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Go West for a Wife  
Family Farming in West Central Scotland  
1850-1930

Dorothy Ellen McGuire  
M.A. (hons.), M.Phil.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Geographical and Earth Sciences  
College of Sciences and Engineering  
University of Glasgow

## Abstract

The historical geography of farming in the West Central Region of Scotland has been under-researched. Generalisations based on research relating to other parts of the country are misleading because the development and forms of agriculture in the West Central Region were distinctive. Traditionally, this is an area of dairy farming which, during the research period (c.1850-1930), was characterised by small family labour farms. The concentration of small farms, on which the farming family and a few hired workers formed the core labour-force, and where the distinctions between employer and employed were less pronounced than on the large arable farms of the East, had consequences for rural social structure, arguably mitigating the effects of an emerging agrarian capitalism.

Through in-depth primary research on small set of family labour farms, and the families associated with them, the thesis takes a grassroots approach to exploring the pattern of life on the farms of the Region, with particular regard to gender relations. The survival of such farms, contrary to certain theoretical Marxist expectations, is investigated, along with the resilience of the farms during the period of 'The Great Agricultural Depression.'

Glasgow, the economic capital of the Region, underwent phenomenal growth during the nineteenth century, and had a massive impact upon local agriculture. Glasgow and its satellite towns were a market for agricultural produce, and a source of imported livestock feed, and fertilisers. The fashions, in the town, for consumer goods and non-traditional foodstuffs spread out to the surrounding Region, and interaction between town and country was facilitated by the development of the railways. The significance of farm location in relation to Glasgow is assessed.

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## List of Accompanying Material

The accompanying material is located in a plastic wallet at the back of the thesis, and comprises:

A folded map of West Central Scotland

A folded map the district around Kirkintilloch, and entitled 'Oxgang Neighbouring Network'

A set of family trees (The Snodgrass Family, The Park Family, The Murdoch Family, The Lamb Family, The Turner Family, and The Allison Family).

## Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the guidance and support of my supervisors, Professors Christopher Philo and John Briggs of the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences. Also in the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, I wish to thank Les Hill for his sterling graphic work. I wish to acknowledge Professor Alexander Fenton, who first suggested I study farming around Glasgow, and Professor Charles Withers of the University of Edinburgh, who introduced me to the work of Catherine Park Snodgrass. Thanks are due to many people including staff at Ardrossan Library, Ayrshire Archives in Ayr, The Mitchell Library in Glasgow, East Dunbartonshire Libraries and Museums, and the Bachelors' Club in Tarbolton. The contributions of Peter Turner, James Black, Margaret Leiper and Alexander Lamb in sharing their personal and family histories deserve particular mention. I would also like to thank Professor R.H. Campbell for his encouragement. This thesis would not have been written without the support of my husband, daughter, and parents.



## Authors' Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or at any other Institution.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Printed name \_\_\_\_\_

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### Catherine Park Snodgrass (1902-1974)

Catherine Park Snodgrass, a woman geographer working at a time when this was an uncommon profession for a woman, stands in a double relationship to the thesis that follows. Her writings on the agricultural regions of Scotland anticipates some of the themes picked up in the research for this thesis while she, personally, had close family connections to the agricultural world, and particularly to one of the farms that lie at the heart of my substantive inquiries. For these reasons the thesis commences with a brief picture of Snodgrass, her life and work.

### Family Background

Catherine Snodgrass was born and raised on the family farm of Hopefield, Bonnyrigg, Midlothian.<sup>1</sup> The biographical data on Catherine Park Snodgrass, in the National Library of Scotland, includes the following information on her parents.

Peter Lennox Snodgrass and Annie Scott (nee) McHarrie, who had come to Midlothian from Dunbartonshire in 1895 and 1898 respectively, her father being almost entirely of Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire farming stock and her mother being descended half from similar stock and the rest mainly from Galloway and Argyllshire people who had settled in the town of Dumbarton.<sup>2</sup>

The farming connections of Annie Scott McHarrie (the Parks) are detailed in Chapter Five. The farming connections of Peter Lennox Snodgrass were similarly many and far-flung with family members in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. A simplified family tree<sup>3</sup> charts an involvement in farming over generations and, of the family members who left farming, some took up related occupations. One branch prospered as millers and grain merchants, owning the large Washington Mill in Glasgow.<sup>4</sup> The Snodgrass family can be traced to the farm of Knock on the Blythswood Estate, Renfrewshire, in the eighteenth century. In 1811 James Snodgrass of Knock took a

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<sup>1</sup> Acc. 7861/5. Snodgrass (Catherine Park), Dr. National Library of Scotland Manuscripts Collection. Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> National Library of Scotland, Manuscripts Collection, Acc. 7861/5.

<sup>3</sup> In wallet at back of thesis.

<sup>4</sup> Kempself, A. (1964). The Golden Thumb: living and milling through five generations of the Snodgrass family.

lease of Portnauld, Inchinnan, also on the Blythwood Estate. A family presence was maintained at Portnauld, and the neighbouring farm of Old Mains, while the family expanded into Dunbartonshire, at the farms of Mollandhu in Cardross and Milligs, Helensburgh. Peter Lennox Snodgrass was raised at Milligs but, in common with two of his brothers, took a farm in the south east of Scotland. It would appear that family members kept in touch. The 1881 Census found P.L. Snodgrass' first cousin, Alexander Lang, a visitor at Milligs, and, although a resident of Helensburgh, C.P. Snodgrass' maternal grandmother, Catherine Park, died at Peter and Annie's home at Hopefield, Bonnyrigg in 1913. P.L.'s sister, Jane Scott Snodgrass, married their father's cousin, Hugh Snodgrass of Mollandhu, and there are other examples of the marriage of cousins on the family tree.

## Academic Background

Maddrell says that in the patriarchal socioeconomic system that existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 'many middle- and upper-class girls continued to be 'educated for dependence,' with employment being considered as a 'last resort' if marriage did not materialise.'<sup>5</sup> Higher education for girls was considered to be a waste of money, and some considered it an excessive demand on the brains of females, which might affect their reproductive capacity. Snodgrass' cousin, Mary Snodgrass (of the milling branch of the family), obtained a degree at Queen Margaret College, Glasgow by pretending to her family that she was taking sewing lessons,<sup>6</sup> but investigation into schools attended by C.P. Snodgrass suggests that her parents had her educated neither for dependence nor for a farming life.

George Watson's College, Edinburgh was originally founded as a charitable hospital, in 1741, but was remodelled as a school for boys in 1870. The decision having been taken to provide similar educational opportunities for girls, the associated George Watson's Ladies' College was opened in 1871. On 1 October 1913, at the age of eleven and a couple of weeks before the death of her grandmother, Snodgrass was admitted to George Watson's Ladies' College, Edinburgh. As her name does not appear in school records in subsequent years, it is assumed that Snodgrass only attended the Ladies' College for the 1913-14 session. Snodgrass was also educated at Eskbank

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<sup>5</sup> Maddrell, A. (2009). Complex Locations, Women's Geographical Work in the UK 1850-1970. Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell. P. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Kempell The Golden Thumb. P. 23.

Girls' School and St. George's School for Girls in Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> St. George's opened in 1888.

[The founders] were a group of Victorian women who wanted to give Scotswomen the education which they themselves had been denied. They were leading campaigners for the admission of women to Scottish universities and for a full curriculum for girls of school age ... The founders were inspired by the ideas of the German philosopher, Friedrich Froebel. They were determined to create a school where girls developed all their talents and worked to the best of their ability, but did not have to compete against each other or feel any sense of failure.<sup>8</sup>

C.P. and her younger sister, Margaret Lennox Snodgrass, entered St. George's in October of 1916. The school had moved to a new site in 1914, so the sisters were able to benefit from improved facilities, such as much better science laboratories. Happily, the school survived the visit of a German airship, which dropped a bomb on the edge of the playing field in 1917. Having entered St. George's together, Catherine and Margaret left together in July 1919, their parents having quitted Hopefield, and taken a lease on the farm of Charlesfield, St. Boswell's, Roxburghshire.

Catherine Snodgrass helped fulfil the ambitions of the founders of St. George's by graduating from the University of Edinburgh with a first class honours M.A. in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1924, and her name and graduation details were inscribed on a board in the hall of her old school. Afterwards she undertook a course in teacher training and attended a short course in geographical method. At this time, geography courses and departments were still quite new in British universities and class numbers small. Maddrell says that geography lecturers welcomed women students, 'if initially only to supplement otherwise small class numbers.'

School teachers were a natural constituency for the emerging courses in geography, demonstrated by the large numbers attending the vacation courses initiated by Arthur Geddes in Edinburgh and Mackinder and the Herbertsons in Oxford. A significant proportion of these teachers were women, teaching being considered an appropriate profession for middle-class women ... In this reciprocal relationship, university geography departments were able to demonstrate demand for their courses and women were able to gain professional accreditation as geographers.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> C. Withers in Ewan, E., S. Innes, et al., Eds. (2006). The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women from the earliest times to 2004. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>8</sup> [www.st-georges.edin.sch.uk/community/alumnae/school-archive](http://www.st-georges.edin.sch.uk/community/alumnae/school-archive)

<sup>9</sup> Maddrell Complex Locations. P. 154.

Over the course of 1925-26, Snodgrass worked as a part-time teacher of mathematics and geography at St. Oran's School, Edinburgh, while studying Geography at Edinburgh University. She went on to gain a diploma in Geography in 1927, and a Ph.D. in 1931. According to MacGregor;

Not only did Dr. Snodgrass demonstrate that Geography could be studied at a post-graduate intellectual level, but she did so at a time when it was unusual for women to be involved in such work at all.<sup>10</sup>

## Career

Maddrell says that 'although women were able to gain entry to new geography departments, there is evidence to suggest that attaining full lectureships and subsequent promotion could be a difficult process.'<sup>11</sup> Snodgrass spent three years as a temporary assistant lecturer in the Geography Department of the University of Glasgow before becoming an assistant lecturer in the Department of Geography of the University of Edinburgh. With the loss of two of their male colleagues to war work, Snodgrass and Swanzie Agnew were responsible for much of the teaching in the early years of World War II, and Agnew remembered Snodgrass as being 'forthright, very Scottish.'<sup>12</sup> In 1944 Snodgrass was appointed as a full lecturer under her Ph.D. supervisor, Alan Ogilvie. Fellow Edinburgh geographer, Kay MacIver, described Ogilvie as 'a very good head of department, watchful without being interfering,' and thought that Snodgrass regarded junior colleagues as 'young useless creatures.'<sup>13</sup> Ogilvie held the chair until his death in 1954. Snodgrass' relationship with his successor was less happy, and she resigned from the Geography Department in 1956, but held an assistant lectureship in the Department of Natural Philosophy from 1958 to 1962. Her concerns with the university administration come across in a draft letter, probably written the year following her retirement.

The university at present shares in some ways in a major malaise of our society, that is the few pushing around the many – (the latter category including many who do very essential and valuable work) ... The results are frustration and conformism with the psychologies and spiritual concomitants, the wound to the individual spirit being very much stronger when this occurs in a society where carefully fostered delusions about the existence of freedom and democracy are assiduously propagated ...<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Macgregor, D. R. (1975). "Obituary: Catherine Park Snodgrass." The Scottish Geographical Magazine **XCI**: 128-9.

<sup>11</sup> Maddrell Complex Locations. P. 187.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. Pp.196 and 250.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. P. 248.

<sup>14</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (n.d., c. 1963). University of Edinburgh, Department of Geography Archives, DG 6 - C.P. Snodgrass Papers. Edinburgh. DG 6/24.

In 1964 Snodgrass became editor of *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, but ill-health prompted her to resign in 1967.

In her work as editor, as it had been all through her life, she put cause before self and was pleased with success only if it contributed to the advancement of learning or increased the sum of human happiness.<sup>15</sup>

Withers<sup>16</sup> has characterised Snodgrass' work as falling into three broad periods and types.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, she concentrated upon land use planning. This culminated in an involvement with L. Dudley Stamp's *Land Utilisation Survey*<sup>17</sup> and in membership of the Scottish Reconstruction Committee. In the 1950s, Snodgrass made significant contributions to the *Third Statistical Account* of Scotland.<sup>18</sup> Her later work focused upon Scottish nationalism and the geography and politics of self-government.<sup>19</sup>

Maddrell contests this partitioning, arguing that, although Snodgrass' work on land use was concentrated in the late 1930s and 1940s, her published work from this period reflects much broader concerns with economic and related geographies. In the work on employment, Maddrell notes the emphasis Snodgrass places on gender:

Snodgrass, conscious that it was unusual to focus on female employment, identified it as crucial to understanding economic and social well-being. She also drew attention to the lack of recognition given to unpaid home workers.<sup>20</sup>

In the notes Snodgrass prepared for a proposed *Statistical Atlas of Scotland*, which was never published, she stated the importance of maintaining a balance between the work available for men and that available for women:

The importance of this factor in achieving a socially wholesome community of healthy emotionally balanced/satisfied individuals has had little regard paid to it in the past, but it must be taken into account if we are to build up the kind of society necessary for human survival at any worthwhile level.<sup>21</sup>

Although Snodgrass looked to the light industry sector to provide jobs for women, it may be that the model she observed in childhood, of small communities on family farms, helped form her opinion of what constituted a 'socially wholesome

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<sup>15</sup> Macgregor "Obituary: Catherine Park Snodgrass."

<sup>16</sup> Ewan, Innes, et al., Eds. *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*.

<sup>17</sup> Stamp, L. D., Ed. *County Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey, various authors, various dates in the 1940s*. Part 30, Fife, 1946.

<sup>18</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1953). *Third Statistical Account of Scotland - East Lothian*. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.

<sup>19</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1960). *Scotland in the Modern World: A plea for freedom, self-government and full participation*. Edinburgh, n.p.

<sup>20</sup> Maddrell *Complex Locations*. P. 198.

<sup>21</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. *University of Edinburgh, Department of Geography Archives, DG 6 - C.P. Snodgrass Papers*. Edinburgh. DG 6/28.

community.’ McNeillie<sup>22</sup> has indicated that communities on small farms were not always wholesome, but, as a farmer’s daughter, Snodgrass would have been well aware of the significance of the unofficial and unpaid home work of farm wives to the running of family farms. There were gender roles on farms, but Snodgrass may have viewed working at separate tasks towards a common good as productive not only of the material necessities of life, but of spiritual benefits such as mutual respect between the sexes, and a healthy sense of self-worth.

## The Influence of Environment on the Agriculture of Scotland

Snodgrass submitted her thesis *The Influence of Physical Environment on the Agriculture of Scotland*<sup>23</sup> right at the end of the period under consideration in this thesis. Her method was to select three regions to demonstrate the main types of Scottish farming, and her interpretation of ‘physical environment’ is broad. She includes not only climate and topography, and environmental pollutants,<sup>24</sup> but also economic and historical factors. She concludes her thesis by writing;

... there exists a considerable degree of correlation between the agriculture of these three regions of Scotland and the physical environment in which it is carried on.<sup>25</sup>

However, she also notes that some farming combinations appeared to be ‘largely independent of purely physical conditions and of the economic conditions now prevailing,’ and gives the opinion of an agricultural surveyor that ‘the combinations in many of these cases are not those which would give the maximum returns from the land.’<sup>26</sup> The implication is that, to some extent, farm management systems were based on past economic conditions, and were maintained for social and emotional reasons. Over a decade later, when reviewing Scola’s *Report on the Lothians*, Snodgrass criticised the writer’s assessment of agriculture in that region:

No doubt certain misconceptions would have been avoided by a worker more thoroughly steeped in the past and present of the region ... this section is disappointing, old-fashioned in outlook, and cynical – the writer still accessing economic activities primarily by financial and not by human values.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> McNeillie, J. (1939, 1991). *Wigtown Ploughman, part of his life*. Wigtown, G.C. Books Ltd.

<sup>23</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1931). *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. *Geography*. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh.

<sup>24</sup> The smoke pall over Glasgow.

<sup>25</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 293.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* P. 293.

<sup>27</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1946). "Land Utilisation in the Lothians - a review of 'The Land of Britain: The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain', ed. L. Dudley Stamp." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* **LXII**: 20.

In the acknowledgements to her thesis, Snodgrass thanks 'Messrs J. & P.L. Snodgrass for information on the south west region and the Lothians respectively.'<sup>28</sup> P.L. Snodgrass is likely to have been her father and Catherine Snodgrass had no lack of relatives to consult on agricultural matters whether physical, financial, emotional or social. It is clear that she placed a high importance on both human and spiritual values and, had she set out to write of the influence of social environment on the agriculture of Scotland, she would have been well placed to carry out the research. However, there were reasons for her not to write about the influence of the social environment of the practice of agriculture in Scotland. In the 1930s this would not have been seen as a serious work of geographical scholarship, while her relatives might well have resented their private lives being made public. Nevertheless Snodgrass' interest in social matters and her concern for her fellow citizens comes across in her later work, giving the impression that, for her, geographical study was a tool with which to address society's ills. This approach, while very familiar to early twenty-first century geographers, was less common in the mid twentieth century, and was highlighted in her obituary.

Catherine Snodgrass was constantly concerned for the welfare of her country and its people, which was probably the chief reason for her move from the field of Mathematics to that of Geography ... In the tradition of the department and with a firm regard for the essentials of her discipline, she lectured chiefly on regional geography, and here she blended a strict insistence on a sound factual basis with a clear recognition of the need for social problems to be tackled with care, sympathy and understanding ... All students must have realised that she was at heart a humble and very human person sincerely concerned to find solutions to the social and economic problems she encountered.<sup>29</sup>

The present study aims to follow on from Snodgrass in the examination of one of the regions of Scotland. Snodgrass and others have already covered the physical environment relative to Scottish agriculture, while her work has arguably hinted at social dimensions as well. Any investigation into agriculture must consider physical factors, but the emphasis of the present study will be more squarely on the social environment, and will cover the period from 1850 up to the publication of Snodgrass' thesis, focussing on a region here to be described as West Central Scotland. This region has considerable overlap with the South-West Region of Snodgrass' thesis, but the far south west has been excluded, and land to the north of Glasgow, which

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<sup>28</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 299.

<sup>29</sup> Macgregor "Obituary: Catherine Park Snodgrass."



Snodgrass did not include, has been added. Like Snodgrass' South-West Region, this West Central region will allow study of the impact of Glasgow. The present study will attempt to get into the social grain of this region, the routine and rhythms of agricultural lives and rural practices – of families and neighbours; of husbands, wives, children, and employees working alongside one another across the different spaces of a farm and its locality – and in so doing paint a picture which Snodgrass might have known. More formally, the study will also explore the interaction of improved transport, technological advance, gender relations, and social development around Glasgow. Snodgrass has demonstrated the physical suitability of this part of Scotland for dairying. What remains to be examined is the social impact of agricultural developments such as the widening of the liquid milk zone, technological innovation and the setting up of commercial creameries upon the family farms of this region. Thus, this thesis will aim to partner Snodgrass, and in the process to produce a richly-documented work of regionally-based historical agricultural geography.

## Chapter Two,

### A Sense of Place and Time

As noted in Chapter One, this thesis follows on from the work of C.P. Snodgrass in the 1930s, and is concerned with the development of farming in a specific region of Scotland over a specific time period. That place and time will be discussed in this chapter through examination of a variety of conceptual and, to a limited extent, disciplinary frames, drawing attention to the physical and social diversity within Scotland, which are integral parts of the county's agriculture. Like Snodgrass, the project is 'very Scottish:'

Though Scotland is a small country with a population of just over five million, she still has an important place in Europe. She divides the North Sea from the Atlantic Ocean, and along with Ireland, holds a pivotal position between the cultures of Northern and of Continental Europe ... Sea-links with the countries around, and contacts with her larger neighbour to the south ... have left a mix that is reflected in language, literature and lore, songs and music, art, buildings and monuments, and tools and equipment, as well as in forms of administration and law. All of these blend to make the elusive concept of national identity, the feeling of being Scottish.<sup>30</sup>

### History, Geography and Conceptual Frames

The historian Campbell and the geographer Whittington have called for more regional based studies of Scottish agriculture. Both the related disciplines of history and geography have a tradition of region centred research. In simple terms, history can be considered as the study of temporal relationships, and geography as the study of spatial relationships. It is impossible to engage adequately in one of these disciplines without, to some extent, impinging upon the other. Human geography, involving, as it does, the study of people and their activities and structures, has close links to history, while historical geography, being concerned with the development of human structures and activities over time, could hardly be closer.

The antiquarian tradition within the discipline of history concentrated upon local studies and the accumulation of facts, with little consideration of organisation or

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<sup>30</sup> Fenton, A. (1987). Country Life in Scotland: Our Rural Past. Edinburgh, John Donald. Pp. 2, 3.

analysis, and ignoring wider issues. While this approach seems to have been favoured by eighteenth and nineteenth century gentlemen, to follow a similar course today is to lay oneself open to the charge of parochialism. Within the discipline of geography, eighteenth century European explorers and travellers disseminated their experiences through books and exhibitions. In common with the works of the antiquarians, these narratives tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. Also, by the nineteenth century, they were strongly associated with territorial expansion and colonialism. Despite the problems of this approach in creating stereotypes, as the academic discipline of geography developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 'the region was widely seen as the one of the basic 'building-blocks' of geographical inquiry.'<sup>31</sup> Generally, a region was defined 'as a more or less bounded area possessing some sort of unity or organizing principle(s) that distinguish it from other regions.'<sup>32</sup> This approach allowed geographers to divide the world into smaller and smaller units for study. The units could then be fitted back together to form a comprehensive whole, although for many the goal of 'areal differentiation,' uncovering the ways in which world regions differed from one another in the precise articulation of constituent physical and human elements, remained the crucial task for the geographical researcher.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s the regional approach was criticised as lacking in analysis and scientific rigour. With urbanisation, industrialisation and a more mobile population, it was argued that regions could no longer be considered separate from the national and international processes of economic development. In Britain and America, regional geography gave way to systematic geographies. Where regional geography focuses on distinct areas for purposes of comparison, systematic geography is concerned with the search for general laws and universal systems.<sup>34</sup> From the two main branches (physical geography and human geography) complex offshoots have developed. One of the developments in human geography came to be known as locational analysis. In this approach, models were constructed to simplify the complexities of real life and to allow underlying processes to be analysed and

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<sup>31</sup> Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, et al., Eds. (2000). The Dictionary of Human Geography. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Hartshorne, R. (2000). The Nature of Geography: a Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past. Jaipur, Rawat Publications.

<sup>34</sup> Cloke, P. J. (1991). Approaching Human Geography: an Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates. London, Chapman. Abler, R. (1971). Spatial Organization: the Geographer's View of the World. Hemel Hempstead, Prentice-Hall.

understood. One of the influences on this approach was the agricultural land use model devised by the eighteenth and nineteenth century Prussian, Johann Heinrich von Thünen, who will feature later in the thesis.<sup>35</sup> However, from around 1970, there has also been much criticism of locational analysis and of von Thünen's work. It was 'argued that locational analysis studies imply an absence of human free will, whereas societies comprise individuals with the capacity to remember, learn and promote change.'<sup>36</sup> Humanist geographers attempted to put back the people with a focus on agency, rather than geometry. The alternate strand of radical geography was concerned with socio-spatial inequality and political economy. These approaches have continued to evolve, and others have arisen, including feminist geographies. Feminist perspectives are influenced by the women's movements of the 1960s and are concerned not only with women's oppression in society, but also with the various ways that this is reproduced in geographical theory. There is a wide variety of feminist geographers, but a key task is to make women visible. Feminist geographers draw on a broad range of social and cultural theory in their investigations of women's spaces and the gendering of space.

While this thesis makes no claim to be operating on the conceptual levels of a fully-theorised regionalism, locational analysis, humanism, Marxism or feminism, it remains the case that all five of these frames do stand in the background of different elements within the inquiry that follows. Indeed there is a clear mapping across from regional geography to the root concerns here for identifiable, Scottish agricultural regions: from locational analysis into the attention paid to spatial relations between Glasgow and localities within this region at differing distances from that city; from humanism to a wish to recover the experiences, practices, hopes and fears of everyday lives in the region; from Marxism into an awareness of how a small family farms, mesh with an emerging agricultural capitalism; and from feminism into a focus on gender relations within the routine workings of such farms in the West Central region. In the subsections that now follow in this chapter an attempt is made to lay out something more of four of these five frames,<sup>37</sup> alighting on a range of materials and arguments, which play through, more or less explicitly, in the empirical chapters further on. The remainder of the chapter then provides a broader historical context

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<sup>35</sup> Hall, P., Ed. (1966). Von Thünen's Isolated State, an English edition of *Der Isolierte Staat* by Johan Heinrich von Thünen, translated by Carla M. Wartenberg. Oxford, Pergamon Press.

<sup>36</sup> Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, et al., Eds. (2000). The Dictionary of Human Geography. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

<sup>37</sup> The humanism frame suffuses the whole thesis.

(social, economic and agricultural) crucial for understanding the empirical chapters, as well as clarifying the ambitions of the present project.

### A Regional Approach: Geographical Formations of Scottish Agriculture

In view of the conceptual development, Whittington's 1983 call for more regional based studies of Scottish agriculture might seem a retrograde step. However, Whittington is not asking for a return to descriptive geography, and nor is Campbell looking for a compendium approach to history. Campbell<sup>38</sup> has pointed out that the physical diversity and climatic variations of Scotland make any generalisations hazardous. Whittington says:

In the flight from the study of the unique to a concern with the generality of events, there has been a tendency to make unsupportable statements about Scotland as a whole which the varied social and natural environmental conditions within the country render most improbable.<sup>39</sup>

Both scholars recognise that, if generalisations are to be reliable, they must be well grounded in what can be established from empirical record as reliable 'fact.' If facts are gathered mainly from one area, or one time period, or from one type of source, they are not a proper basis for analysis of the whole. Campbell acknowledges a greater concern among present day historians for social and economic affairs than those of a century ago. Present day geographers also have a greater concern for social and economic affairs than their counterparts a century ago, particularly in the sub-discipline of human geography. Any new regional based study of Scotland, whether of history or human geography, should examine the interaction between local physical conditions, and cultural, social and economic development, using whatever sources and methodology are available. Such is the broad-brush setting for the project and thesis that follows.

Local cultural and social conditions frequently give expression to a sense of local identity, and Russell and Ogilvie touched on the subject of national identity in the 1920s. 'Scotsmen,' said Ogilvie, 'value above all their nationality and traditions'<sup>40</sup> but, within the national blend, regional identity reflects the geographical formations of the country:

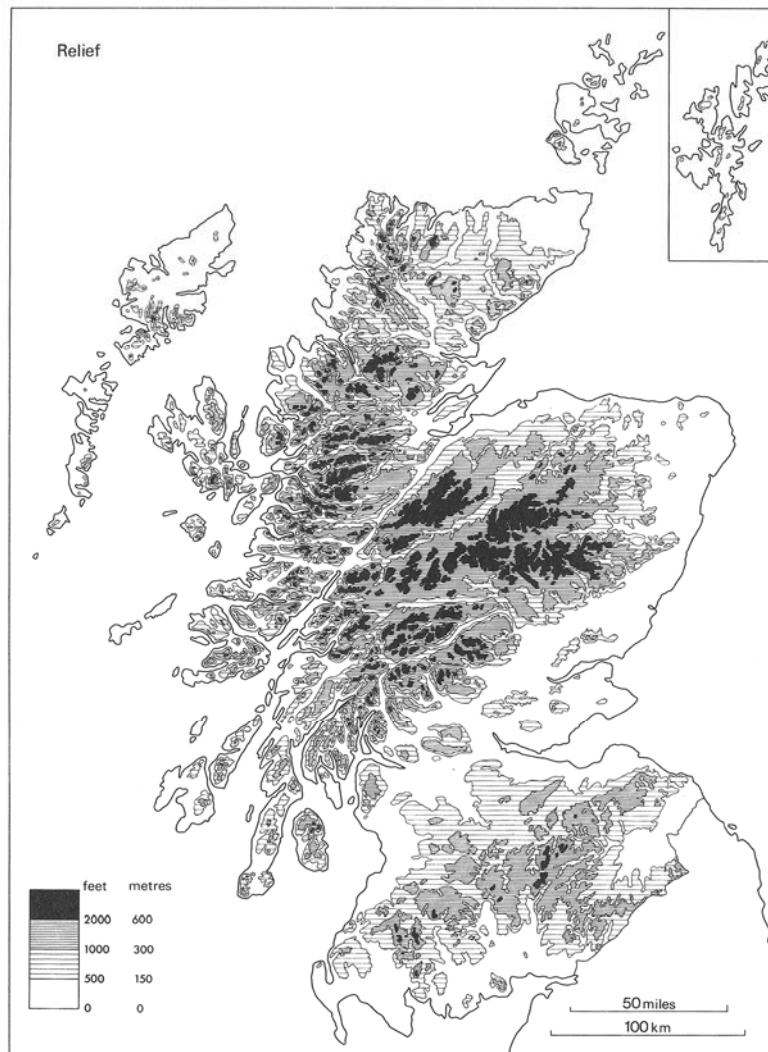
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<sup>38</sup> Campbell, R. H. (1991). Owners and Occupiers, Changes in Rural Society in South-West Scotland before 1914. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University press. P. xi.

<sup>39</sup> Whittington, G. (1983). Agriculture and Society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870. An Historical Geography of Scotland. G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. London; New York, Academic Press. P. 141

<sup>40</sup> Ogilvie, A. G., Ed. (1928). Great Britain; essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors; with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 450.

The formations divide the country into two masses of upland, The Highlands to the north and the Uplands to the south, separated by the Midland Valley: there is also a fourth area – a lowland – in the north-east.<sup>41</sup>



**1. Relief map of Scotland.  
Source - Coppock<sup>42</sup>**

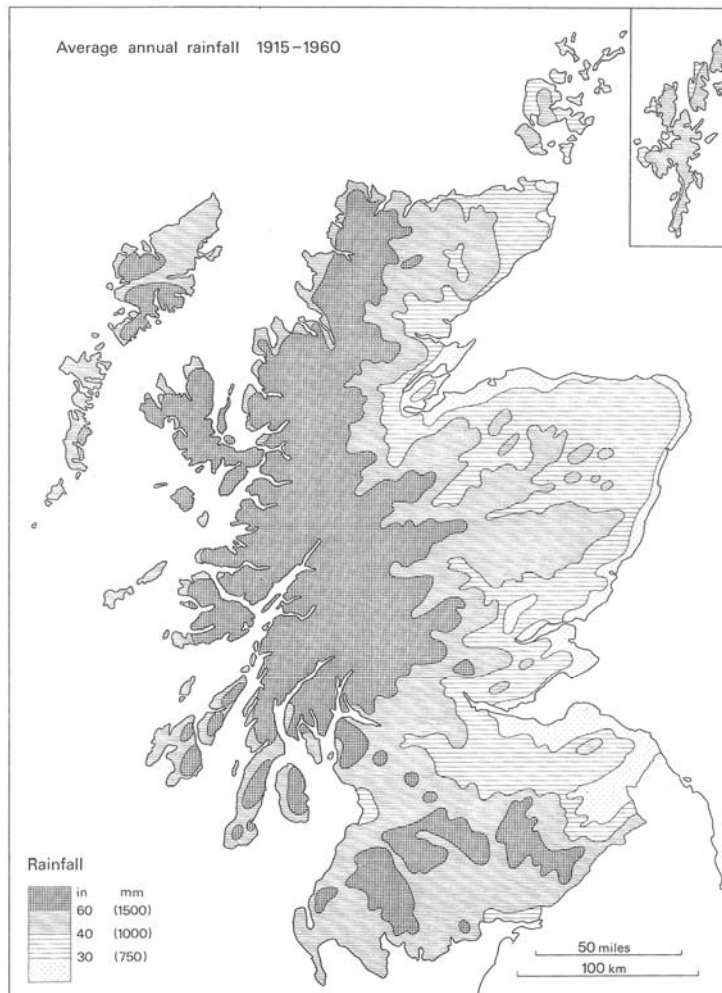
Russell describes the Highlands of Scotland as ‘a vast infertile region’, ‘insufficient to afford any high standard of living’, while the Lowlands ‘form a much richer country’ where ‘agriculture was always more prosperous.’<sup>43</sup> In an overwhelmingly rural society, such as Scotland supported for centuries, this disparity must lead to a divergence in culture, and cultural differences between Highland and Lowland are generally recognised. Variations within these broad regions are less remarked, although, to Brown, such were manifest in the population:

<sup>41</sup> Russell, E. J. (1928). Introduction. Great Britain: essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors. A. G. Ogilvie. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. xxi.

<sup>42</sup> Coppock, J. T. (1976). An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>43</sup> Russell, E. J. (1928). Introduction. Great Britain: essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors. A. G. Ogilvie. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

There is a broad difference of character between the peoples of East and West Scotland. The East throws a narrower and nipper breed. In the West they take Burns for their exemplar, and affect the jovial and robustious – in some cases it is affectation only, and a mighty poor one at that. They claim to be bigger men and bigger fools than the Eastern billies. And the Eastern billies are very willing to yield one half of the contention.<sup>44</sup>



**2. Average rainfall.**  
**Source - Coppock<sup>45</sup>**

According to Ogilvie; ‘from the decline of Celtic Christianity down to the development of American trade and the deepening of the Clyde estuary, the West was a backwater.’<sup>46</sup> Perhaps this had a bearing on regional character, or perhaps the higher rainfall of the West soaked into the psyche of the people. Wood<sup>47</sup> describes rainfall, temperature, and sunshine as the three chief factors involved in the climatic control of agricultural activities, and (using figures gathered over a thirty-five-year period) establishes that summers were much cooler and wetter in the west. Information on

<sup>44</sup> Brown, G. D. (1923). The House with the Green Shutters. London, Andrew Melrose Ltd. Pp. 87-88.

<sup>45</sup> Coppock, J. T. (1976). An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>46</sup> Ogilvie, A. G., Ed. (1928). Great Britain; essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors; with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 410.

<sup>47</sup> Wood, H. J. (1931). An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland. London, George Gill.

climate is given in Appendix One, but the salient points distinguishing West from East are the cloudiness, greater rainfall and moisture retentive soil, which make the West unsuitable for growing and ripening grain, and the milder winters, which extend the grass-growing season, making that region suitable for pastoral farming.

Turnock claims that the 'most remarkable feature of Scottish agriculture is the clear pattern of regional specialisation,'<sup>48</sup> and Russell states that the main agricultural division of the country is between east and west. Ogilvie declares:

Everyone who knows Central Scotland is aware in a general way that in the use of land there is a marked contrast between east and west, that in the east arable farming prevails while pastoral farming predominates in the west, with cattle as the chief stock; and that the region is flanked north and south by sheepwalks.<sup>49</sup>

Given the control placed on agricultural activities by climate and the resulting differences in land use, it is to be expected that differences in work, and in the organisation of the farm, might lead to cultural variations and perceived differences of character along regional lines, making a regional approach to the story of Scottish farming appropriate. East-West comparisons are central to this thesis, in part throwing up the whole problematic of differing regional agricultural systems, linked to varying social worlds.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Snodgrass examined Scottish farming by identifying and focusing on three regions to demonstrate the main types of Scottish farming. There are no regional maps in Snodgrass' thesis, but she defined her regions thusly:

1. A region consisting of the counties of Berwick, East Lothian, Midlothian, Fife and Angus, referred to as the East Coast Region, chosen as representative of the grain growing type of farming; semi-arable sheep farming being also well represented in Berwickshire and elsewhere.
2. A North-East Region consisting of the counties of Aberdeen and Kincardine, where cattle rearing and feeding was the main type of farming.
3. A South-West Region consisting of the counties of Renfrew, Ayr, and Wigtown, chosen, as representative of dairy farming as carried on in South-West Scotland.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Turnock, D. (1982). The Historical Geography of Scotland since 1707: Geographical aspects of modernisation. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 124

<sup>49</sup> Ogilvie, A. G. (1828). Central Scotland. Great Britain; essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors. A. G. Ogilvie. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 425.

<sup>50</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1931). The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland. Geography. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis.



Across the regions it was usual to follow one crop rotation or another. Snodgrass<sup>51</sup> says that the rotations were usually some variant of the following: grain, roots, grain, and then grass for one, two, or three or more years. There was a tendency to lengthen the rotation with increasing altitude. The shortest rotations were to be found on the east coast, and some of the longest rotations were to be found in the higher parishes of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, the Machars of Wigtownshire, and some of the lower parishes of Ayrshire. Proximity to the sea also has the effect of shortening rotations, owing to the availability of seaweed as a fertiliser. Rotations tended to be shorter next to centres of population because, says Snodgrass:

1. They provide a market for some of the crops grown, especially for bulky or perishable products such as potatoes, vegetables and straw
2. They supply plenty of casual labour...
3. They supply... fertiliser for the soil, thus enabling it to be cropped more intensively, and enabling the farms to be run without keeping large numbers of livestock ... in order to keep up the fertility and more especially the humus content of the soil.
4. Most of the population centres in question, especially the large ones have one or more ports in their vicinity, thus enabling the farmers to obtain imported artificial fertilisers more cheaply owing to the lower transport charges.<sup>52</sup>

Because of the above advantages, rents in the neighbourhood of the population centres are higher than those of similar fertility and with similar climatic conditions elsewhere, so that in order to get a sufficient return to pay this high rent and make a living for themselves, the farmers have to adopt some form of intensive agriculture.<sup>53</sup>

Snodgrass<sup>54</sup> commented that, in early twentieth century Scotland, the smallest farms were generally to be found near towns. She concluded that cattle-rearing, and fresh milk production were appropriate to small units, whereas the arable farms of south-east Scotland could make a more economic use of labour, machinery and horses in large units, and that grain can be better sold in large quantities. The large size of the cheese-making farms in Wigtownshire was also appropriate, because cheese-making machinery could be more profitably used, and a skilled cheese-maker employed, where there was a large quantity of milk to be dealt with. Snodgrass' analysis is applicable to the technology available at her time of writing. Cheese-making

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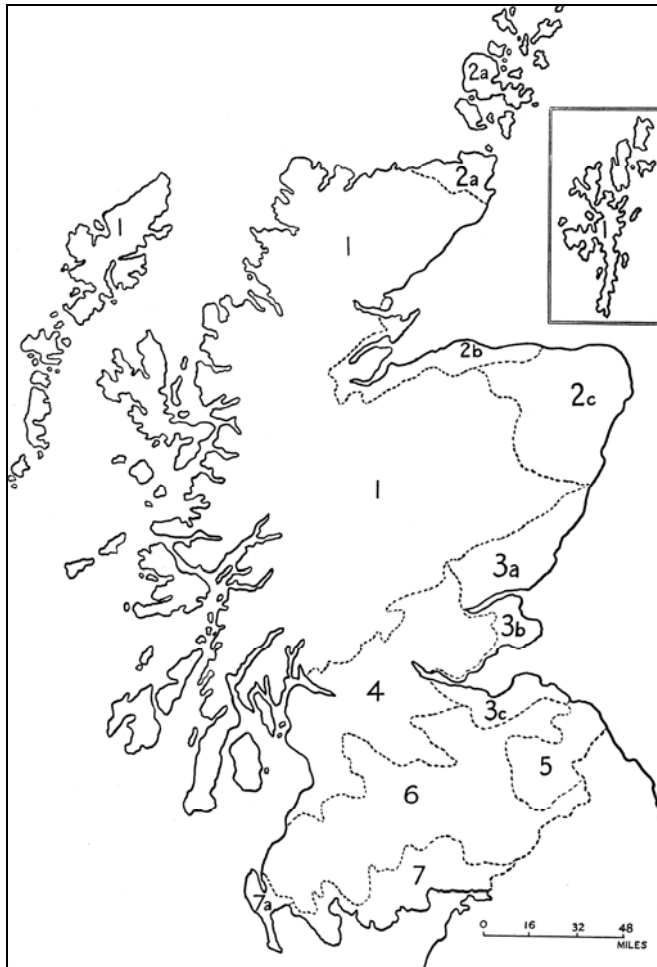
<sup>51</sup> Ibid. P. 160

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. P. 166-7.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. P. 276-7.

machinery encouraged large-scale production, but milking was still largely done by hand.



### 3. Source - Wood<sup>55</sup>

1. Highlands and Western Isles
2. North Eastern region
3. East central region
4. West central region
5. Tweed basin
6. Southern Upland region
7. South Western region

In defining her South-West Region, Snodgrass was seeking a region where the predominant farming type was dairying, but she states that 'the whole strip from the Clyde to the extreme south of the country was included so that the effect of varying distance from Glasgow could be studied.'<sup>56</sup> For Snodgrass, as for von Thünen, access to markets is an important determinant in the development of agricultural systems, and she notes the position and size of the principal markets in her South-West Region. The largest agglomeration of population in the region, in Scotland, and one of the largest in Great Britain was the city of Glasgow (population 1,034,174 when Snodgrass was writing). Snodgrass does not consider any of the towns to the north of Glasgow, these being outside her defined region, but she does note the large industrial population centres of Renfrewshire, and the holiday resorts and industrial,

<sup>55</sup> Wood, H. J. (1931). *An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland*. London, George Gill.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* P. 12.

mining and manufacturing towns and villages of Ayrshire. Access to the main market of Glasgow was more difficult from the sparsely populated parts of her region, which also had fewer local markets. The population of Wigtownshire, she says, was small, with few centres of population. Stranraer, ninety miles distant from Glasgow by rail, was important as the eastern terminus of the shortest sea route from Ireland. South Ayrshire, like Wigtownshire, was lightly populated. The more populous districts of north and central Ayrshire were less than thirty miles from Glasgow by road and less than forty by rail. Climate, topography, and economic conditions were variable throughout Snodgrass' South West region, and she noted different agricultural systems within this region, and between her regions.

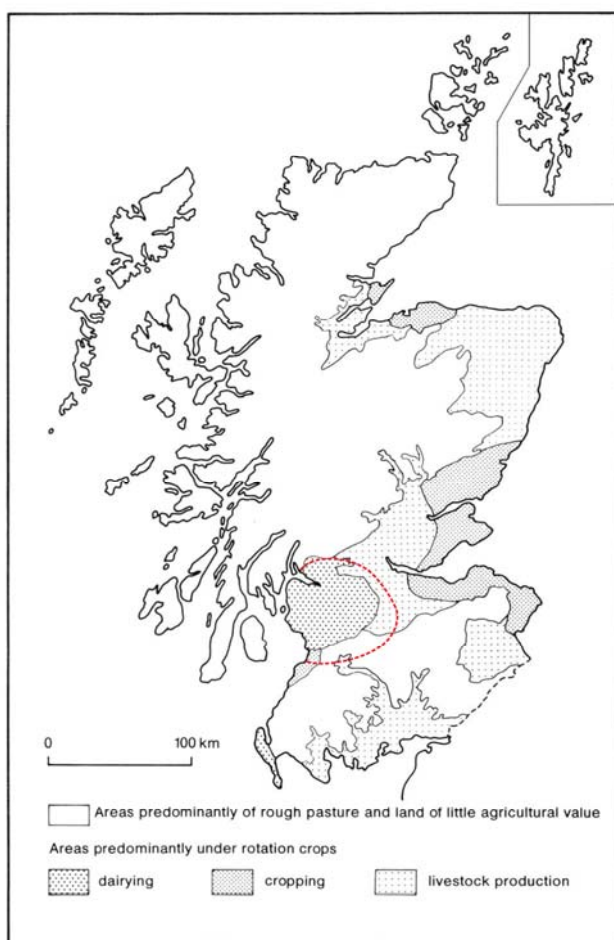
Snodgrass selected and defined her regions with specific aims in mind but, as districts naturally blend into one another, regional division is debatable. Wood, working at the same time as Snodgrass, divided Scotland into seven regions (see below),<sup>57</sup> and Snodgrass' South-West Region cuts across Wood's South-Western, Southern Upland, and West Central Regions. Both scholars were faced with the same physical and political features, but divisions vary with the interests and criteria of researchers, and there have been other defined regions. The West Central region, as defined for the current work, is smaller than both Snodgrass' South-West region and Wood's West Central region. It does not extend as far east as Wood's West Central region and, although there is considerable overlap with Snodgrass' South-West region, it does not extend into the more remote and sparsely populated areas of south Ayrshire and Wigtown. However, as in Wood's West Central region, land north of the Clyde is included. Thus the influence of Glasgow on agricultural practice to the North, as well as to the South of the city can be studied. An attempt has been made to give some geographical rationale to the area under consideration and, although boundaries should be considered as flexible and approximate, a further delineation is appropriate.

The 'West Central Region' of the current project cuts across the boundaries of the pre-1975 counties of Ayr, Lanark, Stirling and Dunbarton. Indicated approximately on the map below, the West Central Region is bounded on the West by the coast. A line is drawn from a point between Heads of Ayr and Brown Carrick Hills moving East, staying North of Kilmein Hill, Stannery Knowe and Carsgoiloch Hill, to Cumnock.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

Then the line is taken North of Wardlaw Hill, to Muirkirk, and South of Hareshaw Hill and Hagshaw Hill, to Douglas, then North of Tinto Hill to Carnwath, before turning North to Harthill. From Harthill, the line proceeds through the parishes of Cumbernauld and Kilsyth, between the Kilsyth Hills and Campsie Fells to Buchlyvie. Staying South of Flanders Moss the line is taken South West to Drymen, across Loch Lomond to Arden, and West to Helensburgh. The Region is more fully defined and described in Appendix One, and a detailed map can be found in a pocket at the back of the thesis. A set of maps in Appendix Eight provide information on transport links, land surface features and population density.



**4. Gray's map of land use in 1870 graphically illustrates principal produce divisions across the country. Interestingly Gray's central dairying area closely corresponds to the West Central Region of this thesis, which is indicated by the red dotted line.<sup>58</sup>**

## A Locational Approach: Cities and Rings

Consideration of the disposition of agriculture around a city is an exercise meticulously thought out by von Thünen in the 1820s and published in 1826 as *Der Isolierte Staat* (The Isolated State). The relationship between von Thünen's ideas and

<sup>58</sup> Gray, M. (1981). *The Regions and their Issues: Scotland. The Victorian Countryside*. G. E. Mingay. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. I.

West Central Scotland are discussed in Chapter Nine but, as von Thünen's theories have been widely interpreted and reinterpreted, they are introduced here.

In a quest for efficient estate management, von Thünen<sup>59</sup> drew up a model of rational land use. Initially he kept variables to a minimum by postulating an imaginary state, completely level, of uniform quality of land, and with a single city at its centre. All the farmers in the state were imagined to be intelligent, rational and perfectly informed, and transport costs were assumed to increase in direct proportion to distance from the city. Von Thünen postulated that the different crops and forms of agriculture would be found in distinct bands around the central city. Once the model was established, he introduced additional variables to more accurately reflect reality. He considered that, in the real world, 'farming systems would not succeed each other in regular succession: as in the Isolated State, but would be jumbled up among each other,'<sup>60</sup> and that, while in the Isolated State everything is in stable equilibrium, the actual world is changeable.<sup>61</sup>

Prominent among von Thünen's commentators is Chisholm<sup>62</sup> who declares that the 'ideas developed and expounded by von Thünen do *not* constitute a theory of location,' but 'a method of analysis which may be applied to any situation in time or place.'<sup>63</sup> Chisholm notes the criticism that, where urban centres are closely packed, the interlocking of production zones becomes so complicated that in practice they cannot be differentiated, and that they are consequently of no use. He does consider zones around London, but in a timeframe when urban centres were not closely packed. Chisholm quotes Rev. Henry Hunter, who, writing in 1811, 'described the face of the land around the capital in terms of a series of concentric belts, each displaying a measure of unity of farming practice.'<sup>64</sup> Hunter's innermost ring was the zone of clay pits. Just beyond that was the pastoral zone, which was "almost entirely in the possession of the cow-keepers who provide the metropolis with milk."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Hall, P., Ed. (1966). Von Thünen's Isolated State, an English edition of *Der Isolierte Staat* by Johan Heinrich von Thünen, translated by Carla M. Wartenberg. Oxford, Pergamon Press.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. P. 174.

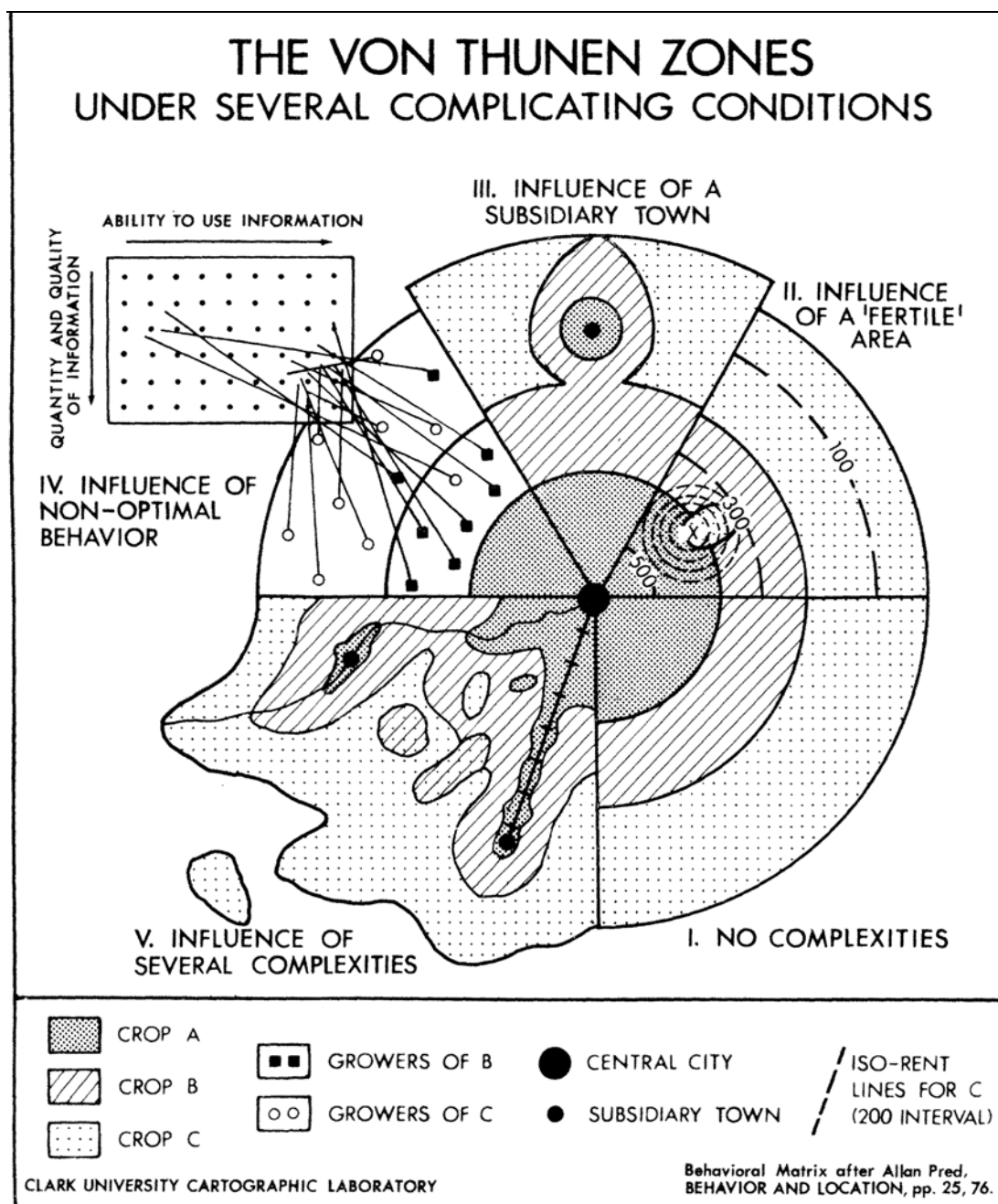
<sup>61</sup> Ibid. P. 201.

<sup>62</sup> Chisholm, M. (1968). Rural Settlement and Land Use, an essay in location. London, Hutchison. Chisholm, M. (1979). "Von Thünen anticipated." Area **11**(1): 37-39.

<sup>63</sup> Chisholm, M. (1968). Rural Settlement and Land Use, an essay in location. London, Hutchison. P. 20.

<sup>64</sup> Bull, G. B. G. (1956). "Thomas Milne's Land Utilization Map of the London Area in 1800." The Geographical Journal **122**(1): 25-30.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.



5. This diagrammatic representation of von Thünen's model has been copied from an article by J. Richard Peet.<sup>66</sup>

O'Kelly and Bryan<sup>67</sup> also consider the application of von Thünen's ideas to London. Referring to Atkins,<sup>68</sup> they state that the analysis, which concentrated on the location of market gardening and liquid milk production, led to the conclusion:

... that the von Thünen model provides an inadequate explanation of the resulting spatial structure of land use. Around London, the spatial

<sup>66</sup> Peet, J. R. (1969). "The Spatial Expansion of Commercial Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century: A vonThunen Interpretation." *Economic Geography* 45(4): 283-300.

<sup>67</sup> O'Kelly, M. and D. Bryan (1996). "Agricultural location theory: von Thunen's contribution to economic geography." *Progress in Human Geography* 20(4): 457-475.

<sup>68</sup> Atkins, P. J. (1987). "The charmed circle: von Thünen and agriculture around nineteenth century London." *Geography* 72: 129-39.

complexity of the agricultural zones was greater than predicted by von Thünen. In addition, Atkins (1987) found that milk producers and market gardeners exhibited dissimilar behaviour when displaced from their land. Market gardeners tended to move a shorter distance further out from the built-up areas while milk producers responded by moving into the urban area or at least by tolerating and adjusting to life in the city.<sup>69</sup>

Von Thünen placed the products of market gardens alongside milk, in the first ring, because they would not survive long journeys by wagon, and could only be sold in small quantities, while still quite fresh. Once a city expanded, the zones would spread outwards. By moving out from the built-up areas, market gardeners would still be in the first ring. Once the land became more valuable for housing, this was their best option. Dairy farmers had another choice. As urban cowkeepers, stall-feeding all year round, they did not require so much land, and did not need to move outwards. Von Thünen<sup>70</sup> states that beyond a radius of 31.5 miles out from the Town, in order to continue farming it is necessary to find a product cheaper to transport (in relation to its value) than grain, and butter fits this need. Although butter had to be taken to town fresh, in small quantities, and an agent was required to sell it, von Thünen said that butter production could only be carried on with profit at distances greater than twenty miles from town. Yet further out, von Thünen placed the area devoted to fattening stock, which could be driven to market. Since the long walk to slaughter caused a significant loss of weight in the animals, von Thünen remarked that the animals might be kept near the town for a period, in order to complete the fattening process. Beyond the stock fattening area was the area with low land rent and cheap feed where young stock was raised. At a distance of fifty miles from the Town, von Thünen considered that even stock farming would cease to be profitable, and only wilderness would lie beyond.

In his exploration of von Thünen's ideas, Chisholm writes that 'the facility with which a commodity can be transported' is 'a fundamental element of analysis.'<sup>71</sup> Nineteenth century improvements in transport meant that agricultural produce could be carried, faster, over longer distances, and relatively cheaply:

The most obvious consequence of lower 'real' transport costs is a widening of the zone of supply of agricultural products ... when these

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<sup>69</sup> O'Kelly, M. and D. Bryan (1996). "Agricultural location theory: von Thunen's contribution to economic geography." *Progress in Human Geography* **20**(4): 457-475.

<sup>70</sup> Hall, P., Ed. (1966). *Von Thünen's Isolated State, an English edition of Der Isolierte Staat by Johan Heinrich von Thünen*, translated by Carla M. Wartenberg. Oxford, Pergamon Press. P. 143.

<sup>71</sup> Chisholm, M. (1968). *Rural Settlement and Land Use, an essay in location*. London, Hutchison. P. 25

transport improvements are related to the astonishing increase of urban populations in some countries, the shifts in supply zones may be very rapid indeed. In principle, what happens is that each supply zone tends to expand, so that any individual product is obtained at a greater remove than formerly from the main areas of urban agglomeration. In this way, any particular piece of land may be put to a succession of different uses within a relatively short time. The tendency will be for these uses to become progressively more intensive, as the zones of intensive production near the urban concentrations expand, replacing the more extensive forms of cultivation at the greater distances. The margin of cultivation is thereby extended.<sup>72</sup>

Another consequence of declining transport costs is that:

the advantage conferred by proximity to markets and to inputs diminishes in absolute importance. Consequently, other location factors must assume a larger relative significance, principally conditions of climate, soil and topography ... The consequence is that instead of a particular crop being grown near the consuming centres and necessarily under very diverse physical conditions, it is increasingly possible for it to be grown in a limited number of places which physically are well suited to its requirements. The advantages of lower production costs and/or earlier season are not fully absorbed by transport costs, as previously they were.<sup>73</sup>

Fluctuations in von Thünen type rings were also considered by Peet,<sup>74</sup> who suggests that growing demand in the central market was crucial for the spatial expansion of agriculture, and that in nineteenth century Britain the growth of industry coupled with a dramatic increase in population, provided this essential requirement. The increased demand for dairy products and meat had a knock on effect on the more distant agricultural zones.

O'Kelly and Bryan take issue with 'the assumption of a perfectly informed and economically rational farmer, typically used in the economic research,' and Von Thünen acknowledged very great differences in farming enterprise and expertise.<sup>75</sup> O'Kelly and Bryan point out that agricultural decision making is particularly fraught with uncertainty due to weather variations, and uncertain markets. They refer to Ilbery and Hornby,<sup>76</sup> and Ilbery,<sup>77</sup> for the argument that non-economic factors, such

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid. P. 166.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. P. 167.

<sup>74</sup> Peet, J. R. (1969). "The Spatial Expansion of Commercial Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century: A vonThunen Interpretation." *Economic Geography* 45(4): 283-300.

<sup>75</sup> Hall, P., Ed. (1966). *Von Thünen's Isolated State, an English edition of Der Isolierte Staat by Johan Heinrich von Thünen*, translated by Carla M. Wartenberg. Oxford, Pergamon Press. P. 211.

<sup>76</sup> Ilbery, B. W. and R. Hornby (1983). "Repertory grids and agricultural decision-making: a mid-Warwickshire case study." *Geografiska Annaler* 65B: 77-84.



as personal preferences, and age and experience play an important role in the farmer's decision-making. Also mentioned is Simon's<sup>78</sup> 'satisficer' concept, which accepts that most farming decisions are made by farmers with inadequate information, and puts forward the idea of 'bounded' rationality, whereby the decision-maker seeks decisions which yield satisfactory, rather than optimal, outcomes. These considerations may bring us closer to reality but, as with the Marxist writings considered by Whatmore,<sup>79</sup> the assumption is that an individual is responsible for decisions concerning the farm. It is not anticipated that the distribution of farming systems in West Central Scotland will form a direct correlation with von Thünen's rings, but it is proposed that von Thünen's ideas can be used as a starting point for analysis.

### A Marxian Perspective: Capitalism and the Family Farm

Family labour farms are defined as farms on which most, if not all, of the labour is supplied by the incumbent family. On capitalist farms most of the labour is hired, the farmer's family take no part in the work of the farm, and the farmer is only involved in an executive or supervisory capacity. Family labour farms developed out of the peasant agriculture of the pre-improvement era. By the end of the nineteenth century they were considered, by socialists, to be a remnant of feudalism, which could not survive in the capitalist age. At the 1894 congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, suggestions for an agrarian programme were considered, but no consensus was reached. Congress called for a full study of the question and Kautsky responded by producing, in 1899, his famous work *The Agrarian Question*. Although Kautsky focused on his native Germany, he also considered statistics from the United States and the United Kingdom. His key argument can be summarised thus:

Kautsky's initial presumption was that just as the tendency towards concentration and centralisation of production that is set in motion by the dynamics of capital accumulation eliminated petty commodity production in manufacturing, likewise, in the field of agriculture it would result in the dissolution of the peasantry and a polarisation of rural society into two classes: the rural proletariat and capitalist farmers.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ilbery, B. W. (1985). *Agricultural Geography: a social and economic analysis*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

<sup>78</sup> Simon, H. A. (1957). *Models of Man*. New York, Wiley.

<sup>79</sup> Whatmore, S. (1991). *Farming Women: Gender, work and family enterprise*. London, Macmillan.

<sup>80</sup> Kautsky, K. (1988). *The Agrarian Question, in two volumes. Translated by Pete Burgess, with an introduction by Mamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin.* London, Zwan Publications. P. xii.

Yet Kautsky noted in his introduction that 'far from making a rapid exit from the rural scene, small farms continue to exist. And the advance of large farms is a slow one – sometimes even reversing entirely.'<sup>81</sup> He devoted his sixth chapter to an exploration of the relative advantages and disadvantages of large and small farms. In favour of large farms were an efficient division of labour, economies of scale, and technological advance. Kautsky's view, that large farms had a technological advantage over small farms, was informed by the type of large machinery available at the time, and he did not consider the possibilities of equipment hire and cooperation, which will be discussed in Chapter Eight. Kautsky feared that, unable to afford technical innovation, peasant farmers resorted to longer hours and frugality to remain competitive. However he noted the great care they took in their work, and suggested they took more care than wage labourers. This level of care, he felt, was most appropriate with complex, high-value cultivation, such as market gardening. Chisholm agrees with Kautsky that smaller farms tend to be more intensively cultivated. He writes:

The smaller the farm, the greater must be the net income per hectare even to achieve a reasonable minimum standard of living: there is, then, a strong tendency to apply more labour and other inputs to each hectare than on larger farms.<sup>82</sup>

According to Perry,<sup>83</sup> the size of farms was an issue in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain, and a policy of closer land settlement was advocated as a solution to rural social and economic problems. This movement led to the Smallholding Acts of the early twentieth century,<sup>84</sup> although much of the impetus behind the movement was an emotional response to industrialisation and, latterly, a concern to honour a debt to First World War veterans.

Despite Marxist predictions, family farms have survived into the twenty-first century. In the late twentieth century, the nature and function of family farms was reassessed by Whatmore. Whatmore<sup>85</sup> describes modern agriculture as the increasingly differentiated process of producing food and fibre, and says that the farm has become merely the site for raising plants and animals within a much larger agro-industrial

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid. P. 10.

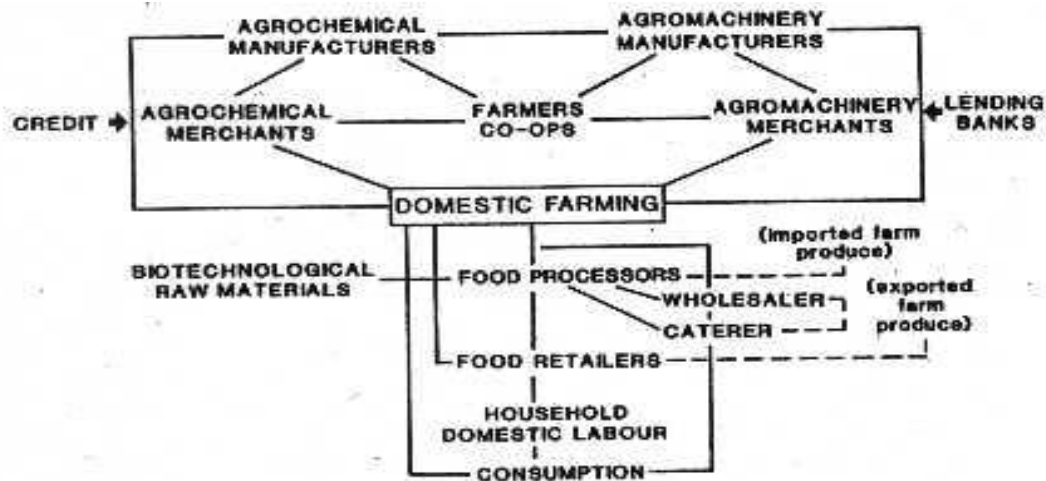
<sup>82</sup> Chisholm, M. (1968). Rural Settlement and Land Use, an essay in location. London, Hutchison. P. 148-9.

<sup>83</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914; An Historical Geography. Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). P. 102-4.

<sup>84</sup> Leneman, L. (1988). "Lowland Land Settlement in the Twentieth Century: a forgotten segment of modern Scottish history." Scottish Historical Review 67(2): 156-171.

<sup>85</sup> Whatmore, S. (1991). Farming Women: Gender, work and family enterprise. London, Macmillan. P. 17

complex. Although the farm has a central position within this agro-industrial complex, it receives inputs from large capitalist organisations such as agro-chemical producers, agro-machinery manufactures and financial institutions. Instead of being sold directly to the consumer or retailer, the bulk of farm produce is sold to food processors.



## 6. The position of farms in the agro-industrial complex, as represented by Whatmore.<sup>86</sup>

The term 'agro-industry' was first noted by the Oxford English Dictionary in 1965, yet this scheme is clearly discernible at the close of the nineteenth century, and its origins go further back. Agro-chemical manufacture can be said to have begun in Scotland in the seventeenth century when lime was first applied to fields. In the nineteenth century the range of fertilisers available to farmers increased, and so did demand. Some of these were traditional, natural fertilisers handled on an industrial scale. Others went through various amounts of manufacture and processing. As has already been mentioned, agricultural machinery was becoming increasingly large and complex in the nineteenth century. Local blacksmiths learnt to manufacture and service the new machinery; however, as the machinery became more sophisticated, farmers started to buy factory-made equipment. As the nineteenth century progressed, farms became increasingly specialised, and less of the product was processed on the farm. Milk was taken to creameries and livestock to abattoirs. Proprietary products came onto the market, and were included in nineteenth century recipe books.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

Family farming developed alongside industrialisation and capitalism. Whatmore<sup>87</sup> says that agriculture was restructured by capitalism and that the restructuring can be argued to have taken two main directions. The first of these is represented by the technological inputs, and the processing and marketing of farm products off the farm. These elements, which are cut off from the land as a means of production, are characterised by monopoly capital relations, and now account for a higher proportion of value added and product price than farming itself. The second direction involves the transformation of farm production through the replacement of land, or the modification of its role in the labour process, through the development of the technological means of production. Only in very few sectors of agriculture has land been successfully replaced as an essential means of production.

Whatmore<sup>88</sup> has sought to define family farming, and to account for the persistence of this form of production within the capitalist structure. She contends that family farming cannot be explained by its external relations alone. Within Marxism, the family farmer is considered as a petty or simple commodity producer. The idea of a family farmer as a capitalist who exploits his own labour has always been a conundrum for theorists. Whatmore quotes Marx:

The simple commodity producer is cut up into two persons. As owner of the means of production he is a capitalist, as labourer he is his own wage labour. As capital ... he exploits himself as wage labourer, and pays himself in surplus value.<sup>89</sup>

Whatmore<sup>90</sup> says that family labour farms represent 'a distinctive form of production in relation to the dominant features of modern industry, both in terms of the labour process and of the organisation of capital' because of the way in which family property ownership and family labour is combined in commercial agricultural production. She suggests that the concept of domestic commodity production, where the producer relies on contact with commodity markets to realise the value of what is produced, but the actual production is dependent on sets of non-commoditised relationships through family and community ties, is more helpful in understanding the dynamics of family labour farms than the concept of petty commodity production.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. P. 17-18

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. P. 30

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. P. 12

## A Feminist Perspective: Gender Relations

Whatmore avows that the central concern of her book is the reconstruction of the political economy of family-based production from a feminist perspective. Conventional theories of family-based production, she argues, have rendered women invisible through a failure to grasp the distinctiveness of this group of producers. Central to Whatmore's reconstruction is a concept of 'the family' and the gender relations which operate within it. Whatmore<sup>91</sup> has criticised traditional Marxist analysis for paying scant attention to the family, although Kautsky had noted that small family farms depended upon the labour of the women and children of the household, expressing concern that children were worked so hard by their parents that their health suffered. He pointed out that 'the running of the household and the farm are intimately linked together in agriculture,'<sup>92</sup> and commented:

The development of women's labour in agriculture does not run at all parallel to that in industry. It provides a clear example of how variable the division of labour is between the sexes, how the lines of demarcation between women's work and men's work are constantly shifting, and why it is therefore inappropriate to regard such lines as natural – that is 'eternal' as far as social institutions are concerned.<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless, Whatmore<sup>94</sup> finds meanings still attributed to the differences between men and women which are accepted as 'natural', rather than recognised as the result of social usage. Lines of demarcation have often been drawn on a stereotypical basis. Sinclair<sup>95</sup> considered that men were not as suited as women to the 'management of the dairy house, where so much depends upon attention to cleanliness'. Gray<sup>96</sup> says that it was always recognised that, in general, women made better milkers than men. It was considered that quiet, gentle handling of the cows was important to the quality of the milk, and this kind of care was attributed to women. Whatmore<sup>97</sup> found that, on specialist dairy farms, at the end of the twentieth century, women rarely did the milking, and that men generally took care of the technological aspects of farming. By this time, machinery for milking was in general use, so milking had become

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid. P. 29.

<sup>92</sup> Kautsky, K. (1988). The Agrarian Question, in two volumes. Translated by Pete Burgess, with an introduction by Mamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin. London, Zwan Publications. P. 110.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. P. 155.

<sup>94</sup> Whatmore, S. (1991). Farming Women: Gender, work and family enterprise. London, Macmillan. P. 35.

<sup>95</sup> Sinclair, J. (1832). The Code of Agriculture; including observations on gardens, orchards, woods and plantations with an account of all the recent improvements in the management of arable and grass lands. Edinburgh, William Tait. P. 77.

<sup>96</sup> Gray, A. (1995). White gold? Scotland's dairying in the past (with particular reference to the West of Scotland). Wigtown, G.C. Book Publishers. P. 148.

<sup>97</sup> Whatmore, S. (1991). Farming Women: Gender, work and family enterprise. London, Macmillan. P. 141.

technological, placing it within the province of men. This hints at a shift whereby, across only a few generations, dairy work was transmuted from women's to men's work.

While acknowledging that 'the family' is a historically and culturally variable institution, Whatmore<sup>98</sup> says that the gendered basis of the family/household division of labour needs to be integrated into the analysis of domestic commodity production, at a conceptual level, if women's labour is not to disappear from view between agricultural work and relations of kinship and filiation. Finding nothing within capitalism itself to explain why domestic labour is exclusively female, Whatmore turns to a concept of patriarchy, in which women are seen as passive and subordinate in power relations to men. Patriarchal gender relations are used to explain not only the division of labour, but also inequalities in terms of access to the means of production/subsistence, and the appropriation of women's labour and its products by men:

Gender relations and the subordination of women as 'wives' become central to an understanding of the labour relations peculiar to family farming. Family farming gains coherence as an analytical category centred on patriarchal family labour and property relations but covering a range of actual regimes in which kinship, household and enterprise intersect in different ways at different levels of commoditisation in specific local contexts.<sup>99</sup>

Here kinship is defined as ties of blood or marriage used to invoke obligations and to determine rights of inheritance. Household is defined as 'the socio-economic unit organising the subsistence process and centred on co-residence and commensal resource provision and consumption.'<sup>100</sup>

Whatmore lists five components for the analysis of family farms:

- 1) The household structure of those living and working on farm.
- 2) The composition of the principal and subsidiary labour divisions on the farm in terms of the participation of family and hired labour.
- 3) The linkages with external capitals in the farm production and reproduction processes.
- 4) The circulation of income and money capital between them.

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid. P. 32

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. P. 140

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. P.41

- 5) The structure of the ownership of the capital and land assets on the farm between resident and non-resident kin (and non-kin members where appropriate).<sup>101</sup>

Whatmore goes on to separate labour processes on family farms into agricultural labour, domestic household labour, on-farm but non-agricultural farm labour (for example, farm shops and catering activities), and off-farm wage labour (farm family members generating income through paid employment away from the farm). Having created a framework for analysis, Whatmore uses it to analyse the internal dynamics of a selection of late twentieth century family farms in the south of England.

