."³

As a result of the wars and plagues labour was scarce and land relatively abundant. This would hasten the disappearance of the serf by putting agricultural labour at a premium, and it is of interest to note that there was an increase in the numbers of sheep during the sixties of this century.⁴ Unfortunately there are no definite references to indicate in which parts of the district this was achieved.

Although it must often have seemed to the inhabitants that the prosperity of the thirteenth century had departed from the land, nevertheless progress was being made, e.g., in agriculture during this century, but if the estimates of population made later in this section are correct there was also a decrease of population by 1400 A.D.

1. Fordoun clxvii. 2. Fordoun clxxxiii; E.R. Vol.11 gives 1361 A.D. as the date.
4. See page 85 of seq.
Although the general pattern of vegetation was not altered, small areas had been completely changed and others were undergoing change: drainage, the extension of arable land, grazing, and war all contributed to this alteration of the landscape. Some areas which once were marsh could now be called meadow, areas previously waste were now cultivated, the constant use of woods for shelter and had wrought changes in their undergrowth, and the continuous grazing of common pastures had decreased their heather content and had increased the grasses. War, however, had so devastated areas of woodland, especially in the lower ground, that there was now a shortage of good timber. 

What influence this deforestation had upon the frequency of floods can only be surmised, but it is safe to assume an increase. Certainly, at a later date Coupar abbey had to take precautions through its tenants against the erosion by the Isla and its floodwaters.

Very little has been said about vegetation here except to note the continuation of the changes started in the thirteenth century. A fuller description is given for the next period as it was felt that this would make a better contrast with the vegetation of the thirteenth century.

1. Inch. Chart. Nos XXXVII and CL1
2. The essarts of the monks.
3. A.P.S. Vol. 1 p323
4. S.G.M. Vol 55 No1, Article by Wylie Fenton.
5. Papers relating to Scotland No. 1496, 1304 A.D.
century, to be made. None of these changes, it should be noted, was due to co-operative effort on the part of the inhabitants. By the end of the century, however, Parliament was attempting to coordinate one activity, heather burning, which previously had been done when and where it pleased the users of the moor. This was one of the earliest attempts at coordination and showed that authority was aware of the dangers of individual action. More attempts were now made to obtain some uniformity either in timing or in method and so help to reduce changes in the vegetation which would be injurious to the inhabitants, particularly those likely to be introduced by haphazard action.

AGRICULTURE.

3

The agricultural practice of this century shows no marked change from that followed prior to 1300 A.D. A more exact and a fuller picture of certain aspects of the agricultural economy is possible because of better records. Of these perhaps the Exchequer Rolls with their detailed information on the export of wool, woolfells, and hides and their record of the farming procedure on the Crown lands in Strathearn are the most informative.

The customs returns for Perth, Dundee, Montrose, and

1. See Rental of Coupar Abbey with its records of such instructions on peat digging, prevention of erosion, etc.
2. E.R., Vols 1, 11, 111.
3 Maps 6, 7.
Arbroath permit an estimate to be made of the pastoral activities of the hinterlands of these ports. Between 1327 A.D. and 1400 A.D. the yearly total\(^1\) of sheep in each hinterland averaged:

- **Perth** .... 155,822
- **Dundee** .... 239,753
- **Arbroath** .... 12,727\(^2\)
- **Montrose** .... 15,919

If one selected a year such as 1371 A.D. for Perth or 1331 A.D. for Dundee, the numbers would be much higher, being 373,647 and 565,752 respectively, or if such years as 1329-1330 A.D. had been taken for Perth and 1341-1342 A.D. for Dundee, the numbers would be much lower, being 29,853 and 70,720 respectively. From these figures it would appear that the hinterland of Dundee was the most important for sheep rearing. Such a claim, however, cannot be made with absolute certainty because the size of the hinterland is not known exactly. The conclusions which can be drawn are that Dundee had the largest trade in wool and that during an average year in the fourteenth century there were approximately 500,000 sheep in the whole district. In 1938 A.D. there were 937,336 sheep in the whole district. In 1938 A.D. there were 937,336 sheep in

---

1. These figures were arrived at by (i) calculating the average number of sheep required to satisfy the export trade according to the data given in E.R. Vol.11 p.1\textsuperscript{xxiv}, (ii) adding 1/3 of this for home consumption, and (iii) adding \(\frac{4}{5}\) of (i) and (ii) for the lamb population.

2. Arbroath first appears in the records in 1392-1393 A.D.
Perth, Angus, and Kincardine with most of the them in Perth.

By selecting four periods within the century some indication of the trends in sheep farming may be obtained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Perth</th>
<th>Dundee</th>
<th>Arbroath</th>
<th>Montrose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1327-1331</td>
<td>137,242</td>
<td>415,232</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1361-1368</td>
<td>183,244</td>
<td>198,324</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>84,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375-1379</td>
<td>151,940</td>
<td>237,773</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1395-1400</td>
<td>144,662</td>
<td>234,250</td>
<td>10,130</td>
<td>65,161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read in conjunction with diagram 7 a decline in the totals is noticeable towards the end of the century. Perth, however, shows a marked rise for during the seventh decade and, although the average for the last period selected is greater than that for the first, the numbers for 1399-1400 are actually less than those for 1327-1328 A.D. Perhaps the devastation wrought in the hinterland of Perth was not so great as in that of Dundee which shows a very marked decrease in the seventh decade. Against this must be set the references to wasted lands such as that for Ochtermuthill in 1380 A.D. There also was, however, the drive to repay the ransom money which would tend to raise

1. The first and last periods were chosen to give the position at the beginning and end of the century; the two intervening periods were selected because the provided more continuous records than any other period, the second of these providing information about different seasons within each year.

2. This figure is the average for 1327-1328 A.D., the record for 1328-1329 A.D. being mutilated.

3. This figure is unreliable because of insufficient data.

4. E.R. Vol. ill p33: "Ochtermuthill...qua terra est vasta et nichil solvebat Domino comite per plures annos" See also diagram no. 7 for 1333 A.D. et seq.
The exports of wool and therefore any figures based on them by Dundee may be due to a larger hinterland and also to the contributions of Cistercian abbey of Coupar which according to Pegolotti exported 30 sacks per year to the continent and to those of Arbroath which according to the same authority exported 25 sacks. Montrose was obviously of lesser importance. It is difficult to state how much of Dundee's trade it acquired but it certainly did encroach upon the hinterland of Dundee.

The figures for 1365 A.D. to 1368-9 A.D. reflect seasonal variations. The normal clipping of June and July helped to swell the greater amount of shorn wool exported during the second half of the year and the practice of killing sheep for food during the autumn and winter and the natural death of others during the latter season explains the increase in the export of woolfells during winter and spring.

Included in the same returns are the number of hides exported, and although there is no way of relating these to the numbers of cattle in each hinterland it is possible to indicate the general trends of the century and to suggest any tendency towards cattle or sheep in a particular hinterland. The following table gives the number of hides exported from the four ports:

1. The totals only refer to hides exported and take no account of draught animals or those required for home demands. They, therefore, must fall far short of the actual numbers of cattle within the district.
---|---|---|---
1327-1331 | 4,890 | 7,801 | - | -
1361-1368 | 4,998 | 2,263 | - | 1,025
1375-1379 | 3,881 | 2,254 | - | 594
1395-1400 | 4,752 | 1,212 | 68 | 924

Perth shows a steadier trade than Dundee where there had been a marked decline between the beginning and end of the century. These statistics indicate that the hinterland of Perth is the most important area for cattle within the district, thus maintaining a characteristic of the previous century.

By comparing the numbers of cattle and sheep entering into the export trade and expressing this comparison as a ratio, the increasing importance of sheep in the district's export trade is seen, especially at Dundee.

| Perth | Dundee | Arbroath | Montrose |
---|---|---|---|
1327-1331 | 1:17 | 1:32 | - | -
1361-1368 | 1:22 | 1:53 | - | 1:49
1375-1379 | 1:24 | 1:59 | - | 1:76
1395-1400 | 1:18 | 1:116 | 1:89 | 1:42

These ratios also confirm that cattle were more important in Perthshire than elsewhere.

In this discussion of pastoral farming it is of interest to remember that England at this time was experiencing a

1. Figure for 1376-1379 A.D.
2. See Agriculture, Period 1.
marked increase in pastoral farming in the sixties of this century which has been attributed to the results of the Black Death. In Scotland there had been wars and plagues and therefore a shortage of labour. It is probable that this contributed to the increase in pastoral farming because of the shortage of labour for arable farming. To feed these livestock there was need for increased pasturage. Meadows were improved by better drainage, and owners were on occasions permitted to graze their flocks in areas usually forbidden to them. At Fowlis in Strathearn the expense of cleaning a ditch round the hay meadow is recorded for 1379-1380 A.D. and in 1374 A.D. the royal forest of Finhaven is opened for "herbagium et foragium." Arable farming, however, was not lagging behind and the developments noted in the previous century continued. By the end of the century some of the royal moors were being cultivated, e.g., Montreathmont Moor the pasture of which had been let to neighbouring tenants in 1323 A.D. The crops grown were as before, and some at least were more widely grown. The tendency for the price of oats but not of wheat to fall as the century progressed suggests a supply more than sufficient for the demand and therefore at least in oats, an increase in the acreage per person. Debasement of the currency would also influence the price.

1. E.R. Vol. Ill, p35: "pro purgacione unius fosse circa pratum"
2. Hist. MSS Coll. Reports Vol. 11, Earl of Southesk, No. 13: in 1399 A.D. the keeper of this moor is given permission to take in, labour, and occupy it or any part of it, to pasture cattle and to form tofts there.
3. R.M.S. 1 No. 618.
Brief glimpses of the agricultural practice of this century are provided for 1312 A.D., 1342 A.D., and 1379-1380 A.D. In 1312 A.D. a lease of lands at Balgarvy near Scone\(^1\) clearly indicates that improvements were expected: the rent was two marks for the first year and for the last ten it was ten marks. The tenant was expected to pay the increase out of his improvements and was required to build competent buildings. It is reasonable to suppose that he would have to extend his arable land and increase the yield to meet his obligations. In 1342 A.D. a similar lease of lands in Kincardine required a tenant to pay £2 in the first year of his tenancy and £11 in the tenth.\(^2\)

The returns for improvement must have been quick and great. Such improving leases provided a security of tenure which those men who lived to farm, a new class now appearing, would welcome. The lease of Balgarvy refers to husbandman, and cottars sometimes called "nativi", i.e., according to the scribe "inborn men." The husbandman moved with the outgoing and incoming tenants. This period, therefore, saw the growth of a farming community which had been established long enough to be recognised in leases.

The records giving the accounts for the cultivation of Fowlis during 1379-1380 A.D. provide another side of the picture. Mixed farming was practised.

1. Lib. de Scon No. 144.
2. See pp 71-72.
tilled the soil with iron-tipped ploughs, harrowed it, and sowed four chalders of oats which had been bought for this purpose. The hay in the meadows which were enclosed by ditches was reaped by hired labour, but the crop did not meet the demand as some was bought for the horses. Cattle were kept and guarded and during this particular year six oxen were bought. Two marts were required for food for the workers at the hay and the harvest in the autumn. These were also bought. **Remark**: There is, however, no mention of sheep. Repairs to the stable and the buying of riddles and pieces of harness, hems and yokes, appear in the accounts. Over the whole year the expenses totalled £21 18 2, including the four chalders of oats. This account suggests that some areas had a surplus of grain and cattle for sale. Their agriculture was above mere subsistence level.

By the end of this century the gap between arable and pastoral farming had been lessened, and these references show that, although the tiller of the soil still had many difficulties to overcome, not the least being the natural variety of the soil and bad drainage, there had arisen a farming class, that the serf was disappearing, and that hired labour was used. More of this district was under the plough, and while wool was still a major source of wealth, the products of arable farming were entering into trade. These advances contributed to the changes in the
landscape, reclamation and grazing being responsible for many areas having altered their appearance since the thirteenth century.

**SETTLEMENT.**

The same factors as controlled settlement in the thirteenth century prevailed and, in general, settlements were restricted to the same major belts. Many sites, however, are mapped for the first time, but it cannot be assumed that they were first occupied during this century unless there is some corroborative evidence.¹ The more numerous references of this century appear to signify an increase in the density of settlement throughout and for some districts this may be true, e.g., around the Muir of Pitkenmedy in Aberlemno parish, but usually the only sure reference is that it results from the better records of the fourteenth century. A wider distribution of settlement, however, was furthered by the continued extension of arable land and by better drainage in a few of the low-lying areas, but because of the wars and their attendant disruption of the life of the inhabitants this only became evident towards the end of the century and even then only in a small degree.

One type of settlement, the castle, did become more

¹ This is not common. On the other hand it was felt that all the settlements could not be assumed to have been in existence in the thirteenth century. Therefore, they were plotted on the maps according to the dates of the first record of their existence.

² Maps: 9; 10; 26
common and on map no. 26 nineteen sites are recorded for the first time. Of these twelve are on or near the coast, three are in the strath, and four are within the Highlands. Prior to 1300 A.D. most castles were within the strath and were royal castles, whereas those of this century were more widely distributed and were mainly baronial establishments. The 'coastal' castles fall into two groups: those between Montrose and Stonehaven and those between Perth and Arbroath. Both groups complete blanks in the pattern of the thirteenth century. Lauriston and Kinneff were important strongholds during the thirties, but when compared with such sites as Kincardine, Forfar, and Kinclaven the coastal group were only of local importance. Of the three castles located in the strath, Finhaven which was connected with Bruce was probably of pre-1300 A.D. origin and was situated within the royal forest of Plat; Melgund, almost certainly pre-1300 A.D., lay on the route from Forfar to Brechin; and Tomcastell on an eminence overlooking the Earn and the Comrie basin was a stronghold of the Earl of Strathearn against the west. Of the sites within the strath and shown on the earlier map the castle of Kinclaven had been "broken down to the very foundations." In general, the Highlands appear to have been antagonistic to this expression of

1. Fordun clv p352 et seq. 1336 A.D. Both were destroyed by the Scots as English strongholds.
2. Mains of Melgund mentioned in 1254 A.D.
3. Fordun. Vide supra 1337 A.D.
military power, but from this time more castles are recorded within their limits. Invermark was the stronghold of the Lindsays who had possessions in the strath. It was their Highland retreat. Others were the homes of truly Highland nobles.

Wood was still the main building material but the scarcity of timber, especially after the wars of Bruce and David ll, may have quickened the use of stone. Many of the artificial motes of an earlier date would now be firm enough to carry a stone castle. Therefore, once the use of stone became more common there probably was a certain amount of conversion undertaken.

The main nuclei of population were still Perth, Forfar, Dundee, Brechin, and Montrose. Crieff, Dunkeld, Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus, Arbroath, and Stonehaven were of no more than local importance. Arbroath now figures in the Exchequer Rolls as a port sometimes exporting its own goods, sometimes doing so via Montrose. A comparison of the rentals of the four royal burghs at different dates indicates changes in their prosperity. Between 1327 A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Perth</th>
<th>Forfar</th>
<th>Dundee</th>
<th>Montrose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1327</td>
<td>£160</td>
<td>£8 13/4</td>
<td>£22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1328</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td>£8 13/4</td>
<td>£12</td>
<td>£6 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1343</td>
<td>£23 6/8</td>
<td>£13/4</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£20 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1359</td>
<td>£26 13/4</td>
<td>£20 13/4</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£16 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1379</td>
<td>£30</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£16 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>£30</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£20 6/8</td>
<td>£16 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and 1379 A.D. there was a substantial decrease in the rentals of Perth and Forfar but Dundee shows only a slight reduction, the warfare of the thirties being reflected in payments for 1343 A.D. By 1379 A.D. feu charters had been granted and the *rentais* amounts paid exceeded the payments of previous years but not those of 1327 A.D. Montrose, however, is an exception as it paid two and a half times what it paid in 1328 A.D. Its £16 compared with Dundee's £20 indicates its importance to the Exchequer and how much it had grown during the century. Dundee also had extended its activities after the 'depression' of the middle years of the century. Perth and Forfar had not returned to their former position. Auchterarder had disappeared from the returns after paying 2/9 for its tenth penny in 1328 A.D.

**POPULATION.**

By using the verus valor of the sheriffdoms and dioceses as given in the *Acts* of the Parliament of Scotland for 1366 A.D. and the ratio of 5.3 persons per £1 of taxable value to an estimate of the population of the district for the beginning of the second half of the century would be 42,000 to 45,000 people. This figure represents a decrease of some 30,000 since the thirteenth century. This is most probably too great despite the wastage of war.

1. VIDE supra pp 50-51.
and the toll of plagues considering that the population of England in the late fourteenth century has been estimated at 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 and that the ratio of the population of England to that of Scotland has been given as 5:1. Probably the figure should be 15,000 higher, i.e., 55,000 - 60,000. This figure may be arrived at in another way. Taking the figure of 2,000,000 given by Pelham in the Historical Geography of England as the population of England for 1377 A.D., reducing it by 40% for the ravages wrought by the Black Death, and then calculating one fifth the population of Scotland would be £240,000 people. This district was inhabited by about 25% of the total population of the country. Therefore, its population was approximately 60,000.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS, TEMPORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

The civil and administrative divisions were, in general, unchanged except that there is more evidence of how they were subdivided. The Earldom of Strathearn in an assessment of 1379-1380 A.D. is composed of three parts:

(i) the district of Dunning, i.e., the lands south of the Earn and centred on Dunning and extending westwards to Ochtermuthill in the valley of the Machany;

(ii) the district of Fowlis and Crieff, i.e., the lands

1. Historical Geography of England, edited by Darby, p233
3. Maps: 9, 21, 22.
north of the Earn, the western group centred on Crieff and the eastern on Fowlis; and (iii) Scattered areas such as Freder, Gask Comitis, Blarenarrow, and Glenlischerne.

(i) and (ii) were separated by the Gask ridge. The original earldom was thus much reduced in size, being now with few exceptions confined to the valley of the Earn.

Smaller units of land were now appearing more frequently in the records, Bruce being responsible for many of them because of his policy of rewarding his followers either from the forfeited estates or from the Crown lands. The Crown itself was a large owner of land throughout this district and in an account of 1304-1305 A.D. the following are listed as Crown lands:

Fermartyn, Montrose, scattered areas in Mearns, Aberlothenouc, Dundee, Perth, Forfar, Glenlioun, Apithania de Dul, Loghaua, Arscodeuche, Aliche, Schrardor, Inchethot, and Glendowiche.

In Angus and Kincardine these lands lay on both sides of the strath, but in Perthshire several were near or within the Highlands. Some of these continued the divisions of an earlier age unchanged, e.g., thanages, while others were smaller or larger because of subdivision or union with other units. Water sheds and physical features, e.g., river valleys, vegetation, e.g., marsh, moor, and woodland and communications, e.g., a nodal point, influenced their extent.

1. E.R. Vol. I
With regard to the sheriffdoms there is now evidence to show how these were subdivided, and the following list gives the generally accepted quarters of each as these subdivisions were called:

Perth. 1. Stormont;
      2. Atholl;
      3. Above Isla;
      4. Below Isla;
      5. Strathearn; and
      6. quarter of the Seven Shires.

Fife. 1. Dundee;
      2. Kirriemuir;
      3. Brechin; and
      4. Arbroath.

Kincardine was apparently undivided.

The Exchequer Rolls which give this information also show that the division varied at different dates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perth</th>
<th>1360</th>
<th>1369</th>
<th>1370</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Gowry under Isla.</td>
<td>(1) Above Isla.</td>
<td>(1) Gowrie above Isla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Stramouth.</td>
<td>(2) Below Isla.</td>
<td>(2) Gowrie below Isla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Seven Shires.</td>
<td>(3) Starmund.</td>
<td>(3) Seven Shires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7) Meneteth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8) Barony of Strathurd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(10) Barony of Glendochir.
(10) Glenlyone within abthane of Dull.

Forfar. 1360 1369
(2) Glenbery and Colly.
(3) Gowrie above Isla.

Kincardine. 1360 1367
Durris. (1) Durris.
(2) Kincardine and Cowlbae.

Allowance must be made for missing records which together with the unsettled state of the country at this time would account for the brevity of the Perth records in 1360 A.D. and the absence of the Forfar and Kincardine records for 1369 and 1370 respectively. Because of the extension of the Crown lands the Perth records for 1370 A.D. show a greater number of subdivisions. In this county the names of the quarters are derived from ancient districts and earldoms with one exception, the quarter of the Seven Shires, the significance of which is not known. The quarters of Forfar are named after the main towns within each. This distinction may reflect the prosperity of the two sheriffdoms in both the quarters are mainly on the low ground, there being little mention of the more westerly and Highland parts
of Perthshire or of the Highland areas of Forfar. The river Isla with its alluvium was a sufficient barrier to warrant the land on each side being in different quarters, Strathearn and Atholl were river basins, and in Forfar the head towns of each quarter represented regions for which they were the natural foci. Communications were responsible for the inclusion of Durris in Kincardine. Geographical factors played a part in the shaping of these areas, and frequently, though not always, they corresponded to geographical regions.

With regard to the ecclesiastical divisions they remained approximately as in 1300 A.D. More lands had been granted and the Church was consolidating and improving those which it already held. Reclamations from the waste were added to existing holdings and many of these were let on improving leases. The pattern of these divisions, both monastic and diocesan, was unchanged.

1. Vide supra pp 72, and 90.
PART THREE

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

Although the sixteenth century marks a clear cut break with the past, much that happened then, including the Reformation itself, is very largely the culmination of causes and effects that had long been in operation: "in 1406 A.D. James Resby, the Lollard, was burned at Perth, in 1560 A.D. the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was convened. During this period a singular fatality attended the kings of Scotland: besides some inferior kings there were approximately sixty years of minority, virtual minority. The Crown and nobles were constantly striving with each other, sometimes on the field of battle, and feudalism survived largely because of the need for fighting leaders. The Highlander raided the farms of the strath and frequently the returns of the Exchequer Rolls and other documents refer to stolen goods and wasted lands. England had become the "auld enemy" and France the "new" ally. The events of these centuries tended "to produce and enhance disorder and poverty."

Scotland was visited by several travellers from abroad, and their accounts of our land were not always flattering. In general, it was less prosperous than

1. It was not thought necessary to give more than a very brief introduction to this period as the history of these two centuries is well recorded in text books.
continental countries: its cities were smaller, its agriculture poorer, but its people were often more independent and had a freedom which the French peasant, for example, did not enjoy for several centuries. The possession of land was the main source of wealth: in de Ayala's account of the revenues of the country arable and pasture land are estimated at 40,000 ducats, customs at 28,000, fines and escheats at 25,000, and wardships at 20,000. These figures illustrate the relative importance of rural areas in the economy of the country and the unimportance of trade as a source of revenue. The land, however, gradually became less able to supply the amenities and luxuries which the Scots nobles of this period were coming to require, thus emphasising their relative poverty when compared with the nobility of other lands. This need for money helped to introduce a tenure peculiar to Scotland, the feu-holding. It was a heritable tenure granted in return for a fixed and single rent and for certain casualties. It differs from a lease in that the lease is for a specified period. There were much earlier examples of money payments sometimes called 'feodifirma' but they were usually related to some feudal service. The ecclesiastical chartularies offer many examples of this mixed tenure. This form of holding came into general use in the fourteenth century and upon the Crown lands in the fifteenth. Tenants

1. Chart. Inch. no. LXXI, 1245 A.D.
were thus able to ensure fixity of tenure the importance of which to an agricultural community such as dwelt in Strathmore is easily understand. Improvements in agriculture could be undertaken in the knowledge that the improver himself would reap the benefits. The short leases current at this time did not provide this security. Many of the feu was taken up by the lesser lairds.

The Reformation and the jockeying for position of the rival factions brings the sixteenth century to a close, but an account of these would be out of place here. There were several assessments of kirklands and reviews of the wealth of the kingdom made during this period and the early seventeenth century which are of particular interest to the geographer, providing, as they do, much information about the distribution of settlement and crops, e.g.,

(i) The Thirds of the Benefices 1561-1572 A.D.;
(ii) The Charge of the Temporalitie of the Haill Kirklandis ca. 1592; and
(iii) Various Text Rolls, e.g., Lordship of Inchaffray 1630 A.D.

On the mainland of Europe these centuries witnessed the passing of medieval Europe and the beginning of the expansion of Europe both in knowledge and of the world beyond its shores and in the spread of ideas. Through such events as the Renaissance, the development of printing, and the voyages of the great explorers. In Scotland the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh were founded,
and the Reformers attempted to increase the number of schools and to introduce compulsory education for certain sections of the community.

There is one record of climate for the years 1554-1577 A.D. The Chronicle of Fortingall reveals the influence of weather on man and beast and clearly shows the hardships inflicted by bad weather on a population so dependant on the products of their own land and on an agriculture which in many areas was still struggling against the natural diversity of the soil.

**VEGETATION.**

The vegetative covering of the district was now showing the influence of the inhabitants to an ever increasing degree. Although the main associations were unchanged, the disturbance of the natural equilibrium by the increase in the numbers of domesticated animals, by the regular hunting of the wild life of the district and its consequent reduction in number, and by the extension of agricultural land had altered the extent of these associations and in some areas had also killed the original species and introduced others.

In the flat alluvial stretches bordering the rivers

1 Appendix p.161.
2 Maps: 4;5;6.
the alder-willow association was still dominant, but with protection from flooding and improvement in drainage its area had shrunk. The continuity found in earlier days was gone and its distribution was broken by meadows, sometimes enclosed by hedges of "aller, sawch, and hesill." Thickets still existed, but by this date these areas were not so great an impediment to men's movements and activities. The most extensive stretches of this association were found on the lower terraces of the main rivers.

On most of the areas of gravel throughout the strath and on the more gentle slopes, i.e., on drier areas, heather and poor grass mingled with pine and broom. This association dominated the higher land between the rivers and throve on the remnants of the lower lowland peneplane, e.g., between the South Esk and the Lunan, the Isla and Erich, and the Erich and Tay, and in Strathearn between the Pow and the Earn and between the Earn and Machany.

1. Cup. Rent. Vol I p177, 1473 A.D. includes the following instruction to the tenants of Batchele near Coupar: "Theratour for the defens of the said land for the weryng awa of watter alsfer as thar bundys rekys tha sal gif al passibil cure and laubour til hald furth the watter with makyn of perys als mony as nedis, and plantation of willeis: For the stuf of the quhilk peris alsfer as it nedis tha sal have licens in our brum parkis, and for hathir in the mure of Hedecase."