Whatmore<sup>102</sup> concludes that the gender division of labour here has a distinctive spatial form, in that women's work is largely restricted to the farmhouse and farmyard (except at harvest and haymaking). The division also has a technological basis, in that the agricultural labour that is carried out by women is that least associated with the technology/machinery-dominated sectors of agricultural production. Women's sole ownership of farms is largely restricted to widowhood, and women, in general, have little control over the means of production. In the family labour farm situation, where the labour of all family members is uncommoditised, the work of the women is distinguished by a lack of self-determination, and a lack of control over and responsibility for any specific product which they participate in producing.<sup>103</sup> Evidence from the case studies indicates that 'a non-commoditised off-farm circuit of labour, drawing on wider kin and community networks of reciprocal labour exchange,'<sup>104</sup> was a significant factor in the operation of family labour farms.

Whatmore's case study material should be used with great caution as this relates to regions in the south of England at the end of the twentieth century. The experience of farming families in west central Scotland a hundred years earlier may have been quite different. However, the mention of 'community networks of reciprocal labour exchange' does have clear relevance, while the issues, among women, of lack of self-determination, and lack of control over and responsibility for any specific product also link into general issues of gender roles in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid. P. 44.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. P. 70.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. P. 81.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. P. 141.

Humphries claims that, during the course of the Industrial Revolution:

The centralisation of capitalist production undermined the fusion between domestic and productive tasks and thereby limited the dual involvement women had previously maintained.<sup>105</sup>

As mentioned above, the labour of farm women was in a different category to that of women in a factory environment. Although Devine<sup>106</sup> has written on the employment of women on Lowland Scottish farms, Robertson<sup>107</sup> has written of the bondagers of south-east Scotland, and MacDougall<sup>108</sup> has produced two books of reminiscences from women who worked on farms in south-east Scotland, the role of women in Scottish rural society (as labourers, dairy maids, farm wives, lease holders, and housewives) has been under-debated. Their economic contribution and level of involvement in decision-making is largely unknown. Although the designation of particular tasks as 'men's work' or 'women's work' is not consistent across all countries and cultures, it is widely reported that, in both England and Scotland, some farm tasks were traditionally considered appropriate to women, and dairying was considered to be women's work in England,<sup>109</sup> Scotland<sup>110</sup> and, indeed, Ireland.<sup>111</sup> Hence recourse can be made to English experience to shine some light on the Scottish situation but, as with Whatmore's studies, care must be taken in transferring English experience across the border.

Pinchbeck<sup>112</sup> provides an early analysis of the changing position of women. She says that, in the mid-eighteenth century, the greater part of women's work was carried on in the home, and adds that public opinion 'expected women and children to earn at

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<sup>105</sup> Humphries, J. (1987). "'The Most Free From Objection.'" *The Sexual Division of Labor and Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century England.* *The Journal of Economic History* 47(4): 929-949.

<sup>106</sup> Devine, T. M. (1984). *Women Workers, 1850-1914. Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland: 1770-1914.* T. M. Devine. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>107</sup> Robertson, B. W. (1990). In *Bondage: The Female Farm Worker in South-East Scotland.* *The World is Ill Divided - Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.* E. Gordon and E. Brieitenbach. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>108</sup> MacDougall, I. (1993). *"Hard work, ye ken": Midlothian women farmworkers.* Edinburgh, Canongate Academic in association with Midlothian District Council, the European Ethnological Research Centre and the National Museums of Scotland, MacDougall, I. (2000). *Bondagers: personal recollections by eight Scots women farm workers.* East Linton, Tuckwell.

<sup>109</sup> Valenze, D. (1991). "The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women's Work and the Dairy Industry c. 1740-1840." *Past and Present* 130: 142-169.

<sup>110</sup> Devine, T. M. (1984). *Women Workers, 1850-1914. Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland: 1770-1914.* T. M. Devine. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>111</sup> Shortall, S. (1999). *Women and Farming: Property and Power.* London, Macmillan Press Ltd.

<sup>112</sup> Pinchbeck, I. (1930). *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850.* London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.



least sufficient for their own maintenance'.<sup>113</sup> Simonton<sup>114</sup> claims that, in medieval times and on small scale farming concerns, the gender division of labour was very flexible, but that by the nineteenth century changes in agricultural practices contributed to a clearer division of labour, and more overtly defined gender roles, which ultimately diminished women's status in agriculture. Hudson and Lee<sup>115</sup> wrote that in medieval and early modern society women were indispensable partners in the work of household, farm and workshop, as well as vital contributors to family incomes. The decline of the household as a production unit and the growth of waged labour had strong implications for women's contribution to the household economy. They agree with Simonton, that with the growth of commercial farming, divisions of labour became more gender specific, but qualify that these divisions varied from one region to another. Vickery claims 'there is little convincing evidence that men and women's agricultural work had ever been interchangeable,' and directs attention to 'the complex interplay of emotion and power in family life'.<sup>116</sup>

'As a ubiquitous domestic enterprise, dairying was women's work,'<sup>117</sup> says Valenze in her examination of the progress of dairying in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. Although dairying was associated with enterprises of all sizes, it generated essential income for the small farm in the eighteenth century. While the women of the household ran these small dairies, the men tended livestock and fodder crops, possibly also engaging in weaving or other domestic industries. Within the dairy, the hours were long and the work strenuous, while requiring attention to detail and timing. Women were also responsible for the sale of the dairy products. Male labour in the dairy was generally unskilled and irregularly provided. However, production was gradually adapted to a growing market economy through new, more scientific methods of working. Valenze considers scientifically oriented improvement societies and a proliferation of literature on agriculture significant in changing perceptions of the place of women in agriculture. Thus:

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid. P. 1

<sup>114</sup> Simonton, D. (1998). A History of European Women's Work 1700 to the Present. London and New York, Routledge. P. 115.

<sup>115</sup> Hudson, P. and W. R. Lee (1990). Women's work and the family economy in historical perspective. Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press. P3

<sup>116</sup> Vickery, A. (1993). "Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history." Historical Journal **36**: 383-414.

<sup>117</sup> Valenze, D. (1991). "The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women's Work and the Dairy Industry c. 1740-1840." Past and Present **130**: 142-169.

Within this forum, the role of women as producers came under attack, as commentaries on labour described their agency as incompatible with systematic and profit-oriented methods.<sup>118</sup>

While it was assumed that standardisation could be achieved through an understanding of absolute scientific truth, the strong market for dairy products, in the first half of the nineteenth century, left some room for the persistence of customary work-roles.

But large-scale dairy-farmers interested in the latest improvements had enough capital to invest in labour-saving machinery which warranted the employment of several dairymaids, while obviating the need for the farmer's wife's traditional role. On such establishments, authority came from above and the autonomy of women was clearly circumscribed. Machinery gradually performed much of the maids' actual work, while leaving a less skilled person in charge of supervising each task. At the bottom of the hierarchy, the ordinary dairymaid became part of the proletariat of the agricultural workforce. Though considered more respectable than the average labourer owing to the fact that she did not mix with men on the farm, her hours were notoriously long and her position increasingly difficult to fill.<sup>119</sup>

Verdon contends that, despite the appearance, in recent years, of several studies examining the work of female farm servants and day labourers in eighteenth and nineteenth century England, the role of the farmer's wife remains elusive.

Was the farmer's wife the frivolous character caustically condemned in the 1820s by William Cobbett as the 'Mistress within,' delighting in the showy decorations of her newly refurbished parlour and overseeing the education of her children into 'young ladies and gentlemen'? Or was she a business partner, directing certain departments of the farm economy with 'so large a portion of skill, of frugality, cleanliness, industry, and good management ... that without them the farmer may be materially injured,' as one of Cobbett's contemporaries proposed?<sup>120</sup>

Verdon points out that, since the farmer's family was unwaged, farm records offer little insight into their labour, and very few farmers' wives left diaries. Therefore, Verdon utilises a variety of agricultural literature, such as farming manuals, encyclopaedias, journals and tours, to argue that:

... the position of the farmer's wife depended on status and region, and whilst some women had withdrawn from active participation in the farm economy by the early nineteenth century, this trend should not be overstated.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Verdon, N. (2003). "'subjects deserving of the highest praise': farmers' wives and the farm economy in England, c. 1700-1850." *The Agricultural History Review* 51: 23-39.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

The sources (mostly written by men) describe a very active traditional role for farm wives in England. In addition to running the household and the dairy, the women were responsible for the poultry and pigs. Some wives helped in the fields during harvest, or directed fieldwork in the absence of their husband. The move away from the traditional role was first apparent in the south and east of England where the trend towards large arable farms of several hundred acres or more 'eroded the necessity of, and allowed the withdrawal of farmers' wives from their customary labour.'<sup>122</sup> However, in the north of the country, even on large-scale arable farms, farm wives retained an active role in the management of the farms well into the nineteenth century. In the large dairy farms of the south west the practice of letting dairies to specialist dairymen has been described both as the reason for the withdrawal of women from active management of this area, and as a response to it, while 'on small dairy farms the labour of the farmer's wife continued to be indispensable in the nineteenth century.'<sup>123</sup> Verdon's research suggests that there might be parallels between the arable farms of east central Scotland and the arable farms of south east England, and between the small family labour farms of West Central Scotland and small dairy farms in other parts of England around the mid nineteenth century.

## Scottish Agriculture in Transition

'Thair wes ane husband, quhilk had ane plewch to steir'<sup>124</sup>

In the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries Dunfermline schoolmaster, Robert Henryson gave expression to Scottish culture with his interpretation of the fables of Aesop. In those pre-industrial days, the majority of the population lived in rural areas, and through Henryson's homely verse we catch a glimpse of their lives. Mostly they were farming folk, producing their own food and clothing. While some foodstuffs were imported, and there was a cross country trade in butter and cheese, most food was consumed within a few miles of its place of production. Production was largely on a subsistence level, and centred on rural communities, known as 'fermetouns' in Lowland Scotland and 'clachans' in the Highlands. The arable fields

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Henryson, R. 'There be a farmer, which had a plough to stir.' *The taill of the foxe, that begylit the Wolf, in the schadow of the mone.*

around these settlements were worked on the run-rig system as a multiple tenancy unit:

This meant that a group of farming families, often perhaps interrelated, was running a farm jointly, each family making use of a number of scattered strips and patches of land which might be changed around between them from time to time<sup>125</sup>

Size of share was variable. Henryson's husbandman would have rented enough land to support himself and his family. Cottars and grassmen had smaller holdings, and could boost their subsistence with a specialist skill such as blacksmith. Otherwise they might be employed by a husbandman as a labourer. The cottars and grassmen rented either directly from the local laird or, as sub-tenants, from a husbandman. Land was divided into infield (or croft land), outfield and rough pasture in proportions that varied with local conditions. Rent was paid individually, but some activities were carried out communally. According to Fenton:

The pre-Improvement farming system was not as primitive as later writers with the flush of new-day spirit in their blood made it appear. It was a highly-sophisticated, long-evolved response to environment and resources, and knowledge of how to manipulate these was in the blood and in the bone of the people of the time. Except for years of famine or other disasters, they knew how to survive.<sup>126</sup>

Fenton stresses the sophistication and utility of the system, which for a couple of centuries has been considered generally to have been simple, inefficient, largely static and not greatly interesting. Such writers as Dodgshon,<sup>127</sup> Devine<sup>128</sup> and Whyte<sup>129</sup> have shown that the systems of agriculture in medieval and early modern Scotland were more dynamic and adaptive than previously thought and, whether primitive or sophisticated, the forms and systems of agriculture were deeply embedded in social structure.

Although agriculture and rural life are important topics in any assessment of the country, and are included in general works by writers such as Nicholson<sup>130</sup> and Donaldson,<sup>131</sup> with the exception of Smout,<sup>132</sup> the number of pages devoted to

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<sup>125</sup> Fenton, A. (1989). Scottish Country Life. Edinburgh, John Donald. P. 15.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. Pp. 17, 18.

<sup>127</sup> Dodgshon, R. A. (1981). Land and Society in Early Scotland. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

<sup>128</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999). The Transformation of Rural Scotland, Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1915. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>129</sup> Whyte, I. D. (1995). Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: an Economic and Social history, c.1050-c.1750. Harlow, Essex, Longman Group.

<sup>130</sup> Nicholson, R. (1974). Scotland: The Later Middle Ages. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.

<sup>131</sup> Donaldson, G. (1965). Scotland: James V-James VIIIibid.

agriculture have tended to be comparatively few. This may be partly because up until around the late 1970s, there was less interest in social history than currently but, as recently as 2000, Smout has called for 'a comprehensive agrarian history of the kind that Joan Thirsk and her colleagues have been providing for England and Wales.'<sup>133</sup> Traditionally, scholarly interest in Scottish agriculture has tended to focus on the period often referred to as 'The Agrarian Revolution' but known in Scotland as 'The Improvement.'

## The Improvement

Fenton describes how, over a period of a couple of centuries, the age-old rhythms of rural life were disrupted by a combination of industrialisation, new trading developments, urbanisation, and agricultural improvement. The changes wrought by these processes were dramatic, both in relation to social structure and in the appearance of the land. The face of the countryside was changed as the rigs were levelled, and fields were sub-divided and enclosed. Social structure altered as the multiple tenancy fermetouns were broken up and replaced with single tenant farms. While some folk enjoyed enhanced status as tenants of the new farms, others lost their small stake in the land:

... a farm-worker class developed to serve the needs of the farms. They became paid employees, with wages partly in cash and partly in kind. They were no doubt often the farmers and members of the families of farmers who had been displaced by the improvements, and who had not been able to scrape together the rent required for a new holding.<sup>134</sup>

Some of the displaced moved to the villages developed or created by the lairds around this time:

The purpose was to promote domestic industries like weaving, lacemaking, and snuffbox-making, as well as fishing and water-powered industry. Over 150 villages were born in the 1700s, scattered throughout the country ... These were an essential complement to the shaping of new farms ... They provided reservoirs of day-labourers, and of additional workers during intensive work-periods on the farms.<sup>135</sup>

These changes have been considered from a variety of perspectives. Millman<sup>136</sup> focuses on the landscape, Shaw<sup>137</sup> focuses on the soil, Turnock<sup>138</sup> focuses on trade

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<sup>132</sup> Smout, T. C. (1969). A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830. Glasgow, William Collins.

<sup>133</sup> Smout, T. C. (2000). Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. P. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Fenton, A. (1989). Scottish Country Life. Edinburgh, John Donald. Pp. 37, 38.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. P. 38.

<sup>136</sup> Milman, R. N. (1975). The making of the Scottish landscape. London, Batsford.

and economics, and Whittington<sup>139</sup> shows concern for the social fabric. The synergy between industrialisation and agricultural improvement has been commented on by Devine:

Industrialisation and agricultural transformation in Scotland were two sides of the same coin ... On the one hand, the remarkable rise of industrial and urban employments in the eighteenth century created a much enlarged market of non-food producers, which in turn generated a massive new demand for the produce of Scottish farms ... Equally, however, agriculture itself was also one of the primary foundations of the Industrial Revolution. Without radical increase in the production of both foods and raw materials from within Scotland until the early nineteenth century, the whole process of rapid economic growth might have stalled.<sup>140</sup>

Even before enclosing, the sub-division of fields, draining and other eighteenth century improvements, there was variation in emphasis of the different branches of husbandry, in different parts of the country. Improvement led not only to a more cash orientated agriculture, but also to regional specialisation.

Most of the early improving landlords were based in the East of Scotland and, while many learned the hard way that innovation does not guarantee personal financial success, for a long time the general perception has been that the East of the country led the way in agricultural improvement. Accordingly, research into this period of Scottish agricultural history has tended to focus on that side of the country, and this is reflected by Ogilvie:

For about two centuries agricultural practice in the eastern districts has been steadily improving ... All this progress which began in the east spread to the west, so that at the present time farming methods almost everywhere compare very favourably with those of most foreign countries and of many English districts.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Shaw, J. (1994). *Manuring and Fertilising the Lowlands 1650-1850. The History of Soils and Field Systems*. S. Foster and T. C. Smout. Aberdeen, Scottish Cultural Press.

<sup>138</sup> Turnock, D. (1982). *The Historical Geography of Scotland since 1707: Geographical aspects of modernisation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>139</sup> Whittington, G. (1983). *Agriculture and Society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870. An Historical Geography of Scotland*. G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. London; New York, Academic Press.

<sup>140</sup> Devine, T. M. (2005). *The Transformation of Agriculture: Cultivation and Clearance. The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy Since 1700*. T. M. Devine, C. H. Lee and G. C. Peden. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>141</sup> Ogilvie, A. G., Ed. (1928). *Great Britain: essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors: with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Pp. 431-432.

As recently as 2007, Gibson declared that, although the pace of agricultural change varied widely across the country 'the south-east led the way.'<sup>142</sup> Smout recounts that, by the beginning of the nineteenth century:

Visitors were coming from as far afield as Poland and the United States to talk with the agronomists of Edinburgh University and stay on farms like Fenton Barns near Dunbar to examine the latest rotations that kept the land productive and in good heart.<sup>143</sup>

Whittington suggests that agricultural change in South-East Scotland was a natural development of regional environmental conditions. He points out that the favourable climate and good soils of the east, along with the growing market of Edinburgh, encouraged the engrossment of farm holdings, and specialisation in cereal production with which this region became identified.<sup>144</sup> It is no accident that the world's first recorded successful threshing machine was developed in the vicinity of Edinburgh in 1786.<sup>145</sup> The trend in this area was for relatively large farms worked by a large hired workforce. Smout quotes a mid-nineteenth description of Fenton Barns:

This great farm almost reached the sublime. It went like clockwork. Its fields, of from 20 to 30 acres, were all rectangular. There were no odd corners, no thickets, no hedgerow trees, no ragged, any-shaped pastures. The quickset hedges were clipped and low and narrow like those of a garden. No wild rose or old man's beard rambled on them, no may or blackthorn blossom lit them up, neither did the violet or the primrose find a lodging beneath their shade. There were no open ditches, and the plough ran right up to the roots of the fence. The land was as clean as a well-kept garden.<sup>146</sup>

From a twenty-first century viewpoint, Smout finds this to be a description of an ecological desert but, in the nineteenth century, Fenton Barns represented the epitome of improved farming. The topography of the west did not lend itself to such large-scale farming, but it brought prosperity to farmers in the south-east enabling them to improve their accommodation and standard of living. Their families were able to distance themselves from the operations of the farm, while farmers distanced themselves from the workforce by employing a grieve (manager). Whittington says that sharp class distinctions did not emerge in lowland Scotland until the nineteenth

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<sup>142</sup> Gibson, R. (2007). *The Scottish Countryside: Its Changing Face, 1700-2000*. Edinburgh, John Donald, in association with The National Archives of Scotland. P. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Smout, T. C. (2000). *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. P. 69.

<sup>144</sup> Whittington, G. (1983). *Agriculture and Society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870. An Historical Geography of Scotland*. G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. London; New York, Academic Press. P. 156.

<sup>145</sup> Sigaut, F. (2002). "Farming and Rural Society in Europe, late Eighteenth to late Nineteenth Centuries: a General Perspective." *Review of Scottish Culture* 15.

<sup>146</sup> Smout, T. C. (2000). *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. P. 88.

century, and he links this development to the gradual replacement of rent in kind by money rent:

Once farming for a profit became the normal circumstance, gulfs between the landlord and his tenant and the tenant and his labour began to open, grow wider and consolidate<sup>147</sup>

While capitalist cereal production developed in the east, an early specialisation in livestock farming emerged in the west. In the south-west, in Wigtown and Kirkcudbrightshire, the emphasis was on the production of beef, while West Central Scotland became a dairying area. Snodgrass, in her examination of farming practice in Lanarkshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, declares that "The farmers, during the period under review, have recognised the possibilities of each district and have adapted their methods to changing economic and social circumstances."<sup>148</sup> Some improvements adopted across the country, such as raising the PH level of the soil through liming, and the use of nitrogen-fixing crops were of immense benefit in the west. However, given the environmental constraints, it would have been folly for farmers in the West of Scotland simply to copy developments in the East. Snodgrass does not see agricultural development in the West as retarded in comparison with the East, but as appropriately different.

In West Central Scotland farms tended to be smaller than in the east, and many were no more than around one hundred acres. These were family farms where all members of the family were intimately connected with the working of the farm. Family labour was generally supplemented by a small number of hired workers who lived at the steading, and a larger number of seasonal labourers. Although this region also exhibited a distancing between landlord and tenant farmer, the continuing practice of boarding farm servants in the farmhouse in the west, south west, and parts of the north east, along with the circumstance of the farmer and his sons working alongside the hired men, while the farmer's wife directed the work of her daughters and the dairymaids, prevented the gulf between tenant and employee from becoming as wide as that of the cereal producing areas of the east. One of the consequences of this was greater social mobility. In the west, where farms were smaller and available at a lower rent, there was a chance for farm servants to become

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<sup>147</sup> Whittington, G. (1983). *Agriculture and Society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870. An Historical Geography of Scotland*. G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. London; New York, Academic Press. P. 148.

<sup>148</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1937). "Lanarkshire: The Agricultural Geography of a Scottish County." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* **LIII**: 176-199.



tenants. In the south eastern counties such chances were, according to Whittington, 'utterly remote.'<sup>149</sup>

## Agricultural Depression?

By the mid nineteenth century, with the face of the countryside transformed, the revolutionary phase of agricultural improvement is generally considered to have been over. Campbell<sup>150</sup> considers the period 1850-1914 to be of particular significance since it was in this period that Scottish agriculturists had to adapt to a new pattern of world trade. Also the changes of this period led, after 1918, to the break up of the great estates and the rise in numbers of owner/occupiers. However, he says that, in this period, 'much of the history of Scottish agriculture simply fades out,' and that, in the absence of Scottish material for this period, 'adaptations are sometimes made of English experience', but that these might not fit any of the regional experiences in Scotland.<sup>151</sup>

The latter part of the nineteenth century is known as the period of the Great Depression in British agriculture, and a perception of agricultural depression did exist in Scotland, as well as England, as is witnessed by articles published in the *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society* and by Government reports.<sup>152</sup> In the 1950s, Symon labelled the period 1875-1914 as 'forty bleak years' for agriculture.<sup>153</sup> Later writers have debated the nature and extent of this depression, and whether there was a depression at all,<sup>154</sup> but the perception of depression was a decision-making factor among both farmers and legislators. Generally cereal producers are thought to have come off worst in the depression. Perry<sup>155</sup> says this is because they complained longest and loudest, and their prices demonstrably fell furthest.

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<sup>149</sup> Whittington, G. (1983). *Agriculture and Society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870. An Historical Geography of Scotland.* G. Whittington and I. D. Whyte. London; New York, Academic Press.

<sup>150</sup> Campbell, R. H. (1991). *Owners and Occupiers, Changes in Rural Society in South-West Scotland before 1914.* Aberdeen, Aberdeen University press. P. xii.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* P. xii-xiii.

<sup>152</sup> Haythornwaite, J. A., N. C. Wilson, et al. (1993). *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century, an analytical bibliography of material relating to Scotland in Parliamentary Papers 1800-1900.* Aldershot, Scholar Press.

<sup>153</sup> Symon, J. A. (1959). *Scottish Farming Past and Present.* Edinburgh, London, Oliver and Boyd. P. 190

<sup>154</sup> Perry, P. J. (1972). "Where was the 'Great Agricultural Depression'? A Geography of Agricultural Bankruptcy in Late Victorian England and Wales." *Agricultural History Review* 20: 30, Turner, M. (1992). "Output and Prices in UK Agriculture, 1867-1914, and the Great Agricultural Depression Reconsidered." *Agricultural History Review* 40: 38, Perren, R. (1995). *Agriculture in depression, 1870-1940.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>155</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). *British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914: An Historical Geography.* Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). P. 21.

The kind of agriculture which had developed in Britain after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars was intensive, characterised by high inputs in pursuit of high outputs. Landlords and farmers invested in buildings, drainage, and pedigree livestock. The approach was also expensive in terms of labour, and of purchased fertilisers and feedstuffs, but production was increased and, in the mid nineteenth century, this approach brought prosperity to many farmers. 'It was, indeed', remarked Symon, 'an era when it paid to farm well.'<sup>156</sup> However, the prosperity of this period was a consequence of conflict elsewhere. Providing a temporary benefit to British farmers, supplies of agricultural produce from other countries were disrupted by war, or hindered by the inadequacy of transport technology. Although development was retarded by the American Civil War, in the nineteenth century the American Middle West underwent a dramatic transformation from a region of hunting and subsistence agriculture into one of the most prosperous and powerful places in the world:

The story of agricultural mechanisation in northern America has been told many times. It is a story of ploughs and drills, of harvesting and threshing machines, of elevators, railways, canals and steamships, of mills, of stock exchanges, etc. When the system was completed, in the 1870s, wheat from the Middle West could travel all the way to Europe and be sold there with a handsome profit, even when native wheat was at its cheapest.<sup>157</sup>

Sigaut says that the first shoots of agricultural mechanisation appeared in Scotland with Meikle's threshing machine, in 1786, but flowered in north America in the first half of the nineteenth century. Fenton speaks of the age-old in-built rhythms of rural life, and Sigaut comments on the established structures of farming life, which he says were 'so deeply rooted in everyday reality as to appear immutable to most minds.'<sup>158</sup> Sigaut suggests that the process of mechanisation in Europe was gradual because it had to conform to these structures whereas, in America, the structures were absent and mechanisation 'progressed by leaps and bounds, until a level of efficiency was reached which was far beyond what the most enlightened Europeans had been able to anticipate.'<sup>159</sup> He contends that it was many years before the significance of technological advance in the United States was fully appreciated in Europe. Even

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<sup>156</sup> Symon, J. A. (1959). *Scottish Farming Past and Present*. Edinburgh, London, Oliver and Boyd. P. 184.

<sup>157</sup> Sigaut, F. (2002). "Farming and Rural Society in Europe, late Eighteenth to late Nineteenth Centuries: a General Perspective." *Review of Scottish Culture* **15**.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

Lord Ernle's *English Farming Past and Present* (published 1912), says Sigaut, had little mention of machinery.

Collins,<sup>160</sup> while cautioning that many complex and indivisible factors determined the pace and quality of technological change, suggests that, with regard to threshing machines, Scotland and the north of England led, while southern England lagged. In explanation he puts forward the northern location of the industrial heartlands of the Industrial Revolution, the circumstance that the early machines were better adapted for oats than for wheat, and social concerns:

Scottish farmers did not, it would seem, share to the same degree the Englishman's fear that 'the saving in one way would be compensated by the increased expense in another ... that if the threshing machines were bought into general use, a great many labourers would be thrown out of employment, which of course would raise the poor rates.'<sup>161</sup>

In 1875 the harvest in Britain was poor. In previous times this would have resulted in a scarcity of grain and an increase in the price. Thanks to foreign imports, instead of rising, the price of grain fell. Landlords and farmers saw this as a case of unfair competition and demanded protective tariffs, but Britain's urban population was growing, and it was the decision of government to ensure a cheap supply of food for urban workers by allowing foreign imports. Moreover, much of the imported food came from areas of British settlement and British investment.<sup>162</sup> Agricultural products 'were the main commodities with which these pioneer societies could service this British investment and buy British exports.'<sup>163</sup> Sigaut maintains that, in the mid nineteenth century, 'Britain was universally regarded as being economically far more advanced than continental Europe.'<sup>164</sup> Perhaps this is why, as Perry claims, the British people were more ready than continental Europeans to accept the new concept that the nation could be safely fed from overseas. Although Sigaut says that 'the shock of American imports was the same on both sides of the Channel, and the consequences were similar,'<sup>165</sup> governmental response was different, with a tendency

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<sup>160</sup> Collins, E. J. T. (1972). "The Diffusion of the Threshing Machine in Britain, 1790-1880." *Tools and Tillage* II(1): 16-33.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid. quoting Brown, R. (1811). *Treatise on Rural Affairs*. Edinburgh. Vol. I, p. 337.

<sup>162</sup> In addition to the United States, Canada, Australasia, and Argentina were also exporting to Britain.

<sup>163</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). *British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914: An Historical Geography*. Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). Pp. 51-2

<sup>164</sup> Sigaut, F. (2002). "Farming and Rural Society in Europe, late Eighteenth to late Nineteenth Centuries: a General Perspective." *Review of Scottish Culture* 15.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

towards protectionist policies on the part of continental European governments.

Perry describes the agricultural depression in Britain as:

... the transference of agriculture, farming and the landed interest, from a position in the forefront of British polity, economy, and society to a relatively minor role. Agriculture accounted for 20 percent of the gross national product in the late 1850s but for only 6 percent in the late 1890s; it employed over one-fifth of the population in 1851 but less than one-tenth in 1901.<sup>166</sup>

In Britain, 'many landowners had industrial as well as agricultural sources of income,'<sup>167</sup> and so they could adapt to the changed economic climate. Perry also states that, by the second half of the nineteenth century, rural Britain had become 'in most respects a terra incognita to the masses.'<sup>168</sup>

Individual farmers, says Perry, failed to grasp the significance of their predicament: indeed 1877, 1878, 1879, 1881 and 1882 were years of poor harvests, allowing farmers to blame the weather for their problems. As time went on, various factors were blamed including: taxation, high rents, tenant rights, wages, game laws, adulteration of fertilisers and feeding stuffs, and railway rates. The days of high farming were over, and farmers learned to exercise caution. Depression became 'a series of painful adjustments and occasional ameliorations.'<sup>169</sup> Change cost money and was reluctantly undertaken.<sup>170</sup> However, while the market for grain was relatively stable, there was a growing demand for meat and milk in the expanding urban centres. Many cereal farmers kept some livestock for the sake of the manure, and Perry<sup>171</sup> maintains that, even in the 1850s and 1860s, this livestock represented the more profitable part of the enterprise, but the inadequacies of farm accounts obscured this from the farmers. Moreover

... milk production was socially and technically unattractive to many farmers brought up on the idea that corn was king. To them farming was growing crops, preferably wheat, and fattening stock. By comparison dairying was monotonous, restrictive, and a step down the social ladder. Such factors were important enough to the farmer, pre-eminent to his wife and daughter. They cannot be reduced to statistics, but their reality is attested in contemporary literature to the extent that they cannot be ignored.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914; An Historical Geography. Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). P. 14

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. P. 16.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. P. 16.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid. P. 139.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. P. 141.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. Pp. 35-6.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid. P. 119.

Foreign imports of grain worked in the favour of the livestock and dairy farmer, as they brought down the cost of feed. Perry<sup>173</sup> concludes that grazing, dairying and market gardening all tended to expand at the expense of intensive arable-livestock farming during the depression, but some farmers left the business rather than switch to dairying. They were replaced by the sons of other farmers, able labourers and shepherds, urban businessmen and industrialists, and migrants from the north and west.<sup>174</sup>

Robinson,<sup>175</sup> in his investigation into the British dairying industry from 1850 to the 1930s and beyond, comments on the paucity of reliable statistics, and suggests that this has contributed to a lack of academic study of this topic. He describes an industry undergoing a series of revolutions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Robinson says, family farmers concentrated upon the labour intensive production of butter and cheese, while sales of liquid milk were dominated by urban cowkeepers (see Chapter Nine). By the second half of the century imported cheese threatened domestic production. Nevertheless dairying flourished during the so-called Great Agricultural Depression. Some cheese factories were established in the 1870s, but revolution was brought about by improved transport, and a massive rise in the demand for liquid milk in the expanding urban areas. Outbreaks of cattle disease in urban dairies, followed by greater regulation coupled with increased rentals, led to the gradual disappearance of the urban cowkeepers. Family farmers switched to the production of liquid milk, and by 1914 the area from which milk supplies were drawn to London was two hundred miles. The need to keep up supplies of liquid milk throughout the year led to major changes in farming practice, including the purchase of feed to supplement the traditional hay and grass. Distribution also changed. The many small producers sold their milk to 'middlemen,' who distributed it to the 'dairymen.' Robinson<sup>176</sup> wrote that in England, around 1870, the proportion of milk produced to butter and cheese was thirty per cent milk, and seventy per cent butter and cheese. Around 1900, the proportions were seventy per cent milk and thirty per cent butter and cheese.

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid. P.22.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid. P. 97.

<sup>175</sup> Robinson, G. M. (1988). Agricultural Change: Geographical Studies of British Agriculture. Edinburgh, North British Publishing.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. P. 76.

Perry<sup>177</sup> suggests the agricultural depression had a second phase, which occupied the first half of the 1890s. There were droughts in 1892, 1893, 1895 and 1896, which caused problems for graziers and dairy farmers. By this time these sectors were also facing foreign competition. Imports of butter and cheese were significant in the late 1870s, and increased after an improvement in marine refrigeration in the early 1880s. The prices of butter and cheese fell, but the price of fresh milk fell less, or not at all.<sup>178</sup> There were also imports of margarine, amounting to more than a million pounds weight in 1876. Cheese and butter-making required skill and unremitting labour, and good labour was expensive. Where farmers could access the lucrative urban market there was little incentive to make butter or cheese, as the milk was worth nearly twice as much fresh as processed. Dairy farming did increase across Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. In many cases, the land involved was more physically suited to dairy production, but had been under an arable system partly because of the former high prices for wheat, and partly for social reasons. Unprecedented foreign competition and changing home markets forced the change. At the time of this shift, west central and south west Scotland was already primarily under dairy systems, although these systems were in flux, as liquid milk zones extended, and the butter and cheese zones were pushed further south into Wigtownshire.

### Go east for a farm, go west for a wife

Noting the laborious nature of dairy farming, even without butter and cheese-making, Perry remarked:

Experience with livestock, a capacity for hard work, willingness to accept a lower standard of living than most lowlanders expected, made the migrant Scot or Welshman almost the typical new tenant of a rundown low-rented farm in south-eastern England.<sup>179</sup>

One of the features of the late nineteenth century was a series of farming migrations from south-western and north-western counties of England to Southern, Eastern, and Midland counties, and from Wales to the Midlands of England. There was also a marked migration from the Scottish counties of Dumbarton, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Renfrew, Wigtown and Stirling to South-East Scotland, and to the Southern, Eastern, and Midland counties of England. This phenomenon was studied, in the

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<sup>177</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914; An Historical Geography. Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). P. 37.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid. P. 115.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid. P. 24.

1930s, by Edmond Lorrain Smith, who writes that the counties of origin of the Scottish migrant farmers seem to have been badly overcrowded and that no land was left vacant by their going.<sup>180</sup> They took leases on arable farms left vacant after the collapse in grain prices. Drawn, initially by advertisements in agricultural papers, and attracted by the larger size of the farms which, being vacant could be taken easily, they moved from an area of predominantly family farms to one of capitalist farms but continued to operate family labour farms. The immigrants were dairy farmers and continued to work in that line. Previously they had produced some milk, but mainly butter and cheese. The move to more populous areas meant that they could go over to milk production entirely. In the South-West of Scotland, competition for farm leases was keen, so migrations of farmers from these areas is not so much a symptom of depression there, but of depression in the counties to which they went.

There was contemporary debate as to which size of farm could best withstand depression. Chisholm states that for any particular type of farming system there is an optimum extent of holding, and, since (according to von Thünen) the choice of farming system is linked to location, farm size is also related to location.<sup>181</sup> Perry comes down in favour of small pastoral and large arable farms. As noted above, the pastoral farms of West Central Scotland tended to be smaller than arable farms of South East Scotland and South East England, and Lorrain Smith assesses the position of the family farmer thus:

He never enjoys the easy circumstances of the capitalist [farmer] in periods of prosperity because his small business fluctuates less than the capitalist business. In good times it makes less, in bad times it loses less simply because of its smaller size. Therefore, the family farmer lives a life evenly hard, without the pleasure of spending, but also, without the pain of retrenchment.<sup>182</sup>

This hard life extended to the farming family, since Lorrain Smith declared that 'to a working farmer a family is a labour asset,<sup>183</sup> but he also indicates that family farmers from West Central Scotland were able to make a success of formerly arable farms by converting them to dairy production. Lorrain Smith took the title of his study in rural migration from a saying among Scottish farmers – 'go east for a farm, go (or look)

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<sup>180</sup> Lorrain Smith, E. (1932). Go East for a Farm: A Study of Rural Migration. Oxford, University of Oxford Agricultural Economics Research Institute. P. 18.

<sup>181</sup> Chisholm, M. (1968). Rural Settlement and Land Use, an essay in location. London, Hutchison.

<sup>182</sup> Lorrain Smith, E. (1932). Go East for a Farm: A Study of Rural Migration. Oxford, University of Oxford Agricultural Economics Research Institute. P. 52.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. P. 49.

west for a wife.’ This underlines the role of women in the dairy farms of the west of Scotland by indicating that the migrating farmer’s chances of success were significantly improved, if he could work in partnership with a capable woman who knew her way around a farm dairy. Snodgrass’ parents may have been one such partnership, having moved from West to East and, although her mother was a baker’s daughter, Snodgrass’s maternal grandmother was a farmer’s daughter.

## The Project

The development of agriculture in Scotland fits into a European context and, in common with other European countries, Scottish farming was subject to worldwide influences. Nevertheless, there were intense local flavours that go beyond markets and governmental response to agricultural depression. The pattern of agriculture across Scotland is the result not only of rock formation, altitude, soil, and climatic factors, but also of political, social and historical factors. It is out of the interplay of these factors that regional specialisation grew. While some farming folk emigrated from West Central Scotland, and displayed their skills in sunnier climes, many continued to wrest a living from their native clay, and it is upon these farming families that the current work will focus. Neglected and long considered backward, a reassessment of this region with regard to the development of Scottish agriculture is overdue. Campbell and Devine<sup>184</sup> have observed that there exists an imbalance in the study of Scottish agricultural history, whereby more attention has been given to the Highlands than to the Lowlands, and within the Lowlands:

Attention has been directed to the arable operations of the eastern and frequently south-eastern counties so that the agricultural history of Scotland is often portrayed as chiefly a variant on what took place in these regions.<sup>185</sup>

Yet, by the nineteenth century an east/west physical climate division was matched by an east/west division in agricultural activity, by a different social climate, and by a perceived difference in the character of the people. Carter<sup>186</sup> and Gray<sup>187</sup> have

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<sup>184</sup> Campbell, R. H. and T. M. Devine (1990). *The Rural Experience. People and Society in Scotland*. W. H. Fraser and R. J. Morris. Edinburgh, John Donald. **II**. Pp. 47-8. Campbell, R. H. (1991). *Owners and Occupiers, Changes in Rural Society in South-West Scotland before 1914*. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University press. P. xii. Devine, T. M. (1999). *The Transformation of Rural Scotland, Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1915*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. P. vii.

<sup>185</sup> Campbell, R. H. (1991). *Owners and Occupiers, Changes in Rural Society in South-West Scotland before 1914*. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University press. P. xii

<sup>186</sup> Carter, I. (1997). *Farm life in Northeast Scotland, 1840-1914 the poor man's country*. Edinburgh, John Donald.



widened the basis for generalisation with studies of north-east Scotland, and Campbell<sup>188</sup> has investigated the south-west, but West Central Scotland remains a neglected area. Neglect of any part of the country's regional diversity will result in a misleading interpretation. Hence this study focuses explicitly on the family labour farms of west central Scotland, viewed through the frames of region, location, humanism, feminism, and capitalism to address the questions below.

- Why did the Region's agriculture develop in the way that it did?
- What was the influence of Glasgow upon the farms and farming people of the region and how did increasing distance from Glasgow affect farm management?
- What were the consequences of increasing urbanisation?
- How were traditional roles altered in a changing commercial climate, and in the face of a more scientific and professional attitude towards farming?
- How did rural social structure impact upon farm organisation?

## Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduced the project by exploring the relevance of Catherine Park Snodgrass as geographer and as farm daughter. Chapter Two, has set the scene by defining the region under discussion, placing it within a broader context of time and place, and drawing out research questions. A break-down of the various categories of source materials and the methodology of their use will be presented in Chapter Three. The research strategy will begin to unfold with the introduction of key farms, and the four principal farms studied in the project will be profiled in detail in Chapter Four. Chapter Five will profile families associated with these farms in an interweaving biography of people and places hinting at the complexity of family life and revealing networks encompassing multiple farms. Chapter Six will carry the investigation of life on family labour farms further with consideration of non-family

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<sup>187</sup> Gray, M. (1984). *Farm Workers in North-East Scotland. Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770-1914*. T. M. Devine. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>188</sup> Campbell, R. H. (1988). "Little Better Than British Slavery": the agriculture of Cunninghame in the late nineteenth century. *A Sense of Place: Studies in Scottish Local History: a volume of essays collected by the Scottish local history forum as a tribute to the late Professor Eric Forbes*. G. Cruickshank. Edinburgh, Scotland's Cultural Heritage Unit, University of Edinburgh, Campbell, R. H. (1991). *Owners and Occupiers, Changes in Rural Society in South-West Scotland before 1914*. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University press.

labour, and the social implications and responsibilities this entailed. In Chapter Seven the geography of farms and the changing nature of the dairy industry will be used to explore gender roles. Chapter Eight will look beyond the communities on individual farms to explore a broader farming community at work and play. Chapter Nine will include a return to the ideas of Snodgrass and von Thünen with an economic exploration of the region, and the changing urban/rural relationship. In the light of findings laid out in the other chapters, Chapter Ten will speak back to the questions posed in Chapter Two. A Glossary provides information on terms that may be unfamiliar.

## Chapter Three

### Sources and Methods

The more personal, local, and unofficial a document, the less likely it was to survive. The very power structure worked as a great recording machine shaping the past in its own image.<sup>189</sup>

The above quote highlights the major challenge of this project. Since the project will focus on the family labour farms of West Central Scotland, profiling individual families, exploring farm structure and examining gender relations, 'personal, local, and unofficial' documents are the ones most likely to provide insight, but less likely to be preserved.

### Legal and Government Records

According to Thompson,<sup>190</sup> before the twentieth century, forms of history gave very little attention to the lives of ordinary people. The documents preserved in archives both public and private reflected the interests of the wealthy and the literate and, while those with property had a concomitant interest in the documentation which upheld their rights, those with little or no property, and no more than a basic level of literacy, were likely to have been suspicious of documents as tools of oppressors and thieves. According to a chronicle report of the 1381 Peasant's Revolt in England, the commons 'had it cried round the city [London] that all lawyers, all the men of the Chancery and the Exchequer and everyone who could write a writ or letter should be beheaded, wherever they could be found.'<sup>191</sup> Moving forward, this distrust of documentation can also be seen in resistance to questions posed by authority figures in the late eighteenth century. Some of the parish ministers charged with compiling reports for *The Statistical Account of Scotland* found their enquiries thwarted by a suspicion among the populace that the purpose behind such information gathering was the setting of a new tax.

... the real number of many families could not be obtained, in consequence of the absurd apprehensions entertained, that the enumeration was intended for the purpose of laying on some new tax, in which the people

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<sup>189</sup> Thompson, P. (1998). *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. The Oral History Reader. R. Perks and A. Thomson. London, Routledge: 21-28.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Dobson, R. B. (1970). The Peasants' Revolt of 1381. London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. P. 160.

were to be charged higher in proportion to the number of their children.<sup>192</sup>

Sir John Sinclair's purpose in creating *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (which was later to become known as the *Old Statistical Account* or O.S.A.), with its wealth of information on population, industry, agriculture, and the environment, was to provide an information base for government action to improve the condition of the people, but, while some laboured to reveal the state of the nation and its populace, others sought to obscure their own lives from scrutiny. Some 'poor stockings' may have preferred to remain under the radar. Since Sinclair's pioneering activity there have been many fact-finding exercises instigated by governments, some of which have relevance for nineteenth and twentieth century agriculture, and which have taken testimony from those involved in agriculture.<sup>193</sup> West of Scotland farmers, such as John Speir have contributed reports<sup>194</sup> and, despite the inclination (in some quarters) to keep personal circumstances private, these reports, along with other centrally collected records, are highly informative and have been drawn upon by scholars of various disciplines. Second-hand use has been made of such reports. The Register of Sasines at the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh details the transfer of land, and is useful where farmers bought their farms or other property, such as houses or shops. Extensive use has been made of the Statistical Accounts,<sup>195</sup> and the Census.<sup>196</sup> Access to Census material online has facilitated cross parish searches so that tracking individuals has become more feasible (see the story of John Tait in Chapter Six). However, it has to be borne in mind that Census enumerators sometimes used unexpected spellings of place and personal names, and that transcribers, either through difficulty in making out handwriting, or due to lack of local knowledge, can generate some surprising entries. Therefore flexible and imaginative searching is sometimes required. Statutory records of births, marriages and deaths<sup>197</sup> have been utilised along with the Old Parish Records (O.P.R.)<sup>198</sup> and these are a useful source of information on family circumstances.

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<sup>192</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Edinburgh/6/564/>

<sup>193</sup> For example the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture

<sup>194</sup> *Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Parliamentary Papers, 1895*. Report on south-western Scotland by John Speir.

<sup>195</sup> Accessed online at <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk>.

<sup>196</sup> Accessed online through [ancestry.co.uk](http://ancestry.co.uk).

<sup>197</sup> Accessed on microfilm at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow and online through [scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://scotlandspeople.gov.uk).

<sup>198</sup> Accessed on microfilm at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

## Estate Records

Estate records are local sources which, at times, are so bountiful that there is a temptation to structure research around them. The number of acres controlled by individual lairds varied widely but greater capital, broader experience and a desire for money rents (as opposed to rent in kind) put lairds (collectively) in a position to drive forward agricultural improvement in their own localities. In the extensive archives produced by great estates such treasures as receipts for gunpowder to blow up stones too large to be cleared from fields, and accounts which detail the draining of boggy areas, are to be found. Painstaking research can produce a detailed picture of the process of agricultural change in a particular area, but will say much less about the lives of those who worked on the land.

For example, records of the Blythwood Estate,<sup>199</sup> near Glasgow, do reveal some information on the Snodgrass family. Rental books<sup>200</sup> tell us which farms members of the family tenanted, when, what the rent was, and whether there were arrears. The rentals demonstrate a succession of Snodgrasses at Portnauld, but do not indicate the relationships between them. It is only with reference to other sources (such as the Census) that it can be established that James Snodgrass was replaced by his son, John, who was replaced by his son Matthew. Matthew subsequently flitted to the larger, neighbouring farm of Old Mains, and was succeeded at Portnauld by his younger brother, Robert, who was succeeded by Jessie Snodgrass. Estate plans<sup>201</sup> graphically display the layout of farms with the dimensions of constituent parts. Thus it can be seen that Old Mains had a gravel pit, that both farms included small wooded areas and that, although Portnauld had an embankment, both farms were subject to inundation at high water. This information provides a context for study of the farms, and throws up questions as to the transmission of leases within a family, but it tells us nothing about the day-to-day working of the farms, or the family dynamics. As the intention is to investigate farming at the level of family farms, and with reference to the farming families, it was determined that research should centre on farm generated source material, but draw upon other material to provide broader context. So, although estate records were mined, care was taken to not let the richness of estate records draw focus away from farming families.

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<sup>199</sup> T-D 234, Glasgow Archives, Mitchell Library.

<sup>200</sup> T-D 234/15, /16, /17.

<sup>201</sup> T-D 234/48/2.

## Farm-Generated Documents

A substantial amount of written material was undoubtedly produced on farms, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although survivals in the public domain are rare, some families produced small archives comprised mainly of diaries and account books, letters, lease agreements and miscellaneous notes. In an example of the ways in which the forms of history gave very little attention to the lives of ordinary people before the twentieth century, traditional teaching of history did not lead people to surmise that their family scribbles would be of any interest outside their immediate circle. Nor were farmers encouraged to suppose that their observations on crops and the weather could have any scientific significance. Little such material seems to have been accepted into public archives, and it is likely that little was proffered.

I checked public libraries and archives in my search for farm-generated source material and an online search located the curious Donald of Sornbeg diary in Ayrshire Archives. However, I was convinced that more farm-generated material exists than is catalogued in libraries and archives. So, I composed a short piece appealing for farm diaries and similar, which I submitted to the magazine of the Scottish Women's Rural Institute, and to various local newspapers throughout the region. Responses were very few, but the account books relating to Crookboat Farm proved highly rewarding (see below). A chance mention in an oral history interview led to the William Murdoch of Springs accounts, and I was directed to the Peter Turner of Oxbang diaries by a local studies librarian who knew of my interest. The account books and diaries contain information on day-to-day activities, and lend themselves to computer data analysis. Once the material has been properly digitised, the researcher can draw out patterns and group related data. By gathering all references to a particular individual in one table, and cross-referencing this with other sources such as the Census and trade directories, it is possible to sketch a profile of that individual and establish their connection with the farm. Was it business, social or perhaps both? The farm-generated source material is described more closely in connection with the associated farms and families below. These sources form the backbone of the research.

## Oral History and Personal Reminiscence

Thompson writes that without the evidence of oral history 'the historian can discover very little indeed about either the ordinary family's contacts with neighbours and kin, or its internal relationships.'<sup>202</sup> Oral history and personal reminiscences are akin to written farm-generated source material, as all are personal and unofficial records, which give us a glimpse of a vanished world from a grassroots perspective, not generally covered by official sources. Unlike diaries and account books, oral history material is generally produced to inform outsiders. The data in the account books and diaries are less processed and, if the diaries and account books represent subjects in their working clothes, oral history transcripts represent them in their Sunday best.

In his essay on folklore collecting, Fenton highlights a few of the challenges of gathering oral history.

At one period the present writer [A. Fenton] worked on a small farm with a farm-servant who was, under normal circumstances, abnormally shy, but in working down the turnip-drills he began to sing one song, then another and another; mixing popular radio songs and songs of conventionally unprintable type with bothy-ballads and local songs like 'The Bonnie Lass o' Fyvie,' 'Mormond Braes,' etc., and sometimes asking, 'Div ye ken that een?' (Do you know that one?). His repertoire was wide and interesting, and could only have been evoked in a work-context where he felt at complete ease with a fellow-worker.<sup>203</sup>

People adjust their speech to suit the person they are talking to. They can speak differently to persons of the opposite sex than they would to someone of the same sex, and employ a more relaxed form of speech to family and friends than to authority figures. Although most people standardise their speech in more formal situations, a strong regional dialect can be a barrier between interviewer and narrator. Yet the participant's native speech is an integral part of their testimony. Fenton also raises issues of trust and context. Some researchers have tried to overcome the context difficulty by adopting an 'in-the-field' method of interviewing.<sup>204</sup> When interviews are conducted during a walk around a farm, recollections can be prompted by the landscape. Such excursions are not always practical and, while the use of photographs as interview prompts may seem a poor substitute for walking the farm, this can be a rewarding practice not only in triggering memory, but also in creating a

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<sup>202</sup> Thompson *The Voice of the Past*.

<sup>203</sup> Fenton, A. (1985). *The Shape of the Past; Essays in Scottish Ethnology*. Edinburgh, John Donald. Pp. 21, 22, essay first published in 1967.

<sup>204</sup> Riley, M. and D. Harvey (2007). "Oral Histories, Farm Practice and Uncovering Meaning in the Countryside." *Social and Cultural Geography* 8(3): 391-415.

more relaxed atmosphere in which trust can flourish. Trust between interviewer and narrator is important in encouraging people to speak freely, but trust takes time to establish. However treating the narrator with respect and listening to what they say, rather than what you expect them to say, can only be helpful.

The researcher must always remain attentive to the moral dimensions of interviewing and aware that she is there to follow the narrator's lead, to honor her integrity and privacy, not to intrude into areas that the narrator has chosen to hold back.<sup>205</sup>

However hyper-sensitivity on the part of the interviewer can, as Anderson reports, constrain the narrator.

Thus, my interview strategies were bound to some extent by the conventions of social discourse. The unwritten rules of conversation about appropriate questions and topics – especially the one that says “don't pry!” – kept me from encouraging women to make explicit the range of emotions surrounding the events and experience they related.<sup>206</sup>

Anderson and Jack stress the importance of shedding personal agendas to more fruitfully listen.

I carried out three interviews in connection with my research<sup>207</sup>. Placed in chronological order these were with:

1. Peter Turner, who grew up on Oxcgang Farm, Kirkintilloch
2. James Black, who grew up on Auchenfoyle Farm, Kilmacolm
3. Margaret Leiper, who grew up on Kilnpothall Farm, Auchengray

Each interview was a one-off, although I had met Peter Turner on a previous occasion. I prepared some categories and questions for Mr. Turner, but these were more in the way of prompts than a rigid questionnaire. With Mr. Black and Mrs. Leiper my strategy was more open. My intention was to encourage pertinent anecdotes, and not to block the introduction of relevant material, of which I was unaware. So I prepared a selection of photographs to help establish a rapport and to act as visual prompts and, while I determined which areas I was interested in, specific questions were responses to the narrator. The method had some success. The photographs were greeted with cheerful interest, although when Mrs. Leiper declared that what she was

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<sup>205</sup> Anderson, K. and D. C. Jack (1991). Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses. Women's Words, The Feminist Practice of Oral History. S. B. Gluck and D. Patai. New York and London, Routledge: 11-26.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> All three interviewees gave their permission, in writing, for their name, and the name of their farm to be quoted.



saying could not be of any interest, and asked that the tape recorder be turned off, I had no choice but to comply. The danger of this strategy is that answers may become rambling, or that the narrator may fill the recording with information not relevant to the research. However, all three interviewees were acute individuals who provided interesting and, at times, surprising information. Fruitful though these interviews were, they represent but a tiny sample and, given the time period under consideration, candidates with the requisite background, prepared to talk to me, must be very few in number. Therefore I searched for pre-existing material. Unfortunately, the School of Scottish Studies did not have anything relevant for the region, but some of the interviews of the Stirling Women project<sup>208</sup> proved illuminating, as did some of the interviews in the Ayrshire Sound Archive.<sup>209</sup> Claire Toynbee and Louise Jamieson kindly provided transcripts of interviews concerned with the west central region,<sup>210</sup> and I discovered more relevant material in an untitled book of conversations in Kilsyth Library.<sup>211</sup> The copyright for this book is held by a William Chalmers who, the librarians informed me, is a local man who carried out the interviews. Many of the conversations are not dated, but others date to the 1980s. The pre-existing material represents a diverse resource. Some interviews were more structured than others, and interviewers range from professional researchers to children interviewing a grandparent. While the personal histories of the interviewees varied, they all had experience of farm life in the West Central Region. Some interviews contain very little relevant material, while others are treasure troves of information. The majority date from the 1980s although Ayrshire Sound Archive includes some recordings from the 1960s.

One of the problems in dealing with oral history is that of accuracy of memory. It is not just that people can forget or mistake the details and sequence of events, but, as Portelli wrote, 'Memory is an active process of creation of meanings.'<sup>212</sup> Memories do not sit in the brain like objects gathering dust on a shelf. They have a tendency to mutate in response to changes such as increased experience and altered perspective. It is debatable whether or not it is ever possible to recover the pristine memory, which is a problem in trying to establish the precise details of particular events.

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<sup>208</sup> Scottish Oral History Archive, University of Strathclyde.

<sup>209</sup> Ayrshire Archives. Copies of the tapes are kept at Ardrossan Library.

<sup>210</sup> Jamieson, L. and C. Toynbee (2000). Country Bairns; Growing Up, 1900-1930. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

<sup>211</sup> Barcode 279304500, Library Branch Code KIL 1144121.

<sup>212</sup> Portelli, A. (1998). What Makes Oral History Different. The Oral History Reader. R. Perks and A. Thomson. London, Routledge: 63-73.

However, for the researcher trying to establish patterns of social behaviour, it is less of a problem. In putting together an image of family and social life in the farming community, I am not looking so much at specific events, but at series of events; not at what happened one particular day, but what was the general pattern of events in certain situations. The repetitive nature of these patterns makes them easier to recall, and here the subjectivity of oral history becomes one of its strengths, as how people felt about routine activities is of deep importance. Despite limitations, oral testimony is highly valuable resource.

Personal reminiscences provide a similar resource to oral history interviews, but without the guiding hand (or interference) of a researcher. Published works are subject to a degree of editing and so represent a more polished, less raw, but also more considered resource. James Black has put some of his memories into a book,<sup>213</sup> which can be looked at in conjunction with his interview. Elizabeth McGregor, who was born in 1907, set down the structure and patterns of her early life on a small farm near Drymen in a short but utterly charming book.<sup>214</sup> Ian Campbell Thomson's recollections of life on a farm in the same area date to the period following the Second World War, and thus are outside the timeframe of this project. That said, farming life in this area was substantially similar in 1914 and 1945, and Thomson provides a valuable perspective.<sup>215</sup> Marion Craig was born around 1842 and her brief but illuminating reminiscences of her time on her grandfather's farm of Cowdenmoor are a rare find.<sup>216</sup> Knowing the identity of informants and their associated farms is helpful in furthering research, particularly when comparing locations, but informants have a right to their privacy. Thomson<sup>217</sup> protects the privacy of his former employer by not revealing the name of his farm, but clues within the text suggest that the farm is in the same general area as McGregor's childhood home of Creityhall. Turner, Black and Leiper did not feel a need for anonymity, and actual names are used in the Ayrshire Sound Archives, but identities have been concealed in other material. Names have been withheld in the Stirling Women project material, although one of the women attended the same, small primary school as McGregor, suggesting her

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<sup>213</sup> Black, J. (1997). Black O' The Green: memories o' the auld days, a Renfrewshire farmer's story. Greenock, David Roe Publications.

<sup>214</sup> McGregor, E. (1993). Before I was ten; memories of a rural childhood. Kelso, Moira McGregor.

<sup>215</sup> Thomson, I. C. (2007). The Hired Lad. Edinburgh, Mercat Press.

<sup>216</sup> Graham, T. (2004/5). "Recollections of the Craig Family." Renfrewshire Family History Society Journal.

<sup>217</sup> Thomson The Hired Lad.

family also farmed in the same general area. Thus there are three sets of experiences from one area (around Drymen) to compare.



**7. Jimmy Black outside the double farmhouse at Auchenfoyle where he grew up. Source - author**

## Principal Farms and Families

As stated above, the intention is to investigate farming at the level of family farms, with reference to the farming families, and utilising the grassroots data of farm-generated sources. Two major factors influencing the research plan were the time required to transcribe and process farm-generated sources, and the happenstance nature of the sources. It was decided, rather than provide a broad, general, overview, to aim for a deeper understanding of farming life, by focussing on a small number of farms scattered across the region. There was a variety of farming situations across the West Central Region, and the picture changed over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rendering generalisations problematic both in terms of geography and period. The ideal would have been either to select material ranged across the time period, and sourced from closely grouped farms, or a collection of sources from a more limited time period, but produced on farms strategically located across the region. In the first situation, changes over time, but within a closely specified locality, could be studied and, in the second situation, regional diversity, during a snapshot of time, could be analysed. In reality the

available sources were produced at different times (although there was some overlap), and the choice of farms was greatly limited by available sources. However, it was possible to select four principal farms in a useful geographical configuration with two relatively close to Glasgow (Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire) and two more distant (Ayrshire and south Lanarkshire), providing scope for investigation of the city of Glasgow upon the region. The locations of the principal farms discussed in this thesis are pinpointed on the large folded map, in a pocket at the back of the volume, but an impression of their relative locations, and approximate distance and direction from Glasgow can be gained from the small map at the end of this chapter. Sources associated with the principal farms are detailed below.

### Oxgang Farm and the Turner Family

Peter Turner (1870-1959) produced a set of diaries at Oxgang Farm, Kirkintilloch, in the eastern detached portion of Dunbartonshire (now in East Dunbartonshire District). For convenience, I numbered the volumes as follows

Volume 1: December 1890 to March 1893

Volume 2: September 1895 to May 1899

Volume 3: June 1899 to May 1902

Volume 4: May 1902 to June 1908

Turner may have written other diaries, which have been lost. Those listed above, along with a volume relating to the 1930s, were preserved by his son, Peter Turner (born 1915) and eventually donated to the East Dunbartonshire Libraries Service, along with miscellaneous other family papers. The four volumes were transcribed into an electronic format at the E.E.R.C. in Edinburgh. As I was responsible for correcting the transcripts, I had access both to the originals and the transcripts.

'Diary' is a general term for a range of documents ranging from a notebook for jotting down appointments to a substantial account of the writer's day-to-day life. There are daily entries in Turner's diaries, but these tend to be very brief with liberal use of dittos, personal abbreviations, and inconsistencies in spelling. The table below compares the entries in Turner's diary for the week ending 16 November 1891 with the entry for the same time period in the journal of Banffshire farmer, James Wilson.

November 1891	
Turner	Wilson
<p>Teu 10th Cold Showery. Dunging stubble Buchanan here with 2 horses.</p> <p>Wed 11th Stormy &amp; wet. Cleaned 6 bags corn. 10½ cwt cabbage to M Craig. cart to house. Will. Allison here for troughs, 2 bunches straw to Fleming.</p> <p>Thur 12th Good day. 6 bags corn to Meiklehill. Put in stack &amp; thrashed. T. Curran finishing pits. Commenced to shaw turnips.</p> <p>Fri 13th Very wet day. 2 carts turnips to M. Craig. At Birdston for J. Barr's gig.</p> <p>Sat 14th Dull day. 2 women at turnip 7 carts turnip to M. Craig &amp; 6 to house. Weighed from 19 to 23 cwt.</p> <p>Sun 15th Good day. Eclipse of moon.</p> <p>Mon 16th " " Jean shawing. Brought down all that were shawed. Carting out gas lime. T. Curran here.<sup>218</sup></p>	<p>16<sup>th</sup></p> <p>I went to Portsoy on Tuesday last with two loads of corn, and brought home coals etc. The corn weighed 43lbs and I got 23/6. Corn and barley are rising in price almost everyday. I would get 25/ for that same corn now. I am rather afraid however that the prices will not be long maintained. 54 lbs barley is giving 30/.</p> <p>Wednesday was Hallow Fair. It was a very bad day. Wind and rain the whole day. I see by the papers that a great deal of damage has been done especially to shipping. It was not a large market but fees were a little up. I would have kept the boy we have, but he was asking too much wages. I engaged a boy, George Gray, for £6.10. Mr. &amp; Mrs. Ross, Hillfolds, came over in the morning, and he came down to the market, but we were home again by twelve o'clock.</p> <p>Next day was Cornhill market. I had over a calving quey and 16 sheep. I had plenty of merchants but the prices were very small. Mr. Ross bought the quey for £14 and I sold 7 lambs and two ewes.</p> <p>On Friday afternoon I went down to Glenglassaugh Distillery with a sample of the barley. The manager advised me to go to Portsoy as he thought I would get more for it there than he was giving. I sold it to Mr. Ewing for 27/ and weigh it up to 53 lbs.</p> <p>I got railway bags and had it down to Glassaugh Station today. There was 17 qrs. but there is about 4 or 5 qrs. small barley.<sup>219</sup></p>

### 8. Comparison of Peter Turner's diary and James Wilson's journal.<sup>220</sup>

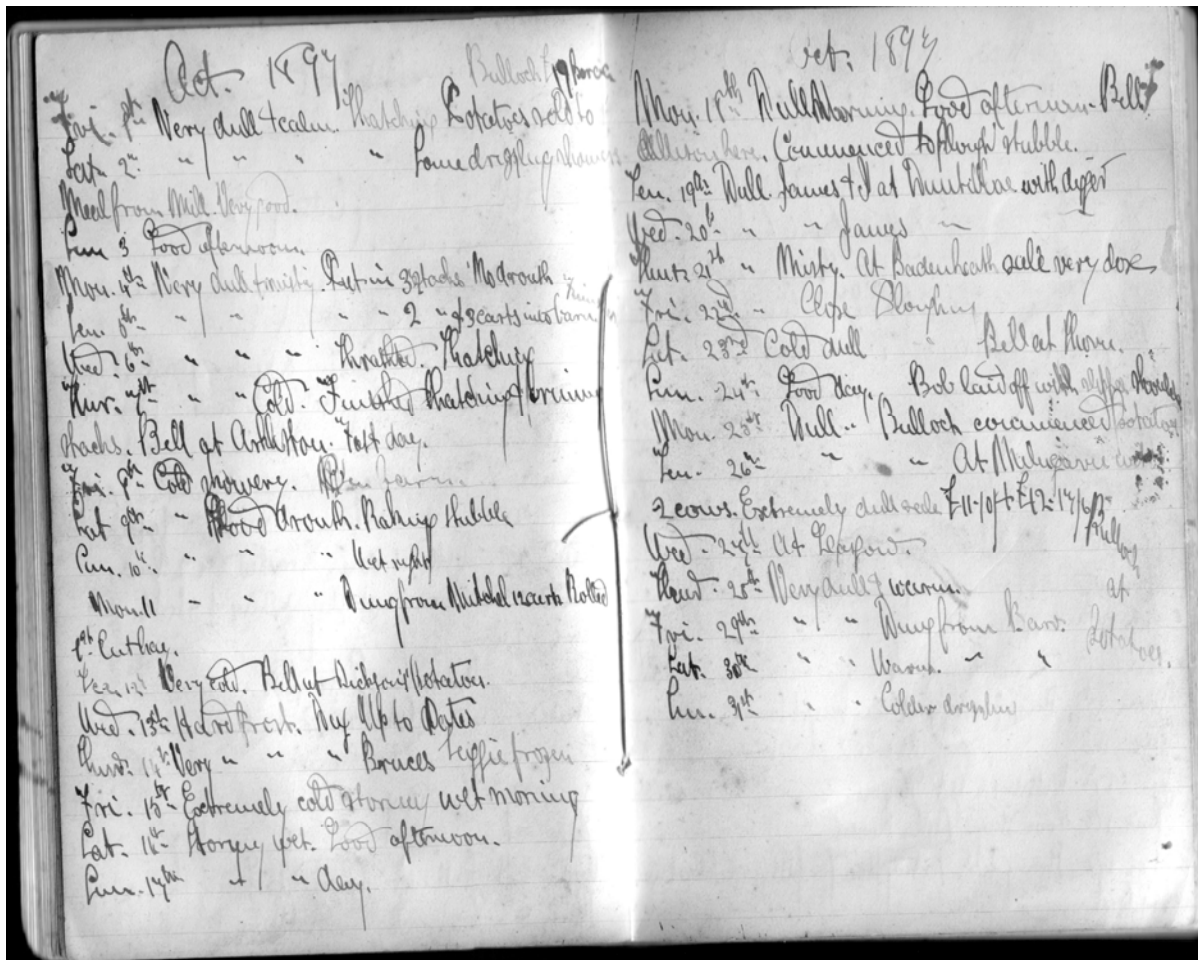
Both farmers provide the same sort of information but, the data in Turner's diary is pared back to a minimum, whereas Wilson provides the reasoning behind his actions, and other background information. The absence of dittos and the more

<sup>218</sup> Turner Diaries, Vol. 1.

<sup>219</sup> Hillis, P., Ed. (2008). *Journal of my Life and Everyday Doings, 1879-81, 1885-92: James Wilson, farmer in Banffshire*. Edinburgh, Scottish History Society. Pp. 343, 344.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

conversational tone of Wilson's writing make it easier to read, but Turner's diaries are quite straightforward to digitise.



### 9. Sample page from one of Peter Turner's diaries

I created a computer database to facilitate analysis of the Turner diaries. I transferred the data, in stages, from Microsoft Word to Microsoft Access. Access was chosen because of the ease of transferring the material, and because Access is a widely available programme, popular in libraries and archives. In order to facilitate searching the final database I made some changes to the text. I replaced ditto marks with text, expanded abbreviations where the meaning was clear,<sup>221</sup> changed the spelling of placenames to match that of the O.S. maps and standardised some other words.<sup>222</sup> Curved brackets within the body of the text are Peter Turner's; square brackets encase my comments. The text was broken up into related phrases and delimited with tab stops (see Appendix Two, Databases). The original diary volumes

<sup>221</sup> For example Glas = Glasgow, cab = cabbage, pot = potato, Sun Sch = Sunday School.

<sup>222</sup> For example Backbrae, Back Br., and B. Brae are all represented as Back brae in the database, filly/fillie was standardised as filly, and redground/red ground/redland/red land as redground.

contain writings other than the diary entries. These comprise notes on expenditure, size of crops, sale of crops, recipes, notes from agricultural periodicals, and additional dated material on the breeding of the farm horses, cultivation and fertilisers. I inserted the additional dated material into the appropriate diary entries, and identified them with curly brackets. In an effort to improve the usefulness of the table I added three additional fields, one for the people mentioned in the entries, one for the places mentioned, and one to code the information in the descriptive field. In the people field, all the people mentioned in the respective descriptive field are listed. As names are sometimes abbreviated in the manuscript, and spelling is variable, sometimes the names given in the people field are a best guess. The place field contains not only placenames, but also designations such as 'doctor' and 'smith' as, in his diaries Turner sometimes uses the English term 'smithy' and sometimes the Scottish 'smiddy,' and does not always include the title 'Doctor.' The main benefit of the Diaries table is the ease with which related material can be gathered together for analysis (see Appendix Two for a sample query). This is extremely helpful when dealing with a large source.

The bulk of the diaries are concerned with fieldwork, and the operations of the farm dairy are scarcely mentioned, perhaps reflecting the level of the author's involvement. Reference is made to business and social matters, and recourse to Census reports, Valuation Rolls and trade directories helps to identify named individuals. Editions of the *Kirkintilloch Herald* for the period can be used to supplement the diary information. For example, on 10 June 1897, Peter Turner noted in his diary 'At Farmers trip Loch Lomond and long tour. 16 of us.'<sup>223</sup> The edition of the *Kirkintilloch Herald* for 16 June 1897<sup>224</sup> reports on a day's outing that the committee members of the Kirkintilloch Farmers' Dance 'with their lady friends' had that week. Thus it is possible to expand the bare bones information contained within the diaries, but there is no way to achieve the kind of personal insight provided by Wilson in his diary. However, further background information to the diary material is supplied by the interview conducted with Peter Turner's son (also called Peter Turner), who was born in 1915. Not only did Mr. Turner provide background information on his father and the farm, through his own experience he was able to provide a useful comparison between farm life around 1900 and farm life around 1930. Mr. Turner eventually

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<sup>223</sup> Turner Diary Database, vol. 2, ID No. 398, 10 June 1897.

<sup>224</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Local News, 16 June 1897.

donated his father's diaries to the East Dunbartonshire Library Service, and they are stored in the William Patrick Library in Kirkintilloch.

## Crookboat and the Lamb Family

Alexander Lamb, former farmer of Crookboat (about five miles south of Lanark) has a small archive containing notebooks used by his grandfather, Alexander Lamb, and his great-grandfather John Lamb.

Date	Quantity	Price	Date	Quantity	Price
1861 Nov	177 - 27	5 3 3	1861 Dec	143 - 1/2 Forwood	4 15 8
18	14	8 2	22	15 - 1 1/2	10 6
20	19 1/2	11 2 3/4	26	15 1 1/2	10 6
22	14	8 2	28	14 1/2	9 6
23	15 - 1	9 0 1/2	30	15 1 1/2	10 6
25	15 - 1	9 0 1/2	305		£6 16 8
27	15 - 1	9 0 1/2			
29	15 1/2	7 8 3/4	1862 Jan	17 1/2	12 11 1/2
30	14 1	8 5 1/2	" 4	15 1 1/2	11 9 3/4
Feb 298 - 1 27	8 14 1 1/2		" 7	16 1 1/2	12 6 3/4
Decr 1861	£ 1 6		" 11	14 1 1/2	11 9 3/4
Dec 2	12 4		14	17 1	13 1 1/2
5	17 1	11 8	18	14 1/2	10 8 3/4
7	16 1/2	10 10	22	12 1/2	9 6 3/4
9	16	10 8	25	9 1 1/2	7 8 3/4
12	14 - 1	9 8	30	12	9
14	14 1/2	9 6	130 - 1 1/2		£4 10 0 3/4
16	16 1	11	8 - 1		6 4 1/2
19	15 1 1/2	10 6	139 - - 1/2		£5 14 5 1/4
21	14 1/2	9 6			
143 - 12	4 15 8				

### 10. Sample pages from one of John Lamb's notebooks detailing amounts of milk sold and the prices obtained. Source - Alec Lamb.

There are five small notebooks (1853-60, 1861-63, 1864-68, 1874-79, and 1879-83) in which John Lamb recorded milk sold off the farm, and the prices obtained for it. Information has been extracted from these books and entered into an Excel table in order to produce milk production and price charts (see Appendix Three). The notebooks filled by Alexander Lamb (1886-89, 1894-1901) include income and expenditure lists, which provide an insight into the management of the farm. The books also contain notes of income from sources other than the farm, lists of assets, and stock lists, all mixed together with accounts of fieldwork. As with the Turner material, I created a multi-table Access database of the Lamb material, although, due to pressure of time, the Lamb data were not transcribed onto Word files, but were inputted directly to the database.



11. Sample page from Alexander Lamb's notebook detailing expenditure for November 1897

Expenditure Book Book 1897

Date	Description	Amount
		354 18 4
1	Bread & Beef deliv'd	1
8	Park Rent	17 10
"	2 Bags Carrots	5 4
"	Expenses Sundries Lanark	5
11	Wife to Lanark's Sundries for Home	2
10	Wagon hire to cup, Cotton, Cat's bed	8 8 9
13	Hayway repairing wheels	3
15	Grass Seeds, Cotton, meal	6 13 9
"	Lawn Mowing Coal	2 5
"	Sundries Home	5
19	Agness Shaw Girl, 8 weeks	2
22	Leadhill's Serv. Aunt	10
25	Miss Shaw, Cloths, Children	2
26	Witch for Jack	1 1
29	Carrage of Cake - Graves	14 8
	Bye Woman	9 10
	John Lach	23 8
	Witchman	9 10
	Boy, Willie 4 months	6 10
	Woman Linie September	5
30	Smith's Account	7 14
Dec 2	Smith's Account	1 2 1
		<u>453 17 3</u>

The largest table in the Lamb database (1564 entries) is the Expenditure Table. The Income Table (250 entries) is much smaller, which is to be expected, since the Expenditure Table includes not only farm expenses, but also a myriad of other expenses, such as taxes, clothing, newspapers, and curling club membership fees. One table (60 entries) details income not derived from the farm, and another lists the various assets mentioned. There is also a table of the livestock mentioned in the notebooks, and a table for data relating to the house Alexander Lamb had built in Lanark, but there is no table for the accounts of fieldwork. All these tables have been created from data written down by Alexander Lamb during the period 1886-1899. Also including a table compiled from information noted by John Lamb, over the period 1879-83 (300 entries), the database contains information on both hired labour, and Lamb family members.

12. Sample page from Alexander Lamb's notebook detailing income for 1898

*Income from Crook Road*

January	James Clarkson				
	10 b Stuart's Corn 14-6. 2 Loads Brack	29/-	8	9	
"	20 Mills December -		26	4	
"	18 Bull Stork Fat, 9 cut 13 12 6				
"	" " " " " 6 2 9 2 6				
	Commission Carrickputh. £ 22 15		22	5	
	24 John Lennart 14 Bughley Corn		1	10	
	1 Fat Pig 23-18. Cass Corn		3	10	
Feb	16 Mills January -		27	12	
March	18 " February -		21	13	
"	29 Fat Cow. 10 cut " " 12 17-6				
	Commission on 6 6		12	11	
April	23 Mills March -		14	8	
May	1 Calving July... £ 10 17 6				
	Commission	41	10	13 5	
May	21. Old Cow Agness Calving 11 9 6				
	Commission on 49		11	2 9	
June	13 John Messon 2 1/2 tons Potatoes. 10				
"	13 Calving Cow £ 13-17-6				
	" " " " " 15-10. £ 29 7 6		28	16 6	
"	15 Profit on Wagg. Corn		58		
			257	0 8	

As with the Turner material, Census Reports and Directories provide more information on the neighbourhood, and the people mentioned in the account books. For example, in the 1890s Alexander Lamb made a number of payments to a 'Miss Frame' for boots for the children. This was probably May Frame, boot and shoemaker, who had premises in High Street, Lanark, and who appears to have taken over the business from a William Frame. Information on family members was gleaned from Wills, and from Mr. Lamb. Unlike Mr. Turner, Mr. Lamb declined to take part in a recorded interview, but he has supplemented the archival information in answer to e-mailed questions, and in conversation.

### Springs and the Murdoch Family

As mentioned above, I made use of recordings in the Ayrshire Sound Archive. One of these interviews featured William Murdoch Thomson, whose family formerly farmed at Springs, near Tarbolton, in Ayrshire. During the interview, Mr. Thomson

mentioned some artefacts he took with him when he left the farm, and which he subsequently donated to The Bachelor's Club in Tarbolton.<sup>225</sup> He also mentioned some farm books, still in his possession at the time of the interview. I began to search for these books, and soon discovered that Mr. Thomson had died. Although my enquiries about the books drew a blank in various quarters (including the Carnegie Library in Ayr), I was convinced by Mr. Thomson's manner in speaking of his books that he had valued them, and would have taken steps to preserve them, if he could. Fortunately, I managed to contact Mr. Thomson's widow, who informed me that, during his final illness, her husband had made a number of trips to the Carnegie Library in Ayr, each time carrying bagfuls of material to deposit. Despite accompanying him on one of these trips, and carrying some of the bags herself, Mrs. Thomson could not say specifically what material was deposited. However, she telephoned the Carnegie, and instigated a closer search. A librarian (not working in the Local Studies section at the time of the deposit) pulled together, from different locations, a variety of material donated by Mr. Thomson, some of which was not specific to either Springs or the Murdochs, such as magazines and other published material. He also turned up a variety of documents, including farm leases and receipts for equipment. It is impossible to say with certainty exactly what Mr. Thomson donated but, of the material that has been discovered, four farm account books (1854-57, 1857-63, 1863-65, and 1865-77) written by Mr. Thomson's great-grandfather, William Murdoch, form a particularly rich source. Similar to the Lamb account books, and slightly earlier, these books detail income and expenditure, and also hint at Murdoch's character. In the first book, William Murdoch records a payment to a 'rascally' travelling jeweller. In the second he refers to 'a damnable set of Lawyers in Ayr', and on 31 December, 1862 he wrote '... at this present date I am free of all debts Bills Bonds of security or any such grievous Bondage the ruin of so many of my acquaintance.' Murdoch's books have received a similar database treatment to the Lamb books.

### Hatton and the Park Family

Hatton, on the southern shore of the firth of Clyde, differs from the other main farms in that it was not selected on the basis of available farm-generated source material. The location of Hatton, within the group of four main farms, is good, being a similar distance from Glasgow as Oxgang, but in a different direction. Springs and Crookboat

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<sup>225</sup> The Bachelors' Club is in the care of the National Trust for Scotland.

are also a similar distance from Glasgow to each other, and also in different directions. Hatton and the Parks were selected because of a connection with Catherine Park Snodgrass. Snodgrass' maternal grandmother, Catherine Park was a daughter of Robert Park and Ann Scott of Hatton. There are other farms within the west central region with a family connection to Snodgrass, such as Portnauld, Old Mains, and Milligs, which could have contributed to an interesting distribution for analysis. As mentioned above, Portnauld and Old Mains were on the Blythswood Estate, for which there are accessible estate records. Milligs was on the Colquhoun of Luss Estate and, although many of the records of that estate were destroyed in a fire, there are estate records, which mention Snodgrass tenants, deposited in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Hatton was on the Erskine Estate of the Lords Blantyre and the whereabouts, or fate, of the estate records is unknown. With Hatton there is no risk of becoming mired down in estate records, but there is a risk of being side-tracked into the well-documented public life of the twelfth Lord Blantyre. This litigious Lord must have been well-known to the readers of *The Glasgow Herald*, and his epic dispute with the Clyde Navigation Trust did impact upon Hatton Farm. Lord Blantyre was also renowned for his interest in agriculture, and had the pleasure of giving members of the Japanese embassy a tour of his home farm, on Erskine Estate.<sup>226</sup> For tenants, there were consequences to having a landlord with a lively interest in agriculture and none of the other principal farms had such a hands-on landlord as Lord Blantyre. It is not only the landlord who was mentioned in the newspaper as the Parks were also reported on, frequently in connection with the breeding of Clydesdales. Moreover Hatton, and some of the Parks, were notable enough to be mentioned in a report on the agriculture of Renfrewshire.<sup>227</sup> Although I found no farm-generated material, no oral history, and no estate records connected with Hatton and the Parks, I was able to assemble a fair amount of information from newspapers, the agricultural report, Census material, statutory records, Wills, and the Erskine Estate Sale Catalogue.

## Subsidiary Farms

In addition to the principal farms, a number of others are mentioned within the thesis, and these are noted below.

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<sup>226</sup> *The Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 10 October, 1872; issue 10228.

<sup>227</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XIX**: 1-110.

17 Sept 15 1859 Sornbeg  
 all cut on fifteenth Sept but the six  
 nine stacks in the barn yard on 16<sup>th</sup>  
 Sept 15 - Saw Piggid yesterday fifteen Pigs seven dead -  
 23 all in the stack yard but the beans & D.  
 17. stacks 2. bean ones and a small basket  
 weather very unsettled wet and windy and thunder  
 Sept. 29 Commenced raising our Potatoes very good and  
 few failors and bulky. in the ground the  
 weather very wet and unsettled I am sitting looking  
 out of our bed room window at the rain & D.  
 October Galston had a visit today from our liberal can-  
 idate. (Campbell of Craigie) his opponent is  
 the R. Hon. Sir James Ferguson of Kilt-  
 ran.  
 Oct 11 John entered to Mr Buntens to day  
 to learn to be a Draper engaged for a  
 month on trial.  
 Oct 17 Commenced to plough ground for wheat  
 17<sup>th</sup> very cloudy day <sup>now</sup> cold east wind.  
 18 sowing wheat on eighteenth Oct<sup>r</sup>  
 20 The frost set in very severely this night to day is  
 the twentyfourth & there is no appearance of a change  
 this is 4 nights now before halloweese rather uncommon  
 We are raising our Meangold wheat also the one not  
 a good crop. Many like tea totalism but work.  
 I had a return of sickness rather like cramp I think  
 It was very sore on me as I am not very strong yet it  
 lasted about twenty hours that is the pain the vomiting did  
 not stop till 12 hours afterwards but I thank God to a  
 kind providence who has raised me up to health & strength  
 again & I to be enabled to glorify & enjoy him for ever  
 Nichol B Donald

13. Sample page of the Donald diary, with a section signed by Nicol Brown Donald. Source - Ayrshire Archives, AA/DC/12/3/1

Sornbeg, near Galston, Ayrshire, was part of the Cessnock Estate, one of the Duke of Portland's Scottish Estates. The Donald family were the tenants in the second half of the nineteenth century and Nichol Brown Donald was described, in the 1881 Census,

as the farmer of eighty-seven acres, all arable. Photocopied sheets of the Donald Diary (1858-1866) are in the keeping of Ayrshire Archives. The whereabouts of the original is unknown. The diary was written by various members of the Donald family (mostly male). Some of the entries are signed, or at least initialled, but, for most entries, authorship is unknown.

The entries are fuller, and more conversational than those of the Turner Diaries, which makes them less suitable for importing to a database. As with the Turner Diaries, the operations of the dairy are not discussed, but quantities of cheese made, sales of cheese, and cheese shown are. The diary entries provide an insight into the social life of the family, and the informal nature of the entries allows character come through, but because of the problems establishing authorship, it is difficult to build up individual characters. There are also some Donald family letters (not all dated) in Ayrshire Archives and, with this wealth of farm generated source material, serious consideration was given to including Sornbeg among the main farms. As time constraints on the processing of source material and researching families encouraged the restriction of the number of main farms, it was decided to include only one Ayrshire farm, and that that farm would be Springs, with its combination of documentary and oral material, along with the objects in the Bachelors' Club. However I have transcribed a large portion of the Donald Diary, and drawn upon this material.

## Auchenfoyle

Auchenfoyle, near Kilmacolm, Renfrewshire, was a farm on the Ardgowan Estates. In the second half of the nineteenth century the tenant was Donald Black, and the Black family history has been set down by James (Jimmy) Black.<sup>228</sup> Black's father and uncle farmed Auchenfoyle, initially as tenants, and later as owner occupiers. Black tells that when his father married (somewhat late in life) his uncle suggested enlarging the farm by taking in more land, and building an additional farmhouse onto the existing one. The Ardgowan Estate records<sup>229</sup> show that the Blacks held tenancies of other, smaller farms concurrently with Auchenfoyle, and that plans for the new farmhouse, and other farm buildings were drawn up at the beginning of the twentieth century (see Appendix Four, Auchenfoyle Plans).

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<sup>228</sup> Black Black o' the Green.

<sup>229</sup> Glasgow Archives, Mitchell Library.

## Creityhall

Creityhall Farm, the property of the Duke of Montrose, was the childhood home of Lizzie Gardner (later Elizabeth McGregor) and she described it as mainly a hill farm, with a flock of sheep, and a magnificent view of Loch Lomond. The farm was located about two miles equidistant from Balmaha Pier and Drymen. The Gardners did not arrive at Creityhall until late 1909. The source material for Creityhall comes either from the Census or from McGregor's book,<sup>230</sup> which is invaluable for its intimate portrayal of family life.

## Thorn

In 1836, William Allison, formerly of Mearns Parish, Renfrewshire, took up a lease of Thorn Farm, New Kilpatrick, Dunbartonshire, and the farm remained in the family into the twentieth century. Thorn has since been built over in the development of the town of Bearsden, but it is mentioned here because of the close relations between the Allisons and the Turners of Oxcang, which will be discussed in Chapter Five. William Allison began a diary in 1817, when he was a young man of about thirty, and stopped within months of his death at the age of 79. The location of the original is unknown, but Allison's grandson, Peter Turner of Oxcang, made a copy of the diary, which is kept in the Turner Collection in the William Patrick Library in Kirkintilloch. I transcribed this copy into a Word file. The diary entries are very brief, with only a few lines devoted to each year. Mostly the entries are concerned with farming matters such as the progress of the crops, the prices of the produce, and the weather, but do include some family information. Largely written before the focal period of this thesis, the Allison Diary is important for glimpses of family relations. It was Allison's habit to mark the death of someone close to him with a short reflection in his diary.

April 25 1821 we had all the oats sown & on the 28<sup>th</sup> we began to plant potatoes & on the 3<sup>rd</sup> May my brother John departed this life age 31 years & his lease on the farm of Kirkhouse being nearly expired his widow & two little daughters removed to Newton on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Fleeting & uncertain is human life & all its cares man that is born of woman is of few days & full of trouble He cometh forth as a flower & is cut down. He flieth also as a shadow & continueth not<sup>231</sup> On June 9<sup>th</sup> we sowed the turnips ...

The lives of children were particularly uncertain, and Allison was far from unusual when, in 1824, and again in 1834, he suffered the loss of a child. In 1834 he wrote:

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<sup>230</sup> McGregor Before I was ten.

<sup>231</sup> Job, 14.

on Sept 11 my son John Allison departed this life aged 1 year 10 months & 5 days. He was lovely in life & at this early period was made meet for the inheritance of the saints in Light. So children are an heritage of the Lord<sup>232</sup>

Allison was active in parish life at Mearns, becoming an elder in 1830, and attending twenty kirk session meetings over the course of 1834-35,<sup>233</sup> so it is not surprising to find him drawing upon his religious faith at such difficult times. Indeed religion was a major factor in social life, and will be discussed later.

**14. Wages of term servants at Crookboat, including allowances of coal and oatmeal to ploughman, John Tait. The lower outside corners of the book have been worn away, resulting in some loss of data.**

Year	Date	Description	Amount
1883		Janant fee summer 1883	2 10
		John Tait Cash for the year	32 10
		Jefir Elder half year	8 10
		Mary M'gowning do	7 5
		Bella M'gowning do	4
		James Scott do	7
		Sirel from Newbying	3
1883		John Tait Account	1 10
May	26	A bar of Coal from Mearns	5 2
	28	1/2 Ball of Meal	1 1/2
July	12	1 Ball of Meal	1 1/2
	20	A bar of Coal	5
Aug	9	1 Ball of Meal	1 1/2
	16	Cash	6
Sept	11	Coal	5
	24	1 Ball of Meal	1 1/2
Nov	1	Coal from	5
	9	1/2 Ball of Meal	1 1/2
	19	Her Book Child stated	2 6
		20/11/1883	7 2 6
1883	Dec 20	1/2 Bg from Barclay 121 (his del. this)	8 10
1883	Oct 25	Helen M'langy Starbuck	7
		Elizabeth Duhon Starbuck	7
		John from Brog Harpers	5
		Box fee 6-10 of please 10/11/1883	5
		Robun from Starbuck	5

One of the challenges of this project has been to use farm-generated source material to put together a picture of family and social life on farms, which can be interpreted within the larger context of region and nation. This material is at the heart of the thesis but, although there is some temporal overlap in the creation of source material, there is no uniform dataset uniting the four principal farms. Moreover, it cannot be

<sup>232</sup> 'Children are...' Psalm 127

<sup>233</sup> N.A.S. CH2/262/4 Mearns Kirk Session 1834-1908.



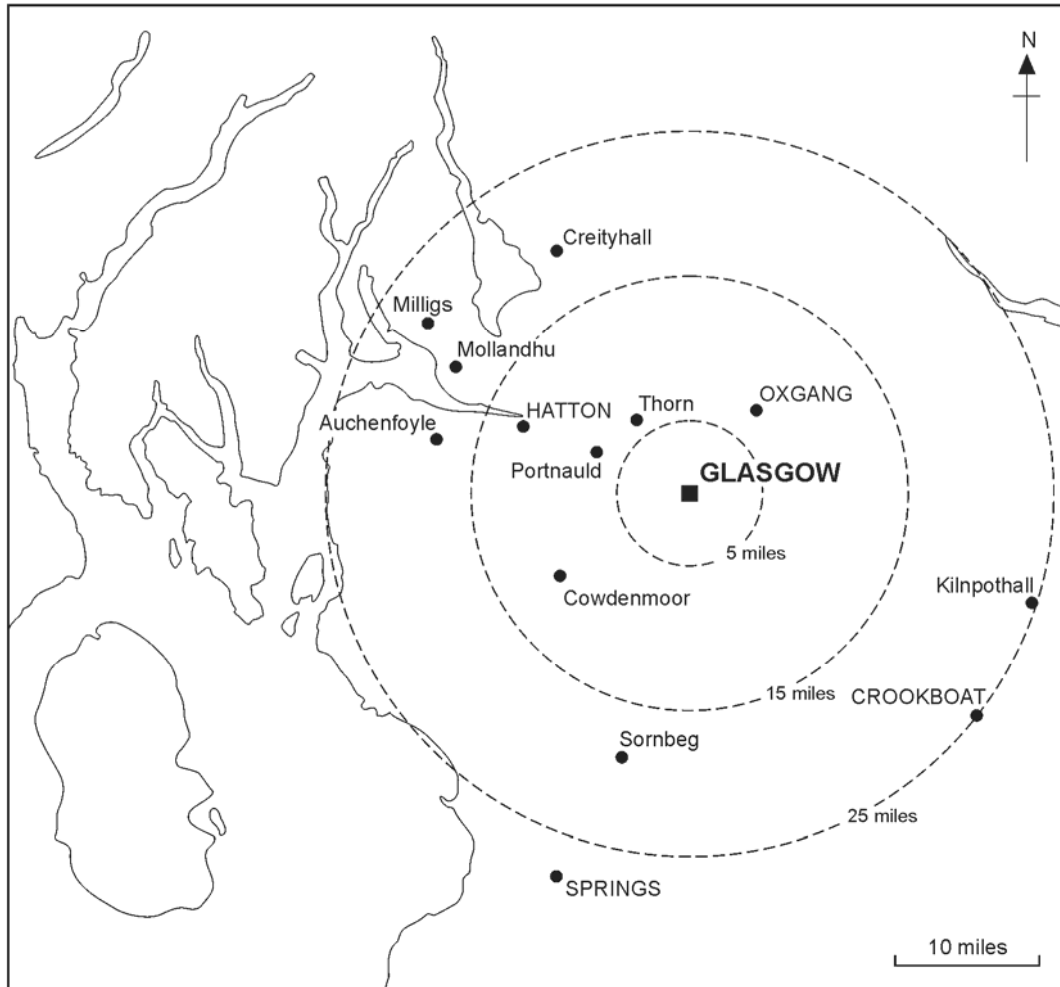
said how typical life on the selected farms was. Much more data would make the exercise less speculative but, as suggested above, processing the raw farm-generated source material is very time-consuming, and it is possible that the apparent dearth of such material is one reason why such an exercise has not been attempted before. More written material may come to light in the future, but living links with the days of horse-draught are a diminished and diminishing resource. Hence another challenge has been to integrate farm-generated source material with data from the other sources mentioned in this chapter.

In essence the method is to approach the topic from as many different directions as possible by using different types of sources: Census Reports, Valuation Rolls, trade directories, newspaper articles and advertisements, and Government Reports. *The Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society*, with articles and reports written by Scottish farmers, represents a particularly good source for the agricultural situation in Scotland at the time. Newspapers are also a fruitful source. The *Kirkintilloch Herald* was consulted on microfilm with the assistance of a card index system. The cards are the work of many individuals employed on job creation schemes and, while the index is useful, there is insufficient cross-referencing. For example sometimes the annual farmers' shindig is described as a 'ball' and sometimes as a 'dance,' but the terms are not cross-referenced, leaving it up to the researcher to make the connection. Other newspapers, such as the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, were consulted via the database of nineteenth century British Library newspapers, provided online by Gale Databases. Here the retrieval of data is somewhat haphazard since the quality of newsprint can render search terms unrecognisable to the software. However, the online resource provides a much faster research method facilitating the retrieval of a great deal of pertinent information. Recourse has also been made to novels<sup>234</sup> since works of fiction, set in rural Scotland and written by people with experience of farming life in the period, will reflect that life. Images utilised in the thesis have been accessed from various sources, many of them from the Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network ([www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)). Part of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Scran aims to provide educational access to digital materials representing Scottish material culture and history. It is hoped that, despite the patchy nature of farm generated source material, the mix of material (official, unofficial, central, local, statistical,

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<sup>234</sup> Brown, G. D. (1923). *The House with the Green Shutters*. London, Andrew Melrose Ltd. McNeillie, J. (1939, 1991). *Wigtown Ploughman, part of his life*. Wigtown, G.C. Books Ltd.

documentary, and narrative) will produce a rounded model of farming in West Central Scotland.



**15. Relative positions of farms noted in the thesis with their approximate distance from Glasgow. Source - University of Glasgow.**

# Chapter Four

## Four Farms

In this chapter the four principal farms mentioned in Chapter Three will be individually profiled, drawing out points of similarity and difference, and placing each farm within the local context. Situations are examined at the level of parish, estate and farm. The structure of each profile varies, as the situations and sources for each farm are different. In each case the Statistical Accounts are drawn upon but, despite the aim of uniform information for each parish, the interest and inclination of individual ministers led to patchy coverage. Henceforth the First or Old Statistical Account will be referred to as O.S.A., and the Second or New Statistical Account will be designated N.S.A.

## Hatton

Hatton Farm was located about twelve miles (as the crow flies) west of Glasgow, on Erskine Estate, in the Parish of Erskine, and the pre-1975 county of Renfrew. The nearby farm of West Glenshinnoch was tenanted by members of the same family.

## Erskine Parish

The surface and scenery of Renfrewshire are of the lowland type; and though they lack the imposing grandeur of the Highlands, and are even dwarfed by the Southern Uplands, they have beauty and charm of their own. The scenery is not so much impressive as it is calm and restful. The long gentle slopes of the uplands, rising from the green of the valleys to the drab of the heather moors, the waters of the lochs, the little glens and murmuring streams of the hill country, make scenery, which though everywhere on a small scale is everywhere of irresistible charm, and makes Renfrewshire a land where monotony is unknown.<sup>235</sup>

Renfrewshire, Scott<sup>236</sup> tells us, was out of the way of any routes of national importance, and the construction of roads through the county was determined by the need for communication between densely populated Glasgow and the fertile fields of

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<sup>235</sup> Scott, C. A. (1915). "The County of Renfrew (with maps and diagrams)." The Scottish Geographical Magazine XXXI: 188-199, 225-240. P. 192

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

Ayrshire. With the development of trade with America, there was need for communications between the port of Greenock, and Glasgow. The relief of the county determined these routes, as the hills forming a barrier across the south west of Renfrewshire were pierced in two places, by the Loch Libo Gap and the Kilbirnie Gap. The other obvious route was along the raised beach round the coast. The Clyde is not naturally a deep channel, and in former times it was possible to ford the river between Erskine and Old Kilpatrick but, after the deepening of the river in the late eighteenth century, this could no longer be done. In the nineteenth century, there were two ferries in the parish which provided communication with the north side of the firth. The Erskine ferry crossed to the village of Old Kilpatrick, while the West Ferry provided transport to the town of Dumbarton. Travelling by coach between Greenock and Glasgow took about twelve hours. The Glasgow Greenock railway opened 1842, and the journey by train took one hour.<sup>237</sup> Coach travel had already declined before the railway opened, being superseded by the steam boats on the Clyde. Writing in 1842, Rev. Stewart remarked that 'the rates for luggage on the Railway are so Moderate, that the farmers now generally prefer it to any other mode of conveyance for heavy goods.'<sup>238</sup> Scott claimed that, in 1912, in proportion to its size, Renfrewshire was one of the greatest dairy farming shires in Scotland.

This fact is explained by the climate of the shire, which is typical of the north-west margin of Britain, i.e., moist and equable. There is consequently an abundance of rich grass. The decomposition of the volcanic rocks produces a loam which nourishes a rich sweet pasture.<sup>239</sup>

## Erskine Estate

The major landowners in Erskine parish were the Lords Blantyre.<sup>240</sup> Alexander Stuart, tenth Lord Blantyre, who succeeded his brother to the Erskine Estate around 1775, had an interest in agriculture, which he had previously pursued in East Lothian. Upon coming to Erskine 'he was immediately sensible that the husbandry of East Lothian would not suit the light soil and moist climate of Erskine.'<sup>241</sup> He took a few of the local farms under his own control and set about experimenting. As leases expired

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<sup>237</sup> Stewart, R. W. (1840 (revised 1842)). "Parish of Erskine, New Statistical Account of Scotland." from <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Renfrew/Erskine/>.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Scott "The County of Renfrew." P. 198.

<sup>240</sup> Stewart. "Parish of Erskine, New Statistical Account of Scotland."

<sup>241</sup> Young, W. "Parish of Erskine, Statistical Account of Scotland." from <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Renfrew/Erskine/>.

he offered the sitting tenants nineteen year leases with assistance in the expense of enclosing, providing they followed a mode of management similar to his own.

They however complained of the restrictions ... Upon after reflection, his Lordship thought proper to relax the rigour of his restrictions, and to allow them more discretionary powers. From the example, however, which he had given them, and the spirit he had infused into them, they all began with vigour to improve their farms ... they all adopted the practice of laying down their fields in good condition with sown grasses, having a ready and secure market for their hay in the towns of Port Glasgow and Greenock. The consequence of this has been, that the country is considerably improved both in appearance and in value; the tenants are easy in their circumstances, and indeed wealthy for their station ...<sup>242</sup>

Here the minister gave the credit for agricultural improvement to the landlord (the individual responsible for his tenure) but, although he did not suggest that the field experience of the farmers gave them valid reasons to question the restrictions of their landlord, he did imply that the farmers were not merely the passive agents of the landlord's will. A few generations later one anonymous farmer, in a letter to the editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, expressed his disgust over a speech, in which the twelfth Lord Blantyre touched upon agricultural improvement.

Sir, - We have, it seems, been labouring under a great popular delusion about the Scottish farmer. We had somehow or other – most erroneously it now appears – got into the way of associating him with our national eminence in agriculture. We were proud of him ... This pride, alas! has been altogether misplaced. Henceforth, according to Lord Blantyre, it must be transferred to the landlords. They it is who have always taken the lead of their tenants in all manner of improvements, and but for them there is no saying what the state of agriculture in the country would have been. How low it might have remained he does not condescend to say, but the inference plainly is - it would have been in a very deplorable condition ...<sup>243</sup>

The tenth Lord Blantyre died in 1783, while his heir was still a minor. Major-General Robert Walter Stuart, eleventh Lord Blantyre, was shot dead in Brussels, in 1830.<sup>244</sup> His eldest son was also a minor at the time of his succession, and attained his majority at the end of 1839. Although born at Lennoxlove Castle, on the family estate in East Lothian, Charles Stuart, twelfth Lord Blantyre (1818-1900) made Erskine House his main residence. In an open letter 'to the agriculturalists of Scotland,' on landlord and tenant relations, the twelfth Lord Blantyre was acknowledged to be a 'just and honest'

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday 21 June, 1870; issue 9506, Letters to the Editor, Landlords and Farmers.

<sup>244</sup> Stewart. "Parish of Erskine, New Statistical Account of Scotland."

landlord.<sup>245</sup> Like his grandfather, he had an interest in agriculture, and was reported to have around six Erskine farms under his own hand.<sup>246</sup> In 1863, at the Erskine Agricultural Society show, Lord Blantyre won third prize with a one year-old quey, and second prize for a gelding.<sup>247</sup> While, at the Renfrewshire Agricultural Society Show of 1859, his Lordship's mangel wurzel was described as 'perhaps the finest ever shown in Renfrewshire.'<sup>248</sup> Lord Blantyre was a vice-president of the Highland and Agricultural Society,<sup>249</sup> and his experiments with nitrate of soda and saltpetre were reported to the Society.<sup>250</sup> This interest in agriculture was not a youthful fad. A few decades later it was reported:

It has long been known in the West of Scotland that Lord Blantyre has taken a great interest in agriculture, and more especially in the prosperity of the farmers on his own estate. He is ever ready and willing to assist them in the improvement of their farms, and when the new movement with reference to the preservation of green fodder was originated he expressed his willingness to build a silo and make an experiment for the benefit of his tenants and others. His Lordship accordingly built two silos – one at Freeland, the home farm of the Erskine estate; and the other and smaller one at Glenshinnoch. <sup>251</sup>

The twelfth, and last, Lord Blantyre died in 1900 and, his son having died in 1895, his estates passed to his grandson, William Arthur Baird. Baird made his home at Lennoxlove, and put the Erskine Estate on the market. The mansion house was sold privately, and the bulk of the estate was divided into thirty lots, which were to be auctioned in Glasgow, in September 1912. According to the sale brochure:

It is seldom that an opportunity occurs of acquiring Farms of such a superior class in a district so favourably situated and with such good dwelling-houses and steadings. The late Lord Blantyre, to whom the property formerly belonged, was well known as a considerate landlord, taking a special pride in keeping the buildings in good order and letting the Farms at very moderate rents. <sup>252</sup>

Although the sale was to be subject to the existing tenancies and rights of occupation, the general remarks, rather ominously for the tenants, continued:

The Farms being rarely advertised to let, and the same families having continued in the tenancies for generations, the present rents are believed

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<sup>245</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday, 22 February, 1847; issue 19652, Landlord and Tenant.

<sup>246</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Inquiry into the State of Agriculture in Scotland including the Past and Present Condition of Farmers and Farm Servants.

<sup>247</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 20 June, 1863; issue 7215, Erskine Agricultural Society.

<sup>248</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 14 October, 1859; issue 6163, Renfrewshire Agricultural Society.

<sup>249</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 June, 1850; issue 19998, Highland and Agricultural Society.

<sup>250</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday, 10 January, 1842; issue 19034, Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.

<sup>251</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday 9 January, 1884; issue 8, Ensilage Experiments at Erskine.

<sup>252</sup> TD 1300 Erskine Estate – Sale catalogue, TD 1025 Erskine Estate – Xerox copy of catalogue

to be considerably under what they would realise if advertised to let publicly.

The anticipated public sale did not take place. Instead the Estate was sold privately to Sir Henry Arthur White, a partner in the London law firm of Arnold and Henry White, for £127,500, in May 1912<sup>253</sup>. White was acting on behalf of a consortium of investors and, over the following few years, the Estate was sold on piecemeal. Some of the tenants managed to raise enough capital to purchase a farm on the estate.

## Hatton Farm



**16. Section of Renfrewshire from J. Thomson, *The Atlas of Scotland*, 1832.  
Source – Glasgow University Library**

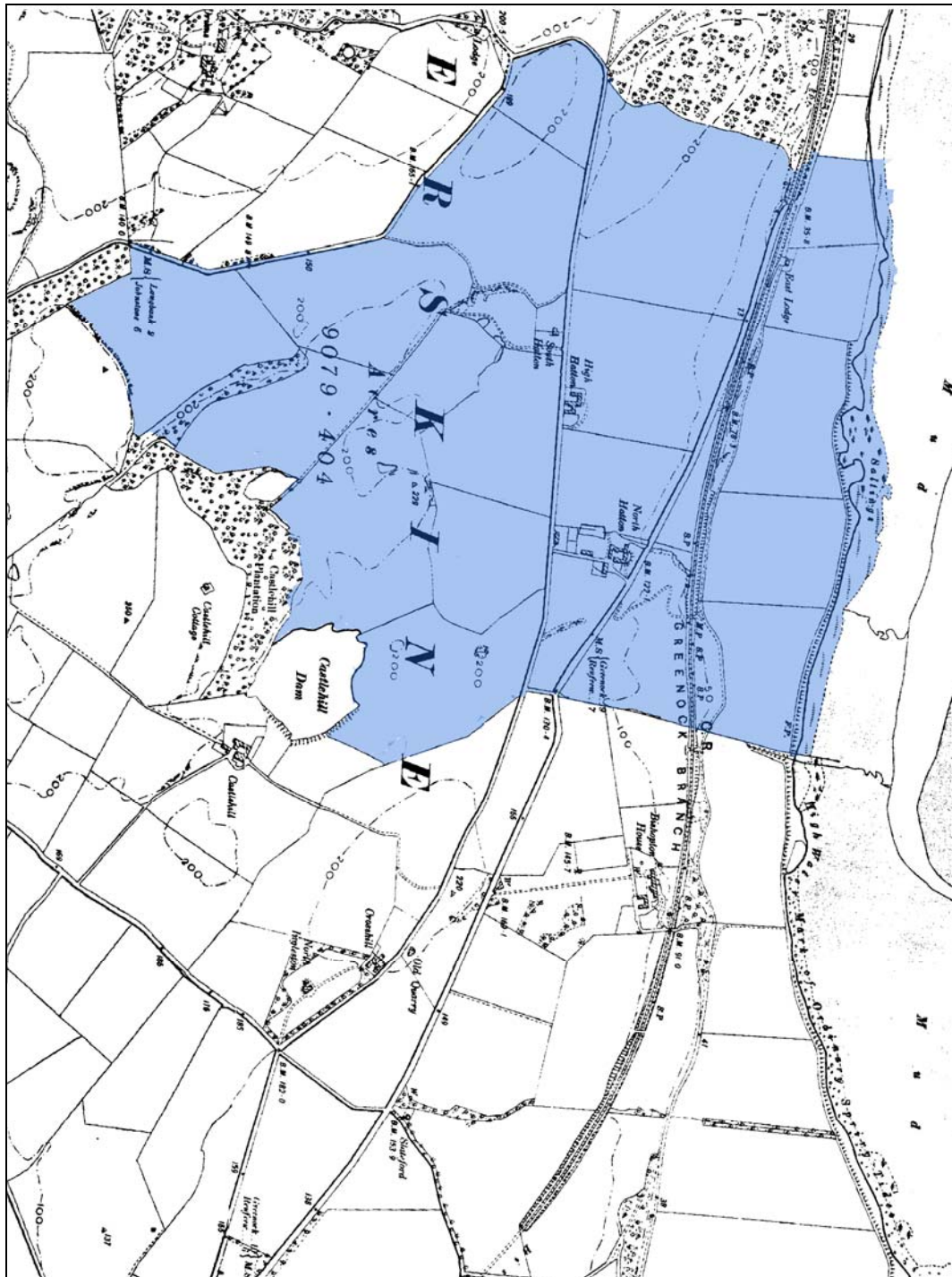
In 1818 a group of six 'valuable arable farms' on the Erskine Estate were advertised to be let on a nineteen year lease.<sup>254</sup> An advertisement in an Edinburgh newspaper, together with a readiness to receive offers at Erskine, Glasgow and Edinburgh, suggests an assumption that prospective tenants could be drawn from a large area. The farms, which were said to 'contain a great diversity of good dry soil,' and to have been wholly in grass for several years, included North Hatton (80 acres) and South and Low Hatton (236 acres). The farm of South and Low Hatton was said to be in the proprietor's own hand. A map of Renfrewshire, drawn in 1826, shows Laigh Hatton, Mid Hatton, and High Hatton on the south side of the Clyde, in the north-east section of the county.<sup>255</sup> The soils in that part of the county, says Scott, are 'generally of a rich

<sup>253</sup> [www.registers-direct.ros.gov.uk](http://www.registers-direct.ros.gov.uk) Search sheet number 9502

<sup>254</sup> Advertisements, *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 5 November, 1818; issue 14160

<sup>255</sup> Thomson, J. (1832). *The Atlas of Scotland*, containing Maps of each County, on a scale so large as to exhibit the features of the country, and the places of importance, accompanied with a memoir of the geography of Scotland. Edinburgh.

alluvium which is capable of bearing heavy crops,'<sup>256</sup> specifically wheat, oats, and potatoes. Laigh or Low Hatton was indeed low-lying, and would have included part of the Clyde foreshore, as Thomson's map (see above) indicates.



**17. Hatton Farm. The extent of the farm (shaded in blue) has been drawn from the 1912 Sale Catalogue<sup>257</sup> and superimposed on the 1898/99 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 maps, sourced from Digimap<sup>258</sup>**

<sup>256</sup> Scott "The County of Renfrew." P. 191.



The land on the foreshore between Longhaugh Point and West Ferry, which included Hatton land, was the subject of a dispute between the twelfth Lord Blantyre and the Clyde Navigation Trustees. At an 1885 hearing, his Lordship called witnesses who testified that, in the 1850s, the foreshore had been 'a pale light sand, and there was plenty of grass growing on it for the cattle,' that large quantities of seaweed had formerly been harvested on the foreshore and carted away for manure but, by 1885, there was very little grass, while the ground was so thick with mud it would not support a cart.<sup>259</sup> As the Clyde was deepened and widened, the utility of some of the Hatton acres was diminished. Thomson's Laigh Hatton steading is not marked on ordnance survey maps but, in the first imperial edition, the name is applied to the buildings on the Greenock Road, which were labelled 'Mid Hatton' on the earlier Thomson map. The same steading was labelled 'North Hatton' on the earlier County Series. It would appear that Laigh Hatton and Mid Hatton were combined into a single unit, with a steading at old Mid Hatton. Mention of a combined farm of South and Low Hatton in the newspaper advertisement of 1818, may have been a mistake, as the combination of North and Low Hatton was more logical.

In the 1861 Census, John Gibson was listed as the farmer of the 200 acre farm of Laigh Hatton, and Robert Park was listed as farmer of the 233 acre farm of High Hatton. In the 1871 Census, Park's widow, Ann Scott or Park was described as the farmer of 310 acres Scotch (about 390 acres imperial), at Laigh Hatton. It appears that Robert Park, who died in 1870, had taken an additional lease of Laigh Hatton,<sup>260</sup> and thereafter Laigh and High Hatton were managed together. The list of parties that owed Park money, at the time of his death, provides clues as to his management of the farms. He was owed £400 by a potato merchant in Bishopton, £79 by a horse dealer in Kilbarchan, £163 by a hay and straw merchant in Greenock, and £50 by a cowfeeder in Port Glasgow. Also, he was owed £31 by the 'bowers on the farm of Hatton,'<sup>261</sup> (see below). Other clues to the farm management are offered by various items in the *Glasgow Herald*. In 1863 Robert Park beat his landlord when he took first prize for a one-year-old quey, at the Erskine Agricultural Society Show. As mentioned above Lord Blantyre took third prize. Park also took first prize for a two-year-old bull, and

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<sup>257</sup> TD 1300, Erskine Estate – Sale Catalogue, TD 1025, Erskine Estate – Xerox copy of catalogue, Glasgow City Archives.

<sup>258</sup> © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2012). All rights reserved.

<sup>259</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 1 January, 1885; issue 1, Lord Blantyre and the Clyde Trustees.

<sup>260</sup> N.A.S. 563/00 0009, Statutory Register of Deaths for Erskine.

<sup>261</sup> N.A.S. SC58/42/38, Paisley Sheriff Court.

third prize for a one-year-old bull.<sup>262</sup> The following year, at the Society's Exhibition of Livestock and Butter, Park was highly commended for his fresh butter, and won fourth prize for his powdered butter.<sup>263</sup> A few years later the newspaper reported on an 'extraordinary potato:'



**18. View from Greenock Road at Laigh Hatton, looking north across the Clyde. Source – author**

We have just been shown a potato which weighs no less than 46 ounces. It is of the Regent variety, and was grown on the farm of Hatton, parish of Erskine, by Mr. Robert Park. The whole field, we are told, is one of the best ever seen in this country.<sup>264</sup>

The evidence suggests that Park was managing Hatton as a dairy farm, and there would have been a market, in Paisley, Greenock and Glasgow, for the potatoes he included in his rotations. The Inventory mentions a debt owed by a horse dealer, and Robert Park may have bred horses on the farm. His son, Walter Scott Park, certainly did, as evidenced by articles in the *Glasgow Herald*, which record awards received for

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<sup>262</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 20 June, 1863; issue 7215, Erskine Agricultural Society.

<sup>263</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 25 June, 1864; issue 7633, Erskine Agricultural Society's Exhibition of Livestock and Butter.

<sup>264</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, 23 September, 1868; issue 8962, Paisley.

his horses, and Park's employment as a judge of horses at various shows.<sup>265</sup> According to Alexander Macdonald<sup>266</sup> breeding Clydesdales was a family tradition, which he traces back to Walter's grandfather, Robert Park of Glenshinnoch, Erskine. The Hatton stud, Macdonald claimed, was one of the best in Scotland, and Walter Park was well-known as a Clydesdale horse breeder. Pedigree Clydesdales might be exchanged for large sums. Six-year-old Clydesdale, "Lord Colmin Edwin," belonging to a Mrs. Simpson, was awarded a premium in a Glasgow Agricultural Society Show:

Bred by Mr Walter S. Park, Hatton, Bishopton, this horse was by "Prince Gallant" out of "Hatton Bell," and when a yearling he was purchased for £1300.<sup>267</sup>

In his article on the agriculture of Renfrewshire, Macdonald made specific reference to the farm of Hatton, which he said was one of the largest farms in Erskine, and was occupied under a nineteen year lease:

It is wholly arable, mostly light as regards soil, and extends to 405 acres. The rental in 1880 was £680. The seven-course shift has been in operation here for many years, and the land, which annually receives a large amount of artificial manure, gives a fair return. The crops grown are oats, potatoes and turnips, and hay, a considerable portion of which are consumed on the farm. Stock breeding and dairying are both extensively carried on by Mr Park, and feeding stuffs to the extent of about £500 are used every year. Of these about £300 worth are bought in. The dairy cows are partly let to bowers under the ordinary letting conditions.<sup>268</sup>

Park's commitment to dairying can be seen in his playing host to the Educational Working Dairy of the Scottish Dairy Association. In November of 1884, the Association set up its educational pavilion in the cattle show field in Paisley, and offered instruction in butter-making. After a week the pavilion was moved to Hatton Farm for a further week. Association members and their assistants were to be admitted free, and others to pay two shillings and sixpence per lesson.<sup>269</sup> It seems Park also kept some sheep, since he posted a reward for the return of two blackface

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<sup>265</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 26 January, 1884; issue 23, Ploughing Matches. *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 12 June, 1884; issue 140, Cattle Shows. *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, 15 June, 1887; issue 142, Strathendrick Agricultural Society. *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 30 April, 1888; issue 103, Agriculture, Show at Maryhill. *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 23 June, 1888; issue 150, West Renfrewshire Agricultural Society's Show. *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, 30 July, 1890; issue 181, Highland Society's Show at Dundee. *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, 27 July, 1892; issue 179, The Inverness Show.

<sup>266</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland fourth series, vol. XIX*: 1-110.

<sup>267</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 8 February, 1896; issue 34, Glasgow Agricultural Society, Spring Show of Horses.

<sup>268</sup> Macdonald "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew."

<sup>269</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 6 November, 1884; issue 266, The Scottish Dairy Association.

ewes in lamb, which strayed from Hatton Farm, in 1884.<sup>270</sup> Another description is provided by the 1912 Erskine Estate Sale Catalogue. 'High and Laigh Hattons' was the largest (407.858 acres) and most highly valued (£13,250) of the farms, and was described thus:

A very attractive and extensive Farm, of which the lower parts are exceptionally good cropping lands, and the higher lying portions form choice dairying land ... The Steading is most commodious, and the byre accommodation in particular is well known in the district as a model of its kind. Altogether the buildings are of a very superior class, the whole being in first-class condition ...



**19. Laigh Hatton, 1984. Source - image taken by John Cross and supplied by Willie Cross**

Although Hatton was twice the size of West Glenshinnoch the dwelling house and steading at Laigh Hatton sounds to have been very similar to that at West Glenshinnoch. The difference is in the additional accommodations at old High Hatton, which brought the overall Hatton dairy capacity to almost triple what was available at West Glenshinnoch.

In May of 1913, Walter Park's widow, Helen Wilson, purchased High and Laigh Hatton for £12,000. To raise the money Helen borrowed £2,000 from Andrew Douglas of Langbank, £4,200 from the trustees of the deceased William Todd Lithgow, shipbuilder of Port Glasgow, and £900 from her married daughter and namesake, Helen Wilson Park or Kennett. Helen Wilson repaid Andrew Douglas in 1919, and repaid £2,200 of the loan from the trustees of William Todd Lithgow in 1933. In 1941 the farm passed to Helen's son, Robert Park. In 1942 Robert repaid the loan to his sister, Helen, and, in 1948, he repaid the remaining £2,000 pounds of the loan from the trustees of William Todd Lithgow. However, even as he repaid the trustees, Robert took out a £12,000 loan from the commercial Bank of Scotland. In 1966 when,

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<sup>270</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 27 March, 1884; issue 75, Lost Stolen Found.

according to the 1901 Census, Robert would have been in his late sixties, he sold the farm to Sir William James Lithgow, of the Scottish shipbuilding company 'Lithgows', member of the Scottish Milk Marketing Board 1979-83, and grandson of William Todd Lithgow. Land was also taken from Hatton for the Glasgow Monkton trunk road, and the residue was merged with Sir William's Drums Estate.<sup>271</sup>

## Bowing

'Steelbow' tenure, from which bowing is derived, dates back to the late middle-ages in Scotland. A landlord provided the tenant with stock, growing grain, straw and implements under contract that the equivalent in quality and quantity should be returned at the end of the lease. According to Gray, bowing and kaning systems were prevalent in the large cheese farms of Dumfries and Galloway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>272</sup> The farmer rented his cows annually to a dairyman and provided him with housing, the bulky home-grown food for the cows and certain quantities of concentrates per cow. The extra cheese made by the kaner or excess milk produced by the bower above the agreed rents was the profit of the respective parties.<sup>273</sup> 'Kane' means a payment in kind, but could also refer to a quantity of cheese<sup>274</sup>. If the dairyman paid his rent in cheese he was a kaner. If he paid in cash, he was a bower, although, latterly the term bower was used for both systems. The bowing system, in various forms, was found in throughout west central Scotland.

There were bowers at both High Hatton and West Glenshinnoch in 1851 and 1861, so Robert Park did not resort to bowing agreements as a means of managing his augmented acres. However, the use of the plural in his Inventory ('bowers on the farm of Hatton') may indicate that, once the family had moved down to the steading at Laigh Hatton, Robert Park granted concurrent bowing agreements on the land of High Hatton. The 1891 Census lists Hatton Dairy East and Hatton Dairy West, and in each the head of household is described as a dairyman, and an employer. The 1912 catalogue description of Hattons Farm indicates that there was accommodation for two bowers there.<sup>275</sup> Information on bowers at High Hatton (identified from Census Reports) can be found in Appendix Five, High Hatton Bowers. These examples

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<sup>271</sup> [www.registers-direct.ros.gov.uk](http://www.registers-direct.ros.gov.uk) Renfrew Search Sheet Number 10238.

<sup>272</sup> Gray, A. (1995). White gold? Scotland's dairying in the past (with particular reference to the West of Scotland). Wigtown, G.C. Book Publishers. Pp. 380-327.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid. P. 308.

<sup>274</sup> Robinson, M., Ed. (1985). The Concise Scots Dictionary. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press.

<sup>275</sup> TD 1300, Erskine Estate – Sale Catalogue, TD 1025, Erskine Estate – Xerox copy of catalogue, Glasgow City Archives.

suggest that the bowing system was not only utilised by young men seeking to gain a foothold on the farming ladder. Progress up the farming ladder was not necessarily swift or certain, and while one Hatton bower does seem to have made a steady progression, the career of another was more up and down. It can be seen that on two occasions, the Parks made bowing agreements with men who they had previously employed as farm servants. Presumably they had plenty of opportunity to assess the character of the men before coming to a bowing agreement.

## Springs

Twenty-eight miles from Glasgow, Springs Farm, on the Sundrum Estate, Ayrshire, was in the parish of Stair, close to the boundary with Coylton parish. Since Ayrshire was traditionally divided into three districts, the situation will be considered at the district level of Kyle, which included both parishes.

## Kyle

Kyle for a man; Carrick for a coo;  
Cunningham for butter and cheese;  
And Galloway for 'oo –

This old saying, quoted by Ogilvie,<sup>276</sup> lists the traditional principal products of the three districts of Ayrshire, along with that of the county's southern neighbour, Galloway. Cunningham, the northern part of Ayrshire, was the prime dairy land; Carrick, to the south, produced cattle, and Galloway produced wool. The principal product of Kyle, central Ayrshire, was said to be army recruits, as the land would not bear other crops. The reports of Kyle parishes, Stair and Coylton, in the O.S.A. are brief, but both note that most of the soil was composed of stiff clay. The clayey nature of the soil was again mentioned in the reports for Stair and Coylton in the N.S.A.

The soil varies, but its general character is that of an adhesive ungenerous clay, on a substratum of a like stiff cold retentive mould. Till the introduction of recent improvements, it did not yield very abundant crops. But when properly drained and cultivated, it loses its tenacity, becomes loose and friable; in most cases, increases 30 per cent. in value; and, by its excellent crops, amply repays the toil and outlay of landlord and tenant.

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<sup>276</sup> Ogilvie, A. G., Ed. (1928). Great Britain: essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors: with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

The holms, or flat grounds on the banks of the rivers are of a light loamy nature, on a sandy or gravelly bottom.<sup>277</sup>

According to the N.S.A. for Stair, comparatively little had been done in the way of draining, but both landlords and tenants were quickly becoming aware of the advantages.<sup>278</sup> The parish of Coylton contained both tile works and stone quarries, and the availability of these materials somewhat reduced the expense of field drainage in Coylton and the western parts of Stair. The author of the Coylton account reported that the amount of drained land in the parish was rapidly increasing, leading to visible improvement, but that the lack of capital, the state of rents and markets, and the duration of leases were obstacles to this process. However, some proprietors, such as Mr. Hamilton of Sundrum, Mr. Oswald of Auchincruive, and Mr. Burnett of Gadgirth, offered various encouragements to their tenants, such as supplying tiles at a reduced rate. Ogilvie<sup>279</sup> remarked that Cunningham was still the prime dairy land of Scotland in the 1920s, but by then it had to share the honour with Kyle. Fresh milk, sold through nine modern co-operative creameries, was the chief product of Cunningham, while the southern part of Kyle, along with the Carrick lowland, produced butter and cheese.

## Sundrum Estate

Sundrum was purchased by the Hamiltons in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>280</sup> In the obituary<sup>281</sup> of John Hamilton of Sundrum (died 1821, aged 81) it is stated that 'to his tenants, he was uniformly friendly and liberal; to the poor his bounty approached prodigality,' but there is no mention of an interest in agriculture. Subsequent Hamiltons of Sundrum did take some interest in local agriculture, as indicated in the N.S.A. (see above). One John Hamilton offered a prize at the local agricultural society show,<sup>282</sup> and Claude Hamilton appears to have had an interest in breeding polled Angus cattle,<sup>283</sup> at a time when the breed was beginning to make its

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<sup>277</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Ayrshire/Coylton/>

<sup>278</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Ayrshire/Stair/>

<sup>279</sup> Ogilvie, Ed. *Great Britain: essays in regional geography*. P. 443.

<sup>280</sup> [www.sundrumcastle.com](http://www.sundrumcastle.com)

<sup>281</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Monday 15 January, 1821; issue 1885, Mr. Hamilton of Sundrum.

<sup>282</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 1 November, 1862; issue 7117, The Show at Kilmarnock.

<sup>283</sup> The Annual Show, *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 28 April, 1898; issue 101, Ayrshire Agricultural Association. *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, Thursday, 22 February, 1900; issue 14066, Great Sale of Polled Cattle at Perth.

mark in Ayrshire.<sup>284</sup> The family exploited their mineral resources by letting rights to Sundrum coal.<sup>285</sup> This could involve their tenants in some inconvenience. In 1850 various mining paraphernalia were advertised for sale, 'all lying on the Farms of Springs and Drumdow, on the Estate of Sundrum.'<sup>286</sup>

The Hamiltons do not seem to have been continuously resident at Sundrum as, in 1851 and again in 1857, the mansion house was advertised to be let. In 1851, the tenant was to have the right of shooting over about 2000 acres while, in 1857, the extent of the shootings was said to be about 3600 acres, which is a significant increase in acreage over a few short years.<sup>287</sup> It appears that the Hamiltons encountered financial difficulties in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as they borrowed money against part of the estate in 1879 and 1895.<sup>288</sup> These difficulties continued into the twentieth century and, in February of 1918, the tenants of Springs Farm may have had reason to believe that the Hamiltons would be willing to sell some farms, as they made an offer to buy Springs.<sup>289</sup> In May of 1918, the farms of Springs, Wraithill, and Drumdow were sold to John Roland Bell.<sup>290</sup> The Bells of Enterkine were neighbouring landowners and, in 1929, John Roland Bell disposed of some of his property, including the 120 acre Farm of Springs, and the 18 acre Farm of Laigh Dalmore, which were sold to the Springs tenants.<sup>291</sup>

## Springs Farm



**20. Springs Farm, 2007. Source - author**

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<sup>284</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 26 April, 1900; issue 100, Ayrshire Agricultural Association, Annual Show of Stock.

<sup>285</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 20 April, 1849; issue 4823, Advertisements and Notices.

<sup>286</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 4 February, 1850; issue 4906, Advertisements and Notices.

<sup>287</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 28 February, 1851; issue 5017, Advertisements and Notices, To Be Let, Furnished. *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 20 March, 1857; issue 5739, Advertisements and Notices, Furnished House and Shootings.

<sup>288</sup> Register of Sasines, Search Sheet No. 1097.

<sup>289</sup> Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.

<sup>290</sup> Register of Sasines, Search Sheet No. 1097.

<sup>291</sup> Register of Sasines, Search Sheet No. 1097, 33-299.



A living may be made by dairy-farming in Ayrshire, but to “make money” by it is plainly impossible.<sup>292</sup>

Springs (or Springfield) Farm was leased by the Murdoch family from 1848. The money rent was due in two instalments annually, in May and November, but there seems to have been some leeway. The 1848 lease set the rent at £120, but in 1860 Murdoch paid £124.9.5. That lease expired in 1866, and in 1871, Murdoch paid £112 in rent. William Murdoch’s account books provide details of the produce of Springs Farm, and clearly indicate that Springs was a dairy farm. Archibald Sturrock, an Ayrshire man with a farming background, produced his “Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire”<sup>293</sup> during the period of William Murdoch’s Springs Account books. In this report, farms in Ayrshire were divided into coastal farms and inland farms, such as Springs. The inland farms followed a mixed husbandry, but they were generally dairy farms. “It is corn *versus* milk that the dairy farmer has to decide on,” wrote Sturrock, “and he must be, and is, much influenced in his mode of cropping by the relative state of the markets for each.”<sup>294</sup> There were distinct fluctuations in the value of oats sold off Springs (see Appendix Three, Produce Charts), but harvests were not uniform, and consumption of grain on the farm varied, for example in April of 1873, Murdoch received £12 for wintering twenty-one sheep. He noted that these sheep had been ‘allowed grain.’<sup>295</sup> There are no references to the sale of fresh milk off Springs, but William Murdoch did note purchases of a milk heater, curd breaker, cheese press, and rennet, which points to the manufacture of cheese. Although there are some references to the sale of butter, the main dairy produce was cheese, which, according to Sturrock, was usual in Ayrshire:

Butter making in Ayrshire, except for shire consumption, and when contrasted with cheese, is of but small importance, the farmers of Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire doing in butter to a much greater extent proportionally than those of this county...<sup>296</sup>

Springs Farm is only a couple of miles from Annbank, a village which was not noticed in either the O.S.A. or the N.S.A., but which had a population of 1151 by 1871<sup>297</sup> and, when the Ayr to Mauchline section of the Ayr-Murikirk railway line opened in 1870, there was a station at Annbank. Annbank was a mining village, with a colliery store,

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<sup>292</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **Fourth series, vol. I:** 21-106. P. 81.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid. P. 33.

<sup>295</sup> Murdoch Database, Income Table, ID No. 497.

<sup>296</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." Pp. 81-82.

<sup>297</sup> Groome, F. H., Ed. (1882-85). Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland: a survey of Scottish topography, statistical, biographical, and historical. Edinburgh, Jack.

which operated on the truck system, the miners being compelled to purchase provisions at the company shop. Such systems were commonplace in the collieries of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.<sup>298</sup> In September of 1862, thirty-six Springs cheeses, weighing a total of 58 stone and 14 pounds, were sold 'to Annbank.'<sup>299</sup> A consignment this large is likely to have been for the Annbank colliery store, but there are no definitive references to the Annbank Store until 1866 when, over March, four calves were sold to the Store.<sup>300</sup> In 1870, 1874 and 1875 Springs potatoes that found their way to the Annbank Store and, in 1875 and 1876 oats were sent to the Store. Also in 1875, 102 cheeses, weighing 188 stone were sold to the Store.<sup>301</sup> Business between the farm and the colliery was two way, as the farm received coal from Annbank.<sup>302</sup>

During the 1850s, and 1860s Murdoch sold various amounts of cheese to a variety of people. Jean Wallace bought a 31 pound cheese for 12 shillings and eleven pence in 1854, and a 37 pound cheese for seventeen shillings eight and a half pence in 1855. Presumably these were domestic purchases. However, William Ronald paid out £70 for Springs cheese in 1855, and this may have been the William Ronald (born around 1792) who was a grocer and spirit dealer in Mauchline, at that time. In 1860 Murdoch made bulk sales of cheese to William Flint, and to John Allan and Company. William Flint came from Edinburgh, but by 1861, he was a grain, manure and cheese merchant in Ayr. John Allan was a native of Ayrshire, and was a grain and cheese merchant, as well as a farmer of 155 acres. In 1871 William Murdoch sold the farm's entire cheese produce to John Allan and Company. The total price obtained for the cheese from Springs, in 1871, was £143.15.8. In the same year, the rent paid on the farm was £112.

The laying of a railway line through Springs had implications for the farm, even before the line opened. In 1866 Murdoch received two pounds, from the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company, for surveying,<sup>303</sup> and, in 1867, Murdoch supplied the railway contractor with oats.<sup>304</sup> In 1869 Murdoch wrote:

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<sup>298</sup> Scottish Mining website, <http://www.scottishmining.co.uk>.

<sup>299</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2009). Murdoch Accounts Database, University of Glasgow. Income Table ID no. 965, 3 September, 1862.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. Income Table ID nos. 604 and 605, 10 and 21 March.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid. Income Table, ID nos. 996 and 1000.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID nos. 986, October, 1864.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid. Income Table, ID no.191.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid. Income Table, ID no. 261.

Recd. Bank Checkes from G & SW. R. Co. as Cash payment of Tennents profits yearly sum £3.4.2 on 16 1/4 years Capitalised amounting to £37"10 and £17 added for Gates & Hedges Interest & from April £54.13.3<sup>305</sup>

Once the line was open Murdoch bought a six month season ticket,<sup>306</sup> and some of his purchases for the farm were delivered by rail,<sup>307</sup> but there is no indication, in the accounts, that the arrival of the railway provoked any alteration in the management of Springs Farm, and the focus remained the production of cheese. However, the available accounts stop in 1877, so there might have been later implications. Over the period of the accounts there does seem to have been a move towards more bulk sales of cheese. With the exception of sales to neighbour, Mrs. Dunn, sales of individual cheeses seem to cease in the mid 1860s, and most of each season's cheese was sold to William Flint, or John Allan, or the Annbank Store. Both William Flint and John Allan are mentioned elsewhere in William Murdoch's accounts, as they supplied Murdoch with guano. Flint also supplied some sulphate of ammonia, but Murdoch's modest investment in fertilisers does not suggest a very intensive farming system.



**21. William Murdoch of Springs walking past pig sties. Source – Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.**

Some of the calves bred on Springs Farm were sold off the farm. Murdoch also sold yeld (barren) and farrow (having missed a pregnancy) cows. Murdoch sold cows in the market at Ayr, and he also sold fattened cows and skins to fleshers (butchers) in

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<sup>305</sup> Ibid. Income Table, D no. 322.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID no. 831.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID nos. 1075, 1077, February 1875.

Tarbolton and Ayr. Sturrock reports that most dairy farmers had a sideline in pig keeping.

*Swine* are fed more or less at every farm-house where cheese is made. Ayrshire heads the list in Scotland for number of swine kept and fattened ... In Dumfriesshire they breed extensively, whilst in Ayrshire they do not. Our farmers, indeed, import great part of the young pigs from Dumfries and Carlisle ... Generally the swine are fed simply on the whey, with any offal and vegetable refuse gathered up, till within 8 or 10 weeks of being killed, when they receive daily feeds of some sort of mash to fatten them off. They seldom or never get grass or green food, or get out their styes to have the run of a grass field as in some parts of England ...<sup>308</sup>

The pigs were not such big earners as the cows but, being fed mainly on a by-product of cheese-making, they could be a worthwhile investment. Murdoch bought in young pigs, and sold fat pigs. Pigs were sold every year, even those years when no pigs were bought, for, although Sturrock says that Ayrshire farmers were not much given to breeding pigs, some breeding was carried out at Springs. In December of 1856, Murdoch noted that two sows were at the 'Sundrum boar',<sup>309</sup> and in July of 1865 he paid eight shillings for 'sow service.'<sup>310</sup> Murdoch purchased a boar in 1866. Charts in Appendix Three illustrate the value of the cheese sold against the sale of pigs, or their carcasses, and the difference between outlay in the purchase of pigs, and income from their sale. The difference was much greater in some years than in others. Under the terms of the 1848 lease of Springs, Murdoch was prohibited from keeping sheep at Springs, without permission, under penalty of forty shillings per sheep found. William Murdoch did keep sheep, as entries in his accounts mention sheep and lambs sold to the fleshers, McCallum and McClymont, but the sheep may not have been kept at Springs. There is a reference to 'Cheviot sheep Keyshill' in Murdoch's account for August 1871. Keyshill is about a mile east of Springs steading, so he may have rented land there to graze his sheep. Despite the lack of references to poultry in Murdoch's accounts, it is likely that there was poultry on the farm. These may have been managed by the farm women, primarily for domestic use.

The crops grown at Springs were oats, potatoes, beans, wheat, grasses, Swedish turnip, yellow turnip, mangold wurtzel, carrot, and red and white clover. Murdoch purchased seed from J.J. Inglis and Company, possibly John J. Inglis, farmer, Stair, and his son, John Inglis, seed merchant. Much of the crop would have been consumed on

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<sup>308</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." P. 87.

<sup>309</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database. Expenditure Table, ID No. 180.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID No. 234.

the farm, but there were sales. Murdoch sold oats, sometimes as meal, sometimes in the stack. Sometimes he sold oat or wheat straw, and sometimes he sold chaff. He sold oats to John Allan and Company, and to J.J. Inglis. He also sold beans and potatoes. The potatoes were sold in varying amounts. Seventeen pecks were sent to Sundrum for £1.5.6, and agricultural worker, Thomas Scott, bought one peck for one shilling and sixpence.

## Crookboat

At twenty-five miles (as the crow flies) from Glasgow, Crookboat Farm was situated on the Douglas Estate, in the parish of Carmichael, and the county of Lanark.

## Carmichael Parish

According to the author of the N.S.A. for Carmichael there were no towns or villages in the parish of Carmichael, 'but two hamlets, the one containing about 140, and the other 86 persons.'<sup>311</sup> By the time of Groome's Gazetteer<sup>312</sup> in the 1880s, Thankerton had been upgraded to a village, but Carmichael was still a hamlet. The nearest town is the county town of Lanark. In 1862 Caledonian Railways opened up an extension of the company's Ayr to Muirkirk line, through Crookboat to Lanark. The main purpose was to haul coal mined in the Douglas valley, via Lanark, to the industrial centres in Motherwell and Cambuslang, but the line also opened up the Glasgow fresh milk market to local farms, and made Lanark, Ayr, Glasgow and Edinburgh more accessible. It was noted in the O.S.A. for Carmichael that 'Situated so high, and in the immediate neighbourhood of so many hills, the climate is cold and wet' and 'The soil is very various; towards the Clyde, it is in general thin, sandy, and dry. The S. W. and southern parts, where arable, are clayey and wet;'<sup>313</sup> while Groome<sup>314</sup> reported that 'The soil of the arable lands is variously argillaceous, loamy, and sandy'. The author of the N.S.A. for Carmichael was more expansive:

The general aspect of the parish is rather hilly than mountainous. The intervening valleys and acclivities have very different soils. The southern acclivities are generally the most fertile. The land towards the Clyde is of a thin sandy soil. In some parts of the parish, it is a pretty deep loam; but the

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<sup>311</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Carmichael/>

<sup>312</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

<sup>313</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Carmichael/>

<sup>314</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

greater proportion of the arable land is a clayey and wet soil, resting on a substratum of cold impervious till, or ferruginous clay, mixed with water-rolled stones of almost every description ... There is a good deal of clayey soil, resting on clay slate and greywacke slate, as productive as any land in the parish. The reason is obvious,--the water is readily percolated through the fissures of the rock.<sup>315</sup>

The Rev. Dr. William Lamb, who grew up at Crookboat Farm, wrote the entry for Carmichael parish, in the N.S.A.. Presumably Dr. Lamb was well acquainted with, and had a good understanding of, the local agricultural scene. The establishment of cotton works, in the neighbouring parishes of Lanark and Douglas, by the late eighteenth century created a market for butter, cheese, and grain, which was a stimulus to agricultural development in Carmichael <sup>316</sup>and, it seems that agriculture occupied most of the population of Carmichael in the nineteenth century. The author of the O.S.A. mentioned a tannery, and counted eighteen weavers in the parish. Dr. Lamb commented in the N.S.A. that the same tannery was still being successfully operated, and that there were thirty-two weavers. He also noted a foundry (at which most of the iron work for threshing mill and other machinery in the neighbourhood was cast), coal seams, and quarries of limestone and sandstone. Writing at the end of the century, Groome<sup>317</sup> mentioned the coal workings and the limestone and sandstone quarries, but no manufactories. He recorded the population as having peaked at 956 in 1831, and fallen to 770 in 1881.

Snodgrass<sup>318</sup> assessed the development of farming in Lanarkshire, considering the three wards individually. Glasgow is in the Lower Ward, and Carmichael is in the Upper Ward. As the Upper Ward experiences a more severe climate than the Lower Ward, and is relatively remote, the agricultural improvements of the eighteenth century were slower to take hold in this area. According to Snodgrass:

Whereas great changes had taken place in the Glasgow district between 1750 and 1790, it was between the years 1790 and 1845 that the Upper Ward underwent a veritable revolution.<sup>319</sup>

According to the O.S.A., though improvements in dairying had been made in Carmichael Parish by the 1790s:

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<sup>315</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Carmichael/>

<sup>316</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Carmichael/>

<sup>317</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

<sup>318</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1937). "Lanarkshire: the Agricultural Geography of a Scottish County." Scottish Geographical Magazine **53**.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.* pp.186-7

The greatest improvement that has been made in any branch of husbandry in this parish, is in the management of the dairy. Farms which 50 years ago made little butter for sale, and not as much cheese as was sufficient for the consumption of the farmer's family, now depend upon those articles for the payment of some, the half, and others the greatest part of their rent.<sup>320</sup>

Change was prompted by the construction of the Lanark-Carlisle high road. As communications improved, the district switched from subsistence farming towards a specialisation in dairy husbandry:

Cattle were better bred and more numerous. The butter and cheese of some of the dairy farms reached the markets of Edinburgh and Glasgow by weekly carrier. But where such regular communication was not available, the butter was salted and was sold with the cheese at the Martinmas fairs. Swine were kept in increasing numbers to consume the butter-milk and whey.<sup>321</sup>

Snodgrass maintained that 'the fundamental nature of the control exercised by physical environment' is revealed by the persistence of the agricultural regions, established in Lanarkshire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, up to her time of writing in the 1930s. Differences between 1850 and 1930 were due to alterations in method, diffusion of scientific knowledge, and the improvement of transport. Snodgrass says that the only cash crop produced in the Upper Ward in 1927 was potatoes. These were produced at a higher altitude than was normal for commercial potatoes in central Scotland, but they were mainly seed potatoes, and their trade was encouraged by the accessibility of the English potato-growing districts by road and rail. The dairy herds, in 1927, consisted mainly of Ayrshire cattle, with a few British Friesians. Surplus calves were sold almost immediately as veal, and the milk was disposed of in liquid form through the Milk Marketing Board. Surplus milk was processed into cheese or butter, at creameries in Thankerton and Dolphinton but, due to the irregularity of the supply of whey, no pigs were kept at the creameries, and pigs were of little importance in the district at this time. So the main difference between 1850 and 1930 is in the disposal of the milk. Before the introduction of milk-cooling machinery, and transport by motor lorry, it was only farmers situated near a railway station who could dispose of fresh milk.

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<sup>320</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Carmichael/>

<sup>321</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire." p.188.

## Douglas Estate

According to the Carmichael report in the O.S.A., the chief heritor in the parish was the Earl of Hyndford, and the only other two heritors were Lord Douglas and Mr. Carmichael of Eastend. In the N.S.A. the chief proprietors are given as Sir W. Carmichael Anstruther, followed by Lord Douglas, then Mr. Carmichael of Eastend. In the contiguous parish of Douglas, the N.S.A. informs us, nine tenths of the land belonged to Lord Douglas:

There are few parishes in Scotland, if any, more fortunate in their proprietary than Douglas. Lord Douglas, who resides chiefly at Douglas Castle, takes the greatest interest in the improvements, not only of the lands in his own natural possession, but in every part of his estates in this district; and stimulates the exertions of his tenantry by the most liberal, yet judicious encouragement. New and commodious houses and steadings have been recently built on almost every farm; suitable fences, chiefly of stone, are always readily granted; clumps of plantation, each of several acres, have been set down and enclosed on the store farms, for the protection of the sheep in the winter storms; and the face of the country has thus, within these few years, undergone the most decided improvement. No set of tenantry could be more worthy of such encouragement, or could more gratefully and cordially appreciate it.<sup>322</sup>

Comparing this passage with the O.S.A. report on Erskine (see above), it seems that improvement reached the Douglas Estate later than the Erskine Estate. As the tenth Lord Blantyre was highly praised, so is Lord Douglas, but the tone is somewhat different. There is no mention of the imposing of conditions, but Lord Douglas 'stimulates the exertions of his tenantry,' who, rather than complaining, are highly appreciative. Putting aside the individual characters and experience of the two authors, perhaps since improvement was later in this area, Lord Douglas and his tenants could profitably draw upon the experience of landlords and farmers in other areas.