2. Inch. Chart. no. CLI, 1488-1489 A.D. The marsh adjacent to the abbey is here referred to as meadowland, though still liable to flooding.

3. E.R. vol XVII p719, 1541 A.D. Tenants were ordered to enclose meadows with alder, willow, and hazel "in boggis and humyde places convenient thairfor."
Where, however, there was a high water content, as in natural hollows, bog and marsh associations occurred, e.g., Monkmire. That these two associations should remain in their natural state and be used only by those who had rights in them had been the recognised practice of the earlier periods and one which was still enforced at this date. Their extent, however, had been reduced by reclamation, with or without permission, and their heather content had been lessened by grazing, by unskilful burning, and by the pulling of the plant for fuel and thatch. In addition the cutting of peats had modified their surface and except where special instructions were given had prohibited the immediate use of the peat lairs for grazing.

In some areas one member of this association, namely broom, was specially cultivated. Admirably adapted for sheltering livestock, easily uprooted, and suitable for fuel it was ideally suited for improving land. Detailed

1. In the first volume of the Register of Coupar this moss is referred to as "marisium" but in the second volume it is called "mora."
2. Chart. Lind. no XXVI, 1244-1258 A.D.
3. Cup. Rent. Vol II p3, 1542 A.D.
8. Cup. Rent. Vol I p199, 1473 A.D., contains this injunction: "And thasal neuer cast the pettis bot onder a forhed, and levand a part of the mos in the ground, and filland behind thame with the award of the mos, at it ma grow batht to pasture and fevale."

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instructions were issued by Coupar monks for its cultivation.

On the high ground of the Highlands there were extensive tracts of moorland in which heather, grass, and, in the lower reaches, scattered pines were dominant. Grazing was also modifying its appearance.

Between these high moors and the lowlying moors and alder-willow association the belt of deciduous woodland still clothed the lower slopes and the sides of valleys, but there were now larger areas of more open woodland than in previous centuries. The trees were frequently stunted by grazing, and the inhabitants had converted many areas into grassland and arable land. The continued use of the timber for fuel, implements, and building had introduced a retrogressive succession, many areas now being covered with scrub. The shortage arising from these uses and misuses gave added point to the regulations.

1. In Cup. Rent. p169, 1558 A.D., the husbandmen of Galloraw are instructed to cultivate the east park for their own use by this law - "they shall sow the field for two years, the fruits of the second being gathered, they shall make ready that field for growing broom: and they shall carefully preserve and everywhere enclose the parklands for seven years, the broom for the convent the pasture for themselves, which broom they from which broom they shall drive all cattle that it may grow and they shall begin to drive the cattle in the year 1559, thus alternating the broom for seven years for the hearths and ovens of the abbey, and two years produce for themselves with pasture in proper season and soil."
which required the enclosing and protection of woods and prohibited the cutting of green timber.¹ The more enlightened landlords, however, were beginning to plant trees, e.g., in 1586 A.D. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell thanked Lord Ogilvie for "ane thousand young birkis."

In the Highlands the depletion of the woods was hardly noticeable and it was from this area that the strath now received much of its timber: ash logs were brought from Glenlyon for the bridge of Dunkeld,² wood was cut in Rannoch and towed across the loch for use elsewhere, and pine was bought in Atholl for Tullelum near Perth.³ Such was the beginning of a movement which by a later date had depleted many Highland areas of timber and from which many have not yet recovered.

AGRICULTURE.⁴

References to agriculture in the records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are more numerous, and refer more frequently to the rules and methods which governed the husbandry of these centuries. This permits

1. Scotland before 1700 A.D. by Hume Brown p20, 1424 A.D. and p32, 1503 A.D.
2. Cup. Rent. Vol 1 pp 65, 179, 197, etc.
3. Rent. Dunk. pp 122, 129, 130, 139, and 266.
one to draw a clear picture of what was then considered to be good husbandry, particularly for certain areas, e.g., the Dunkeld-Blairgowrie-Coupar Angus triangle.\(^1\)

In some districts, not of great size, arable farming was becoming as important, if not more important than pastoral farming, e.g., in the districts of Aberbothrie and Coupargrange. Pastoral farming plus crops rather than crops plus pastoral farming predominated throughout much of the strath.\(^2\) Meadows, woods, and moors provided the pasture, their use being controlled by regulations and practices which had changed but little during three centuries. Frequently, however, the use of these pastures must have been curtailed by the agricultural practices of an earlier day, e.g., overstocking. The common moors still provided much of the pasture\(^3\), but peat cutting and even reclamation had reduced their size.\(^4\)

1. The rental books of Coupar abbey and Dunkeld cathedral provide much interesting material on the agricultural practices of this area. Their entries usually refer to land of which the owners had been in continuous possession for a very long time and which, therefore, had suffered little, if at all, from insecurity of tenure. Although description based on such sources may be of a system above the average, nevertheless, the practices both stated and implied will include many generally followed during these centuries and will indicate the direction of development.

2. John Major writing in 1521 states that "there were large flocks of sheep and cattle in the mountainous parts," and Hector Boece writing in 1527 tells us that the heaths "was ane riche cuntre for the store of bestiall."

3. Coupl. Chart. No CLVI dated 1501 A.D.

4. Coupl. Chart. Nos CXXXII and CXXXIII dated 1442 illustrate the struggle between tenants guarding against the loss of their traditional rights of grazing and fuel and others who saw land suitable for ploughing lying unreclaimed at a time when such land was at a premium. Coupl. Rent. Vol 1 p150
Woods were grazed, but "hanyt", i.e., enclosed, woods were forbidden,\(^1\) the possible damage to growing trees being recognised.\(^2\) Broom parks also provided pasturage, some being cultivated for this purpose, and their shelter, like that of woods, was valued in winter.\(^3\) Meadows provided much of the natural hay\(^4\) and were also used for winter pasturage, e.g., the meadowland of Cowbyre of Keithock was so used between 1st November and 2nd February. Animals were turned on to the growing corn until 24th June and in the autumn on to the stubble and the aftermath but in the words of the rental "not until everyone shall have made a full leading in of harvest."\(^5\) In addition there were the grazings of the higher ground, e.g., Coupar abbey had "schippert lands" in Glenisla and Glenbrauchty.\(^6\) These

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Continued from footnote 4 of previous page...... dated 1468 and p189 dated 1473 indicate that the more farseeing of the landlords instructed their tenants to take precautions against the future loss of these areas because of careless usage: vide footnote 8, p108.

1. Cup. Rent. Vol II p179, 1558 A.D., states "and with common pasture in the open woods of Campsay, so that it is not permitted to pasture their (i.e. tenants') cattle in the woods enclosed or being enclosed, commonly called "hanyt woddis."

2. Cup. Rent. Vol I p220, dated 1474. "And the wood shall be kept altogether from cattle under pain of forfeiture of cattle kept there."


4. E.R. Vol XI p341, 1500 A.D. "Et pro falcatione et lucracione feni prati de Methven de croppo anni instantis iiiij li." Cup. Rent. Vol II p168, 1558 A.D. "Carriage of the hay from the abbey meadow yearly that all hay may be built up in their hay-yard."


6. Cup. Rent. Vol II p368, 1558 A.D. Glenbrauchty was started in 1558 and tenants were allowed to send cattle there for the summer without tending them themselves. "After the bere seed" is the date given in a Process of Commonalty of a later century Ms. in H.M. Register House.
were shealings. The use made of these Highland pastures is reflected in the distribution of the farms sending cheese to the abbey or charged with "the hamebringyn" of its cheese.\(^1\) No doubt this change of grazing which not only permitted the pastures of the strath to recover but also the making of the natural hay benefited the animals.\(^2\) Farmers in the strath had to winter animals as part of their rent, e.g. Kemphill, Balgerscho, and Chapelton,\(^3\) and at least one reference shows a Highland area renting land in the strath, probably for the same reason.\(^4\)

Unfortunately, exact statements about the number of animals carried by any particular farm are all too rare. Occasionally, however, there is a record\(^5\) of the number of animals sent to the summer grazings, e.g., "40 ky of eild" were sent to graze on half of Dalvany in Glenisla.\(^5\) Ledcassy carried a flock of 360 hoggs and Pitlochrie 400 sheep.\(^6\)

1. Coup. Rent. Vol I pp 157, 169, etc. and Vol II pp 59, 72, etc.
   In the first group were Portar, Cragnavity, and Dalvany all in Glenisla, plus Murthly in Strath Tay and Enervak in Atholl. In the second category were East and Middle Drimmie, Persie, and Cally all lying between the abbey and its truly Highland possessions, being used probably as resting places for animals journeying between the strath and the summer shealings.

2. Water and Grass by Carrier, chap. 11.

3. Coup. Rent. Vol II, 1541 A.D. p 213: "...with the wyntering of x hede of nolt" referring to Kemphill; p 215 refers to Balgersho in the same terms; and p 218 "...with the wyntring of ij nolt" referring to Chapelton.


5. Coup. Rent. Vol II p 261 1556 A.D. There were also 200 maintained there and the tenants were instructed to see that "scheip pastur nocht amangis our catell."

Coup. Rent. Vol II, p 263, 1558 A.D. The number of cattle in Glenbrauchty was restricted to 100 and the forester had to keep those of Glenshee and Strathardle of the grazing.
The flock books of Dunkeld cathedral provide yearly statistics of the sheep flocks owned by the cathedral, the type, size lamb crop, and disposal of the sheep being given. The flocks were managed on a longer cycle than in modern farming, the lamb crop at Cluny being about 1/7th of the total flock after all deductions had been made.

Some farms had a surplus for sale, indicating that farmers were practising an animal husbandry above subsistence level and that the selling of store animals seen in the previous periods was now extended to animals for breeding and fattening. Occasionally, however, references through throw light on the variety of stock carried by particular farms, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock</th>
<th>Craigyvern</th>
<th>Drumquhassell</th>
<th>Blairbour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cows</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workhorses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stud Mares</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1496 A.D. 100 cows and 10 oxen were "lifted" from Peirsie by caterans. Most farms carried cattle, horses, and sheep, but in Highland farms more horses were kept as they were used as draught animals rather than oxen which were commonly used in the strath.

2. 244 sheep were bought in 1511 A.D. Ibid. p274.
3. Register Privy Council Vol V pp27-28, 1592 A.D.
5. Professor J.A. Watson in "The Scottish Plough Team in History", Scot. Journ. Agric. Vol XLV No 2, states that east of the Highland line oxen, and to the west horses were the recognised draught animals. The phrase "after the bere seed" used to denote the date on which the oxen departed to the shealings indicates that they were draught animals.
Although the higher and poorer lands had always been a source of pasture, the increased use now made of them, particularly by the population of the strath, reflected, to some extent, the spread of arable farming in the lower ground. In 1203 A.D. the parish of Madderty comprised seven farms, the remainder being woodland, moor, and marsh. By 1609 A.D. these farms had been so extended by reclamation that in the charter erecting the lands of the abbey of Inchaffray into a temporal lordship thirty-eight settlements are named. For example, one of the original villis, Duffinder, had developed into Wester Dubheid, Middill Dubheid, Southsyd, Ovir Dubheid, and Eistir Dubheid.\(^4\) In 1233 A.D. "Bellaty, Frohyn, Cragnevetrin, Innerthariadethin, Fortouth in Glenisla" \(^3\) were granted to Coupar abbey "in liberam forestam"\(^2\) but in the rentals of the fifteenth century and later they are in the hands of tenants, indicating that they had been reclaimed for pasture and cultivation. This was still continuing: at Cowbyre of Keithock in 1463 A.D. "all the tenants, each in his first year shall settle one cottar on the north part of the said grange where the lord abbot shall determine, and in the third year three tenants shall be transported to the foresaid north part with their habitations, as their lot may be."\(^3\) In addition to this

1. Chart, Inch. App. XII pl70, 1609 A.D.
3. Rent. Coup. pl39, 1463 A.D.
4. Map 6D
development within a farm itself there were attempts to bring part of the common lands into cultivation, but since the rural economy of the district mainly depended on these for fuel and pasture, any encroachment was vigorously repelled. Arable farming was, nevertheless becoming of greater importance and the inhabitants were obviously searching for land which they would have the skill to reclaim. On occasions these reclamation were condoned and even encouraged: in 1399 A.D. the keeper of the Moor of Montreathmont was given permission to "take in, labour, and occupy" it, to pasture cattle on it, and to form tofts in it. This movement gained momentum and eventually many of the common lands disappeared, e.g., Methven in 1793 A.D. and Forgandenny in 1784 A.D.

In the charters of the thirteenth century attention is drawn to cultivable land, terra arabilis, but now, as already stated, the methods of farming are receiving more attention. It is, therefore, possible to reconstruct the agricultural practice of this district during these centuries with especial reference to the years between 1450 A.D. and 1550 A.D. As at earlier dates the fields were ploughed in winter and/or in spring, weather permitting, oxen being used east of the Highland line frequently but

1. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 p227, 1479 A.D. Here the abbey instructed its tenants of Campay to "cultivate the land of Blarand of the forest within the walls as much as they can sowing annually sixty bolls of corn." At four bushels of seed per acre this meant 45 acres.

2. Earls of Southesk Vol II
not always in teams of eight, and horses west of the Highland line.¹ One reference in the Coupar rentals suggests autumn ploughing.² The plough was of wood costing 3/6, the ploughshare being tipped or faced with iron.³ On the more advanced farms, especially those cultivated by the monasteries and their tenants, the fields were manured, a practice first recorded in the fifteenth century and therefore, one which may be assumed to have been practised even earlier.⁴ The value of potash was known in the form of vegetable ash, the ashes being applied to the growing crops "when they need it" which presupposes some knowledge of its effects.⁵ The grazing of stock upon the stubble or upon growing crops was an older method of increasing the fertility of the soil which was still followed. In addition, use was made of sheepfolds, these

1. See footnote 5, p112.
2. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 p162, 1472 A.D. The tenant of Soutarhouse of Keithock contracts to include in his taind victual "iiiij bollis of quhet sawyn at Michalmes or before as it is possible."
4. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 pp135, 140, etc. In 1462 A.D. the tenants of Cubir of Keithock were to have "the stable dung for the barley;" in 1463 A.D. they were to have "the dung of the great stable with the kitchen, and ashes of peats, and of the yard of the brewhouse, and of the ashes of the bakehouse and oven, and the house of glebes!"
   Rent. Dunk. pp180, 183, 190, 1506-1512 A.D. The Granitar of Clony records in 1506 the expenses of men employed "spreading manure," in 1511 the expenses of "leading manure to the Mains of Clony", and in 1512 the expense of "gathering manure."
5. Coup. Rent. Vol 11 p169, dated 1558 A.D. "... ashes being reserved to the convent for young plants when they need it."
being moved periodically, presumable over the arable land, and their dykes pulled down.¹

Seed was sown by hand usually between February and April,² but as mentioned earlier one rental suggests autumn sowing.³ of wheat. One source equates the quantity sown with the area sown,⁴ others refer to Acts of Parliament,⁵ and some give details of the amount reaped from stated quantities of seed.⁶ If the data for the meadow of Clony is taken, it is seen that from one boll, i.e., three bushels, of oats the sower might expect a yield of approximately two bolls one firlot, i.e., six to seven bushels. Assuming four bushels of seed per acre this would mean a yield of eight to ten bushels per acre. At Coupar Grange which lay in the rich land of the lower Isla and had a southern aspect

1. Rent. Dunk. p186, 1512-1513 A.D. "For keeping and changing the sheepfold - 2 bolls oats; certain men pulling down dykes for ploughing - 3f (oats); to men sowing oats - 1 boll (oats).

2. A farm account book of Carcary in Farnell parish gives the following details for 1663-1667 A.D.: sowing ranged from 21st February to 21st March and harvest from 6th August to 24th August; and for 1741 to 1745 A.D.: sowing of oats ranged from 6th March to 25th March and the sowing of peas from 6th March to 17th March.


4. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 p219, 1472 A.D. At Kincreich the tenant is instructed to "sow 2 bolls of corn for each ploughgate."

5. A.P.S. Vol 11 c6 p13, 1426 A.D. "Everyman tilling with a plough of 8 oxen to sow yearly at least a firlot of wheat ½ firlot of peas and forty beans."

6. Rent. Dunk. p168, etc. Returns for meadow of Clony:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bolls Oats</th>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1507</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1508</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the yield was about 26 bushels of dredge corn to the acre in 1454 A.D. and about 24 bushels in 1542 A.D.\textsuperscript{1} There was, however, a wide range of yield even within a small area, as this table for 1542 A.D. shows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm</th>
<th>Dredge Corn</th>
<th>Barley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coupar Grange</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balbrogie</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberbothrie</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgersho</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variation may be attributed to the natural variety of the soil, drainage, and aspect. The monks also laid down rules regarding the selection of seed, mainly to obtain clean seed and thereby clean land, even exhorting their tenants to buy fresh seed. This would also help to increase the yield.\textsuperscript{2} In comparable land to-day the yield of barley would be approximately 35-40 bushels per acre. These yields of the kirklands were higher than on lay holdings and indeed the yields on the Coupar estates were higher than on other ecclesiastical holdings. These lands of Coupar, however, were in good farming country and the Cistercians had a wide knowledge and experience upon which to draw, whereas the lay tenants had less opportunity to benefit in this way because of insecurity of tenure and narrower experience.

1. Calculations based upon information in History of Scottish Farming by T. Bedford Franklyn.
2. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 p176, 1473 A.D. The tenants of Balgersho are instructed "placis at ar fonyl tha sal labour to cleynge with chayg and reneuyng of seyd and siftyng of thar avyn gseyd."
The monks of Coupar realised the value of rotation of crops. For example, they stipulated two years corn followed by seven years broom and grass in some of their parks, i.e., a nine-years rotation. In this the monks were ahead of their neighbours; they rested their arable land and sent the plough round the farm. Other entries in the rental books suggest that crops were grown in separate fields. To ensure clean seed the tenants were ordered to keep their land free from weeds, two weeds being named, the corn marigold in the leases of Coupar and the thistle at Clony. The presence of the corn marigold suggests lime deficiency. One reason for the prevalence of weeds was the absence of root crops.

By the end of August the grains, oats, barley, and

   "...and the sal paint the toun in twa" (Cötzardis) "gif it ma be and gif it ma nocht, it sal be partyt in scheddis;" p172, 1473 A.D. "...and tha sal saw thar quhet togydder in a sched and thar peys and thar bere rychtsua, kepand the seson of ilkan of tham of the best wyis als tynsly as is possibil."

2. Ibid. Vol 1 p173, 1473 A.D. "...And tha sal paint the toun in twa" (Cötzardis) "gif it ma be and gif it ma nocht, it sal be partyt in scheddis;" p172, 1473 A.D. "...and tha sal saw thar quhet togydder in a sched and thar peys and thar bere rychtsua, kepand the seson of ilkan of tham of the best wyis als tynsly as is possibil."

3. Frequent references in the Coupar leases inform us that the tenants were obliged "to kepe the land clene fra guld." Coup. Rent. Vol 1 p176, 1473 A.D. "Heratour, the land at is clene fra guld upon the burn at Ketik tha sal kep clein."

   Ibid. p228, 1479 A.D. One Symon Tailzoure of Kemphill is fined 10/- for the "foulness of the present year."

4. Rent. Dunk. p183, 1512-1513 A.D. "...men cleaning the grain crops of thistles this summer, lb. 2f." Another entry (p183, 1505-1506 A.D.) merely states "to men cleaning the crops before harvest 3f. meal," which may mean the presence of other weeds as indeed would be almost inevitable.
wheat, were ready for harvesting for which the labour force of the farm was increased by hiring extra hands who were paid in money and in kind.\(^1\) Tenants had to give their laird so much time at this and other seasonal activities. After reaping and drying the grain was brought in to the stackyard, protected against any likely dangers, e.g., crows,\(^2\) and after thrashing, which had to be done before the following summer,\(^3\) was sifted and stored in the barn ready for the mill. Before this, however, the stones and stank of the mill had been put in order by the sucken, i.e., the tenants thirled to the mill. The multures paid by the tenants were fixed within each district. Usually they were a proportion of the grain thrashed\(^4\), but in one area at least the amount paid depended upon the size of the holding.\(^4\)

1. Rent. Dunk. p163, 1501-1506 A.D. "...expenses of reapers in the autumn and for the hay, 4b. 2f. meal of which 1f. is for the hay, the remaining expenses being in money." E.R. Vol V, 1487 A.D. "...pro defalcacione et inducione granorum dicti grangie (Methven)."
2. Rent. Dunk. p163, 1512-1513 A.D. "...a boy keeping lie rukis from the stacks at Clony, 1f. meal."
3. A.P.S. Vol II p338, 1563 A.D.
4. Reg. de Aberd. Vol I I, no. 217, 1483 A.D. "...et husbandi de Durnychtyn ex parte boriali aque habitantes dabunt decimunterium vas et removentes husbandi de eodem dominio dabunt decimumseptimum vas et de blado vendito per eodem tantum. ..... Volumus eciam quod omnes cotarii predicta dominia inhabitantes soluant si habuerint quinque perticatas terre de eisdem quinque molendinariis tres le pekis ordei."
Prior to the grain harvest was the reaping of the natural hay of the meadows and other suitable areas. Between the sowing and the harvest the work oxen usually went to the summer grazings in the Highlands.

Map no. 6 gives the distribution of crops within this district. Barley or bere was widely grown but oats was somewhat restricted and wheat more restricted still. The Thirds of the Benefices from 1561 A.D. to 1572 A.D. enable the production of wheat, oats, and bere on the kirklands of Forfar and Kincardine and of Perthshire to be compared and, although the returns for Forfar and Kincardine are unfortunately grouped together, the following give the amount of each grain as a percentage of the total crop permits a general comparison of production to be made:–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Forfar and Kincardine</th>
<th>Perthshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bere</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These returns, when given in detail as for 1561 A.D., confirm the restriction of wheat to southern Strathmore, the Carse of Gowrie, and the Arbroath coastal district.

Although occasional references may suggest the growth of

1. Coup. Rent. Vol 11, pl68, 1558 A.D. "... with carriage of hay from the abbey meadow yearly, that all hay may be built up in their yard."
   Rent. Dunk. p82, 1506 A.D. "To Walter Bannerman for his wages during the time of winning the hay."
   Ibid, pl100, 1507-1508 A.D. "Repair of the house for the hay and peat" shows that at Dunkeld some of the hay was stored inside.

2. Published by the Scottish History Society.
wheat outside this area, e.g., multures of wheat paid to the mill at Inver, sources other than these returns confirm that this was the wheat-growing area. Bere apparently was of greater importance in Forfar and Kincardine and oats in Perthshire, at least on the kirklands. As many of the kirklands lay in lower Strathmore and the basin of the Tay below Dunkeld, the importance of this area as a cereal growing area is emphasised, although in this connection it must be remembered that the returns for Perthshire included lands south of the Ochil Hills.  

The maps showing payments of victual to Dunkeld cathedral at the beginning of the sixteenth century confirm the general importance of barley, but it is of interest to note that, in the returns on which they are based, oats replace barley in the valley of the Tay above Dunkeld and in parts of the parish of Capeth. Most farmers, however, grew both barley and oats and what is known as dredge corn, i.e., a mixture of 2/3 oats and 1/3 barley. There were other crops: the teinds paid by Soutarhouse of Keithock in 1472 A.D. comprised 4 bolls winter wheat, 8 bolls bere, 4 bolls meal, 2 bolls rye, and 2 bolls peas. Acts of Parliament passed in 1426 A.D. and 1472 A.D. stipulated that certain crops and amounts were to be grown, and though these were not usually obeyed, Coupar monks embodied them in their leases, e.g., "each plough shall sow 1 boll of corn with pease corresponding".

2. Coup. Rent. pl42, dated 1468 A.D. and refers to Coupar Orange.  
3. Maps CARGB.
It is of interest to note that this fifteenth century lease introducing a leguminous crop into the cropping plan. The fields in which these crops were grown were now being enclosed on some of the monastic estates, and a common hedger appointed. How much of a holding was given over to arable is not stated, but one authority calculates that approximately one third of a monastic estate and probably one fourth of a lay estate was ploughed.

Throughout the area the size of the agricultural holdings varied from small crofts with one tenant to large farms of several hundred acres cultivated by several husbandmen. Coupar Grange contained 624 acres, i.e., six ploughgates, and in 1454 A.D. was divided into two holdings 1/8th each and seven of 1/12th each, i.e., two holdings of 78 acres and seven of 52 acres. The remaining 104 acres supported the twenty cottars of whom each tenant of 1/8th had three and each tenant of 1/12th two. In 1542 A.D. there were twelve tenants, each holding 1/12th or 52 acres. Aberbothrie, a holding of 312 acres, was divided as follows in 1462 A.D.: - one of five oxgangs or 65 acres, three of four oxgangs or 52 acres, two of two oxgangs or 26 acres, and two of one and a half oxgangs or 19½ acres, and in 1542 as follows:

1. Rent, Dunk. p183, 1513 A.D. Three bolls of peas were sown at Clony.
2. Coup. Rent. Vol 1 pl74, 1473 A.D. The tenants of Aberbothrie were instructed to "have a common pundar for hany bath of corn and pastur."
3. T. Bedford Franklyn in History of Scottish Farming.
5. Ibid. Vol 1 pl34 and Vol II pl90.
five of three oxgangs or 39 acres, one of five oxgangs or 65 acres, and one of four oxgangs or 52 acres. In 1557 A.D. Cambook, 416 acres, and Bellaty, 312 acres, both in lower Glenisla, were divided into eight parts each, the smallest being 26 acres. Kimochtry, a carrucate of land granted to Scone in the twelfth century, had four tenants in 1585 A.D. occupying holdings of 39, 26, 26, and 13 acres. Funtullich in Glenlednock contained a twenty-shilling land, a two merkland, and a four merkland. In 1572 A.D. Tirarthur, a holding on the Menzies estates, comprised four holdings of two merklands each, and Morenish, another holding on the same estate, six of five merklands each. At the other end of the scale were the crofts, e.g., two at Newcaussey near Coupar extended to three acres, or the fourteen holdings at Batchele at Coupar ranging in size from one to six acres. The Taxt Roll of the Lordship of Inchaffray for 1630 A.D. gives the extent of several lands in Strathearn and there as elsewhere many, both Highland and lowland, were subdivided. These parts were set in tack to tenants who farmed them paying a rent in money or in kind or in both and whose rights were now being recognised and thereby their importance in the economy of the country.

Tenants were protected from ejection when lands changed hands and leases sometimes contained statements to the effect

2. Ibid. Vol 1 pl87, 1473 A.D.
3. See map of parish of Hadderty N°6D
that the sitting tenants of the various parts of a settlement were not to be removed, e.g., in 1480 Drummondernoch was leased to the Dean of Dunkeld with the precise injunction that he was not to remove the four sitting tenants. At Coupar leases frequently ran for five or seven years and liferents were popular, and at Arbroath in the sixteenth century nineteen-year leases were common. By an act of 1429 A.D. tenants were entitled to one year's notice if their removal was likely and in 1449 A.D. it was decreed that a tenant could not be removed from his holding provided he had a written lease and fulfilled its terms. On the estates of Coupar abbey the tenants were asked to give six months notice if they wished to quit their holding. The tendency to move or be moved was decreasing, especially on the kirklans: of the ten tenants of Coupar Grange in 1454 A.D. five were there in 1461 A.D. and six in 1468 together with one of those of the lease of 1461 A.D. and three new tenants: in 1475 A.D. five of the tenants of 1454 A.D. together with four of the lease of 1468 A.D. plus one new tenant were named. Widows frequently retained their husband's portions and sons renewed the leases. By 1542 A.D. only two names were familiar to the lease of 1454 A.D.

This tendency to remain on the same farm was also true of the smaller tenants, e.g., at Batchele the same families appear among the tenants for seventy-five years. At least

1. E.R. Vol IX Rentalia Domini Regis.
one record, however, implies movement: Simon Olifer farmed a sixth part of the Grange of Aberbothrie in 1507 A.D. on a five-years lease but in 1508 A.D. his holding there is let to John Sim and in 1513 A.D. he leases a twelfth part of Coupar Grange for five years and again in 1518 A.D. Both holdings were of the same size and it is significant that he remained on the Coupar estates. Improvement both in cultivation and in fertility of the soil was making it possible for tenants to take a more permanent interest in their holdings. The introduction of the feuing system, however, tended to displace the poorer tenants.

There were two types of land tenure: (i) land let in cottarage and (ii) land let in husbandry, e.g., in 1469 A.D. fourteen acres of Balgersho was let "in cottarage", and in 1457 A.D. the husbandry was let to three tenants for £10. A husbandman, i.e., one who farmed 25 acres, had the right to have one cottar.

Where the settlement was large, the tenants usually lived close together, their buildings forming the "farm toon." In addition to the dwelling houses there would be a byre, a stable, a barn or granary or both, and in larger establishments a brewhouse. These buildings were mainly of turf, rubble, and wood and would carry thatched roofs. Nearby would be the yard for stacking the grain, hay, and peats, although these might be kept in one of the buildings. An adjacent piece of ground enclosed by a feil dyke would be
trees or hedges would be set aside for a garden in which there would not be a great variety of plants. Kale would be frequently grown and in addition onions, cabbage, parsley, beet and lettuce, although the latter are usually mentioned in connection with larger establishments. At a spot convenient for several farms there would be a grain mill with some of the adjacent ground reserved for the miller to cultivate and feed his animals' pasture. All these buildings would be sited near water, but in a dry position.

Surrounding the steading would be the infield with its patchwork of fields, each divided into rigid and frequently separated by areas of uncultivated land, some being surrounded by turf dykes or hedges. The temporary sheepfolds would be erected on these infield. At a distance from the steading and frequently on hospitable ground was the outfield some of which would be under cultivation and some returned to open country because of sterility due to continuous cropping. On the lands of Coupar abbey, however, the appearance of the area around the farm differed. The monks had striven to eradicate the runrig system; they wished the arable land to be divided into fields which were sown with one crop. These fields were enclosed and the only references to runrig in the Charge of the Temporalitie of the Kirklands, 1392, are for the Tay valley above Caputh. Does this indicate that the runrig system was retreating into the Highlands before the field system.

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2. Coup. Rent. Vol I pl65,1473. "Ilke man (of Coupar Grange) sal keep his pairt of his malyn." Ibid. p147. The husbandmen of Keithock shall divide the grange into just portions and
provided for movement of stock. The following of a rotation with seven out of nine years in grass would mean that most of the fields were in grass and that the countryside was much greener than at present. There was no outfield on these farms, but there were woods and commonties interspersed with the cultivable land. In agriculture the estates of Coupar were ahead of the average farm and the area around Coupar, therefore, was more orderly in its appearance.

Throughout Strathmore, for the most part, the common pastures and the peat mosses were sometimes close at hand, sometimes a distance. Areas of woodland and broomponds combined with them to add variety to the landscape which was still a long way from the continuous stretches of arable land which meets the eye of the modern traveller in this district.

In the Highland valleys the farms were sited near the valley floor frequently using an alluvial fan, a terrace or a bench. The meadowland was on the valley floor near the stream, and small patches of infield occupied the lower and more gentle slopes from which some of the stones had been removed. Sheep and cattle folds would be in evidence,\(^1\)

Note 2 contd. . . . and each one shall hereafter with domicile and cottar maintain himself separately on his own part.\(^1\)

1. Coup. Rent. Vol 11 p106, 1572 A.D. "...and sail mrice ane leiche of gud howndis, with ane cupill of raiches (sleuth hounds) for tod and wolf." This refers to Glenisla.
because of dangers from foxes and wolves. There would also be extensive hill pastures, much of it common both to the tenants of these valleys and to the farmers of the strath. The steadings of these farms would include a byre, a barn, and a few outhouses for storage. The garden, if any, would be small and might contain kail but little else. Except for differences due to the greater interest in pastoral farming the general pattern was the same as in the strath.

The value of the holdings was assessed both in money and kind, but as the extent of the holding was not always stated it is frequently impossible to reduce these to values per unit of area. In the Text Roll of the Lordship of Inchaffray¹ extent and value in kind are given for some twenty holdings, value in kind for another thirty-five, and money rentals for ten. Some have not been identified, but the remainder have been mapped to show the distribution of land values in Strathearn. Those holdings which had good drainage, a southern aspect, and a variety of terrain within their limits or easily accessible to the home farm such as to satisfy the needs of the existing rural economy, i.e., moor, wood, naturally drained arable land, and meadow, were valued most highly, e.g., Gorthie and Ardinie. They lie in the eastern part of the lordship where there is better soil, a lighter rainfall, and earlier harvests. The less highly

2. Map No 6E
rented holdings nearly all lay in the west within the Highland portion of the Earn valley. Moorland holdings, however, were rated at the same level as these, e.g., Muir of Bellyclone was comparable with Derry on the shores of Loch Earn. Many of this poorer group were in the back-lying or upland areas on the southern side of the valley, i.e., the more inhospitable parts because of soil, drainage, and climate. The remainder, i.e., those of average rental, were superior to the latter group in aspect, e.g., those between Crieff and Comrie, and in drainage, e.g. those around the Bellyclone ridge, but lacked some of the advantages of the first group. In this area aspect, drainage, soil, and climate controlled the value of the agricultural land. Two other factors, however, played a part in keeping down the rentals of the western area: (i) nearness to the Highlands and, therefore, more subject to raiding, and (ii) length of time under cultivation and smaller extent of arable land.

In the rentals for Coupar abbey similar controls operated. Balbrogie was valued at 34/9 per oxgait, and Aberbothrie at 32/6, but Cambok and Bellaty in the Highland part of the valley of the Isla were assessed at 6/3 and 10/- per oxgait respectively.

Arable land in the strath was generally more valuable than arable land in the Highlands, the ratio on occasions being as high as 1:20. If the fact that some of the lands
in Strathearn paid no rent in victual may be interpreted that they produced very few crops other than grass or maybe none at all, then this ration in some instances will be very much higher.

Since 1400 A.D. there had been no marked change in the distribution of farm land. The main deterrent to arable farming was still bad drainage. Slopes of 1:17 to 1:52 were considered to be ideally suited by the inhabitants but slopes of less than 1:50 were acceptable only if the drainage was satisfactory. The natural variety of the soil influenced the yield of the crops but did not preclude arable farming to any extent, but wherever it is possible to calculate the yield per acre it is seen that a southern aspect and a sheltered location were also important. The greatest difference in the farming practised about 1400 A.D. and that of 1600 A.D. lay not in the distribution of farm land, though arable farming had extended by the latter date, but in the technique of farming. At Coupar there was a definite attempt to eradicated the runrig system and to introduce fields for each crop. There was also a certain amount of enclosing of these fields. In the Highlands the runrig system continued as a means of overcoming the natural variety of the soil; and in the strath it was found in most areas except where the methods employed, e.g., manuring, had increased the fertility and where the tenants had reasonable security of tenure. Certain lands were now
valuable because of their arable produce. On the other hand, some Highland areas and certain parts of the strath were important grazing grounds. Occasionally this is seen in the grouping of farms, e.g., Aberlydnoch and Balmuick, Ochtertyre, Cog, and Carroglen, all in Strathearn or Coupar abbey's lands in the strath and their holdings in Glenisla.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the strath, therefore, was assuming an appearance in which indications of its modern landscape might have been seen, e.g., fields, fewer wooded areas, and hedges.

SETTLEMENT

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw further changes in settlement. The modification of the vegetation, the progress of agriculture, and the increased ability of the population to overcome natural difficulties had not only extended the area suitable for settlement but had given rise to a greater population in those areas which had been inhabited since the twelfth century. The main groupings were still the same as those of the fourteenth century with minor changes. The reclamation of wasteland had extended the arable area of the low land: new settlements were appearing in areas which had previously been closed.

Maps: 6c, 26, 26a, 29, 31a-d, 34, 35, 36, 8
by law and custom, e.g. Montreathm ont Moor. With the improvements both in drainage and in protection against flooding fresh sites were being provided. The actual settlement in these alluvial areas was usually situated on within the area of higher ground and frequently surrounded by the alluvium, e.g., Inch, Easter Caputh, and Drumatherty. The areas of gravel which in earlier times had been utilised mainly as pasture were now being settled due mainly to improvements in agriculture, e.g., Cookston, Littleton, and Kilry in the area immediately north of the Dean Water where the monks of Coupar had interests, or Pitreuchie and Shanzie. In the Highlands settlement was mainly confined to the valleys, and there is now sufficient evidence to conclude that it was governed by factors similar to those controlling its distribution in the strath. Houses were mainly sited at the junction of the valley sides and floor, e.g., Dunnie and Fortar Castle in Glenisla, Roromore and Slattich in Glen Lyon, Migvie in Glen Esk, and Weem and Dull in Strath Tay. The valley of the Tay upstream from Dunkeld illustrates well the distribution of mediaeval settlement in a Highland valley: on the western side the sites selected were at the foot of the slope and above the alluvium, e.g., Inchmagnanachan, Kincaigie, and Dunfallanddy, but on the eastern side where

1. Acts and Decrees XLX p372, 1559 A.D. Andrew Drummond of Bellyclone is accused of evicting "ane great part of the native tennentis and pure lauboraris of the saidis tooun and landis to the noumer of iiij personis or thairby". This refers to the Muir of Badderty or Bellyclone.
2. Coup. Rent. Vol I pp 172, 142, 177, etc.
the lower slopes are steeper the population sought the shelf 200-300 feet above the valley floor, e.g., Tullimet, Baledmund, Kilmorich, and Moulin. By the end of this period settlement had increased in the glens and the majority were permanently occupied, whereas in earlier times many had most probably been summershealings, especially those near the head of the glen, e.g. the higher and more distant settlements of the Braes of Angus. In addition, there were the shealings of the farms situated in the glens themselves, e.g., Carie and Camghouran on Loch Rannoch side had their shealings on the high hills to the south of the loch.\(^1\) The open inhospitable moorland of the Highlands, however, carried few settlements, if any, other than summer shealings. These few sought the gentler slopes and areas of more fertile soil and richer pasture, and were usually on the lower hills, preferably in a site with a south-western or southern aspect, e.g. Craighead in the Forest of Alyth.

In earlier centuries gradient, drainage, and soil were the deciding factors. These were still the main controls, but to a somewhat lesser degree because of the increased skill of the inhabitants in overcoming natural difficulties such as poor land and bad drainage. Sloping ground was commonly selected, but steep gradients were avoided.\(^2\) \(\frac{1}{25}\) to \(\frac{1}{50}\) were most frequently selected and \(\frac{1}{25}\) only.

1. No traces of these remain, but they are recorded on the map of Strowan in the Forfeited Estates Papers in the H.M. Register House.

when the art of drainage and of embanking against flooding were the more gentle slopes selected, e.g., the extension of the Coupar abbey lands into the haughs of Isla. Prior to the acquisition of these skills the only settlement in such areas was dry-point. With regard to soil boulder clay was preferred and gravel, though usually well drained, was frequently avoided because of its infertility, but because of the suitability of the gravel for communities settlement was often at the junction of the two types. In short it might be said that the mediaeval inhabitant of this district chose the valley sides or sloping ground and only ventured into level land if the natural conditions permitted him to do so, Thirteenth until he had acquired the skill of reducing or overcoming them. The main part of the population still occupied two parallel zones, one on each side of the strath, the one on the northern side being divided into two sub-belts with intervening sites, and in this respect show no marked change from the earlier periods. Their number of settlements, however, was decidedly larger.

Along with this development of rural settlement the burghs had been growing both in number and in size. The original system of monopolies over large districts still held and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed an increase in the need for markets throughout the area. New helped to satisfy this, e.g. Abernethy, Glamis, and Keithock. Travelling was also more common and the burghs had the right to

Map No. 29.
have inns, e.g., Torry was created in 1495 A.D. for the benefit of travellers who had crossed the Cowie Mounth but because of bad weather were unable to cross the Dee.

Of the burghs created before 1500 A.D. none was on the northern side of Strathmore, nor was there any in Kincardineshire apart from Inverurie. The sixteenth century saw their appearance in these districts. Fettercairn, Kincardine, and Fordoun served the Mearns, which they had apparently done illegally before as Montrose was supported in a claim against their infringing its rights at an earlier date. Cowie, the site of an old royal castle, and created a burgh of regality in 1540-1542 A.D., was at the southern end of the Mounth but with the growth of Stonehaven it gradually disappeared. Kirriemuir and Ruthven were natural centres for trade from the Braes of Angus, but seem to have been used more by the population of the strath as a non-burghal market was set up at the Brigend of Lintrathen in 1581 A.D. to serve "the people of Badenoch, Braes of Angus, Mar and Strathspey." Dunkeld served the upper Tay and Crieff upper Strathearn. All these erections were on the northern side of the strath and emphasise the awakening of the Highlands to trade.

The following centuries saw a marked quickening in the growth of burghs, markets, and fairs - weekly, seasonal, and yearly. They were all held at related dates, e.g., Aberfeldy held one fair on the Thursday before Kenmore, another on the
Tuesday after Perth, and a third on the Thursday before Doune tryst; Auchterarder held one fair the day after Amulree and another the Friday before Falkirk tryst. These broke down the power of the older burghs which had been very great, and also of the older markets, e.g., Brechin market had no new burgh created within its area for more than three hundred years. ¹

There were three stages, therefore, in the development of burghs and markets in this district. Firstly, they appeared on the coast, secondly on the southern side of Strathmore, and thirdly along the Highland edge and within the Highlands. Route centres, bridge towns, good harbours, and valley mouths were all selected as sites, and trade and the regional importance of the chosen site caused their development or their decay. These burghs had, to some extent prevented the growth of villages and only after the breakdown of their monopolies did villages begin to appear during the seventeenth and later centuries. There is one reference to a village in the Coupar rentals, villagium de Kethik.² Many of the modern villages are descended from the numerous small grouped groupings of settlement centred on a church which outnumbered the burghs by four and a third to one. Strathmore at the end of the period was a region of rural settlement with certain sites assuming local and even national importance, and with the "farm loon" the main social unit.

¹. See map no. for the extent of Brechin market.
². Fifteenth century.
POPULATION.

The changes in the distribution of churches since the earlier periods has been taken to indicate an increase or a decrease in population in a general way. Between 1275 A.D. and 1567 A.D., some churches had disappeared, thus suggesting a decrease in population, e.g., in the Brechin area, but there were also additional churches in other areas which when combined with those too poor to be taxed in 1275 A.D. but now no longer so indicate an increase in the population and in the wealth of the district, e.g., in the Carse and in the lower Earn and Tay valleys. This increase was related to the improvements made in these areas in agriculture and with the growth of Perth. There were also a few new churches in the Highlands to satisfy the increased population there. Thus until 1567 A.D. the Mearns showed no marked change, Brechin district a decrease, and the south-western parts a definite increase.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries following upon the Reformation there was a readjustment of churches which reflected the new needs of the country. Many were united, thus suggesting a decrease or movement of population. This was general throughout the Carse and Strathmore except in the central portion of its northern side and in the

1. Rent. Dunk. p. 313 "The bishop bethought him that the population in these parishes (Caputh and Little Dunkeld) had increased......He therefore built and endowed a parish church in his church land of Dowally." Also p. 304 "As the population grew" is used of the whole diocese of Dunkeld.

2. Maps 17; 18; 30
the Mearns. It also indicated the growth of one church because its area was surpassing a neighbouring district as a local centre, e.g., Killin surpassing Ardeonaig or Comrie superseding Tullichettle. In addition there were six separations: Cargill from Coupar Angus; East and West Fordell, Paris, Deuglie, Blair, Flaines Glendye, and Glendye Mill from Forgandenny to Arngask; Careston from Brechin; Carmylie from Panbride; St Vigeans and Inverkeilor; and Inverbervie from Kinneff. With the exception of Carmylie and Arngask these were associated with the growth of a town and the separation from it of the landward areas of the former parish. Carmylie, erected in 1609 A.D., shows an increase in a purely rural district, and Arngask was due to the influence of relief. Before this there had been greater wealth and more people in the rural areas, but now the growing towns were beginning to attract some of the rural inhabitants.

The Mearns and Central Strathmore had the most constant population density in the district, the former because of the late appearance of improvements and the latter because of early developments in agriculture. There is no means of computing the density distribution of the population accurately before 1694 A.D., but for that year the Hearth Money or Tax gives an accurate statement of the number of hearths in each parish, and though in the rolls there is no MS in H.M. Register House.
connection stated between hearths and people the number of the former may be used to estimate the density of population at least for each parish. Two hearths represented a "butt and a ben", i.e., one family. Under Forteviot there is this entry: "James Thomson and his cottar woman - 3," and under Cargill there appears this entry: "Jon Gairdner four cottars and a kill - 7." It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that a cottar was assessed at one hearth and others at two at least, some being assessed at more, as may be seen from the total assessment of the Laird of Abercairnie in Fowlis: 1 at 12 hearths (manor house), 1 at 6, 5 at 4, 13 at 3, 43 at 2, and 1 at 1. In estimating population from this tax it has been assumed that 2 represented a house and that in each house there was one family. Information regarding the size of the family is based on two sources: the first is forfeited Estate Papers of Rannoch in which it is stated that there were 216 families of 949 people in all, i.e., 4.4 persons per family, that in Sliesgarrow on the southern shore of Loch Rannoch there were 111 families of 524 people in all, i.e., 4.7 persons per family, and that in Muirlagan which stretched north from the Tummel east of Kinloch Rannoch there were 53 families of 211 people in all, i.e., 4 persons per family. This gives an average of 4.4 persons per family. In 1871 A.D. there were 5.3 persons per family and in rural areas they had one house. Five persons to a family, therefore, and one family to every two hearths was considered a safe
estimate to use when compiling the maps of population density at the end of the seventeenth century. It should be remembered, however, that the maps showing the number of hearths per 100 acres are the more accurate map and that whatever the factor which must be used to obtain the actual population density from this tax the actual variety of the distribution is not affected. Although the date of the map, which is based on Stobie's map of Perthshire and the map in Warden's Angus, is outside the selected period, many of its features must have been in existence one hundred years earlier, e.g., there is a general increase in hearths with distance from the Highlands except in the Sidlaws and areas of moorland, and less than 2 hearths per 100 acres is below average, 2-4 average, and above 4 more than average. This results in a zonal arrangement within the strath in which the strath itself is of average density with coastal areas and parishes around long established centres, e.g., Perth and Coupar Angus, above average.

The difference between the Highlands and Strathmore is clearly marked. It corresponds with the Highland edge only in the south-west, receding from it in the north-east. In Forfarshire the only truly Highland parishes were Glenisla, Cortachy and Clova, Lethnot and Navar, Lochlee and Edzell. In Perthshire the parishes of Strath Tay were above the Highland average of less than one per 100 acres. The size
of many of these Highland parishes and the large proportion of waste ground in their areas accounted for the generally low averages. A transition zone lay along the Highland edge where the increase in arable land accounted for the rise in density. The parishes of the strath had a higher density except between Brechin and Forfar where large areas of moorland reduced some almost to the Highland level. The Gask ridge in Strathearn and the northern slopes of the Ochil and Sidlaw Hills were usually above average. None of the parishes in these hills was similar to the Highland parishes except Tealing, Guthrie, Carmylie, and Glenesk Devon, the last being one per 100 acres. Since the whole district was rural, the parishes with the highest proportion of arable land had the largest population and of these the most fertile had the highest densities, e.g., Newtyle. Dundee was the largest town, followed by Perth, Montrose, and Forfar. Brechin has not been marked on the map as there is not sufficient evidence to differentiate between the town and the landward portion of the parish.

Depending upon this distribution of hearths the district may be divided to show three density distributions of population: less than 5 persons, 5 - 10 persons, and over 10 persons per 100 acres. Naturally these correspond closely to the distribution of hearths, but there is an extension of the Highland zone into the strath at Blairgowrie and in the foothill zone between the rivers Earn and Tay. This

\[ i.e. \text{less than} \ 32, \ 32-64, \ \text{and over} \ 64 \ \text{persons per sp. mile} \]
was a transition zone between the valley population of the Highlands and the more disseminated distribution of the strath. The extension of the average density of the strath into the Highlands is partly due to the inadequacy of the statistics because whereas in Tannadice the information is more detailed and exact it is seen that there was a clear distinction between Highland and lowland. The difference between the lowland of the strath and the Sidlaw and Ochil hills is not so clearly marked. The importance of the strath and within the strath of good well drained land is emphasised by these distributions. Where towns are concerned the maps should be treated with some caution, because the figures given for hearths do not always give the complete total, e.g. Perth, but on the other hand the estimate for Dundee is reasonably accurate, ca. 6,000, considering that it was sacked in the seventeenth century and totalled ca. 12,000 in 1750 A.D.

Movement between the Highlands and the strath was increasing. From early times there had been incursions by 'caterans' into the richer lowlands which tended to restrict development along the border zone and even after movement across this zone had increased, e.g., the trade in cattle and the growth of fairs and markets, there was still such a zone but it was receding in places further into the Highlands.

The factors governing the distribution of population
as represented by the distribution of hearths were naturally the same as those controlling settlement. The growing influence of towns on their immediate neighbourhood and the zonal arrangement showing the density decreasing with approach to the Highlands are the main features of the pattern. Definitely rural in character as the district was, the population was awakening to the benefits of trade and therefore there was some movement towards towns. Good agricultural conditions, however, still governed where the highest densities of any extent were to be found.

COMMUNICATIONS.

By 1300 A.D. there was a network of roads not so well made nor so well kept as the Roman roads but one which served the existing needs. Many were little more than tracks, and it was common practice to leave the road and cross the adjacent fields. Roads between market towns and ports were required to be twenty feet in width, and of more than local importance may be assumed to have been of similar width in our period.

A map has been drawn to show the network at the end.

1. It was not till the seventeenth century that the repair of roads was enforced by Act of Parliament.
2. A.P.S. IV c8 p336, 1617 A.D.
3. A.P.S. III c85 p583 1592 A.D. The fair at Dornoch was changed from 25th September to 10th October because the corn standing "stoukit" was being destroyed by cattle on their way to the fair.
4. See map no. 23.
5. Maps: 23; 24C.
of our period an examination of which reveals that the
routes of the dark ages were still the basis of the
pattern of the sixteenth century though the individual
routes had changed in importance, e.g., the development of
that on the southern side of the strath in comparison with
that on the northern. Perth, Forfar, Brechin, and
Stonehaven were the principal route centres on the main
north road and Dunkeld and Kirriemuir were important
junctions on the route along the Highland edge. In addition
there were such local centres as Auchterarder and Coupar
Angus. Besides the two routes along the strath there were
transverse routes joining these wherever crossings were
possible and warranted, and the whole system was linked by
routes using gaps in the Sidlaws and the Ochils to the
cost and the south.

The Highland glens each had their own route but its
importance depended upon the wealth of the glen though more
so upon the importance of the pass at its head. Two factors
decided this importance: - the crossing place on the Dee and
standing of the termini. Most of these passes were only
hill tracks, but four were in more common use than the
others. In the east the Cairn-a-Mount linking the royal
of Kincardine,Durris, and Kildrummy and useful for
outflanking Aberdeen avoided the bleak route over the

1. View of the Diocese 1660 A.D. lists these.
2. Montrose once used this route while the burghers of
Aberdeen waited for him at the Brig o' Dee.
Cowie Mount which was guarded by the royal castle of Cowie and grew in importance until it surpassed the Cairn-a-Mount. A causeway was built over part of its length, and although there had been one in 1378 A.D., it was not until 1634 A.D. that a regular toll was exacted for its upkeep. The modern road to Aberdeen runs parallel to this road which had been used down to the times of the turnpike. To the west the Cairnwell and the Glentilt routes carried most traffic. They connected Atholl with Mar and Strathspey and Angus with Mar but being longer and more difficult than the eastern they were less used nor did they lead to so rich an area. Both were used by Highlanders in their raids into Strathmore, e.g. battle of Glen Brerachan. The southern parts of these valleys were inhabited by people whose outlook was to the south and therefore there was a steady traffic into Strathmore from the lower valleys.

It is upon this network that the modern route system has been developed retaining, for the most part, the same pattern, but because of modern engineering skill crossing what were unsurmountable barriers in the mediaeval period. In those centuries which lay between the two periods of engineered roads natural factors played an important part in deciding the alignment of routes: alluvium and low-lying flats were avoided and higher ground selected though there are no ridgeways such as are found in southern England. The valley was the routeway and the drainage decided the
position of the road, and the network of this period depended upon the convenience of Strathmore as a route to the north-east. The west to east trend of the dark ages had virtually disappeared.

There is less evidence of bridge building at this time and, unless a toll could be guaranteed, private builders were loath to undertake the work. There was some building, e.g., Erskine of Dun built the Bridge of Dun in 1594 A.D.\(^1\) Maybe the more peaceful times of the thirteenth century promoted their construction and certainly they would help their preservation. The interest of the church in bridge building is noticeable in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. An detailed account of sixteenth century bridge building is given in the Rentale Dunkeldense where the accounts of the building of the bridge of Dunkeld over the Tay in 1510-1513 A.D. are given. Of this bridge it was said that "it was large and notable, built of stones hewn and squared upon which a four horse chariot could cross." Not all bridges were made of stone and most were probably wooden structures. There must also have been quite a considerable use of fords but in many instances this would be seasonal and would vary with the weather.