A lease of Crookboat from 1821 was granted by Lord Archibald Douglas, from his residence at Bothwell Castle. This will have been Archibald James Edward Douglas, First Baron Douglas of Douglas, who died in 1827. He was succeeded by his sons Archibald, Charles, and then James, who died in 1857. Thereafter the estate passed to the First Baron's grand-daughter, the Hon. Lucy Elizabeth Montagu-Scott, and her husband, Cospatrick Alexander Home, Eleventh Earl of Home. Cospatrick, who died in 1881, was created First Baron Douglas of Douglas in 1875, and his children bore

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<sup>322</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Douglas/>



the surname Douglas-Home. The Douglas-Homes had various scattered estates, but their home was at The Hirsell, Coldstream, Berwickshire. The Eleventh Earl was succeeded by his son, Charles Alexander (died 1918), and he by his son, Charles Cospatrck Archibald Douglas-Home, Thirteenth Earl of Home, who died in 1951.<sup>323</sup> It is not to be expected that with their many and scattered estates, the Earls of Home paid as much attention to tenants on the Douglas Estate as the Douglasses could.

## Crookboat Farm

Crookboat Farm, situated on the South side of the River Clyde, at its confluence with the Douglas Water, was on the Douglas Estate until the 1950s. Tenant turned owner, Alec Lamb, has carried out research into the history of Crookboat Farm, and the following account of the origins of the farm is based upon his findings. According to Fraser,<sup>324</sup> in 1347, Hugh, Laird of Douglas founded a chapel at the confluence of the River Clyde with the Douglas Water and endowed it with land. A ferry service across the Clyde was also established, and the crossing fees were assigned to the chaplain. Post Reformation, the ferry was marked on a Lanark map of 1640, where its location was given as 'Cruikboat.' Having analysed the description of the land with which the ferry chapel was endowed, Mr. Lamb finds the area to be very similar to the land currently occupied by Crookboat Farm, and suspects that the site of the chapel was roughly the same as that of the present farm steading. The assumption is that the Douglasses took back the land at the Reformation. The construction of a bridge at Hyndford in 1772, and another at Sandilands in 1805 could be reason enough for the eventual withdrawal of the ferry service. In 1803 John Lamb extended the farm by obtaining a lease of the neighbouring Sandilands Mill, which had been a lint mill. When this lease expired, the land of Sandilands Mill (about thirty acres) was included in the 1821 lease of Crookboat. Thereafter Sandilands Mill seems have been subsumed into Crookboat Farm. At some point the name of the mill area was changed to Burnhouse Mill.

Crookboat steading has undergone various processes of expansion and adaptation over the years. There is no mention of proposed building work in the Crookboat lease of 1821, although the reports for Carmichael and Douglas parishes both mention

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<sup>323</sup> [www.thepeerage.com](http://www.thepeerage.com)

<sup>324</sup> Fraser, W. (1885). The Douglas Book. Edinburgh.

recent improvements to farm buildings on the Douglas Estate.<sup>325</sup> As the term of the 1821 lease approached, tenant John Lamb put in an offer for a new one. In a letter to the estate factor, dated 29 October 1839, he stated his conditions thus:

... that I am allowed one half years rent and wood to put the Farm Steading in repair and to bring the water near to the Offices as we are very inconvenient for water at present ... You may state to Lord Douglas that nothing was ever obtained for repairs upon the Farm Steading of Crook Boat except £25 and a few yards of pavement for the kitchen floor for upwards of the last 50 years. I have done more in repairing the houses than any of my neighbours & I hope his Lordship will not refuse a little aid at the commencement of a new lease. The farm steading you know is subject to many inconveniences and to none more than the want of water which must all be carried up hill from the Clyde.



**22. The Douglas Water flows into the Clyde at the bend (or crook) in the river, which supplies Crookboat Farm with part of its name. The railway line divides the farm worker's cottage from the main part of the steading. Source – Alec Lamb.**

In a lease of 1859, the proprietor, the Countess of Home, agreed to spend a sum not exceeding £395 on the repairs of the house and steading. Mr. Lamb thinks that it was around this time that extensive building additions were made to the steading and farmhouse. Also around this time, Caledonian Railways drove a line through Crookboat, taking fifteen acres from the farm. Sandilands Station was constructed on

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<sup>325</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Carmichael/>

two of these acres. The embankments that were thrown up made access to the lower fields difficult, and the regular passage of trains imperilled the plasterwork. However, once the line opened (1862), Sandilands Station did provide the advantage mentioned by Snodgrass (see above) of facilitating the disposal of fresh milk. The milk was filled in wooden butts, which held about five gallons and loaded on to the six o'clock morning train, to be in Glasgow by seven (see Appendix Three). As the trains did not run on Sundays, the Sunday milk had to be churned into butter, or made into cheese. Farm account books indicate no change in the management of the dairy cows at Crookboat upon the arrival of the railway. Unfortunately the milk books do not tell us where the milk went in the days before the Glasgow train.

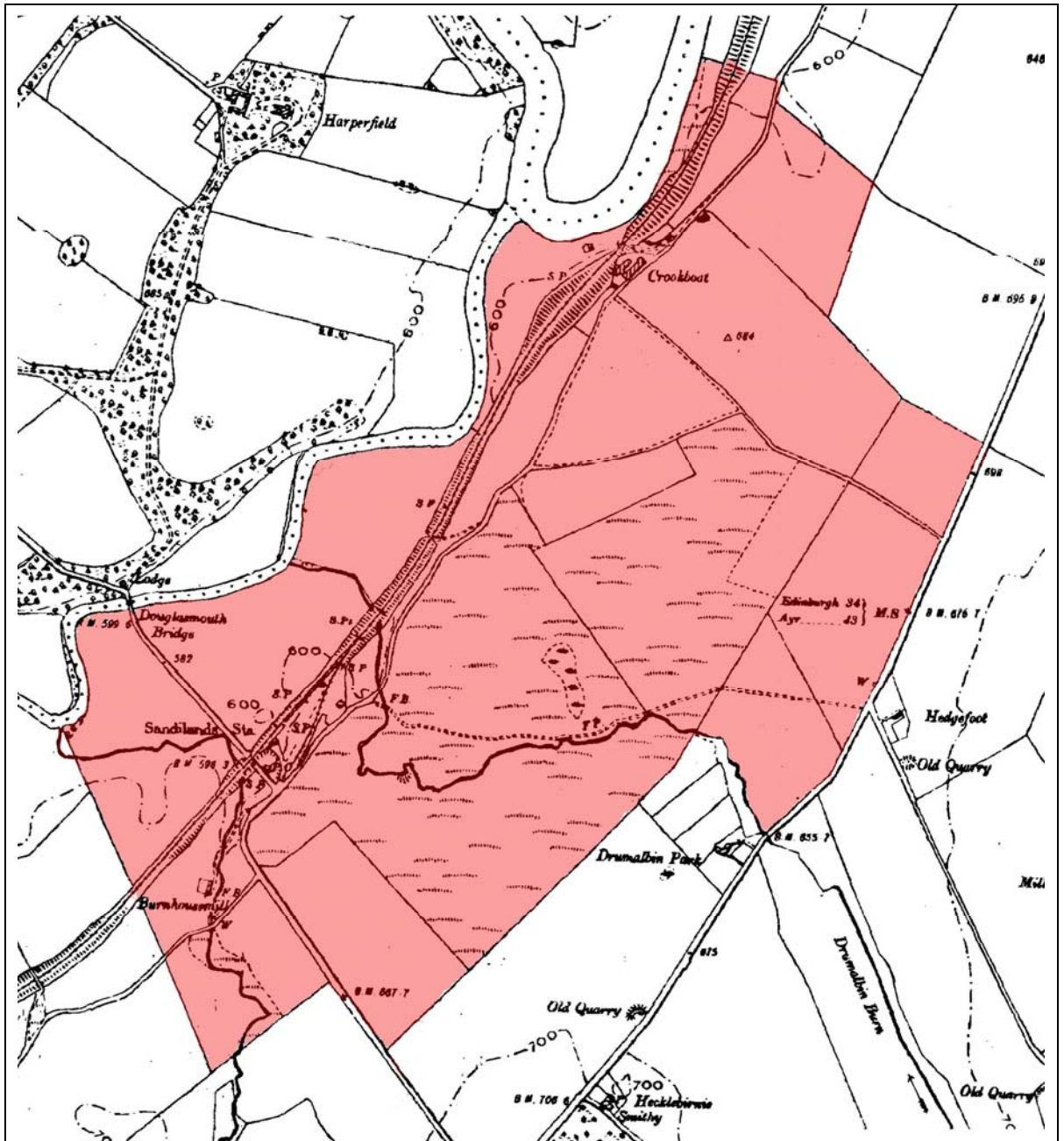
Dairy stock, said McConnell,<sup>326</sup> could be kept either for the supply of milk during summer only (which milk was manufactured into cheese or butter), or kept for an equal supply all the year round (generally for consumption in towns). Since cheese seems to have been the main produce of Springs Farm during the 1850s, 60s, and 70s, it is assumed that management there was on a summer milking system. Under such a system the bull was put to the cows at the end of June or beginning of July, so that the calves would be born in the early spring. The cows could yield milk for nine or ten months, but the daily amount would eventually become too small to be worth the trouble. A period of three or four months rest allowed the cows to recuperate, and so milk better the following season. John Lamb's milk books indicate that there was a year round production at Crookboat, but the supply was not equal. Yields were lowest around March, rose to a peak in summer, and tailed off towards winter. Prices mirrored this cycle, with higher prices per gallon obtained when the yield was lower. Possibly the premium winter prices encouraged the Lambs to maintain year round production, but the income chart followed a similar pattern to the production chart, so that income was highest when production was greatest. McConnell considered the winter milk trade to be an unprofitable one since, to maintain yields in winter, a large quantity of rich and expensive feed was required. He estimated that if it cost four to five pounds to keep a cow in milk in summer, it would cost ten to twelve pounds to keep the same cow in milk in winter.<sup>327</sup> McConnell says that where cheese or butter was made, the quality of the milk was more important than the quantity but, for those

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<sup>326</sup> McConnell, P. (1887). "The Feeding and Management of Dairy Cows." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series**, vol. **XIX**: 200-215.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

in the new-milk trade, quantity was of greater importance than quality, and a slightly lower percentage of cream was acceptable to the consumer. Moreover:



**23. Crookboat Farm. The extent of the farm (shaded in pink) has been established from information given by Alec Lamb, and superimposed on an Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, sourced from Digimap<sup>328</sup>**

Milk which is consumed within a day or so of its production will have little time to develop bad flavours from the effects of particular kinds of food, as would be the case with butter or cheese.<sup>329</sup>

<sup>328</sup> © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2012). All rights reserved (County Series, First Revision, 1898).

<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

The feeding of dairy cows should reflect these factors and, McConnell believed that while oilcake was not as suitable as cotton cake, there was 'nothing to beat bean meal either for quantity, quality or flavour, and if it is mixed with ground oats, so much the better.'<sup>330</sup> Although both William Murdoch and Alexander Lamb noted payments for feed in their accounts, there is no indication of which animals received the feed, when, or in what form. Alexander's purchases in the 1880s and 90s cannot be directly related to the Crookboat herd in the 1860s and 70s, but he did buy both oil and cotton cake, along with treacle, peasemeal, and bran. Murdoch appears to have purchased considerably less oilcake, and considerably more bean meal than Lamb.

Since most of the Crookboat milk was sold as fresh milk, there would have been little whey on the farm. Some pigs were kept, but these may have been mainly for family use. Between 1886 and 1898, Lamb seems to have bought two to four pigs a year, although he does not mention buying any over the period 1889-1893. He mentions selling a pig in 1888, and then no more until 1895. Two pigs were sold in 1896 and 1897, and three were sold in 1898, so pigs were not an important source of income.

Crookboat was still a dairy farm in 1954, when Sir Alec Douglas-Home was selling off some of his Douglas holdings. Alec Lamb and his wife were able to negotiate the purchase of Crookboat Farm. Then they set about modernising the house and farm. Initially they increased the dairy herd but, some years later, with the restrictions to expansion imposed by the railway embankment, it was found impossible to increase the herd sufficiently to maintain profit levels, so the cows were sold, and production switched to sheep and beef. The railway lasted a century and, after it closed in 1965, Alec Lamb bought back the area within the farm boundaries, and made some restoration of the landscape. Another party acquired the station and yard. In 1984, Alec sold Crookboat Farm, and retired to Lanark

## Oxgang

Only six miles (as the crow flies) from Glasgow, Oxgang Farm was situated in the parish of Kirkintilloch.

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

## Kirkintilloch Parish

Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld Parishes formed the eastern, detached portion of Dunbartonshire, with the western side at Kirkintilloch Parish. The topography of Kirkintilloch is described in the N.S.A.

The parish constitutes a portion of the northern boundary of the great valley of the Forth and Clyde Canal ... The range of the Campsie Fells on the north, rising often to the height of 1500 feet, affords a friendly shelter from the biting winds of the north; so that the district, upon the whole, exhibits a happy combination of alpine wildness, and of pastoral simplicity; yet enjoying all the advantages of a rich and arable country.<sup>331</sup>

The account goes on to describe the various water courses in the parish, chief of which is the River Kelvin.

The Luggie, a tributary of the Kelvin, is the next stream of importance. It suddenly bursts up ... in the parish of Cumbernauld. After entering this parish at Dalshannan, it ... runs by Duntiblae and Oxgang, and joins the Kelvin to the north-west of the town of Kirkintilloch ... The banks are mostly low, ragged and ungainly, but near Oxgang and Duntiblae, they are high, imposing, and finely wooded. The Buthland Burn rises at Garnkirk, winds in a romantic manner around the fine old turreted mansion-house of Bedlay ... and finally loses itself in the Luggie at Oxgang ...

According to the O.S.A. for the Parish of Kirkintilloch 'a considerable diversity of soils was to be found in the district.'

Around the town of Kirkintilloch, the soil is a light black loam, 16 or 18 inches deep, on a reddish tilly bottom. A strong natural clay prevails through the southern, and the eastern parts of the parish. Tracts of moss, affording a black peat earth, are interspersed here and there, throughout the whole district.-Lime, coal, and freestone, are found in great abundance.<sup>332</sup>

The author of the N.S.A. disagreed over the quantity of coal, considering that the district was on the edge of the Scottish coal fields, and that the seams ran out before they reached the parish. Nevertheless, there were collieries in the district in the second half of the nineteenth century. With regard to soil, the author of the N.S.A. closely followed his predecessor, adding that the soils of the parish were less heavy and less inclined to clay than further south, and 'are upon the whole more grassy.'<sup>333</sup> Peter Turner junior remembered the soil of Oxgang Farm as a productive black loam

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<sup>331</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/>

<sup>332</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/>

<sup>333</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/>

and says that neither his father, nor any of the neighbouring farmers had problems with clay.

## Oxgang Estate

Excepting of the burgh lands, most of Kirkintilloch Parish was once held by the Fleming earls of Wigtown. Gradually the estate was dismembered, with the last portion of land sold off in 1757.<sup>334</sup> Because of this, according to the author of the Kirkintilloch report in the N.S.A., property in Kirkintilloch Parish had become 'very equally distributed, and is now in the hands of a great many proprietors.'<sup>335</sup> The extent of Oxgang Estate is given in the N.S.A. as 131 acres, with a rental of £387 per annum.<sup>336</sup> Thomas Brown, a partner in the firm of Baird and Brown, timber merchants of Port Dundas, Glasgow, purchased Oxgang Estate, shortly before his death in 1856.<sup>337</sup> By the terms of Brown's Will, his estate was placed under the care of two trustees: his widow, Mary Mudie, and his brother, William Brown. Mudie was to have use of the estate and to educate their son, Thomas Brown. This younger Thomas Brown achieved the age of majority in 1859, at which time he was accepted as a trustee, along with his mother and uncle, and was appointed estate factor. At the same time, a lease was drawn up between the trustees of the late Thomas Brown and young Thomas Brown granting the 'lands and farm of Oxgang as lately possessed by David and Robert Graham' to Thomas Brown, for twelve years from Martinmas 1858, at an annual rent of £150. The 1861 Census lists young Thomas Brown as a farmer of eighty acres, employing one man and one boy, and residing in Oxgang House with his mother.

An estate plan drawn up in 1815 does not show any farms as large as eighty acres. Rather, the estate was made up of a number of much smaller units. How and when these units were drawn together to form the late nineteenth century farms is unclear. Thomas Brown's lease suggests that he ousted two tenants (David and Robert Graham) to take control of a single unit farm. According to the 1851 Census report, farmer John Graham lived at Oxgang Mill and farmer David Graham lived at Oxgang, but the amount of land each of them farmed is not given. The author of the N.S.A. for

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<sup>334</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/>

<sup>335</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/8/193/>

<sup>336</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/8/193/>

<sup>337</sup> Records of Messrs. Newlands and Walker, Solicitors, TD 162/16, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

Kirkintilloch Parish mentions a flax mill (on twenty acres of land) at Fergushill.<sup>338</sup> In the late nineteenth century, 'Fergushill' was a field name at Oxgang Farm. So, perhaps this was the land farmed by John Graham. John Graham had a son, Robert, who may have been the Robert Graham mentioned in the Brown lease. Robert Graham was also listed as a farmer at Oxgang Mill in the 1841 and 1851 Census Reports, but in the 1861 and 1871 Reports, he was listed at a carter living in Hillhead Street, Kirkintilloch and, in 1881, he was listed as an agricultural labourer. David Graham, who farmed at Oxgang in 1851, was at Duntiblae (another farm on the Oxgang Estate) in 1861. Duntiblae had been advertised to let on a nineteen year lease, in May of 1858.<sup>339</sup> The farm was described as approximately fifty-two imperial acres, 'capable of bearing all kinds of crops, and well suited for dairy purposes'. Sealed offers were to be handed in to Oxgang House, and it is presumed that David Graham made a successful bid at this time. David Graham was the farmer of Duntiblae up to the time of his death in 1896.<sup>340</sup> The timing of David Graham's move to Duntiblae raises the question as to how much of Thomas Brown's plans he was aware. It is perhaps significant that a note at the end of the advertisement for Duntiblae informed readers that 'Oxgang Mill, as advertised in the *Herald* of the 14<sup>th</sup>, has been withdrawn.'<sup>341</sup> It may be that the Browns were clearing the way for Thomas Brown to take some of the estate farmland into his own hands. For David Graham, and Robert Graham, there was no possibility of renewal of their leases, and David Graham secured a lease on Duntiblae, while Robert Graham slipped down the social scale.

Thomas Brown did not see out his twelve year lease, as he was recorded deceased at a meeting of the trustees in November of 1869. The amount of interest Thomas Brown took in his farmland is questionable. According to an advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald*, in 1864, it was his mother that instructed an auctioneer 'to sell twenty-five acres of very heavy oats, six acres of excellent potatoes, and a good useful crossbred gelding.'<sup>342</sup> After the death of her son, Mary Mudie or Brown continued to demonstrate an interest in farming by entering cattle in the local shows.<sup>343</sup> Mary Mudie lived in Oxgang House until her death in 1883, after which Oxgang Estate was advertised for sale. In the advertisement, the estate was described as consisting of

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<sup>338</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Dumbarton/Kirkintilloch/8/199/>

<sup>339</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 21.5.1858.

<sup>340</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 2.9.1896.

<sup>341</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 21.5.1858.

<sup>342</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 10.8.1864.

<sup>343</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 21.6.1871, 24.6.1874.



around 194 imperial acres 'well adapted for farming, having convenient access both to the Kirkintilloch and Lenzie railway stations.'<sup>344</sup> However, the estate did not make the upset price of £20,000, and was eventually sold privately to James and David Gairdner, as trustees for their firm of James Gairdner and Sons, for £16,000. James Gardiner and Sons, coal masters, were proprietors of the minerals of the adjoining lands of Meiklehill and, since 1879, had held an eight year lease to the coal under Oxgang. The Meiklehill Estate Company of James and David Gardiner went into liquidation, and in 1909 Oxgang Estate was sold to another coal master, James Wood of Wallhouse in the parish of Torphicen, Linlithgowshire.

### Oxgang (or Kirkside) Farm



#### **24. Back Brae, Oxgang, looking east from Old Aisle Cemetery, 2009. Source - author**

Oxgang Farm was also known as Kirkside Farm, or Kirkside of Oxgang. Shortly after the death of Mary Mudie or Brown, a valuation report was compiled of Oxgang Estate, and Kirkside and Duntiblae were the only farms listed. According to the report authors:

Kirkside is a very good farm, with a complete modern steading. The land is good and in our opinion the rent is reasonable at £220. The steading of Duntiblae is suitable for the farm. Part of the land is of inferior quality and we think that the rent is too high. We consider £110 a fair rent for it.<sup>345</sup>

The 1851 Census tells us that the farmer at Kirkside was William Kirkwood, and that his farm was forty-two acres in extent. Kirkwood did not prosper, and later that year his goods were subject to a warrant sale.<sup>346</sup> When the farm of Kirkside of Oxgang was advertised for let in September of 1851,<sup>347</sup> it was described as extending to 'about thirty-two Scotch acres of good arable land,' and 'capable of much improvement by draining and otherwise.' Careful examination of the 1861 Census for Enumeration

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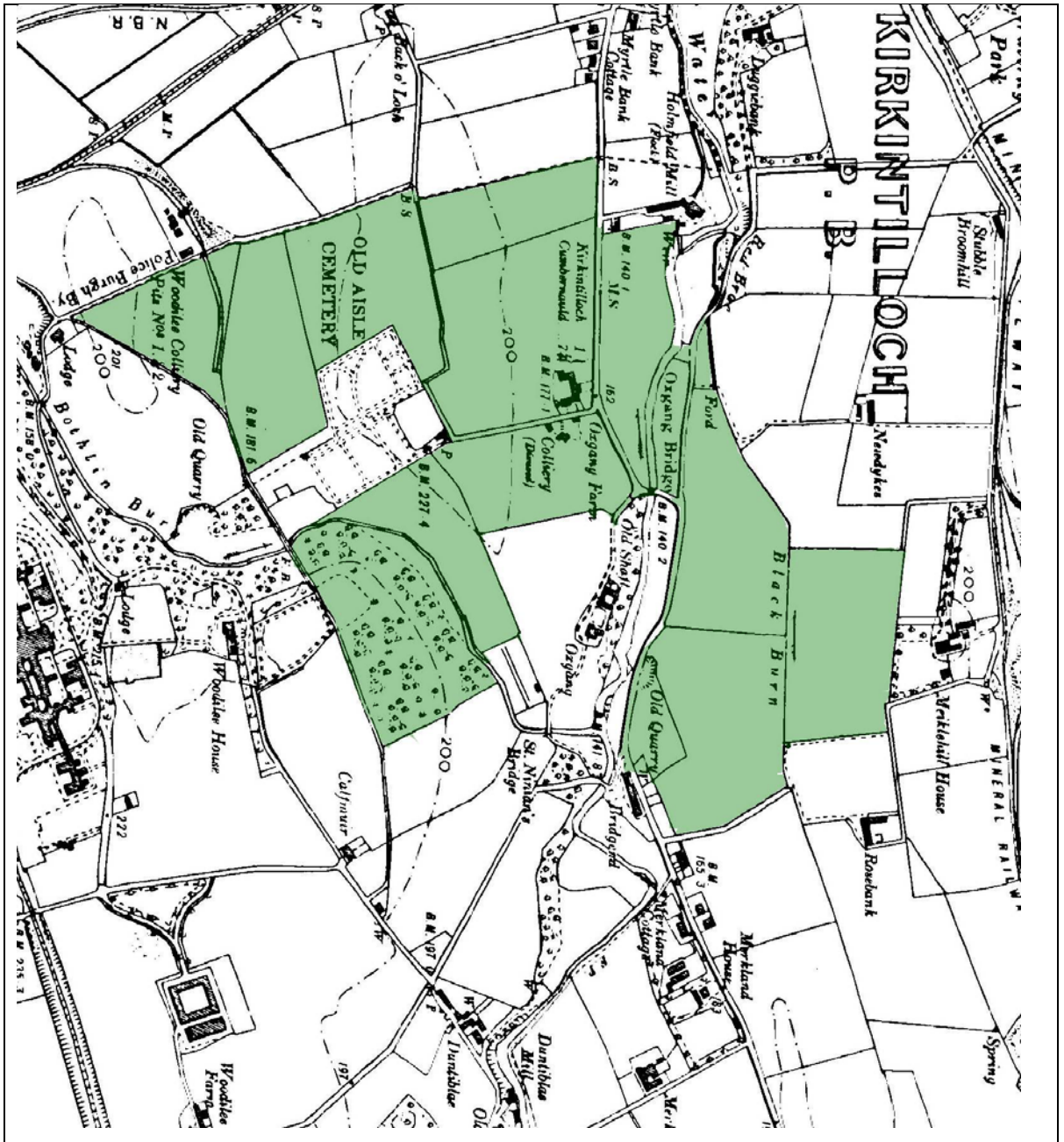
<sup>344</sup> Records of Messrs. Newlands and Walker, Solicitors, TD 162/16, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

<sup>345</sup> Records of Messrs. Newlands and Walker, Solicitors, TD 162/16, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

<sup>346</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 13.6.1851.

<sup>347</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 12.9.1851.

District 11, of Kirkintilloch Parish revealed only one household with an address of 'Oxgang' (that of Mary Mudie or Brown), and only one household with an address of 'Kirkside', which was the household of Andrew Parratt, ploughman.

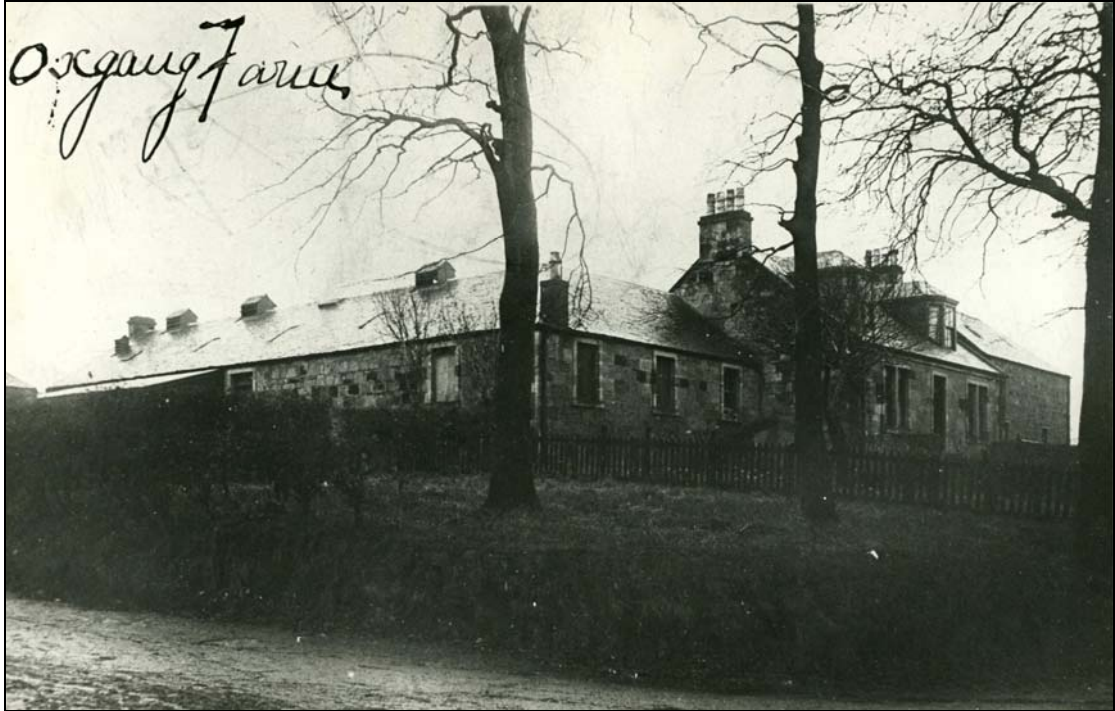


**25. Oxgang Farm.** The extent of the farm (shaded in green) is based on information provided by Peter Turner junior, and superimposed on the same Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, used for the Oxgang Neighbouring Map at the rear of the thesis, and sourced from Digimap.<sup>348</sup>

This leads to the supposition that there was no farmer living at Kirkside, at that time, because the farmer was Thomas Brown, and he was living in Oxgang House. No

<sup>348</sup> © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2012). All rights reserved (Lanarkshire, First Revision, 1899).

Kirkside tenant is mentioned, in the records of the trustees, as being displaced by the younger Thomas Brown's 1859 lease, but Kirkside may have formed part of the land rearranged as a single unit by the Browns. Kirkside did go from thirty-two Scotch acres in the 1851 advertisement to eighty-four acres in the 1877 lease.<sup>349</sup>



**26. Oxgang Farm steading, Turner of Oxgang Collection, East Dunbartonshire Libraries, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch**

The 1871 Census lists Duncan McCorkindale, farm overseer as resident at Kirkside. The presence of a farm overseer rather than a tenant farmer suggests that the farm was under more direct control of the landlords. In a lease, dated 1877,<sup>350</sup> between the trustees of the late Thomas Brown and James Turner, Turner was described as 'Farmer Kirkside Oxgang', suggesting that he already had tenure of the farm. Since McCorkindale was at the farm in 1871, this would make for a short initial lease, but perhaps the 1877 lease was James Turner's first lease, and he initially came to Kirkside as a farm overseer like McCorkindale. The 1877 lease granted Turner and his heirs:

... all and whole the Farm of Kirkside as presently occupied by the said James Turner but excepting and excluding therefrom that field containing two acres or thereby let to the Woodilee Asylum; and the two pieces of ground extending to eight and a half acres or thereby sold to the Cemetery of the Parish of Kirkintilloch, the said farm under the foresaid exceptions

<sup>349</sup> Copy of Lease between the Trustees of the late Thomas Brown, Esq. and James Turner, Turner Collection, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>350</sup> Turner Collection, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

extending to about eighty four acres ... during the space of nineteen years ... and whereas the first party have agreed to erect a new farm steading in lieu of the present one ... the first party bind themselves to proceed with the erection thereof on the site selected by them and according to the plans prepared by Mr Robert Stevenson Architect, Glasgow...<sup>351</sup>

The new farm steading referred to was presumably the 'complete new steading' mentioned in the later evaluation of the Estate. A few courses of one wall at the junction of Waterside Road and Old Aisle Road are all that remain.

When Archibald MacNeilage gathered material for a survey of 'typical' farms in the West of Scotland in 1905-6,<sup>352</sup> he reported that Dunbartonshire encompassed a considerable diversity of agricultural practice, and gave examples of 'typical' farms such as Kessington in New Kilpatrick. That farm comprised 210 imperial acres of which 135 were arable and the rest pasture. It was a dairy farm with a stock of sixty-five milk cows. In order to keep up production of milk year round the herd was a 'flying' one. This was a practice that occurred in farms around large centres of population where there was a constant demand for liquid milk. Little or no breeding was carried out; instead, cows were bought and sold as required. Management seems to have been similar, although on a smaller scale, at Oxgang. In the agricultural returns prepared by Peter Turner in June of 1934,<sup>353</sup> he records one bull, twenty cows in milk, one in calf and one feeding. Peter Turner junior recalls that there were usually twenty to twenty-four milk cows on the farm and that, while his father did rear some female calves, most of the milk cows were bought in. Evidence from the Turner Diaries reveals that the Turners bought and sold cows in ones and twos throughout the year. Sometimes Turner specifically mentions that a cow bought in had recently calved or was about to calf.<sup>354</sup> It was essential for continuous equal production throughout the year that calving be widely spaced, so that some cows achieve their peak production while others were going dry. Sometimes the cows were bought from other local farmers,<sup>355</sup> sometimes they were bought at farm sales,<sup>356</sup> but very often they were bought or sold at Milngavie, New Kilpatrick, where there seems to have been a regular sale.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Lease of Oxgang Farm, Turner Collection, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>352</sup> MacNeilage, A. (1909). "Typical Farms in the West of Scotland." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland XXI(fifth series).

<sup>353</sup> Diaries of Peter Turner, July 1932 to April 1936, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>354</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database." 29 November 1907, 14 August 1897.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid. 2 February 1902.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid. 26 April 1902.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid. 26 October 1897.

Both Crookboat and Oxgang supplied fresh milk to Glasgow,<sup>358</sup> but management of the respective herds was not the same. Production at Crookboat was continuous, but rose and fell. There are no milk production statistics available for Oxgang, but Peter Turner junior recalled that milk production was fairly steady throughout the year.<sup>359</sup> Like Murdoch and Lamb, Turner does not state directly what feed was given to the cows, and some of the purchased feeds would be given to the farm horses, but the feedstuffs mentioned in the diaries do supply a list of possibilities. Maize, oats, bran, bean meal, cake, cabbages, treacle, and brewery refuse were brought to Oxgang. Oats, wheat, cabbage, potatoes, and turnip were all grown at Oxgang, but there was little cultivation of barley, and mangolds were only mentioned 1905-07. Turner supplied Max Craig, cowkeeper, with hay, straw, turnip, and cabbage, and received dung in return. A number of Grahams are mentioned in the diaries, and it is not always possible to distinguish between them, but there is specific reference to David Graham, butcher, and A. Graham, cowkeeper. On the 19 January 1891 Turner wrote that he shot a bull and took it to the slaughterhouse for D. Graham. He supplied D. Graham with hay and corn. A. Graham was supplied with hay, potatoes, and turnips, and, like M. Craig, he returned dung.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Kirkintilloch was served by both railway and canal, and the railway connected with canal at the basin harbour. Around 1835, the Forth and Clyde Canal company introduced 'waggon boats.' These vessels were fitted with rails and turning plates so that loaded railway wagons could be run directly onto their decks, and run off again at various sidings along the canal. Similarly, 'cart-boats' moved back and forth along the canal collecting carts of produce from farmers.<sup>360</sup> In his diaries, Turner makes a number of references to receiving goods from the canal basin (depicted on Oxgang Neighbouring Map at the back of the thesis), between 1890 and 1897. The references to 'waggons' continue through to 1907, but there is no indication, that any of these wagons, were connected with the canal. Six of the references indicate that the wagons were 'from station,' and references to 'station' also continue through to 1907. It would appear that rail was the preferred transport option by 1900. The Turners received feed, fertilisers, and equipment via the station, but the only produce Turner mentioned going to the

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<sup>358</sup> Latterly Oxgang supplied Kirkintilloch dairies, McGuire, D. E. (2003). Interview with Peter Turner, University of Glasgow.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Martin, D. (1976). The Monkland & Kirkintilloch Railway. Glasgow, Strathkelvin District Libraries.

station was potatoes and wheat. The Turners had a van with which to transport milk,<sup>361</sup> but this does not exclude Oxgang milk from conveyance by rail or canal, since something would be needed to transport it between farm and station, or basin.

In December 1920 James Wood sold Oxgang Farm to Peter Turner and neighbouring Rosebank (90-95 acres) to sitting tenant, Robert Stewart.<sup>362</sup> A few weeks later, in January of 1921, he sold Duntiblae Farm to the sitting tenants. Peter Turner bought his farm with the intention of passing it on to one of his sons, but none of his sons wanted to become farmers, so he sold most of the land to the Department of Agriculture in 1935. On the land that he reserved, he built a bungalow for his own use, and continued to work a plot. Next to the bungalow, he built a garage, where his sons operated a car sales and service business for many years. The Department of Agriculture divided the farm up into small-holdings, but these were eventually built over in the expansion of the town of Kirkintilloch, although the steep sides of the Back Brae remain undeveloped. Kirkintilloch is now largely a dormitory town for Glasgow, but in the nineteenth century it was an industrial town inhabited by weavers, miners, and foundry workers. Oxgang Farm was situated just east of the town. As a single unit, the farm had only a short history but, according to Peter Turner's son, it broke his father's heart to see the farm dismembered.



**27. A church now occupies the site of Oxgang Steading. Source – author.**

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<sup>361</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 1, ID no 494, 21 April 1892.

<sup>362</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Local News, 22 December 1920.

## Summary

Each of the farms had its own evolution but Oxbang is the only one no longer in existence. In the nineteenth century, Oxbang was part of a small estate belonging to a merchant family, while Hatton and Crookboat were under more aristocratic ownership. It has been suggested, in this chapter, that the character and disposition of the landowners had an impact upon the development of agriculture on land under their control, and that their tenants sometimes resented the impositions of landlords, and the credit given to them for improving farming. Praise of landlords in the O.S.A. and N.S.A. has to be treated with caution since the Church of Scotland ministers, who compiled the reports, were generally writing about their principal heritor and person responsible for their appointment. While it is reasonable to suppose that landlord and tenant both had a part to play, notice should also be given to estate factors, who stood between landlord and tenant. Whether or not the laird was an absentee, it was the factor that the tenants had access to, and it was the factor who told the landlord what needed to be done, and saw that it was carried out. The impact of factors would be a revealing research project, and estate papers contain evidence of their role, but due to time constraints, and the need to maintain focus on farming families, the contribution of factors is noted, but not pursued, within this thesis.

## Chapter Five,

### Five Families

Following on from the investigation, in Chapter Four, of the four principal farms, Chapter Five explores the families associated with those farms. Census Reports are a very fruitful source for mapping families, particularly when these can be used in conjunction with other official sources, such as Old Parish Registers, Statutory Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths, and Wills and Inventories. The published volumes of Confirmations and Inventories are a ready source of information on where and when people died, and hint at their circumstances by including address and valuations. Naming conventions are also helpful. In the period under study convention dictated that the first son be named after his paternal grandfather, the second son after his maternal grandfather, and the third son after his father. The eldest daughter was to be named after her maternal grandmother, and so on. When trying to find the family of Annie McHarrie, mother of Catherine Park Snodgrass, I searched the volumes of Confirmations and Inventories for a Catherine Park, and found that Snodgrass was indeed named after her maternal grandmother. From information in the Confirmations and Inventories, I was able to locate Catherine Park in Census Reports, which gave me an approximate date and place of birth. Reasoning that Catherine Park might well have had farming connections, I checked her birth parish of Erskine Parish, and identified Snodgrass' grandmother as the daughter of Robert Park and Anne Scott of Hatton Farm. Thus, in order of research, the family came before the farm.

In order to establish clearly the identities of female members of the farming families, the Scottish legal convention of naming women primarily by their maiden name and giving their married name as an alternative has been adopted, unless quoting a source. Hence, Snodgrass' grandmother began life as Catherine Park. Upon her first marriage she became known legally as Catherine Park or McHarrie and, after her second marriage, her identity was Catherine Park or McHarrie or Maclachlan. In order to make family relationships and connections clear and comprehensible, a series of fold-out family trees are presented at the back of the thesis.



## The Parks of Hatton

Robert Park and Catherine Cleland or Park migrated from the middle ward of Lanarkshire to the more productive land of north Renfrewshire sometime between 1823 and 1825.<sup>363</sup> The 1841 Census lists Robert Park as a farmer at Glenshinnoch, on the Erskine Estate, but does not give any information regarding what part of Glenshinnoch he farmed, nor the extent of his holding. Robert and Catherine's eldest three children were married by this time, and three more had died young, but Robert, John, and Helen, were living with their parents. The eldest child, William Park, had married Elizabeth McNeil, of Erskine Parish, in 1838,<sup>364</sup> and the couple were farming across the Clyde, in Old Kilpatrick Parish. The second child, Jean Park, married John Fulton in 1829. Census Reports indicate that John Fulton farmed at Kainhill, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire, but it seems that Fulton was dead by the time of the 1881 Census as, at that time, Jean Park or Fulton was living in the household of her daughter Jessie, in Bonhill, Dunbartonshire. Jean was described as a 'retired farmer's wife', and Jessie's husband, was chemist John Hyde Christie (1836-1926) who eventually became general manager of, and a partner in, the major dye firm, John Orr Ewing and Company.<sup>365</sup> By the time of the 1891 Census Jean Park or Fulton was living with the family of another of her daughters, in Kilbarchan. This son-in-law, Hugh Crawford, was a horse dealer who had done business with Jean's younger brother, Robert Park of Hatton.

The third child of Robert Park and Catherine Cleland or Park was a Catherine Park. In 1834 she married Alexander Arneil and, by 1841 they were farming at Longhaugh, east of Bishopton. The Old Parish Register for Erskine records the births of seven children to them, between 1836 and 1845. By the time of the 1851 Census, both Alexander Arneil and Robert Park were dead, and their widows were living together at Puddockrigg, Erskine, where Catherine Cleland or Park was described as head of household and a farmer of fourteen acres. The other members of the household were Catherine Park or Arneil's two youngest children, Alexander Arneil and Margaret Arneil. At only fourteen acres, Puddockriggs would not have been large enough to support an extensive household, and the Arneil family had split. Catherine Park or Arneil's eldest child, fifteen year old Catherine Arneil, was working as a housemaid at

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<sup>363</sup> OPR Erskine.

<sup>364</sup> OPR Erskine, microfilm copy in Mitchell Library.

<sup>365</sup> [http://www.nahste.ac.uk/cgi-bin/view\\_isad.pl?id=GB-0248-UGD-013&view=basic](http://www.nahste.ac.uk/cgi-bin/view_isad.pl?id=GB-0248-UGD-013&view=basic).

the mansion of Park Erskine. The second child, thirteen year old James Arneil, was working on the Old Kilpatrick farm of his uncle, William Park. The third child, Robert Arneil, may have died young. The twins were ten and a half at the time of the 1851 Census. Jean was living in the household of her aunt, Helen Park or Wilson, where she was described as a scholar and niece of the head of household. Isabella was listed at the farm of Corsebar, in nearby Paisley Abbey Parish. Her relationship to the head of household, eighty year old James Arneil, was given as 'servant.' As the name of James' wife was Isabel, and since young Isabella's eldest brother was called James, naming convention suggests that James and Isabel were Isabella's paternal grandparents. By 1861 Catherine Park or Arneil was living with her daughters; Catherine, Isabella, Jean, and Margaret, and her son Alexander, in the Gorbals, Glasgow. There is a clothing theme to the employment of the children. Alexander was a linen draper, Catherine was a boot and shoe saleswoman, Isabella was a milliner, Jean was a shawl fringer, and Margaret was a straw bonnet maker. There is no evidence that Catherine Park or Arneil ever returned to farming life. The 1881 Census found her in her sixties, and living with one woman lodger in Dennistoun, in the eastern part of Glasgow. Her son, Alexander, was listed as a sewing machine mechanic, living in Bridgeton, Glasgow, in the 1881 Census, and in the 1891 Census he was listed as a sewing machine fitter, living in Clydebank, a town famed world-wide for the manufacture of sewing machines. He does not appear to have married. Of the daughters, Isabella may not have married, and may have been the 'Bella Arneil' employed as a housekeeper, in Kinning Park, Glasgow, in 1901.

John Park, was listed as farmer at West Glenshinnoch in every Census from 1851 to 1891. Although the 1841 Census listed the Parks at Glenshinnoch, without specifying east or west, it seems likely that John Park succeeded his father. According to Census Reports, John had three sons and six daughters. He died in December 1897 but, as he is described in his Will as 'sometime Farmer, residing at The Cottage, Glenshinnoch'<sup>366</sup>, it seems that he had retired and turned the farm over to his third son, William. William Park was recorded as the farmer of West Glenshinnoch in 1901. The extent of West Glenshinnoch Farm is variously described in the Census Reports as 170 acres in 1851, 160 acres in 1861, and 200 acres in 1881. In 1881 John Park was said to employ three men, three women, and two boys. In this Census there were no non-family household members listed at West Glenshinnoch, but there were three

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<sup>366</sup> N.A.S. SC58/45/9, Paisley Sheriff Court Wills.

adult daughters, and one adult son. John's eldest son, Robert, had left Glenshinnoch by 1871, and he is mentioned below. The second son, John, was still at Glenshinnoch at the time of the 1871 Census but, by the time of the 1881 Census he was the farmer of 160 acres at Gilston, Polmont, Stirlingshire. He was unmarried at this time and had two of his sisters living with him. Janet Park, the elder sister, was described as a housekeeper, and Annie, aged sixteen was described as a scholar. By the time of the 1891 Census, John was married with four children, and his sisters were no longer at Gilston. John's wife, Marion Gilmour was born in Inchinnan, so the couple may have known each other before John moved to Polmont. In 1891 Marion's mother, another Marion, was living with them. According to the Confirmations and Inventories, John was the farmer of Gilston (with his son, John alongside him) at the time of his death in 1924.

Robert Park and Catherine Cleland or Park's youngest child, Helen Park, married Alexander Wilson, from Neilston, Renfrewshire, in 1849, and, at the time of the 1851 Census, they were farming in Kilbarchan Parish. By the time of the 1861 Census, they were farming at Langfaulds, in New Kilpatrick Parish, and there was still a family presence there in 1901. Alexander died in January of 1900,<sup>367</sup> and some of the children had left home by 1901 Census, but Helen Park or Wilson, at seventy-one years of age, was described as farmer and head of household at Langfaulds. Her son, Robert, was described as a farmer's son employed on the farm. Helen's eldest and youngest daughters were there and were described as farmer's daughters employed on the farm.



**28. Laigh Hatton farmhouse,  
photographed by John Cross in  
1984. Source - Willie Cross.**

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<sup>367</sup> N.A.S. SC65/34/47 Dumbarton Sheriff Court

Robert Park and Catherine Cleland's middle son, Robert Park, married Ann Scott, daughter of Walter Scott, who farmed at Greenland Farm, Old Kilpatrick. Robert was listed as a farmer at the farm of High Hatton, Erskine, in both the 1851 and 1861 Census Reports, and his time at High and Laigh Hatton has been mentioned in Chapter Four. Robert died in 1870, and it was his widow, Ann Scott or Park, who was described as the head of household in 1871. It would seem that Robert Park was a successful farmer. He must have managed High Hatton well enough to convince his landlord, or his landlord's factor, that he was capable of running both farms, and his Inventory suggests that his finances were in a healthy state at the time of his death. He had £307 in a current account, held two bank receipts for the sums of £629, and £1233, and the money owing to him by various parties amounted to £732. His personal estate was valued at £3958.<sup>368</sup> Census Reports indicate that Robert Park had two sons, but the elder, Robert, is only mentioned in the 1861 Census, so he may have died young.

The younger son, Walter Scott Park, was still a child at the time of his father's death, and this death may have been unexpected, as no Will was subsequently registered. However, Walter's mother 'entered upon the possession and management' of her late husband's 'personal or movable estate as Executor qua relict' (in her capacity as widow).<sup>369</sup> In 1871, Ann Scott or Park's household at Laigh Hatton included a farm manager, Robert Park, who may have been the eldest son of John Park of West Glenshinnoch. Robert wed Ann's daughter, Jane Park, and the couple went to New Zealand, where their son, John Park, was born around 1881, and where Robert was a farm manager.<sup>370</sup> At the time of the 1881 Census, there was no farm manager listed in the household at Laigh Hatton. By that time Walter Park was an adult and was listed as farmer of 405 acres, and head of household. Ann Scott or Park, who would have been around sixty by this time, was still living on the farm. As Walter was unmarried, it is likely that his mother continued to have a pivotal role on the farm. One of Ann Scott or Park's four daughters was also resident on the farm at this time. According to the 1871 Census Report, a fever had rendered this Ann Park deaf and dumb. In 1885 Walter married Helen Wilson who, Census data suggests, may have been the daughter of James Wilson, farmer of Boghall, in the Renfrewshire parish of Houston and Killellan. Ann Scott or Park may have taken the marriage of her son as a

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<sup>368</sup> N.A.S. SC58/42/38, Paisley Sheriff Court.

<sup>369</sup> N.A.S. SC58/42/38.

<sup>370</sup> N.A.S. SC58/45/11.

signal to retire, and make way for a new mistress of the farm. According to Ann's Will, it was in 1885 that she acquired the title to a house, in Bishopton, known as Parkgrove.<sup>371</sup>

When Bishopton Railway station was built, it was constructed some distance away from the existing houses in the village of Bishopton, and the site may have been chosen so that the surrounding land could be developed into the kind of housing in demand by middle class Glasgow residents seeking to move from the overcrowded city to the clean air of the countryside, while maintaining ready access to the city. Parkgrove would have met these criteria. At the time of the 1891 Census, Ann Scott or Park was living at Parkgrove along with two of her daughters; Ann Park (who remained unmarried), and Jane Park or Park. All three women were described, in the Census, as 'living on private means.' Jane's husband, Robert Park, had died, and Jane had returned from New Zealand, with her young son, who was another member of the Parkgrove household. Visiting on the night of the Census was Ann Scott or Park's eight year old grand-daughter, Mary Scott. Ann Scott or Park died in 1899, and her personal estate was valued at £1174. As executors of her Will, Ann Scott or Park named her son, Walter, and the only son-in-law she had when the Will was drawn up, John Scott of Cardross (husband of Mary Park). Investigation of the 1891 Census suggests that John Scott was a drysalter who was born around 1853 in Bowling, Old Kilpatrick. The surname 'Scott,' and the Old Kilpatrick birthplace suggest that John Scott may have been a relative of his mother-in-law, Ann Scott or Park. However, as there were many Scotts living in that area in the second half of the nineteenth century, the relationship might not have been very close. In her Will, dated 1888, Ann Scott or Park made particular mention of her female descendents.

And with regard to such of the foregoing provisions and any provisions that may be made by me in any codicils hereto as are in favour of or may fall to females the same shall be exclusive always of the jus mariti and right of administration of their respective husbands and shall not be affectable by the debts or deeds of such husbands nor subject to the diligence of their creditors ...<sup>372</sup>

Special provision was made for the two daughters living with her. Ann Park and Jane Park or Park were to have the cottage of Parkgrove, with all the furnishings and plenishings, rent free, for the term of their lives, providing neither of them married. Both were listed at Parkgrove in the 1901 Census as was Jane's son, John, who was

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<sup>371</sup> N.A.S. SC58/45/11.

<sup>372</sup> N.A.S. SC58/45/11

described as an apprentice seed merchant. Ann Park was still resident at Parkgrove at the time of her death, in 1927. Jane Park or Park did not remarry, but she did leave Parkgrove to live with her son in Ayr (where John Park was a customs officer) and died in 1933.<sup>373</sup>

In her Will, Ann Scott or Park referred to her daughter, Catherine Park, as the widow of John McHarrie. The 1871 Census records twenty-seven year old John McHarrie as a master baker, in Dumbarton. He died in 1880, leaving estate valued at £1,388, and his executrix was Catherine Park or McHarrie.<sup>374</sup> In the 1881 Census Catherine P. McHarrie was described as a baker, in Dumbarton, employing seven men and four boys. It seems that, when McHarrie died, Catherine took over the business, although this would not necessarily have involved actual baking on her part. The household included her eight year old daughter, Annie Scott McHarrie. By the time of the 1891 Census, Catherine Park or McHarrie had remarried, and Catherine and Annie were to be found in Helensburgh, where Catherine was married to Dugald Maclachlan, baker. Maclachlan too had been married before, and the household included three of his children. As Annie McHarrie was growing up in Helensburgh, Peter Lennox Snodgrass was growing up at nearby Milligs Farm. As mentioned in Chapter One, Peter and Annie married, and took a lease on Hopefield Farm, in Cockpen, Midlothian. When Catherine Park or McHarrie or Maclachlan died, in 1913, she was recorded as being resident at the house in Helensburgh, which she shared with her husband; however, her death occurred at Hopefield.<sup>375</sup>

## The Murdochs of Springs

William Murdoch (father of the writer of the Springs accounts) was born in Ochiltree Parish in 1783 and was a farm servant who rose to become a tenant farmer. He worked in Kilwinning Parish for the term May-November 1807, obtaining a testimonial of his good character in Kilwinning dated 2 November 1807,<sup>376</sup> and was living in the parish of Stair at the time of his marriage to Ann Steel, of Mauchline Parish,<sup>377</sup> in December of 1816.<sup>378</sup> When their son, William junior, was born

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<sup>373</sup> Confirmations and Inventories

<sup>374</sup> Confirmations and Inventories

<sup>375</sup> Confirmations and Inventories.

<sup>376</sup> Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.

<sup>377</sup> Testimonial, 1815, Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.

<sup>378</sup> Old Parish Records, Stair.

(February 1818) the couple were living in the parish of Stair, and Murdoch was described as a farm servant at High Dalmore.<sup>379</sup> Between 1818 and 1829, four more births were recorded for William and Ann at Stair. In each case, the address given was Dalmore, although the designation varies. In 1820 Murdoch was a 'farm servant,' in 1823 he was a 'labourer,' and in 1825 and 1829 he was a 'ploughman.' The family left Stair around 1832.<sup>380</sup> Perhaps, it was at this time that Murdoch took a lease on a farm of his own as his daughter, Margaret, was born in Tarbolton Parish around 1833 and, by the time of the 1841 Census, Murdoch was the farmer of Midton of Enterkine, Tarbolton.

William Murdoch's son, William Murdoch junior, became the first Murdoch of Springs Farm when he took a lease from John Hamilton of Sundrum in 1848. The lease was witnessed by William senior, who was described as 'formerly in Midton of Enterkine.' The household at Midton, in 1841, included Ann Steel, twenty-one year old William junior, two young daughters (Sarah and Margaret), and eighteen year old farm servant Jean Martin. This household was reconstructed at Springs, as William junior had married Jean Martin, and his parents and sisters moved in with them. In 1848 William senior would have been in his late fifties, and he died in February of 1851. His chief asset at his time of death seems to have been a sum of £266 deposited in the Union Bank of Scotland in Ayr, 'in favour of Ann Steel and her daughters, Sarah and Margaret Murdoch.'<sup>381</sup> With William junior established at Springs, William senior's concern seems to have been for his wife and two unmarried daughters.

According to the 1851 Census report, William Murdoch junior, as the farmer of Springs, employed two labourers and two women. The household included two male farm servants, and the two women employed were presumably, Sarah and Margaret Murdoch. By the time of the 1861 Census, Sarah Murdoch had married Archibald Mair, farmer of the 150 acre farm of Craigbrae, a few miles south of Springs. According to that Census, William Murdoch employed five people. His eldest child (another William) was going on eighteen at the time of this Census. Young Willie's occupation was given as 'farmer's son,' and his eldest two sisters, who had also left school, were both described as 'farmer's daughter.' Margaret Murdoch was listed as 'housemaid' in 1861, and her brother noted a payment of two pounds in wages to

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<sup>379</sup> O.P.R., Stair.

<sup>380</sup> Testimonial for over ten years at Stair, 1832, Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.

<sup>381</sup> N.A.S. SCG/44/35 Ayr Sheriff Court Inventories.

Margaret in May of 1862. William Murdoch paid some bills for Margaret, but he kept account and there are notes of the amounts she repaid him. Ploughman John Dickson, the only non-family member of the household listed, brings the employee count up to five.



**29. Dresser and chair purchased by William Murdoch senior, in 1816, and later used at Springs Farm. Model wearing Murdoch Sunday bonnet, dating from 1840s. All items donated to Tarbolton Bachelors' Club by William Murdoch Thomson. Source - author, courtesy of the National Trust for Scotland**

Entries in Murdoch's accounts relating to funeral expenses, suggest that Ann Steel died early in 1869. Murdoch does seem to have looked after his mother. He gave her a home, his accounts show occasional payments of small sums of money to her, and in September of 1862 he paid for a chair for her. Expenditure on the children was mostly on footwear and clothing, but Murdoch paid for dancing lessons for his children when they were as young as eight.<sup>382</sup> Apart from the 1863 reference 'to Jessie 1 month music',<sup>383</sup> the only reference to music is to 'music teaching' in 1857,<sup>384</sup> which might refer to Jessie or one of her older siblings.

<sup>382</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2009). Murdoch Accounts Database, University of Glasgow. Expenditure Table, ID Nos. 48, 501, 1185, 1465.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID No. 1851

<sup>384</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID No. 1304



The eldest child, Willie, was eleven when first referred to in the accounts, and in his mid-forties by the close of volume four. It can be seen from a table in Appendix Six that his father paid for his clothes throughout. Oral history indicates that it was common for the sons and daughters of farmers not to receive wages from their parents. Parents would see to their children's needs, and give them money as they saw fit.<sup>385</sup> Although there is no indication that Willie ever worked anywhere other than Springs Farm, there is no indication that his father paid him wages. It was a family enterprise with a family income. From the entry for 10 December, 1875, 'Willie paid small sums £2,'<sup>386</sup> it would appear that Willie took care of some expenses, and his father reimbursed him. Murdoch also paid Willie's expenses in attending the Glasgow Show of 1867,<sup>387</sup> and there are occasional references to payments of cash to Willie, but no indication of a regular allowance. However, young William eventually had a joint current account with his father.<sup>388</sup>

Specific references to the second child, Marion, begin in 1858, shortly before she was thirteen, and stop in 1870. There were a number of cash payments to Marion at irregular intervals, and Marion seems to have spent money in Ayr. Thomson has described how his grandmother, Mary Ann Murdoch, periodically walked to Ayr to purchase items for the farm.<sup>389</sup> Possibly Mary Ann and her sister, Marion, took turns at this task, and the money Marion spent in Ayr represents household rather than personal expenses. In 1870 Marion married farmer George McCartney. Census information indicates that McCartney lived on at least three different farms before 1871, when he and Marion were living on the farm of Wraithill in the parish of Stair. George's father, John was listed as the farmer and head of household, and George's two elder brothers were also part of the household. By the time of the 1881 Census there were five McCartney children at Wraithill. By 1891 both George and his father were gone, but Marion remained at Wraithill with her two brothers-in-law.

In August of 1867, when Murdoch's son, James, was thirteen, Murdoch made a payment of twelve shillings and sixpence for 'James Murdoch Entry to Aurther Currie & Co.,'<sup>390</sup> presumably this was some kind of apprenticeship. According to *The*

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<sup>385</sup> Jamieson, L. and C. Toynbee (2000). Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

<sup>386</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database. Expenditure Table, ID No. 1133

<sup>387</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID No. 509

<sup>388</sup> NAS, Ayr Sheriff Court Inventories SCG/44/54, William Murdoch.

<sup>389</sup> (1985). Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>390</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database. Expenditure Table, ID No. 520.

*Ayrshire Directory* 1851-52,<sup>391</sup> the firm of Arthur, Currie & Co., mercers and drapers, had premises in Winton Buildings, Ayr. James eventually became a storekeeper in Victoria, Western Cape colony, Africa.<sup>392</sup> Murdoch's daughter Sarah, or Sally, became a ladies' maid at Sundrum House, working for Katherine Hamilton, wife of her father's landlord, John Hamilton. After the death of John Hamilton, his widow left Sundrum House to live at nearby Cushats, and Sarah Murdoch was there with her at the time of the 1901 Census.

At the time of the 1871 Census, no non-family members were listed in the Murdoch household at Springs, and William was described as employing his own family. Of the children of William Murdoch and Jean Martin resident at Springs, at the time of the 1871 Census, four, William, Mary Ann, Jessie, and Elizabeth, were adult. It would appear that there were enough dairymaids without William's sister, Margaret, who was listed, in the 1871 Census, as a dairymaid at Craighrae, the farm of her brother-in-law, Archibald Mair. Despite the family connection, Margaret's relationship to the head of household (Archibald) was described as 'servant,' suggesting that Margaret was employed on a wage earning basis. The duration of Margaret Murdoch's stay at Craighrae is not known. Murdoch jotted down in his account book a list of names which he headed 'List of Sister Maggie's sweethearts,' and mentioned that Margaret was due to marry on 15 June 1875. He claimed that the list, which he concluded with the name of her fiancé, was compiled from letters he found in Margaret's room, and does not suggest that it is exhaustive. Murdoch noted a name or a location next to each name, and these designations probably reflect the status of the beaux in 1875, rather than at the time of the relationships. Margaret Murdoch would have been about forty-two by 1875, so she would have had time to pursue a number of relationships. Possibly intended as material for a wedding speech, the list of sweethearts gives a clearer, more human face to the web of connections (business, social and emotional) that bound together rural communities in West Central Scotland during the study period. A search against the names in the Census Reports has produced some probable identities.

Number one on the list is Matthew Mair, who Murdoch describes as a carrier from Tarbolton. There was indeed a Matthew Mair, carrier, who lived in Tarbolton in 1861, and appears to have been unmarried at that time. He is mentioned in

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<sup>391</sup> *The Ayrshire Directory 1851-52*, printed and published at the offices of the *Ayr Advertiser*, Ayr, 1851.

<sup>392</sup> NAS, Ayr Sheriff Court Wills SC6/46/22.

Murdoch's accounts, as a customer. Having been born around 1812 he would have been significantly older than Margaret Murdoch. The second name was Matthew Anderson, whom Murdoch describes as a clerk, but about whom I have no further information. Next was another Mair, Robert, who may have been an elder brother of Maggie's sister Sarah's husband, Archibald Mair. Archibald certainly had a brother Robert, born around 1818, and resident at Craigbrae in 1841. By 1861 this Robert Mair had a lease on his own hundred acre farm in the parish of Stair, and was married with three children.

The fourth name on the list was Andrew Borland, for whom Murdoch gives an address of Leeds, England. There was an Andrew Borland resident in Leeds, Yorkshire at the time of the 1861 Census. However, he was born in Scotland around 1828 so, if he was one of Maggie's beaux, they may have courted before he went to England. By 1861 he was married with an infant son, and was working as a draper. The drapery business seems to have provided stop gap employment for some members of the farming community in the nineteenth century, and 'Scotch draper' was a name given, in the north-west of England, to itinerant drapers from the south-west of Scotland, who hoped one day to return to a family holding.<sup>393</sup> Borland may have been one of these, but decided to remain in the cloth business rather than return to farming. Number five was Thomas Lambie, whom Murdoch described as an engineer, and I have no further information on him, although Murdoch did occasionally employ a John Lambie, millwright. The sixth name on the list is Robert Lambie of Dalmacaa. There was a Robert Lambie, born around 1821, who was a farm servant at Muirston, Stair in 1851, but by 1871 he was the farmer of the 180 acre dairy farm of Dalmaca, and was married with three children. Number seven was Hugh Taylor of Kainshill. In 1851 twenty year old Hugh Taylor was working on his father's 122 acre farm of Little Hill, in the parish of Cragie, Ayrshire. By 1861 he was married, and had moved to Riccarton, where he worked as a cattle dealer. In 1871 Taylor was still in Riccarton Parish, and had become the farmer of the 168 acre farm of Kainshill. In 1881 and 1891 Taylor was still listed at Kainshill Farm, and was described as 'farmer and cattle dealer'. Presumably Margaret Murdoch walked out with Hugh Taylor before 1861, but the change in the relationship did not prevent Murdoch from selling cattle to Taylor in the 1870s.

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<sup>393</sup> R.H. Campbell, personal correspondence (2010).

Number eight on the list was George Chrystal of Daldorak. George Chrystal was born around 1830, and, in 1841, was living at the farm of his grandfather, Peter McColm. Chrystal appears to have grown-up working for his grandfather and later, his uncle. The 1871 Census is the first to record George Chrystal at the eighty-three acre farm of Daldorak, where he was the head of household, and had a wife and two young children. Both George Chrystal and his uncle, John McColm, are mentioned in Murdoch's account books. Murdoch bought seed wheat from John McColm, and sold cattle to George Chrystal. The ninth name was Robert Wilson of Drongan Mains. In 1851 twenty-five year old Robert Wilson was employed on his father's farm of Laigh Dalmore, which borders Springs, so Robert would have been one of Margaret's neighbours when she was sixteen. By 1871 the forty-four year old Robert was the farmer of Drongan Mains. The tenth name was that of Andrew Arnot, gamekeeper, about whom I have no further information. The eleventh name was that of Joseph Bryden, coalmaster. There was a Joseph Bryden, only about three years older than Maggie, working as an engine keeper, in 1851, while living with his parents. His father, Thomas Bryden's occupation was listed as 'coalmaster employing 20 men'. In 1862, Murdoch noted payments to Joseph Bryden for 'C. acct.'<sup>394</sup> (presumably 'coal account') Joseph Bryden was listed as a coal-master employing twenty men in the 1871 Census.

The twelfth name on the list was that of James Thom, horse-dealer, of whom I know nothing. The final name was that of Peter Conner. In 1871 Peter Conner (who was about sixty or sixty-five at that time) was the farmer of the 100 acre farm of Drumdow, where he lived with his wife, Margaret, who was of a similar age. Presumably this Margaret died sometime between 1871 and 1875 leaving Conner free to court Maggie Murdoch. Conner made William Murdoch a gift of a pedigree bull calf in May of 1873 and, by the 1881 Census, he had replaced one wife named Margaret, for another, a couple of decades younger. Also at Drumdow at this time were Jeanie Murdoch, and Margaret Murdoch Mair. Jeanie was William Murdoch's daughter (born 1859) who was listed as a dairymaid, and a niece of the head of household. Sarah Murdoch's daughter, Margaret Murdoch Mair, was also described as a niece of the head of household but, at around sixteen, her occupation was given as 'scholar.' Maggie and Peter do not appear to have had any children. Peter Conner died at Drumdow in July of 1888, leaving a personal estate valued at £8,917. In the

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<sup>394</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database. Expenditure Table, ID No. 1775.

1891 Census and the 1901 Census, Maggie was listed as the head of household and farmer at Drumdow. In the absence of any children of her own, she found room for some of her sister, Sarah's children. Margaret Mair was a dairymaid was at Drumdow in 1891, and had been joined by a brother and sister. All three were again listed at Drumdow in 1901. Elizabeth Mair was described as a housemaid in 1891, and thirty-three year old David Mair was described as a farm servant. By 1901, David Mair had been upgraded to 'farm manager'. Maggie Murdoch died in December of 1909, when her estate was valued at £10,502, and she nominated her niece, Margaret Murdoch Mair, as her executrix.

By 1881, Murdoch's daughter, Jessie, was married to George Duncan. Duncan came from Banffshire, where his father was a day labourer, but in 1881 George was a commercial clerk living the Gorbals, Glasgow. In 1891 he was listed as a railway and road contractor and, in 1901, as a contractor. By that time the family were living in Cathcart, and employing a domestic servant. At the time of the 1881 and 1891 Census Reports, the only people listed in the household at Springs were Murdochs. Of the seven children of William Murdoch, who were at Springs in 1871, William, Mary Ann, Elizabeth, and Hugh were listed there again in 1881. Annie Murdoch, absent in 1871, was at Springs for the 1881 Census, and the 1891 Census, and seems to have married James Caldwell of Knockshoggle (another neighbouring farm to Springs) by 1897. As mentioned above, Jean Murdoch was at Drumdow Farm with her aunt Maggie, at the time of the 1881 Census, but she was at Springs for the 1891 Census. Also at the time of the 1891 Census, George Sloan (born around 1860) was the farmer of Knockshinnoch. By 1901, he and Jean were married, and had another little Jean. John Gibson, who was born around 1843, grew up on the farm of Barwheys, by Mossblown, which he seems to have taken over from his father; he married Elizabeth Murdoch and, by the time of the 1891 Census, they had three children.

Murdoch's third son, Hugh, died in 1886, at the age of twenty-three. The Register of Deaths gives his address as Springs, and his occupation as farmer. The cause of death was certified, by the family doctor, as Phthisis Pulmonalis (after an illness of six months).<sup>395</sup> This is a lung complaint, which could be caused by inhaling hay dust. The doctor certified the same cause of death for Murdoch's eldest son, sixteen years

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<sup>395</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 583/00 0017.

later.<sup>396</sup> Murdoch's fourth, and youngest son, John was only listed in the 1871 Census and, as he was not mentioned in his father's Will, he may have died before the Will was drawn up, in June 1888.<sup>397</sup> There was a new member of the family at Springs in 1881: three year old Katherine Murdoch was William Murdoch's grand-daughter, and the child of his second daughter, Mary Ann. Katherine and her mother were again listed at Springs in 1891.



**30. Katherine (Katie) Murdoch. Source – Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.**

Murdoch's account books indicate that, from 1869 onwards, he drew rent from property in Content Street, Wallacetown, Ayr. The property seems to have comprised four dwellings, the gross annual rent of which was £17 in 1892. The tenants included a mason, a factory engineman and a laundress. Murdoch died in 1892 and his personal estate was valued at £1256.<sup>398</sup> He still owned the Content Street property at this time but, although the rents due at his time of death were included in his inventory, the property was not because, prior to 1963, only movable property was included in such inventories. In his Will he left 'the whole stock, crop, implements and all other effects upon and appertaining to the said farm of Springs together with the household furniture and plenishing of every description'<sup>399</sup> to his eldest son, William, who was listed as resident at Springs in every Census from 1851 through to

<sup>396</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 583/01 0009.

<sup>397</sup> N.A.S. Ayr Sheriff Court Wills, SC6/46/22, William Murdoch.

<sup>398</sup> N.A.S. Ayr Sheriff Court Inventories, SCG/44/54, William Murdoch.

<sup>399</sup> N.A.S. Ayr Sheriff Court Wills, SC6/46/22, William Murdoch.

1901. The bequest was on condition that his son pay the widow an annuity of twenty pounds, in equal, half yearly instalments. Payments of twenty pounds each were to be made to his children, Elizabeth and James. Thereafter the residue of his estate was to be realised, and divided equally amongst his other children, and this would involve the sale of the Content Street property.

Murdoch's eldest son does not seem to have married nor had children. The 1901 Census shows this William as the farmer of Springs, employing a live-in ploughman. Also part of the household were his mother, Jean Martin, his sister, Mary Ann, and his niece, Katherine, who, like her mother, was employed on the farm. William died in 1902, and his estate was valued at £2130. Despite the lack of a male heir, Springs remained in Murdoch hands. Katherine (or Katie) Murdoch was about twenty-three when her Uncle William died, and her mother was about thirty years older. Both women were long term, working residents at Springs, and remained there after William's death. The 1918-1920 Valuation Roll for the Parish of Stair recorded 'Mary Ann and Catherine Murdoch, spinsters' as the tenants and occupiers of Springs Farm. The management arrangements at Springs in the years immediately following 1902 are unknown. At some point, Joseph Thomson was employed as a ploughman. There was a Joseph Thomson (born around 1885) living in the village of Sorn at the time of the 1891 Census. His father was a pit engine keeper but, by the time of the 1901 Census, both Joseph and his younger brother, Henry, were live-in farm servants, at a farm in Mauchline. The date of birth for the Joseph Thomson from Sorn, is a match for the Joseph Thomson of Springs, who was thirty-two in 1916. It was as a ploughman at Springs, in 1916, that Joseph Thomson was granted exemption from military service on the grounds that it was 'expedient in national interest' that he be 'retained in work habitually engaged in.'<sup>400</sup> Katherine Murdoch married Joseph Thomson, and their son was born in 1920. In naming their son William Murdoch Thomson, Katie and Joseph underlined his connection with Springs Farm. Mary Ann Murdoch continued living at Springs after the marriage of her daughter, and died there, in 1928. In 1923 Katie and Joseph, jointly, took an additional lease of the neighbouring farm of Laigh Dalmore. As William Murdoch Thomson (an only child) grew up on Springs Farm, he found himself reluctant to become a farmer. However, with the long family association at Springs, his parents saw no life for him other than

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<sup>400</sup> Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr

taking over the farm. William became the farmer of Springs but, after the death of his parents, he broke the connection when he disposed of the farm in 1957.<sup>401</sup>

## The Lambs of Crookboat

Around 1736 William Lamb of Drumalbin, Carmichael married Elizabeth Carmichael, daughter of John Carmichael, tenant of the farm of Pretts Mill. It seems that, following the marriage, William Lamb moved from Drumalbin, and took over the tenancy of Pretts Mill. William's children were born at Pretts Mill but, at some time after 1752, Lamb left Pretts Mill and moved a short distance downstream to take up the tenancy of Crookboat. The tenancy at Pretts Mill was taken over by William's son, John, and later by John's son, William, who died childless in 1828. William Lamb was the tenant of Crookboat at the time of his death in 1778, and was succeeded there by a George Lamb, who may have been his nephew. George and his wife and three sons arrived at Crookboat in 1782. The second son, William, became a Doctor of Divinity, and was the minister in Pettinain Church for a few years, before becoming minister in Carmichael Church (1814-1863), and author of the entry for Carmichael Parish in the N.S.A. The third son, Thomas, moved to Glasgow and became a ship's carpenter. The eldest son, John, succeeded his father at Crookboat in 1800 and, in 1802, married Mary Paterson, a daughter of William Paterson of Syde Farm, Carmichael. They had three daughters and one son, John junior, who married Janet Swan, in 1838. Janet's father, William Swan had farmed at Borland, Lesmahagow, then Drumalbin, Carmichael but, by the time of the 1841 Census, he was living in Lanark with another two of his daughters.<sup>402</sup>

In the Census Report of 1841, sixty-five year old farmer John Lamb is listed as living at Crookboat with fifty-five year old Mary Lamb, twenty-five year old Betty Lamb, and two farm servants. Also listed in the 1841 Census, with an address of Crookboat, but heading a separate household, was thirty-five year old John Lamb. Other members of this household were his wife, Janet, and his baby daughter. By 1851 this household had increased with the addition of four sons, and John junior was described as 'Inspector of Poor.' John senior drew up a Will, in 1850, in which he stated that he was 'following out the wishes of my late wife Mary Paterson and agreeably to my own

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<sup>401</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson.