As an example of a journey made at this time to illustrate the speed of travel an itinerary of Mary, Queen of Scots, taken from the Despences de la Maison Royale for 1567 A.D.\(^2\) states where she dined, supped, and slept for 1. A.P.S. IV c73 p85.
2. MS in H.M. Register House. See map no. 24C.
each day of the journey. The queen was travelling light and her daily journey seldom exceeded sixteen miles. The journey would be made on horseback and the northward route followed the main Strathmore road crossing to the northern side after passing Brechin.¹ The Cowie Hount was followed, thus suggesting that this was now the main route to Aberdeen. On the southward journey the coastal route was followed to Perth. It took ten days to go from Stirling to Aberdeen with two halts of a day and two nights each, i.e. eight days travelling, and the return journey took thirteen days with two halts of two nights and a day and one of three nights and two days, i.e., nine days travelling. This must be considered quick travelling for the sixteenth century especially since she seldom started before the midday meal; the Cowie Hounth was crossed in the afternoon, and the journey from Drummond Castle to Stirling took the same time.

**TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS; TEMPORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.**

The civil, administrative, and ecclesiastical divisions discussed for the earlier periods are still found during these two centuries, but some had changed in importance, others in extent, and some in both. More information is available on parishes, baronies, and crown lands, and the lands of the monasteries are the subject of frequent records.

¹. This depends upon whether the "Guellis" of the manuscript is hazell or not.

². 13A, 13B, 14, 15, 15A, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 20A, 20B.
A much clearer picture, therefore, of the divisions, major and minor, can be obtained.

The earldom of Strathearn, as shown by a rental of 1480 A.D., was now composed of valleys beyond the Highland line except for areas around Methven and Crieff. Methven had been separated into a lordship by itself. In 1445 A.D. there is reference to a "manor of Loch Earn" and the island in that loch is guarded. This may have been no more than a hunting seat, but when combined with the separation of Methven it suggests that the earldom was retreating towards the west. Atholl, on the other hand, had expanded into Strathearn, Clunie, and Stormont. In Angus many of the lesser units of earlier times had expanded and were now of considerable importance. Of the three original earldoms, Strathearn and Angus were much divided and were less extensive than in the thirteenth century.

A map of the Crown lands based on a rental of 1480 A.D. shows that they were mainly within or near the Highlands, whereas many of those in the list for 1304-1305 A.D. had been nearer to the southern side of the strath. The sherriffs' accounts of 1358-1359 A.D. show them divided between the two areas. It would seem, therefore that they had 'migrated' across the strath towards the Highlands.

1. E.R. Vol. IX
2. See map no. 13A.
3. In Strathearn Ochtertyre and Tullibardine were part of Atholl
5. E.R. Vol. I
6. Maps 13B
The strath had now become more settled and these lands lay between it and the unrest of the central Highlands. They were each areas with a certain geographical uniformity, e.g., Balquhidder - a highland valley, Discher and Toyer - lands bordering Loch Tay.

There had also been a growth in the number of baronies. These fall into five groups:-

a. those which lay beyond the Highland edge and are contained within river valleys, e.g. Struan in the valleys of the Errocht and Tummel,\(^1\) Rannoch on the northern shores of Loch Rannoch, Glenlyon within Glenlyon,\(^2\) Barony of Weem centred round Weem and the northern shores of Loch Tay,\(^3\) and the thanage of Glentilt occupying the valley of that name.\(^4\)

b. those which include part of the strath along with a Highland valley. The configuration of these lie mainly in the eastern part of the district, e.g. Glenesk composed of the valleys of the North Esk and the Westwater and of that part of the strath around their mouths, i.e., the hill-foot section. Its head place was Dalgog but Invermark was a Highland retreat.

The first group were more subservient to an overlord but the second group usually held from the king, probably because their valleys were routeways and not tributary

1. R.M.S. Vol 11 No. 2664; 1502 A.D.
2. Ibid. No. 2665; 1502 A.D.
3. Ibid. No. 3507; 1510 A.D.
4. Ibid. No. 2665; 1502 A.D.
5. Ibid. No. 3627; 1511 A.D.
valleys.
c. those mainly in the strath but extending some way into the Highlands, i.e., the reverse of the second group. For example, Glenbervie which had its main lands around the modern village of Glenbervie but which extended into the Grampians where its summer pastures lay belongs to this group. The barony of Pitnamoon in the Mearns was created out of the larger barony of Balmain with rights in the adjacent Grampians.\(^1\) The need for arable land, common pasture, and fuel decided the distribution of its lands.
d. Those around the Sidlaw and Garvock Hills. Arbuthnot was practically co-terminous with the modern parish, and Benholm coincided with the modern parish. If these baronies lay athwart a pass through the hills or guarded a crossing of the alluvium their importance was increased.
e. Those formed of distinctly separate parts. These were not so common. In 1510 A.D. Kirriemuir was composed of lands in Glen Prosen, around Kirriemuir, and to the south of the Sidlaw Hills between Dundee and Arbirlot.

By the seventeenth century there were 194 baronies in Perthshire which is indicative of the increase in their number. Those in the strath were generally smaller than those in the Highlands and poorer areas, and as an example of what type of land was included in a barony of the early sixteenth century Morphie in Kincardineshire might be

\(^1\) R.M.S. Vol. XXI XXII XXXIII XXXIV 1580-1590, No. 2211, 1592 A.D.
selected. The Mains situated on sloping ground and enjoying a southern and south-western exposure provided the arable land, the lands near the Esk the meadows, the river the power for the mill, and the Hill of Morphie the waste land and the rough pasture. The needs of a barony resembled those of the parish, and like the parish the barony frequently included these within its own limits. Frequently when separate areas, often units in themselves comparable with Morphie, were grouped into one barony, there was usually another reason, e.g., marriage. After the Reformation the lands of the church were erected into baronies, regalities, and lordships. These united lands sometimes distant, sometimes adjacent to each other, the lordship of Inchaffray or of Coupar.

The sixteenth century also witnessed a rearrangement of the parishes, some being united with others, some divided into two separate parishes: in 1500 A.D. the Bishop of Dunkeld set up two new parish churches at Caputh and Dowally, carving Caputh out of Little Dunkeld and Dowally out of Caputh. Between the thirteenth century and 1567 A.D. nine additional parish churches appear in Strathern, six in Strath Tay, two in Glenisla, three in the Highland portions of the North and South Esks, and one in the Mearns.¹

2. For a list of these see appendix Map no. 30 is based on this and other sources.
These additional churches may not have existed in the thirteenth century or may not have been recorded in the taxation of that period because of poverty. Ten churches disappeared within this period, and others were now divided into two; e.g., Cargill was separated from Coupar, and Arbroath from St Vigeans. In all there were only six such separations before 1650 A.D. These changes reflect increases and decreases in population and in the wealth of the area supporting the church.

The one-inch maps of 1870 A.D. show many parishes with detached portions. These have been mapped and from the map it is seen that most of them lie in the Highland area or for the coastal parishes in areas such as Montreathe Mont Moor or in the Sidlaws where fuel and common pasture were to be found. Since the parish was often bound up with the civil divisions of the times these detached portions preserved this relationship down to the late nineteenth century: Bendochy was composed of the lands of Coupar abbey and since this abbey owned lands of Cally and Persie a detached portion of the parish is found there; Forteviot was in three portions, all once directly under the Crown; Clunie, closely related to Dunkeld cathedral, had detached portions among its scattered lands; and Crannich, Easter Kemnock, and Auchmore on loch Tayside were parts of the lands of the Menzieses of Weem and till the end of last century they were detached portions of Weem parish.

Map 17
The economic needs of their inhabitants caused others. Summer pasture and common pasture have been shown to be an integral part of the agricultural system. Parishes along the Highland border, therefore, had areas among the hills for pasture and those around the moors of the low ground satisfied this need within their limits.

The boundaries of the parishes, fixed as they often were by mediaeval commissions, were decided by natural features and economic requirements. Rivers such as the Tay and Earn, and Esks formed easily defined boundaries, and smaller streams and watersheds, i.e., "where wind and water shears," were also used. Occasionally a geological boundary has been followed: between Forteviot and Tibbermuir an intrusive basalt dyke is used; and from Perth to Dunsinane the parish boundaries follow the northern edge of the porphyritic outcrops of the Sidlaw Hills. The alluvium of the Carse in its water-logged state had prevented the extension of the parishes of the southern slopes of the Sidlaw Hills between the Tay and Inchture and except for half a mile of alluvium they are confined to the porphyries.

The alluvium of the Moss of Meigle is to-day divided equally between Kettins and Coupar Angus, though in earlier times it was probably a boundary zone encroached upon by both for fuel. The northern boundary of Forfar parish is allied to the gravel area to the north of the town. As the economic life was based on agriculture the parish, as already stated,
required meadow, arable land, woodland, grazing land, and moor for fuel. The purely lowland parishes were small and those of the Highlands large. Some, however, were not based on these economic needs, e.g., Oathlaw was the descendant of the royal forest of Plater and Garvock had been a hunting ground.

The parishes of this area may be grouped under five types: Highland, piedmont, lowland, coastal, and those within the Ochil and Sidlaw Hills. Map no. 16 shows the distribution of these types. Three groupings are worthy of mention as illustrating some of the principles controlling their extent and shape: a. Brechin, Stracathro, Logie pert, Montrose and Dun all contained meadowland, arable slopes, and moorland and are grouped round the high ground to the north-east of Brechin; b. Aberlemno, Brechin, Farnell or Cuikston, Marykirk detached, Kinnell, Guthrie, and Rescobie all grouped around Montreathmont Moor divided it between them; and c. Madderty, Findo-Gask, Trinity-Gask, Forteviot, Aberdargie, Perth, and Tibbermuir found their common pasture and fuel along the Gask ridge and therefore all contained part of it.

When the units from which the parish developed were taking shape there must have been large areas of moor...
marsh and the local foci tended to be distributed along the hillfoots where the most favoured environment was found. The parishes, therefore, started in this hillfoot zone and extended upwards and downwards from it until in the late sixteenth century the moors and marshes are being subdivided and in some cases the areas taken over portioned out amongst the parishioners. In some areas, therefore, instead of several parishes using a common moor divided between them by custom and usage, each parish had a portion allotted to its parishioners and contained within its own limits.  

Further consideration of the ecclesiastical lands of Kingoldrum, Dunnichen, and in the Mearns will indicate what was happening to the kirklands during these two centuries. At Dunnichen the different holdings were let to tenants. In Kingoldrum the lands of Kenny were exchanged for those of Auchterlochy, but the tenant of Kenny had to mill his grain at the monks' mill of Kingoldrum. The other holdings, Balfour, Baldoway, the Persies, and Kinclune were all let either in quarters or eighths or as wholes either on a liferent or for a fixed number of years, e.g., nineteen years. The monks, therefore, were following the normal practice of the times. They would not allow their tenants to sublet nor grant privileges in the woods to anyone. In the Mearns the leasing of lands for a prescribed period or on a liferent was the

1. Coup. Rent. Vol 11 No. 3 1546 A.D.
2. Numerous references in the charters of Arbroath Abbey.
usual practice. Some of the tenants paid a fixed sum each year but others had improving leases. By 1625 A.D. the lands of Arbroath in this area had been erected into the lay baronies of Newlands and Reidhall. The rentals of Coupar show exactly the same process. About the middle the sixteenth century, however, there is a change from granting lands for a limited and prescribed period to the feuing of church lands. In the charters of Coupar abbey there are several examples of these beginning in 1539 A.D. some referring to small areas some to large, and in the rental book of the same abbey there are more. The same thing was happening with the lands of other monasteries, e.g. Inchaffray. The "rapid dissolution of the landed property of the Church" had begun. Sometimes the tenant was only renewing his possessions, but in other instances it was a new tenant who took up the feu. This movement led to hardship and many lost their holdings especially among the smaller tenants.

In the earlier periods the Church had been acquiring lands, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was primarily interested in their management and in the protection of the associated rights and privileges and latterly in obtaining money from them via the feu of them.

1. Nos CLXXXIV, CLXXXII, CLXXXVII, etc. and Vol 11 of the Rent.
2. I.F. Grant states that nearly 200 were made by Coupar, 75 being new tenants, 95 merely renewing their possessions, and 4 adding to an old holding. This meant a certain movement of population.
3. Returns Kincardine Nos 21, 26, 46, etc.
4. See Appendix p. 176
These abbey lands had participated in all the main movements of the agricultural population and frequently had led them. Rents were paid in kind but latterly in money, a practice which became exceedingly popular and though it had definite advantages it inflicted hardship upon the poorer tenant when the harvest failed.¹

There had been an enormous expansion of the lands of the Church since the thirteenth century and through these lands and their cultivation the Church had done much to improve agriculture, even supposing some of the instructions in their leases were only inserted because it was the "correct thing." Certainly the Church recognised good land and it is significant that many of the fertile areas of modern Strathmore were once owned and cultivated by the monks and their tenants.
Febvre writes that the fundamental problem which
human geography sets itself is "What are the relations
between human societies of to-day and their present
geographical environment?" Our problem has been the
same but instead of the present we have been concerned with
the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth and sixteenth
centuries during which periods there were many changes
both in the environment and in the adaptation of this
environment by the inhabitants.

By the thirteenth century Strathmore and the adjacent
Highlands were no longer virgin areas, although there were
large tracts of natural vegetation unmodified by man. By
the sixteenth century, however, deforestation, reclamation, and developments in agriculture had so altered
the appearance of the countryside that it is possible to
recognise in it indications of the modern landscape. The
change in the appearance of the Highlands was not so great but none the less indicative of their future.
Throughout the area progress in agriculture was not uniform:
around Coupar Angus rotation cropping, manuring, and a
pattern of enclosed fields were to be found, but in other
areas some or all of these were absent. Settlement had expanded: the lateral arrangement of the early period had
given way to a more general pattern which included many

' Map No. 36.
recently developed areas. The population of the area had increased and burghs were more common, but villages were not yet a feature of the landscape, though their number was increasing. It was still a rural population, the inhabitants living close to the land, a fact reflected in the composition of the territorial divisions. The natural regions of the earlier period had been subdivided, but still retained something of their regionalism, e.g., the Mearns, Gowrie, Strathearn were still distinct regions despite their subdivision.

In the Dark Ages movement tended to be from west to east, from the Highlands to the lowlands, but prior to and during our period there was a return to the earlier south-west to north-east movement along the strath with a secondary route following the Tay valley and other minor routes branching off to the Highlands. The Highlands adjacent to the strath were now linked more closely to its economic life and local foci; were appearing along the Highland edge to serve not only the low ground but also the Highland glens and their hinterlands. The Highlands, however, still maintained a distinctive way of life, but the edge was less of a human boundary than formerly.

In all these changes the influence of the physical environment was strong. The distribution of relief and soil, of weather, of drainage and vegetation decided where and to what extent the inhabitants were able to develop the district.
Gradually, however, their power to adapt their environment increased and by the end of the sixteenth century there were definite signs that they had achieved some measure of control over it. The influence which had largely been one way at the beginning of the thirteenth century was now working in two ways, and, although that of the environment over the inhabitants was still the stronger, the other, that of the inhabitants over their environment, was gaining strength.

During these centuries were laid the foundations of the agricultural and social organisations which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inherited and moulded to their own needs and which eventually led to the landscape and way of life existing in Strathmore and the adjacent Highlands to-day.
## APPENDICES

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**Notes:**

1. Lyre the wynkyr in the yer of God 1556 — veltr yer it
   was fyght fayr rodyr and — snow or stornis and parts of fayr
   frost — variabil rodyr lityl and in that wonyr the
gabylk wonyr

2. The art of — — decapety

3. Item the Lauron quaryr the yer abeir in wynkyr
   mekil — — and lystyll lityl snow /merhe dry Astroyll — —

4. 1557.

5. Feb 15 fayr rodyr all the yer — — bairn wonyr and

6. Lauron quaryr shat of — — and bairn and day: the wynkyr
WEATHER FROM THE CHRONICLE OF FORTIRGALL.

1554. and afoyr Andermes frost snaw quhylis. Item the xiiij da of December in the yer of God ane thousand fyv hundyr liiiij yer the frost began and the great snaw began on Yowl da at ewyn and ilk da fra that furth mayr and mayr snaw without ony thoyfft quhyl the xvij da of Januar. It was the grettest snaw and storm that was sein in memorie of man lewand that tym. Mony wyld hors and meris ky sceeyp gayt peryst and deyth for falt of fud in the montanis and in al vdyr partis and thowch part of thowff com the xvij da of Januar fra that furth it began agayn tyl snaw and frosst quhyl the xxij da of Februar on the quhylk day men and wemen myth weyll pas on the ies of Lyon in syndri placis and lytil in few placis quhyll the xxvj day of Februar and --- bot in layth placis. And that samyn yer in wynthyrr ---------

1556.

Nota. Item the wyntyr in the yer of God ane - vclvj yer it was ryocht fayr vodyr and --- snaw or stormis and part of fayr frost --- variabil vodyr lityl tylt in that wonthyrr the quhilk wonthyr the erl of --- decessyt

Item the Lentren quarter the yer abowin vryttytyn mekill --- and lestamà lytyl snaw Merche dry Apryll ---.

1557.

Yer lvij fayr wodyr all the yer --- bayth wonthyrr and Lentren quarter skant of --- and bayr and deyr the symmyr lvij /
lvij
-
- - - quhill mydsymmyr and than gud w - - - - - bundance.
- - - symmyr the yer of God Mvclvij - - dry and het the quhylk symmyr the castell of - - - was begun til la stanis it and the woltis was mayd or Lammes. This symmyr vas deyr ewyl haryst and layth in the heland.

1558.
- and in the passage till France mony lordis and bissobis and men of gud var pareist in the se be tempest of the vodyr. The vyntyr eftyr that vas rycht fayr and gud and lytilsnaw bot mekill frost and gud scheyp of vittellis.

1559.
That samyn symmyr sfoyr viz. lix yeris the Chertros vas destroyth Skwin brynt mekill trwbill in Scotland. - -. Evill symmyr harist vyntyr the yer lix ane fayr Merche and frosty quhill the xvj da (of) Merche).

1560.
Item the symmyr lx yeris rycht deyr evyll haryst that evyr - - s seyn. That Maryon Quein - - - land deceesyt mekill hungyr and darth - - - ther the feyr of maill and bayr xls. - - . - . A fayr vyntyr evyl Februar - - - - saw.

1561.
Item the begynnyn of Merche mekill saw - - frost and stormis quhill the xxv dayis of Merche fra that furth fayr vodyr rycht deyr. Item the begynnin of Apriill evill frost saw gret vindis /
vindis /
and fra that furth gud veddyr. Item the May rycht dry and
het and frost and vynd.
1561.
Item the symmyr the yer ane Mvclxj yer rycht deyr all stwff
fayr gud vodyr that haryst rycht gud and fayr.
-wyntyr quartyr in the yer of God ane Mvclxj yer fayr --
pess and rest in all Scotland.
Meklle snaw in all partis mony deyr and rays slain that yer.
1562.
That samyn wyntyr rycht fayr and guid vodyr rycht deyr in al
partis.
Item the wyntyr sexte tua yer rycht nodyr snaw nor frost
-- -- the next Lentren quartyr rycht dryand deyr in all partis.
1563.
Item the symmyr the yer of God ane Mvc sexte tre yeris rycht
deyr viz. the boll of mail v merk and the feyr of meill in
mony partis iiiij merk and the lady of Straythork tuk v merk
for the boll of maill for the feyr. Ane gud symmyr and gud
harist pece and rest excep the laird of Glenvrquhay wyryth
aganis Clangregor.
1564.
That symmyr meklle rayn contynele gud sayp of vittellis in
al partis. The afor that the boll of maill gef in part v merk
and this symmyr it vas for xviiij s. and the malt for xxvij.
- - - - haryst sexte four yeris ane gud harist.

September rycht - - - -.

1565.
Item ane gud symmyr and harist viz. sexte and fyv yeris etc.

1566.
Item anno Domini Mvc sexte sex yeris ane gud symmyr evyl
August - - veyth in September gud corne in al partis evil
October - - - -.

1567.
The symmyr sexte sevin yeris rycht dry and het that brynt - - kill corne and girs in mony partis of Scotland - - evyl
haryst and naymly October and part of September.

1569.
Item that wyntyr and haryst rycht fayr vodyr and gud sayp of
vyttellis thoch the symmyr afoyr that vas rycht deyr the
feyr of bayr tre pund ilk boll and the boll of mail iiiij merk.

1570.
The symmyr sexte ten yeris rycht gud and all vittellis gud
sayp the August rycht fayr and gud vodyr.
-. September ewyll vodyr and Octobar quhill the xv day
and than guid vodyr and fayr.

1571.
The wyntyr and Lentren quarter ewyll wodyr mony seip and gayth
ded skant of fodyr in mony plassis.
1571.
It vas rycht ewyl wodyr in September and October.
Item that wynthy rycht fayr vodyr quhyl the fythtein day of
Januar and fra that furth quhyl the xxij day of Merche gret
frost that na plwis zyd quhyl aught dayis eftyr that and men
mycht weill pas and repas on the ies of Lyon the tryd of Merche.
Item samyn yer viz. aneMvc sexte lewin yeris the xxij day of
Februar ther com eftyr nown ane gret stroym and snaw and hayll
and wynd that na man nor best mycht tak wp ther heddis nor
gayng nor ryd and mony bestis war pareist furth in that storm
and mony men and vemen war pareist in syndry partis and al kynd
of vyttellis rycht deyr and that becaus na millis mycht gryn
for the frost. All cornis com til the mill of Dunkell and ahl
vdyr bundis about far and neyr. The maill gef that tym in
Sanc Jonisthown xl iiiij s. the malt xxxiiij s. and or Sanc
Patrykis day the maill vas for xxv s. viij d. and the malt
for xxx s.

1574.
Item the symmyr in the yer of God ane Mvc lxxiiij rycht ewil
vodyr and deyr the bol of malt five merk and half merk and the
bol of mail iiiij merk and 3 (one third ?) merk. Evyl August
wynd and ran ................. That samyn harist ewil vodyr
that evyr was sein continual weyth.

1575.
Item the feyr of bayr and maly that yer fyv merk and the /
maill tre pund.

Item the xxij da of Merche the yer abowim wyrttim I began til saw in the Borlin of Fortyrgill. Ame rycht ewyl Merche and evil December Januar and Februar bayth saw and frost weyth and hayll and vyttellis rycht deyr al that wyntyr and Lemtre quartry.

1576.

The quhilc symer was rycht gud vodyr........... Item all Jumii and Julii and August rycht ewyl vodyr mekill ram and weyth quhill September and than rycht fayr vodyr quhill the xvij da of September etyr that rycht ewyl vodyr na aytis sorne in Fortyrgill the xxij da of September bot rycht lytill and namly in Ballenecragge. Item al October evil vodyr mekil corne onsorne and onled.

Ewil haryst ewil vintyr ewil Merche contynual weyth and mae aytes sawyn in Merche. The xxij da of Merche began til saw aytis.

1577.

That Apryll rycht ewill vodyr and the May mekill weyth and ran and Junii rycht eyvl weyth and vynd and the bayr seyd rycht layth in al plasis quhil etyr Sanc Colmis day.
APPENDIX. No. 1.

WOODS AND FORESTS.

NAME AND DATA.

ALYTH R.
Royal Forest with a forest Officer.
Timber felling for constructional purposes.

ATHOL.
Constructional timber from all the woods of Atholl.

BENCHORYN R.
William the Lion grants timber for the church of St. Andrews. (This may be the forest referred to in Reg. de Aberb. No. 66 as a royal forest in which case it is outside the region).

BRENAN.
Forest. (probably near Strathurd).

CALLY.
Wood.

CAMPYSY.
Enclosed with walls. Used for pasturage.
Monks began cultivation 1479.

CLUNIE. R.
cf. Alyth.

CONAN & DUMBERACH.
Held "in forestum". Woods pertaining to it.
Called parks and held in free warenne. Enclosed for pasturage Hawking prohibited.

CORLETHY & COULPERSAUCHE.
Foresta.

COSTARY.
Foresta.

COWIE. R.
Held "in liberam forestam".

SOURCE.

Lib. de Scon. No. 152, 1359.
Cupar I. p. 331.

Reg. de St. And. p. 227.

R.M.S. I. A2177.

Cupar I. p. 240.


Lib. de Scon. No. 152.

Reg. de Aberb. No.103, 1223 A.D.

Reg. de Aberb. No.286 1319.

R.M.S. I. No. 500. 1375.


R.M.S. I. No.499. 1375.
Cragy, R.
Park in this forest enclosing 1500 perches. Used for hunting.

Drimmie.
Woods to be kept from cattle.

Dumberach.
cf. Conon.

Dunfallandy.
Woods.

Drum.
Forest and park into which monks had free entry and exit for carting of timber. Enclosed because they had to make two gates.

Drumsled.
Held in liberum forestum.

Edzell.
Charcoal in wood of Edzell.

Pasture.

Forfar.
The keeper of this forest commanded to give 12 oaks fit for timber to Bishop of Brechin.

Fortar.
Forest - feued out.

Glasworybeg & Glasworymoir.
In Glenisla. forests and probably woods.

Glenerthy (Glenorchy) & Tolikyne,
(Tulloch opposite Blair in Athole).
Woods of "bule" (i.e. birch, cf. Fr. bouleau) and auhne, (i.e. alder, cf. Fr. & Scots aune) and hazel.

Glenprostyn.
(No information).
INVERWICK.
Wood - enclosed.

KELCAMSY.
Wood. Held "in forestum".

KERGILLE.
held "in forestum".

KILGERRE.
Forest. foggage.

KINGOLDRUM.
Woods. Held "in forestum"
Constructional timber.

LYFFEDE.
Wood. common pasture.
constructional timber.

MONTH.
Held "in liberum forestum"

MURTHLY.
Wood.

OCHTERLONY.
Wood.

PERSIE.
Wood - watched over.

PLATER. R.
Foresta—Let for foggage. Hay
was sold. cutting of timber.
Forest officer. Brushwood.

cf. Alyth & Cluny.
20 oaks fit for timber to repair
Restenneth Priory.

ROSMADIRDYNE.
Wood.

STRAHARDE.
Woods. Cupar Abbey kept a
forester.

STROYNGCALADY.
Woods.
STRATHEARN.
Wood: constructional pannage; bark and fuel.

TROSTACH.
R. signifies royal forest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charter.</th>
<th>Place.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Lochethin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Buthygass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Logyait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Blair (in Gowrie).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>Inchayrith.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LINDORES.

| 36.      | Balnagagh. |
| 37.      | Newtyle. |

INCHAPPFRAY.

| 38.      | 
| 45.      | 

Chart. Inch. No. 16. 1200.
Reg. de Aberbr. No. 65. 1203-14.

Sources: The references in most cases only mention the settlement to which the common pasture was attached. Grouped according to the sones, the references in most cases only mention the settlement to which the common pasture was attached.
COMMON PASTURES.

This is not an exhaustive list but is included merely to show the connection with settlement, and indicate the importance of such land to the normal life—which was mainly agricultural—of the 12th to 15th centuries. They are taken from Scone, Arbroath, Lindores and Inchaffray charters since their lands occurred throughout the whole area and would thus illustrate the general importance. Grouped according to the sources the references in most cases only mention the settlement to which the common pasture was attached. cf. the section on common pasture under Agriculture.

SCONE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charter</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lochethin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Buthyrgasc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Logyrait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Blair (in Gowrie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Balurfin (near Melginch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Inchesyrith</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LINDORES.

36. Balemagh.
37. √ Newtyle.

INCHAFFRAY.

38. √ Gask.
45. √ "
55. Dolpatrick & Kintocher.
56. Petlandy.
102. Rossy.

ARBROATH.

16. common pasture with all their neighbours.
19. Inverlunan.
22. Moniehy.
43. Stradichty.
44. Kirriemuir.
45. Muraus.
56. Inverkeillor.
57. Rossie.
67. Catterlene.
89. Balfeith.
90. Kinkell and Conveth.
143. Balekelefan (Mearns?).

Garvock.
PLACE NAMES SUGGESTIVE OF VEGETATION.

These have been culled from various sources, e.g. Watson's Celtic Place Names, but have not been used to decide vegetation owing to contradictions in their interpretation by various authorities. Occasionally they provide corroborative evidence for certain arguments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abercairney</td>
<td>cosy mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balfour</td>
<td>connected with pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borenich</td>
<td>bracken hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braegrum</td>
<td>upland of the moss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairney</td>
<td>thicket or brake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardeny</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; (near Dunkeld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Cet&quot;</td>
<td>wood e.g. in Fencaitland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culperso.</td>
<td>cosy nook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalbeathie</td>
<td>haugh of birchwood (near Caputh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalginross</td>
<td>thornwood point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalkeith</td>
<td>meadow or plateau of the wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalketh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edardoennech</td>
<td>between two marshes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fettercairn</td>
<td>copse on the slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgrund</td>
<td>on or above the bog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fotheros</td>
<td>slope wood (near Lintrose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groan</td>
<td>mossy place (Logiealmond)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grundcruie.</td>
<td>a mossy place with a hard subsoil (in Methven)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Keith. wood.
Keithock. wood.
Kenandheni. head of the marsh (i.e. Dolpatrick).
Kincaldrum. head of the hazel ridge.
Kingoldrum. " " " " "
Kincardine. copse or wood end.
Kinghornie. head of marsh place (near Bervie).
Kirriemuir. quarter muir.
Ledcreiffe. tree slope.
Lendrich. a clear space or glade (in Kirriemuir).
Meckfen. bog stone.
Monzie. plain of corn.
Ogilvie. connected with pasture place (near Blackford).
Ohchill. woodside.
Pairney. tree place.
Pert. bush, brake.
Perth. bush, brake, copse.
Pitfour. connected with pasture.
Pressock. copse thicket.
Rannoch. bracken region.
Rescobie. point of the thorny place.
Rossie. wood place (near Dunning and S.W. of Montrose).
APPENDIX.

MILLS.

Reg. de Aberbrothoc. II. No. 217. 1483.

"We wish that ........ ( ) ... hold the half part of the mill in the following manner - All the husbandmen dwelling in the lordship of Tulloch (i.e. Tulloes) pay to the mill 1/16th as multure of all their (blade) corn and the husbandmen leaving the same lordship for others will give on their removal 1/17th multure and as much of their corn sold by them in any place within the bounds of the said mill. And the husbandmen of Dunnichen dwelling on the northern part of the Water will give a 1/13th multure and those removing 1/17th and as much from the corn sold by them. And they will give also of all the corn of the garbal tithes of the said lordship 1/21st multure. And of all the corn that the husbandmen from the northern part of the water of "Ovynny" within the lordship of Dunnichen mill at the said mill, they will give a firlot from every chalder for knaveship. They will also give from each plough ½ boll, 1 pek of barley. And all the husbandmen of both lordships will be bound to the said mill so that they will not be allowed to take their corn to any other mills without the consent of the millers, but they will remain and will wait at /
their own forsaid mill from the Feast of All Saints annually up to the Feast of the Holy Cross and for 15 days after it. And if then they do not find sufficient service at the mill of Craichie let them find for themselves other mills for milling their corn by taking (capiendo) the accustomed multure.

We also wish that all the cottars of the foresaid lordships, if they have five perches of land, pay to the millers three pecks of barley, and if they have less than 5 perches that they pay according to the number of perches in the proportion of the said three pecks."


This charter founds the Maisondieu to the north of Brechin and amongst other rights grants:

"...the mill of Brechin with the multure of the same to the 13th. multure of corn growing there except the corn of my demesne land which has the right of being milled free --- and the multure of the town of Lwichande to the 16th. vas (sheaf with the multure of the vill of Heychame to the 20th. vas with the multure of the land of Baldougathy --- to the 20th vas with the multure of the vill of Buthyrkil to the 13th. vas with the multure of the vill of Pettindreich to the 10th vas with the multure of the land of Moisy Scissoris to the 20th. vas and with all /
all /
the forinsec services (sectis) and others which pertain
to the said mill and will pertain". Men of the schira
are instructed to keep the mill and stank in repair and
the men and master of the mill are immune from such work."

This is a list of the mills granted to or created by
Scone, Arbroath and Inchaffray Abbeys before 1400.
1. Mills of Perth. Lib. de Scon 5.
2. King's mills on the Almond. Lib. de Scon 5.
3. Wind mill in Scone. Lib. de Scon. 74.
5. Balgarvus. Lib. de Scon. 144.
6. Kyncarauch. Lib. de Scon. 149.
8. Inverkiledr. Lib. de Scon. 50.
11. Glaskeler. Lib. de Scon. 70.
12. Balfeth. Lib. de Scon. 89.
13. Munethethkin & Kare Lib. de Scon. 93.
15. Fettmengartenach & Relfeuth Lib. de Scon. 242.
18. Dunfallin.
Number of Ploughs in the parishes of the Mearns for 1660. This was a means of assessing each parish for the upkeep of a watch kept for Highland marauders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Flowes.</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fordon</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fettercairn</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenbervie</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dores</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over Banchrie</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strachane</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie Cwletter</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nether Banchrie</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>366</strong></td>
<td><strong>£378</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbuthnot</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eglisgreige</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conveth</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garwock</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benholme</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bervie, Kinneff &amp; Catterline</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunnottter</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetteresso</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyge</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbuthnott</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>417</strong></td>
<td><strong>£159 - 17 - 0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Farm Account Book of Carcary in Farnell gives the following details of cereal farming:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Began to sow</th>
<th>Began to shear (i.e. reap)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1663</td>
<td>10th March</td>
<td>24th August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664</td>
<td>25th February</td>
<td>17th August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>21st March</td>
<td>No date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666</td>
<td>21st February</td>
<td>6th August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1667</td>
<td>19th March</td>
<td>6th August</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sowing Oats</th>
<th>Sowing Pease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>5th March</td>
<td>12th March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>10th March</td>
<td>17th March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>10th March</td>
<td>12th March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>15th March</td>
<td>6th March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>25th March</td>
<td>No date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
THE DIVISIONS OF BAITSCHAIL.

(from Coupar Abbey Rental).

1473.
6 acres to John Portar.
4 acres to Glenylef.
3 acres to John Zong.
2 acres to Wil Landalis.
4 acres to John Buchane.
5 acres to John Hil.
1 acre to Wil Chawmer.
1 acre to Thom Portar.
2 acres to Wil Crag.
2 acres to D. Wil Mason.
3 acres to D. James Hill.
2 acres to John Ingeram.
2 acres to David Jak.
1 acre to John Muthe.

1542.
5 acres to W. Jak.
6 acres to Rob. Cuben.
6 acres to John Portar.
2½ acres to John Forman or Tailzour.
2½ acres to David Cuben.
7½ acres to John Browan.
4 acres to Andrew Campbell.
6 acres to David Portar.

5½ acres to John Mersar.

4 acres to David Talzour.

2 acres to Johne Pilmoir.

5 acres to Vatte Baxter.

1. This witness of 50 years of age was born on and lived in Ardargie. He knew "the nine hole stone which he considered to be part of the march between the Turf muir and the common which march runs by the Cadder Road to Craigencat and the march between Ardargie and Rosine to run from the said 9 hole stone by the burn called Glaskgarric Burn. .... and from Craigencat by a burn or strype called Craigencat Burn or Creek burn up to Tombuie. From there to Cultauschar it may be the head of the brae or at the foot of it (Ardargie had the south brae of Tombuie for his cattle)."

2. Another witness stated "that 16 cottars and 4 pandielaws at West Dron and the possessors of two grass houses cast turfs as far west as the west side of Threap-hill. Cottars and pandielaws 8 cartloads each and the possessors of the grass houses 4 each - cast mainly on Paul hill, through the whole Threap hill and about the south side of Barmaknows. These turfs were brought down to the top of Pitkeathly Hill where they were stacked and from there by ales to their possessions in Burnside."
PROCESSES AND DIVISIONS OF COMMONTY.

Ms. in H. M. Register House. Mack 20/1/1784.

FORGANDENNY.

The following is an abstract of the evidence given by a few of the witnesses.

1. This witness of 50 years of age was born on and lived in Ardargie. He knew "the nine hole stone which he considered to be part of the march between the Turf muir and the commonty which march runs by the Cadger Road to Craigencat and the march between Ardargie and Rossie to run from the said 9 hole stone by the burn called Claskgarrie Burn. .... and from Craigencat by a burn or strype called Craigencat Burn or Crock burn up to Tombuie. From there to Culteuchar it may be the head of the brae or at the foot of it (Ardargie had the south brae of Tombuie for his cattle)."

2. Another witness stated "that 16 cottars and 4 pendiclers at West Dron and the possessors of two grass houses cast turfs as far west as the west side of Threap-hill. Cottars and pendiclers 8 cartloads each and the possessors of the grass houses 4 each - cast mainly on Foul hill, through the whole Threap hill and about the south side of Smealknows. These turfs were brought down to the top of Pitkeathly Hill where they were stacked and from there by sleds to their possessions in Burnside."
3. This witness stated that the Cast of Newton marches stretched "from the south gates of the parks of Newton by an old dyke southward to a road leading from the bridge of Invermay to the Cold Coats from thence westward to near the laboured ground of Kildinnie. Thence northward by a stripe running by the side of an old dyke and from thence by the head of the sheep leys and the park dyke of Newton. He understood the Commony of Forgandenny "to run from the south east corner of the Parks of Newton up by the east side of the Cast of Newton to the Whinny Hill, from thence to the east side of Clockenken, thence eastward by the Halfpenny Burn to the Gorblaw, thence near to Cold Coats and from that to the Lint Dams and from thence by the road that comes down to Forgan thence by the minister's glebe of Forgan, thence as far east as the Pipertown and fra that to the south east corner of the Newton Park."

There was an Upper and a Lower common and the evidence produced to the court showed that the following places had the right to use them.

Upper Commony.

Over Ardargie,
Fitkeathly and ½ Mundie.
Ecclesiamagerde.
Westhall, Loch and Lochend part of Westhall.
Over Culteuchar.
Rossie Ochile.

Nether Commony

Nether Ardargie and Fornence (?).

Kildinny.

Newton.

Rossie.

Brander.

Woodend.

Pendicles in Forgan.

Smydie hill and Croft willock.

Clockenken.

Meikle Kinnaird.

Eugassie.

West Miln.

Then there follows the final division of these commonties according to the rights of the various landlords.

Act of Sederunt 1525:

4 oxgates = 1 20/- land.  
8 " = 1 40/- land.  
1 husbandland = 104 acres.  
1 ploughgate = 104 acres.  
1 daceon = 416 acres.  
1 dozen = 13 acres.
LAND MEASUREMENT.


Highland and W. Isles System.

1 davock = 20 d. land = 10 merks = 133/4 = 1 Tirunga.

¾ " = 5d " = 2½ " = 33/4 = 1 Ceathramb.

½ " = 2½d " = 1¼ " = 16/8 = 1 Ochdamh.

1/16th " = 1¼d " = 5/8 " = 8/4 = 1 Leothas.

1/32th " = 5/8 " = 5/16 " = 4/2 = 1 Kota-ban.

1/64th " = 5/16 " = 5/32 " = 2/1 = 1 Dha Sgillin.

Lowland System.

2 oxgates = 1 husbandland.

4 husbandlands = 1 ploughgate.

4 ploughgates = 1 davock. cf. 4 33/4 lands = 1 ten merkland.

1 oxgate = 13 acres.

1 husbandland = 26 acres.

1 ploughgate = 104 acres.

1 davoch = 416 acres.

Act of Sederunt 1585:-

4 oxgates = 1 20/- land. cf. 1 husbandland.

8 " = 1 40/- land. cf. 1 ploughgate.
CONTENTS OF BARONY OF STROWAN.

This table is taken from the manuscript of the Forfeited Estate Papers in H. M. Register House and accompanies the map of Rannoch and the Barony of Strowan. Though belonged to a date outside the period under discussion, it shows the subdivision of a Highland barony and gives a very full account of the types of land and vegetation for each settlement. It continues the evidence of the Menzies Rentals of Rannoch, and Christie's Laird and Lands of Loch Tayside, and the lands mentioned should be compared with those mentioned in R.M.S. II. No. 491 etc. 1451 A.R. as composing the Barony of Strowan then.

1. In H.M. Register House. Included as 'map' no 33A.
APPENDIX.

A. **FISHERIES OF SCONÉ.**

| Kincarchochy. | Tay. |
| King's Inch.  |    |
| Scone.        |    |
| Crag.         |    |
| Kinfaruras.   |    |
| Inveralmond.  |    |
| Stan Inche.   |    |
| Gerny.        |    |
| Cairnie.      | Earn. |

B. **FISHERIES OF INCHAFFRAY.**

| Pow. | Pow. |

C. **FISHERIES OF COUPAR ANGUS.**

| Campsy. | Tay. |
| Lornie to Hermitage. |    |
| Isla.   | Isla. |

D. **FISHERIES OF ARBROATH.**

| Ur. i.e. Meikleour. | Tay. |
| Broughty.           |    |
| N. Esk.             | N. Esk. |
| Torry.              | Dee. |
| Bridge of Dee.      |    |
| Banchory Devenick.  |    |
E. FISHERIES OF LINDORES.

Redinch.
Glesbanin.
Rugesablyn.
Portincrag.
Sands near mouth of Earn.

RIVER.
Tay.
".
".
".
Earn.

F. GENERAL FISHERIES.

Gask.
Caputh.
Colcrike.
Clunie Loch (Eels).
Forfar Loch (Eels).
Rescobie Loch (Eels).
Mill stanks.

G. SALT WATER FISHERIES.

Inshore waters.

There were many others which would lengthen the list to include practically all streams of any size.
the / Following lists state the lands of each with the dates of acquisition.

ARBROATH.

1178-80. Territory of Achynglas.
   "Scyre" of Aberbroth and Ethie.
   "Scyra" of Dunnichen.
   "Scyra" of Kingoldrum.
   Saltwork in Carse of Stirling together with 5 acres and common pasture.
   Ferryboat at Montrose and land pertaining to it.
   Kirkland of Fethmuref (i.e. Barry).
   Gressum of Inverkeillor.
   1 carrucate of Balekelefan in Mearns.
   1 carrucate in territory of Monethen, i.e. Mondynes.
   Net on N. Esk.

1178-84. Kirklands of Glamis.

1178-98. Toft in Stracathro and croft with 2 acres in plain of the vill of Stracathro.

1180-1214. Kirkland of Ruthven.

1189-96. 10 acres in plain of Kinblathmont, ½ acre in vill and 1/10th vill's mill together with common pasture.
   Toft in Munros, i.e. Montrose.

   " " Nigg.
   " " Monikie.
   " " Panbride.
Land of Belach (probably Ballow) and Petinlouer.  
1/10th territory of Abernethy.

Toft in burgh of Forfar.

½ mark from fishing of Ur (i.e. beside Meikleour)
Kirklands of Guthrie.

"Abbacia", i.e. Abthane, of old Montrose.

1200.  
Toft in Perth.

Freedom of forests.
Kirklands of Newtyle.

Kirklands of Bencorin, i.e. Banchory Ternan.
Kirklands of Catterline.
Toft in Dundee.

1200-07. Land at Portincraig (near Broughtyferry. It must have been on the north side of the Tay then) together with common pasture and other easements at Monifieth and fishings of Craig.
Land in Mondynes and common pasture of Mondynes and Kare.

1201-07. Kirklands of Monifieth, i.e. Abthanery.
Kirklands of Murroes.
Kirklands of Stradechtyn, i.e. Mains.
Kirklands of Kirriemuir.

1202. General grant of common pasture wherever they held lands.

1202-04. Kirklands of Dunbulc (?).
Kirklands of Arbirlot.
1203-04. Wood of Trostach (Deeside).
1204. Toft in Forfar.
1204-11. Licence to cut timber at Edzell.
1 davoch of Balegillegrand (probably Balshan in Kinnell) = 416 acres.
Kirkland of Kinerny.
Lands of Balfurth.
Lands in Mundurnachin (probably in Aberdeenshire)
Land of Forglint (near Monymusk).
1206. 2 bovates, i.e. Rath, in Catterline.
Saltwork and 1 acre of Dun together with common pasture.
1210. Mill of Arbroath whose sucken were inhabitants of Arbroath and Ethie who had not a mill of their own.
1211-14. 2 bovates in Rossie.
Glaskeler, i.e. land between the kirk and burn of Catterline, and right to build a mill.
1 carrucate in Kinalchmund in Garvioch (in Aberdeenshire).
1214-26. Land and wood of Kingoldrum "in forestum".
Land between Aldenkonker and Aldhendouen in territory of Kirriemuir.
Land of Kengildurs.
1221. 1 davach of Petmengartenach in Mearn.
Right to make a stank to mill of Relfeuth (i.e. Balfeth).
1223. Land of Dunberach (i.e. Dunbarrow) and Conan with woods pertaining thereto.

1225. Right to make a mill lade in Catterline.

1226-29. Ochterlony, i.e. Lowmy near Dunnichen in exchange for Kenny in Kingoldrum.

1233. Land of Nigg with nativi and fishings.

1234. Desseve - 2 davochs i.e. 832 acres (in Aberdeenshire).

- Carrinbrogyn 1 davock i.e. 416 " " "
- Hathkerry.} 1 davoch i.e. 416 " " "
- Tulicarry."

- Brekkeneth. ½ davoch i.e. 208 " " "
- Tulielte. ¼ " 104 " " "

(i.e. 4½ davochs = 1976).

1236. Drumsleed (in Mearns) in free forest.

1238. 2 Tubertachthas i.e. Tipperly in Fordoun.

- Glenfarquhar.
- Kinkell.
- Kulbak.
- Monboddoo

1246. Mill of Conveth.

1282. 1 bovate in which Kirk of Garvock lay.

1285. Ardlogy and Lethendy (near Fyvie).

1318. Free entry and exit into park and forest of Deveron.

1325. Spedalfeilde (in Arbroath).

During these years Arbroath was letting and selling some...
possessions, a movement which as the following list will show started c. 1199 and increased throughout the 13th and 14th centuries.

1199. F davach in Kingoldrum i.e. Kennyn Muchardyn for a yearly rent of 1 lb. pepper or 12d at Pentecost.

1218-46. Drumsleed sold to Bishop of Brechin.

1242. Lordship of Koneveth.

1245. Mil leased out but they keep the multure.

1256. Banchory Devenick to Alan Hostiarius.

1265. Dovenaldston (i.e. Strathfinella Hill) Drumsleed, Kulhak, Monboddo, Glenfarquhar, Fasdavach (i.e. Phesdo) ½ Tubertach, 2 parts of Kinkell, and Petmengartenach in feu farm to Alexander, Earl of Buchan.

1313. Garbal tithes of vill of Crofergus.

1314. Forglen.

1315. Dunnichen beyond the water of "Vuany" except Craichies feued.

They also drew money rents as follows:

1215. King's manir in Forfar - 100/-

1310. Toft & Croft in Monefeith - 6/8d.

1235-6. Fishing of Ur - ½ mark.

c. 1270. Pothnewyn - 1 mark

1270. Mill of Haddington - 1 mark.
COUPAR ANGUS.

The "Breviarum Antiqui Registri de Cupro in Anegus," together with the Rental Book has been used to compile this list of possessions. Where possible the date of their bestowal or its confirmation charter has been given. Otherwise the King's reign is the only indication of this date.

Malcolm IV.
1164. ½ carrucate, i.e. 52 acres, for the site of the Abbey and the King's "Chase" and waste ground pertaining to it. King's lands of Coupar.

William I.
After 1170. Edderpoles i.e. Lidderpoles in Errol.
1173. 2 acres arable land in Errol.
1183. Tenement in Forfar.
1187 - 96. Land between Edderpoles and Inchmartin.
Undated.
Aberbothrie.
Kethet i.e. Keithock.
Parthesin i.e. Persey.
Kalathin except part on south side of Ferdill opposite Clunie, i.e. Pearsie, Cally, Ardle and Clunie.
2 carrucates i.e. 208 acres in Rattray.
Whole of marsh in territory of Blair.
Ledcassy.
½ William de Ogilvy's lands in Dunkeld.
1 acre in Balgally.
1 toft and 1 acre in Inchture.
1 toft and 1 bovate in Kynnard.
Common pasture in vill of Cargill.
Toft of Innerkey.

Alexander II.
1214-32. House and acre in port of Stinchende Haven, i.e. East Haven.
1232. Belacktyn (probably Bellaty) Freuchy, Craignethan, i.e. Craignity, Invercharity and Fortuhy.
Tyrbeg with common pasture.
1235. 2½ carrucates of Magna Blair in exchange for common moor of Blair.
1235-6. 2 perches bought in Perth.
Kinnef i.e. Kincrefe (10F57).
1242. 1 bovate in the Carse.
Alexander III
1286 Rent from Miraitymbeg between the Kirkland of Loed and Mochehnath.

Undated Marsh of Meigle
Dunfallandy

Robert I.
1309 Little pert, Duny and Blair in Angus,
Duntay in Glenbathack.
Drumys, i.e., Drimmie Baster and Wester.

Undated Innaith in Athole.
Northollaw.
Woods of Glenherthy and Tolikene.
All William de Hays lands in the Carse of Gowrie.
Kirk of Fossaway with two acres.
2 davochs in Lintrathen, i.e., clintolach and Balcassay.
Toft in Adnachtan, i.e., Galloraw, and 1 yare on the Tay.
Land between the Grange of Balbrogy and Meigle.
Camboro in Glenisla.
Adory in the tenement of Rethy.
Alexander III.
1286. Rent from Miraitymbeg between Kirkland of Loed and Mochehnath.
Undated. Marsh of Meigie.
Dunfallandy.

Robert I.
1309. Little Pert, Duny & Blair in Angus (confirmed).
Duntay in Glenbathack.
Drumys i.e. Drimmie, Easter & Wester.
Undated. Innaith in Athole.
Northollaw.
Woods of Glenherthy and Tolikene.
All William de Hay’s lands in Carse of Gowrie.
Kirk of Fossoway with 2 acres.
2 davochs in Lintrathen, i.e. Clintolach & Balcassay.
Toft in Adnachtan, i.e. Galloraw, and 1 yare on Tay.
Land between Grange of Balbrogy and Meigle.
Camboro in Glenisla.
Adory in tenement of Rethy.

Coupar Angus Abbey thus owned lands in Strathmore,
Glenisla, the Carse and Atholl. The majority were included
in an area bounded by Campsy, Meigle, Kirriemuir and
Blairgowrie which separated the lands of Arbroath from those
of Scone. The earlier grants were developed and new
settlements arose. The Rental Book of 1442 shows this
and by comparing it with the above list some idea of this growth
may be obtained. It must be remembered however that in the
earlier grants often only the regional name was given and
the addition of new names in the following list need not,
though it usually does, imply an increase in the number of
settlements.
The lands as contained in "Rentale of the Haill Temporall Landis of the Abbacie of Couper."

(1). The Barony of Kethik. (a). fra the Reid Croce West.
Nether Campsy, Over Campsy, called Woulfhill.
Bruntyhill, Memphill, and Cowbyr of Kethik.
Soutarhouss.
Keithik & Coltward with mylnis & St. Ninian's aiker.
Calsayend.
Baitscheill.
NeucaIsay.
Coubyr.
Balgirsch.
Gallouraw.

(b). fra the Reid Croce Eist.
Wester Denheid.
Easter Denheid.
Balbrogijs.
Balbrogiis.
Crunan.
Airthourstane.
Balmyle.

(2). Wnder the Officer aboune the Wateris of Ilay and Areicht Couper Grange.
Mylnehorne.
Mylnhorne.
Ledcasse.
Grange of Abirbroth.
Polcak.
Blaklaw.
Ester Cotzardis.
Wester Cotzardis.
Tullifergus, Over Murtoun, Nethir Murton & Cheppelton.
Drymmy, Eister, Middill, and Wester.
Caillies.
Persey Wester & Ester.

In Atholl.

Tullichane Innervak.
Moircullich.
Drumfallinthie.
Merthlak in Mar
Clintlay and Auchindory. Not in Atholl proper.
Grange of Airlie.
Blakstone.
Grange of Kincreich & Glenvoy.
Littill Perth.
Carsgrange with Bogmyln, Murehous, Vesthorn & Orcheart.

Glenlyay.
Cambok, ower and Nethir Auchinleisiche, Ower and Nethir
Ilrik, Downy, Dainacabok, Kirktoun, Pitlochrie, Bellite,
Inneraritie, Vester & Ester, mylne & mylne landis
thairof, Glenmerky.
Mekill & Littill Forthir.
Neuton, Freuchy, the mylne and lynne landis thereof.
Kirkhillokis.
Daluany and Craigurate.
Carnavlochl.
Wester Bogsyd.
Formethie.
In addition there were money payments from Dundee, Perth, Forfar, and Scone along with Brunty Miln and Vindyaige.
**Scone.**

Alexander I.