<sup>402</sup> One World Tree, Ancestry.co.uk.



judgement & inclination'<sup>403</sup> in this settlement of his affairs. He bequeathed the stock, crop and farm implements to John junior. His son was also to get the household furniture, but with substantial exceptions which were for his daughter, Betty. Betty was to get the house at Crookboat, where her brother had been living since his marriage. John Junior could move into the farmhouse on the death of his father, but the terms of John senior's Will assured a home for the unmarried Betty, at least for the term of the lease. John junior was also to have coals carted for Betty 'while she remains at Crookboat' and Betty was 'to retain the money which was given her by her Mother,' which was 'in the custody of her Brother John.' Betty's sisters, Jess and Jean, were each left ten pounds by their father, who expressed the hope that 'they will approve of this settlement I have made when they consider that the farm & dairy have been managed by John & Betty for many years.' It seems unlikely that Jess or Jean would have taken issue with their brother assuming their father's position as farmer of Crookboat. Any dissatisfaction is more likely to have been over the treatment of Betty, and John senior places Betty's preferment not in the light of a father's concern for an unmarried daughter, but as a reward for her labours. A few months after John senior's death, in 1857, forty-three year old Betty Lamb married forty year old James Swan, brother of John junior's wife, Janet Swan.<sup>404</sup> On the Marriage Register, Swan gave his occupation as 'engineer.' The 1881 Census found the couple living in the Lanarkshire town of Strathaven, and Swan was described as a 'retired railway contractor.' It is easy to speculate that the property left to Betty Lamb by her father, the money given to her by her mother, and her own management skills may have been instrumental in James Swan becoming a contractor.

At some point John junior acquired title to the land of Boreland (or Borland), Lesmahagow and, in the Will he drew up in 1880,<sup>405</sup> he styled himself John Lamb of Boreland, and his eldest son as John Lamb Junior. It seems that, although John of Boreland continued to reside at Crookboat, while his son John farmed at Boreland, he preferred to be addressed by the name of the property he owned rather than the name of the farm he leased. According to Census Reports, both John junior and his sister, Janet, were at Boreland in 1871, and John of Boreland made Boreland over to young John in 1882.<sup>406</sup> The second son, William Swan Lamb, was described as

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<sup>403</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/37 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1857.

<sup>404</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Marriages 630/00 0006, Parish of Carmichael, County of Lanark, 1857.

<sup>405</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/91 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1885.

<sup>406</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/91 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1885, codicil.

'banker's apprentice' while still living at Crookboat in 1861. He may have been the William S. Lamb who was a 'bank accountant' in Perth in 1871. William predeceased his father, but John of Boreland instructed his executors (his other children) to pay an annual sum to William's widow 'as long as she remained his widow and behaved herself.'<sup>407</sup> Census Reports indicate that the third son, Thomas, may have become a joiner in Glasgow. In a codicil dated 20 December 1884, his father wrote:

As my son Thomas left my house twenty years ago and got his trade and has been making for himself since, I think it just that Alex and Janet Lamb should have one hundred pounds each more than him from my moveable property ...<sup>408</sup>



**31. Portrait of John Lamb of Boreland.  
Source - Alec Lamb.**

John of Boreland intended that his youngest son take over Crookboat, and directed his executors to deliver to Alexander:

the whole of the stock crop farming and dairy utensils and implements of husbandry that may be on the farm of Crook Boat at my death and the kitchen furniture in the said house on his payment therefore the sum of one thousand pounds sterling ...

In a codicil, Boreland stated that Alexander had been accepted by the landlord as joint tenant of Crookboat alongside him, but that he (Boreland) had retained ownership of

<sup>407</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/91 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1885.

<sup>408</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/91 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1885.

the stock, crop etc. Upon his death, the residue of his movable estate was to be divided between Thomas, Alexander, and Janet, with Alexander and Janet taking equal shares. John Lamb of Boreland's estate was valued at £4,963,<sup>409</sup> nearly ten times the value of his father's estate.<sup>410</sup> Boreland had invested in the Clyde Navigation Trust and the Lanark Gas Company, and was owed money by the Parochial Board of Carmichael and the School Board of Carmichael, presumably in relation to local government posts he had held. With young John ensconced in Boreland, and Alexander in Crookboat, it might appear that their father had been more generous to them than to their siblings. However, some evening of accounts can be seen in the sum of £1000, which Alexander was required to pay into the estate and in the regular amounts that young John was required to pay to his siblings for the first ten years following Boreland's death.<sup>411</sup>



**32. Sheep grazing the lower slopes of Tinto, near Fallburn. Source – author.**

In accordance with his father's wishes, Alexander took over Crookboat, when Boreland died, in 1885. Janet, who had been living with her brother, John, in 1871,

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<sup>409</sup> N.A.S. SC36/48/112 Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, John Lamb, 1885.

<sup>410</sup> N.A.S. SC36/48/43 Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, John Lamb, 1857.

<sup>411</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/91 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1885

was listed as living at Crookboat in both the 1881 Census and the 1891 Census. The 1901 Census also noted Janet Lamb at Crookboat, but on this occasion she was a 'visitor,' described as 'living on her own means.' By that time Alexander was married to Janet Lindsay of Eastfield Farm, Pettinain, and they had two children, John and Catherine. Over the course of 1895-6, Alexander Lamb had built and furnished a house in Lanark, which he let to a William Findlater for one year. Alexander may have built a house as an investment, but Alec Lamb suspects this house was 'Oakmont', in Braxfield Road, Lanark, which was the residence of Janet Lamb at the time of her death, in 1919. Unlike her Aunt Betty, Janet never married. Alexander's accounts show a regular income from gas shares, which may have been an inheritance from his father, and from Lanark Water Trust, which may have been an investment of his own. The accounts also show the regular twice yearly payments from his elder brother John.

Doctor's accounts, dated 1895, in the possession of Alec Lamb show that Alexander was ill at this time, and his son later indicated that Alexander was in poor health for some years. Despite this ill-health, Alexander expanded his operations by turning his hand to the breeding of Blackfaced sheep. In 1897 he rented the hill farms of Fallburn and Langlands, on the North side of Tinto Hill, near Thankerton. Then, in 1911, he further rented Howgate, another heathery hill farm on the slopes of Tinto. Alexander's obituary from the local newspaper praises him by saying 'how well he farmed Crookboat's gravelly knowes,' but remarks that 'farming was not his ideal calling.' Following Alexander's death from a stroke, in 1916, Crookboat was taken over by his son John. In 1922, John married Elizabeth (Bessie) Clarkson from Prettsmill, and they had two children, Isobel, and Alexander (Alec). Around 1930 John took on a lease of three additional fields beside the main road, comprising about thirty acres. John's son, Alec, left school at sixteen years of age to work on the farm, but was disinclined to make farming his career. Although he spent some years in Canada, he was eventually prevailed upon to take over the farm, which he later purchased. Upon Alec's marriage, in 1954, to Ann Anderson (daughter of the Superintendent of Police in Lanark) John and Bessie Lamb retired to a bungalow down the road, and left the farmhouse to the younger couple. Following Ann's death in 1984, Alec sold Crookboat Farm, and retired to Lanark.



**33. Crookboat Farm with Alec Lamb. Source – Alec Lamb.**

## The Turners of Ofgang, and the Allison

James Turner was born in the parish of Old Kilpatrick in 1838, the eldest of the four children of Peter Turner, ploughman, and his wife, Mary Inglis.<sup>412</sup> In the 1851 Census, Peter Turner was listed as a farm carter. By 1861 both James, and his brother Peter, had left the family home, while their parents and younger brother had moved to the Milton district of Glasgow. Seven years later, Peter senior was described as a carting contractor on James's marriage certificate.<sup>413</sup> In the 1881 Census James' brother, Peter was described as a carter of St. Rollox, Glasgow. By that time he was married, with two daughters, and his household included a boarder. In 1891 the elder daughter was missing, but another younger daughter had been born. In 1901, the two daughters were working. Fanny was a mantle machinist, and Agnes was simply described as a machinist. At the time of the 1861 Census, James Turner was working as a live-in ploughman at the farm of Balvie in New Kilpatrick. Possibly, it was during this period of his life that he met Mary Allison, daughter of William Allison, of Thorn Farm, New Kilpatrick.

William Allison was born in Mearns Parish, Renfrewshire, in 1787, and was the son and brother of farmers. According to his diary,<sup>414</sup> Allison farmed at Northfield,

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<sup>412</sup> O.P.R. Old Kilpatrick.

<sup>413</sup> Turner Collection, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>414</sup> Turner Collection, William Patrick Library.

Mearns Parish, Renfrewshire for many years, but left there in 1835. The following year, after a sojourn in Glasgow during which his daughter, Mary, was born, he took up a lease of Thorn Farm. In 1848, when his eldest child, James, was a young man, Allison wrote:

1848 My son James for some unreasonable fretfulness left us & engaged with Mr. Robertson, Hillington to learn (as he said) a better system of farming & continued there for the summer & at Martinmas took a small shop in Williamsburgh<sup>415</sup> continuing to work occasionally with Mr. Robertson.<sup>416</sup>

In 1849 James married Isabella Scott, the daughter of William Scott (described in the 1841 Census as a farmer and publican) and in November, his father-in-law transferred his lease on the farm of Newkirk, New Kilpatrick to James and moved to Coltness. James was listed as farmer at the sixty acre farm of Newkirk in the 1851 Census, but by the time of the 1861 Census, he had become the farmer of the ninety acre farm of Brickhouse, Old Kilpatrick. In 1871 Brickhouse was described as 112 acres. James was still the farmer of Brickhouse at the time of his death in 1895, when his estate was valued at £6,720.<sup>417</sup> His Inventory included loans (of £600, £750, £700, £900, and £300) granted by James to various individuals, and secured by various properties. By the terms of James Allison's Will,<sup>418</sup> after provision for his widow, his estate was to be divided among his children with the only son, William, getting half as much again as the share given to each of the daughters.

James' father, William Allison drew up his Will<sup>419</sup> in 1846. After securing an income for his widow, his executors were to realize his estate and divide it into sixteen equal parts. Three parts was the portion of each of his four surviving sons, and two parts each was the portion of his two daughters. William Allison died, at Thorn, in October 1866, his wife having predeceased him. He had inherited, from his father, a parcel of land in Broomlands of Paisley with the house on it, and a dwelling house or tenement in Newton Mearns, with land at the back.<sup>420</sup> At the time of his death he still owned this property, and he also owned a shop and cellar in Frederick Street, Glasgow, which was rented to Thomas Dunlop. The valuation of the estate, at £1,902, included the rent owing on the various properties, but not the value of the properties

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<sup>415</sup> Trade Directory indicates this was a grocer shop in Williamsburgh, Paisley.

<sup>416</sup> Diary of William Allison, Turner Collection, William Patrick Library.

<sup>417</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/34/41.

<sup>418</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/34/41.

<sup>419</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/34/14.

<sup>420</sup> National Archives of Scotland SC55/43/17.

themselves. It is clear from the abovementioned Wills, that some farmers had an income outside farming. William Murdoch and William Allison invested in property. Alexander Lamb may have tried property investment, and then let his sister have the use of the house he built. Examination of Valuation Rolls for Kirkintilloch and Cadder Parishes and the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries suggests that the tenant farmer who was also a property owner was not unusual. For example,<sup>421</sup> Robert McCash, who was the tenant of part of Gallowhill Farm, Kirkintilloch, was also the proprietor of some land at Gallowhill, eleven houses, and one loomshop. Like Murdoch and Lamb, McCash rented farmland separate from his farm. His properties brought him £42.10.0 p.a. in rent, while the rent due on his combined tenancies was £143 p.a. The existence of such complex situations makes assessment problematic, as it cannot be assumed that farmers did not have multiple financial interests. Alexander Lamb, John Lamb of Boreland, and James Allison all invested in shares, and William Murdoch and James Allison granted loans at interest. These sources of income required some disposable income before they could be set up.

The Inventory William Allison's estate included 'value of one third share of crop, stock, household furniture and effects at Thorn.'<sup>422</sup> Three of Allison's sons were mentioned in the Inventory; James, 'farmer, Brickhouse,' and George and William who were both described as 'farmer, Thorn.' Possibly Allison had associated George and William in the lease with him but, unlike John Lamb of Boreland, did not reserve the crop, stock etc. as his exclusive property, so George and William could each claim a third share. A few months before his father's death, George Allison married Jean Donald, daughter of William Donald of Baljaffrey, New Kilpatrick. Successive Census Reports record a William Donald, grazier, at the sixty acre Farm of North Baljaffrey. George remained farmer at Thorn until his own death in 1927. His Inventory was brief consisting of the household furniture, stock and implements belonging to the farm of Thorn, and a debt due from a dairyman. The total estate was valued at £1,024.<sup>423</sup> George's two elder sons were farmers in Milngavie and Drumchapel, and the next two farmed at Thorn. The youngest, Arthur, was an apprentice engineer at the time of the 1901 Census.

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<sup>421</sup> Valuation Roll, County of Dunbarton, Parish of Kirkintilloch, 1895-96.

<sup>422</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/34/14, Sheriff Court Inventories.

<sup>423</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/35/24.

By the time of the 1871 Census, Allison's youngest sons, William and John, were both farming at the ninety-five acre farm of Rosebank, Kirkintilloch. By the time of the 1881 Census, William was married to Helen Donald, who may have been another daughter of William Donald of North Baljaffrey. John never married, but continued to farm alongside his brother. Some time before 1900 all three quitted Rosebank to live in retirement in Hillfoot Terrace, Bearsden, and a lease on Rosebank was taken by local farmer Charles Stewart. William and Helen's son, William, described as a farmer's son at Rosebank in the 1891 Census, was working for his Uncle George at Thorn at the time of the 1901 Census. As he was employed in agriculture, it is curious that his parents did not facilitate a takeover of Rosebank for him. However, perusal of his mother's Will suggests that young William lacked the capacity to run a farm. William's father was the first of the Hillfoot household to die, and he left everything to his widow.<sup>424</sup> Next to die was John Allison, who also left everything to Helen and nothing to young William.<sup>425</sup> Helen left everything to two trustees (a local doctor and a Glasgow solicitor) who were charged with dividing her estate into three equal shares. Two of the shares were to be paid to her son but the remaining share was to be invested by the trustees and the interest paid to William, 'but not capable of anticipation or assignation nor liable to the diligence and execution of his creditors.'<sup>426</sup> It would seem that William senior, John, and Helen all thought it inadvisable to leave young William in sole control of his own finances. The general impression is that, while not an imbecile, young William needed someone to look out for his interests. While he was employed at Thorn, within easy reach of Hillfoot, the family could keep an eye on him, but it is not known how long he remained there.

Allison's elder daughter, Ann, married Thomas Dunlop in 1850. Subsequent Census Reports record the couple at a series of addresses in Glasgow, as Dunlop evolved from a grocer, into a grain merchant and ship owner. At the time of Allison's death in 1866, Dunlop was renting shop space from him (see above) but, by the late 1880s, his business address was Carron Wharf, Port Dundas. Thomas junior joined his father in the business, while the other son, William Allison Dunlop, was described as 'farmer' in the 1891 Census. When Thomas Dunlop senior died, in 1893, his estate was valued at £15,692. Thomas junior took over the business which, around 1917, was merged

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<sup>424</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/36/22.

<sup>425</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/36/18.

<sup>426</sup> N.A.S. SC 65/36/20.



with the firm of Robert Todd, Grain Merchant, to form the firm of Thomas Dunlop and Todd, Millers and Grain Merchants of Carron Wharf (later renamed South Spier's Wharf).



#### **34. James Turner's wallet, source - author, courtesy of East Dunbartonshire Museums**

In 1868, Allison's younger daughter, Mary, was living at Rosebank, with her brothers, William and John, while James Turner was working as a drapery warehouseman in Glasgow. In November of that year, James Turner and Mary Allison were married, at the home of Mary's elder sister, Ann Allison or Dunlop.<sup>427</sup> Marriage at home, rather than in a church, was not unusual, but the choice of her sister's home over her own residence at Rosebank, suggests closeness between Ann and Mary. Mary and James' son, Peter Turner, was born in Glasgow in 1870 and, in 1877, with the backing of Thomas Dunlop, James Turner, obtained a lease of Oxcgang, a neighbouring farm to Rosebank. There is no indication that any of the Allison family took issue with Mary's marriage to a former farm servant. Indeed, it is questionable whether James Turner would have obtained a lease on a farm the size of Oxcgang without the backing of Thomas Dunlop. Even the location of the farm, so close to Rosebank, is suggestive of acceptance by the Allisons. The diaries of James and Mary's son, Peter Turner, contain many references to his Allison kin. There were visits to and from family members, and family events such as weddings and funerals. There were Turners meeting up with Allisons, and going to visit other Allisons and, when the Rosebank Allisons moved to Hillfoot, the Turners kept in touch. Even relatives not involved with farming, such as Thomas Dunlop junior and his sister came to visit.<sup>428</sup> Of the

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<sup>427</sup> Marriage Certificate, Turner Collection, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>428</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 3, ID 649, Vol. 4, ID 1072.

15,546 entries in the diaries database, three hundred contain mention of Allison connections, but none mention James Turner's extended family, which is notable since James' brother Peter, and his family, were living in Glasgow at least up to the time of the 1901 Census. Given the amount of travelling associated with Allison connections, and the convenience of the rail network, distance could not have been the reason for the absence of Turner relatives. However, by the time the diaries were written, James Turner, and his brother, Peter, inhabited different social strata. James was an employer, who sat on the Parochial Board of Kirkintilloch,<sup>429</sup> while Peter took in lodgers and his daughters worked in factories. The Allison connection was an advantageous one for James Turner, and not just for the backing of Thomas Dunlop's capital. Most of the Allisons were involved in farming and represented a pool of local agricultural knowledge and experience, which could be shared among the group. Whether James Turner deliberately disassociated himself from his brother, or whether there was a gradual drifting apart as a result of their different life experiences, or if there was some quarrel, is not known.

James Turner and Mary Allison had no daughters, but their three sons provide three, slightly differing examples of a farming career. The second son, William or Bill, as he is called in the diaries, was about three years younger than Peter. At the beginning of Volume One Bill would have been about seventeen and, over the next couple of years, he is noted working in the fields, collecting feed and fertiliser, engaging in co-operative farming activities, visiting relatives, socialising, and engaging in church activities. At the end of Volume One, Bill, in a move reminiscent of his uncle, James Allison of Brickhouse, went to Glasgow and acquired a job with a grocer. How long Bill kept the grocer job is not known, since there is a gap in the diaries, but by the start of Volume Two in September 1895, he was back at Oxgang. By 1900, when Bill was about twenty-six, his thoughts had turned to acquiring a lease on a farm of his own, and he made a number of trips to look over farms. Older brother Peter sometimes accompanied him on these occasions. Loanhead Farm, Houston, Renfrewshire must have made a positive impression upon Bill as, not long after his visit there, the family support structure could be seen in action.<sup>430</sup> James Turner went with his son to see the factor and, a couple of weeks later, James Turner and John Allison (Hillfoot) accompanied Bill to Loanhead. In the following months Bill can

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<sup>429</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 28.7.1891

<sup>430</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 3, ID 623, 27 May 1901.

be detected gathering stock and implements. He attended a number of farm sales, sometimes accompanied by his brother Peter, and 'W. Allison.' The three attended the sale held by the out-going tenant at Loanhead. Bill moved to Loanhead in November of 1901, and the family continued to help by sending him things. A year later, Bill married Jean Chapman, a farmer's daughter from Gartshore. Since the Chapmans were part of the farming community in the Kirkintilloch district, it may be that the wedding was planned before the move to Loanhead, and may even have been an impetus to the move. Bill stayed at Loanhead for the rest of his working life.

At the start of Volume One, the youngest Turner brother, James junior, was about thirteen, not yet strong enough to do the same work as Peter and Bill, and he is less frequently mentioned in that volume than Bill. By the start of Volume Two, James was about nineteen, and in that volume he can be seen undertaking the same range of activities as Bill in Volume One. By Volume Three, James was entrusted with the important business of buying and selling horses for the farm. In 1904, James was looking for a lease on a farm of his own, accompanied either by a friend or one of his brothers. The farm of Arnbrae must have interested him since, two days after viewing it with Peter, he went to visit Bill, and the day after that Bill went with him to see Arnbrae. However, the matter does not appear to have gone any further. Peter Turner junior said that James took his brother, Peter, to look at a farm with him, and that Peter senior 'put him off' the farm.<sup>431</sup> Information given to the Royal Commission on Agriculture states that there was competition for leases in the west of Scotland at this time and, although James did not confine his search to the west, two years after he began his search, he had still not taken a lease.<sup>432</sup> Lorrain Smith assessed career options in a farming family thus:

The son of the family farmer by the time he has reached an independent age is eminently qualified for farming, but usually ill-qualified for other skilled occupations. He has received comparatively little general education, while he has served a more or less compulsory apprenticeship in farming which has made him a skilled worker. The prospects of farming on a small farm, similar to his home, which to begin with, is probably all that he can hope for, may not please him, but the alternatives may be worse. A bailiff's job or something of the kind is possible, but it is an

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<sup>431</sup> Interview with Peter Turner, 15.7.2003

<sup>432</sup> Royal Commission on Agriculture, Minutes of Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of Agricultural Depression, vol IV, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896, c. 8021, pp 143-144. Report by Mr. John Speir (Assistant Commissioner) on the Counties of Ayr, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries, London, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1895, C.-7625, p 4

overstocked line and there are not many openings. Outside farming he must become an unskilled worker, earning an unskilled worker's wage.<sup>433</sup>

There were some alternatives in Kirkintilloch. According to the 1891 Census, on Auchindavie Farm, Kirkintilloch, the younger son was the farmer, while the elder was a coal merchant. Again with Saddlersbrae Farm, the younger son was a farmer while the elder was an engine keeper. It would appear that farming did appeal to James. Even as he searched for a farm, he pursued the possibility of becoming a foreman or farm manager and, in October 1906, he became manager of Downan Farm, Ballantrae, Ayrshire. James worked at Ballantrae for a few years until he secured a lease on Loaninghead Farm, Balfron. In his report of 'typical' farms, MacNeilage mentioned that the tenant of an unnamed high lying farm previously worked for his father, on a farm of similar soil, and was the foreman on a large farm near Glasgow for seven and a half years, suggesting that James' career path was not unusual.<sup>434</sup> James farmed at Loaninghead for forty years before retiring to Kirkintilloch in 1949. His six sons all became farmers.<sup>435</sup>

Before Bill and James looked at other farms, Peter Turner also explored some possibilities, but he never held a lease on any farm other than Oxgang. Peter junior maintained that James Turner turned Oxgang Farm over to Peter senior, and that Peter senior was running the farm at the time he was writing his diaries. On 9 March 1897 Peter wrote 'Commenced to plough Fergus Hill. Didn't know untill to-day it was to be ploughed,' which suggests that his father, James, was still taking decisions about the farm at that time. James Turner died in 1907, and in his Will,<sup>436</sup> drawn up the year before, Mary Allison (who survived him by twenty years) was named as his sole executrix and beneficiary. In the Inventory of his estate, which consisted of cash in the house, the household goods, money in banks, and an assurance policy, he was described as a 'retired farmer.'<sup>437</sup> There was no mention of the farm stock and implements so it seems he did turn over the farm to Peter, and this may be why Peter stopped looking at other farms.

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<sup>433</sup> Lorrain Smith, E. (1932). Go East for a Farm: A Study of Rural Migration. Oxford, University of Oxford Agricultural Economics Research Institute. P. 50

<sup>434</sup> MacNeilage, A. (1909). "Typical Farms in the West of Scotland." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **XXI**(fifth series). P. 40

<sup>435</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 21.6.1961

<sup>436</sup> N.A.S. SC65/36/6, Sheriff Court Wills, p. 32.

<sup>437</sup> N.A.S. SC65/35/11, Sheriff Court Inventories, pp 532-535.

Also in 1907 Peter Turner suffered an injury to his hand from a hay fork. According to Peter junior, the wound festered and the hand withered, but it was many years before Peter senior gave way to medical advice and had his hand amputated (1920s). In 1909, at the age of thirty-eight, Turner married Janet (Jenny) Sharp Hyslop, a farmer's daughter from Balmaclennan, Kirkcudbrightshire. Fourteen years younger than her husband, Jenny Hyslop was described as a dairymaid, on the marriage certificate, and had obtained certificates in dairying from the West of Scotland Agricultural College Dairy School, in 1903.<sup>438</sup> Peter Turner became an owner-occupier in 1920, and sold the farm to the Department of Agriculture in 1935. He maintained a presence in the area and, after his death in 1959, Peter junior moved into his father's bungalow.

**35. Turner memorial in Auld Kirk Cemetery, Kirkintilloch. Source - author**



## Family Farms, Farming Families

The foregoing account of the families associated with the farms profiled in Chapter Four demonstrates that these were indeed family farms and hints at an emotional investment in these, largely tenanted, farms. In the Murdoch, Lamb, Allison, and

<sup>438</sup> Peter Turner Collection, William Patrick Library.

Turner families, we can see attempts to ensure the continuity of the family on the farm, whether through a joint account, a joint tenancy, a share of the stock, or an outright transfer of the lease. This desire to maintain the family presence could become oppressive, as in the cases of William Murdoch Thomson and Alec Lamb, and possibly also Alec's grandfather. Both Thomson and Lamb were only sons. Where there were brothers, it was possible for some to pursue other careers, but many members of the above farming families did become farmers, sometimes farming alongside a brother. Farms generally passed from father to son. Although Mary Ann Murdoch and her daughter became the tenants of Springs, this was only after a failure of male heirs. Ann Scott gained control of Hatton, as Maggie Murdoch became the farmer of Drumdow through widowhood. Ann Scott eventually relinquished control to her son Walter, but Maggie Murdoch had no children and appears to have remained farmer of Drumdow until her death.

A consideration for farmers, both male and female, was the proper supervision of work in the steading as well as the fields. This was not a problem for a competent husband and wife team. An unmarried male farmer might employ a housekeeper, or he might turn to a female relative, to manage the steading. The timing of Ann Scott's departure from Hatton suggests that she performed this function until her son's marriage. Janet Lamb lived with her brother, John, while he was unmarried, then with Alexander at Crookboat, before his marriage. Mary Allison lived with her two unmarried brothers at Rosebank, and Janet Park was housekeeper to her brother John Park, in Polmont. It is likely that all these farmer's daughters managed house and dairy for brothers.

Generally, women farmers, experienced in house and dairy, needed someone trustworthy to direct operations in the fields. Farm servant, Mr. Garven gained his first job working on a farm near Turnberry. His employer was a woman, but an old farmer looked after things for her, and conducted business.<sup>439</sup> 'Mrs. Hazlitt' described how her uncle, a neighbouring farmer, died suddenly when his eldest child was five. His widow, a farmer's daughter and very capable, wanted to keep the farm on for her son, so she brought in an older ploughman as a manager. 'Mrs. Hazlitt' remarked that this man did not make a very good job of managing the farm, and furthermore that

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<sup>439</sup> (1962). Ayrshire Sound Archive, 54A Interview with Garven Family, School of Scottish Studies.

her mother had been concerned lest the widow marry the manager.<sup>440</sup> Employing a relative might avoid such speculation. Ann Scott employed her husband's nephew as a manager, and Maggie Murdoch employed her sister's son in the same capacity. In such situations, the relative gained management experience within his extended family, along with the opportunity to save up for a lease on his own farm, while the woman farmer, by employing someone she already knew, obtained some peace of mind. Since there were two women at Springs, they might have been able to divide the work and responsibility by one of them focussing on the house and dairy and the other on the fieldwork or, responsibility for field operations may have devolved upon the farm ploughman. In June of 1920, Katie Murdoch married her ploughman, Joseph Thomson. Aged forty-two by the time of her marriage, Katie may have thought long and hard before she took that step. On her marriage certificate she described herself as 'farmer;' subsequent lease agreements were in their joint names, but after the wedding Joseph Thomson was the farmer of Springs.



**36. Katie Murdoch with her son, William Murdoch Thomson. Source - Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr.**

The accepted pattern for farmers' daughters seems to have been that they would remain on the family farm until they married, although they might work on the farm

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<sup>440</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairsns.

of a relative, either as a housekeeper (as mentioned above) or as a dairymaid, as did Margaret Murdoch at her brother-in-law's farm. There seems to have been a tendency for men and women from farming families to marry people from other farming families. Most of Maggie Murdoch's gentleman callers had a farming background, and some at least had a business relationship with her brother. It may be that farming people mostly interacted with people who had some connection with farming, so it was natural for these relationships to develop, but it was evidently convenient when both parties had a farming background and knew the work. In the Wills of William Murdoch senior and John Lamb senior (see above) we can see provision for unmarried daughters. The lot of a widow could also be a precarious one. It appears that Ann Scott or Park was able to retire in some comfort, while providing a haven for two single daughters. Jean Park or Fulton spent time living with at least two of her daughters. At one point her widowed sister, Catherine Park or Arneil, found homes for herself and her children within the extended family, but she ended up in a Glasgow slum. Perhaps this example led Ann Scott, in her Will,<sup>441</sup> to try to secure for her daughters an income independent of their husbands. Perhaps fortune's slings and arrows were in the mind of John Lamb senior when he wrote of his children:

I trust they will Continue to Cherish Brotherly and Sisterly Affection to one another.<sup>442</sup>

The essential point is that the farms surveyed were not merely family labour farms, but truly family farms. It was not just that the running of a farm was influenced by how many grown children there were, and what gender they were, or that family structure was in a continuous state of flux as people grew and matured, arrived and left. There was the question of family dynamics, and the person whose name was on the lease was not necessarily the dominant person in the household. There was the parent's concern to provide for children, whether through a smooth transition of the farm, the purchase of an apprenticeship, or the setting up of a trust. There was the adult children's care for retired parents. The surprise with Catherine Park or Arneil is not that the family found space for her children, but that family support seems to have broken off. Perhaps there was a quarrel, as disputes do occur within families. William Allison of Thorn disagreed with his son's decision to work on another farm, but he was still concerned when, the following year, James was seriously injured by

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<sup>441</sup> N.A.S. SC58/45/11.

<sup>442</sup> N.A.S. SC36/51/37 Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, John Lamb, 1857.



falling off a cart.<sup>443</sup> There may have been painful quarrels, but there were enduring bonds of love and care between family members that survived changes of location and produced networks of farms and off-farm connections.

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<sup>443</sup> Allison, W. (1923). *Diary of William Allison Of Malletsheugh, Mearns & Thorn, Bearsden from 1817 to 1866* (copy), William Patrick Library.

## Chapter Six

### Taking a Fee

This chapter follows on from Chapter Five by an expansion of the concept of family, and utilises similar sources. In particular, this chapter draws upon a series of articles, printed in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1870, and forming 'An Inquiry into the State of Agriculture in Scotland, including the Past and Present Condition of Farmers and Farm Servants.' The chapter is divided into three sections; the first examining the background to employment on Scottish farms, and the second detailing farm servants who worked on the farms featured in this thesis. The third section explores the experience of agricultural workers through reference to one particular family.

### Farm Service in Scotland

The system of farm service that emerged in Scotland from the establishment of single tenant farms and the corresponding rise in the number of landless families has been touched on in Chapter Two. Simply put hired labour on farms consisted of a core workforce of skilled workers, both male and female, supplemented at busy times by day labourers, also both male and female. The core workers, whether married or single, were known as 'farm servants' and were hired on a six or twelve month contract. They lived at the steading and their wages, composed of money and in-kind payments, were known as their 'fee.' For unmarried servants, bed and board was part of their wage. The wages of the married servants included the use of a cottage. Generally the engagement contracts negotiated with the farmers stretched between the term dates of Martinmas (November) and Whitsunday (May). The Whitsunday term was the busier one, so servants might either negotiate higher wages for Whitsunday to Martinmas or eschew a contract (or taking a fee) to work casually if they thought that might be more profitable, blurring the distinction between farm servants and day labourers.

According to Devine, this system of farm service was 'common throughout Britain up to the later eighteenth century but only in Scotland and parts of the north of England

did it survive into the era of agrarian revolution.’<sup>444</sup> Devine cautions that, although this system might be thought of as anachronistic, as nineteenth century Scottish farmers were among the most progressive in Europe, it is likely that they would have been efficient in the deployment of labour. During the period 1780-1830 agricultural labour was so plentiful in parts of the south of England that farmers did not need to secure labour with long contracts, and short contracts of a month or a week became the pattern. In lowland Scotland, industry and agriculture developed side by side, while the system of mixed farming brought about a lengthening of the working year and an evening out of seasonal labour needs, so that Scottish farmers were concerned to maintain a skilled full-time workforce in the face of competition from industry. Industrial employment in England was concentrated in the north, so the six or twelve month contract suited the needs of farmers in the north of England and in lowland Scotland better than those in parts of the south of England.<sup>445</sup> In Scotland, farm service with six and twelve month contracts continued well into the twentieth century, but the relationship between farmers and their servants changed. The change was uneven, and varied between large capitalist farms with a large hired workforce, and small family labour farms with few servants.

As mentioned in Chapter Two ‘the family’ is a historically and culturally variable institution and, although it is now commonplace to define it narrowly as parents and their children (biological, step-, or adopted) with the possible inclusion of grandparents and first cousins, the Oxford English Dictionary indicates that, up to the end of the eighteenth century, the term ‘family’ included ‘The body of persons who live in one house or under one head, including parents, children, servants, etc.’<sup>446</sup> So, by this definition, everyone who worked and boarded at the farm, whether in the farmhouse or in associated accommodation, including the farm servants, could be considered as a member of the family. ‘Servant,’ as defined in Erskine’s *Principles of the Law of Scotland* (1890), was also a broad term:

A servant is one who agrees to give his services to another for a determinate time and at an ascertained hire. He differs – in so far as a distinction can be drawn – from an agent, in being paid wages, in being

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<sup>444</sup> Devine, T. M., Ed. (1984). *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770-1914*. Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd. Pp. 1, 2.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid. Pp. 1, 2.

<sup>446</sup> www.oed.com

bound not only to do his work, but also to follow his employer's orders in the doing of it.<sup>447</sup>

Thus the term 'farm servant' was applied to a variety of workers some of whom worked principally in the farmhouse and steading, and others who worked principally in the fields. For all, life was governed by centuries of legislation passed by the parliaments of Scotland, up to the Act of Union in 1707. During the following couple of centuries, says Aitchison, the Scottish courts interpreted existing Scots law<sup>448</sup> and, as the law evolved pre-industrialisation and pre-Improvement, some of it was outdated by the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, generally the employment of Roman Catholics as servants was not permitted (1694)<sup>449</sup> and, to avoid labour shortage in agriculture, farmers had the right to 'compel loose and masterless men and women whom they find on their bounds to work.'<sup>450</sup>

The Established Church was another major influence on employment and social relations. Indeed, not only was the nineteenth century a time of religious ferment in Scotland, but the Kirk also had responsibility for some matters now regarded as secular. Up to the 1840s individual kirk sessions were responsible for the care of the poor within the parish, and it was only after the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act that the state took over responsibility for education. At that time there was a variety of schools in Scotland, mostly run by one church or another. Even after the Act, teachers continued to be trained in church run institutions.

In his report for 1878 one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools said, ' ... The mass of the Scotch people are Presbyterians, and for these the national schools may be said to exist, just as the Roman Catholic and Episcopalian schools respectively exist for these denominations. The public schools are to all intents and purposes denominational schools. Public and Presbyterian are practically interchangeable terms.'<sup>451</sup>

Although other religious denominations maintained a presence in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Church of Scotland dominated.

Through its courts, the Church exercised control over the populace and determined the prevailing ethos, which in general was in accord with the wishes of the heritors, who exercised their powers of patronage to appoint

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<sup>447</sup> Aitchison, J. (2001). Servants in Ayrshire, 1750-1914. Ayr, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. P. 11.

<sup>448</sup> Ibid.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid.

<sup>450</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland 1621, IV 623.

<sup>451</sup> Mechie, S. (1960). The Church and Scottish Social Development; 1780-1870. London, Oxford University Press. Pp. 151, 152.

ministers of the established church, rented land to the tenant farmers, and in some cases either they or their factors sat as members of the courts.<sup>452</sup>

The position of the Established Church was rocked by the Disruption of 1843 when two-fifths of ministers walked out of the General Assembly and set up a new church, the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>453</sup> The Disruption split families. Marion Craig recalled that her grandfather at Cowdenmoor was the only one of his home to join the dissenters, as her grandmother and the others continued to attend the Established Church at Neilston.<sup>454</sup> Such divisions could have led to problems with family catechising, a practice referred to in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1870 as having been commonplace in the early part of the nineteenth century:

Family-worship was held by the douce-living farmers of those days every morning and evening, and on Sunday evenings the younger branches of the household and the servants were examined on the Catechism, and on the points of doctrine enunciated during the day in the minister's sermons.<sup>455</sup>

Church ministers and elders carried out checks to make sure that the catechism was being taught, and the 1834 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland issued a pastoral admonition expressing concern with a failure to keep the Sabbath in the proper manner, and ascribing this to 'the inattention of the masters to the spiritual welfare of their servants.'<sup>456</sup> In 1858 the Free Church issued a Pastoral Address reminding masters of their responsibility for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their servants, and reminding servants of their duty of faithful, conscientious service. They were to be thankful for a good situation, and to endure a bad situation 'patiently until their contract expired, remembering that they were giving service to God not man.'<sup>457</sup> The paternalistic views of the Established and the Free Church on the master-servant relationship reflected ideas on the proper ordering of a godly society. How closely these corresponded to reality in the changing society of nineteenth century Scotland is open to question.

One notable change in nineteenth century society was the rapidly increasing number of people either Irish born or of Irish extraction. The majority of these were

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<sup>452</sup> Aitchison *Servants in Ayrshire*. P. 18.

<sup>453</sup> Smout, T. C. (1986). *A Century of the Scottish People; 1830-1950*. London, Collins. P.187.

<sup>454</sup> Graham, T. (2004/5). "Recollections of the Craig Family." *Renfrewshire Family History Society Journal*.

<sup>455</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday 17 May 1870; issue 9476, Inquiry into the State of Agriculture in Scotland, including the Past and Present Condition of Farmers and Farm Servants.

<sup>456</sup> Aitchison *Servants in Ayrshire*. P. 19.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.* P. 20.

Catholics, but many of them were Protestant (Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Methodists). The proportion of Protestants has been variously estimated between about twenty per cent and thirty-four per cent.<sup>458</sup> Indeed, some might well have been descended from Scots Presbyterians who immigrated to Ulster in the seventeenth century. It was from Ulster that the Orange Order was introduced to Scotland, in the nineteenth century, where it fanned the embers of anti-Catholic feeling.<sup>459</sup> Scots Law notwithstanding, Irish people were employed on Scottish farms. According to the *Glasgow Herald*:

The vast majority of the labourers, and even the ploughmen, of West Galloway are Irish, so that the employers and employed are aliens in blood, in dialect, and religion.<sup>460</sup>

The authors of this article imply that it was a shortage of native labour that induced farmers to employ these 'aliens.' In a later article, not part of the series, in which the variable standard of ploughmen's cottages in Renfrewshire was discussed, a Kilbarchan farmer is reported to have said that 'there were some houses that no one would go into but an Irishman.'<sup>461</sup> This remark, which was greeted with laughter, indicates that, in some instances, Irish people might be employed because they were prepared to accept poor accommodation, thus saving landlords the trouble of providing better. Irish surnames do not figure among the Springs live-in servants, but various members of the Hughes family were employed as casual labour. Hughes is a name that also occurs in the Lamb Accounts, where Agnes Hughes was a fee'd servant. Other Irish names appear among the casual workers at Crookboat and, in July of 1896, there is a reference to '2 paddies singling.'<sup>462</sup> In 1851, Irish born Peter Rodger was employed as a live-in farm servant at Hatton, as were Irish born John Hendry, John McBride, Henry Nicol, and Elisabeth Nilson at the time of the following Census. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century Kirkintilloch, the Turners employed ploughmen with Irish surnames such as Cachol (or Cahill), Kelly and O' Hara.

The growing Irish element in Scottish society was viewed with some disquiet. According to Tait:

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<sup>458</sup> Mitchell, M. J. (1998). The Irish in the West of Scotland, 1797-1848: trade unions, strikes and political movements. Edinburgh, John Donald. P. 4.

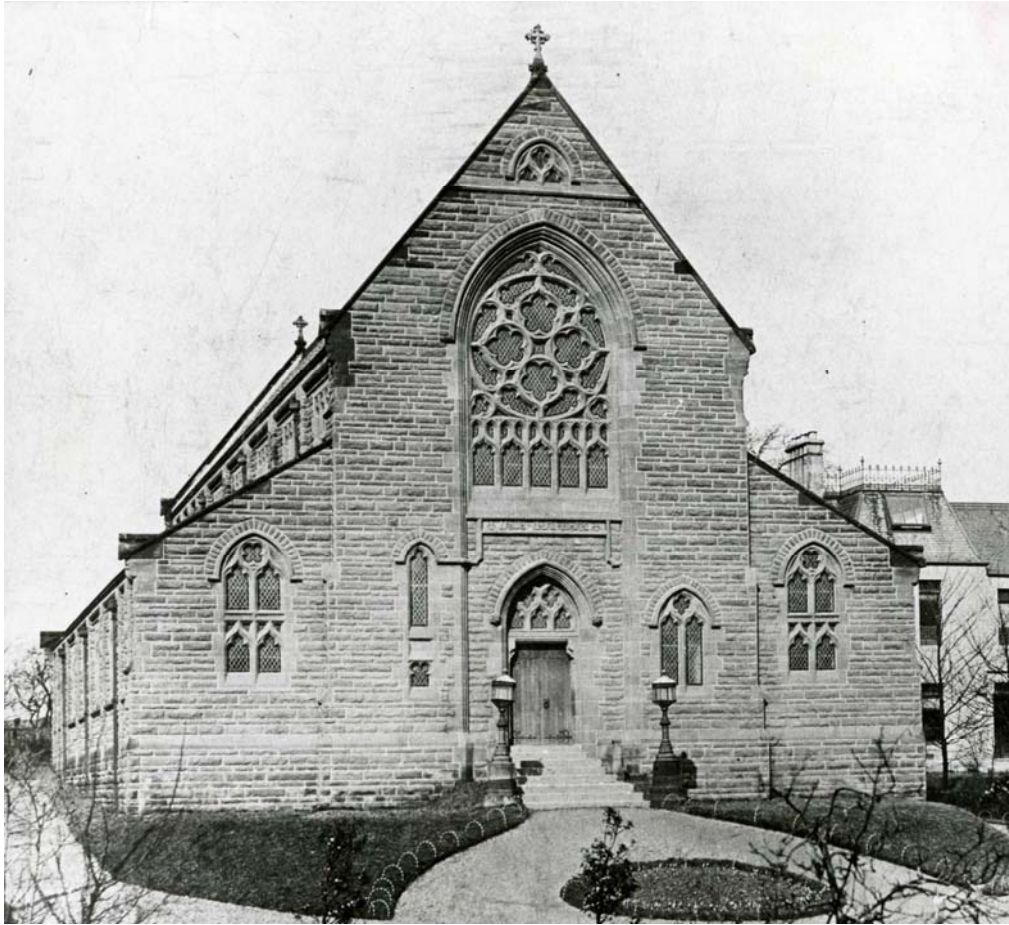
<sup>459</sup> Gallagher, T. (1987). Glasgow, The Uneasy Peace: religious tension in modern Scotland. Manchester, Manchester University Press. Pp. 24-27.

<sup>460</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 15 September 1870; issue 9580, Wigtownshire.

<sup>461</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Friday 14 October 1892; issue 247, The Labour Commission, Meeting at Paisley.

<sup>462</sup> McGuire, D. E. "Lamb Accounts Database." ID 1072.

The immigration of such a body of labourers of the lowest class, with untidy habits, and with scarcely any education, has exerted a prejudicial influence especially in the west. The great bulk of the Irish have not improved by contiguity with the native Scots, but the earlier inhabitants have become deteriorated by associating with their new neighbours.<sup>463</sup>



**37. Holy Family and St. Ninian's R.C. Church, Kirkintilloch. Designed by P.P. Pugin of the London firm of Pugin and Pugin, and built of red Dumfries stone, the church opened in 1893. Richly decorated inside, this is one of a number of very similar churches designed by Pugin for Scottish parishes, and contrasts with the Presbyterian Buchanan Kirk, illustrated in Chapter Eight. Source – East Dunbartonshire Libraries.**

Ogilvie reported concern within the Church of Scotland that the Scottish race was decreasing as the numbers of Irish in Scotland increased. He commented:

In most Scottish parishes there are two Protestant churches and often more. In many mining and industrial villages of Central Scotland each recent year has seen the addition of a new one – usually distinctive in its architecture and in the colour of its new brick; and a similar development appears in the cities. This sign of the penetration of Protestant Scotland is

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<sup>463</sup> Tait, J. (1883). "The Physiological Distinctions in the Conditions of the Scottish Peasantry." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XV**: 1-20.

viewed with alarm by many of her people, not so much on account of religious prejudice, as because of the social implications.<sup>464</sup>

A change in the internal relations of farming households may be counted as one of these social implications. It might be argued that the tradition of family worship was in decline before a significant number of households included members of a distinct religion. The Church of Scotland admonition of 1834 suggests back-sliding at that time, and Tait says that, although immigration of Irish people began in 1820, it did not 'attain large dimensions' until about 1840.<sup>465</sup> Moreover, the migrants may have started on farms as casual labour, and only later been accepted as fee'd servants. However, the strong feelings in society with regard to this new element ensured that, no matter how accepting individual farmers might be, their relationship with their Irish servants could not be quite the same as that with their Scottish servants. There must always have been an awareness of difference, whether acknowledged or not, which may have had an impact on farmer-farm servant relations generally.



**38. Susan Hughes or Lafferty, Scots born (1871) but of Irish extraction, pictured with a great-grandchild. Both Hughes' father and husband were miners but, in common with other miner's daughters, Hughes worked on farms in West Central Scotland before her marriage. Source - author.**

The 1870 articles in the *Glasgow Herald* express concern over a perceived shift in farmer-farm servant relations, which some of the articles link to changes in farm

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<sup>464</sup> Ogilvie, A. G., Ed. (1928). *Great Britain; essays in regional geography by twenty-six authors; with an introduction by Sir E.J. Russell*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 450.

<sup>465</sup> Tait "The Scottish Peasantry."



accommodation. The articles indicate that, in general, both farm-houses and the cottages of farm-servants, were 'of the very rudest description' at the start of the nineteenth century. Furnishings were basic, and 'the beds were huge wooden boxes, so arranged as to form partitions and passages in the interior of the house.' Such was the shortage of crockery in the small farms of the early nineteenth century, 'it was quite common for the small farmer and his servants to sup out of the same porridge-cog, or the same potato-pot.'<sup>466</sup> By the time of the *Herald* articles there had been improvement. Ayrshire was said to be 'passable in the case of farm-houses,' although 'certainly a long way behind some counties in the matter of cottage accommodation for married ploughmen.'<sup>467</sup> The Renfrewshire farm-houses seem to have been typical of the region:

As the farms in Renfrewshire are mostly small, the houses in general have been made to correspond with the size of the holdings. They are commonly one-storey erections, low in the roof, and very frequently afflicted with damp ... they have generally been erected on the same plan, which consists of a longish row one storey in height, with the byre and perhaps the stable under the same roof with the dwelling-house ...<sup>468</sup>

Tait says (with reference to the counties of Ayr, Renfrew and Lanark at the time of his writing) that on the small farms, tenant farmers were little higher in the social scale than their labourers, and that it was 'not uncommon for a farmer's son to become a ploughman, or for a ploughman to get a farm.' Frequently the farmer had less ready money than his servant.<sup>469</sup> Similar views were earlier expressed in the *Herald*:

In fact, we have lately seen repeated instance of Lanarkshire farmers, occupying 200 acres of land, and owning, perhaps, from twenty to fifty head of milk cattle, working as hard as any of their field labourers. In like manner, the small occupier sits and eats at the same table with his servants, faring neither better nor worse, clad in similar clothing, and perhaps at the year's end, when stock is taken, and the balance is struck, he may have less money to the good than a saving ploughman has.<sup>470</sup>

Another article in the series, from earlier the same month, presents a different picture:

In Stirlingshire the vast majority of ploughmen are fed in the farmers' kitchens, and the feeding is generally of the most substantial kind ... But there is a fact which is becoming painfully apparent all over the country, and that is the difference in degree or status between ploughmen and their master. There is not the same kindly intercourse and mutual

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<sup>466</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday 17 May 1870; issue 9476.

<sup>467</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 28 July 1870; issue 9538, Ayrshire III.

<sup>468</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 7 July, 1870; issue 9520, Renfrewshire.

<sup>469</sup> Tait "The Scottish Peasantry."

<sup>470</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 25 June 1870; issue 9510, Lanarkshire II.

sympathy between the two classes now as there was half a century ago. The existing bond is mere money, and the results are eye-service, dogged independence, and frequent changes on the part of the men, and want of feeling on the part of the masters. The gulf between the two ranks is getting wider and deeper, and the evil appears to be without a remedy.<sup>471</sup>

In these two articles the link between physical separation and increased social distinctiveness is clearly drawn. The growing social gulf, and its consequences, was also commented upon in the articles relating to Renfrewshire:

The social relations of farmers and farm-servants, as we have already hinted, are not on the same kindly footing now as they were in former times. Frequent changes of masters and servants leads to a want of mutual sympathy, and want of sympathy leads just as naturally to frequent changes. The bond between six months' servants and their employers is money on the one hand and work on the other, and it cannot well be other wise. The two parties have scarcely time to become thoroughly acquainted when the separation takes place; a new set of servants succeeds the old, and thus the social wheel revolves without ceasing. One result of this movement is the decline or extinction of merry-makings in the farm-houses. "Rantin kirns" on the occasion of "Harvest homes" are merely things of the past in Renfrewshire; Hallowe'en sports and festivities, first-footings at the New Year, &c, are following the same course, and rural life is becoming thoroughly selfish, practical, and hum-drum.<sup>472</sup>

In the above quote, the distancing of master from servant is seen as a vicious circle responsible for a cultural impoverishment of rural life. There are also moral connotations in the description of rural life as 'selfish,' and moral assessment is more prominent in the second Stirlingshire article:

Farmers are becoming capitalist, and seem to have lost all interest in the moral or religious training of their servants. The farmer now-a-days lives apart from his ploughmen, and there is no intercourse except in connection with the farm-work. They sit and eat in different apartments, and sleep under different roofs. Family worship is becoming unfashionable, and the men are ceasing to attend any church ... they spend more in drink and tobacco, and are growing more unsettled in their habits, and more difficult to satisfy with situations, employers, and working hours. There are, doubtless, many exceptions to be found among masters and men, and we found not a few in Stirlingshire – that is to say, ploughmen who had been from ten to thirty years in the same place, who were steady and saving in their habits, and masters who continue to sit at the same fire and to eat at the same table with their servants. But this old homely arrangement is passing away with the improvement of farm-houses, and we may look upon its extinction as a mere question of time.<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 16 June 1870; issue 9502, Stirlingshire II.

<sup>472</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

<sup>473</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 16 June 1870; issue 9502, Stirlingshire II.

Orr says that the 'impact of British capitalist agriculture on the labour force has been summed up by historians in the word 'proletarianisation,'"<sup>474</sup> and that there were various processes involved in this change, of which the separation of employers from employed by the abolition of farm service, and the replacement of annual labour contracts by short-term weekly or daily engagements were of major importance. Although farm service and contracts of six or twelve months persisted in Scotland, clearly there was a separation between employers and employed and, while this was seen as an element of capitalism, it was also seen as a consequence of a failure of religious duty by both employers and employed, leading to a moral decline in society. In Chapter Two, family labour farms are defined as farms on which most, if not all, of the labour is supplied by the incumbent family, and capitalist farms as ones on which most of the labour is hired, the farmer's family take no part in the work of the farm, and the farmer is only involved in an executive or supervisory capacity. Yet the family labour farms were operating within a capitalist system. Profit margins may have been slim, but nevertheless the families were farming for profit.

The social separation between farming family and farm servant appears to have been less in the smaller farms of west central Scotland, where the physical separation was also less. The practice of feeding servants in the farm kitchen was known as the 'kitchen system,' and was only workable:

... where a farmer is willing to associate with his work-people, and dine at the same table. But when farms increase in size, and the tenant rises in the social scale, he objects to mingle with his servants, and the ladies of the household will not endure the inconvenience caused by a troop of dirty field-workers invading the kitchen three times a-day.<sup>475</sup>

Orr remarks that farmers in the Lothians were able to secure their labour supply, without compromising their social superiority, by rebuilding their farmhouses with separate quarters and kitchens for servants.<sup>476</sup> In some places male servants were accommodated in bothies, where they were responsible for preparing their own food. According to Tait the bothy system prevailed in the counties of Perth, Fife, Forfar, and Kincardine.<sup>477</sup> Orr says that the bothy system was prevalent in counties, such as Clackmannan, where the farms were not as large as in the Lothians, but not as small

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<sup>474</sup> Devine, Ed. Farm Servants and Labour. P. 29.

<sup>475</sup> Tait "The Scottish Peasantry."

<sup>476</sup> Orr, A. (1984). Farm Servants and Farm Labour in the Forth Valley and South-East Lowlands. Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770-1914. T. M. Devine. Edinburgh, John Donald.

<sup>477</sup> Tait "The Scottish Peasantry."

as in Stirlingshire.<sup>478</sup> Tait says that the kitchen system existed largely in the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, but was also found in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff.<sup>479</sup> In these areas, where the farmer worked alongside his men (instead of relaying orders through a grieve) the social gulf was not so broad. On some farms, such as Auchenfoyle, the room where the male farm servants slept was referred to as a bothy, but it was attached to the farmhouse, and the men ate in the farm kitchen.

## Farm Service on Featured Farms

It is possible to get an idea of the turnover of employees at Springs and Crookboat from the Murdoch and Lamb Account Books. At Springs, the usual complement of the core hired labour was a ploughman, and a dairymaid, and sometimes a second man. The apparent lack of dairymaids some terms may be explained by the work of the farm daughters. Often an additional man was employed for the busy quarters of spring and harvest.

<b>Springs</b>				
<b>Term</b>	<b>Ploughman</b>	<b>Second Man</b>	<b>Dairymaid</b>	<b>Additional</b>
Nov 1854- May 1855	John Dickson £8.10.0	James Annan £6.10.0		
May – Nov 1855	John Dickson £8.10.0		Janet Drinnan £4.15.0	David Giffen for harvest £3.10.0
Nov 1855 – May 1856	John Dickson £9.5.0		Janet Drinnan £4.15.0	William McNeil quarter to Whitsun, £4.15.0
May – Nov 1856	John Dickson £9.5.0		Agnes Murdoch £4.0.0	Thomas Paterson for harvest £3.10.0
Nov 1856 – May 1857	John Stevenson £10.0.0		Margaret Aird £4.10.0	William McNeil quarter to Whitsun, £4.7.6
May – Nov 1857	John Dickson £9.5.0		Margaret Aird £4.10.0	James Hunter for harvest £4.0.0
Nov 1857 – May 1858		Samuel Niven £7.10.0		
May – Nov 1858	John Dickson £9.5.0			David Lees for harvest £2.12.0 Thomas Scott for harvest £3.0.0
Nov 1858 – May 1859	John Dickson £9.5.0	Samuel Niven £7.0.0		

<sup>478</sup> Orr Farm Servants and Farm Labour in the Forth Valley and South-East Lowlands.

<sup>479</sup> Tait "The Scottish Peasantry."

May - Nov 1859		Samuel Niven £7.5.0		
Nov 1859 - May 1860	John Dickson £9.5.0			
May - Nov 1860	John Dickson £9.5.0			Thomas Paterson 5 wks 16/- p wk
Nov 1860 - May 1861	John Dickson £9.5.0			David Duncan to Whitsun, ten weeks at 9/-, £4.10.0
May - Nov 1861	John Dickson £9.5.0			Thomas Paterson for harvest, 15/- pr week, £4.0.0
Nov 1861 - May 1862				
May - Nov 1862	Thomas Scott £9.10.0 plus house			
Nov 1862 - May 1863	Thomas Scott £9.10.0			
May - Nov 1863	John Dickson £8.0.0			D. Richmond for four weeks harvest, £3.5.0
Nov 1863 - May 1864	John Dickson £8.0.0			
May - Nov 1864	John Dickson £8.0.0			William Irv? For harvest? £3.0.0
Nov 1864 - May 1865				Thomas McCormack, two months £2.12.0
May - Nov 1865				
Nov 1865- May 1866				
May - Nov 1866				James Jamieson 5 weeks harvest wages £4
Nov 1866 - May 1867				
May - Nov 1867				James Jamieson £4 in Oct
Nov 1867 - May 1868				
May - Nov 1868				Thomas Scott 16/- p wk harvest wages £3.16.0
Nov 1868 - May 1869				

May – Nov 1869				John Craig harvest man 16/- p wk 4 wks £3.4.0
Nov 1869 – May 1870				
May – Nov 1870				Harvest wages £8.1.9
Nov 1870 – May 1871				
May – Nov 1871				Reddex £5.5.0 Harvest wages 2/6 p day £3.5.6
Nov 1871 – May 1872				
May – Nov 1872				Thomas Scott harvest 4 wks @ 28/- £5.12.0
Nov 1872 – May 1873				
May – Nov 1873				Thomas Scott 4 wks @ 28/- £5.12.0
Nov 1873 – May 1874				
May – Nov 1874				
Nov 1874 – May 1875				
May – Nov 1875				Thomas Paterson harvest wages 24/- p wk 4 wks £4.16.0

**39. Springs farm servant timeline, as extrapolated from the Murdoch Account Books. Where information is lacking, suggesting no employee at that time, the cell has been left blank.**

Thomas Scott was paid £3 for harvest work at Springs, in September of 1858. In May of 1860 Scott bought potatoes off Springs and, in July of 1860, Mrs. Scott was paid for 'hay work.' According to the 1861 Census, forty year old ploughman, Thomas Scott, lived at 'Manse Gates' Stair, with his wife, daughter, and father. Presuming that 'Manse Gates' was near the manse, and the manse was near the church, in the village of Stair, the Scotts lived less than a mile from Springs Farm. The designation 'ploughman' suggests that Scott was a farm servant at this time although he was not the Springs ploughman. In April of 1862, 'T. Scott' was engaged for the coming

summer term for nine pounds and ten shillings, 'house rent beside £1.'<sup>480</sup> The allowance for the rent of a house paid by Murdoch, suggests that the Scotts were not accommodated in a cottage on Springs steading, but rented accommodation elsewhere. Mrs. Scott was paid three shillings and fourpence, for hay work, in 1860 when her husband was not employed at Springs. In December of 1862, when he was employed at Springs, she was paid five shillings and six pence for pulling turnips. The Scotts are not mentioned for four years between 1864 and September of 1868, when Thomas Scott was paid harvest wages. At the same time Maggie Scott was paid eighteen shillings for harvest work, and, in July of 1871, Maggie Scott got sixteen shillings for weeding turnips. Thomas Scott's daughter, Margaret, would have been about seventeen in 1868. Thomas Scott continued to be employed intermittently either at harvest work, or at laying drains or hedges. In the 1871 Census Thomas Scott was described as a labourer, and his daughter, Margaret, as a domestic servant. The household had been enlarged by the addition of three male boarders. On the night of the 1881 Census Thomas and his wife were living at Dalmore (near Springs), and Thomas (aged sixty) was described as a labourer on the railway.

At Crookboat, the usual complement was a ploughman, a kitchen woman, a byre woman, a 'girl,' and a 'boy.'

<b>Crookboat</b>			
	<b>Kitchen Woman, Byre Woman</b>	<b>Boy</b>	<b>Girl</b>
1875-76	Agnes Hamilton House maid Helen Shirden Byre maid	Boy	J. Robtson
May – Nov. 1876	Agnes Hamilton, Agnes from Byretown	James the Boy	Isabella Burnside
May – Nov. 1880	Agnes Hamilton, Jean Smith	James Aichison	Cecilia Barrie
Nov. 1880- May 1881	Janet Elder, Jean the byre woman	Thomas Broadfoot	Cecilia Barrie
May – Nov. 1881	Jessie Elder, Jean Smith	Thomas Broadfoot	Jessie Grant
Nov. 1881- May 1882	Jessie Brumlee, Wishaw Girl (Jean Smith?)	Boy Hamilton	Wishaw Girl Hamilton
May – Nov. 1883	Jessie Elder, May Browning	James Watt	Girl from Newbigging
Nov. 1883 – May 1884	Helen Flanagan, Glenbuck, Elizabeth Dickson	Boy	Rebecca from Larkhall
May – Nov.	Janet Frane	David	Rebecca Brown

<sup>480</sup> Expenditure Table, ID Nos. 1752 and 1753

1884			Grace Day
Nov. 1885 – May 1886	Bella McCormick Marion Cleland	James Watt	Annie Howie or Harvie
May – Nov. 1886	Agnes Hamilton Mary Baxter	Alex Mitchell	Mary Aitken, Rigside
Nov. 1886 – May 1887	Maggie McDonald Catherine Scott	John Sanderson, Cartland	Mary Aitken
May – Nov. 1887	Annie Jackson, Forth Maggie Johnston, Carluke	John Pate, Steel’s Cross, Lanark	Mary Aitken
Nov. 1887 – May 1888	Elizabeth Dickson Elizabeth Cullen	James Hutchison	Mary Aitken
May – Nov. 1888	Christina Jack then Maggie Wilson from 31 July, Kate Brown Grace Dunlop	John Hill or James Affleck	Maggie Burns or Barrie?
May – Nov. 1889	Margaret Menzies, Lawhill by Carluke, Catherine Hoey	Thomas Hastie, Fauldhouse	
Nov. 1889- May 1890	Nellie Robert, Mary Aitken	Thomas Wylie	Annie Stark
May – Nov. 1890	Mary Moss, Maggie McDonald, Mary Aitken	Wattie, Thomas Wylie	Girl
Nov. 1891- May 1892	Annie MacKintosh, Stark	Francis Cooper	
Nov. 1892- May 1893	Baskary Brown	James Stoddart	

**40. Crookboat Farm Servant Timeline, as extrapolated from the Lamb Account Books. The Crookboat ploughmen are listed in a separate table below.**

The above timeline demonstrates a rapid turnover of the younger employees. Perhaps this frequent change was the reason Alexander Lamb did not always mention names in his accounts, and merely designated junior employees ‘boy’ or ‘girl.’ Many were only six months at Crookboat, and none were there more than two years, although, Mary Aitken, who served as the ‘girl’ for two years, later returned as the byre woman, and remained another year. The kitchen and byre women did not stay very long either. This level of turnover does not necessarily indicate a problem particular to the farm. The re-employment of Mary Aitken, at a higher wage does indicate career progression rather personality clash. Marriage removed women, as independent agents, from the labour market, as thereafter they were tied to their husband’s career. The single woman might seek higher wages in order to accumulate funds for the purpose of setting up a home, or she might want to store up some experience of life before settling.



In 1919, Duncan, the General Secretary of the Scottish Farm Servants' Union, considered the complaint of farmers that servants would never settle in one place, and says that the same complaint is to be found in the N.S.A., the reports of Assistant Commissioners appointed by the Royal Commission of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture 1867, and also the Royal Commission on Labour of 1892/3.<sup>481</sup> As their representative, Duncan's sympathies are likely to have been more with the farm workers than with the farmers, but he thought the level of migration 'excessive,' and 'injurious to family life.' The children grew up without roots and their education suffered from repeated disruption. Duncan concluded that, while some migration was inevitable and even desirable, in so far as it allowed servants to gain experience in different methods of farming, a more settled rural population would create a more healthy rural society, and provide the kind of educated worker that agriculture needed.

Sometimes there were particular problems in the farmer-farm servant relationship, and servants either left mid-term, or were dismissed. In March of 1860, a servant at Sornbeg was given her wages, 'and told never to enter the door again,'<sup>482</sup> but the reason for this is not stated. In 1898, an Oxcgang servant 'left at night,' but, here too, no reason is given.<sup>483</sup> Whatever the relationship with ploughman Mulholland, when he left Oxcgang, at the Whitsunday term of 1905, it was to go to another farm in the district where, it seems, the wages were higher.<sup>484</sup> Peter Turner's diaries suggest that there was a drink problem with ploughman Cahill, and another ploughman, Allan, was admonished in court in December of 1907, but Turner does not give the reason for this. Some offences could result in instant dismissal. Peter Turner junior recalled that when his father saw the second man, Anderson kicking a horse, he dismissed him on the spot. There could also be problems with the female servants, which Peter Turner junior phrased delicately.

I remember quite a number of dairymaids arriving and disappearing fairly quick. They were er [slight pause] a bit silly. Some of the men who used to come in, they would disappear with them, and my father would go, "Right, down the road! We don't want you here!" And eventually this Lizzie Blair arrived. She came from Glebe Street in Glasgow and she is the longest serving dairymaid I can remember ... She was there from about 1925, I

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<sup>481</sup> Duncan, J. F. (1919). "Scottish Farm Labour." *The Scottish Journal of Agriculture* **II**: 495-507.

<sup>482</sup> Donalds The Diary of Alexander Donald of Sornbeg, Ayrshire Archives, AA/DC/12/3/1.

<sup>483</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database."

<sup>484</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4, ID. 1066.

think, until the farm was sold in 1934. That was the longest dairymaid I can remember. And eventually she married a local councillor.<sup>485</sup>

Peter junior also said that he could only remember two ploughmen at Oxgang, both good ploughmen. One left because of old age, and Turner was sure that his successor would also have remained until retirement, had the farm not been sold,

... cause my father had a great relationship with nearly all his workers. Cause he mucked in himself and they saw, with his one hand, he was doing what he could.<sup>486</sup>

Allan was first employed at Oxgang at Whitsunday 1903, but there are no specific references to Allan between November 1903 and July 1905. References to him begin again in July of 1905, and continue until the end of the diaries in January 1908. It does not seem to have been unusual for servants to re-engage after an interval away from a particular farm, as this also happened at Springs and Crookboat. At Crookboat, John Tait engaged with John Lamb in 1876, left in 1879, and re-engaged with John Lamb in 1883. Tait's subsequent lengthy employment at Crookboat is discussed in the next section, where Tait's story is used as an example of the life of a farm servant, illustrating various social issues.

<b>From</b>	<b>To</b>		<b>Money Wage (£SD) per 6 months</b>		
May 1873	Nov 1873	John Stewart	15	11	
Nov 1874	May 1875	Robert Carruthers	16		
May 1875	May 1876	Robert Carruthers	16		
May 1876	May 1877	John Tait	16		
May 1877	May 1878	John Tait	16		
May 1878	May 1879	John Tait	16		
May 1879	May 1880	Alexander Barr	16	10	
May 1880	May 1881	John Blackly	16		
May 1881	May 1882	James Stewart	15		
May 1882	May 1883	John Blackie	16		
May 1883	May 1884	John Tait	16		
May 1884	May 1885	John Tait	16	5	
May 1885	May 1886	John Tait	16	5	
May 1886	May 1887	John Tait	16	5	
May 1887	May 1888	John Tait	16	5	
May 1888	May 1889	John Tait	16		
May 1889	May 1890	John Tait	16		
May 1890	May 1891	John Tait	17		
May 1891	May 1892	John Tait	17		
May 1892	May 1893	John Tait	17		

<sup>485</sup> Peter Turner, 15.7.2003.

<sup>486</sup> Peter Turner, 15.7.2003.

May 1893	May 1894	John Tait	23	8	
May 1894	May 1895	John Tait	23	8	
May 1895	May 1896	John Tait	23	8	
May 1896	May 1897	John Tait	23	8	
May 1897	May 1898	John Tait	23	8	

#### 41. Crookboat Ploughmen

### The Tait Family<sup>487</sup>

John Tait was born in Peebles, around 1846, the son of John Tait, ploughman, and Alexandrina Renton Tait.<sup>488</sup> In the 1851 Census, Tait's mother was described as a forty-seven year old widow and 'general labourer.' Her household comprised the five year old John Tait, and three daughters. At twenty-four, Agnes was described as an agricultural labourer, while twelve year old Margaret and eight year old Georgina were at school. Three other children mentioned in the 1841 Census were absent from the household in 1851. Elizabeth and Mary were probably either married or working away from home. The other son, Robert Tait<sup>489</sup> (eighteen in 1851) was working as a live in farm servant, at Whitehaugh Farm, Peebleshire. If Robert Tait left home, at an early age, to find work, even if this work was only few miles distant, it is likely that his younger brother hardly knew him. Mr. Baird, from near Ballantrae, Ayrshire said that he hardly knew his older brothers while he was growing up, because they worked at other farms and had few holidays.<sup>490</sup> Mrs Collins, recalling farming life in Ayrshire in the 1930s, reports that her farm servant brothers sometimes came home once a month, bringing their clothes for her to clean and mend.<sup>491</sup>

By the time of the 1861 Census, Renton Tait was living on her own. Her daughter, Georgina, was working as a domestic servant at the home of a grocer, in the town of Peebles, but the whereabouts of her other daughters is not known. Robert was married with two young children, and was a ploughman at Crookston Farm, Peebles. Fifteen year old John Tait was a live-in servant at the same farm. In every subsequent Census in which he is mentioned, Robert Tait was described as a farm servant. In

<sup>487</sup> See family tree at end of chapter.

<sup>488</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths, 634/00 0005.

<sup>489</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths, 685/05 0347.

<sup>490</sup> Ayrshire Archives, Ayrshire Sound Archive, ASA 107 Farming at Ballantrae, and Market Gardening at Ayr, Interview with Mr. Baird, Castlehill, Ayr, October 1984.

<sup>491</sup> Ayrshire Archives, Ayrshire Sound Archive, ASA 71 Farming Life in Central Ayrshire, © Age Concern c/o Community Education 1984.