Island of Loch Tay.

Can and custom of a ship.

Grants quoted above under foundation charter of Scone.

Malcolm.

Lands of Cambusmichael and serfs.

4 manors of Gouerin, i.e. Scone, Coupar, Forgrund and Strathardle.

Licence to cut timber in the wood between Scone and Cargill.

Toft in Linlithgow.

William.

Toft in Scone.

Ahednepobbel (somewhere near Tibbermuir).

Toft in Tibbermuir with meadow and common pasture.

40 acres cultivated land in Buttergasc and common pasture, with a toft and croft.

Land called Dargoch on west of church of Invergowrie.
Land of Logie Dundee.

Land in Perth.

Land in Perth called a platya, 26 feet long and 20 feet broad.

4 perches of land in St. Andrews.

1 acre and 1 perch belonging to church of Lochwerweth.

Place of Kincarachin.

Rath i.e. Logierait - capud comitatus.

Thanages of Dulmony whole (i.e. Dull) and Fanderfuith (i.e. Fortingall).

7 acres in territory of Inveralmond.

Crag (near Cambusmichael and Campsy).

Alexander II.

Land of Blare "in warennam".

Lands of Great and Little Blare (5 davochs).

Toft in Scone.

Land of Clen "in warennam".

2 acres in territory of Scone.

Lordships of Rath and Kynfaunes.

Wood of Kelcamsy.

Land in Perth.

Toft bought (70 feet by 20 feet).

2 booths in Perth.

3 acres of Kyntulach and toft and croft.

Booth in Perth.

Booth in Perth.
1 perch in Perth.

Land in vills of Clackmannan, Dunkeld, Scone and Inverness.

Toft in Scone.

Land in Perth.

Land in Perth.

Land in Perth.

Toft in Logymahedd and common pasture.

2 perches of land in Perth.

Alexander III.

House, toft and 2 acres in Balurfin bought for 2 silver marks.

Toft in Inchsyrith on the Tay and 1 acre plus common pasture.

Robert I.

Thanage of Scone.

Quarries of Kincarrachy and Balcormok.

Land next to the burn of Crumboch.

James I.

2 parts of land and mill of Petochrie leased by the monks.

They had disposed of the following lands in various ways:

Insula de Scone for 1 stone cheese yearly.

Cambusmichael exchanged by its tenant for Crouchyn and Cloncater.
703

1195. 3 acres near water trench at the Isle of MASSES.
1198. Kirkland of Aberuthven.
1199. Abthen of Madderty.
c. 1200. Ardunie, Achadlongsih (i.e. Craig) and
duffinler (i.e. Dubheads).
1203. 8 acres in territory of Gask.
1204-6. Baleful, i.e. Williamstone.
1208. Edardoennech.
1210-18. Balmakgillon, i.e. Bellyclone.
Mill at Dunfallin i.e. Mills of Earn.
1218. Part of the march enclosed by a trench that year.
10 acres in Gask.
1219. Vill of Ruvegalach.
1221-3. 5 acres in vill of Abercairney.
1223-4. Rath, i.e. ¼ part of Dunphalin – probably Raith.
1226-34. 6 acres of Dolpatrick.
Toft plus 3 acres in vill of Kyntochir and common pasture.
Toft of 6 perches square plus 2 acres in Petlandy, i.e. Fithleres Flat, and common pasture.
2 tofts and 4 acres in vill of Kenandheni, i.e. Dolpatrick and common pasture.
1237. ½ Drumcrok in Melginch.
1240. Land in North Street, Perth.

1245. Land in North Street, Perth.

1252. Land in Arbroath.

1266. Cambinche probably Isle (9063).

Right of quarrying in Nethergask, i.e. Trinity-Gask.

1270. Land of Tolauch in Dunblane.

1271. 16 acres near bridge of the abbey in Langflathe, i.e. on east side of abbey. Part of Petlandy.

1272. Part of Rossy and common pasture with 20 cartloads or 80 horse loads of peat.

4 acres and a little more in Petlandy with Brewhouse and common pasture.

1275. Toft and croft in Petlandy.

1279. Land in Perth.

1313-4. Lands of Cardnay and Dolcorachy, i.e. Cairnie and Bankhead.

c.1370. Lands of Carnibo.

1370. Land within and without the town of Auchterarder.

1389. Lands in N. Uist - 4 pennylands in Ylara.


1439. 2 roods of land bought in Perth.

Money, Victuals and Pertinents.

1226. 1/10th King's rents in Auchterarder.
1234. £10 from garbal tithes of Tullibardine, Kincardine and 1/5th Bardarel.
1240. 4 bolls. wheat from Inchmichael.
1247. 20 marks from Earl's rents at Dunning.
4 marks from Earl's rents at Abberufin, i.e. Aberuthven.
1 mark from Petlandy.
1 chalder oatmeal from Ouchtirmachan.
1268. 6 marks of Ballenoleth.
4 marks yearly from Abercairney.
1270. 4 marks from Mukrand.
1271. 1 mark from Petlandy.
1283. 20 marks from Dunning & Petkarne, i.e. Petcairn.
10 marks from Petkarne.
1284. 100/- from Strathy.
1329. 1 mark from rents of Tulibardyn.
1358. 20/- from Pettynefive in lieu of the tithes of Gask Cristi.
1195. Toft in Munros.


1198-9. Land between the Tay and a nearby burn.
Redinche island.
Mill of the vill of Lindores.
Toft in Dundee.
Inch of Perth.
Toft in Perth.
1 ploughgate in vill of Neutile with common pasture.

1198. Whole land of Pethergus.

Land between the streams of Matheres and Eglesgirg.
2 oxgates of Pethannot.
Wicheston (only in the rubric of the charter).

1204. Fisheries near Redinche except one yare at Colcrik.

1211-14. Vill of Eglesmagrill and tithes of Cletheueis, i.e. Clevage.
Toft in Munorgrund, i.e. Monorgan.
Oxgate in Forgrund, i.e. Forgan in Forgundenny.

1215. 1/3rd draw-net fisheries at Glesbanin and at Rugesablyn, opposite Colcrik.
Rathargothen i.e. Redgorton.

1216-24. 3 measured acres of arable land next to Eglesmagrill.

1219-32. Part of Lundors.

1226. Whole messuage of Cragyn near Dundee.
1232-37. Toft in Inverbervyn.
    Fishery in the Tay facing Portincrag (i.e. it was on South Bank)

1233. Wood from the wood of Tulyhen in Athole.
    1/3rd of a toft in Perth.

1234. Beny and Concrag.

1236. In exchange for the Inch of Perth and Dunmernoch in Strathtay, they received lands of Fedale in thanage of Ouchyrardour.

1256. Licence to take timber from wood of Glenlitherne.

1261. Licence to take timber from the wood of Curelundyn (probably near Greenloaning).

Kirkland & tithes of Moethel, i.e. Muthill.
Restenneth Priory

In the Historical Manuscripts Commission it is stated that the Priory received a grant of 20/- yearly from the rents of Monros besides the teinds of those rents in the time of David I and a writ of 1361 settling a dispute with Brechin in Restennet’s favour proves its existence in the reign of David I. A charter of Malcolm IV dated 1162-4 granted certain lands to this priory and is the first in the following list.

Malcolm IV.

1162-4. Grathnatharach i.e. Craignathro.

Pethefrin i.e. Petterden.

Duninath.

Dyserth.

Eglespethir.

Tofts in Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh & Forfar.

Toft in Salorch.

Mill & saltworks of Montrose.


b. 1292. Mill in forest of Plater near Morleterre i.e. Murthill.

Owing to the destruction suffered by its lands during the Wars of Independence an inquest was held in 1321 which stated that the following lands comprised its possessions then:

"namely the land of Roustenot on which the church of Roustenot is built (the land) of Dunynad, Dissarch Cragnatheran, Petreychyn, Eglispeder, Ardwork, one toft in
in the town of Perth, one in Forfar and one in Monros.

Item. 20/10 yearly from thanage of Thanachayis, 2nd tithes of all the underwritten thanages:- Old Monros, Duney, Glammes, Kingalteny and Abirlemnach, the three bondages (bondagium) of Forfar, namely Treboge, Balmichenore and Estirforfar.

Item. Tenths of town of Monros, mill and fishings of same and all other things pertaining to the said town.

Item. 2 mares yearly from town of Forfar and 1 marc from its mill, 100 eels from its loch; 6 marcs from barony of Kettins; 40/-, 1 stone wax and 1 marc from Little Pert; 4 marcs from Inverlunan.

Item. All tenths of fines and escheats within the justice courts of sheriffdom of Forfar.

Item. Tenths of all wards and reliefs bind these, tenths of the king's stud in sheriffdom of Forfar, and tenth of the hay of the forest of Plater. ...." Followed by more tenths.

The next charter grants to them "the licence and liberty of felling timber and underwood within his forest of Plater as much as they might need for their own use for their ploughs, carts and harrows with yokes, tie beams and other wooden implements (Latin 'apparatus'), pertaining to the said ploughs etc. ......."
ST. ANDREWS.

This charter R.M.S. II. No. 1039, 1471 A.D. ratifies gifts and possessions made by the Crown to the Priory of St. Andrews among which are:

"...Church of Langforgrunt with land of Pilmure and pertinents, and 1 bovate of land in Monorgunt, church of Fowlis with pertinents, church of Rossy with superiority of land of Rossyclerach and cane of same, church of Inchture with chapel of Kinnaird, lands and pertinents of the same, lands of Pratpouty and Lowre and Inscherate with annual return from King's custom of vill of Perth and certain sums belonging to the king from the same town, also annual returns within same and one fishing with the nets of the king in the water of Perth, certain minute returns in Dundee with annual returns of the King from the same town, church of Eglisgreg with chapel of St. Regulus with kirklands, viz. Eglisgrig and Eglissuel with fishing of water of Esk and ½ davach in Medyltoune, church of Fordoun with chapel land and brewhouse of same, church of Bourty with lands and pertinents, land of Segydenne in Kunalkmore ........."

It is to be noted that with the exception of Fordoun, nearly all the places mentioned are within sight of the sea and all are within easy travelling distance of it. This is in agreement with the distribution of the churches of the Diocese of St. Andrews, and points to one, if not the main, means of transport adopted by the religious of St. Andrews in reaching their more distant possessions.
Cambuskenneth. - Its interests in this district.

1164. The island between Polmase and Tulibody.

1165. Church and kirklands of Fortheviet.

1180. Lands of Malar.

- 4 acres of Fortheviet plus toft and croft.

1195. Churches of Kynclethuyne, i.e. Kinclaven.

- Kincardin (on Forth).
- Glennylefe, i.e. Glenisla.

½ carrucate with meadow in Balcormok with pasturage.

1244. Benyn and Duglyn.

1260. Kinclavin handed over to Dunkeld for a yearly payment of 6 marks.

1281. Arringrook.

1311. Kirk of Glenilef handed over to Coupar Angus monastery for a yearly payment of 10 marks.

1361. Kirk of Kinnoull.

1374. Kintulach.
Dunfermline.

(from Registrum de Dunfermline).

No. 58. Church of Molyn and 3 carrucates of land and Petdunedi, Petmalduith, B Alecuneve and Petmacadunegil.
No. 68. Toft in Munros.
No. 128. Bendauchty.
No. 134. Tithes of Inveranund and Herviiscroce.
No. 322. Cupermacultyn, Kethec, Fordewyn, Dummerneth. 1282.
No. 534. Jakstoun, Logybride, Rothilie, Balmacolie, Blalak, and Inchetrewie with fishing in water of Tay pertaining to said lands lying in West Starmouth. 1538.
Other Religious Houses, according to James Rankin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Date of Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carthusians</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Friars</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>1211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brechin</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friars or Mendicants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmelites</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(White Friars)</td>
<td>Inverurvie</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irvine</td>
<td>14th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tylilum</td>
<td>1262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominicans</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>Alexander II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Black Friars)</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montrose</td>
<td>1230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>1292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Grey Friars)</td>
<td>Aberdeen (Observantines)</td>
<td>1450.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perth (Observantines)</td>
<td>1460.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunneries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cistercians</td>
<td>Elcho</td>
<td>b.1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Leonards (Perth)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns of St. Clair or Minoresses of St. Francis</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hospitals.

Aberdeen (4). (a) b. 1490, (b) 1538, (c) and (d) undated.

Arbroath.

Balgavies.

Maison Dieu. 1264.

Dunkeld. 1510.

Kincardine O'Neil. Alan Durward.

Perth (3). St. Leonards. b. 1296.

St. Anne's (near St. John's Church). c. 1500.

St. Catherines at Claypottis. 1523.

Portincrag.

Rothvan. 1224.

The use of the word 'spital' in its various forms indicates old hospitals or their endowed lands.
Pictish Churches.
1. Muinnter of Aber Eloth i.e. Arbirlot. 397-432 A.D.
2. Monifod i.e. Monifieth. c. 578 A.D.
3. Annat of Munros. early 6th century A.D.
4. Innis na Cholm i.e. Inchmaholm. p. 514 A.D.
5. Dunblane. 578-610 A.D.
6. Abernethy. 563-578 A.D.
These indicate the Pictish districts.

Scottish Churches.
1. Drymen. c. 580 A.D.
2. Kailli an Find — near Dunkeld in the Tay valley to the north c.597 A.D.
3. Dull. 679-704 A.D.
These were on the eastern side of the Scottish districts.

Some old churches and chapels of Strathtay beyond Dunkeld.
(1). Fortingall. c.650 A.D. by St. Cedd.
(2). Logierait. **""""**
(3). Grandtully. by St. Chad.
(4). Foss. **""**
(5). Killiechangep. 
(6). Dunfallandy.
(7). Dysart. in front of Faskally House.
(8). Duntanlich.
(9). St. Moroc's Chapel near Logierait.
(10). Druid.
(11). Aldclune.
(12). Kilmaveonaig.
These are all in valleys but very seldom on the valley floors. The population of the Dark Ages apparently used the higher ground on either side. This continued into our period, e.g. Tuliemet, or the early predominance of Moulin in comparison with Pitlochry. (The old village of Moulin was farther back into the hills than the present one and the old inhabitants say it was left through lack of water in the well or spring in dry years).

Teinds.
(1). Real. - These were levied on crops, young animals, and other products. Sometimes they were called predial.
(2). Garbal - These were levied on sheaves (garbae) of all kinds of corn or grain (bladum) and are sometimes called "great tithes" (decimae majores) as opposed to the "small tithes" (decimae minores) which were levied on the young of the beasts, milk, butter, cheese etc,
Kirkland or Glebe.

Parish churches were usually endowed with a portion of land which often was a ploughgate in the south and ½ davach, i.e. 2 ploughgates in the north-west. The parish clergy were discouraged from farming more than the croft or glebe and the Kirklands, if considerable, were let for a rent cf. A. P. S. I. 382. This however was not applicable to monasteries.
APPENDIX F


Dominium de Strathern.


Dominium de Methuen.

The Earl of Athole's Lands.

Castle and fortalice of Blair (except Drumquheill, and Drumcastell), W. Vrquhall, Litil and Mekilcult, Ardendowryn, Ardkinkaill, Kirkton Blair, Aithous and croft of Blairmanis Croft, Dauchelais, Uerlawes, Netherlawes, Mekle & Litil Cluny, Granyth, Petcastell, Forest of Cluny, Fortalice of Laichwood, Forthirgill, Garth with crag and fortalice, forester of Oschebaille, Faucastell, Scheerglas, E. & W. Dumtaveloch, Barony of Foss, Drumcacarf, Inverquhadane, forest of Glengarry, Ballemorane, Granych, Pultressoch, Lochtynmaill with isle, Two Boespikkis, Carrick, Kirktoone of Strowane, Trynafoure, Blairfette, Balnacard, Balnavert, Gawy and their outsettis, Balnagauyth, Craggewar, Hoil, half Contullyd with woods and groves, half Drumnagarf.

Chamberlain Rolls Vol. III. 1450 - from the account of the Bailie of the Earldom of Athole.

Westerurchard, Arnadorane, Dalichinnamore, Kirkton of lands of this account, Ardkyncale, Inverkelty, Dawichleylus, Lewich Cluny, Two Urquhills, Drumquhore, Baldulane, Balnacrag, Baladmyne, Dawich, Petclouchry, Bordeland, Dulcheann Ester, Thombanistoune, Smythiston, McDonald Duffitoune, Dunfolandly, Uchtertyr, Balzelloch, Balauchane, Penacreyff, Strowloch, Logyrath, Dawykcastel, Tulimat
EXAMPLES OF BARONIES, TAKEN FROM THE CHARTERS OF

THE GREAT SEAL. VOL. II.

R. M. S. II. No. 2664. 1502 A.D.

The King grants to Robert Menzies the lands of Rannoch:—

Downane, Kinclauchtir, the Two Cammysirochtis, Ardlarach, Kilquhonane, Larane, Ardlair, Laragane, Island of Loch Rannach, Loch Rannoch and Irochty, and all lochs and islands within said lands extending in all to £20 of land together with the guardianship of the forest within them . . . . . . incorporated into the barony of Rannoch.

Reddendum - £30 p.a.

R. M. S. II. No. 2668. 1502 A.D.

The King grants in feu farm to Duncan Campbell of Glenurquha the lands of Glenlioun:—

2½ merklands of Gallyn, 2½ merklands of Meggarnie,
2 merklands of Myltoun, 2 mercs of Cragik, lands of Innermuke, Glenmarane, Glencalich, and Regill extending to 5½ mercs,
20/- lands of the 2 Mores, 8 mercs of Ard, 2½ mercs of Crageny, 2½ mercs of Slattich, 4½ mercs of Laganecassy, 40/- land of Ruskich, 4½ mercs of Inverbarris, 2½ mercs of Carnbayne, 2½ mercs of Inveringlass, £5 lands of Sestill, 40/- land of Derycammys. Extending in all to 58 merks of land of old extent and the same . . . . . . . . . . . . be . . . . . . incorporated into the barony of Glenlioun.
The Barony of Weem belonging to the Menzies family:—

Weme, Abirfaldybeg, Ardferelmore, Ferlegar, Rawire, Dalrawyre, Glassky, Kynnaldy, Glengolantyne, Cumrie, Auchillus, Fernauchti, Merynche, Edromuk, and lands of the thanage of Crannyk, called Crannych, Auchmore, Duncrosk, Cardknok with the Roras in Glenlyoun. Castle and manor of Weme to be called Castle Menzies.

(This charter also points out the burning of the place of Weme).

The lands of the thanage, abthanery or thanedom of Glentilt:—Blarewauchtir, Inverslane, Auchmerkmore, Auchmerkbeg, Auchgoule, Dalgorris, Campsymore, Campsybeg, Kincragy, Thereny with mill and brewhouse of the same, Molichmore, Molichbeg, Litill Monydy, Litill Lude, Toldauf with brewhouse of the same, Pittincre, and Drummacreich.

Paid 1 penny blench farm.
John Earl of Crawford, receives the barony of Glenesk:

The Manys of Dalbog, with manor mill alehouse and fishing of the same, Brabmarehill, Glenmark, Glenle, Kirktoun, alehouse of Glenmark, Auchryny, Mygvy, Dalbrek, Auchlochry, Bailye, Gleneffo or Glenoffy, mill of Ratnovy, Cornavrane, Inverkeny, Kercarncors, Glenmore, Auchory, Tulibernis, Drumcarne, Fynnoche, Argeich, mill of Lethno, Dunhasney Dalblay, Schannache, Cornscorne, Estir Tullo, Westir Tullo, Ballinsaggart, ½ Glascery, Derahill, the Halch of Dulfork, Kindrochat, Stranokatty, and in tenantry Aidzell, Banhard, Inverescandy, with grain and fullers mills and brewhouse of the same, Glentennot, Carnycors, the 2 Schenquhorris with the alehouse, Ardache, Auchedin, Auchintowill, mill of Achedin, Dulquhobire, Duldarg, Auchry, Tullidiffy, Makindab, the Wodtoun, Broklaw, Bogtoun and Clochy ..................

..... fishings on the N. Esk and Escundy (i.e. West Water) and all others within the bounds of the said barony ..... .................. the manor of Dalbog to be the principal messuage of the same.
A. the united parishes with the date of unification; and
B. the separated parishes with the date of separation.

A. Parishes.

Presbytery of Dunkeld.

1. Auchtergaven and Logiebride. 1618.
3. Caputh and Logie Mached. 16th cy.
4. Dunkeld and Dowallie. b. mid. 17th cy.
5. Little Dunkeld and Laggan -Allachie. Early 17th cy. (i.e. Inismogranachan).
6. Lethendy and Kinloch, i.e. Lundeif. 1806.
7. Fincastle, (i.e. modern Tenandry), and Dull. early 17th cy.

1. Rental Dunkeldense - Myln's Lives of the Bishops p31a-31b
2. Map N°30
3. " " 
Presbytery of Weem.
2. Killin and Ardeonaig. 1617.

Presbytery of Perth.
1. Aberdalgie and Dupplin. 1618.
2. Dron, Kirkpottie and Ecclesmoghridain or Exmagirdle. 1652.
3. Errol and Inchmartin. 1628.
4. Forteviot, Muckersie and Mailor. 1640.
5. Kilspindie and Rait. 1620.
7. St. Martin's or Meginch and Cambusmichael. b.1693.

Presbytery of Auchterarder.
1. Auchterarder and Aberuthven. b.1618.
2. Comrie, Tullichettle and Dundurn. 16th cy.
3. Monzievaired and Strowan. end of 16th cy.
4. Trinity Gask and Kinkell. 1639.

Presbytery of Meigle.
1. Eassie and Nevay. 1600.

Forfar.
1. Aberlemno and Aldbar. early 17th cy.
2. Forfar and Restennet. " " "
3. Inverarity and Meathie. c. 1612.

Dundee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dundee</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Logie and Liff.</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Inchture and Rossie or Rossanclerach.</td>
<td>1670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Invergowrie, Liff and Logie.</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Liff, Invergowrie, Logie and Invergowrie</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lundie and Fowlis Easter.</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mains (of old Strathdighty) and Strathmartine.</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brechin</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Brechin and Kelimore.</td>
<td>16th cy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Craig, (i.e. Inchbrioc), and Dunninald.</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dun and Ecclesjohn.</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Edzell and Newdask.</td>
<td>1658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Farnell and Kinnaird.</td>
<td>1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Lethnot and Lochlee.</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Lethnot and Navar.</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Logie, (i.e. Logie Montrose) and Pert (i.e. Over Inchbrayock).</td>
<td>1612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Stracathro and Dunlappie.</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arbroath</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Inverkeilor and Ethie.</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fordoun</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kineff and Catterline.</td>
<td>1719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dunkeld</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cargill from Coupar Angus.</td>
<td>1514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Glenshee from Kirkmichael in Strathardle.</td>
<td>1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Murthly from Little Dunkeld.</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Weem.
1. Aberfeldy from Logierait and Dull. 1897.
2. Braes of Rannoch from Kinloch Rannoch and Fortingal. 1885.
4. Foss from Dull. 1845.
5. Grandtully from Little Dunkeld and Dull. 1883.

Perth.
1. Part of Forgandenny, (i.e. E. & W. Fordell, Paris, Deuglie, Blair, Plaines, Glendye and Glendye Mill,) joined to Arngask. 1642.
2. Logie-almond from Monzie, Moneydie, Little Dunkeld, Methven, Redgorton & Fowlis Wester. 1854.
3. Stanley from Auchtergaven, Kinclaven and Redgorton. 1877.

Auchterarder.
1. Ardoch from Muthill, Dunblane and Blackford. 1834.
2. Crieff West from Crieff. 1864.
3. Dundurn (Q.S.) from Càmrie. 1895.

Meigle.
1. Ardler (Q.S.) from Coupar Angus. 1885.
2. Kilry (Q.S.) from Glenisla, Lintrathen and Alyth. 1879.
3. Persie (Q.S.) from Alyth, Bendochy, Blairgowrie, Caputh, Kirkmichael, Lethendy and Rattray. 1859.

Forfar.
Dundee.
1. Broughtyferry (Q.S.) from Dundee and Monifieth. 1863.
2. Downfield from Mains and Strathmartine. 1912.
3. Lochlee (Q.S.) from Liff and St. Mary's, Dundee. 1831.
4. Logie (Q.S.) from Liff, Benvie and Invergowrie. 1877.

Brechin.
1. Careston (i.e. Caraldstone) from Brechin. 1641.
2. Lochlee from Lethnot. 1723.

Arbroath.
1. Arbroath from St. Vigeans. 1585.
2. Carmylie (erected 1609) from Panbride, St. Vigeans and Inverkeilor. 1609.
3. Carnoustie (Q.S.) from Barry. 1863.
4. Colleston (Q.S.) from St. Vigeans. 1875.

Fordoun.
1. Inverbervie from Kinneff. 1618.
APPENDIX — DETACHED PORTIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Detached Portion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bendochy</td>
<td>(a). Rannagulzion to Ferns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b). Cally to Percy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Bendochy was connected with Coupar Angus Abbey).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattray</td>
<td>Blackhall to Dalrulzian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blairgowrie</td>
<td>(a). Blackcraig Castle to Cochrage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b). Ballintuim to Cromald.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caputh</td>
<td>(a). Blackhall to Craigton (Glenshee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b). Gormack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c). Wester and Easter Logie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d). Foffarty (to S.W. of Forfar).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e). Bandirran and Southtown thereof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f). Balbeuchly (in Forfarshire 3° 2' w, 56° 82' N as were there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forteviot</td>
<td>Craigend to Mailer (probably connected to the thanage of Forteviot).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monzie (no longer a parish)</td>
<td>(a). Head of Glenalmond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b). From Pow to Gilmore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c). N. Glenalmond from Milton Burn to Murrayfield and N.W. to Auchmore Burn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crieff</td>
<td>Not detached but stretched all round Monzie except on Fowlis side, extending to Corrymuckloch and down Glenalmond from Fendoch burn to Glentulchan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowlis Wester</td>
<td>Across burn at Auchnafree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Redgorton. S. side of Shochie, between it and burn of Burmeston.

11. Weem. 11 detached portions, mainly mountainous cf. map.

12. Dull. 2 detached portions.

13. Logierait. 5 detached portions.

14. Kenmore. 4 detached portions.


b. Around Belbeggie.


17. Dunnichen. Dumbarrow (definite connection with Arbroath abbey which joined these two parts).


b. Dysart on Lunan Bay.

The numbers correspond to the numbers on the map of detached portions which is based on the 1" O.S. Map published 1868-70. No doubt other detached portions had disappeared by that time and so are not recorded here.
List of Parishes suppressed which have changed their names (the 2nd parish is the one under which the first is now included). Taken from O. S. Account.

Aberuthven. Auchterarder.
Ardestic. Monyfeith.
Benvie. Liff.
Caterline. Kineff.
Clova. Cortachy.
Dow (has become) Dull.
Dowally. Dunkeld.
Dunlappie. Strickathrow.
Dupplin. Aberdalgie.
Ecclesgreig. St. Cyrus.
Farnwell to Farnell.
Fetterangus. Gask.
Forcastle. Dull.
Fosschaple. Dull.
Fowlis Easter. Lundie.
Gairntully. Dull.
Glenprossen. Kirriemuir.
Glentrathen. Lintrathen.
Inchaffray. Maderty.
Inchbreke. Craig.
Inchmartine. Errol.
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<td>St. Serf</td>
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(probably just a change of name)

(Conveth was old name)
Strowan.  
Monivaird.  
Tarntie.  
Trinity-Gask.  (probably just a change of name).

This occurs in a charter dealing with a controversy between Thomas of Berryn and Killin explaining the limits and divisions of the land of Glencouveryn and the lands of Kinnaird.

Reg. 43 Annoj. 1, No. 139. - Quittance of Alan the Doorkeeper of the limits of Kinnaird.

"... i.e. by ascension from the descent i.e. from Inverarneslayn, this is from the junction of the two rivers - Belgouer and Graskynan by ascending the valley of the Belgouer as far as the site of the ancient cota and by ascending by a burn descending from Monsbracky / this is from that cota (moor) /..."
Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 294. "Note on the limits of Kingoldrum".
"--- i.e. from the place which is called Catinkadlour towards the West as far as the stone which is called Cortenglas and so towards the higher part of the valley which is called Corenamhumber and so by descending from the spring which is called Tuberrecopeth as far as the stone fixed under the said spring. Which same stone was marked by Dom. Abbot and Thomas with sign of the cross and so by descending by the burn running through the same valley which — burn is called Uskealen and so as the same burn descends into the water which is called Carnothyn --- ".

This occurs in a charter dealing with a controversy between Thomas of Rattray and Arbroath Abbey regarding the limits and divisions of the land of Glencauveryn and the lands of Kingoldrum.

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 295. — Quitclaim of Alan the Doorkeeper of the limits of Kingoldrum.
"--- i.e. by ascending from the descent i.e. from Invercrumbyn, this is from the junction of the two rivers — Melgouer and Crumbyn: by ascending the valley of the Melgouer as far as the site of the ancient Scots mill / and by ascending by a burn descending from Monebrecky / this is from that marsh (moss) / and
and /

again descending into Melgouer / and so towards the east by the leche / as far as the eastern part of Drummacubach and so by a burn which is called Aldegaruok, ascending as far as the western part of Hachethunethouer which in English is called Midefeld / and so ascending as far as a small spring from which the burn of Aldegaruok descends / and so towards the east by a valley which is called Clasnamege as far as a marsh which in Scots is called Moynebuche and by the western part of Moynebuche by transversing of a moor as far as the blind well on the western part of Coledunus / and by a burn which is called Dorescalen as it descends into the other burn which is called Katwethyn ---"

3. Reg. de St. Thome de Aberbrothoc. II. No. 121. 1458.

"Kyncoldrum limits beginning at the south by Abbot Malcolm."

"In the first begynnand at the Sowth of Carghal and passand vest to Melgone and fra thyne ascendand to the north to Myllaschangly that is to say Scottismyll till ane strype at the vest part of Litill Kenny the quhilk strype divydis it fra Myllaschanly and syne haldand north to Monybrek that is to say marrass of the quhilk rynnis ane strype to Melgone the quhilk devydis Litill Kenny and Myllaschangly and swa north to Drumnagub that partis Kenny Lytil and Schangly and wp to the burne furd of

'Strype = a small burn

Monybrek is the moss at Wardend.'
of 

Atherag* the quhilk partis Baldewy and Kynclwun fra Kennaird and Pergawy and fra thyne passand wp to the west part of Mydfield that partis Kynclwne and Pergewy and swa up to the bwrne of Athyncroith that is to say Gallaow Bwrn the quhilk dividis Kynclwne and Pergewy and swa wp to the Restane Well dividand betwix Kynclwne and Pergewy and syne north west to Tybyrnoquhyg that is to say the Blynd Well and swa wp to Carnosotyr that is to say the Pwndaris Carne, syne eist to the Corsstane abwne Cargfuryngis, betwix Kynclwyne and Garlay and eist the north part of Tarrokk2 till one other corsstane and syne eist the north part of Claischnamoyll3 and fra thyne to the Meikyll and till one corsstane of Claischnamoyll and fra thyne to the pwall of Montboy that is to say the Yallow Pwll and swa wp the claisch that is to say reyske haldand eist to the corsstane and swa wp the bwrne of Haldyrischanna that is to say the Gled Bwrne and wp to the bwrne of Aldalane. syne wp north to Carnecaithlay syne eist the north part of Carnecaithla to the vattyr of Prossyn and syne south to the Brandyrfwrd and sowth owr the end of Clwne to the Cowfurde and fra thyne to ane well and fra thyne to ane crosstane in the south side of Dromakalyow5 and fra thyne sowth owr the Lowth to the quhit stane in the eist syde of Egnowe. fra thyne sowth owr to Leitfie.6

"Kyncoldrum limits of a part by Abbot Malcolm".

Reg. de Aberbr. II. No. 122. 1458.

4. The only place with this name is in the parish of Aith and is most unlikely to be the place mentioned here.

2. Probably near Wardend.

3. Tarrokk = Carrach

5. Probably Culhawick Hill

6. Claisch = Marsh, the saddle between a large and small hill adjoining it.
"Thir are the marchis betwix ane part of Kyncoldrum, Kynnordy and Drumnacalyowcht. In the fyrst begynnand at the crosstane upon the yard dyke of Drumnacalyowcht sowth owr the Lowth to the stannand stanes of the eist syde of Egnoch. and swa sowth owr tyll Achyndory to the furd of Dersy vest the greyn rod quhill it cum to the Scotisgait. and awa north to the Vynddy-Yettis. and fra thyne north owr athwort the mwr till ane strype rynand throw Rwscha to the vattar of Crummy and fra thyne vest to the Inner of Melgone and fra Melgone wp to the Scottismyll."


"As wynde and watter scheris upon Craggardoch (prob. 1-2. J. 50.). Item betwix fortour (2H50) and crathy (not found ) as the borne aldowak (not found ) and as winde and water scheris on corygrange (Cairn Dorg ?) and to the quhyte hill at the ende of loch sestar (Craigenloch ); and as winde and watter scheris betwne glengarny (Gleann Carnach 1G50) and Glenyleff, and similarly betwne Glensche and glenbrachti (Glen Brighty 1F50) as wynde and watter scheris and the same betwix the hede of glenbrachti, viz: craglegath (Craig Leacach 1E50) betwix ws and the malingis at the hede of glamoill (Glas Maol 1E50) as wynde and watter scheris and fra thin to the hede of Carn Glascha (Cairn of Glaise 2D50) and to the lowpe /
of Fascheloch (N.E. of Tom Buch). And as winde and watter scheris betwix ws and clovay betwix ws and the forest of glenprostyn as winde and watter scheris quhill we (go) to carn dawy (prob. Carn Daunie 4G50).


"Note concerning the marches of Dunnechtyn."

"The first march begins at the nearer tree of the forest at the head of their cornfields at Hochtirlony (Ochterlony whose site was West Lownie 12D57 and not 14D57) descending to the King's way which leads to Forfar and so by following the road till opposite the head of a certain black burn (flowing) from the eastern part of Ochtirforfar and as that black burn holds the march as far as Gelly and from Gelly descending as far as the Fyschergat and so following the Fyschergat till it comes to the burn which is called Haldynhorse and from that burn descending to the Loch of Roscolby and so following the March through the loch as far as the burn of Tubirmanyn and so to the spring (source) of Tubirmanyn ascending beyond the moor by a grey stone and from that stone as far as the white road and so going on the same road till it comes to the burn which marches Balmadych and forest and so from Balmadych going by the head of their cornfields as the oxen move in carts till it comes to the nearest tree of the forest of Ochtirlouny."
"Thir are the merchis devydand Dunberrow on every syde that is to sa betwix the landis of Gardyn, Connansyth, the Boch, the Lordschip of Eidwy Auchtermegyty and the lands of Presthok."

"In the fyrst begynnand at Fallaty at the north est the quhilk devydis the landis of Gardyn, Presthok and Dunberrow in that part. And sua south as the Erery Dyke gais callit the Wöd Dyke to the Cartfurde in the Denburne devydand the lands of Gardyn and Dunberrow on the Est syide of the landis of Dunberrow and Connansyth And sua fra the Cartfurde foresaid west as the Denburne gais to the discens of the Sclaitwell falland in the furde of the myl of Achskorry the quhilk furde devydis the lands of Dunberrow the landis of Eidwy and the Boch And sua north as Dunnyte Den gais till Owyny the quhilkis Mylfurde Blyndewel and Owyny foresaid devydis the landis of Dunberrow at the west fra Eidwy and thair Dunnyte Den in Owyny devydis Dunberrow on the north west fra the landis of Eidwy. Auchtermegyty and Presthok. And sua furth est as Dunberrow streikkis as the Greyn Laich (hollow or low plain) gais to the Greyne Rod on the north syidis of Fallaty quhil we cum to the landis of Gardyn at Fallaty at the north est devydand the landis of Gardyn and Presthok quhair we begane."

"Beginning in the South to the great stone placed as a boundary mark on the western part of the great ford commonly called the Cowfurde where the moor of the King and the abbot and the land of Lowr are joined and so ascending to the north by the division bounds placed on the western part of the cultivated land which is usually called the Furdhill (probably Fordhill) of Crawquhy as far as a stone generally known as the Forkstane and so ascending from the said stane to the north by other bounds as far as the burn in Gavarlydene, and so ascending to the west and holding the said burn for a march as far as it goes to Welstrynde known as Cardynis Well (12D57), and so ascending to the north by other marks also placed by the assise as far as they go to the Kings road which leads from Ouchterlowny to Forfar."
8. Process of Perambulation of the lands of Aberdalgie belonging to the Master of Oliphant and the lands of Tibbermuir pertaining to Patrick Murray. 1564. A.D.

MS. in H.M. Register House, (West Stand, Drawer 7, Perambulation).

"Betwixt the saidis landis of Tibbermuir and Aberdalgy begynnand at the propertie thereof at the south stane where the comountie of the said landis endis passand westward as the howgait otherwise callit the houmis passis as the stanes now sett studdis. And swa west to the heid of the foresaid howme and therefra linalie west till it cum to ane stane standand at the north end of the blak dyke of the Eister cwnyghare of the saidis landis of Tibbermuir and fra thyne southwest be the blak dyke foresaid to ane stane at the southend thereof and fra thyne till it cum to ane stane on the dyke of the westir cwnyghare of the samin landis and swa west the samin dyke to the end thereof and frathyne southwest as the proppis go langes the toun end of Tibbermuir to ane know of the westir cwnyghare foresaid and therftra southwest as ane strype to the fute of the landis of Brintoun and be the end thereof southwest to ane balk lyand betwixt the said lands of Tibbermuir and the samin lands of Brintoun till it cum to the heid of ane dyke betwixt Colpmalundis landis and Brintoun foresaid as the proppis are sett and sitlyke the merches of the /
commontie of the foresaid lands. Begynnand at the west dyke of the proppir lands of Donald McLaren at the wod syde at the northend thereof where the gatesyde lyis and up the west syde of the said dyke till it cum to the heid thereof and frathyne west langlenis to the heid of the grene dyke be the grwand treis of the wood callit Lamberkine wod till it cum to the faill dyke of the cott houssis and swa west the samin faill dyke till it cum to the gable of ane hous and therefra till it cum to the northwest pert of the kill whilk Bishop Gawin Douglas kest doun. And swa west be south the faill dyke be the space of ane pair of buttis and nurth therefra as the stanis are set till it cum to the end of the dyke of Tibbermuir pertaining to Patrick Lord Murray and there to be the merches and devises of commontie betwixt landis ..of Tibbermuir on the ane part and the saitis pertaining to Lord Oliphant thereof, ane is occupit be the foresaid Donald McLaren and the other be ... Stobbye and thir cottaris.... of the foresaid suittis in thair / names ...... to the said wod. Item the merches betwix the lands of Keirprone and Cairnye. Beginnand at the eist end of the thornye hill as the prop stands and passand therefra linalie southwest to ane greit grey stane in the how of the mwre and frathyne to ane uthir greit grey stane on the myre heid tillit cum to ane beld stane and frathyne sbuth to ane saddle stane upon /
2.42

Page 49.

upon /

the todhoills and therefra to ane pykit stane near the
length of ane pair of buttis or thairby and frathyne
south to the now as callit parlimar now. Item the
merches betwixt the landis of Keirprone and Gask.

Begynnand at the south duke of the yard dyke of Keirprone
whilk Walter Bennett occupyis and frathyne passand doun
southward be the said dyke as the samin gais till it
cum to the southwest end thereof and frathyne direttlie
north to the stane callit the cross stane and frathyne
north to the (whorlie?) stane and certain stanes about
the same and frathyne till it cum to ane crossgate and
north therefra to Thomelenis know as wind and watter
scheris betwixt the saidis landis of Keirprone, Clathymore
and Gask and the foresaid judges decernit "".

(The officers are): "to mak howk up and delf divers
gaittis hoilis and fowdes for inputting of merche stanes
thereintill and to set and to affix divers of the samn
stanes "" and ordanit the parteis forsaidis
to mak sett and affix the remainder as thai had divisit,
methit and perambulat the saidis landis."
9. Process of Perambulation of the dominical lands or Mains of Innerqueich, belonging to David, Earl of Craufurd and the lands of Jurdanestoun, belonging to David Ramsay in feu farm. 1576.

"----- beginand at the furde of bello in the Burne of queich at the eist end of the land of Pitcroxmnis upoun the south syde of the burn thereof and frathyne passand south the gait quhillit cums to the south nwke of the arable land as the dyk passis and frathyne passand eist at the heid of the teillit land be the mwre as the same hes bene erd quyll it cum forenent the west nwke of the reid bray upoun the southsyde of the burne of queich and frathyne directlie west to the nwke of the same reid bray and to the burne and syne passand doun the samin burne as it rynnis till it cums foreneth the end of the grein balk be eist the pyparis zard and thir to be the propir methis and merchis in propertie on the north syde betwix the lands of bello with the pertinents on the ane part and the commontie of the lands of Jurdanestoun on the uthir part. And als( ? ) upon the south syde of the sain merchis commontis to be betwix the saidis landis of bello on the ane part and Innerqueich on the uthir part. To be ane bigging at the end of the grein balk at the bak of the pyparis /
pyparsis / hous. And frathyne northerlie be the cult wall and frathyne as stanes and merchis are set to the eist of Dunbarie hill and frathyne northerlie as stanes are set to the Alron burne and this to be the richt methis and merchis as findis betwix the foresaid lands of bello on the ane part and Innerqueich on the uthir part. And passand up the said burne quhill it comes to ane fuid in the same burne callit the Kirkgait and frathyne passand as the Kirkgait gais till it cum to the burne callit Gunertie burn and frathyne passand eist (?) doun till it cum to ane stane set in ane gait upoun the south syde of the same burne and frathyne passing south eist as stanes are set in the same gait quhill it cums to the north syde of the Alron burn, forenent the merche betwix the properties of the lands of Innerqueich on the ane part and bello on the uther part and the lands upoun the south syde of the alrone burn to be in propertie to the landis of bellos and the mure and lands betwix the twa burnis and gaits foresaid as they ar methit to be in commontie between the saidis landis pf bello on the ane part and the landis of Innerqueich on the uther part to be the richt methis and merchis and divisas of the landis particularlie above specifiet..."

This manuscript is badly mutilated and consequently has not been transcribed as it would be impossible to identify the boundaries.

12. Limits of Synkerdum or Glauflat.

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 318. 1383.

"--- That particular land next to Synkerdum which once was called Glauflat, lying between the new grange and Kinblachmont with common pasture ---"

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 366. 1284.

"Beginning from the burn which is called Eloth, and so ascending to (  ) as far as the burn which is called Lecach and so ascending by that (  ) up to the eastern part of Crundaly. And so descending to the stone which is fixed in the head of Kelwad and thus descending the siket to the marsh of Gamell and so by the burn to the east as far as the common way which stretches to the end of the land of Sir Eustace de Balliol."

12. Limits of Synkerdum or Glauflet.

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 318. 1283.

"----- That particular land next to Synkerdum which once was called Glauflet, lying between the new grange and Kinblathmont with common pasture -----"

"Beginning at the King's crulhka on the Eastern part of Map on the western part (area) to the Kirtzhun, That particular land next to Synkerdum which once was called Glauflet, lying between the new grange and Kinblathmont with common pasture-----"

(Or interest in that it includes arable land (croft) marsh and meadow and common pasture).
13. The Marchis that bundys the Myltounmoor, the Eister Brekkis and the bischoppis land of Sanctandros.

Reg. de Aberbr. II. No. 75. c. 1434-5 A.D.

"In the first begynnand at the Ramdenheid, and fra thyne passand sowth vest to the Todholis, and swa furth to the Akyn Busk and swa one to the Blynd on the Beldstane ondyr the dikys of the Brakkis and swa on to the Denheid of Gutheryne under the gait as the induellaris of Gutheryn cummyys and gays to St. Vigianis Kirk."


R.M.S. Vol. I. App I. No. 81. 1325 A.D.

"Beginning at the Kingiscruikis on the Eastern part and so proceeding to the croft of Mar on the western part and thus ascending by the marsh (moss) to the Mirchuse, including the Mirchuse and so by the said marsh as far as the Lowsilaw and by the marsh near the Lowsilaw on the western part which was the bound in olden time and so by the said marsh near Lowsilaw to the marsh of Lower Grife, and thus by the said marsh as far as the Kirk road and by the said road as far as the Standand stane and so as far as the bounds of the land of the Bishop of St. Andrews together with the common pasture of Munreimond and Duryneāragis."

(Of interest in that it includes arable land (croft) marsh and meadow and common pasture).

"This may be one of the Cross stones of Aberlemno on the main road beside the school."
Westire Fedal.

Lindores No. [XXIII] 1246 A.D.

"---By aldendoneche as far as aldncraghe and by aldncraghe as far as lonbohthe ---"

Lindores No. LXXII.

Reginald de Warenna grants --- "the whole of that land which was mine which lies between two burns namely between that burn which runs between Eglesmagril and Dun bernyn towards the west on the one hand and between the other burn which runs between Eglesmagril and Pëtcathelin towards the east on the other hand."

Division and bounds of Nyg.

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 230. 1281 A.D.

"--- from Glacarethy as far as the burn of Aldyny under the road and by that road as far as badvena and so ascending as far as the foth of Bodufygle."

Perambulation between lands of Arbroath Monastery and Barony of Kynblathmont.

Reg. de Aberbr. I. No. 228. 1219 A.D.

"---- between Kynblathmont and adygglas and Aberbrothoc thus hathuerbelath as far as sythnekerd and so to the head of munegungy."

All the perambulations have been collected into this appendix whether they are directly related to parish boundaries or not.
APPENDIX J

ROADS.

This list, in which the roads are numbered as on the map, gives the relevant references and other information about each.

1. Stirling to Perth via Auchterarder - various itineraries.
   Early importance of Auchterarder as a sheriffdom.

2. Glendevon. Ordinance of Edward I in linking the sheriffdoms of Auchterarder and Clackmannan.

3. Muthil to Ardoch - relic of Roman road, and road of early Church.

4. Inchaffray to Kinkell ford - Abbey road cf. Map in Inchaffray Chartulary.

5. Inchaffray to Perth (a). "John Cumyne --- grants to the abbot and convent of Inchaffray ------ the right of way with their animals, carriages and other goods by the public way which leads from the monastery through the black ford, called in Scots Athebethy, in his wood of Rosmadirdyne, as far as the town of Perth and of constructing there a bridge on his land and of maintaining it at their expense, and of using it at pleasure free from any opposition or trouble from him or his heirs" Chart. Inch. No. CVIII. 1278.

   (b). "... from the royal spring (well) which is above the road which comes from Perth and goes (tendit in... acc.) the foresaid village, i.e. Tibbermuir." Lib. de Scon. No. 125.

6. Inchaffray by Kintocher to Fowlis and Buchanty.
Buchanty.

(a). Kintocher = Kén-end + tochar = causeway. Probably this was an older crossing than (6a2).

6. (a) 2 "Inasmuch as our beloved chaplains ........... of Abbey of Inchaffray, have granted certain subsidies for the construction of bridges and the causeway lying on the west of the said abbey through the marsh towards our (Earl of Strathearn's) demesne lands of Fowlis" he does not wish that any prejudice of the liberties of the abbey should be created by this grant of subsidies 1375 Chart. Inch. No. CXXXVIII. (The north end of this marked the farm of Calsayend in the 16th century.)

(b). Luke, son of Theobald, grants part of the land of Fethlandy which is between the land given to the Abbey by him and his father in the land which is called Fithlerflat and the high way (via magna) which goes and stretches towards Buchteny (i.e. Buchanty...."). Chart. Inch. CIII. 1272.

(c). Luke son of Theobald -- grants.... to Inchaffray .... a toft and croft .... in Petlandy situated close before the door of his house on the north side of the high road which comes to the church of Fowlis by which one goes towards Buthny (Buchanty) ..." Chart. Inch. No. CV. 1275.
Charles J. Loomer Angros, P. 71 No XxXI, c. 1220.

"Free passage through his lands, especially by the most
road which leads to the cross-roads and by the road
which lies next to Hampton and by the lowest road
which lies nearest to the water, and bridge of Isla.
7. Road to the North from Perth to Dunkeld. "in the street which branches (procedit) from the high road to the north stretching to the Inch. (insulam). Lib de Scut N° 80.

(b). "When Thomas Lauder was bishop" (of Dunkeld) "robbers were established in the loch and castle of Clony who not only prevented the victuals of the church of Alithe from being brought to Dunkeld but actually plundered them."


9. Road from Perth to Coupar Angus and to Forfar. (a). O. S. Map No. 57. "Abbey road" in 2H.
(b). Itineraries.
Chart. Lindores No. X. Earl David confirms a grant of land at Neutile which lies next to the land of that vill between the upper road (inter superiorem viam) and the hill.
(c). Coupar Angus to Glenisla "... that they" (i.e. the monks) might have a road through our forest of Alyth to their land of Glenylife". 1234. Breviary of Cupar, No. 19.

10. Roads leading to Forfar apart from No. 9
(a). "... and descending by the head of their /
(i.e. the monks who worked Auchterlonny (Reg. de Aberb. I. No. 232.) cornfields to the king's way which leads to Forfar and by holding the road up to a point opposite to the head of a certain black burn in the Eastern part of Auchterforfar...."

Reg. de Aberb. I. No. 232.

"..... to the Cardynis Well (12D57 cf. 6" map) and so by ascending to the north by other bounds also placed by the assise until it comes to the King's way which leads from Ouchtirlowny to Forfar. Reg. de Aberbr. II. No. 112.

(b). Hugo Abernethy grants land in Lour in le undflate "in the northern part next to the public way which leads from Forfar" 1273. Breviary of Cupar No. 44.

(c). In the perambulation of the Kirklands of Fowlis Easter the boundaries are "from the river which descends to my mill by the road to Forfar."


(d). The Cadger's Way. cf. O.S. Accounts for Craig parish. At the fishing port of Usan the Cadger's Way started and reached to the market cross of Forfar, "in breadth the length of a mill wand". Different parts still, i.e. 1881, have names such as "the Cadger Slack", or "the Cadger Burn".

"Ancient things in Angus" by John Carrie.

(e). The Fishergate. "... and descending from Gelly into the fyschergate and thus by holding the fyschergat until /
until it comes to the burn which is called haldynhorse."

Reg. de Aberb. No. 232.

11. "...... and so by descending the "siket" to the marsh of Gamell and thus by the burn to the east to the common way (communis strata) which stretches to the end of the land of Sir Eustace de Balliol." Reg. de Aberb. No. 366. 1284.

12. Forfar to Brechin — no references but fixed by Montreathmont Moor and Forest of Plater.

13. Roads near Brechin and those entering or leaving it.

(a). "on the western part of the vill of Balherquhyn by the way which leads into the Moor."


(b). ... The Bishop gave them (i.e. the inhabitants of Cookstane (Cuikstone) a road which is called Lonynge by which they can go to the great moor, (i.e. the moor of Farnell). Brech. I. No.

(c). "the road which leads to Dubton." Brech. I. No. 114

(d). "...the road which goes to the Hauch of Brechin".

Brech. I. No. 114.

(e). Brechin to Kincardine — "to the high road which leads from Brechin towards Kincardine" 1267.

Brech. I. No. 3.

(f). Brechin to Glenesk "... on the western part of the direct road to Glenesk". Brech. I. No. 60. 1447.

(g). "...to the king's way which leads to Petpullox and to le Petmyr on the northern part on the one hand and the common way (vicum-{viam?}) which leads to 1
to / Kyndrochat on the southern part." Brech. I. No. 92. 1471.
14. .... cf. separate appendix for the various Mounth roads.
15. "from Glencarethy to the burn of Aldyny below the road / and so by that road to Badvena and so by ascending to the foth of Bodufygle." Note on the division of the Moor of Nigg". Reg. de Aberbr. No. 230. 1281.
Passes and roads of the Mounth.

from "View of the Diocese 1630" - Spalding Club 1843, page 77

"The cheiffe passages from the River Tay to the river Dee through the mountains also from Aberdeen to the heade of Dee are elewin viz:-

1. The eastermost is Calsay or Cokey Monthe.
2. Elsiche Monthe and goes from Stainhine to Drum, sex myles of monthe.
3. Craigincrosse Monthe layes from the church of Sanct Palladius vulgarly called Fade Kirk in the Mearns to the Mylles of Drum.
4. Stocke Monthe which is the fourthe passage from Glenbervie in the Mernisse to Straquhar one Dee syde and contains sex myles of mounthe.
5. Mounthe Bulge is fyft and layes from Glenfarcher to Dee syde.
6. Cairnemounthe is the sext which passes from Fittircaifne in the Mernes to Kincardyne of Neill one Dee in Mar and contains aucht myles in mounthe.
7. Seventlie is the Forrest of Birsse which layes from Cairn Corss to Birss one Dee syde and contains sex myles of mounthe.
8. Eghte is Mounth Gammell which lies from Glenesk to Glentanner one Dee syde and contains sex myles of mounthe.
9. The nynthe is Mounthe Keene which layes from Innermarkie to Canakyle on Dee syde and contains ten myles of monthe.
10. The tenthe is Capell Mounthe which layes from Clova to Glenmuicke one Dee and sometime contains twelve myles of monthe.
The elewint is Carnavalage wich layes from Glenshee to Castletoune in Brae of Mar and conteins ...... myles of mounthe.