1871 Robert's family (including two more sons and a second daughter) were living in the parish of Leith. In 1881 this family were living in Libberton, Midlothian, and Robert's eldest son, John was also working as a farm servant, as was his fourteen year old third son, Robert, while eighteen year old second son, William was a baker. The elder daughter, Janet was not listed at the family home, and fourteen year old Renton was described as a 'scholar'. In 1891 Robert was a farm servant at Newton, Midlothian, and only Renton was still at home with her parents. She too was described as a 'farm servant'. Duncan said that it was rare for young men and women living at home with their parents to be employed on farms other than those on which their parents were employed.<sup>492</sup> Agnes Tod (born 1895), daughter of a Midlothian ploughman, recalled moving to a new farm every few years because her father wanted to keep his sons at home and, 'as the boys grew up he had to shift to get work for them.'<sup>493</sup> Finding a farm where the whole family could be employed full-time was a possibility in Midlothian, where the farms tended to be larger. On the smaller farms common in west central Scotland, it was more difficult to keep the family together. From the Census Reports, it would appear that Robert Tait spent his entire working life on one farm or another. However, according to the statutory records, at the time of his death, at the age of sixty-six, he was a coal merchant in the Newington district of Edinburgh.<sup>494</sup>

While Robert seems to have spent his life in the east of Scotland, John Tait moved westwards. He was working as a farm servant in Carmichael Parish, Lanarkshire when, in October of 1868, he married Mary Thomson (spinster). Mary Thomson was described as a domestic servant living in Innerleithen Parish, although she was born in Lochrutton, Kirkcudbright. Both parents of both bride and groom were listed as deceased, but the occupation of Mary's father was said to have been farm servant.<sup>495</sup> The following February, when their daughter (Agnes Renton Tait) was born, John and Mary were living at Burnhouse Mill<sup>496</sup> When registering the birth her father gave his occupation as 'ploughman.' As mentioned in Chapter Four, the thirty acre farm of Burnhouse Mill was integrated into Crookboat Farm in 1821, and a long stone

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<sup>492</sup>Duncan "Scottish Farm Labour." P. 503

<sup>493</sup> MacDougall, I. (1993). "Hard work, ye ken": Midlothian women farmworkers. Edinburgh, Canongate Academic in association with Midlothian District Council, the European Ethnological Research Centre and the National Museums of Scotland. P. 4

<sup>494</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths, 685/05 0347.

<sup>495</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Marriages 771/00 0004.

<sup>496</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 630/00 0008.

building there was divided into three cottages, which were sub-let by the Lambs of Crookboat. In the opinion of nineteenth century farmer, John McCulloch:

When an arable farm is worked on a five or six course rotation, as is common in the west and south of Scotland, there should be no less than one cottage for every hundred acres. An extra one even is desirable, so that it can be let to a tradesman or other party who will, as part of the rent, supply a worker at busy times.<sup>497</sup>



**42. Burnhouse Mill. The three cottages at Burnhouse Mill have been rendered and united into one dwelling-house. Source – University of Glasgow.**

Examination of the Census Reports of 1851, 1861, 1871, and 1881 reveal weavers, a tailor, a road surface man, a railway labourer, and a stone dyke builder, as well as agricultural labourers and another ploughman among the residents of Burnhouse Mill. Some of these residents did work for the Lambs on a casual basis, notably Jean Gold or Lorrimer, who is mentioned in Lamb account books between 1879 and 1898.<sup>498</sup> Jean Gold was a widow with a daughter, Sarah Lorrimer (born around 1869) and was employed for periods of three, six or ten days at a time. Sometimes she was employed in the house, washing and cleaning, and sometimes she was employed with field work, such as potato planting, and harvesting. A daily rate was paid for this labour, rather than the labour being a component of the rent, but a small reservoir of

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<sup>497</sup> McCulloch, J. (1880). "On Providing a Sufficient Supply of Labour During Press of Agricultural Work." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series**, vol. **XII**: 229-238.

<sup>498</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

labour at Burnhouse Mill was, undoubtedly, advantageous to the Lambs. Road surface man, John Broadfoot's son, Thomas was employed by John Lamb, as a live-in farm servant, for two terms from Martinmas 1880 to Martinmas 1881.<sup>499</sup>

Tait might have lived at Burnhouse Mill while employed at another farm in the area, but, by the time of the 1871 Census, he was in a different line of work. At that time the Tait's were living in Auldtonheight, Brocketsbrae, Lesmahagow, and Tait was described as a carter. Later that year, when Tait registered the birth of his son, John, he gave his occupation as 'carter at sawmill.'<sup>500</sup> The work of a carter was not as far removed from that of a ploughman as it might appear, since both were concerned with the management of horses. At the birth of his second son, James, in August 1873, Tait gave his occupation as 'limestone miner' and his address as Star Inn, Lesmahagow.<sup>501</sup> Tait had returned to Carmichael and to agricultural work by Whitsun 1876, when he was hired, as a ploughman, by John Lamb. The contract was renewed in 1877 and 1878, but Tait was replaced by Alexander Barr, at Whitsun 1879.<sup>502</sup> Where Tait went, after leaving Crookboat, is not known, but the family's address, in the 1881 Census Report, is Townhead Cottages, Carmichael. The Report gives the occupation of both John and Mary as 'agricultural labourer.' The following year, when their daughter, Margaret was born, the Tait's were living at Townhead, Ponfeigh, Carmichael, and John Tait was described as a ploughman.<sup>503</sup>

In the Summer of 1883, John Tait was again employed as a ploughman at Crookboat, and seems to have remained there until his retirement. The last known reference to Tait in a Crookboat wage book dates to September 1923, and details a weekly wage of thirty-one shillings per week plus allowances. Two circumstances may help account for Tait's long running employment at Crookboat. John Lamb died in October 1885, and Crookboat was taken over by his son, Alexander. The writer of Alexander Lamb's obituary in the *Hamilton Advertiser* in 1916, praised the quality of Alexander's livestock at Crookboat, but continued:

In the horse line he did not "fash" to shine. Once a horse was at Crookboat it remained, like his serving man. Some may come and some may go, but John continues.

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<sup>499</sup> Lamb, J. and A. Lamb Road Book.

<sup>500</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 649/00 0186.

<sup>501</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 649/00 0281.

<sup>502</sup> Lamb and Lamb Road Book.

<sup>503</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 630/00 0018.



- 43. This image is presumed to depict Alexander Lamb with his long-serving horse. There is no known image of his long-serving man, John Tait. Source – Alec Lamb.**

This suggests that the personality of Alexander Lamb, in that he did not care to replace key workers, was a factor in Tait's continuance. The quote also implies that such long service on a single farm was unusual for both man and horse, although farmers' preference for a less changeable workforce can be seen in local encouragement for long service. In 1877 The Carmichael Agricultural Society awarded prizes for the longest serving servants, both male and female.<sup>504</sup> In 1899 an 'entertainment' was held at Carmichael House for the tenants of Carmichael estate, along with the children from the local schools. Various contests were held and prizes awarded, including prizes for servants 'in the employment of the same master or family for the longest period.'<sup>505</sup> Seven and a half years, and six and a half years service secured the first and second prizes among the male servants, while four years, and two years nine months sufficed to secure a prize among the female servants. As Crookboat was on the Douglas estate, John Tait would not have been eligible.

<sup>504</sup> Fleming, W. A. (undated). Carmichael; a history of the parish and its peoples, privately printed. P. 74.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid. P. 77.

Another possible factor in Tait's continuance at Crookboat was the well-being of Alexander Lamb. Doctor's accounts in the Lamb archive indicate that Alexander Lamb was in poor health in 1895. His grandson, Alec Lamb, gathered from his father, (Alexander's son, John) that Alexander was in poor health for some years, so that greater responsibility devolved upon the ploughman. Young John Lamb received much of his education in farming from Tait. When Tait was engaged at Crookboat in 1876, it was at a wage of thirty-three pounds, three loads of oatmeal and five bags of potatoes for the year. When he returned in 1883 it was at the annual fee of thirty-two pounds and ten shillings, plus allowances. In 1887 this dropped to thirty-two pounds, with oatmeal and potatoes but, in 1890, he was paid thirty-four pounds plus allowances. In Tait's account for Whitsunday 1893 to Whitsunday 1894, Alexander Lamb wrote '18/- per week – nothing more.'<sup>506</sup> This is a pay increase of 37.65 per cent over the previous year, and might be explained by Tait taking on extra work and/or responsibility at Crookboat, such as hiring other workers. Alexander Lamb wrote in his account book, for 12 December 1895, 'John Tait Wishaw hiring byre woman,'<sup>507</sup> indicating that Tait did hire for the farm. The phrase 'nothing more' does not indicate that Tait no longer received in kind payments. The allowances continued. The phrase suggests that some negotiation took place before the rate of eighteen shillings per week was agreed upon. However, there seems to have been a bond of trust and confidence between John Tait and Alexander Lamb which might be partly both cause and consequence of their long association. Alexander Lamb trusted John Tait to teach his son about farming and, papers in the Lamb archive reveal that Alexander Lamb was curator bonis for Tait's son, John.<sup>508</sup> According to information on the Scottish Courts website:

A Curator bonis is a person appointed by the Court to manage the financial affairs of another person who in the opinion of the Court is unable to manage those affairs for himself or herself...

Alec Lamb reports that young John worked in a local quarry where, as the result of an accident, he lost a leg. Compensation was paid for the injury, and it may have been the trauma of this accident that led to the appointment of a curator bonis, and to

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<sup>506</sup> Lamb and Lamb Road Book. P. 61

<sup>507</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>508</sup> <http://www.scotcourts.gov.uk/library/curator/fams/one.asp>



John's residence in the local Hartwood Asylum.<sup>509</sup> The Scottish Courts website advises that:

The legal and accounting requirements placed on a Curator bonis are quite complex and demanding and the court therefore normally prefers to appoint a professional person, ie., a solicitor or accountant. Sometimes, however, the court will appoint a non-professional person, usually a close relation of the Ward, if satisfied that such a person is capable of properly performing all the required duties, possibly with some professional assistance.



**44. Hartwood Asylum. Image Copyright Raymond Okonski.<sup>510</sup>**

Alexander Lamb was neither solicitor, nor accountant, nor close relative of John Tait junior, but Lamb's social standing (as a tenant farmer) may have made him more acceptable to the court than young John's relatives. Lamb's appointment as curator bonis to his servant's son is in keeping with eighteenth century ideas of servants being part of their master's family, and reflects the sort of kindly relationship approved of by nineteenth century commentators.

Evidence to determine how common such relationships were is lacking, but William Murdoch appears to have been held in some regard by his ploughman, John Dickson. While Murdoch occasionally gave Thomas Scott an advance on his wages, Dickson did not always take his wages when due. In August 1856 Murdoch paid Dickson nine

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<sup>509</sup> Built in the 1890s near Shotts, Hartwood Asylum became the largest psychiatric facility in Scotland, and closed in 1998 ([www.scottish-places.info](http://www.scottish-places.info))

<sup>510</sup> This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic Licence. To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California, 94105, USA.

pounds and five shillings, 'due last May (he would not take it at the term).'<sup>511</sup> This refusal to take wages when due is curious, and suggests that Dickson trusted Murdoch to hand over the money when he asked for it. Dickson may have had some reason for wanting to save his money, such as an intention to marry, and thought the money would be safer with Murdoch than with himself. In November of 1872 Dickson deposited cheques and notes, to the value of fifty pounds with Murdoch. Murdoch deposited this money in the Bank of Scotland, and returned two cheques to Dickson the following year.



**45. The old boatman or ploughman's cottage in the shadow of the railway embankment at Crookboat. Source – author.**

The Census Reports of 1891 and 1901 record the Taits as living at Crookboat Cottage. Alec Lamb identifies this as the small cottage, originally used by the boatman, and still standing, by the river at Crookboat Farm. According to Duncan, all farm cottages in Scotland were 'tied cottages,' which in his opinion, could be very hard on the housewives:

They are always labouring to make a home of each temporary resting place. The engagements are usually made by the husband, and in most cases without any real knowledge as to the class of house he is to receive ... A few such changes, and it is natural that the women should be

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<sup>511</sup> Expenditure Table, ID No. 148

discouraged, and be less and less inclined to expend either their money or work in making the best of the house, which may be in her care only for a short period.<sup>512</sup>

Thus, the condition of the cottage could reflect the level of discouragement experienced by the housewife, but could also reflect the skills, the education, and the character of the housewife. McNeillie, describing the 1907 birth of his fictional Wigtown ploughman, Andy Walker, wrote:

... throughout the length and breadth of the Lowlands and Highlands of his rugged native county, the same cothouses stand as the birthplace of thousands of humble folk of the soil. The same squalor, the same one-roomed dwellings with cracked tile, or rough earth floors; untidy fireplaces, torn clothes, creaking bedsteads, faded willow-pattern crockery, smoked ceilings of wood, and the same pungent smell of baby napkins.<sup>513</sup>

McNeillie described Andy's mother as a very slovenly housekeeper, with only minimal interest in her children. In contrast, Agnes Tod described her mother as an exemplary housekeeper and mother.

Of course we were always dressed in home-made dresses. My mother made them all. They were generally hand-me-downs from somebody that gave mother dresses and she took the good bits and made dresses for us ... She had an old treadle sewing machine ... She made clothes for other people too, just for a few shillings, I suppose. It was a small income for herself ... People like us, we were lucky because we had a mother wi' clever hands.<sup>514</sup>

Mrs. Tod's mother was also a good cook and, in season, sent her children out to collect wild fruits with which to supplement the family's diet. Mrs. Tod gave a general description of the type of accommodation the family lived in while she was growing up:

In the houses we lived in that had only two rooms ... they generally had an attic that you just went up a ladder to, and the boys slept up there. It was a floored attic. The girls were in the one room downstairs and my parents were in the other one.

I had four sisters but of course there was two of my sisters away out to work before I came along. They lived away from home. But the other three of us slept in one bed, my two sisters and me. I was very small then. And we were quite comfortable. In the attic no more than two o' the boys were in each bed ...<sup>515</sup>

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<sup>512</sup>Duncan "Scottish Farm Labour."

<sup>513</sup>McNeillie, J. (1939, 1991). Wigtown Ploughman, part of his life. Wigtown, G.C. Books Ltd. P. 9.

<sup>514</sup> MacDougall "Hard work, ye ken". Pp. 4, 5.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid. P. 11.

All the children bathed on Friday night, and on Saturday the girls cleaned the house. Although Mrs. Tod was raised in Midlothian, her descriptions do give a reference point for Scottish farm servant accommodation. From within West Central Region, Elizabeth McGregor furnished a brief description of farm servants, and their cottage at Buchanan:

Mrs McAlpine was a wee thin woman with a nice complexion but a careworn expression. Never very well dressed but always tidy with a clean apron over her shabby frock. Dad McAlpine had at some time lost an eye and wore a black patch over the gap. This gave him a strange look, but he was a kindly man. Their kitchen-cum-living room was adorned with bits of decorative horse harness and dozens of horse brasses, all shining bright, as Mr McAlpine was a ploughman.<sup>516</sup>

Returning to the Tait's, according to Alec Lamb, the cottage they occupied 'was just a simple two roomed dwelling until the mid 1930s when an extra kitchen area was added, water piped in, and a water toilet added.'<sup>517</sup> Before the amenity of piped water, all the household water was drawn from the Clyde. Lamb narrates a story of two fishermen who came to the cottage door and asked John Tait for a drink of water:

John said nothing, went into his kitchen and brought them a glass of water from his pail. After drinking, they remarked what good water it was and asked where the supply came from. John took great pleasure in pointing to the river.<sup>518</sup>

Use of the cottage at Crookboat, like the allowances of oatmeal and potatoes, was part of John Tait's wages. It might be expected that, as part of his conditions of employment, his wife would assist with the milking on the farm. According to Peter Turner junior, the ploughman's wife was part of the regular milking team at Oxgang.<sup>519</sup> So, it is surprising to find five references to payments made to Mrs. Tait, for milking, in the summer of 1883,<sup>520</sup> indicating that she did not milk regularly as part of her husband's service contract. The account books note other payments to Mary Tait for farm work. In 1876 and 1878 she was paid a harvest fee,<sup>521</sup> and she received payments for cutting potatoes (a preliminary to planting), in 1886, 1887 and 1894.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> McGregor, E. (1993). Before I was ten; memories of a rural childhood. Kelso, Moira McGregor. Pp. 17, 18.

<sup>517</sup> Lamb, A. (2005). Crookboat and the Lambs, 1752-1985.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid.

<sup>519</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). Interview with Peter Turner, University of Glasgow.

<sup>520</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>521</sup> Lamb and Lamb Road Book.

<sup>522</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

By the time the Taites returned to Crookboat, in 1883, their daughter, Agnes Renton Tait, was old enough to leave school and find work. There was a position for a young girl at Crookboat but, over the next few years, this post was filled by other girls, so Agnes may have lived and worked at other farms. Agnes was living at Crookboat Cottage in May of 1890, when she gave birth to her son, John Tait. No father was named in the Register of Births,<sup>523</sup> but, the following year an entry was made in the Register for Corrected Entries for the Parish of Carmichael, which described Agnes as a farm servant, and named one William Scott (a farm servant in Lesmahagow) as the father of her child.<sup>524</sup> Agnes herself was born only four months after the marriage of her parents, and it appears that she had an elder half sister. According to the 1871 Census, Mary Thomson or Tait had a daughter, Mary J. Thomson, who had been born in Dumfriesshire around 1859, and who was part of the Tait household in 1871. Immediately following the entry for grandson John Tait in the Register of Births, is an entry for Jane Gold Lorrimer, who was born at Burnhouse Mill, the illegitimate daughter of Sarah Lorrimer (farm servant). This child is presumed to be the granddaughter of Lamb sub-tenant, and occasional worker Jean (or Jane) Gold or Lorrimer.

Illegitimacy rates were seen by commentators as an indication of the level of morality. According to McNeillie, 'many men did not marry until their intended wives had demonstrated their fertility,'<sup>525</sup> either intentionally or carelessly, and McNeillie characterises the mother of his fictional ploughman as having given birth to eight children before her marriage, five of them to her future husband. Andy's father had had his own adventures, and only stipulated that children he had not fathered 'did not eat the food which he had worked for or share the roof he provided.'<sup>526</sup> However, McNeillie's assessment is based on his knowledge of Wigtownshire, which had a reputation, along with the other south-western counties of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, of having a high rate of illegitimacy. Disapproval of illegitimacy is a likely reason for a single woman to conceal a pregnancy, and some women farm servants were arrested on the charge of concealment of pregnancy.<sup>527</sup> Illegitimacy is mentioned somewhat shamefacedly in the *Glasgow Herald* article on Wigtownshire:

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<sup>523</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 630/00 0007.

<sup>524</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 630/00 0007 (RCE).

<sup>525</sup> McNeillie *Wigtown Ploughman*. P. 6.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>527</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 25 August, 1859; issue 6220, Dunlop. *Glasgow Herald*, 12 June, 1867; issue 8560, Galston. *Glasgow Herald*, 19 August, 1884; issue 198, Ayr. *Glasgow Herald*, 21 June, 1888; issue 147, Mearns.

We need not go into the moral aspect of the question as it appears in the annual returns of the Registrar-General. Wigtownshire stands high on the roll of immorality, or rather illegitimacy, uniting with Kirkcudbright and Dumfries shires in making up a "black list" about 50 per cent. blacker than the general average of all Scotland.<sup>528</sup>

Sturrock stated that the illegitimacy rate in Ayrshire was, at nine percent, one per cent lower than the national average. He believed that illegitimacy was not specifically a rural problem, and that the manufacturing and mining populations were largely responsible. He claimed that the masters and mistresses of small family farms in Ayrshire paid more attention to their young servants than those with large farms in Galloway. They associated more with them, 'setting them good example as well as frequently giving them good advice,'<sup>529</sup> resulting in a lower illegitimacy rate. However, there were also many small family labour farms in south-west Scotland, and less mining and manufacturing than Ayrshire. The implication is the masters and mistresses in Ayrshire tended to adopt a parental role towards their servants, which had a beneficial effect upon the morals of these servants. The writers of the *Herald* articles on Dumfriesshire gave serious consideration to the illegitimacy rate:

Dumfriesshire occupies an unenviable position on the roll of illegitimacy in the returns of the Registrar-General. The annual percentage of this immorality ranges from 15 to 17 for the entire county, while the percentage for the whole of Scotland is something less than 10 ... There are rural parishes in Dumfriesshire – according to the returns of the official above-named – which exhibit in certain years a list of illegitimate births ranging from 20 to nearly 50 per cent. What is the cause of this disgraceful condition? ... the investigation left us in the end just as ignorant on this subject as we were at its commencement. We have been told, however, by persons who ought to know, that the moral tone of the agricultural population in Dumfriesshire is lamentably low, that a young woman does not lose caste by giving birth to a child out of wedlock; and that her chances of marriage are not much diminished thereby.<sup>530</sup>

This conclusion would seem to bear out McNeillie's image, at least with regard to the south-west. Landlords were often blamed for not providing a sufficiency of decent cottages on their estates. Springs landlord, John Hamilton of Sundrum, laid blame for both the miserable state of cottages, and the illegitimacy rate, on the education system:

Any one familiar with the country parishes of Scotland must have remarked the lamentable number of natural children to be met with in the

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<sup>528</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 15 September, 1870; issue 9580, Wigtownshire.

<sup>529</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* **Fourth series, vol. I:** 21-106. P. 103.

<sup>530</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday, 23 August 1870; issue 9560, Dumfriesshire III.

cottages; and those acquainted with the *people* must know how lightly this offence is thought of – how the fact is regarded by too many as a misfortune rather than as an offence and a disgrace. This is the first evil to which I refer. Again, the too frequent absence of cleanliness, order, and female contrivance perceptible in the houses ... is the second evil. Both these evils, in my opinion, are attributable in great measure to educating the boys and girls together to an *advanced* age. It is my belief that the former may be traced back in numberless cases to the intimacy and familiarity commenced at school, at an age when both the boy and girl need more than common guidance ... and when boys in particular are more than usually rough and uncontrolled, thereby endangering the gentleness and modesty of the girls, which, after sound religious principle, are two of the greatest safeguards to female virtue.<sup>531</sup>

In the second *Herald* article on agriculture in Lanarkshire it is the mixing of the sexes at a later age that is blamed for the illegitimacy rate:

The servant lasses of Lanarkshire are an early rising and hard-working class of young women ... The out-door hands ... for the most part are a free-and-easy, rough, and careless set of young women. Bred to farm labour, and accustomed to work in gangs along with the ploughmen, they get vulgar in talk and sadly depraved in habits; and the natural result is a marked addition to the roll of illegitimacy. There are parishes in Lanarkshire – rural parishes, well supplied with the means of godliness and grace – where this roll exceeds 25 per cent. of the registered births, and even these figures give but a partial idea of the aggregate immorality. In conclusion, we have only to remark that the farm servants of Lanarkshire, male and female, are better paid and better fed than the same classes in most other counties, but the ploughmen are worse lodged, and both sexes are as low as any of the their neighbours in the scale of morality.<sup>532</sup>

McNeillie portrays his ploughman's mother as both promiscuous and slatternly, and in the previous two quotes questions of illegitimacy and accommodation are linked: a dirty home and an illegitimate child are both seen as a moral failing by the commentators. As the failings were moral, 'sound religious instruction' and 'more than common guidance' are seen as remedies.

Possibly Agnes Tait, whose mother was a native of Kirkcudbright, worked on a farm in Lesmahagow, and went home to her parents to have her baby. Both Agnes and her son were listed as resident at Crookboat Cottage, in the 1891 Census, when Agnes was described as a general domestic servant. An entry in Alexander Lamb's account book for 15 April 1894 records a 'present' of ten shillings<sup>533</sup> to Agnes Tait. Probably

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<sup>531</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, 27 March 1854; issue 5338, Important Moral and Educational Suggestions.

<sup>532</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday, 25 June 1870; issue 9510, Lanarkshire II.

<sup>533</sup> Worth about thirty pounds current spending power.

this was a wedding present as, on 27 April 1894, at Crookboat Cottage, Agnes Tait married William Mowbray, a coal miner resident in Shettleston, Glasgow. One of the witnesses was Alexander's sister, Janet Lamb.<sup>534</sup> According to the marriage register, Agnes' father-in-law was a woollen weaver. Census Reports indicate that William Mowbray was born in Lanark around 1870. In 1891 he was working as a pony driver in Airdrie. The 1901 Census found Agnes and William living in Shettleston with four children. The eldest of these, Mary Thomson Mowbray, was seven years of age. At the time of her own marriage, on 28 April 1922, Mary Mowbray gave her age as twenty-eight, which suggests a birth date in advance of her parents' wedding. It appears that, when Agnes went to Shettleston, she left her son, John Tait, to be raised by his grandparents, and he was recorded at Crookboat Cottage at the time of the 1901 Census. Perhaps Agnes' husband, unlike her father, refused to give house-room to another man's child. Agnes Renton Tait died on 31 January 1939, in the Hartwood Asylum, Shotts. Her usual address was given as Castlegate, Lanark, and she was described as married to William Mowbray, railway surfaceman.<sup>535</sup>

It has been noted above that Agnes' brother, John Tait spent some time in the Hartwood Asylum. John junior was not listed as living at Crookboat Cottage, in the 1891 Census, but was there at the time of the 1901 Census, when he was described as a whinstone quarryman. As his father had been a limestone miner in 1873 (see above) it is possible that John junior worked on farms before losing a leg in a quarry. Both of Tait's sons appear to have had casual work at Crookboat. On 12 May 1897 Alexander Lamb paid John and James Tait one pound fourteen shillings for work with potatoes and, on 24 May 1897, he paid John Tait ten shillings and six pence for '3 days turnip dung.'<sup>536</sup> As this was a daily rate, these entries do not relate to John Tait senior who was paid an annual rate. Papers concerning John junior, in the Lamb archive, relate to the period 1909-14, when John was in the asylum. John died in the asylum three days before his sister, on 28 January 1939.<sup>537</sup> His occupation was given as 'quarry worker (retired),' and his usual residence was listed as Crookboat Cottage. By that time it was over a decade since the ploughman, John Tait had left Crookboat, and the address in the register of deaths merely indicated John junior's address

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<sup>534</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Marriages 630/00 0002

<sup>535</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 626/B0 0023

<sup>536</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>537</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 626/B0 0021.



immediately prior to his entry to the hospital. He may have been in the asylum continuously since 1909.

James Tait was paid a harvest fee, by Alexander Lamb, in October of 1886, when he was thirteen years old.<sup>538</sup> However it seems that James did not leave school when he reached the statutory leaving age as, when he was listed at Crookboat Cottage in the 1891 Census, he was described as a seventeen year old student. Records in the University of Glasgow Archives show that James Tait attended the University for two years (1893/94 and 1894/95), and took classes in Latin and Greek both years. This could be construed as a preparation for a study of law or theology, and does not seem to have been a common path for a ploughman's son. Occupations are listed for twenty-two farm servant children (living with their parents) in the reports of Kirkintilloch and New Kilpatrick Parishes in the 1881 Census. There were iron miners, a furnaceman, a warehouseman, general labourers, a printfield worker, a joiner, a flock mill worker, a fireman (aged thirteen), a van man, a boatman master, and a boatman mate, a flax weaver, a laundry worker, a domestic servant, a dairymaid, and four dressmakers. A career in the professions does seem ambitious for the child of farm servants, and the money involved in sending a son to university must have been a consideration. Whatever the intention, James Tait did not graduate, and his employment upon leaving university is not known, but Alexander Lamb made a number of payments to James Tait, in 1897 and 1898, suggesting that James was working as an agricultural labourer at that time.<sup>539</sup> In the 1901 Census, he is listed as a live-in cattleman, at Mansefield Farm, Carmichael. James Tait did not marry, and he died at 4 Home Street, Lanark, in 1934. His occupation was recorded as 'farm labourer.'<sup>540</sup>

John Tait's younger daughter, Maggie, was born in 1882, and was listed as living with her parents, at Crookboat, in the 1891 Census, but not the 1901 Census. She may have been the Margaret Tait who was recorded in the 1901 Census as a housemaid employed by a county clerk, in Priory Lane, Lanark. On 27 December 1901, nineteen year old Margaret Tait married twenty-four year old John Lockhart, a coachman in Lanark.<sup>541</sup> The couple had at least three children; John Lockhart (born 1904)<sup>542</sup>,

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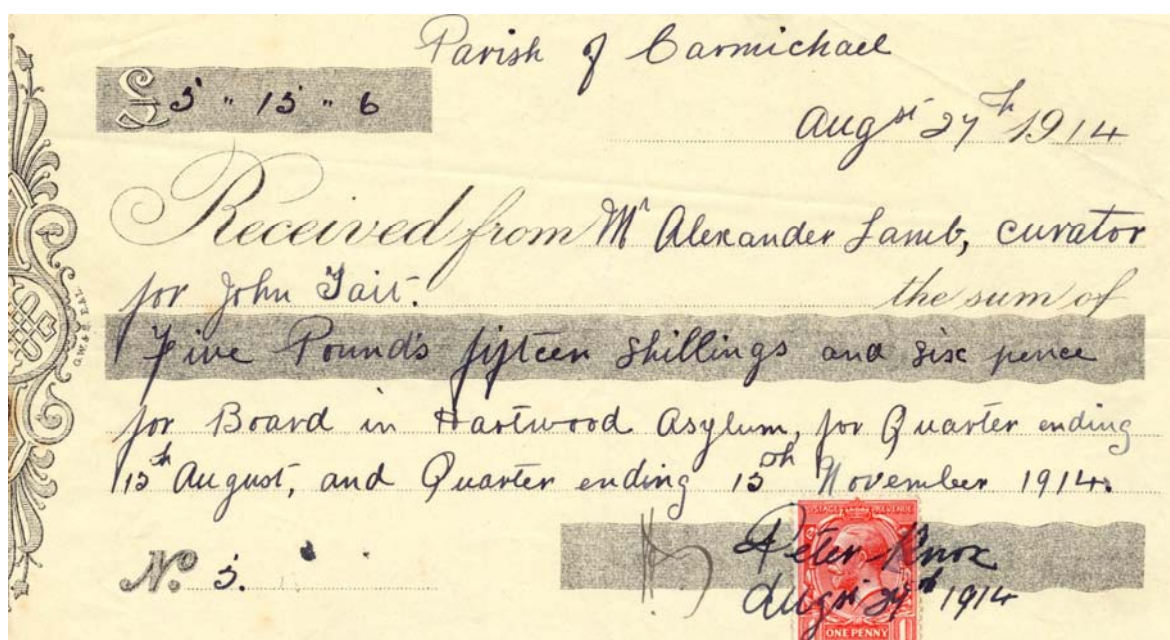
<sup>538</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>539</sup> Ibid.

<sup>540</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 648/00 0092.

<sup>541</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Marriages 630/00 0011.

Mary Thomson Lockhart (born 1905)<sup>543</sup> and James Tait Lockhart (born 1906).<sup>544</sup> Margaret Lockhart died in January of 1921, and the cause of death was recorded as 'influenza,' 'miscarriage' and 'pneumonia.'<sup>545</sup> John Tait's wife, Mary Thomson, died at Crookboat Cottage in 1917.<sup>546</sup> Tait himself did not die until August of 1928, when he was described as a retired ploughman. Although he had left Crookboat by this time, he had not moved far away, and died at Fallburn, Thankerton, where the Lambs kept their sheep.<sup>547</sup> The Registrar was informed of his death by Robert Greenshields, the husband of Tait's granddaughter, Mary Thomson Mowbray. Mary, a hosiery worker, married hedger Robert Greenshields, in Lanark, in 1922.<sup>548</sup> It was Mary Greenshields who later informed the Registrar of the deaths of her uncles, James and John Tait, and her mother, Agnes Renton Tait.



**46. Receipt given to Alexander Lamb in his role as curator bonis for John Tait junior. Lamb also made payments for repairs to Tait's artificial leg. Source - Alec Lamb.**

## Summary

As a farm servant John Tait flitted from time to time, even taking up other employment, but there is no evidence that he ever lived more than thirty-five miles

<sup>542</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 648/00 0025.

<sup>543</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 648/00 0024.

<sup>544</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Births 648/00 0012.

<sup>545</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 648/00 0001.

<sup>546</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 630/00 0004.

<sup>547</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Deaths 634/00 0005.

<sup>548</sup> N.A.S. Statutory Marriages 648/00 0022.

from the place of his birth, or spent time in an urban area. In keeping with tradition, Tait received part of his wages in kind. He also received kale seed, and the plants were cultivated around Crookboat Cottage but, although the system of farm service remained superficially the same during his lifetime, it did alter in response to changes in society. One obvious change was the gradual disappearance of in-kind payments in response to the increasing variety and availability of consumer goods. As grocery vans began to make rounds in rural areas, and railways provided access to towns, a preference for money wages grew.

Other changes, which might be thought more subtle, did not go unnoticed. The 1870 series of articles in the *Glasgow Herald* hint at a move from paternalism to capitalism on Scottish farms, and this can be linked to changes in religious practice. While the influence of the churches waned, and family worship became 'unfashionable,'<sup>549</sup> sectarian division hardened. The concept of 'family' changed so that it no longer included hired workers, and those workers developed a 'dogged independence'<sup>550</sup> to disincline them to accept moral guidance from their employer. Aitchison reports that, in the Third Statistical Account of Ayrshire (published 1951) a 'definite caste system' was noted between farmers and farm workers:

The farm workers don't like being called 'farm servants' or 'farm labourers' as they used to be. The first of these names signifies to them servitude from which they are striving to escape; the second suggests – wrongly – that they are unskilled workers.<sup>551</sup>

The above quote suggests a clash of concepts between a religious concept of service as being holy, because all service is service to God, and a working-class perception of servitude as slavery. While it would be easy to romanticise the picture of kindly relations in small communities the *Herald* articles paint, it should be remembered that family life can be ugly as well as beautiful and, although no abuse of authority was uncovered by this project, positions can be abused. The *Herald* articles hint at the unevenness, across the country, of the alteration in relations between employers and employed. The determining factor was not distance from Glasgow, but size of enterprise. In a small enterprise where everyone mucked in, and ate together afterwards, there was still room for respect and the kind of relationship that existed between John Tait and Alexander Lamb.

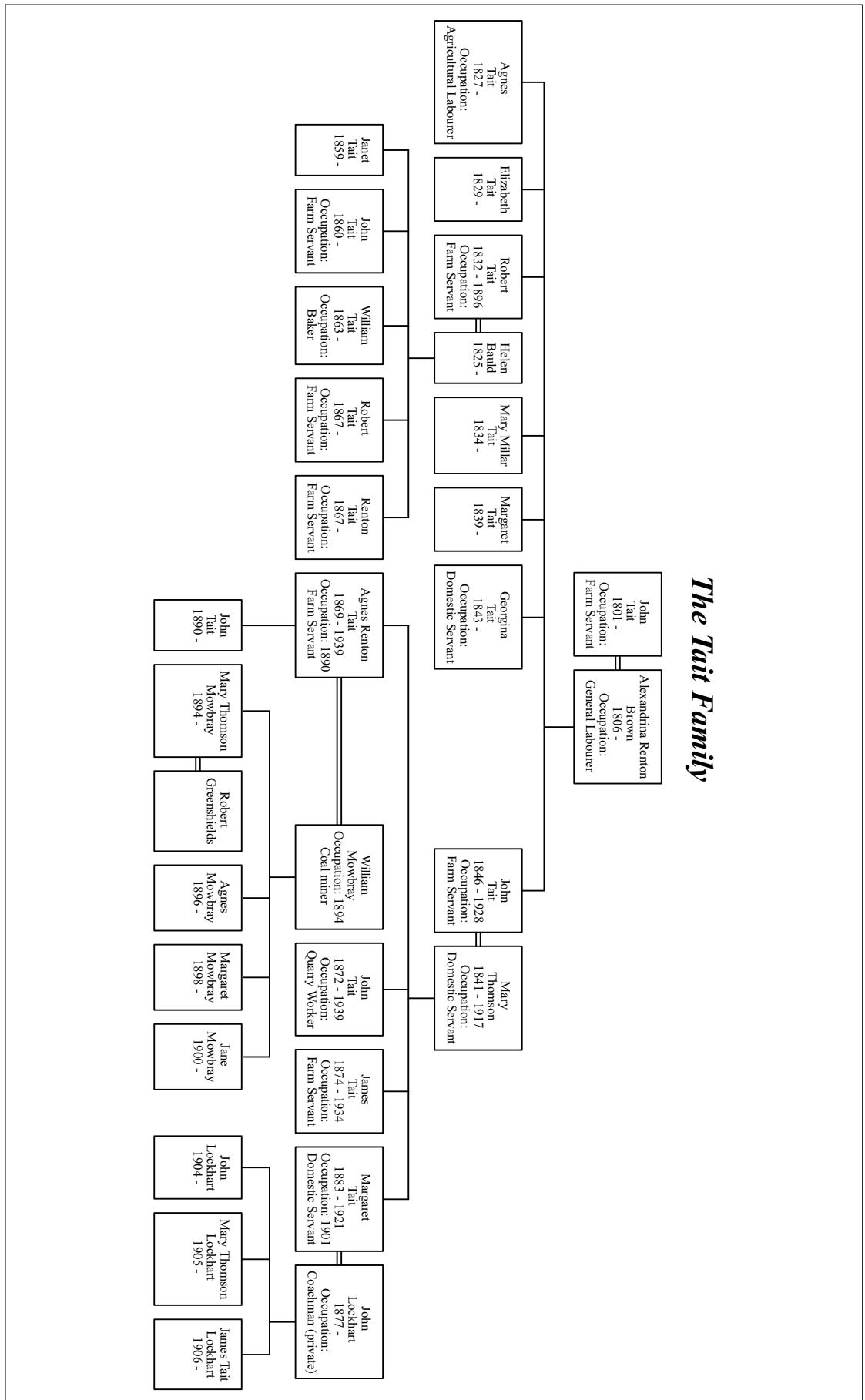
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<sup>549</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, 16 June, 1870; issue 9502, Stirlingshire II.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>551</sup> Aitchison *Servants in Ayrshire*. P. 36.

## *The Tait Family*



47. Family tree of Crookboat ploughman, John Tait.

## Chapter Seven

### Questions of Gender

In this chapter farm accommodation will be considered in greater detail than in Chapter Six, providing a lens for exploring questions of gender relating to West Central Scotland family farms. In effect the chapter will provide a geography of the farm, starting with the farmhouse and moving outwards through the arrangement of the other farm buildings to the fields. This structure allows investigation of the role of the various members of the farm community, and highlights a gender division apparent in the work people did, and where this was carried out. Personal reminiscences have been heavily drawn upon to provide the details of life and work on the early twentieth century farms. The aim of the strategy is to demonstrate in homely fashion, the entanglement of material spaces with social (especially gender) relations. The intention is to allow the broader patterns and divisions of gender relations, mapped across the spaces of the farms under study, gradually to emerge, with occasional more summative comments interleaved where appropriate in the text. The importance of dairy farming to the West Central Region is acknowledged in a section dealing with the broad development of dairying during the second half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries.

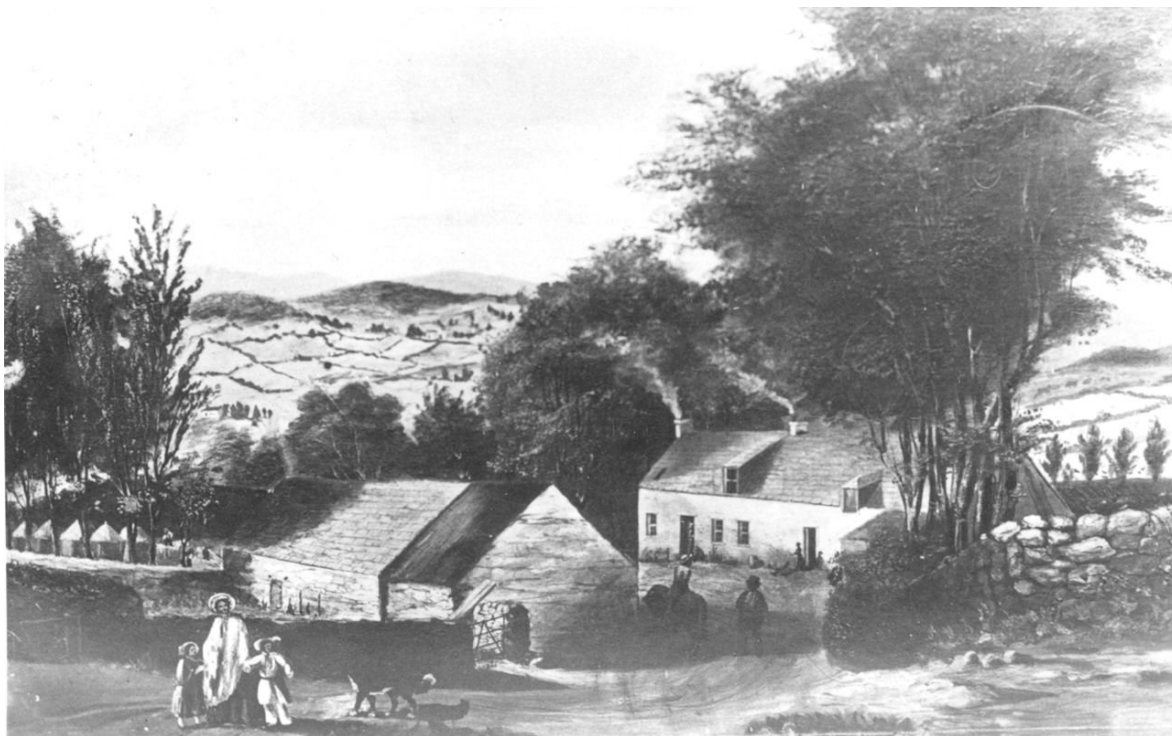
### The Farmhouse

As indicated in Chapter Six, west central Scotland farmhouses, of the mid nineteenth century, tended to be of rude description, one storey high and damp.

The Lanarkshire farm houses are of all classes – good, bad and indifferent – but the bad and the indifferent undoubtedly prevail. In the poorer districts more especially the houses are mostly one-storey erections, frequently damp, mean-looking, and old. The outhouses are a degree worse, and the general complaint is that landlords or factors are difficult to move in a building or repairing direction, and are careless about the personal comfort of their tenants.<sup>552</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 25 June 1870; issue 9510, Lanarkshire II.



**48. Overton Farm, West Glen Road, north-east of Kilmacolm, Renfrewshire.  
Source – Kilmacolm Civic Trust.**

In the second *Glasgow Herald* article on the state of agriculture in Stirlingshire farm-houses in general were said to be of a poor standard, but the homes of the married farm servants were worse:

When the farm-house became too dilapidated for the residence of the farmer (a stage of decay which seems to be long in coming in Stirlingshire), it was knocked into a couple of cottages, and was considered good enough for ploughmen. In other cases, a stable, or any odd outhouse is turned into a human habitation, and there the married man, with perhaps a numerous family, is stuffed.<sup>553</sup>

The second Renfrewshire article also mentions the accommodation of married ploughmen in old farm-houses:

Few cottages, as we have said, have been erected in the county for their special use, and where they are provided with house accommodation near their work, it is generally in old buildings deserted by the farmers and in a bad state of repair.<sup>554</sup>

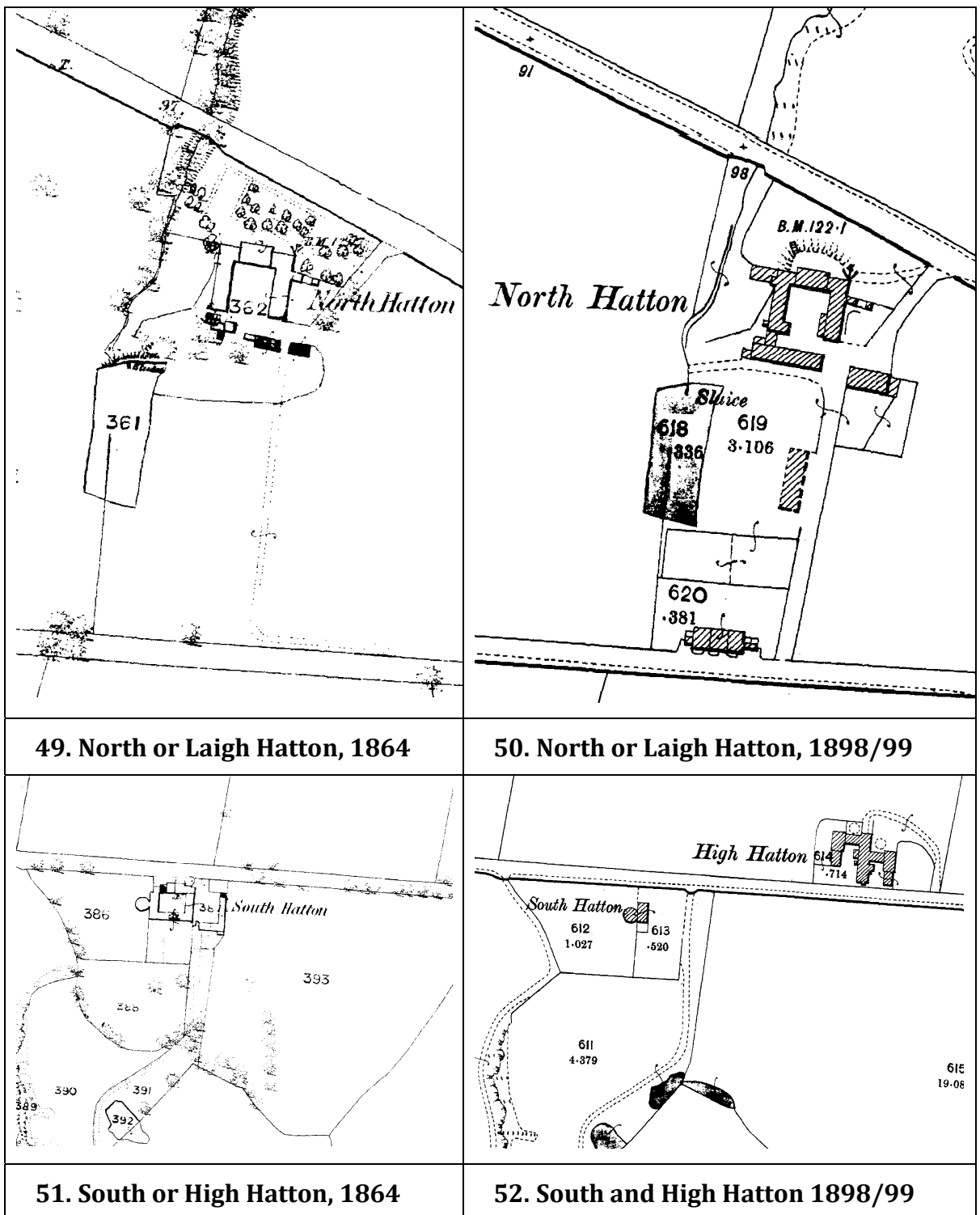
The representation of South or High Hatton in 1864 (figures 51 and 52) shows the steading around the time the Park family were resident. When the Parks took the additional lease of Laigh Hatton (see Chapter Four) the family moved to that farm-house, and it is possible that the house vacated at High Hatton may have become the

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<sup>553</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 16 June 1870; issue 9502, Stirlingshire II.

<sup>554</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

residence of farm servants. Indeed, at the time of the 1871 Census, farm servants Walter Allison and Allan Kinloch, and their respective families were living at High Hatton.



The above steading outlines have been sourced from the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 maps courtesy of Digimap.<sup>555</sup>

<sup>555</sup> © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2012). All rights reserved.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, there were bowers at High Hatton in 1851 and 1861 and, as they were in business on their own account, they would have required separate accommodation, which might explain the L-shaped building on the 1864 map. By the end of the century the L-shaped building, along with most of the old steading was gone. However, new accommodation for two bowers had been constructed on the other side of Old Greenock Road, and this was described in the 1912 sale catalogue for Erskine Estate as including two houses, each with a parlour, two bedrooms, and a pantry. All that was left at 'Old High Hatton' were 'implement and wintering sheds for cattle.' A little further down the road from the bower accommodation, and depicted at the bottom of the end of century map of Laigh or North Hatton, is a divided structure not shown on the 1864 map. This appears to be the three units each referred to as 'Hatton Cottage' in the 1891 Census, and inhabited by three farm servants and their families. It seems that the old farm-house at High Hatton was used as accommodation for farm servants for a time, and that cottages for farm servants were later built nearby. According to the sale catalogue, on Erskine estate:

The farm buildings are of a most superior class and in an excellent state of repair. Within the last few years the buildings on several of the Farms, where this was necessary, have been thoroughly renewed and adapted to the most recent standards.<sup>556</sup>

As the maps demonstrate, there were new buildings but, although there were some changes to the buildings of the Laigh Hatton steading, the footprint of the farm-house remained unchanged. According to the catalogue, the dwelling-house at Hatton was a two storey building containing a dining-room, a drawing-room, a parlour, four bedrooms, a maids' room, kitchen, scullery, milk-house, and a bathroom with hot and cold water and W.C.<sup>557</sup> Such advanced plumbing suggests the house was 'renewed and adapted' prior to 1912. The other Park farm, West Glenshinnoch, had a similar two storey house with inside gravitation water, hot and cold water, and a W.C.<sup>558</sup> The milk-house at Hatton was listed as part of the farmhouse, while the milk-house and dairy scullery at West Glenshinnoch are listed along with the other steading buildings. No dairy scullery is mentioned at Hatton.

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<sup>556</sup> TD 1300, Erskine Estate Sale Catalogue, Glasgow Archives.

<sup>557</sup> TD 1300, Erskine Estate Sale Catalogue, Glasgow Archives.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid.



According to Mrs. Logan,<sup>559</sup> Ayrshire farms usually had a kitchen, drawing room, dining room, and about three bedrooms. Before 1930, few farmhouses contained a bathroom, although there were toilets in outhouses in the garden. 'Mrs. Hazlitt'<sup>560</sup> grew up on a two hundred acre, Ayrshire dairy farm, the farmhouse of which had a living room, dining-lounge, kitchen, back kitchen (with cooker), and three bedrooms. 'Mr. Henderson' and 'Mr. Marshall'<sup>561</sup> also grew up on Ayrshire dairy farms, and both of their farmhouses had four bedrooms. On 'Mr. Henderson's' two hundred and ten acre farm there was also a lounge and a dining room, a bathroom and an inside toilet. 'Mr. Henderson' did not mention a kitchen. 'Mr. Marshall' did mention a kitchen in the farmhouse of his family's hundred acre farm. There was also a scullery, which had a door to the kitchen, and three public rooms. The Stirlingshire farm of Creityhall<sup>562</sup> had a scullery, kitchen, dining-room, and porch on the ground floor, along with the 'nursery' which had been added on. On the first floor there were three bedrooms, and a bathroom, with toilet. The bathroom may have been converted from a bedroom as it was not part of the original plan. Already there when the Gardner family arrived in 1909, the room had been fitted out by a previous tenant whose budget did not stretch to a hot water system, so ewers of hot water had to be carried up from the kitchen. The steading also had a dry closet, or 'shunky', which the farm daughters took turns cleaning on Saturdays, while their brother had the task of emptying the shunky pail, and burying the contents in the garden. Mrs. S1<sup>563</sup> (born 1912) was a few years younger than McGregor, and grew up in the same area, but in a larger farmhouse. That house had six bedrooms upstairs, with a maid's room, living-room, kitchen and scullery downstairs. Given the number of rooms upstairs, it is possible that there were other downstairs rooms, beyond those mentioned by S1 in her interview.

McGregor and Logan both provide descriptions of individual rooms in their respective farmhouses, along with information on function, and labour, which is much more helpful in defining gender roles than the bare outlines in the Erskine Estate Sale Catalogue. Of the two descriptions, McGregor's is the fuller.

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<sup>559</sup> Logan, H. and A. Rennie Ayrshire Sound Archive 28A, Interviews with Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>560</sup> Interview conducted by Clair Toynbee and reported in Jamieson, L. and C. Toynbee (2000). Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930. Edinburgh, Birlinn. Designations assigned by researchers have been given inverted commas.

<sup>561</sup> Interviews conducted by Claire Toynbee and reported in Ibid.

<sup>562</sup> McGregor, E. (1993). Before I was ten: memories of a rural childhood. Kelso, Moira McGregor. P. 6.

<sup>563</sup> Connal, K. (1987). Stirling Women, Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde.

## The Scullery

Entering Creityhall farm-house from the rear, the first room encountered was the scullery. Logan did not describe a scullery but, according to McGregor, the one at Creityhall:

... was a comparatively scruffy place. Heaps of logs and bags of coal and pegs for all the dirty work clothes were there. The window above the sink looked out to the farm close and the wash-house. There was a plain mirror beside the window where Dad shaved. A row of shelves held pots and pans.<sup>564</sup>

S1 said that there was no wash-house on the farm where she grew up, and that the back scullery was where laundering was carried out. The room contained a big sink, a washboard, and a boiler to heat water. S1 remembered the household wash as a one day job, carried out by her mother and the two maids. Once S1 and the elder of her three sisters left school, the maids were dispensed with. 'Mr. Marshall' (b. 1900) said that his mother had a woman come to the farm, once a week, to help with the washing.<sup>565</sup> There were no maids at Creityhall to assist Mrs. Gardner with the laundry, while her daughters were growing up. Her general assistant was Bobby, who McGregor describes as 'a mentally handicapped man from Lenzie Asylum.'<sup>566</sup> This is probably a reference to the large Woodilee Asylum (now demolished but marked in the Oxgang Neighbouring Map at the rear of this thesis), near Lenzie, East Dunbartonshire. It was a practice, at the time, for mental asylums to release some inmates to farmers who would provide them with bed and board, in return for any work they were able to do. Bobby lived at Creityhall for a number of years and McGregor makes particular mention of Bobby's valuable wash-day help. He would make the preparations; filling the boiler in the wash house and lighting the fire under it, positioning the wringer and the big wash basins. Mrs. Gardner washed, and Bobby operated the wringer, then the washing was transferred to a washing line, set up in a field across from the backyard. 'On a wet day two strong ropes in the washhouse took the load to dry off till they could go on the kitchen pulley.'<sup>567</sup> In these reports, the only male involved with laundry was a mental asylum out-patient. Although fully grown, Bobby was treated like a physically strong child, carrying out household chores and assisting the farm woman, instead of working alongside the men.

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<sup>564</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 3.

<sup>565</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>566</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 40.

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid.* P. 41.

On the farm where 'Mr. Marshall' grew up, the scullery contained a stove which ran on coal and dross. Meals were cooked in the scullery, on this stove, rather than in the kitchen. Once past the scullery at Creityhall, the next room was the kitchen.

### **The Kitchen**

The kitchen was very big. A long dresser took up almost an entire wall. It had its top covered with oil-cloth, under which were two short drawers and one long one. Under the drawers were a cupboard and an open-slatted place where we kept our schoolbags. On the top of the dresser stood the bread-tin, which held four half-loafs (as bread was measured in those days), a box of cutlery, crockery for everyday use, a set of scales, and, at the end nearest the range, the salt jar. The range had a rack and oven on one side and a boiler on the other, all surrounded by a shining steel fender on which we sat, protected by a heavy fireguard hooked to either side of the range. I don't remember anything sitting on the mantelpiece above the range except the tea caddy, which had pride of place. On the wall above there was a coloured picture that said "God Bless our Home". Above the dresser was a wag at the wa' clock. The kitchen window looked out to the garden and beside it, to get maximum light, hung the mirror and brush box. One long shelf for large crockery went round under the ceiling. It carried soup tureens, ashets, jugs and bowls. On the farm side a door led into a big walk-in cupboard for all sorts of groceries, next to which was the box bed in the recess under the stairs. Behind the doors of the recess was a fixed wooden frame on which lay a flock mattress. Two fireside chairs beside the range and a long wooden table with chairs to match completed the kitchen furnishings.<sup>568</sup>



**53. Dresser with slatted lower shelf in Angus Folk Museum. Source – author, courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland.**

<sup>568</sup> Ibid. Pp 3,4

As children, the Saturday chores of McGregor and her sister, Kate, included scrubbing the kitchen dresser, and the kitchen table and chairs. The range had to be black-leaded and polished, and the steel fender rubbed until it gleamed like silver. Thomson says that the range at Springs was polished daily. There were no young farm daughters at Springs while Thomson was growing up, and he says that the polishing was carried out by a maid, who might bring up the shine on the steel parts of the range by rubbing with a rag and a mixture of ashes and spit.<sup>569</sup> The photograph of the kitchen at Springs (see above) shows a range, with swee and pot suspended over the fire.



**54. The farm kitchen at Springs. The chair is now under the care of The National Trust for Scotland in the Bachelors' Club, Tarbolton (see figure 2, Chapter Five). Source – Thomson of Springs Collection, Ayr.**

According to Thomson, the kitchen at Springs had a cement floor, with a rag rug. The walls were distempered, and light was supplied by one reflector paraffin lamp hung by a nail on the wall. A paraffin lamp is visible, by the window, in the photograph, as are flagstones on the floor. Perhaps the cement to which Thomson referred is the patterned area immediately in front of the range. Logan does not mention a range at her Ayrshire farm, but says that there was an open fire and swee. The swee was to be black-leaded weekly, and the flagstones scrubbed every day.<sup>570</sup> Auchenfyle Farm

<sup>569</sup> (1985). Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>570</sup> Logan and Rennie Ayrshire Sound Archive 28A, Interviews with Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie.

too had a swee, from which a big pot of porridge was constantly suspended over the open fire.<sup>571</sup>



**55. Farm kitchen at Eastfield, Pettinain, about six miles from Crookboat. The woman carding is assumed to be farmer's wife, Catherine Davidson or Lindsay, and the photograph is thought to date from around 1850. Source - Alec Lamb.**

The photograph of the old kitchen at Pettinain shows a farm kitchen from an earlier time. The flagstones are much less close fitting than the ones at Springs, and a ham can be seen hanging from the rafters. There is no range, but an iron cooking pot is suspended, from a swee, over an open fire. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, the middle of the floor was a common place to find the fireplace in eighteenth century Ayrshire farm-houses.<sup>572</sup> Logan says that there were hams hanging by hooks from the kitchen ceiling of the farm where she grew up, and Black described how a couple of pigs would be kept at Auchenfoyle and fed with scraps. When the pigs were fat, a butcher came over from Greenock to slaughter them. The hams were steeped in brine, then rolled up, tied with string, and hung from the kitchen roof.<sup>573</sup> The hams hanging from the ceiling of the Stirlingshire farm where Ian Campbell Thomson

<sup>571</sup> Black, J. (1997). *Black O' The Green: memories o' the auld days, a Renfrewshire farmer's story*. Greenock, David Roe Publications. P. 28.

<sup>572</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday 19 July 1870; issue 9530, Ayrshire.

<sup>573</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with James Black, University of Glasgow.

worked were wrapped in cheesecloth.<sup>574</sup> The pig killing at Creityhall, and the other farms in that area, was carried out by one of the Duke of Montrose's men. The pigs provided sausages and chops, and McGregor's father cured the bacon, and rolled it into hams, which were hung, not from kitchen hooks, but from hooks in the dairy. They were hung near a zinc ventilator panel, and the children were given the pig's bladder to play with.<sup>575</sup> Pigs were killed by off-farm male specialists. Weanling piglets were kept in a basket by the kitchen fire at Auchenfoyle, while at Creityhall, lambs might be brought to the kitchen fire for bottle feeding.<sup>576</sup> Care of the young, whether children, lambs or piglets was carried out in the women's domain of the kitchen. Farm-houses in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth were improved by more advanced technology, and some of the kitchen functions might be transferred to other rooms, such as a scullery.

Farm kitchens, as McGregor informs us, were social areas:

The more formal aspects of our social life began in the kitchen. It was a great place our kitchen. There we fed and played and danced, Dad could play the bagpipes and the melodeon and he dearly loved impromptu dancing sessions at which our friends joined in ...<sup>577</sup>

Logan also mentioned the social aspect of the kitchen saying that people sat round the kitchen fire, in the evenings, and told old stories of days gone by. She added that nearly every farm had a book of poems.<sup>578</sup> 'Mr. Marshall's' family sat in the sitting room in the evening, where they enjoyed reading, but, they ate their meals in the kitchen, with the unmarried farm servants. 'Mr. Marshall's' father sat at the head of the table, and his mother sat at the bottom, from where she served the meal. The married man went to his cottage to eat with his family.<sup>579</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Six, the old custom was for the unmarried farm servants to eat with the farming family, but this custom was breaking down by the mid-nineteenth century. However the custom fractured in different ways in different districts. At one extreme was the bothy system where the single men slept and also prepared and ate their food in a building separate from the farmhouse. A variation of this system was found on the home farm of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart at Ardgowan:

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<sup>574</sup> Thomson, I. C. (2007). The Hired Lad. Edinburgh, Mercat Press. P. 60.

<sup>575</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 68.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid. P. 43.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid. Pp. 58, 59.

<sup>578</sup> Logan and Rennie Ayrshire Sound Archive 28A, Interviews with Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie.

<sup>579</sup> Interview carried out by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

The bothy consists of a commodious kitchen, or sitting room, on the ground floor, paved with flagstones, furnished with gas, water, seats, and a large table. It is high in the ceiling, well-lighted by two windows, and the sleeping apartment is equally large, and well-ventilated. It is also fitted with gas, a register-grate, a writing desk, a couple of bedsteads, and is intended for the accommodation of four men, although it is not at present fully occupied. The bothy is placed under the charge of an old woman who works about the farm, and her duty is to make the beds, cook the men's meals, and keep the place scrupulously clean.<sup>580</sup>

This certainly sounds like a five star bothy, with the separate sleeping apartment and housekeeping services but, as it was on a landowner's home farm, it is unlikely to have been typical. Indeed, the same article implies that it was usual, where the bothy system was implemented, for ploughmen to make their own beds and prepare their own food, but declares that this was not the case in Renfrewshire. In the second Stirlingshire article, it is claimed that unlike their counterparts in Perth, Forfar and Fife, 'in Stirlingshire the vast majority of ploughmen are fed in the farmers' kitchens.'<sup>581</sup> In the third article on Lanarkshire farming it is asserted that the unmarried ploughmen invariably received their food in the farm kitchen, and in the second Lanarkshire article it is said that the 'small occupier sits and eats at the same table with his servants.'<sup>582</sup> However receiving food in the kitchen did not always mean eating with the family. It is likely that, in the late nineteenth century as in the early twentieth, dining arrangements varied from farm to farm. 'Mrs. Hazlitt' said that the servants ate in the back kitchen, while the family usually dined in the living room.<sup>583</sup> There were three single women and three single men servants at the farm where 'Mr. MacManus' grew up, and he says that they all got their food in the farm kitchen. It was a large kitchen and there were two tables; one for the servants, and one for the family.<sup>584</sup> In Stirlingshire, S1 said that, apart from the married ploughman who had a cottage, the servants ate in the farm kitchen. At breakfast-time the family ate in the kitchen too, around the same table but, at other times, the family usually ate in the living room.

### **The Nursery**

Off the kitchen [at Creityhall] was the Nursery which was an addition to the original building. The Nursery held two box beds, one in which our parents slept, the other for the two youngest children, and a wooden

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<sup>580</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

<sup>581</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 16 June 1870; issue 9502, Stirlingshire II.

<sup>582</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 25 June 1870; issue 9510, Lanarkshire II.

<sup>583</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairns*.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*

rocking cradle for the baby. The nursing chair was on one side of the fireplace and an easy chair on the other. This fireplace also had a fireguard, but a lighter one than the one in the kitchen, and on the floor was a comfortable rag rug. There was a large plain wardrobe on the opposite wall and a small table to hold Dad's jug of water and a hand lamp. The sewing machine was at the window that looked out to the garden and a small white-framed mirror hung beside the window. It always had a cosy, comfortable atmosphere, the Nursery.<sup>585</sup>



**56. A pair of box beds in Souter Johnnie's Cottage, Kirkoswald, Ayrshire. These beds are fitter with curtains instead of doors. Source – author, courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland.**

None of the other accounts considered mention a 'nursery,' and it was clearly more of a multi-function room than the name implies. The box beds, being rooms within a room, would have supplied some privacy to the sleeping areas. McGregor remembered being in bed in the nursery when she was ill, although her regular sleeping place seems to have been the box bed in the kitchen. During the day the nursery was likely to have been quieter than the kitchen, but conveniently close for Mrs. Gardner to attend to the invalid, and McGregor remembered her mother sitting with her during this illness.<sup>586</sup> The presence of the sewing machine indicates that the nursery was also a workroom for Mrs. Gardner.

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<sup>585</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. Pp. 4, 5.

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.* P. 28.



## The Dining-Room

Across the hall [from the nursery] was the Dining Room which was the best furnished room in the house. It was a big room and had a walk-in cupboard. Different things were stored there, but I only remember the big case of Canadian Red apples that we got every winter. The sideboard was long and beautifully polished, two drawers with cupboards underneath, and the dining table and chairs to match. On the sideboard there was a stuffed bird in a glass case, a predator of some sort, possibly a falcon. The only other thing was the whisky decanter. Dad didn't drink except for a glass at New Year. But the decanter was always at hand for visitors. Two striking pictures hung above the sideboard. They were framed in broad frames of intricately carved cork and featured the highland clans in their resplendent tartans. Two large comfortable easy chairs were on either side of the fire. The mantelpiece above was adorned with an edging of red bobble trimming and on it, in a bevelled glass frame backed with red velvet, were displayed Dad's medals for athletics, mainly Cumberland Wrestling, ploughing and quoits. At either end of the mantelpiece stood a pair of shepherd and shepherdess figurines. The piano occupied the opposite wall. Everything had a reddish tinge; the wallpaper and the fluted glass cover, which went over the clear glass globe on the big lamp, and the winter curtains were red. It produced a cosy atmosphere and we had tea there on Sunday nights.<sup>587</sup>

The dining room was used for entertaining, such as the winter whist parties. On these occasions, Mr. Gardner removed the doors from the kitchen and dining room, for ease of movement.<sup>588</sup> The Creityhall dining room, perhaps the most formal room in the house, had one rather unexpected use. McGregor records that she knew her younger brother was due, when she saw her mother carrying a flock mattress to put on the single bed, which had been set up in the dining room. That evening the local midwife, a woman described by McGregor as 'untrained' but 'expert,' arrived. McGregor's father waited in the nursery. By and by the child was born and, says McGregor, 'Mother wasn't long till she was up and all was well.'<sup>589</sup>

Mrs. Logan described the dining room at her family's farm as containing a sideboard and a wall cupboard, and a large table with two or three extra leaves. The fire in that room was only lit when there were visitors, for the room was only used for visitors. Day-to-day life was carried on in the farmhouse kitchen.<sup>590</sup> Mrs. Logan described the drawing room as 'the good room,' and said that it was only used at special times. It contained a three piece suite, some small wooden armchairs, a small table on which ornaments were placed, and a wall cupboard containing sundry items such as a bottle

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<sup>587</sup> Ibid. Pp. 5, 6.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid. P. 60.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid. Pp. 11, 12.

<sup>590</sup> Logan and Rennie Ayrshire Sound Archive 28A, Interviews with Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie.

of whisky and glasses. Although Mrs. Logan said that no work was done in the drawing room, she also said that farm drawing rooms sometimes contained a desk. Again the fire was only lit when visitors were expected. The visitors would sit in the drawing room before going through to the dining room, and return to the drawing room after the meal.

### **The Bedrooms**

The first floor of Creityhall farmhouse was composed of three bedrooms, the bathroom, and a large linen cupboard. Two of the bedrooms were occupied by McGregor's brothers:

The other, the best room, had a wardrobe with full length mirror and a long drawer, a dressing table with mirror and two small drawers, and a washstand. This was marble topped and held a basin, ewer and soapdish, all with matching flowered borders. Underneath there was a small cupboard which held the chamber. No ordinary white po to be pushed under a bed, this was a resplendent receptacle matching the ewer and basin. A basket chair was by the fireplace with a fat cushion stuffed with sheeps wool. Two small chairs and a bamboo table at the bedside, where stood a tall lamp with a clear glass globe, completed the best bedroom furniture. I remember there was a blanket kist at the window, but it was transferred to one of the other bedrooms in one of Mother's furniture shifts.<sup>591</sup>

It might be thought that such a room was the master bedroom but, as previously noted, Mr. and Mrs. Gardner slept in the nursery. As McGregor does not mention anyone ever sleeping in this room, the purpose of the best bedroom appears to have been display. McGregor described how her parents and the neighbouring farmers would hold whist parties during the winter months.

Half way through the whist tea was served. Mother was very competent in this enjoyable part of the evening. She was never so happy at the beginning, because the ladies had expectations. "Seein' the hoose" was part of the party. They were all better off than we were and always had something new to display – curtains, a rug or a picture. The Gardner budget could never rise to this, so instead Mother shifted the furniture around to make the rooms look different, and in the best bedroom a very fine white bedspread was brought into use when the whist party was on.<sup>592</sup>

Farm women upheld the honour of the farm with the hospitality they provided, and Mrs. Gardner seems to have felt confident in that arena, but reputations also rested upon appearance. Mrs. 'S1' maintained that her father helped her mother with jobs in

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<sup>591</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. Pp. 6, 7.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid. Pp. 60, 61.

the house and that, after her mother died, he was a tremendous help with all sorts of household chores. However, Mrs. 'S1's' mother was ill for a couple of years before she died, and it may have been this incapacity that prompted her husband to turn his hand to household tasks.<sup>593</sup> By and large it was women who maintained the farmhouses, and women who inspected them. Reserving certain rooms for the use of visitors cut down on the work of cleaning in those rooms, but also preserved them in a state calculated to make a favourable impression on visitors. The women who viewed Mrs. Gardner's fine white bedspread probably employed devices of their own to impress their neighbours. They would have understood the significance of a pristine room in a household with nine children, and would have appreciated the effort that went into the black-leaded range with its gleaming fender.

### **The Maid's Room**

There were no maids at Creityhall when Gardner was growing-up and no room designated 'maid's room.' However, as indicated above, other farms did have maids, and specific accommodation for them within the farm-house. Auchenfoyle plans represent the maid's room on the upper floor of the newer farm-house, but not accessible from any other part of that floor. The maid's room could only be reached by a staircase leading from the scullery. I do not know if it was usual to cordon off the dairymaids in this way, whether it was intended to discourage others from entering the maid's room, or whether it was to segregate servant and family, which would be consistent with a growing class division. However, the plans were commissioned by the landlord and might not be indicative of the relations between the Blacks and their hired labour. Black's book includes a photograph of one of his sisters and a maid setting off for a day out together.<sup>594</sup> The male servants at Auchenfoyle slept in a room above the harness room, attached to the older of the two farm-houses, but having no communication with it. Access to the men's room was by a stair in the harness room, so it was a respectable distance from the maid's room.

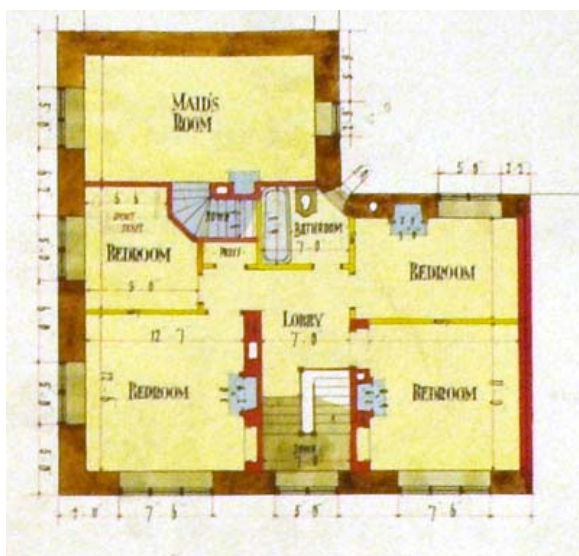
As mentioned in Chapter Three, this additional farm-house was built onto the existing one when Black's father married. The idea seems to have been that each of the married couples would have their own house. According to Black, things did not work out that way as the two women got on so well the double farm-house was treated as one unit. The connecting door was never locked and, once the children

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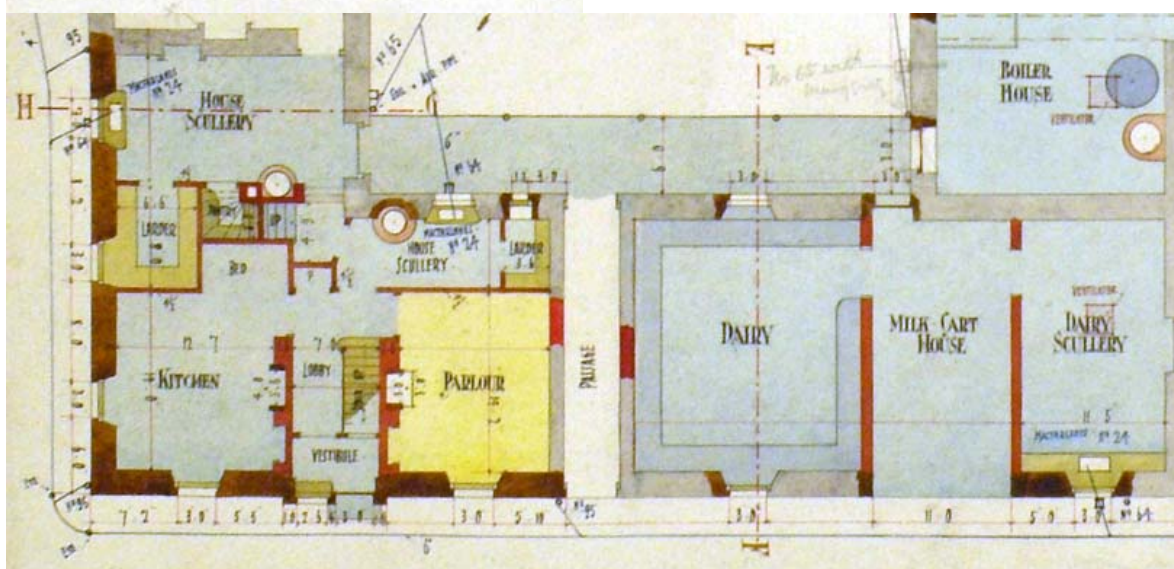
<sup>593</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>594</sup> Black Black o' the Green. P. 24.

arrived, some of them slept in their aunt and uncle's house.<sup>595</sup> In effect, instead of two households, there was one household and one family, and the two wives were kept busy feeding everyone.



57. Sections of the 1903/04 plan for the second two storey farmhouse and alterations to the steading at Auchenfoyle, Duchall Estate. Source Ardgowan Estates papers, City of Glasgow Archives.<sup>596</sup>



The production of meals was generally the work of the farm women, and was an onerous task. The manual labour demanded a high calorie intake, and there might be many mouths to feed. According to James Black, between the families, a maid, ploughmen, byemen, shepherds, general workers and, frequently, six or seven Irish drainers, there was a total of twenty-three for board and lodgings at Auchenfoyle. As he put it, 'the women had their work cut out for them.'<sup>597</sup> 'Mr. Marshall' reports that his father prepared the Sunday dinner. He did not accompany the family to church, and 'Mr. Marshall' had the impression that his father liked to cook the Sunday dinner.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid. P. 26. McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>596</sup> Reference No. T-ARD1/5/C39

<sup>597</sup> Black Black o' the Green. P. 28.

However, he did not do any other housework, unless his wife was staying away from home, and he felt the need to wash a few dishes. 'Mr. Marshall' paid little attention to the organisation of household work, and did not even make his bed.<sup>598</sup> Neither would 'Mr. Henderson' do anything around the house. He liked to help feed the calves, but he did not like 'footery' wee jobs such as brushing the yard and gathering wood. He preferred the challenge of 'a man's job.'

## The Steading

Early in the nineteenth century, when the farm-houses had fewer rooms, both male and female servants might sleep in box beds in the kitchen, and there was a box bed in the kitchen at Creityhall as late as the twentieth century. However, as the number of rooms in farm-houses increased, the practice of accommodating farm servants in the kitchen died out. According to the third article on Lanarkshire, the unmarried ploughmen slept either in a bothy or in the stable-loft.<sup>599</sup> In this context, the term bothy may simply have meant a room such as the one above the harness room at Auchenfoyle, which James Black referred to as 'the bothy.' The 1841 Census recorded the place of residence of farm servants William Walkinshaw (aged 20) and Henry Saddler (aged 14) as the stable loft at Crookboat. The second *Herald* article on Renfrewshire is expansive with regard to the accommodation of the single men:

The lodging for single men varies very much in situation and kind. Sometimes it is in the kitchen, and often in the garrets; sometimes in the stable-loft, and sometimes in odd kinds of outhouses set apart for the purpose ... as a rule they are not lodged as they ought to be. Even on the better class of farm-steadings, any sort of place seems to be considered good enough for the ploughmen. We inspected one fine steading newly built on the Duchall estate in the parish of Kilmacolm, and saw nothing wanting so far as house accommodation for the farmer and his cattle was concerned. The byre, stables, and barn, cattle sheds and cart sheds, were all that could be desired, and there was a comfortable cottage for the married ploughman. But even in this new and finely arranged steading we found the bed of a single man fixed up in the empty stall of a small stable.

We must be just to Renfrewshire, however, and justice compels us to state that the stable loft system is not nearly so prevalent there as it happens to be in Lanarkshire, and moreover it is gradually dying out in the former county. But it is not yet dead, although the majority of respectable farmers admit its existence in the county with hesitation, and something like a blush of shame.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairns*.

<sup>599</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday 29 June 1870; issue 9513, Lanarkshire III.

<sup>600</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

The stable-loft system was also said to be dying out in Ayrshire where, it was claimed, 'the well-to-do farmers are ashamed of it,'<sup>601</sup> yet according to the third *Herald* article on Lanarkshire, the young men were generally 'quite content with their-stable lofts and harness-rooms.' Indeed,

In other cases, the men are lodged in the attics of the farm-houses, but we found on inquiry that the stable-loft system is preferred. When they sleep in the farm-houses, they must keep regular hours, or the doors are locked upon them, but when their lodgings are in lofts above the horses or cattle, they are at liberty to come and go at any hour of the night or morning. This suits the roving disposition of the ploughmen ... The careless young fellows are acquainted with nothing better, and they seem to have no ambition beyond a couch above the cattle.<sup>602</sup>

The farmers may have blushed for shame but perhaps the blush was not solely for the standard of accommodation, but for their failure to mind the strictures of the church (mentioned in Chapter Six) and take a paternal interest in the young (sometimes very young) men in their employ.

It was stated in the second Renfrewshire article that the majority of Renfrewshire farm-houses were old, 'and rather closely connected with the byres.' However, according to the authors:

... the farmers' wives and the dairymaids like this arrangement, and there is a good deal to be said in its favour. The women-folks are near their work, when the cattle are lodged under the same roof, and help is always at hand when anything goes wrong in the byres.<sup>603</sup>

This passage indicates that the women-folk divided their time between farm-house and the housing for the cattle and so liked to have the two proximate. The opinion of male workers as to the merits of this steading arrangement is not mentioned, suggesting that the relative positions of house and byre was not significant for their work routine. The same *Herald* article details the working day of Renfrewshire dairymaids:

They are up and at the milking-pail about three o'clock every morning and they rarely get to bed before nine o'clock at night. Their day's labour in the summer season is therefore about eighteen hours in length, with six hours for sleep; and as their principle work consists of milking, scrubbing heavy milk dishes, barrels, and churns, cooking, cleaning the kitchen and milk-house, they do not sleep the sleep nor eat the bread of idleness.<sup>604</sup>

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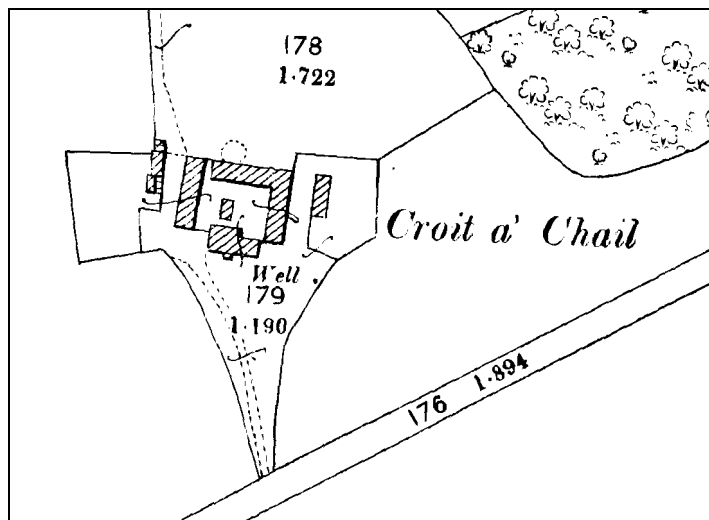
<sup>601</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 28 July; issue 9538, Ayrshire III.

<sup>602</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday 29 June 1870; issue 9513, Lanarkshire III.

<sup>603</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

<sup>604</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Saturday 9 July 1870; issue 9522, Renfrewshire II.

A hard-working dairymaid could save time and effort when her various work areas were close together. Gray writes that, in the mid nineteenth century, many farm buildings were built specifically for dairying. The usual plan was to build three sides of a square, with the farmhouse in the middle, facing the open side (as seen in the above plan of Laigh Hatton). The dairy, where the cheese was made, was built adjoining the house, and intercommunicating with it. 'At right angles to the dairy and again communicating with it was the byre. It was therefore possible to get up in the morning, milk the cows, start the cheese-making process and go back into the house for breakfast without going out of doors.'<sup>605</sup> At Auchenfoyle, the byre was further away from the farm-houses. Rising early, the maids could descend to the scullery, turn right, exit the building, walk along the side of the courtyard and enter the milk-cart house, which communicated with the dairy and dairy scullery. The dairy scullery gave access to the byre, where the cows were milked. After milking the dairymaids could return to the house to prepare breakfast, and thus they could carry out their long day's work within a small area.



**58. The steading at Creityhall, under its Gaelic name, courtesy of Digimap, © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2012). All rights reserved (Stirlingshire, first Revision, 1899).**

The buildings of Crookboat steading changed and evolved over many years, but Alec Lamb considered that, around the 1860s, new dairy premises were built onto the farmhouse. At right angles to this building was the original stable and byre. At a lower level to the farmhouse there was a butter and cheese-making house which, during Lamb's childhood, was referred to as 'the old milk house.'<sup>606</sup> As mentioned above, the milk-house at Laigh Hatton was listed as part of the farmhouse, and Mrs. 'S1' counted the dairy premises as part of the farmhouse where she was brought up.

<sup>605</sup> Gray, A. (1995). White gold? Scotland's dairying in the past (with particular reference to the West of Scotland). Wigtown, G.C. Book Publishers. P.49.

<sup>606</sup> Lamb, A. (2005). Crookboat and the Lambs, 1752-1985.

The farm buildings at Creityhall stood apart from the dwelling house, and the byre was one of those at furthest remove, but the dairy was still close by the farmhouse, and a paved path linked the dairy to the back door of the farmhouse.<sup>607</sup> Creityhall was not primarily a dairy farm, and had only three cows.

Primrose McConnell reported that, in Scotland, it was nearly always women and girls who milked.<sup>608</sup> If the farm women were to divide their time between household duties and dairy duties, easy communication between kitchen and byre and dairy was advantageous. Furthermore, if there were young children in the farming family, the mistress of the farm would require assistance with childcare, in order to give adequate attention to running the dairy. 'Mr. MacManus,' reporting that his mother had been in charge of the farm dairy, said that as a young child he was looked after by one of the young women (about fourteen years older than 'Mr. MacManus') who were employed on the farm. 'Anything wrong with me and I ran to Jean,' he laughed.<sup>609</sup> As there were only two children on the farm, Jean would have been able to combine child-minding with other household duties. She was listed in the 1901 Census as a 'general servant.' At the time of the 1861 Census, the household at West Glenshinnoch included six young children, and fifteen year old 'nurse', Mary Dinnen, was probably employed to mind these children. It is likely that many other female farm servants were involved in childcare without this being specifically mentioned in Census reports. Older children (when not in school) might be expected to care for their younger siblings. As an older child, 'Mrs. Hazlitt' attended boarding school. When she was at home, at weekends and holidays, she went over to her uncle's nearby farm, in the evening, to bath her younger cousins. There was a larger milking at her uncle's farm and 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' assistance enabled her aunt to take part.<sup>610</sup>

'Mrs. Hazlitt' milked at her family's farm, as did her mother, sister, and her father. 'Mr. MacManus' learnt to milk when he was nine or ten. 'Mr. Henderson' and 'Mr. Marshall' both said that their mothers milked, but did not mention milking themselves. Mrs. Leiper said that her mother milked, as she and her sister did also.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. Pp. 2, 3.

<sup>608</sup> McConnell, P. (1887). "The Feeding and Management of Dairy Cows." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XIX**: 200-215.

<sup>609</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>610</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in *Ibid*.

<sup>611</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with Margaret Leiper, University of Glasgow.



Similarly Mrs. 'S1,' her mother, and her sister milked.<sup>612</sup> Peter Turner made reference to his brother, Bill, milking in a 1900 diary entry.<sup>613</sup> Bill would have been a young man of around twenty-seven at this time. Since routine activities are not mentioned in the diaries, milking may not have been an everyday activity for Bill Turner. As a boy, Peter Turner's son, Peter, milked alongside the farm women and, although he could not milk as quickly as his mother, the dairymaid or the ploughman's wife, he was a regular member of the milking team at Oxcgang.<sup>614</sup> James Black considered the ability to milk cows a prerequisite for getting a job on a dairy farm.<sup>615</sup> Undoubtedly it would be advantageous to have a pool of people who could milk on a dairy farm, even if not all of them were called upon to milk regularly.



**59. Family members and hired labour are intermingled among mid twentieth century hand-milkers at Auchenfoyle. From left to right: Chrissie Bain, Willie Black, Murn Black, Jennie Black, Tommie Ross, Mary Black. Source – James Black.**

According to Gray, it was always recognised that 'women on the whole were better milkers than men.'<sup>616</sup> Sir John Sinclair, while conceding that men did often milk, stressed that they 'are not so well calculated as females, for the management of the

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<sup>612</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>613</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database."

<sup>614</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). Interview with Peter Turner, University of Glasgow.

<sup>615</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>616</sup> Gray White Gold? P. 148.

interior of the dairy house, where so much depends upon attention to cleanliness,'<sup>617</sup> indicating that hygiene was regarded as a feminine virtue. Hand-milking is a skill. Since children were regularly employed in hand-milking, it might be assumed that this was a skill easily acquired, and requiring no long apprenticeship, yet McConnell wrote of the difficulty of obtaining thoroughly trained milkers. He considered getting the cows properly milked to be the most difficult part of the management of a dairy.

Milking should be done regularly, quietly, and thoroughly, no scolding or beating, and the last drop to be extracted. There is nothing which tends to lessen the yield of a cow so much as ill-usage or bad milking; and where there are a number of attendants they ought to take the cows in turn, so that the good milkers may help to counteract the bad effects of the inferior milkers. Cows cannot intentionally and deliberately "hold up" their milk; but if they are frightened, the nervousness which is induced has a reflex action, and the tissues of the milk vessels are tightened, so that the milk will not flow so easily.<sup>618</sup>

Gray says that, if the cows were distressed, 'it was reckoned that the consistency of the milk and cream would be altered which had a deleterious effect on the quality and quantity of the cheese and butter made on the farm.'<sup>619</sup> Gentleness is a quality more often associated with women than with men, and the importance of this quality in connection with milking may have encouraged the association of women with milking. Marion Craig (born 1842) recalled that her great-grandmother (at Cowdenmoor Farm, Renfrewshire) rigorously enforced the rule of 'no talk while milking.'<sup>620</sup>

There were various nineteenth century attempts to circumvent the problem of securing good milkers by developing a machine that could do the job but, although there were a few false dawns when a new machine was greeted with enthusiasm, milking machines were not in general use before the end of the period covered by this study. The traditional gender assignation of milking, and late nineteenth century attitudes towards this division, are highlighted in the following quote from the *Farming World* in 1891:

After thirty years or more of repeated unsuccessful attempts to bring out a milking machine, the problem has at length been solved. Soon the art of milking will no longer be necessary and all the sentiment with which the milkmaid has become enveloped, will be a matter of ancient history and

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<sup>617</sup> Sinclair, J. (1832). The Code of Agriculture; including observations on gardens, orchards, woods and plantations with an account of all the recent improvements in the management of arable and grass lands. Edinburgh, William Tait. P. 77.

<sup>618</sup> McConnell "Dairy Cows."

<sup>619</sup> Gray White Gold? P. 147.

<sup>620</sup> Graham, T. (2004/5). "Recollections of the Craig Family." Renfrewshire Family History Society Journal.

the poet will lose a theme of inspiration ... The trouble of obtaining satisfactory milkers being thus obviated, farmers will be able to select men suitable for their requirements, instead of having as has often been the case, to take men who could supply milkers, whether they themselves were suitable or not. The ploughmen's wives will not be taken from their homes late and early just at the time when they should be at home preparing morning and evening meals for their families.<sup>621</sup>

Milk production follows a natural cycle and, in the days before rapid transport, the problem of a summer glut and winter shortage was overcome by processing the highly perishable milk into butter and cheese, which could be stored for longer periods. Mrs. 'S1' remarked that the cheese produced on her parents' farm could last indefinitely.<sup>622</sup> As with milking, butter and cheese-making were seen as women's work:

Most of the cheesemakers are the wives and daughters of the farmers, only a few of the larger farms, or gentlemen – or bachelor-farmers, engaging bred dairy-women: for in Ayrshire, unlike England, every process connected with the milk, the butter, or the cheese, is conducted by women, and rightly, too; and although most of the "gudewives" and their "doughters" may be much more at home in fingering a cow's paps than the keyboard of a piano, they are not on that account any the less better women, less lovable, or less thoroughly useful members of society.<sup>623</sup>

At Creityhall, Mrs. Gardner churned butter, and made cheese once a year. Nearby, Mrs. 'S1's' mother made cheese for sale and 'S1' described cheese-making as 'a very heavy job' that started early in the morning and 'took practically the whole day, into the afternoon.' This routine occupied 'S1's' mother all summer:

Mostly it was my mother who did the raking and the attending to the making of the cheese. Anybody else could take them out of the chizzett and rub them with lard, but the making of the cheese was the important part to get everything just right.<sup>624</sup>

The cheese was sold to wholesalers who came round at intervals. They would test the cheese, and make a selection to sell on to retailers. With 'S1's' mother's early death, commercial cheese production on that farm ceased, and only small quantities of cheese, for consumption on the farm, were made thereafter. At Kilnpothall, in Lanarkshire, most of the milk was sold, but Mrs. Leiper's mother made some butter and cheese for use on the farm, and for friends and neighbours.<sup>625</sup> The cheeses had to

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<sup>621</sup> Gray White Gold? Pp. 158, 159.

<sup>622</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>623</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **Fourth series, vol. I:** 21-106. P. 89

<sup>624</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>625</sup> McGuire Interview with Margaret Leiper.

be turned every day but, as they were too heavy for the women to turn, this was done by men. On 'S1's' farm, where there might be twenty or thirty cheeses, each weighing about fifty pounds, the shelves could swivel, making turning much easier. In Ayrshire, the grandmother of 'Mrs. Hazlitt' made cheese, but neither cheese nor butter were made by 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' mother. After 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' sister left school, she churned butter on the farm. 'Mr. MacManus' said that his mother was in charge of the dairy, and of cheese-making.

Dairy responsibilities might extend to more general care of the cows. Mrs. Gardner and 'Mr. Henderson's' mother fed calves, and 'Mr. MacManus' said that his mother attended to what the cows were being fed. When James Black's elder sister expressed a wish to become a nurse, their father told her that she could have plenty of nursing to do, feeding and looking after calves on the farm at Auchenfoyle.<sup>626</sup> Perhaps 'Mr. Marshall's' mother took a greater role in the care of the cows than most farm women. 'Mr. Marshall's' father was of a nervous disposition and his sons considered him a liability around a labouring cow. They would endeavour to keep him out of the way, and fetched their mother to act as midwife to the cow. A friend of Mrs. Leiper, who was born around 1932, said that her father so valued her mother's judgement in cattle that, he would have liked her to accompany him when he went to select a bull. Marion's mother declined as 'she was old fashioned that way.'

Farm women also looked after hens. 'Mr. Henderson' said that his mother always had quite a lot of hens, and there must have been hens at Creityhall since McGregor reports that her mother 'fell from a ladder which she had clambered to reach a hen's nest on a ledge under the roof.'<sup>627</sup> James Black was quite scathing about the poultry kept at Auchenfoyle. The hens had freedom to wander wherever they liked about the farmstead, and sometimes laid their eggs in unexpected places, to lie undiscovered until they were rotten. The family persisted in keeping hens because they wanted the eggs for breakfast, but Black certainly felt that the hens did not repay their keep. As he put it 'every hen died in debt.'<sup>628</sup> In contrast, Snodgrass says that laying hens were a mainstay of farms in Renfrewshire, with the eggs generally being sold to grocers

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<sup>626</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>627</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. P. 36.

<sup>628</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

and retailers in Glasgow and other towns.<sup>629</sup> At the other end of the study period, Sturrock said:

Large numbers of poultry (hens and ducks) are kept in Ayrshire, and although the masters may grumble occasionally, yet probably the gudewives are pretty near the truth in thinking that no kind of live stock on our small farms pays better.<sup>630</sup>

Here Sturrock not only implies that women were responsible for poultry keeping in this earlier period, but also underlines the power structure on farms. Although Snodgrass wrote that numbers of poultry declined towards the south of Ayrshire, she said that Ayrshire contained the largest area of very high poultry density. She gave the factors influencing distribution as climate and proximity to a large consuming centre. Snodgrass ascribes the importance of poultry on smaller farms as largely due to two facts.

- 1) They form a very effective means of augmenting the income from a small farm, where most of the work is usually done by the farmer and his family;
- 2) On the smaller type of farm, the farmer's womenfolk are more in the habit of doing outdoor work than those on the larger farms.<sup>631</sup>

Thus Snodgrass confirms that the farm women were responsible for the poultry in the later part of the study period. Gray notes a division in farm income: although the income from cheese (which the farm women were usually responsible for making) went into the farm account, the income from eggs and butter went into the household purse.<sup>632</sup> Indeed, there are no references to the sale of eggs in the Crookboat account books, and only one in the Springs account books. It would seem that there were hens at Crookboat since one shilling and sixpence was paid in January of 1896 for 'carriage, chickens Leith' although, unfortunately, it is not clear whether the chickens were being transported to or from Leith. At Springs, fourteen shillings and sixpence ha'penny was received, in December of 1857, for 'butter eggs cash.' In view of Gray's comment, the combination of butter and eggs is interesting. There are over thirty other references to butter sales over the periods covered by the account books, but none of the others mention eggs. With the absence of references in the farm account books, and the possibility that sales of eggs may have taken place and been recorded elsewhere, it is not possible to gauge the importance of eggs to the farm economy.

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<sup>629</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1931). *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland. Geography*. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh. P. 268.

<sup>630</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." P. 87.

<sup>631</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 242

<sup>632</sup> Gray *White Gold?* P. 306

Snodgrass says that up to about ten or twenty years before her time of writing (i.e. 1910-1930), farm women carried on poultry keeping as a side line, when their taste lay in that direction. Around that time farmers themselves began to take a greater interest, leading to a remarkable increase in the 1920s of the numbers of poultry kept.<sup>633</sup> 'Mrs. Hazlitt' (born 1906) reports that hens were always kept on her family's farm, and that she cleaned out the hen houses. They used the eggs, and always had some to sell. Additionally, they reared day old cockerels, killed, plucked, dressed and sold them. Her aunt in the neighbouring farm, who could pluck and dress a chicken in three minutes, passed on this skill to 'Mrs. Hazlitt' and her sister. No tax was paid on the income from the eggs and cockerels; it was 'family money.'<sup>634</sup>

From the interviews that they conducted, Jamieson and Toynbee found labour on Scottish farms to be clearly divided along gender and generational lines:

The male farmer, his sons and male farm servants were unlikely to do either domestic labour or dairy work. Many women and girls, on the other hand, spent most of their working time in the household or in the dairy.<sup>635</sup>

The other personal reminiscence material drawn on in this chapter bears out their assessment, and also has some points in common with Whatmore's work on late twentieth century farms in the south-west of England, although Whatmore found that, on specialist dairy farms, it was uncommon for women to milk regularly. Whatmore concluded that the 'principal axis of gender division of labour is between agricultural labour and domestic household labour,'<sup>636</sup> and that 'domestic household labour is almost exclusively 'women's work'.<sup>637</sup>

## The Garden

Hard by the steading, the farm garden was generally to be found. At a hundred and three acres, the Snodgrass farm of Portnauld had a garden measuring one rood, twenty-seven and a half poles, while at two hundred and twenty-eight acres, the nearby Snodgrass farm of Old Mains and Sandilands had a garden of thirty-nine poles, and a drying green of thirty-four poles.<sup>638</sup> Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie both mention that the toilets at their Ayrshire farms were located in the garden, but do not give any

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<sup>633</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 243.

<sup>634</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairsns*.

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.* P. 160

<sup>636</sup> Whatmore, S. (1991). *Farming Women: Gender, work and family enterprise*. London, Macmillan. P. 44.

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.* Pp 66, 67..

<sup>638</sup> Laughlen, A. (1859). TD 234/48/2, Plans of the Estate of Blythwood in the County of Renfrew, Glasgow Archives, Mitchell Library.

further details about the garden.<sup>639</sup> However, McGregor does supply a description of the garden at Creityhall:

The garden had a good area of grass, far from being a lawn but pleasant to lie on. In one corner there was a honeysuckle bower with a garden seat. There were rhododendrons, roses and a green fragrant shrub called aipple-ringie, elsewhere known as Lad's Love. Rows of daffodils and clumps of snowdrops were welcome in the Spring. The garden path was bordered with pansies, tom-thumbs, alyssum and other colourful flowers. Over the way, however, a patch was reserved next to the wall for vegetables, including curly kale, leeks and cabbages. Rhubarb, gooseberries and black currants grew behind the midden wall. No wonder the fruit was plentiful. The row of plum trees probably benefitted too.<sup>640</sup>

The plentiful fruit was processed into jams and jellies for the family. Marion Craig fondly remembered the large garden, with abundant gooseberries, currants and raspberries, at her grandfather's farm, which she and her cousin, William Craig, 'delighted to pull, both for sending away and for eating to our hearts' content.'<sup>641</sup> The same fruits were to be found in the garden at 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' farm, and were made into jam at the farm. Sometimes some of the fruit was sent to a jam factory, although the financial return was not great.<sup>642</sup> The account books of Springs Farm contain a few references to purchases of seeds and plants (including gooseberry and currant bushes) for the garden. There are no such references in the Crookboat account books. The garden at Crookboat was destroyed by having a railway line driven through it, and a new garden created. Garden purchases may be concealed under some of the many references to 'sundries.' James Black derided the idea of a vegetable garden, commenting:

Fairmers are no good wi' they wee plots. They've got to be in a big field, and it was totties and turnips. We never even grew carrots at that time.<sup>643</sup>

However, he did admit to there being a small vegetable garden at Auchenfoyle. In contrast, 'Mr. Marshall' said that his father had been a very keen gardener, and their garden always had plenty of good rhubarb (growing off the midden) and raspberries, gooseberries, and blackcurrants.<sup>644</sup> 'Mr. Henderson said that it was his mother who kept their farm garden, and grew vegetables, with the assistance of the children, who

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<sup>639</sup> Logan and Rennie Ayrshire Sound Archive 28A, Interviews with Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Rennie.

<sup>640</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 8.

<sup>641</sup> Graham "Recollections of the Craig Family."

<sup>642</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>643</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>644</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

cut the grass, and a man, who did the heavy digging.<sup>645</sup> As a child, Mrs. 'S1' also helped in the farm garden.

Farm gardens can be seen as transitional spaces between the house and the fields. Like the fields, gardens were cultivated, but the produce was primarily intended for kitchen use. As a drying area, the garden was associated with the housekeeping laundry activity. It was also a family recreational space, particularly for the children. So the garden was in the domestic orbit, but men could work there either if directed to help with heavy digging, or as a hobby if they were so inclined.

## The Fields

'Mr. Marshall' said that his mother did not work in the fields unless they were short-handed or his father was away at the market, and she thought that not enough work was being done.<sup>646</sup> The gender division that puts the mistress in charge of the house, dairy and maids, and the farmer in charge of field operations and business decisions, made the farm mistress the person with the most authority, in the absence of her husband (or brother). Therefore it was her responsibility to make sure that the work continued to be carried out if her husband was away. Although it was not usual for the mistress of the farm to work in the fields, in the spirit of the small family labour farm, 'Mr. Marshall's' mother did help out when there was need. In the same vein, 'Mr. Henderson' said that his mother went out with a horse and cart at harvest time,<sup>647</sup> but the general impression given by the personal accounts is that the farm women's daily workload was heavy enough without adding work in the fields. Whatmore, found that 'whatever else women do on the farm it is in addition to, rather than instead of, their household tasks and responsibilities,'<sup>648</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that this situation was different in Scotland. If the mistress of the farm helped in the fields occasionally, her daughters might do it more regularly. A couple of incidents, occurring when her aunts were working in the fields, were memorable enough for Marion Craig to include in her reminiscences:

One cold day the aunts Janet and Marion were shawing turnips when one of the farm horses came along the road that skirted the field. Aunt Marion thought it would be far better to have a ride, so, getting the horse to the

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<sup>645</sup> Ibid.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid.

<sup>648</sup> Whatmore Farming Women. P. 83.



dyke she mounted bare-back and, wrapping her cold hands in its mane, went off for a gallop.<sup>649</sup>

Shawing turnips was a job sometimes done by day labourers, although in this case it was carried out by the farm daughters. It appears to have been just the two of them in the field, or at least in that part of the field. The women could also work on their own, or with a hired man, as the following quote indicates.

One harvest day in Southpark, Aunt Marion and one of the men were loading a cart of corn. When it was corded and finished, the man went to another part of the field. In jumping down from the cart Aunt Marion broke her leg but, there being no help at hand, she hung on to the shaft of the cart and took the horse, cart and load safely home to the stackyard.<sup>650</sup>

This was in the mid nineteenth century, but farm daughters also worked in the fields when Mrs. Leiper was a young woman. Mrs. Leiper described how seed was sown broadcast at Kilnpothall. The men carted about six sacks of seed to a field and left them at intervals along the edge of it. Someone else would fill pails of seed from the bags, and carry them to the sower to refill the sheets as they sowed. Sometimes there would be two men sowing in a field and two other people keeping them supplied with seed. Mrs. Leiper carried pails to the sowers, but she did not sow herself, as that was a man's job. She conceded that some women did sow, but both times she mentioned women sowing, her voice dropped to become inaudible, giving the impression that, for a woman to sow seed, was not quite respectable.<sup>651</sup> At Creityhall, the area of arable was small and Mr. Gardner did the hand-sowing himself. There were tasks for the children, commensurate with their strength and skill. As a child, McGregor cast envious eyes upon her brother Duncan's position as driver and operator of the hayrake:

How I envied Dunc as he drove the horse and followed the mower ... When I was about 15 I did get my job on the hayrake, a memory that is precious – it was a glorious feeling.<sup>652</sup>

At Auchenfoyle, Black's uncle gave the priority to fieldwork over housework.

He wouldn't tolerate any unnecessary work such as washing floors, when there was urgent work to be done in the fields. He would say, "Come on everybody who can crawl. Oot tae the field, and get yer jaicket aff. If yer faither and I wirna' here, ye wid a' be in the poor hoose inside six weeks."<sup>653</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> Graham "Recollections of the Craig Family."

<sup>650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>651</sup> McGuire Interview with Margaret Leiper.

<sup>652</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. P. 45.

<sup>653</sup> Black *Black o' the Green*. P. 18.

Both 'Mrs. Hazlitt' and Mrs. 'S1' had a sister fairly close in age to themselves, and each was able to arrange a division of labour with her sister. Once Mrs. 'S1' and her sister had left school, they took turn about with one week in the kitchen and one week in the dairy. When asked what jobs she did, Mrs. 'S1' responded:

Everything, milking, dairy work, cooking, baking, helped in the garden, fed the cattle, fed the animals, even cleaned out the byre, mucked the byre as we called it. Apart from the obvious men's work, we did practically a bit of everything. We didn't plough, we didn't do any of these jobs.<sup>654</sup>

In 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' case, her father wanted the girls to swap duties between the house and the dairy every fortnight so that they might both become proficient in both spheres, but the rota did not hold. The sister worked mainly in the house, and became an expert baker of cakes and scones, while 'Mrs. Hazlitt' did very little work around the house. They frequently entertained on Sunday, and the sister did all the baking, leaving the 'dogsbody' jobs to 'Mrs. Hazlitt.' 'Mrs. Hazlitt' worked outside, feeding the young cattle, and the hens and ducks. At harvest time she worked with her father, alongside the men, tying sheaves. 'Mrs. Hazlitt' said that she and her father worked together better than anybody else, that he was left-handed and she was right-handed, and that they had worked well together on particular tasks. However, 'Mrs. Hazlitt' did not do anything with the horses, 'because the men did that.'<sup>655</sup>

In the cases of Black's sister, and of 'Mrs. Hazlitt' and her sister, we see someone taking a decision as both a farmer and a head of family. Black senior took the decision that his daughter would not train as a nurse, but would remain on the family farm, and dictated what work she would do on the farm. 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' father decided that his daughters would receive a rounded on-farm training by alternating between spheres. However, although Black's sister appears to have acquiesced in her father's decision, 'Mrs. Hazlitt' and her sister seem to have simply slipped into their own preferred roles, and they were able to do so because they were in a family situation, where so much depends upon the characters of the people involved, and 'Mrs. Hazlitt' did not overstep the bounds of what was acceptable work for a woman. It may be that Black's father had a strong opinion about his daughter leaving the farm to take up other work and was unrelenting, and it may be that, while 'Mrs. Hazlitt's' father thought it would be best for his daughters to have a broader experience of farm work, he did not force the issue when he saw them happy in their chosen roles.

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<sup>654</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>655</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

'Mrs. Hazlitt's' statement that she did everything apart from the obvious men's work, begs the question why were specific tasks 'men's work'? At this time there were female out-door farm-workers, and considerable overlap between their work and the work carried out by male workers, but in the available evidence ploughing and sowing have been singled out as tasks specifically for men. This division may simply have been custom, but Mrs. Leiper's attitude towards women sowing suggests something more, and raises the possibility that there were sexual connotations to these tasks.

## Beyond the Farm

In the ordinary course of working life, the male members of the farming household had more occasions to be away from the farm than did the female members. While some produce might be collected from the farm, often someone from the farm was required to make deliveries and, while this might be done by a hired man, it might also be done by the farmer's son. Peter Turner junior, as a school-boy, regularly carted milk from Oxgang to a dairy in Kirkintilloch.<sup>656</sup> Mr. Cameron, whose grandfather took over Auchingibbert Farm, Cumnock in 1907, said that, at the age of fourteen his father was sent into Cumnock, with a pony and trap, to sell milk retail.<sup>657</sup> At a slightly more advanced age, James Black met his wife while selling milk door to door in Greenock.<sup>658</sup> Wool from the Cowdenmoor sheep was carded and spun in the farmhouse, and sent to a mill at Stewarton. Marion Craig remembered one occasion when her grandfather took her with him to Stewarton, with bundles of yarn piled high behind them in the gig cart.<sup>659</sup> There were also trips to market to be made. William Murdoch Thomson said that his father went, from Springs, to the market in Ayr every couple of weeks but that, when his mother (born 1879) was a girl, it was a treat for her to get to Ayr once a year, when the box cart went in to collect the messages for Springs Farm. In her youth, his grandmother walked the seven miles to Ayr twice yearly, did her messages, then walked the seven miles back, carrying the messages in a basket over her arm.<sup>660</sup> Judging from his account books, Alexander Lamb visited Lanark as often as three or four times a month. Sometimes he mentions

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<sup>656</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>657</sup> Brodie, A. (1984). ASA 99A, Interview with Mr. Cameron of Auchingibbert Farm, Cumnock, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>658</sup> Black Black o' the Green. P. 73.

<sup>659</sup> Graham "Recollections of the Craig Family."

<sup>660</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson.

a specific purpose, such as a hay sale, a lamb fair, or to hire someone. He also mentions the Lanark Races. Lamb's wife went to Lanark a few times a year mainly, it seems, to acquire clothing and footwear for the children. As recorded in her husband's account book, she went to Glasgow, once in 1896 and again in 1898. She went once to Leith (1896) and once to Edinburgh (1897).

Besides the expenses of the trips, Lamb sometimes noted the purchase of 'sundries.' McGregor has recorded how she and her siblings eagerly awaited their father's return home on market days, when an examination of his pockets would reveal small bars of chocolate, sugar mice or squares of Turkish Delight.<sup>661</sup> Mrs. 'S1' said that her father went to market every so often, and always brought something back for the children. This might be sweets or a sixpenny book from Woolworths.<sup>662</sup> The 'sundries' bought by Alexander Lamb might have included sweets. In 1896, Lamb, whose eldest child was born in 1893, noted the purchase of sweets, while in Lanark. Lamb made occasional business trips to Glasgow concerning the sale of milk, or the purchase of Glasgow dung. He also attended the Glasgow Show and, one time, he was in Glasgow concerned with rabbit shooting. Attendance at agricultural shows and fairs was a blend of both business and pleasure for farmers. Peter Turner was present at over seventy consecutive Kirkintilloch Cattle Shows, as well as attending shows in neighbouring areas, and more distant locations such as Ayr, Dumbarton, Buchlyvie, Killearn, Stirling and Falkirk.<sup>663</sup> Lamb attended local shows in Carmichael and Douglas, ones in neighbouring areas such as Lesmahagow, Carnwath and Lanark, and regions as distant as Perth.<sup>664</sup> These travels gave the farmers opportunities to interact with their peers in a fashion not available to their womenfolk. Some of the farms were quite remote, further reducing opportunities for social interaction. McGregor says that a butcher's van visited Creityhall twice a week, and a grocery van once a week. Some other items, such as household linens and towels were purchased through a mail order catalogue.<sup>665</sup> 'S1' confirms that most of the household day-to-day needs were supplied by such vans. They needed to go to a shop to get their

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<sup>661</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. Pp. 55, 56.

<sup>662</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>663</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2004). *Farming in Kirkintilloch District in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, University of Glasgow.

<sup>664</sup> McGuire, D. E. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>665</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 70.

footwear, but the nearest shops were four miles away, in Drymen. 'We didn't very often go away from home' Mrs. 'S1' stated.<sup>666</sup>

## Education

One occasion for going away from home was the pursuit of education. Both Mrs. 'S1' and McGregor attended the small Buchanan School, which was their local school. 'S1' started there at the age of four and a half. At that time Buchanan School took pupils up to university entrance level, but 'S1' left at fourteen. Her mother died when 'S1' was thirteen, and she said that, being the eldest girl, it was obvious that she was needed at home. That noted, although she enjoyed school she thought it unlikely that she would have done 'anything other than come home and help on the farm.' Peggy Kirk lost her mother when she was fifteen, and took over the role of housekeeper at High Kilphin Farm, Ballantrae at that time.<sup>667</sup> James Black and his siblings attended their local school, and Black was happy to leave at the age of fourteen, never having desired any other occupation than working on a farm, unlike one of his brothers, who was keen on book learning, and who eventually became head teacher of a school in Greenock.<sup>668</sup>

Sometimes farm children began their formal education at the local school, and finished it at an academy. Katherine Murdoch spent her final school year at Ayr Academy, walking three miles to Annbank Station daily, in order to catch the train to Ayr.<sup>669</sup> Pupil record cards in the Thomson of Springs Collection, Carnegie Library, Ayr, indicate that her son, William Murdoch Thomson, spent first, second and third year at Ayr Academy. 'Mr. MacManus' and his brother started school at the local 'country school,' walking three miles to get there. Both also went to Kilmarnock Academy, cycling each day. 'Mr. MacManus' went to the Academy when he was thirteen and was there for about a year. He would have preferred to stay in the country school, which he thought was just as good, but the Academy was supposed to be a better place, and his parents wanted him to go there. He was encouraged to stay on at school, but he wanted to be at home working on the farm. Neither of his parents had gone on at school.<sup>670</sup> 'Mrs. Hazlitt' also attended Kilmarnock Academy. She left at

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<sup>666</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>667</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 50A, Memoirs of Peggy Kirk M.B.E., Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>668</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>669</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson.

<sup>670</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

the age of fifteen and went to Leadhall, which she described as a private finishing school for girls, most of whom were farmer's daughters. Her brother left school at fifteen to work on the farm. Mrs. Leiper started school at the age of six, walking two miles to get to the local school. Later she, and one of her brothers, transferred to Lanark Grammar School. They would cycle to Auchengray Station, to catch the train to Lanark. Mrs. Leiper thinks she was fifteen when she left school, after which she worked on the farm.<sup>671</sup> 'Mr. Marshall' did not move to Ayrshire until he was twelve. Prior to that, he went to school in Falkirk, where he generally did well. He passed his qualifying examination but, instead of proceeding directly to Falkirk High School, he was moved to a supplementary class. Once in Ayrshire, he attended school in Dalry, where the head teacher encouraged him to become a vet. His parents were quite keen on education, and he went on to the third grade, and obtained intermediate certificates in five subjects, but 'Mr. Marshall' never thought of any career path other than farming. He left school at fifteen. Neither of his parents went on at school, although his mother got the medal at Dalry for being the best pupil in the school in 1884. Some farming folk did go on to further education. Mrs. 'S1' said that her father did three years at the Technical College, where he studied animal husbandry. 'Mr. Henderson' went to the Agricultural College for three years, and one of his sisters went to university, and studied nursing. Another option was the Dairy School.

## The Dairy School

In 1854, with the aim of raising the standard of local cheese, the Ayrshire Agricultural Association despatched a delegation of two men

... to visit and inspect various of the best dairy districts in England and afterwards to report to the Association, which of the English modes in their opinion was best adapted for introduction into this county, - granting, of course, if a better method could be found than the old Ayrshire or "Dunlop."<sup>672</sup>

This initiative was prompted by Mr. Campbell of Craigie who, according to Sturrock, was a man of both practical and scientific knowledge in agricultural matters. The delegation came down in favour of the 'Cheddar system' of Somersetshire, which was growing in reputation at that time. In 1855, Mr. Harding, the first of several teachers of this method, was brought north from Somerset to Ayrshire, while some farmers' wives and daughters went south to learn the new mode. There was also interest in

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<sup>671</sup> McGuire Interview with Margaret Leiper.

<sup>672</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." P. 93.

Galloway. McMaster wrote that dairies were not numerous in Galloway before 1850, but that high prices during the Crimean war provided a stimulus and, with the numbers of Ayrshire farmers who had migrated to Galloway, the region began to build a reputation for cheese. In 1855, a farmer's wife went from Galloway to Somerset, 'and the improvement which took place in the general manufacture in Galloway dates from her return, and the lessons subsequently learned in her dairy.'<sup>673</sup> Writing a decade later, Sturrock remarked that the Cheddar system had made considerable progress in Ayrshire, and still more in the larger dairies of Galloway. High prizes at the annual cheese exhibition in Kilmarnock, and high prices in the London market for good first class Cheddars fostered this development.

Although he made a detailed comparison of the two methods, Sturrock's preference for Dunlop cheese is evident in his writing. He referred to a variety of manufacture, amongst the Dunlop makers, which he considered to be advantageous both to farmer and consumer, but there was concern that a portion of this variety was not of a sufficiently high quality. The Dunlop makers were criticised for their 'rule-of-thumb' method, yet the Somersetshire teachers, Mr. Harding and Mr. Norton, opined that Scotch cheese makers were too inflexible in their adherence to the rules. On the other side of the fence, the Cheddar makers were regarded as slaves to their thermometers. Sturrock maintained that, while many of the Ayrshire dairywomen knew 'precious little about degrees of heat,' they could 'tell the proper warmth desired perfectly by the feel of their hands,' and he considered that, with variation in soil, in pasture, of the rennet, of the milk, and of the atmosphere or weather, Cheddar makers were obliged to go by rule-of-thumb just as much as Dunlop makers. He admitted a difficulty in getting the dairywomen to attend to minutiae constantly, but thought that the debate had been highly useful in prompting the Dunlop makers to greater carefulness. Sturrock saw the production of good cheese as the result of attention, skill and practice. If these were employed, if the cheese makers obtained improved implements and if the landlords would provide commodious, well ventilated, well equipped premises, the average quality of Dunlop could be raised. In short, Sturrock believed that Cheddar cheese was not essentially better than Dunlop, and that the difference was only a matter of taste on the palate.

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<sup>673</sup> McMaster, J. (1885). "Scotch Cheese-Making." Ibid. **Fourth Series, vol. XVII.**

He saw the size of the Cheddars as disadvantageous, commenting that ‘the lifting and carrying and turning of such monsters of cheeses as the Cheddars, is alone no light labour for a woman of any age.’ Women, as Sturrock was at pains to point out, were the practical cheese-makers in Ayrshire. Size alone would render the Cheddars unsuitable for the smaller dairy farms, as men might need to be diverted from other work for the daily turning of the cheese, and because of the quantity of milk required to make a single cheese. All of the Cheddar makers in Ayrshire, said Sturrock, belonged to the class of larger dairy farmers. Presumably such men had larger capital to invest in new equipment, and to hire staff. Sturrock concluded that Dunlop was still the best option for the majority of makers in Ayrshire:

It is only in Dairies of about 30 cows and upwards, able to turn out, at least, one *large* cheese daily, in which there is much chance of producing first-class Cheddar cheeses; and that is where the Galloway farmers with their large stocks of from 60 to 70 cows have the advantage.<sup>674</sup>

John McMaster was a dairy farmer from Galloway who described himself as:

one of those at whose instance the Cheddar system made considerable advance in the south-west ... a practical farmer, who has given this subject considerable study, spent time and money on the mechanical appliances, and either on his own account, or through consultation with the best scientists with whom he came in contact ...<sup>675</sup>

By McMaster’s time of writing, the Cheddar system was ‘almost universally endorsed in Scotland.’<sup>676</sup> In 1862 McMaster had travelled to Somerset and found some fine dairies, but many more that he considered irregular and poor. Returning north he placed his faith in experimentation and a well-kept register. McMaster had some points in common with Sturrock. He considered observation and strict attention to detail necessary to make fine cheese, and he recognised there were a variety of factors that could affect the process; but, whereas Sturrock deferred to the skill and experience of the dairy women, McMaster considered an understanding of the science involved essential to turn out consistently good cheese. Posing the question, ‘what has science done for cheese-making?’ he answered himself ‘that while in other industries development has, from this source, been very rapid and well marked, in this one little benefit has been derived.’ For this failure he blamed farmers ‘for ridiculing science as unreliable.’ McMaster said that the quality of Cheddar cheese

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<sup>674</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." Ibid. **Fourth series, vol. I:** 21-106.

<sup>675</sup> McMaster, J. (1885). "Scotch Cheese-Making." Ibid. **Fourth Series, vol. XVII.**

<sup>676</sup> Ibid.



began to decline in 1870, and cited various reasons for this, among them 'the reaction which almost invariably follows an abnormal effort:'

... it must still be noted that there were always a few whose makes upheld the former reputation. But as the deterioration began to be more generally acknowledged, it was resolved to make amends; and as it was understood that there were some very fine Canadian and American cheese sold in London, attention was turned in that direction, and through the instrumentality of Mr Clement of Glasgow, the largest buyer in Scotland, Mr Harris of New York State, who had acted as factory instructor in both Canada and New York, was engaged to instruct anew the cheese-makers of Scotland.<sup>677</sup>

Previously American cheese had been considered inferior and, adding weight to his argument in favour of science, McMaster wrote 'the Americans have gone ahead of us in scientific investigation.' Perhaps many of the farmers were still sceptical about the benefits of the application of science to dairying, but the importation of factory instructors, Mr. Harris in 1884 and R.J. Drummond, from Canada, in 1886, was supported by a group of landlords. McMaster mentioned debate as to the best method of instruction in cheese making, and gave his approval to the establishment of dairy schools. For four years after the arrival of Mr. Harris, the instructors were peripatetic, and the farmers and their wives would gather at a neighbour's dairy to learn.<sup>678</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Four, Walter Park of Hatton played host to the dairy instructors in November of 1884.

The idea of a settled school in a permanent location continued to be promoted, particularly by Joseph Harling Turner, factor of the Duke of Portland's extensive Ayrshire estates. McMaster thought 'that with more scientific aid, more systematic instruction, better buildings and mechanical appliance,'<sup>679</sup> the average quality of the region's cheese could be raised. In 1889, under the auspices of the Scottish Dairy Association, and supported by grants from landlords in south-west Scotland, from agricultural associations, county councils, and the Government, the Scottish Dairy Institute was founded. Dairy premises at Holmes Farm, Kilmarnock were leased from the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Turner became the Honorary Secretary of the school. At the opening ceremony, Provost McLelland of Kilmarnock spoke of the importance

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<sup>677</sup> Ibid.

<sup>678</sup> Martin, D. J. (1994). Auchincruive: the history of the West of Scotland Agricultural College, 1899-1990 and the estate of Auchincruive: with the Oswald family connections. Edinburgh, Scottish Agricultural College.

<sup>679</sup> McMaster, J. (1885). "Scotch Cheese-Making." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **Fourth Series, vol. XVII**.

of the manufacture of cheese to the agriculture of Ayrshire, Dumfries and Galloway, while Mr. Turner spoke of the potential students. Sons of dairy farmers who intended to go into the business were advised that a course of instruction at the Kilmarnock School would provide them with invaluable knowledge; while farmers were advised that it might be advantageous to send their dairymaids to the School 'when they go a little bit off the rails.'<sup>680</sup> This expression, meaning 'out of the proper or normal condition, off the usual or expected course,' had, by the 1880s, connotations of insanity,<sup>681</sup> and was a patronising remark to make of a group of women who, as we have seen above, were very hard working. It also seems disrespectful to the gudewives and their doughters extolled by Sturrock only a generation before, and to the farmers' wives who had attended the school in its peripatetic phase. However, a distinction can be drawn between the women of the farming families and the dairymaids in their employ. The third *Herald* article on Ayrshire noted the complaint of farmers that competent dairymaids were becoming scarcer every year.<sup>682</sup> A few years later, Tait also mentioned the growing scarcity of efficient farm servants:

Instead of sedate young men and maidens who have been accustomed from infancy to agricultural work, and have taken to it from habit, farmers must often engage young people from a town or colliery village, who are quite unsuitable for farm work. Thus it happens that on a dairy farm, for example, too much responsibility and even manual work devolves on the wife or other members of a farmer's family, as dairy work can never be trusted in the hands of one who is not only unskilled but has little inclination for such work beyond the desire to earn good wages ... On some farms the dairy work is practically done by the farmer's family; and where other hands are employed the farmer's wife or some other member of the household must take thorough supervision, and manage every stage of the work.<sup>683</sup>

So, many of the dairymaids, while not necessarily 'silly,' may have been relatively unskilled. Significantly, although Tait was in favour of well trained dairymaids, he seems opposed to the involvement of the farm women in dairy work, either in a manual or a supervisory capacity. Thus, he chimes with McMaster and does not seem to have attached the same significance to dairywomen as Sturrock. In the early part of his article, McMaster did mention the important role played by one woman (Mrs. Robert McAdam) in introducing Cheddar making to Galloway, but made no further references to women. Instead he advised that:

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<sup>680</sup> (1889). The Kilmarnock Dairy School. [Kilmarnock Standard](#).

<sup>681</sup> "rail, n.2". OED Online. June 2011. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/157528>.

<sup>682</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 28 July 1870; issue 9538, Ayrshire III.

<sup>683</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." [Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland fourth series, volume XVII](#).

... if dairy farming is conducted as at present, then the farmer should himself become conversant with the peculiarities of the farm and dairy, and the management best suited to them, so that he might be able to instruct the new hand, to whom he is to entrust this important branch ...<sup>684</sup>

McMaster's preference was not for the current system of dairy farming, and he recommended farmers 'who have either small holdings or have been unsuccessful on the average' to consider moving towards a factory system. Another option he thought suitable for smaller dairies was the making of fancy cheese. He recommended that a deputation 'composed of perhaps three farmers or dairymen' should look into this possibility. Dairywomen do not seem to have figured largely in McMaster's ideas, although women were still employed to milk. It was in the 1880s that a commercial creamery was set up a few miles south-east of Stranraer. The creamery could handle the milk of 2,000 cows, and the by-product, whey, was fed to an associated stock of up to 500 pigs.<sup>685</sup> This was south-west Scotland, where the farms were larger and more remote, and manufacturing villages were absent. By the early twentieth century, the general practice in the case of the larger herds in this area was to let the working of the farm dairy to a dairyman and his family, with the farmer usually supplying one or two additional milkers.<sup>686</sup> The general situation in West Central Scotland was different, yet it is likely that forces in the south-west did influence the Dairy School. The foundation of the School was supported not only by the county council of Ayrshire, but also by the county councils of Dumfries and Galloway, and the School did draw students from that area. Janet Hyslop, the wife of Peter Turner of Oxbang, was a farm daughter from Barnshalloch, Balmaclennan, near Castle Douglas; and she was awarded a Junior Certificate in Dairying, from the Dairy School, in May of 1903, and a Senior Certificate in September of 1903.

Ten years after the foundation of the Scottish Dairy Institute, which was known as the Kilmarnock Dairy School, the organisation was incorporated into the newly formed West of Scotland Agricultural College. The governing body of the new college comprised representatives of the University of Glasgow, the Highland and Agricultural Society, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, the Scottish Dairy Institute, and the county councils of Argyll, Ayr, Bute, Dumfries, and Dumbarton, Dumfries,

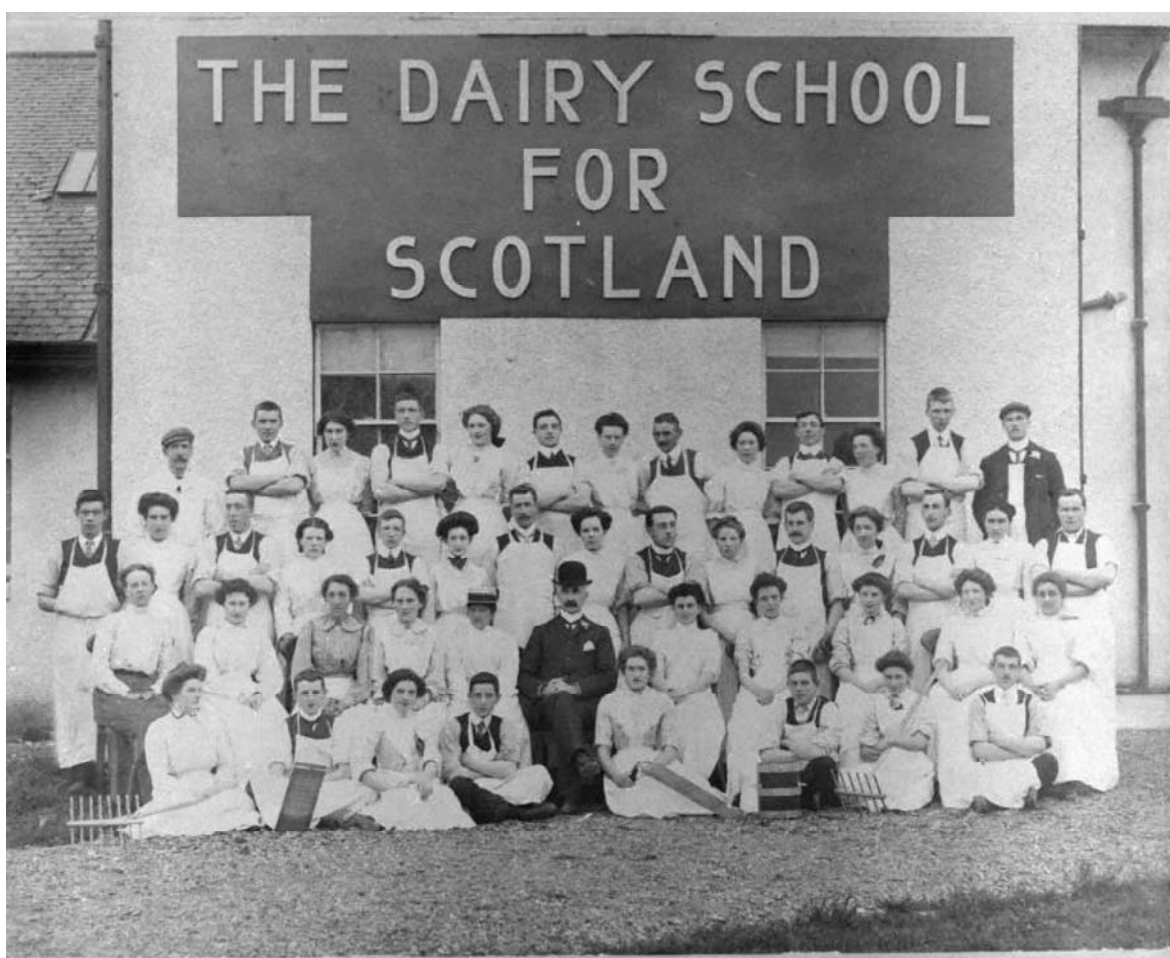
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<sup>684</sup> McMaster, J. Ibid. "Scotch Cheese-Making." **Fourth Series, vol. XVII.**

<sup>685</sup> Fenton, A. (1995). Milk and Milk Products in Scotland: the role of the Milk Marketing Boards. Food Technology, Science and Marketing: European Diet in the Twentieth Century. A. P. d. Hartog. East Linton, Tuckwell Press: 89-102.

<sup>686</sup> Snodgrass The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland. P. 274.

Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Perth, Renfrew, Stirling, and Wigtown. The Dairy School retained its identity, and continued operations in Kilmarnock. Tuition moved beyond the wholly practical, and lectures on the theory of dairying, and in botany and chemistry became available.<sup>687</sup> In 1900 there were forty-four students at the Dairy School, twelve of whom attended the Senior Certificate in Dairying course, and went on to take the examinations for the National Diploma in Dairying, which was organised jointly by the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and the Royal Agricultural Society of England.<sup>688</sup> Twice the Dairy School moved to larger premises (1904 and 1931), each time remaining in the same locale.



**60. Graduation photograph for the Dairy School class of 1905. The man in the middle of the front row wearing a bowler hat is Professor Drummond. At the front of the group are some of the items used by the class: cheese rakes, curd knives and a cheese press. Source – copyright National Museums of Scotland, Licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)**

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<sup>687</sup> Martin Auchincruive.

<sup>688</sup> *Ibid.* P. 16.

In 1903, the Chairman of the Governors, John Gillespie, wrote an article in the *Kilmarnock Standard* commenting on the plans for the new Dairy school:

It will be admitted that dairy farming has been greatly extended in Scotland during the last quarter of a century, and there is every expectation that a further development will take place. It will also be admitted that the teaching of the dairy school, and the extension work carried on from it have exerted a great influence in this respect by improving the quality of dairy produce, and by maintaining its price. The steady improvement, however, in the quality of imported cheese and butter makes it increasingly important, in the interests of both owners and occupiers of dairy farms that every available means should be used to still further improve the quality of the home produce. Hence the importance of having a well-equipped and efficiently conducted dairy school for the instruction of dairy men and dairy women in the theory, and still more, in the practice of butter and cheese-making according to the most approved methods.<sup>689</sup>

Interestingly, Gillespie appears to put dairy men and dairy women on an equal footing, but a comparison of courses taken by the male and female students may be revealing. 'Mr. Henderson,' who attended the Agricultural College for three years, said that his elder sister also attended the College, but he did not mention the Dairy School. Cheese production on that farm had ceased by the time 'Mr. Henderson' was a boy. Cheese was made on the farm near Kilmarnock where 'Mr. MacManus' (born 1895) grew up, and his grandmother won a cup, for her cheese, three years in succession, at the prestigious Kilmarnock Show. This grandmother would have learned to make cheese before the Dairy School came into being. The transcript of the interview is unclear at this point, but 'Mr. MacManus' said either that his grandmother had learned to make cheese with a neighbour, or else it was his mother. If this was his mother, she may have learned from one of the peripatetic teachers in the early days of the Dairy School. 'Mrs. Hazlitt' said that her aunt, who was 'awful fussy in the dairy,' had gone through the Dairy School, around 1918, had diplomas in dairying, and that this was not unusual for women in those days.<sup>690</sup> Mrs. Leiper's mother and the mother of her friend, Marion, both went to the Dairy School, where Mrs. Leiper's mother acquired a certificate for butter-making.<sup>691</sup> One of James Black's older sisters also learnt butter-making at the Dairy School. The family were retailing fresh milk in Greenock, but were not able to sell all their supply. So, one family member went to the Dairy School to learn how to make butter with milk:

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<sup>689</sup> Gillespie, J. (1903). The West of Scotland Agricultural College. *Kilmarnock Standard*.

<sup>690</sup> Interviews by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairns*.

<sup>691</sup> McGuire Interview with Margaret Leiper.

It's easy enough making butter wi' cream, but she went there to learn how to make butter wi' milk, wi' a starter and everything. And the milk we couldnae sell we churned it and we selt butter and soor milk.<sup>692</sup>

Among the men who attended courses at the Dairy School was James Scott (born 1886), one of the six sons of Lanarkshire farmer, Gavin Scott. James started work on his father's farm after leaving school and did a short course at the Dairy School. He later obtained a B.Sc. in Engineering and was employed by the Nigerian Tin Corporation. Three of his five sisters also attended the Dairy School. Agnes (born 1884) was the first but, after her marriage she qualified as a medical General Practitioner, and had a practice in Glasgow. Jean (born 1892) obtained a National Diploma in Dairying and went on to become a dairying and poultry instructress on the staff of the West of Scotland Agricultural College. Isabella (born 1893) worked as a dairymaid. After her marriage, she and her husband farmed in Rhodesia. Of the daughters who did not train at the Dairy School, Mary trained as a school teacher, and Lillias (born 1899) obtained a B.Sc. in Agriculture, and followed this by research at the Dairy School.<sup>693</sup>

If the Scott family are an indication, the standard of the students at the Dairy School was high. Yet none of the Scott daughters went on to manage a Scottish farm dairy, or to work in a commercial creamery. As ever more farms in West Central Scotland were able to tap into the market for fresh milk in Glasgow, and the industrial towns and villages, the farm women would have found limited opportunities to employ their dairying skills. Despite her certificates in dairying, Peter Turner junior could not remember his mother ever making cheese, although she did churn if there was a surplus of milk. Mr. Turner described this 'homemade butter' as 'a joy,' suggesting a more frequent use of shop-bought butter.<sup>694</sup>

In 1932 the Dairy School introduced a ten week course in Rural and Domestic Science. The curriculum included Dairying, Poultry Keeping, Gardening, Agriculture, Housekeeping, Cookery, Laundry work, Needlework, Hygiene, Physical Culture and, if time was available, Fruit and Vegetable canning.<sup>695</sup> This sounds like a recipe for a perfect farmer's wife, and certainly reflects the range of work carried out by farm

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<sup>692</sup> McGuire Interview with James Black.

<sup>693</sup> Richens, R., Ed. (1981). Your Loving Father, Gavin Scott: Letters From a Lanarkshire Farmer 1911. Cambuslang, Ruth Richens.

<sup>694</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>695</sup> Martin Auchincruive. P. 63.

women, but to cram so much into ten weeks suggests that the women were regarded principally as housekeepers and ancillary workers and not as managers of a major sector in the family business.

## Summary

There was a gender division apparent in the work people did on west central Scotland farms throughout the period under consideration, and this division had territorial expression. Although there was overlap with men milking and women working in the fields, the areas of female influence were perceived to be the house and the dairy. A shift in attitude withdrew approval from some quarters for the work of middle-class farm women in the fields or farm dairy, so their territory might be said to have shrunk. Yet the women of small family labour farms were industrious rather than industrial, and they continued to contribute whether in the dairy or in a sideline such as poultry keeping. The steading at Auchenfoyle stands as a reminder that structures, be they physical or social, can be misleading. The double farm-house gives an impression of separation that was contrary to the experience of those living there. Similarly, neatly defined roles became blurred when the season was pressing, when someone was ill, or simply because flexibility was needed on the part of workers on small family farms. Profit margins were too low to exclude some family members on the ground of gender.

## Chapter Eight

### Community and Social Life

In this chapter families farming on the small family farms of West Central Scotland will be considered in a broader social context thereby characterising the community and social life of a particular rural landscape. The second part of the chapter explores the farming community through reciprocal cooperative activities, and the third part reviews the social activities of farming families. The first part of the chapter explores the position of farming families within a society that was divided along class lines, giving consideration to the relationship between farming families and their landlords. The relationship between farming families and their servants has already been considered in Chapter Six.

### Rural Social Structure

Generally farmers and their landlords belonged to a different social class and although the rank of the landlord could vary from a peer of the realm down to a simple gentleman, they can be broadly defined as 'gentry.' Relations between farmers and gentry was considered in the first of the 1870 Ayrshire articles in the *Glasgow Herald*, with a quote from Fullarton's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr*:

Colonel Fullarton, in 1793, says:-"Improvements in dress, living and conveniences of life have increased beyond all credibility, but the manners and morals of the different ranks have by no means meliorated in the same proportion. On the contrary, the civil and cordial manners of the former generation are wearing fast away, and in their place is subsisting a regardless, brutal, and democratic harshness of demeanour. In the vicinity of some towns, where the notions of manufacturers predominate, the farmers have been so far perverted as to form associations binding themselves under severe penalties never to offer any mark of civility to any person in the character of a gentleman. The consequences are that they have become boorish to every individual of the human species, and savage to the brute creation."<sup>696</sup>

Perhaps Fullarton had recent events in France in mind, and thought this boorishness a step towards the overthrow of government. He clearly ascribed different characters

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<sup>696</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, Tuesday 19 July 1870; issue 9530, Ayrshire.



to town and country dwellers, which begs the question, were manners different in more remote areas where there was less contamination from the 'notions of manufacturers?' Another *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr* was produced by William Aiton in 1811, and the *Herald* article continues with reference to this slightly later work:

This is certainly a frightful picture of Ayrshire manners at the close of last century; but in all probability the writer's political convictions lent wings to his imagination and too vivid colours to his pictures of rural life. Aiton doubts the story of the "uncivil associations" above referred to ... He says:- "Many of them [farmers] are much hurt in their principles by trafficking with low dealers in horses and cattle, who are generally knavish and deceitful to the utmost of their capacity. The farmers are obliged to practise a little cunning in order to get justice at the hands of these jockeys. Indeed, many of the farmers do not scruple to use some deceit and cunning in order to come at money ... But the great thing was to get over the landlord or factor, and the man who managed this was reckoned exceedingly clever, as he had "cheated the gentry."<sup>697</sup>

So, while Fullarton blamed townsfolk for corrupting farmers, and Aiton blamed livestock dealers, both seem to suggest that farmers were not responsible for any unattractive qualities. They were cunning only in self-defence. A century later McGregor's father might be said to have put one over the landlord with his flexible approach to the game laws. The local game birds were the preserve of the Duke of Montrose, and Mr. Gardner accepted that, if he shot a pheasant, he would be breaking the law, but sometimes he 'soaked some grain in whisky and nabbed a drunken bird.'<sup>698</sup> This method also avoided the inconvenience of having small bits of metal in your dinner.

McGregor encapsulated the class structure of rural society in early twentieth century Scotland in her observations of the seating arrangements in her parish church.

Buchanan Kirk was a lovely country church. In those days it had a Laird's Loft, occupied by the Duke of Montrose and his family, which was reached by a staircase from the vestibule. The organ and choir stalls were to the left of centre, the pulpit to the right. At right angles to the choir were the manse pews. On the right side, looking up to the pulpit, were the pews for the farming community and others of similar or greater standing. The left side was for the lesser classes, the farm cottagers and odd semi-nobodies ... during the summer holidays two back pews were occupied by poor children from Glasgow. They were given this holiday by the Duke of Montrose and stayed at a home in Balmaha ... When they came to church

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<sup>697</sup> Glasgow Herald, Tuesday 19 July 1870; issue 9530, Ayrshire.

<sup>698</sup> McGregor, E. (1993). *Before I was ten; memories of a rural childhood*. Kelso, Moira McGregor. P. 68.

they entered by the back door and remained seated till everyone else had gone. No one else either entered or left by the back door.<sup>699</sup>



**61. Buchanan Kirk, between Drymen and Balmaha, 1964. The design of this church is distinctly different to that of Holy Family and St. Ninian's Church, depicted in Chapter Six. Source – copyright Newsquest (Herald and Times Group), licensor www.scran.ac.uk.**

The Grahams of Montrose sat at the head of the local hierarchy but, while some landlords might be distant, the Grahams were part of the community. The ducal seat was Buchanan Castle and, according to McGregor, the Duchess of Montrose and her daughter, Lady Helen Graham, often walked around the neighbourhood where they were known to everyone. Instructed by their mother, the Gardner children knew that, should they encounter one or other of the Castle ladies, the girls were to curtsy, and the boys to salute. This was considered to be good manners.<sup>700</sup> Both McGregor and Mrs. 'S1' had happy memories of the annual children's Christmas treat at Buchanan Castle. Both agree that this was something to which all the children looked forward. Mrs. 'S1' said that there were around fifty to sixty children in Buchanan School at that time, and the Duchess invited them all to the Castle where they were treated to a tea, some kind of entertainment and a gift.<sup>701</sup> McGregor writes that, after

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<sup>699</sup> Ibid. Pp. 22-27

<sup>700</sup> Ibid. P. 67.

<sup>701</sup> Connal, K. (1987). *Stirling Women*, Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde.

the entertainment, the children returned the compliment by singing Christmas hymns for the Duchess.<sup>702</sup> Both state that the Duchess herself presented gifts to the children, although McGregor adds that the Duchess was assisted by her daughter. At her first Castle Christmas treat, McGregor was somewhat overwhelmed and, when asked by Lady Helen what she would like, could only point at the doll upon which she had set her heart. Lady Helen misinterpreted the gesture, and presented her with a glove box:



**62. Buchanan Castle, near Drymen, chief Scottish residence of the Duke of Montrose. The Castle has since been destroyed. Source – copyright Newsquest (Herald and Times Group), licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

Out in the corridor on the way to the dining room, I blubbered.

“I wanted a doll”, I gulped, my tears flowing.

“Ye cannae have it. Ye’ll just need tae tak’ the box”, said Kate.

Dunc, coming up behind, asked “Whit’s wrang wi’ Lizzie?”

“She wanted a doll and she got a box”, said Kate. “She’ll jist need tae keep it”.

“No”, said Dunc, “she’s tae get a doll. C’mon, Lizzie, we’ll go back for it”.

Consternation from Kate. “Ye cannae dae that”,

But back we went. Dunc, my hand in his, went straight to Lady Helen.

“Your Ladyship” he said “my wee sister wanted a doll and she got a box. Could she have a doll, please?”

Lady Helen looked at my tear-stained face and without hesitation took the box and gave me a doll.

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<sup>702</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 62.

“Say thank you, your Ladyship, Lizzie” said Dunc and I did my best. Her Ladyship smiled upon him and patted his head approvingly as we moved on.<sup>703</sup>

Here good manners warred with tender family feeling and, while Duncan risked a breach of etiquette on behalf of his sister, he adjusted his speech when addressing one of the gentry. Perhaps Duncan decided not to mention his boldness to his mother, but Kate informed on him, whereupon Mrs. Gardner interrogated him as to what he had said to Lady Helen. Once she was satisfied that the forms of good manners had been observed, the matter was dropped. McGregor portrays the Grahams as benevolent landlords, and the Castle ladies are seen to be gracious in their largesse. McGregor does not see her mother’s behaviour towards the nobility as servile, but rather as a respect that dignifies all parties. The Donalds of Sornbeg Farm had a duke for their landlord too, William John Cavendish Cavendish-Bentinck-Scott, fifth Duke of Portland (1800-79), followed by his cousin, William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish-Bentinck, sixth Duke of Portland (1857-1943). This was an English title and, although the dukes had a number of Scottish estates, their main focus was in England. The fifth Duke was reclusive, but the sixth Duke became president of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and supported the Dairy School in Kilmarnock. Yet neither was a presence in the community around Kilmarnock, in the way that the Duke of Montrose was around Drymen.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Lambs of Crookboat had aristocratic landlords in the Earls of Home. On 17 December 1894, Alexander Lamb noted a payment of five shillings for ‘Lord Dunglas address.’<sup>704</sup> This ‘address’ is somewhat clarified in an account book entry for 29 December 1894 where Lamb noted two pounds as ‘expenses going to Hirsell on deputation of farmers, presenting Lord Dunglass with address enclosed in silver casket on his becoming major.’<sup>705</sup> A few weeks later (2 February 1895) Lamb paid out fifteen shillings for ‘portrate Lord Dunglass.’<sup>706</sup> ‘Lord Dunglass’ was the title traditionally given to the eldest son of the Earl of Home. In the 1890s the title was used by Charles Cospatrick Archibald Douglas-Home (1873-1951) who succeeded his father, and became the twelfth Earl of Home in 1918. On 17 August 1895, Lamb paid out ten shillings for ‘presentation to Lady Mary Home.’<sup>707</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Ibid. Pp. 63, 64.