Note That the chieff passage from Castletoune in the Brae Mar to the castle of Blare in Athole is callet Potarffe and conteins auchtein myles of mounthe."


Written by Mr John Reith sometime minister at Dunotic and late minister at Garvock.

"Cowey month is 10 miles in breadth dangerous in former times to pass, by reason of robbers, but for the most part manured and made fertile by brunt land both in oats and beer. The way is stony and mossy. There may be two causeys in this Month, the one about ¾ mile, the other ¼. Without these two the passage to Aberdeen were impossible in the winter season. The first founders of these Causeys are uncertain. There is an old husband town near by them called Cookstoun given out in old, for the maintainence of these Causeys but of old being altogether come to decay. There was a general contribution by the gentlemen of the Mearns for repairing them. The town of Aberdeen collected the same, undertook the same, have laid them de novo and finished the work in the year 1634, a fair Porch being built at the entry thereof."
BRIDGES.

1. Bridge of Perth.
   (a). This bridge swept away together with the chapel on or near it about Michaelmas in 1210.

   Scotichron. VIII. 72.
   (b). In an agreement between the bishop of Dunblane and the abbot of Inchaffray that if the bishop should decide to "reside from the decision he should pay to the fabric of the bridge of Perth £200" and if the abbot should so decide he should pay £300.

   Chart. Inch. No. LX. 1234.
   (c). Robert I grants "the right of taking stomes in your (Scone Abbey) quarry of Kynkarachi and Balcormoc for the building of the church of Perth and the bridges of Perth and of Earn."

   Lib. de Scon. No. 143. 1328.

2. Abbey Bridge at Madderty.

   "A grant of "16 acres of land near the bridge of the abbey..."

   Chart. Inch. No. XCLX. 1271.


4. Bridge of Brechin.

   ""The whole land of Drumsled in the Mearns is sold" for the upkeep of the Bridge of Brechin."

   Lib. de Aberbr. No. 245. 1218-46.
5. Maryton Bridge - A piece of land is defined as "the land which lies on the western part of the bridge of Luffenot and extends to a certain bridge which is called the Stanbrig as far as the divisions of the foresaid vill and Marington."

6. The editor of the Liber. de S. Thome de Aberbrothoc I in his introduction mentions the following bridges without quoting his authorities.

6. Bridge over the N. Esk at Markirk.

7. Bridge over the Dee at Kincardine O'Neill - acc. to G. M. Fraser this was only a ford.

8. Probably one at Durris - marked as a ford on the map.

9. Brigtoun of Strathauchin, i.e. Mains near Dundee.

Reg. Brech. II. No. 442. 1613.


12. Dunkeld. Chart. Cambuskenneth No 184, 1260, which states that unless a certain payment is made by a fixed date the precentor of Dunkeld "should pay for each week beyond" that date "half a merk to the fabric of the bridge of Dunkeld in name of penalty."
Bishop Lawder began his bridge of stone and wood over the Tay in 8/7/1461.

(b). "...to remove the stones of the old "landstaele and digging the foundation for the new one 46/7."


13. Cupar Rental - Bridge of logs with Landstale of stone.

Ferries.


"...the boat of my passage of Munros".

Lib. de Aberb. No. 9. 1178-80.

2. Kinclaven.

"For the repair of the boat of Kinclevin"

Journeys of Bishop David 1242 and 1243.

List of churches dedicated by him with dates.

1242.

June.
Collace. 4th.
Falkirk (Fawkiark called varia capella) 12th.
Strachan. 16th.

July.
Nyg beyond the Mounth. 30th.

Arbuthnot.

Aug.
Kineff. 5th.
Ecclesgreig. 7th.
Aberluthnot. 9th.
Tannadice. 11th.
Inverkeilor. 17th.
St. Vigeans. 19th.
Aberlemno. 21st.
Forfar. 23rd.
Glamis. 25th.
Airlie. 27th.
Newtyle. 29th.
Fowlis. 31st.

Sept.
Perth. 5th.
Abdie. 5th.
1243.

Aug.

Errol. 9th.
Inchture. 11th.
Rossinclarach. 13th.
Inchbrayock. 23rd.
Logie Cuthil. 25th.
Auldbar. 27th.
Restennet. 30th.
Idvie. 1st Sept.

Sept.

Meathielur. 3rd.
Inverarity. 6th.
Benvie. 9th.

Logie Dundee. 11th.
Blair (gowrie) 13th.

Auchterderran (Urchardereth.) 27th.
Itinerary of Edward I in 1296 according to H. Gough.

Historical Documents, Scotland, Vol. II. p.29.

June 20th. Stirling. W.
21st. Auchterarder. T.
Perth.
22nd. Perth. F.
25th. Perth. M.
Kinclaven.
26th. Clunie. T.

July 2nd. Clunie. M.
3rd. Inverqueich. T.
4th. Forfar. W.
6th. Forfar. F.
Farnell.
7th. Farnell. Sat.
Montrose.
11th. Montrose. W.
Kincardine in Mearns.
12th. Montrose.
Glenbervie.
13th. Downies (near Stonehouse). F.
14th. Aberdeen. Sat.
20th. Aberdeen.
Kintore.
July. 30th. Invercarrach. M.
31st. " T.
Aug. 1st. Kildrummy (called Kyndroken).
                 Kincardine O’Neil. W.
2nd. Kincardine in Mearns. T.
3rd. Kincardine in Mearns.
6th. Arbroath. M.
         Dundee.
7th. Dundee. Tues.
                  Baligarny (Baligarnache le roge chastelle).
8th. Perth. W.
9th. Lindores. Th.
10th. Lindores.
12th. Markinch.

Itinerary of Edward I. 1296 according to Harleian MS. No 1309

The Wednesdaie before Saint John's daie the Kynge passed
the Scottish se and laie at Cuthearde (Auchterarder) the
Thursday to Saynt Johns, a metely good toune, and ther abode
Friday, Saturdaie and Sundaie, which was Saint John Baptist
daie; the Mundaie went to Kynge Coloven castell, the Tuesdaie
to Clony castell and ther abidde V. daies: the Mundaie after
to Entrecoit Castell (the Tuesday)to Forfar, a castle and a
good /
good toune, the Fridaie after to Fern ovell, the Saturdaie to Monorous castell and a good toune and ther abidde Sundaie, Mundaie, and Tuesday and then cam to hym Kynge Johne of Scotlande to his mercy and did render greatly the realm of Scotland as he had done amys. Also these (there follows list of horroges) and many oder. The Wednesdaie went to Kynge Carin (in the Mearns) a faiour manour; the Thursdaie to the montayne of Glowberwy, Wednesdaie" (should be Friday) to a Manour in the Dounes amonge the mountaignes. The Saturdaye to the site of Dabberden a fairie castell and a good Towne upon the see and tarried ther V daies............................... the Tuesdaie to Kyndroken castell belongyng to the Erle of Mere and ther taried Wednesdaie, Saint Petur's daie the firste daie of Auguste, on Thursday to the hospital of Kyncarden in Mearns. (The hospital was at Kincardine O'Neill) but Edward also went to Kincardine in the Mearns. the Saturdaie to the city of Breghin, the Sundaie to the abbey of Burbrodocke and it is said that the abbot of that place made the people of Scotland believe that ther was but women and no man in Englande the Mundaie to Dundes the Tuesdaie to Balygrenatthe the redde castell the Wednesday to Saint John of Perte the Thursdaie to the abbey of Loundoe.........................."

Note. There must be a mistake in this itinerary because on July 11th Edward leaves Montrose and arrives at Kincardine. He however returns to Montrose en route for Glenbervie on the 12th. It would be more reasonable to go from Kincardine to Glenbervie directly passing Monboddo and Mondynes - names which may have occasioned a scribe's error.
EDWARD I. ITINERARY IN 1303.

June 6th. Linlithgow.
     8th. Perth.
     10th. Cambuskenneth ("Camskynel")
           Perth.
     12th. Perth.
           Clackmannan.
     17th. Clackmannan.
     18th. Perth.
     20th. Coupar Angus.
           Perth.
     30th. Perth.
           Strathegyn. (Mains?).

July. 3rd. Perth.
     20th. Perth.
     21st. Coupar Angus.
     26th. Auchterhouse ("Oughtroues").
           Perth.
     28th. Perth.
           Strathegin.
     29th. Strathegin.
     30th. Aberbrothok.

Aug. 3rd. Aberbrothok.
   8th. Brechin. }
   9th. Stratheghyn. (Footnote says "In error").

Brechin.
12th. Aberbrothoc.
13th. Brechin.
16th. Dolathy or Delathy.

17th. Kincardine.
21st. Glenbervie.
22nd. Glenbervie.
23rd. Haghenbauer.

Aberdeen.

10th. "Coghresk".
     Kinloss.
11th. Elgin.
12th. Elgin.
13th. Fettercairn.
     Kinloss.
15th. Kinloss.
16th. Dundee.
20th. Dundee.
21st. Balligarvagh.
22nd. Scone.
25th. Gask.
Tullibardin.
26th. Tullibardin.
27th. Dunblane.
28th. Dunblane.
29th. Cambuskenneth.

NOTE. On October 11th he is in Elgin, Kinloss on the 13th having passed through Fettercairn. This would be impossible in the times stated. Also Gough's map is wrong as regards the latter part of his journey. He made Edward travel from Tullibardine to Cambuskenneth direct whereas he passed through Dunblane.
ITINERARY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

According to "Despences de la Maison Royale" according to D. H. Fleming.

Ms. in H.M. Register House.

Date.


18. Set out after dinner at Stirling. Slept at Quynquirne.

19. Set out after Dinner at Quynquirne and slept at St. Johnston.


22. Dined at Coupar Angus and slept at Glamis.

23. Dined at Glamis, supped and slept at Guellis.


25. Dined at Patara, supped and slept at Dunestir.


27. Dined at Dynoytir, supped and slept at Haberdin.


29. Haberdin.

30. Aberdeen.

31. Aberdeen.
Sept. 1st. Dined at Aberdin and slept at Bohan.
2nd. Dined at Banhan and supped at Rothomay.
3rd. Dined at Rothomay, supped and slept at Grange.
4th. Dined at Grange, supped and slept at Banquory.
5th. Banquory.
6th. Dined at Banquory, supped and slept at Elguyne Moor.
7th. Elguyne Moor.

She continued her journey and was at Inverness and Spynie on her return.

Journey on September 17th.

Sept. 17th. Dined at Inverness, supped and slept at Spayny.
18th. Spayny.
19th. Dined at Cullain, slept and supped at Craig Brouayn.
20th. Dined at Craig Quebouain, slept at Bamphe.
21st. Slept at Guict.
22nd. Dined "les monts", supped and slept at Aberdin.
23rd. Aberdeen.
24th. "
25th. "
26th. "
27th. "
Sept. 28th. Aberdeen.

29th. "
30th. "

Oct. 1st.

2nd. "
3rd. "

4th. "
5th. "
6th. "
7th. "
8th. "
9th. "

10th. "
11th. "
12th. "
13th. "
14th. "
15th. "
16th. "
17th. "
18th. "
19th. "
20th. "
21st. "
22nd. "

Aberdeen. P.
Aberdeen. P.
P.G.C.L.
Aberdeen. P.
Aberdeen. P.
24th. " " Aberdeen P.
25th. " " P.
26th. " " P.G.
27th. " " P.C.
28th. " " C.
29th. " " P.
30th. " " P.G.
31st. " " P.
Nov. 1st. " " P.
2nd. " " P.G.L.
3rd. " " L.
4th. " " P.
5th. Dined at Aberdeen, supped and slept at Dunoster. 5
" " P.
6th. Dunotir. 5
7th. Dined at Dunestor, 5 supped and slept at Craog. 8.
8th. Cragi. 8.
9th. Dined Crag, 8 supped and slept at Bruetry. 9
10th. Dined at Bruetry, supped and slept at Kynnivar. 10
11th. Dined at Kinniver, supped and slept at Albrucg. 11
12th. Dined at Arbrung 11 supped and slept at Dundie. 12
Aberdeen. P.
13th. Set out from Dundie, dined at Quillspyndy 12 supped and slept at St. Johnston.


16th. Dined at St. Johanston, supped and slept at Tullibirne.

17th. Dined Tullibirne, supped and slept at Drumond.

18th. Dined at Drumond, supped and slept at Stirling.

19th. Stirling. Aberdeen. P.

20th. Stirling. Stirling. P.

21st. Dined at Stirling, supped and slept at Liscot. Aberdeen. P.

22nd. Dined at Lisco, supped and slept at Edinburgh.


4. Patara = Pitarrow (9E51).

5. Dunestir, Dunostre, Dynoytir, Dunoster = Dunottar.

6. Haberdin = Aberdeen.

7. Bohan = probably Aboyne.


11. Albrucg, Arbrung = Arbroath.


13. Tullibirne = Tullibardine.

P = Register of Privy Seal, G = Register of Great Seal, C = Register of Privy Council, L = Letters.

In comparing the itinerary according to the Despences de la Maison Royale, which is the one mapped, with that given by D. H. Fleming in his "Mary, Queen of Scots," it is noticeable that they only coincide where Mary stayed for any length of time. Agreeing at the start they do not agree again till the 28th August at Aberdeen, except for the 21st. It is significant that there was a "Letter" reference in Fleming’s sources. On the return from Aberdeen Mary has actually reached Stirling before Fleming’s itinerary leaves Aberdeen, cf. 19th. Nov. Therefore since his sources were the various Seals, Privy Council and Letters, he has given the itinerary of these and not of the Queen.
List of Burghs and Markets mapped with references.

6. Bervie - Royal burgh - 1342. R.M.S. I. No. 188.

26. Ruthven — Fair and then — 1504 — R. M. S. II. No. 2802.
   Burgh of barony.


M. C. R. = Special report by Commissioners on Municipal
   Corporations in Scotland.

P. C. R. = Register of Privy Council.

It was a heritable tenure, created in return for a fixed
production of this land and for money. Ivan
suddo of a grant quite
frequently included a money payment but "also generally
in connection with some feudal service or custom."

Now the church was often engaged in costly litigation, and
petition bulks and taxation required money. We, therefore,
find that in the last century of our period that the church
makes much use of this new tenure. Although there are
records to show that parts of the abbot's lands were leased.

1. Alyth and Inchaffray were leased in 1502 A.D.
   In 1585 A.D., the abbey of Inverarity was leased together
   with the quarter of Glenarity, the part of Strathke, the
   mill and myl lands of the abbey and the other church
   of the 1/4 takings of Halldroy. Completion! 450 marks.
   In 1586 for the feu of each half of the grant of Dirrie.
   Composition of 100 marks was paid. The
   Incarnant was set in 900 to the hall of Atholl in 1583 A.D.

2. The land of Inchaffray and the lands of Stead's were
   leased for the yearly rent of £20, with no augmentation plus certain payments in
   respect for this was to obtain money for the use of the
   monastery toward paying their almost indispensable
   burdens, frequent taxations, and manifold vicissitudes....

Dated 8/1/1600-1608.
FEU HOLDING.

In addition to life tenancies, short term leases, and sub-tenants' precarious holdings there was another form of possession, feu holding, the essence of which was "that it was a heritable tenure granted in return for a fixed and single rent and for certain casualties." The introduction of this tenure was based on the need for money. Even during the earlier centuries the reddendo of a grant quite frequently included a money payment but "also generally in connection with some feudal service or casualty." Now the church was often engaged in costly litigation, and Papal bulls and taxation required money. We, therefore, find that in the last century of our period that the church makes much use of this new tenure. At Coupar there are records to show that parts of the abbey's lands were feued

1. Alyth and Inverarity were feued in 1539 A.D.
   In 1558 A.D. the Newton of Bellaty was feued together with "ane quarter of Glenmarky, one half of Freuchie, the mill and mylm lands of the samyn and one other charter of the ij takis of Balbrogy." Composition 340 merks.
   In 1560 for the feu of each half of the Grange of Airlie a composition of 100 merks was paid.
   Innervak was set in feu to the Earl of Athole in 1558 A.D.

2. Grange of Kincreich and the lands of Glenboye were feued for the yearly rent of £50 - 8/- of old rental with £5 augmentation plus certain payments in kind. The reason for this was to obtain money "for the use of the monastery towards paying their almost insiprerable burdens, frequent taxations, and manifold vexations...."
   Dated 2/1/1558-1559.
by 1560 A.D. This must have meant a change for the tenant. Lands other than church lands were being feued. One authority states that it started in the fourteenth century. The tenure came into general use in the reign of James IV.

As far as this district is concerned this movement meant that a change to a money economy was taking place and that a middleman was being introduced between the tenant and the superior, often a local laird but not always. There is evidence to show that the tenant's rights were being recognised and were often safeguarded.

1. I. F. Grant. Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1600 A.D., p366 et seq. where a full account of the feuing movement is given.
The bibliography has been subdivided as follows:—
   i. Manuscripts;
   ii. Transcribed; and
   iii. Printed.
b. Publications by Clubs and Societies.
c. General Works.
d. Particular Areas and Families.
e. Maps.

It was found to be impossible to classify these by subjects without introducing much repetition, e.g., the chartularies of the abbeys would have then been listed under vegetation, agriculture, communications, population, and settlement. Similarly, there would have been needless repetition if a territorial basis had been followed. Section d, however, does follow the latter to some extent, the locality usually being indicated in the title, and except for the special papers such as "The Geology of South-Eastern Kincardineshire" the books tabulated in this section refer to many of the aspects of regional geography. Those dealing with one family embrace a number of areas, often widely separated. The maps are mainly in H.M. Register House, National Library, or in the library of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. A complete list of the old maps of Scotland is to be found in the "Maps of Scotland" produced.
by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

As a guide to the subject or subjects on which a book provides most information the following key letters have been inserted opposite each:

- G Settlement.
- Ge Geology and Climate.
- V Vegetation.
- A Agriculture.
- F Fishing.
- E Ecclesiastical matters.
- CD Civil Divisions.
- AD Administrative Divisions.
- P Parishes.
- R Roads.
- C Castles.

Abbreviations used in footnotes:

1. Inch Chart = Chart of Inchaffray Abbey.
2. Lind = Lindores.
3. Lib de Sco = Liber de Sco.
4. Reg. de Averb = Registramus de Averbrothoc.
10. R. M. S. = Regisrum Magni Sigilli.
RECORD OFFICE, H. M. REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH.

(In manuscript).

G Crown Writs. (12th century).
R Despiones de la Maison Royale 156.
G A Kirklands North of the Forth.
A Cattle Rental of Breadalbane (16th century).
G Decretts on the Taxation.
V A Processes for the Divisions of Commonty.
G Parish of Kenmore - Register of Baptisms 1636.
G A Forfeited Estate Papers. 1750 – onwards.
A P Processes of Perambulation. 1564.

(Transcribed).

G Calendar of Charters.
G Transcripts from Vatican Mss. Vol. I.
G Inventories of Papal Bulls and Ecclesiastical Documents.
G Collection of Writs of Society of Antiquaries.
G Calendar of Baledmund Papers.
G Inventory of Douglas Collection.
G Transcripts of Misc. Charters and Papers.
A G Register of Testaments.
G Transcripts from Royal Charters.
C D G Inventory of Errol Charters.
Cranston v. Gibson by J. Thomson.

Historical Manuscripts Commission - Reports on charter chests of the district.

Publications of Clubs and Societies.

Bannatyne Club.

Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis.

Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc.

Registrum S. Thome de Aberbrothoc II.

Liber de Scon.

Liber Insule Missarum.

Registrum de Dunfermline.

Registrum Prioratus S. Andree.

Breviarum Aberdonense.

Origines Parochiales Scotiae.

Ragman Rolls.

Report by T. Tucker upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Custom in Scotland 1656.

Grampian Club.

Register and Rental Book of Cupar Abbey.

Abstract of the Register of Cambuskenneth.

Balmorino and its Abbey.

Spalding Club.

Papers from Charter Chest of Earl of Airlie. (Misc. IV).

Papers from Charter Chest of Dun. (Misc. IV).

"View of the Diocese". (Misc. 1843.)
Scottish History Society Publications.

RG. Bishop Pococke’s Tours in Scotland 1747-1760. Vol I.
G Macfarlane’s Genealogical Collections. Vols. 33, 34.
G The Chartulary of Lindores. 1195-1479. Vol 42.
A Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticaneae. 1225-1559. Vol 64.
G Miscellany 3rd Series. Vol. IV.
A D. Sheriff Court Book of Fife.
C P Lairds and Lands of Loch Tayside.
G Fraser Papers.
G Scottish Historical Review - scattered articles.
G Royal Scottish Geographical Magazine - scattered articles.
A Scottish Journal of Agriculture. 1919.
G Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries.

See end of Bibliography.
GENERAL.

AG Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. 1124 - 1707.

G National Manuscripts of Scotland.

AG Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.
  CD AG.

G Chamberlain Rolls of Scotland.

CD G. Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.

G Register of the Secret Seal of Scotland.

G Register of the Privy Council.

CD Retours of Perth, Forfar and Kincardine.

AG Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland. C. Innes.

G The Laing Collection of Charters.

ERG Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland from 1272.

R Scotland in 1298. Ed. by H. Gough.

C.G. Scotichronicon by John de Fordun.

C G Liber Pluscardensis.

ERG Early Scottish Charters by A. C. Lawrie.

G EP Early Sources of Scottish History by A. O. Anderson.

E Register of John de Haltoun by Professor Tout.


CD Chronicles of the Picts and Scots. Ed. by F. Skene. 1867

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History of Montrose by D. Mitchell.
A Highland Parish by A. Stewart.
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Ouchtirder 5 G 63
Ouchtertyre 5 C 63

P.
Panbride 9 H 58
Paris 1 H 64
Parthesin 15 C 56 (Pearsie)
Perth 14 C 63
Petlandy 8 C 63
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Petruchie Near Shanzie (5 D 57)
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Pitlochery 8 B 56
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Plaines In Arngask
Plat, Plater or Platane 6B-10C 57
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Raith-inver-amon At the mouth of the Almond.
Ranaguillane Alyth district
Rath 9 E 63 (Raith)
Rath 9 C 56 (Logierait)
Rath 13 D 51 (In Catterline)
Rathengothen 13 B 63 (Redgorton)
Red Castle 13 D 58
Redehall 5 H 51
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Rossie 13 B 58
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Ruthven 5 E 57 (Church)

S.
St Cyrus 9 H 51
St Martins 1 K 57
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Scone 14 B 63 (Scone)
Scotston 9 F 51
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<td>Twenty Pence or Shilling Wood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williamstone</td>
<td>10 D 63</td>
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1. The Pow of Inchafray.
Note: (i) The level nature of the surface; and (ii) The depth of the ditch to ensure a flow of water.

2. Inchewart Wood and Ridge.
Inchafray had a holding at western end of ridge, conveniently placed for crossing the marsh.
Note: (i) Rushes in middle distance.
The Mounth.

The Mounth.

The Mounth: a fine display of cotton grass, *eriophorum vaginatum*.
Egremoss and hill foot of Highlands - looking towards Kingoldrum.

Muir of Ballyclune

Birch and Whin, natural growth, near Innerpeffroy.
Methven Moss, looking towards Highlands.

Note: (i) Cultivated slopes of Buchanly Ridge; and (ii) Highland Peneplain.

Methven Moss, looking north-eastwards.

Heather, Birch, and Broom.
12. Tulliemert in Strath Tay.

Note: (i) Steep sides of main valley, densely wooded; and
(ii) Shelf cultivation.


Note: (i) Wooded valley sides and flat floor, now cultivated;
(ii) Site of Earl's castle; and
(iii) Ochil Hills limiting the wide strath of Earn to the South.

14. Glen Bresachan looking eastwards to Strathardle.

This type of Highland valley provided summer grazing for the cattle of the strath.
Looking north-westwards from Newton of Glamis.

Looking north from Newton of Glamis.

Looking north-eastwards from Newton of Glamis.
Strath Tay from Pitcastle looking towards Pitlochry.

Note: (i) Wooded slopes of main valley; and (ii) Cultivated shelf of foreground and middle right.

The Aberbothries
(R. Frich in foreground)

This type of terrain was beloved by the monks of Coupar Abbey.

Note: (i) Haughs in foreground, now cultivated, and gently sloping land behind for arable farming.
Old Plough marks and modern hill drainage.

Old Plough marks representing small crofts and illustrating discontinuous nature of arable land.

Modern hill drainage is being used to improve the grazing of the hollows and flats avoided by earlier ploughing.

In both photographs ploughing was probably *earlier* than 1603 A.D.
Three views illustrating the site of Insula Missarum, the Abbey of Inchoffray.

Note: (i) Its position on slightly higher ground;
(ii) Cultivated slopes of ridge of Buchanty, much desired by monks; and
(iii) Closeness of abbey to higher and drier ground to South.

Taken from the level of the Pow marsh or flat which lay around the Abbey.

Note: (i) The rise to the abbey among the trees;
(ii) The change in the vegetation along the dotted line; and
(iii) Within dotted line was original dotted line.

From level of Pow marsh on west side.

Note: (i) Water logged nature of soil, even with modern drainage; and
(ii) Dotted line marks northern and western edge of original three acres.

Air photograph reveals that there had been a dyke around the original three acres.
The Gask Ridge from the north, showing the site of Williamsbone (Balfur of Inch Chart).

Note: (i) Pow Flat in middle of picture; and (ii) Gently sloping nature of land selected for settlement.

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The Pow Flat looking east wards.

Note: (i) The change in grasses (just visible near dotted line) and coinciding with edge of original three acres.

([... tria jugera tere propinquiora Tuxla stagnum quad venit de predicta insula de fowlis.... Inch. Chart. No. 1, 1195 A.D.])
A record in stone of the great charter of Earl Gilbert of Strathearn, now in parish church of Fowlis Wester, cf. Inch, Chart. N° IX, 1200 A.D.