<sup>704</sup> McGuire, D. E. "Lamb Accounts Database." Expenditure Table ID 761.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table ID 774.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table ID 789.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table ID 892.

On 3 September that year, Lady Mary Home, eldest daughter of the Earl of Home was married at Douglas Castle,<sup>708</sup> so Lamb's ten shillings may have been a contribution towards a wedding present. In a personal conversation, Alec Lamb recalled an occasion in his childhood when he and his sister were in the farmhouse at Crookboat and they heard a knock at the front door. This was unusual because normal practice was to use the back door. His parents being out, Alec opened the front door and discovered a gentleman and lady. The gentleman inquired if Mr. Lamb was at home. When Alec responded in the negative, the gentleman inquired if Mrs. Lamb was at home. Again Alec responded in the negative, whereupon the gentleman inquired if these were his parents. On hearing that they were, the gentleman requested that Alec 'tell them that we called.' There was a pause before Alec asked 'Who are you?' The gentleman answered 'We are the Earl and Countess of Home.' 'Oh!' said Alec suddenly realising that he was confronted with the landlord. He later discovered that the Earl and Countess had taken a notion to visit all their tenants, and were shocked to discover how few recognised them. Their son, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, determined this would not be his fate. He regularly visited, entering by the back door and sitting in the kitchen. However he managed to irritate some of the farmers by addressing them by their surnames, when it was customary, and their preference, for them to be addressed by the name of their farm. Alec maintains there was no offence in this since Sir Alec had formed the habit of addressing people by their surnames at school.

The landlords of Hatton, Springs and Oxgang have also been mentioned in Chapter Four. How the families of these farms regarded their various landlords is not known but, given the proximity of Oxgang Farm to the industrial town of Kirkintilloch, the local farming community must surely have been at risk from the corrupting influence of manufactures (see above)!

A century after Fullarton expressed alarm at an increasing 'brutal and democratic harshness of demeanour,' farming families were still able to tender civilities towards their landlords; however, respect was not automatic. In the 1920s, when 'Mr MacManus' was farming in Renfrewshire, two young brothers lived in a nearby mansion. The oldest was about a year younger than 'Mr. MacManus,' and neither was employed:

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<sup>708</sup> (1895). Otago Witness. New Zealand. 21 November 1895, issue no. 2178.

My father said, "The devil will find mischief for idle hands." And he did. One day I was ploughing with a tractor ... Fordson tractor, there were no hoods on them, and [one of the sons] came oot "Oh", he says, "you'll be stiff with rheumatics before you're half age." It was pouring o rain but I had a good coat on. I saw him stiff before he was fifty without working.<sup>709</sup>

'Mr. MacManus' had no respect for an idle and dissipated life. As a child he took to heart the preaching of his local minister, and gained a sense of the value of the farming life:

He used to have sheaves of corn and barley on each side of the pulpit at the harvest thanksgiving. His text was "We live upon the hands of the past." These bountiful sheaves wouldnae be there if wasnae for the plant breeders and the farmers that grew them. You'll drive a long road, he said, in a bus or a car or a train, you see a solitary figure in the field. He wears no uniform, he has no medals but without him and him alone no VC could ever be one.<sup>710</sup>

The concept of the dignity of the working person was not new in Scottish society. In his interview, 'Mr. MacManus' made specific reference to the works of world famous West of Scotland farmer, Robert Burns, and as mentioned in Chapter Two, Brown claimed that the people of the west of Scotland 'take Burns for their exemplar'.<sup>711</sup> Burns meant different things to different people, but he was undoubtedly popular in nineteenth century Scotland. In 'The Cottar's Saturday Night,' Burns affectionately pays respect to his rustic compatriots in an intimate description of family life. Six of the twenty-one stanzas are devoted to the kind of family worship mentioned in Chapter Six.

The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,  
They round the ingle, form a circle wide;  
The sire turns o'er, wi' patriarchal grace,  
The big ha'-bible, ance his father's pride:  
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,  
His lyart hafflets wearing thin and bare;  
Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide,  
He wales a portion with judicious care;  
And 'Let us worship God!' he says, with solemn air.

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Compar'd with this, how poor Religion's pride,  
In all the pomp of method, and of art;  
When men display to congregations wide  
Devotion's ev'ry grace, except the heart!  
The Power, incens'd, the pageant will desert,

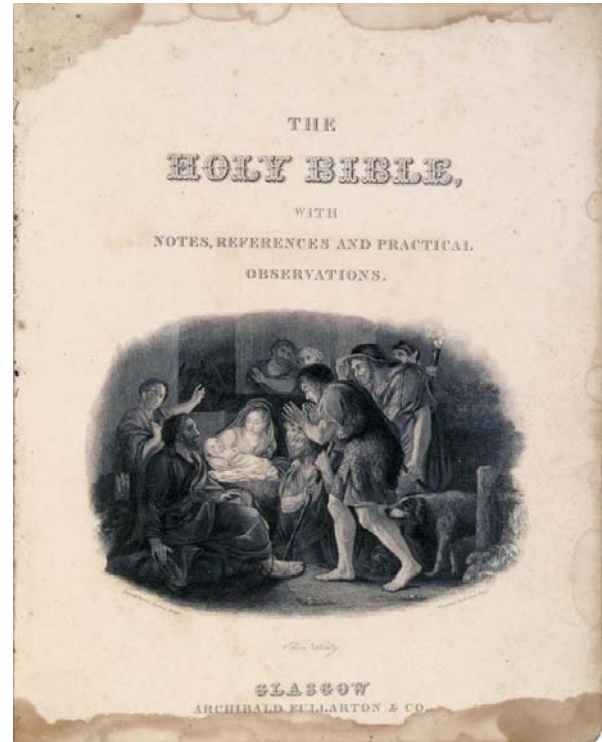
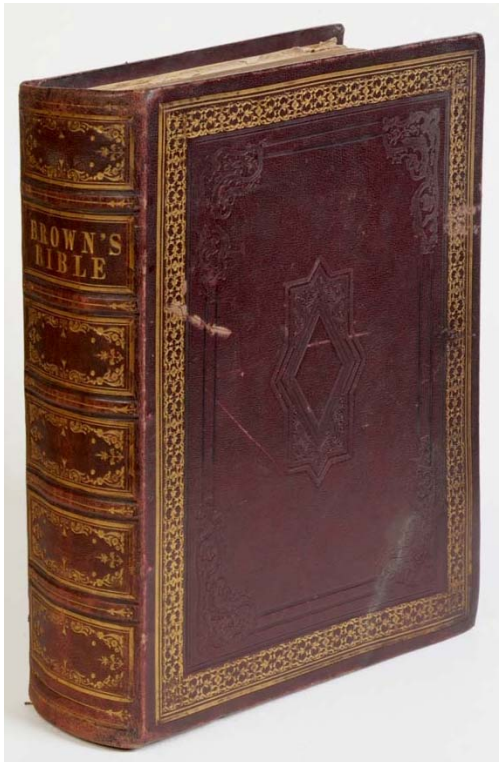
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<sup>709</sup> Jamieson, L. and C. Toynbee (2000). Country Bairns; Growing Up, 1900-1930. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid.

<sup>711</sup> Brown, G. D. (1923). The House with the Green Shutters. London, Andrew Melrose Ltd. Pp. 87-88.

The pompous strain, the sacerdotal stole;  
 But haply, in some cottage far apart,  
 May hear, well pleas'd, the language of the soul;  
 And in His Book of Life the inmates poor enrol.



**63. Lamb Family Bible, with the names and birth dates of the children inscribed inside the front cover. Source - Alec Lamb**

*Children of John Lamb and Janet Swan*  
 Janet Lamb born 16<sup>th</sup> December 1840  
 John Lamb born 19<sup>th</sup> October 1843  
 William Lamb born 8<sup>th</sup> March 1845  
 Thomas Lamb born 25<sup>th</sup> April 1847  
 Alexander Lamb born 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1849  
 Married to  
 Janet Lindley 30<sup>th</sup> June 1842.  
 John Swan Lamb born 25<sup>th</sup> March 1843  
 Catherine Lindley Lamb born 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1845.

Burns' sympathy for the ideals of fraternity and equality behind the French Revolution are expressed in 'A Man's A Man For A' That.' Although these sentiments filled those in authority around the turn of the nineteenth century with considerable anxiety, the song gained such enduring regard that it was sung at the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Burns' fondness for individual

women is well known, but in 'Green Grow the Rashes, O' he pays tribute to women-kind in general, concluding:

Auld Nature swears, the lovely dears  
Her noblest work she classes, O:  
Her prentice han' she try'd on man,  
An' then she made the lasses, O.



**64. The 1844 Burns Festival procession, which started in Ayr, entering the festival site at the Burns Monument, Alloway. The event attracted over 100,000 participants. Image reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust for Scotland.**

By the mid-nineteenth century Burns was an established cultural icon and, while it cannot be said how closely farming folk in west central Scotland shared his sentiments, there was certainly an awareness of Burns among the families considered in this project. Burns is referred to in the Donald Diary as 'our great native poet,' and several members of the Donald family were present at the Burns centenary celebrations in Galston, in 1859.<sup>712</sup> William Murdoch made a note of Burns centenary celebrations in his account book. He also noted that, in December of 1858, he purchased a book of Burns poetry, at a cost of ten shillings.

Thus religion and poetry appear to have given farming families a sense of self-worth, but farming families also seem to have had a sense of having some kind of position in

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<sup>712</sup> Donalds The Diary of Alexander Donald of Sornbeg, Ayrshire Archives, AA/DC/12/3/1.



society. In McGregor's interpretation of rural society (see above) there were other groups on a par with the tenant farmers, but only the duke's family were ranked above.<sup>713</sup> When 'Mrs. Hazlett' was asked if she would have preferred some other work than farming, she responded that she had been inclined to be a milliner, but that few farmer's daughters went to work, and that it was only gamekeeper's daughters that worked in factories as farmer's daughters were 'a wee bit above that.'<sup>714</sup> After the 1832 Reform Act, tenant farmers might be voters, which put them in a privileged section of the population. Groome lists the population of the Parish of Stair, in 1861, as 743.<sup>715</sup> In 1859 there were thirty-six registered voters in the parish, and William Murdoch, junior, of Springs was one of them.<sup>716</sup> Many farmers held some kind of office in the local community. McGregor says that her father visited Buchanan School once a year, as the representative of the School Board, and signed the register.<sup>717</sup> Mrs. 'S1' said that her father was quite active in local matters, and was on the School Management Committee.<sup>718</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Three, William Allison was an elder of Mearns Kirk with a place on the kirk session. James Turner (father of diary writer, Peter Turner) sat on the Parochial Board of Kirkintilloch,<sup>719</sup> and his son, Peter, took part in fund raising for a town hall.<sup>720</sup> In the 1840s and 50s, John Lamb farmed Crookboat with his father, but in the 1851 Census he was listed as 'Inspector of the Poor.'

## Reciprocal Co-operative Activities

In the days before tile drainage and Small's improved plough, plough-teams were larger than the two horse team common in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so it was sometimes necessary for families in the multiple tenancy fermetouns (mentioned in Chapter Two) to combine resources with neighbours, in order to make up a plough-team. Indeed:

They would also have to agree on when the various agricultural activities were to be carried out and how many animals were to be allowed on the common pastures. There were bound to be arguments and so, in many

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<sup>713</sup> McGregor Before I was ten.

<sup>714</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairsns.

<sup>715</sup> Groome, F. H., Ed. (1882-85). Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland: a survey of Scottish topography, statistical, biographical, and historical. Edinburgh, Jack.

<sup>716</sup> (1859). Ayrshire Voters. Ayr, Ayr Advertiser.

<sup>717</sup> McGregor Before I was ten.

<sup>718</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>719</sup> Glasgow Herald, 28 July 1891.

<sup>720</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database."

cases, it made sense to avoid this with an appeal to tradition. Yet an overemphasis on tradition made the system too rigid and encouraged a resistance to change.<sup>721</sup>

Condemning the multiple tenancy farms as 'conservative, inflexible and rigid,' the eighteenth century improvers promoted 'the individual farm under control of a single master as the prime agency of economic advance.'<sup>722</sup> Agrarian efficiency was sought on larger single tenant farms. However, Devine maintains that there were advantages to the old multiple tenancy farms.

The sharing of labour resources in the busy seasons of ploughing, harvesting and fuel gathering more than made up for contemporary limitations of technology.<sup>723</sup>

He points out that, although single tenant farms were predominant by the later eighteenth century, after 1851, 'holdings below the "improved" minimum threshold of a hundred acres were still very common, especially in the western lowlands.'<sup>724</sup> He says that:

The small tenantry survived in significant numbers not as an archaic hangover from the past, but because they had a rationale and a niche in the new economic order.<sup>725</sup>

Although described as 'small tenantry,' their farms were larger than the units of the old townships, and their tenure differed from that of their forebears in the multiple tenancy farm towns. They had a greater degree of self-determination, but they had inherited a tradition of co-operation, and the 'sharing of labour resources in the busy seasons' still made sense.

## Threshing

Mechanisation of farm work meant the introduction of large and expensive equipment, beyond the means of some farmers. Thus, for Kautsky,<sup>726</sup> the use of advanced technology gave the large scale agricultural enterprise an advantage over the small family farm (see Chapter Two). Threshing or thrashing, the process of separating grain from straw, began to be mechanised in the late eighteenth century.

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<sup>721</sup> McGuire, D. E. (1988). Agricultural Improvement in Strathkelvin, 1700-1850. Bishopbriggs, Strathkelvin District Libraries and Museums. Introduction.

<sup>722</sup> Devine, T. M. (1999). The Transformation of Rural Scotland, Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1915. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. P. 2.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid. P. 9.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid. P. 122.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid. P. 134.

<sup>726</sup> Kautsky, K. (1988). The Agrarian Question, in two volumes. Translated by Pete Burgess, with an introduction by Mamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin. London, Zwan Publications.

Fenton<sup>727</sup> has described the moves from horse and water-powered mills through steam, oil, and then tractor power, until the combine harvester did away with the need for a separate threshing machine. Farmers, for whom the purchase of a large threshing machine was uneconomic, could buy a small hand or foot operated mill. Another option was to hire a large machine from a contractor and, according to Fenton, many Scottish farmers did both:

Even if the barn-mill or hand thresher was used for the weekly winter thresh, to keep up a supply of fresh straw and bedding for the byre and stable, the travelling mill would still be ordered for a bigger-scale thresh each year. This was in itself a kind of community event, where farmers neighboured with farmers, and the farmers' wives fed the assembled company of workers.<sup>728</sup>



**65. Steam threshing mill at Balgraystone Farm Newton Mearns, 1910. Source – copyright East Renfrewshire Council, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

In this way, through co-operation and the use of community networks, small scale farmers obviated an apparent advantage of the large scale agricultural enterprise. Use of the travelling threshing mill was not the only expression of neighbouring, but the arrival of one of these machines in a neighbourhood was such a notable event that it tended to lodge in the memories of those who experienced it. McGregor described how the traction engine drawing the threshing mill to Creityhall could be heard

<sup>727</sup> Fenton, A. (1989). *Scottish Country Life*. Edinburgh, John Donald. Pp. 130-132.

<sup>728</sup> *Ibid.* P. 133.

before the 'enormous vehicle' came into sight,<sup>729</sup> and William Murdoch Thomson said that, in the days of his father's youth, someone had to walk in front of the steam engine with a red flag and be prepared to take any horse by the bridle until the mill had passed.<sup>730</sup> Mrs. Collins mentioned the wooden caravan that was pulled along behind the mill. At remote farms, the mill men stayed in the caravan to be ready for an early start.<sup>731</sup>

Peter Turner junior described the procedure when the travelling threshing mill came to Oxgang in the 1920s and early 1930s:

... each farmer usually sent word to his neighbours "I'm having the big mill in on Monday" ... Each farmer would send one man and that did it, because ... usually it only lasted for about three-quarters of a day ... And at the end of the day, that was it finished till the next farmer. And it, they would usually find out from the mill owner where he was going next. And if he was still in the area, and going to one of these farmers, then they ... would be there the following day at his farm. And that was how it went. And the farmer's wife whose farm it was the mill was there. She was responsible for feeding them ... some of the other farmers' wives; it was just as much as, as little as she could get away with. Sometimes it was just ... Two slices of bread, butter and jam and a mug of tea, that was their lunch ... But my mother always had a plate o' soup and it was usually potatoes and mince ... And they always got bread and butter if they wanted it, and a cup of tea or coffee or whatever ... Some of them sent this piece [sandwich] out with a big can of tea. That was how they fed them, but m' mother always had them in ... And this was the men, not the owner but the men from each farm, not the boss themselves.<sup>732</sup>

Although Turner only mentions men helping with the big mill, women also came from neighbouring farms on these occasions, as can be seen from McGregor's description:

... an early start saw helpers arrive from neighbouring farms to join our own. I remember seeing two women perched on the top of the mill, cutting the sheaf bands and passing the sheaves down to the grinding process. They must have been sent from the Montrose work force, probably the womenfolk of some of the Duke's "teuchters."<sup>733</sup>

Mrs. Collins, who worked on threshing mills in Ayrshire, in the 1930s, draws attention to the gendered aspects of the work. She agrees with McGregor that two women on top of the mill loosened the sheaves, and adds that they passed the sheaves, in a particular way, to a man, and it was he who had the more crucial task of feeding them into the machine. Other men were stationed at the front of the machine

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<sup>729</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 48.

<sup>730</sup> (1985). Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>731</sup> (1984). Ayrshire Sound Archive, 71A Farming Life in Central Ayrshire, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>732</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). Interview with Peter Turner, University of Glasgow.

<sup>733</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. Pp. 48, 49.

to catch the heavy grain in bags, which they carried off. Other women were directed to the rear of the mill to gather the light-weight chaff as it was blown out. This, says Collins, was a dirty job as the chaff might be blown into the eyes of the workers. There might also be a woman raking up the 'shorts,' or debris of the bunches of grain.<sup>734</sup> So it was a man, feeding the machine, who dealt most closely with the technology, and men who, having the strength to carry it off, caught the precious grain, while women tidied-up the less valuable chaff. Mrs. Collins made mention of a dinner for the workers, and said that the dinner, and the chance to meet workers from other farms made the visit of the big mill 'a kind of high day.'<sup>735</sup>

Mr. Thomson recorded that the visit of the big mill was a busy time for the housewife. Like those at Oxgang, the workers at Springs were fed broth, mince and potatoes but, instead of bread and butter, this was followed by scones and cheese.<sup>736</sup> The bread and butter may well have been shop bought, and would easily have been procured in the town of Kirkintilloch, whereas the scones and cheese at Springs may have been produced on the farm. Mrs. Leiper said that about twelve people were needed to keep a threshing mill 'fed,' which was a large workforce for one woman to feed, so women came from neighbouring farms to help with the preparation of food. In this way Mrs. Leiper's mother was able to provide the workers at Kilnpothall with a hot meal at dinnertime.<sup>737</sup> Turner clearly took pride in the standard of provisions served up by his mother. He remarked that he had often heard it said 'that the best farm to go to was Mrs. Turner's,' because 'she made a grand pat o' soup.'<sup>738</sup> Here, in the context of provisions, the farm is referenced with respect to the farmer's wife, rather than to the farmer, and the standard of provisions seems to have been a matter of farm honour.

The River Gryffe flows by the steading of Auchenfoyle, and Jimmy Black's father and uncle harnessed the power of the river with a water wheel. This wheel drove the farm threshing machine, allowing the Blacks to thresh whenever they liked, with no need to hire a travelling threshing machine. Although Auchenfoyle was not part of the travelling mill circuit, Jimmy Black displayed the same pride in farm provisions as Turner:

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<sup>734</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive, 71A Farming Life in Central Ayrshire.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid.

<sup>736</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 124, Interview with William Murdoch Thomson.

<sup>737</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with Margaret Leiper, University of Glasgow.

<sup>738</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

Auchenfoyle was always well noted for the generosity wi' the food. In fact, lorry drivers would come in and sit at the boilerhouse fire on a wet night, with the open cabs, nae cabs, nae cabs on the old lorries, come in there and get a drink of soup or tea or something and a wee dry at the big fire, aye. Aye, it was known far and wide, Auchenfoyle, it had a good name.<sup>739</sup>

In September of 1898, Alexander Lamb bought in ten shillings worth of bread and beef for the threshing mill,<sup>740</sup> while Peter Turner senior noted that the cost, in 1904, of hiring the steam threshing mill for a day was 30 shillings.<sup>741</sup> It made economic sense to have enough labour on hand to keep the machine running at capacity, and finish the work in one day.

Assistance with the travelling threshing mill was a widespread and practical response to farming needs, and a prime expression of what was known as 'neighbouring.' While in the old multiple tenancy farms co-operation was between fellow township members, with the larger units of single tenant farms, the community network was more widely spread. Peter Turner junior says that the men who came to help with threshing at Oxgang came from the neighbouring farms.

They were all just our local crowd, maybe five or six of us. It was always the same group each year, same farmers each year. There was Rosebank, New Dyke, Duntiblae, ourselves. I think that was it, three or four or five altogether. They were regular, same regulars each time.<sup>742</sup>

Investigation of Peter Turner senior's diaries reveals specifics on neighbouring around the turn of the twentieth century. On mill days the Turners helped Buchanan of Scotsblair Farm, Dickson of Merkland, Shearer of Mid Boghead, MacDougall of New Dyke, and Laird, possibly of Waterside. When the mill came to Oxgang, help was sent from Buchanan, Dickson, Graham of Duntiblae, from McLuckie, who tenanted New Dyke prior to MacDougall, and Chapman, possibly of Wester Gartshore, Bill Turner's father-in-law. There is no mention of Rosebank in connection with threshing, even though up to 1896 the tenants of Rosebank were close relatives of the Turners. Back o' Loch, New Dyke, Rosebank, Duntiblae, and Merkland were all within a half-mile radius of Oxgang. Scotsblair was a mile to the south-west, and Boghead Farm was about a further half mile in the same direction. As Peter Turner junior said of later years, usually one man came from each farm, but occasionally there were two. Sometimes one or two farm servants went from Oxgang to help with threshing, but it

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<sup>739</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with James Black, University of Glasgow.

<sup>740</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database." ID no. 1498.

<sup>741</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4, ID no. 634.

<sup>742</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

was often one of the three Turner brothers (Peter, Bill, or James) who went. On some occasions extra labour was hired. It seems that in May of 1904 the usual help was not forthcoming. Peter Turner senior wrote:

Mill came in thrashed wheat in afternoon. 32 bolls. Wages 15/. Nobody but Millman, our 3 selves & 2 paid men 2/6 each & 5 women.<sup>743</sup>

While this would have been annoying at the time, of itself it cannot be taken as evidence of a breakdown of the system, especially since Peter Turner junior's evidence indicates that the system was still intact twenty years later. The Oxgang 'neighbouring network' is displayed graphically on a fold-out map at the rear of the thesis.

Threshing went on throughout the year at Oxgang, and there are references to threshing for other people outside the visits of the travelling mill. On 29 October 1900 Turner wrote 'Thrashed for Currie'.<sup>744</sup> Possibly this was Malcolm Currie, tenant of the twenty acre farm of Stubble Broomhill. Stubble Broomhill was perhaps too small to make a visit from the big mill economic. There is no indication that there was a water or horse-powered threshing mill at Oxgang. If there had been such, the big mill would not have been hired. So the year round threshing activity was probably carried out on a small hand or foot operated threshing mill as described by Fenton (see above).

## Haymaking and Harvest

Other occasions when extra labour was needed at Oxgang were at haymaking and harvest, but Peter Turner junior does not recall neighbouring in connection with these activities.

Usually the hay harvest, if you needed extra men you went down to Kirkintilloch and tried to get somebody ... I don't ever remember ... going round the various farms for hay or harvest. It was only for the threshing mill.<sup>745</sup>

Nevertheless entries in his father's diaries do suggest that help was given on these occasions. There are a very few references to help with the grain harvest, but there are many references throughout the diary period of assistance given and received during hay harvest. The same names as were connected with threshing turn up

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<sup>743</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4, ID no. 687.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid. Vol. 3, ID no. 505.

<sup>745</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

again; Dickson of Merkland, Buchanan of Scotsblair, Shearer of Mid Boghead, Graham of Duntiblae, McLuckie of New Dyke, Currie of Stubble Broomhill, and Laird. Also mentioned are McCash of Gallowhill, Forsyth of Back o'Loch, and Wilson, possibly of Gallowhill or Wester Boghead. These references to assistance with hay are usually in August and sometimes in September or even October. The diaries indicate that the Turners generally began to cut hay around mid June to early July, so the assistance did not come at the cutting stage. Assistance seems to have come when, after the hay had dried, it was brought in from the field and ricked. Of 14 August 1899 Turner wrote 'Put in hay 4 ricks Dickson 1 Graham 2 Buchanan 2 Shearer 1 Wilson 1.'<sup>746</sup> The Turners reciprocated. On 19 August Peter Turner wrote 'Bill & James at Buchanan's hay. I at Dickson's'. On 6 September 1907 Turner wrote 'Finis. hay Graham 2 Shearer 1 man & 1 boy. Dickson 1. The only day we've had any help,'<sup>747</sup> implying that help was usual. 'Mr. MacManus' said that, in Ayrshire before the First World War, 'after the harvest if a farmer was finished and he saw his neighbour wasn't, he would go and help him,'<sup>748</sup> with no money exchanged. There is no indication in the Turner Diaries that assistance at harvest was only in connection with farmers falling behind, so it may have been of a more general nature, yet still have been in the same spirit as the assistance mentioned by 'Mr. MacManus.' There are no indications in the diaries of a falling away of the practice of helping out with the hay.

## Potatoes

McGregor had memories of the 'tattie holiday,' when children were given time off school to harvest potatoes.<sup>749</sup> There is no indication of neighbouring in relation to potato lifting at Creityhall, and no reference to the tattie holiday in the Turner diaries. It was a common practice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for potato merchants to buy potatoes still in the ground. They employed gangs of potato gatherers ('tattie howkers') who went round the various farms harvesting the crop. Peter Turner junior says that occasionally this happened at Oxcang,<sup>750</sup> and his father mentioned this procedure in his diary some years. Otherwise the Turners were responsible for digging the crop themselves. October was generally the time for digging potatoes. The Turners had a mechanical potato digger<sup>751</sup> to get the potatoes

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<sup>746</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 3, ID no. 75.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4, ID no. 1888.

<sup>748</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>749</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 48.

<sup>750</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>751</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 2, ID nos. 36, 37.



out of the ground, but additional labour was employed to gather and sort the potatoes, and then either bag them or store them in pits. It seems that there was reciprocal assistance with the potato harvest at Oxgang. Buchanan, Shearer, Dickson, and, most frequently, Graham of Duntiblae are mentioned in this capacity. Often assistance with the potato harvest meant sending horses as well as men; for example, on 21 October 1898 Turner wrote 'Dull day. Finished potatoes. Horse & 2 men from Duntiblae.'<sup>752</sup> A few days later he wrote 'Bill & I at Duntiblae 2 horses.'<sup>753</sup> Assistance from other farmers did not do away with the need to hire extra labour, as the following quote indicates.

9 October 1899            Digging 8 gatherers 3/6 per pair. Horse & man  
from Buchanan<sup>754</sup>

Fewer farmers are mentioned in the diaries as being involved in helping with the potato harvest as with threshing or hay harvest and, again, Peter Turner junior does not remember it happening at all.<sup>755</sup> Neither of the Turners mentioned sheep at Oxgang, but McGregor described neighbouring activity in connection with sheep shearing at Creityhall.

The clippings had jobs for all of us. A row of clipping stools was occupied by clippers who came from neighbouring farms to help ... Dunc's job was to ensure that no-one went thirsty ... Kate was the liaison with Mother Gardner's kitchen work and preparation of dinner. Meals were good at Creityhall – no watery mince was set out on our kitchen table. A good plate of broth would be followed by stewed steak and vegetables and a cup of tea. Kate helped in the preparation and serving of this. <sup>756</sup>

McGregor shows the same pride in the hospitality of the farm as Turner and Black, and the family received the same kind of help from neighbouring farms as in connection with the travelling threshing mill.

## Loan of Equipment

The horses involved with the potato harvest were sent with farm servants who would have worked with them and taken them away at the end of the day so that, in a sense, they were not loaned. Peter Turner junior says that he does not remember horses ever being borrowed,<sup>757</sup> although there are references in his father's diaries, which suggest the loan of horses. Twice Turner senior specifically mentioned borrowing a

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<sup>752</sup> Ibid. Vol. 2, ID no. 870.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid. Vol. 2, ID no. 873.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid. Vol. 3, ID no. 131.

<sup>755</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>756</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. Pp. 46,47.

<sup>757</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

horse, and once he mentioned lending one of the Oxgang horses.<sup>758</sup> Borrowing equipment says Peter Turner junior, was a 'sore point:'

Equipment had a habit of disappearing that way and it was usually your own fault. You lent it out and you forgot to go and get it back, and, of course, the man who borrowed it always forgot to bring it back [laughs]. Oh no, it wasn't very common, this borrowing equipment, but it happened very occasionally, but not very often.<sup>759</sup>

There are not many references to borrowing equipment in the Turner Diaries and, as with the horses, the references tend to be vague. 'Chain harrows to McCash,'<sup>760</sup> gives no clue as to whom the harrows belonged and why they were transferred. 'Rick lifter from Shearer lifted 3' and 'Cultivated bit of turnip land Dickson's cultivator'<sup>761</sup> imply that Turner was a borrower. Turner recorded lending equipment in 1892 when the cryptic entry 'Douglas took away plough' was followed a few days later by:

Ploughing on Bedcow Strang Douglas Gow 1<sup>st</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> with our plough.<sup>762</sup>

This suggests that Douglas borrowed the plough for the purpose of taking part in a ploughing match at Easter Bedcow Farm. A report in the *Kirkintilloch Herald*, in 1908, suggests a loan of equipment between Oxgang and Rosebank:

On Monday night, at Oxgang Farm a rather serious accident befell Robert Stewart, who resides at Rosebank. He had been on an errand to the farm, with his horse yoked to an ordinary farm cart, for a seed barrow, which was about 16 feet in length. He left the horse standing in the road in front of the farm, and on returning with the barrow he placed it on the cart which owing to the length, carried well past the horse' head, causing the animal to take fright and bolt up the road towards Kirkintilloch. Mr. Stewart endeavoured to hold the horse back, but after running a distance of about 50 yards it knocked him down, with the result that the wheel of the cart passed over his right leg breaking it between the knee and the ankle, while his head was bruised and his mouth cut. The horse continued its career till it came to Industry Street, where it was caught before further damage was done. Mr. Peter Turner, the proprietor of the farm, had been in the house writing at the time and had failed to notice the accident, but on being sent for he had the unfortunate man taken to the house, and a messenger was despatched for Dr. Stewart, who on his arrival shortly afterwards, set the limb and dressed the man's injuries, who was then sent to his home.<sup>763</sup>

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<sup>758</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 1, ID no. 260, Vol. 3, ID no. 279, Vol. 4, ID no. 1870.

<sup>759</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>760</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 1, ID no. 542.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid. Vol. 3 ID no. 463, vol. 4 ID no. 330.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid. Vol. 1 ID nos. 411,417.

<sup>763</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 22 April 1908, Oxgang.

## Day's Ploughing

Another way Scottish farmers might help each other out was with a day's ploughing or 'love darg.' Although Peter Turner junior had no personal experience of such events, he could describe them from his father's experience:

In my father's young day, if a new farmer came in, then the neighbouring farmers would send a man two horses and a plough and he would plough a field for them. But that tended to die. I don't ever remember it happening. Mind you, I don't ever remember a new tenant coming to any of the local farms, because the farmers who were there from my earliest days were still there when we left ... But it was quite popular in the early days. A new tenant got a day's ploughing done for him. Gave him a start ...<sup>764</sup>

Since love dargs occurred upon a change of occupancy, such events were less common than seasonal activities like assistance with threshing. The scale of these events could be impressive and these two circumstances could explain why dargs were reported in local newspapers.<sup>765</sup>

Lennoxton

Day's Ploughing at Hole Farm

Mr. John Clelland of Burnfoot, Lesmahagow, having taken a lease of this farm had, according to time honoured custom, a day's ploughing on Saturday last. A number of farmers in the district and neighbouring parishes kindly responded to the invitation, there being between 30 and 40 pair of horses appearing on the field, which was thought very good considering that Mr. Clelland is a stranger in the place. A number more promised to send ploughs on some other day. A few of Mr. Clelland's old neighbours appeared on the scene and gave a lending hand in supervising the ploughs and attending to the creature comforts of the ploughmen, the refreshments being well purveyed by Messrs. McLintock & Sons, Lennoxton ...<sup>766</sup>

The report implies that a local person (changing farm within the district) could expect a larger turnout than a stranger could. The number of ploughs present at a darg could vary between twelve and over sixty, so not all the farmers involved could have been immediate neighbours. Fourteen instances of a day's ploughing are mentioned in the Turner diaries. These include days at the nearby farms of Rosebank and New Dyke, and also at more distant farms such as Badenheath near Mollinsburn and Blairskaith (about five miles distant as the crow flies) in Baldernock Parish.<sup>767</sup> The furthest Peter Turner senior travelled to a day's plough was probably in March of 1902 when he went to his brother Bill's day's ploughing at Loanhead Farm, Houston, Renfrewshire.

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<sup>764</sup> McGuire Interview with Peter Turner.

<sup>765</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald* Index, William Patrick Library, Kirkintilloch.

<sup>766</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 8 March 1899.

<sup>767</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 2, ID no. 273, 658, vol. 3, ID no. 557, vol. 2 ID no. 99, vol. 1 ID no. 100.

Turner does not indicate whether he took a plough, or whether he lent a hand as Clelland's old neighbours were reported as doing.<sup>768</sup> On these occasions prizes were sometimes awarded for the best turnout of horse and harness<sup>769</sup> and, unlike the threshing events, the catering at the day's ploughing seems to have been provided, not by the women of the farm, but by a local hostelry.<sup>770</sup>

## Changing Times

'Mr. MacManus,' who farmed in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, considered that the neighbouring network began to break down during the Great War. He ascribed this change to increased mechanisation, and made no mention of a shortage of manpower consequent upon the war. He felt that tractors made farmers more independent in carrying out their work. 'Mr. MacManus' ploughed with his first tractor in 1920,<sup>771</sup> and Mr. Stevenson, of Balig Farm, near Ballantrae, said that his family purchased the first tractor in that area in 1916. It had iron wheels and could not travel on the road, but it was used for ploughing and driving farm machinery.<sup>772</sup> With the limited applications of the early tractors, the switch from horse power was a gradual one. Ian Campbell Thomson, who worked on a Stirlingshire farm, north of the Campsies post World War II (eighty acres good land and eleven acres moorland) recorded a conversation he had with an older farm worker from a neighbouring farm:

'How's the wonder horse these days?' I asked, referring to his pride and joy, the grey Shire ...  
'The horse is fine,' said Harry. 'But they're talking about a bluidy tractor. I don't know where that leaves the horses.'  
'Well the tractors are getting about. You'll just have to learn to drive; anyway you have an old Standard Fordson over there.'  
'We hardly ever use it, but these little buggers with the three-point linkage, well, they'll be stitching up the tattie ground and doing all the ploughing. It'll be the end of the horses.'<sup>773</sup>

The older man had come to the farm where Thomson worked to assist with threshing; a species of neighbouring that persisted into the 1950s.<sup>774</sup> Thomson provided a description of a visit of the big mill in these latter days:

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<sup>768</sup> Ibid. Vol. 3 ID no. 920.

<sup>769</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Lennoxton 8 March 1899, Lenzie 24 March 1909.

<sup>770</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Lennoxton News, 11 March 1903.

<sup>771</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairns*.

<sup>772</sup> (1984). Ayrshire Sound Archive 019 Farming Kincaidston, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>773</sup> Thomson, I. C. (2007). *The Hired Lad*. Edinburgh, Mercat Press. P. 84.

<sup>774</sup> A mobile threshing machine, constructed in 1952, is part of the collections of The Museum of Scottish Country Life, at Kittochside, East Kilbride.

Threshing days needed a minimum of ten people; two carrying bags, two up top cutting bands (lousing) one clearing chaff, two forking sheaves, three carrying straw bunches or stacking same. This if the thresher was pulled alongside the stack. More hands would be needed if carting was involved. A number of neighbours would supply help. At hay time we neighboured only with the farm next door. The midday meal would be simple; often soup followed by 'tatties' and mince. There would usually be a maid to assist. When I started, traction engines would provide the power, belching out black smoke, but soon to be replaced by tractors. I was not aware of any social element to threshing days except for the banter that goes on when men get together.<sup>775</sup>

Thomson added that his boss would allocate jobs according to ability and physical strength:

Two butch chaps carrying the heavy sacks, an old man or a boy on the light but dusty job of clearing chaff, two women or sometimes young lads serving the mill man who fed the drum, forking the sheaves, two men who could present the sheaves in the right position and were not likely to impale anyone, a skilled man building the stack of straw bunches and so on.<sup>776</sup>

The whole process would have been familiar to workers of fifty years earlier. The next step in the mechanisation of threshing was the advent of the combine harvester, which, by combining harvesting and threshing processes, cut out much of the manual labour. A team of workers was required to keep up with the threshing machine. Two people on a reaping machine could shear a crop rapidly, but a larger team brought the crop safely to the stackyard. Similarly, potatoes were brought to the surface by a digging machine, but gathering in the potatoes was a labour intensive activity. Thus, neighbouring systems worked in conjunction with a degree of mechanisation, but further mechanisation removed the purpose of neighbouring. Mr. Stevenson recalled a mill-man who, when his travelling threshing machine expired, acquired a combine, and hired that round the farms,<sup>777</sup> but a visit from a travelling combine would not have involved an influx of workers from neighbouring farms.

Although local community networks were of immense value to farmers throughout the period of this study, they were a somewhat uncertain source of labour. It was possible that farmers might be entertaining more helpers than necessary, as the following quote from the letters of Gavin Scott indicates:

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<sup>775</sup> Ian Campbell Thomson, personal communication, e-mail 3 March 2008.

<sup>776</sup> Ian Campbell Thomson, personal communication, e-mail, 16 March 2008.

<sup>777</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 019 Farming Kincaidston.

The big mill was at Blackhill in the forenoon and Hillend in the afternoon ... Mr. Riddell the proprietor says so many hands are needed for the mill and if there be one in excess of the number then there must be another one to talk to him, otherwise he keeps the others from their work with his talking.<sup>778</sup>

On the other hand, the number of helpers that turned up might be less than the optimum as in the abovementioned case at Oxgang when, in 1904, no help arrived from neighbouring farms.<sup>779</sup> This was not so much of a problem as it might have been on some other farms, since the Turners were able to hire casual labour from the town of Kirkintilloch. With the changeable nature of the weather in the West of Scotland, there may have been some seasons when it was more inconvenient than others to send workers to neighbouring farms, and farmers may have sometimes preferred the relative certainty of hired labour when they were on a tight schedule. Peter Turner junior said that, if extra workers were needed for haymaking or harvest at Oxgang, they were hired from the town (see above) although, a generation earlier, these had been neighbouring activities.

'Mr. MacManus' traced the breakdown in the neighbouring network to the First World War. The period immediately following World War I was a significant one for Scottish farming in another respect. Many heirs to estates were killed in the fighting, and many estates were broken-up and sold in the 1920s. Peter Turner bought Oxgang Farm in 1920. At the same time his neighbour, Robert Stewart bought his farm of Rosebank.<sup>780</sup> Also in 1920, the nearby 1,628 acre Estate of Garnkirk, with a rental of £2,477, was broken-up. At the sale, the proprietor, Sir Alexander Sprot, made a statement of his reasons for disposing of the estate:<sup>781</sup>

He had another property in another part of Scotland, he said, and he found it increasingly difficult to come to Garnkirk as he had been in the habit of doing. As he had no son to succeed him, he thought it better in the circumstances to realise the property ... He hoped that some of the tenant farmers on the estate would purchase their own farms. It was desirable that farmers should own the land they cultivated and things seemed to be tending in that direction ...

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<sup>778</sup> Richens, R., Ed. (1981). Your Loving Father, Gavin Scott: Letters From a Lanarkshire Farmer 1911. Cambuslang, Ruth Richens. P. 10.

<sup>779</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4, ID no. 687.

<sup>780</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Local News, 22 December 1920.

<sup>781</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Garnkirk Estate Sale, 23 June 1920.

Although Campbell and Devine<sup>782</sup> say that owner-occupation only emerged on a large scale after World War II, the process did begin earlier. As the balance of land tenure changed in favour of owner-occupiers, there were fewer opportunities for a day's ploughing. Nevertheless, there was a day's ploughing at Balloch Farm, Croy, in 1931,<sup>783</sup> marking a change of owner rather than change of tenant. On this occasion there were forty-six ploughs and three motor tractors. Peter Turner junior could not remember any instances of day's ploughing (see above) and I.C. Thomson said that this custom was before his time.<sup>784</sup>

'Mr. MacManus' did not think that social relationships between farmers were altered by the gradual loss of regular neighbouring activities. As proof, he said that only a few days before his interview, by Toynbee, a combine went on fire and 'almost that night we got the offer of two combines off neighbours.'<sup>785</sup> According to Campbell, this is not an unusual circumstance:

The lending of horses and equipment was common and (except for the horses) is still found. I should not attribute the practice to any survival from the past but to a degree of readiness to cooperate between farmers ... If X does not have a piece of equipment, Y is usually ready to lend it, if he has one, and vice-versa. Modern machinery rings have placed the practice on a more formal basis because of the cost of so much modern machinery while the proliferation of contracting out a whole variety of operations has done away with the need for lending. But the practice still goes on.<sup>786</sup>

## Social Life of Farming Families

If man is a social animal that species of man called farmers is particularly so ... There are numerous channels provided for the development of this instinct among our agricultural neighbours, chief among which perhaps is the weekly market, where there is a fine blending of business and pleasure. Then there are the periodical ploughing matches, and who that has been at a ploughing match dinner can e'er forget it – not only the sudden disappearance of all meat from everything, but the unalloyed joviality and warm-hearted friendship that prevails. Then there is the great event of the year – the cattle show – when friend meets friend, acquaintances are renewed, old stories re-told, and when over the social glass, without getting unco fu', they get unco happy ...<sup>787</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> Campbell, R. H. and T. M. Devine (1990). *The Rural Experience. People and Society in Scotland*. W. H. Fraser and R. J. Morris. Edinburgh, John Donald. **II**. P. 59.

<sup>783</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 15 April 1931.

<sup>784</sup> Ian Campbell Thomson, personal communication, e-mail 3 March 2008.

<sup>785</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee *Country Bairns*.

<sup>786</sup> R.H. Campbell, personal communication, letter 5 April 2005.

<sup>787</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Farmers' Ball, 18 December 1895.

'A fine blending of business and pleasure' is a telling phrase, as there seems to have been considerable overlap between farm related activities and the social life of farming families. Fairs occurred less frequently than the weekly markets, but were also occasions for the buying and selling of livestock and produce, and provided an opportunity for farmers to meet. Indeed, the Donalds of Sornbeg may have rubbed shoulders with the Murdochs of Springs at such times, as both families attended fairs in Kilmarnock and Tarbolton in the mid nineteenth century. Another fair mentioned in the Donald Diary is the Galston Cauld Fair which, many years later, was recalled by Mr. Duncan in an oral history interview. Mr. Duncan remembered the buying and selling at the cross, and the old woman who, year after year, brought a large block of candy to the Cauld Fair and sold chips off it at a penny or ha'penny a piece. He maintained that, for the children, it was 'a big affair to get candy from the auld wife.'

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**66. Two sides of medal won by Peter Turner senior at local show. Source – East Dunbartonshire Museums.**

Shows were organised by local agricultural societies, as well as the national Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, for the purpose of raising the standard of agriculture by awarding prizes for excellence in various categories. Sporting events added to the entertainment and competitive spirit. According to his obituary,<sup>789</sup> Peter Turner senior 'set up something of a record by being present at over seventy consecutive Kirkintilloch Cattle Shows.' In his diaries, he mentions shows in neighbouring areas, and also more distant shows such as Ayr, Dumbarton, Buchlyvie,

<sup>788</sup> Ayrshire Sound Archive 30, Memories of Galston, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>789</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 6 January 1960.



Killlearn, Stirling, and the Falkirk Tryst. Occasionally Turner horses were entered at shows, and James Turner junior sometimes took part in the sporting events.

Presumably Peter Turner encountered many acquaintances at the various shows he attended, but it is rare that he mentions going with someone other than a family member. He did mention driving to the Killlearn show with James Jackson,<sup>790</sup> going to a show at Milngavie with J. Hosie,<sup>791</sup> and to the Ayr Show with W. Hosie,<sup>792</sup> which suggests that these were particular friends. Identifying individuals mentioned in the Turner diaries can be problematical, as frequently only a surname is given, the names are not uncommon, and the search area stretches over several parishes. Looking at all instances of a name together, and cross-referencing with the Census Returns, Valuation rolls, and intimations and obituaries in the local paper sometimes produces enough clues for identification. The four Hosies (A., J., W. and G.) mentioned in the diaries are likely to be sons of George Hosie of Kinkell Farm, Lennoxton. At least five Jacksons are mentioned in the diaries with relationships, both social and business, but were the business Jacksons and the socialising Jacksons the same family? At this time there were Jacksons farming at both Hayston and Craigendmuir Farms, and in 1898 John Jackson of Craigendmuir Farm married Elizabeth Jackson of Hayston Farm. The fact that Peter Turner senior mentions attending 'Miss Jackson's wedding,'<sup>793</sup> coupled with all the evenings he spent at Hayston, suggests that he was most familiar with the Hayston Jacksons. So Turner went to some shows in the company of other farmers, although not necessarily those from the neighbouring farms.

Peter Turner senior had no sister and his diaries do not throw any light on the participation of farm women in agricultural shows, but there were daughters in the Donald household at Sornbeg, and an entry by Nicol Brown Donald, for October of 1858, reveals the participation of his sister, Janet:

The Ayrshire Agricultural association show of Dairy produce Grain & roots took place at Kilmarnock on the twenty-seventh we showed Dunlop Cheese fresh & salt butter & potatoes we were commended for Cheese and salt Butter which we considered very good there being no fewer than 150

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<sup>790</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4, ID No. 423, 7 August 1903.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4, ID No. 1078, 10 June 1905.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4, ID No. 1764.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid. Vol. 2, ID No. 915, 13 December 1898.

entries for Cheese & 140 for Butter Janet was also highly commended for Salt Butter.<sup>794</sup>



**67. Competitive milking at the Carmichael Show. The female competitors are obscured. Source – Alec Lamb.**

There is reference in the Donald Diary to the cattle show at Killoch, in May of 1863, where ‘Mrs. Lindsay took most of the prizes.’<sup>795</sup> Unfortunately, there is no further identification of Mrs. Lindsay, and the prizes were not specified. However, the wording suggests that Mrs. Lindsay was a breeder, competing in the main events, where most of her rivals would have been male. Other competitions tested skills in various farming activities. The two competitors captured in the picture of a milking competition at a Carmichael Show of unknown date are female, but the judges are male, whereas, although female field workers did single turnips, all the competitors in the picture of a Carmichael turnip singling competition appear to be male.

A high level of interest for shows within the Donald family is suggested by an entry relating to the Ayr Show, March 1859, for which, it is asserted, ‘a total turnout is expected from Sornbeg of all the movables except for the victual.’<sup>796</sup> It is unsurprising that the decisions of judges did not always meet with approval, and ill-

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<sup>794</sup> Donalds The Diary of Alexander Donald of Sornbeg.

<sup>795</sup> Ibid.

<sup>796</sup> Ibid.

feeling could arise from the intense competitiveness of these events, as the following quote from the Donald Diary for 17 April 1863 shows:



**68. Turnip singling competition, Carmichael. Source – Alec Lamb.**

The annual exhibition of dairy stock in connection with the Kilmarnock farmer's club came off today ... we were successful with the best 3 quey stirks and second with the aged bull, it was but right to yield quietly to the judgement of men whose superior skill and experience in cattle had them to pronounce their verdict but it is also in accordance with the strictest rules of morality, and the tastes prejudices of mankind to think as highly of their own as they ought to do, but waiving all prejudice and preconceived opinions despite the cold water spurted from the envy of meanspirited & degenerate neighbours, we do not think that the county can produce as good a three year old bull as is at present in the possession of William Donald of Sornbeg ...<sup>797</sup>

The same bull was exhibited at the Ayr Cattle Show later that month, and was placed fourth, leaving the family disgruntled as their bull had beaten the one that was third at Ayr, at the earlier show in Kilmarnock. However, the Sornbeg bull took first prize at the Galston Cattle Show in May, and was also awarded a medal as the best bred animal of the kind at the show. Possibly this was the same bull as earned William Donald six sovereigns (about £259 buying power in today's money) in prize money the previous year.

The ploughing match was also a test of farming skill, but was held separately from agricultural shows, at an earlier time of year. Matches are mentioned by both Peter

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<sup>797</sup> Ibid.

Turner and the Donalds. The Turners travelled to matches as distant as Buchlyvie and Linlithgow. Although Turner does not mention taking part, a tarnished silver ploughing medal with his name on it is in the collections of East Dunbartonshire Museums. In a 1860 match, recorded in the Donald Diary, it was a farm servant who took the first prize:

Kilmarnock ploughing match took place on March 1<sup>st</sup> 61 ploughmen were present and the judges decision awarded the first prize to M<sup>r</sup> Kirkland ploughman to M<sup>r</sup> Hodge Lochhill Mauchline. James Torrance was first at Loudon and he took all the other prizes of any consequence.<sup>798</sup>

At the 1899 Douglas Water and Carmichael Ploughing Match the competitors were divided into seniors and juniors, and Crookboat ploughman John Tait took fourth place among the seniors.<sup>799</sup> Many years later, I.C. Thomson took part in ploughing matches, while employed on a Stirlingshire farm, and won prizes.<sup>800</sup>



**69. Silver medal for ploughing, won by Peter Turner senior. Source – East Dunbartonshire Museums.**

Farm sales were another opportunity for a 'blending of business and pleasure.' The sales were advertised in newspapers, and generally happened just before a tenant left a farm. In all, Turner mentioned sixty farm sales, about forty-two of which he attended. Some of the sales corresponded to a day's ploughing with which he was involved, and some of the sales were at neighbouring farms (Back o' Loch, Rosebank, New Dyke). Most were in the surrounding districts of Cadder, Campsie, Cumbernauld, Kilsyth and other parts of Kirkintilloch, but a tenth were in the area

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<sup>798</sup> Ibid.

<sup>799</sup> Fleming, W. A. (undated). Carmichael; a history of the parish and its peoples, privately printed.

<sup>800</sup> Thomson The Hired Lad. Pp. 1, 5.

around Killearn, Balfron and Drymen. Turner bought stacks, ricks, cows, farm machinery and even dung at farm sales. On one occasion he bought a grubber and a rake, and immediately sold the rake on.<sup>801</sup> Of the forty-two sales attended, Turner mentions making purchases at only fifteen' although he could have made purchases not recorded. Farmers may have seen farm sales as a chance to pick up a bargain or perhaps, by making a purchase, they could support a neighbour going into retirement or possibly facing bankruptcy. Farm sales were an opportunity to inspect other people's farms, and they provided an opportunity to meet farmers from other districts. In August of 1904 Peter Turner took a week's holiday in Perthshire.<sup>802</sup> He visited Dunkeld and scenic Rumbling Bridge. He also took in a farm sale and, having cast a professional eye over the countryside, remarked that there were 'very poor crops between Perth and Stirling.'<sup>803</sup>

Of less adulterated pleasure were those big social events, the Farmers' Balls. The first annual Kirkintilloch Farmers' Ball was held in 1894, but the Donald diary records a Galston and Newmills Farmers' Ball, in Newmills, in 1863. According to the *Kirkintilloch Herald*,<sup>804</sup> the purpose of the Balls was 'an annual reunion of the young folks of the farming community in the district'. Attendance at the balls was by invitation, and presumably members of the organising committee drew up the invitation lists. Bill Turner was secretary of the Ball Committee from its inception until he left the district in 1901.<sup>805</sup> James Turner was convener of the committee for a number of years, before leaving the district for Ballantrae.<sup>806</sup> Peter too was involved, being the convener in 1902 and 1903.<sup>807</sup> Also taking a turn on the committee were various friends of the Turners. The *Kirkintilloch Herald* reports that in June of 1897,<sup>808</sup> the dance committee with their lady friends had a day's outing by train and boat that took them round Loch Long and Loch Lomond, and Peter Turner's diary indicates that he was on the trip.<sup>809</sup> The Turner brothers' enthusiasm for balls was not restricted to the Kirkintilloch Farmers' Ball, for Peter mentions balls in Clackmannan, Milngavie, Chryston and Buchlyvie.

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<sup>801</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 3, ID no. 79, 18 August 1899.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4, ID nos. 783-785.

<sup>803</sup> Ibid. Vol. 4 ID no.785, 19 August 1904.

<sup>804</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Strathkelvin Farmers' Dance, 14 December 1904.

<sup>805</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, District Farmers' Dance, 16 December 1901.

<sup>806</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Kirkintilloch Farmers' Dance, 19 December 1906.

<sup>807</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Farmers' Dance, 17 December 1902, Kirkintilloch and District Farmers' Dance, 16 December 1903.

<sup>808</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Local News, 16 June 1897.

<sup>809</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." vol. 2, ID No. 398, 10 June 1897.

The Kirkintilloch annual ball seems to have succeeded in the purpose of providing a social event for young people. The report in the *Kirkintilloch Herald* of the 1902 dance states that it was the younger generation of farmers that were in attendance.<sup>810</sup> Names and addresses of those attending the balls were given in the local paper, and many of the names are familiar from the Turner diaries. It is clear from the addresses that not all of the guests were farmers, although some of them had surnames which suggest a connection with one of the local farmers. Other guests may have been in a related occupation, such as John Scott from Kilsyth, who was a butcher, and Miss Calder from Slatefield Dairy in Campsie. Yet other guests seem to have had unrelated occupations, but may have had a business relationship with some farmers. With guests listed in groups such as 'Messrs. and Misses Jackson, Westfield, Torrance,'<sup>811</sup> it is impossible to know exact numbers of people attending the balls. Taking 1895, 1903, 1906 and 1920 as sample years, the numbers do seem to have increased from fifty groups of guests in 1895 to a hundred and twenty-four groups of guests in 1920. Not all those who attended were from the Kirkintilloch district. In 1904, it was stated that the company was drawn from an area reaching to Grangemouth in the East, Milngavie in the west, Balfron in the North, and Gartcosh in the south.<sup>812</sup> A breakdown of guests' addresses by parish can be seen in Appendix Seven. The proportion of guests from Kirkintilloch Parish varied from forty per cent in 1895 through fifty-five per cent in 1903 and thirty-four per cent in 1906 and had fallen to twenty-two per cent in 1920. In 1920 Peter Turner was fifty and, no longer a young farmer, did not attend the ball. However, given the close involvement of himself, his brothers and some of his friends in the organisation of the annual ball in its early years, the guest lists of those years might be said to reflect the social circle, not only of young Kirkintilloch farmers in general, but of Turner in particular. Indeed, discounting friends in England and abroad, the above mentioned area from which the Kirkintilloch ball guests were drawn corresponds roughly to the area where Turner's friends resided.

'Mr. Marshall' remembered similar balls in Ayrshire. Dress was formal (white tie, swallow-tails, waistcoat with four buttons) and, as with the Kirkintilloch Balls, attendance was by invitation, and only young unmarried people were invited. On

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<sup>810</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Farmers' Dance, 17 December 1902.

<sup>811</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Kirkintilloch Farmers' Ball, 18 December 1895.

<sup>812</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Strathkelvin Farmers' Dance, 14 December 1904.

being asked if a young man had a special lady friend, would he pick her up and take her to the ball, 'Mr. Marshall' responded:

Yes, that happened, but quite often, if her brother was coming he would bring her; you would take her home of course. Yer tickets were usually about 6/6d, 7/6d per couple. Ladies never paid, they had to be invited by a partner. It was very difficult for a young lady with no brothers unless she had somebody who would ask her. The buffet. Ye could sit and eat all night if you wished. Practically everybody was there at eight, went on till mebbe two. When you were coming out, a cup of beef tea mebbe, when ye had your coat on, ready to go out the door.<sup>813</sup>

'Mr. Marshall' further reported that alcohol was not served at the balls, but that there would be a good orchestra to provide music for a variety of dances such as waltzes, Lancers, quadrilles and very fast country dances.

It took more than an annual ball to satisfy the appetite for dancing among some farmers. 'Mr. Henderson' said that parties (either in private houses or in halls) were quite frequent. His own family held a couple of parties in their house each winter, when they took down doors to allow more space for dancing. 'Mr. Henderson' did not bother about the buffet, and the only woman he ever took home was his wife, but he would dance as often as he could. Once he went out dancing three nights running, and on the Saturday he fell asleep at work and put his hand in the mill.<sup>814</sup> At the other extreme, 'Mr. MacManus' said that he never went to any dances, simply because he did not want to go, yet he remembered young people dancing in the farm kitchen while his father played the fiddle. His parents used to go to neighbouring farms for a 'social evening,' and sometimes the children went too.<sup>815</sup> Mrs. 'S1' described winter surprise parties:

Someone would go and tell a neighbour, 'Oh I'm coming to see you on such and such an evening', but not only would that person arrive and her husband or whatever but there might be a dozen or twenty others! And they all brought eatables and had a wonderful evening – sing-songs, dancing and so forth and spent an evening with friends.<sup>816</sup>

Possibly this was at what 'Mr. Marshall' called a 'cookshine;' a party of thirty to forty people in a private house. Mrs. 'S1' said that whist drives were a 'regular thing' and that 'usually with a whist drive you had a short dance after the whist drive and that gave us quite a lot of pleasure.'<sup>817</sup> The whist parties at Creityhall have been

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<sup>813</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>814</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Ibid.

<sup>815</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Ibid.

<sup>816</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>817</sup> Ibid.

mentioned in Chapter Seven, and there is a printed invitation to a whist party, 7.45 until 12 o'clock, Friday 14 February 1913, among the Thomson of Springs material in the Carnegie Library, Ayr. 'Mrs. Hazlett' remarked that money was tight, but that 'we had an awful lot of dances and parties, of course.'<sup>818</sup> Mrs. 'S1' said that, as a child, she did not go out much in the evening, and that you had to be in your teens before you could go to gatherings like the surprise parties. Nevertheless the family regularly went visiting on Sunday afternoons.<sup>819</sup> 'Mrs. Hazlett' spent her earliest years in town and, when she first moved to a farm, at the age of fourteen, she thought it quite isolated, yet they had a good social life on the farm. As the farms in the area were a hundred to a hundred and fifty acres in extent, the neighbouring farms were physically close, and a lot of friends came to visit on Sundays. One friend from town told her that no-one could produce food like farming people.<sup>820</sup>

Peter Turner senior records many informal social occasions in his diary, but describes only five as a party, although cryptic entries such as 'over to Hayston at night' could refer to a party.<sup>821</sup> As mentioned above, Turner was friends with the Jacksons of Hayston Farm. Some entries, such as 'Called at W. McCashs with two Grahams & A. Stewart Co. Graham driving,'<sup>822</sup> give the impression that, on this occasion, Turner was simply hanging out with a bunch of mates. There were many Grahams in Kirkintilloch, and the Turners had an association with David Graham the farmer of Duntiblae. However, C. Graham, whose wedding Peter Turner attended, seems to have been Colin Graham, fellow dance committee member and fish merchant.<sup>823</sup> Many of the visits to Oxgang were by members of the extended family, and all of the Turners paid visits to their Allison kin. James Lang and M. Lang, of Aitkenhead, Clackmannan, may have been James and Matthew Lang, sons of James Lang who farmed Wester Bedcow, Kirkintilloch at the time of the 1881 Census. James and Matthew Lang were of a similar age to the Turner brothers. The Langs had left Wester Bedcow by 1886, but this may be a family friendship that survived the move. On 31 July 1892, James Lang and another friend cycled over to Oxgang. On 14 February 1896, Peter Turner visited Lang and took in a ball at Clackmanan. His brothers and his father made visits to the Langs, and Mrs. Lang made a visit to

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<sup>818</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee [Country Bairns](#).

<sup>819</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>820</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee [Country Bairns](#).

<sup>821</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." ID 1573, vol. 4 Sunday 21 October 1906.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid. ID 1086, vol. 4 Sunday 18 June 1905.

<sup>823</sup> Ibid. ID. 369, Vol. 3, 12 June 1900. *Kirkintilloch Herald*, Marriage, 13 June, 1900.



Oxgang. Some of the Allison's also seem to have been friends of the Langs. For the Turners social visiting went on between family, and friends both local and several miles away.<sup>824</sup>

Social visiting was open to everyone, and choirs provided another social outlet for both men and women, although not necessarily in the same choir. Peter Turner senior was a member of Kirkintilloch Male Voice Choir,<sup>825</sup> and Mrs. 'S1' joined her church choir at the age of twelve or thirteen, and sang with them for forty or fifty years.<sup>826</sup> Men may have had more formal social engagements than women, as McGregor wrote:

Only once do I remember seeing Mother really dressed up to accompany Dad. It must have been a private party of some importance ... Dad had lots of social dates where he delighted the company with renderings of his own compositions. In the winter evenings he would sit carving a walking stick, his specs on his nose, and every wee while stopping to write something down. The Curling Club Dinner was special. His poems were all about the members and their activities, in a very humorous vein, and if one could be sung to a suitable tune, he put it across that way.<sup>827</sup>

In addition to dinners organised by the various clubs and associations to which the men might belong, there were occasional presentation dinners, which seem to have been male only affairs. In one of his old school notebooks, Hugh Murdoch of Springs gives an account of a farewell dinner for a teacher leaving Coylton School, and one for a teacher at Stair School:

On Thursday evening last the friends and well-wishers of Mr. Currie Teacher entertained him to supper in the Inn at Stair and afterwards presented him with a handsome gold watch and albert and also with an elegant silver inkstand on the occasion of his leaving to occupy a new situation in one of the schools in Ayr. About twenty gentlemen sat down to supper. Mr. George McCartney Wraithill [Murdoch's brother-in-law] occupied the chair and the duties of croupier were discharged by Mr. John C. Mongomerie of Dalmore. After supper the Rev. Charles S. Russell minister of the Parish presented the Watch and chain and in doing so alluded to the faithful manner in which Mr. Currie had discharged his duties in the Parish school during the last four years and to the high esteem in which he was held by the people of the district ... A pleasant and enjoyable evening was afterwards spent.<sup>828</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> 'Mr. Marshall' said that his family did little visiting on account of his father's alcohol problem, and because they had no relatives living near at hand. Interview conducted by Claire Jamieson, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>825</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 6.1.1960.

<sup>826</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>827</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. Pp. 61, 62.

<sup>828</sup> Thomson, W. M. Thomson of Springs Collection. Carnegie Library, Ayr. Date not known.

According to Mr. Cameron, curling was the principal sport enjoyed by farmers,<sup>829</sup> and the attractions of the game are summed up by the inscription on the 1814 Tarbolton Curling Club Medal; 'simple, social, dextrous game, source of pleasure, health and fame.'<sup>830</sup> The regulations of Peebles Curling Club speak of 'our National Manly Game of Curling,'<sup>831</sup> and most illustrations of curling do give the impression that it was mainly a male sport. However, there are some illustrations of women taking part,<sup>832</sup> and the Peebles Curling Club Minute Book of 1821 contains the following entry:

When Ladies come near the Rink & are disposed to play, the skips [captains] shall have the privilege of instructing them to handle the Stones agreeable to the rules of the Game.<sup>833</sup>

This suggests that, while women might be 'disposed to play,' they were not club members. 'Mr. MacManus' remarked that, although he never got involved in curling himself, his father was very keen:

On a long winter's frost one time, he told me, the frost came in November, and they werena able to plough till March. And the farmers got that keen on their curling that they didna bide at home and do their thrashing [laughs].<sup>834</sup>

As the 'roaring game' was played outside at that time, the colder winters meant more opportunity to play. The uncertainty of the weather intensified anticipation and added to the excitement of the game, but a thaw could have fatal consequences. On one occasion, at Kirkmichael, Ayrshire, six people were drowned and 'a termination the most melancholy put to the bonspiel.'<sup>835</sup> Matches were held between neighbouring villages, and the Donald Diary records a match between Darvel and Galston in February of 1860.<sup>836</sup> McGregor wrote that her father kept his curling stone in the porch at Creityhall.<sup>837</sup> Peter Turner mentioned curling in Kirkintilloch in 1892,<sup>838</sup> and Alexander Lamb was a member of a curling club in Lanark. The fee for membership was two shillings and three pence in 1896, but Lamb noted ten shillings as 'expenses curling' on 31 December 1887. Perhaps this was an away match, as the expenses noted in January 1897 were five shillings, or perhaps Hogmanay called for

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<sup>829</sup> Brodie, A. (1984). ASA 99A, Interview with Mr. Cameron of Auchingibbert Farm, Cumnock, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>830</sup> Smith, D. B. (1985). The Roaring Game, Memories of Scottish Curling. Glasgow, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid.

<sup>832</sup> [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).

<sup>833</sup> Smith The Roaring Game. P. 14.

<sup>834</sup> Interview conducted by Claire Toynbee, and reported in Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>835</sup> Smith The Roaring Game. P.25

<sup>836</sup> Donalds The Diary of Alexander Donald of Sornbeg.

<sup>837</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 7

<sup>838</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 1 ID 432, 19 February 1892.

extravagance. Pies and whisky were specifically mentioned in the 1897 reference.<sup>839</sup> There was also interest in curling among the Murdochs of Springs. In 1866, William Murdoch gave William Downie one load of oatmeal, in exchange for two pairs of curling stones, valued at thirty-six shillings. A few days later he paid twenty-one shillings for handles for the curling stones.<sup>840</sup>



**70. Curling on Cumbrae, 1910. Source – copyright North Ayrshire Council Museum Service, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

Mrs. 'S1' said that her parents were not really interested in sport, but that her father had helped set up the Buchanan Recreation Club for the young men of the parish, and that carpet bowls was their main game.<sup>841</sup> McGregor's father seems to have been more of a competitor, as McGregor says he had medals for athletics, Cumberland wrestling, ploughing and quoits.<sup>842</sup> No expenditure for athletics is noted in either the Lamb or the Murdoch accounts, but this does not exclude participation as little expenditure would be required for local-scale amateur athletics. Thomson described the makeshift nature of the attire of some of his fellow competitors in the Aberfoyle

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<sup>839</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database." Expenditure table.

<sup>840</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2009). Murdoch Accounts Database, University of Glasgow. Expenditure table, ID nos. 324, 326.

<sup>841</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

<sup>842</sup> McGregor Before I was ten. P. 5.

Games.<sup>843</sup> On Friday 26 August 1904, Peter Turner wrote 'Very blowy and showery. James and I at Lairds put in 12 ricks sports in afternoon.' This indicates that Turner and his youngest brother went to a neighbour's farm to help with the hay harvest, but the reference to sports is less clear. As it was a week day, it seems unlikely that these were formal, arranged sports, and it may be that once, the work was done, the assembled workers engaged in impromptu sporting activities. In August of 1900, Turner mentioned that his brother, Bill, was at the Bridge of Allan Games, but did not mention if Bill was taking part in any of the events. The Bridge of Allan games had attractions other than the sporting events, and these were listed by McGregor.

We went on the roundabouts and swings, and the cakewalk that was so shoogly it took quite a long time to get across. There were lots of other attractions, mirrors that distorted us and made us look very fat or very thin and generally funny. There were tents with all sorts of mysterious occupants and shooting ranges with guns. The coconut shy was more for our age. Then we had ice cream from the Italian boy who remembered us year after year. Ice cream was such a treat and this was the only time in the year that we had a slider.

Other sporting choices included golf and fishing. Turner mentioned a golf ball in 1903 and 1904, although this was a social occasion kind of ball rather than a small dimpled sphere kind of ball.<sup>844</sup> William Murdoch purchased a fishing rod for his son, Hugh, in 1875.<sup>845</sup> 'Mr. MacManus' kept pigeons and rabbits, and he liked to accompany his uncle when he went hunting rabbits with ferrets and a gun, but when asked if his mother had any pastimes he responded 'not really, no.'<sup>846</sup>

Farming families partook of various forms of popular entertainment when there was opportunity, but location could make visits to theatres and picture houses a rarity. The nearest picture house to Mrs. 'S1' was in Glasgow, and she said that it was a red letter day if they went to a picture house.<sup>847</sup> The Turners, with ready access to Glasgow, had greater entertainment possibilities than many. Turner's diaries record only six visits to theatres and, in three of these cases, it is clear that he went with a group of friends. People may have made extra effort for major attractions. Alexander Lamb noted expenses for three visits to the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888, and Turner noted a few visits to the Glasgow Exhibition of 1901. Peter Turner senior visited

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<sup>843</sup> Thomson The Hired Lad. Pp. 56, 57.

<sup>844</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4 ID nos. 534, 882.

<sup>845</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database. Expenditure Table ID no. 1097.

<sup>846</sup> Jamieson and Toynbee Country Bairns.

<sup>847</sup> Connal Stirling Women.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Glasgow on 8 December 1891.<sup>848</sup> A gap in the Lamb account books means it is unknown whether or not any of the Lambs also saw the show, but Alexander Lamb did note two pounds expenses connected with Barnum and Bailie's show in Edinburgh, 22 July 1898.<sup>849</sup>

Public celebrations were entered into according to social class. The Donald Diary gives an account of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, 11 March 1863:

The 11<sup>th</sup> of March had been looked forward to by most I believe of the inhabitants of Britain as a general day of rejoicing ... Kilmarnock made a very grand display... 1,000 poor People got their dinner free, in the Bull Market of Roast Beef & Plum pudding, the nobility had their dinner at their own expense in the George Hotel, there were also number Suppers & Balls in the evening, there were great illuminations of gas & coal, on hills of an height around Kilmarnock. you could see large masses of Coals burning, Galston was not behind Balls & illuminations in great numbers, there was a large Bonfire at Millrig. & one on the top of Craigie hill altogether to look out at night it was beautiful ... the day finished gloriously, & we have not heard of any damage being done or any serious injury sustained, We wish the Young Couple long life & happiness, when a vote of thanks was given to the chairman the meeting Separated.<sup>850</sup>

Just as McGregor was able to gauge her social status from where her family sat in Buchanan Kirk, so the Donalds of Sornbeg knew their position in society from the kind of dinner that they had on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The wedding celebrations and McGregor's childhood experiences are separated by half a century, but her reminiscences suggest no change in social structure in that time. However, there was criticism of the upper classes. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the twelfth Lord Blantyre was taken to task in the *Glasgow Herald* for a speech he made according major credit for agricultural improvement to the landlords. The writer, who signed himself 'a son of the soil,' was incensed by what he saw as Blantyre's assertions of the superiority of landlords over tenants:

Not satisfied with demonstrating the immeasurable superiority of landlords to tenants, he proceeds to affirm their superiority – or, to follow him in a change of name – the superiority of the aristocracy over everybody in everything praiseworthy. To quote his remarkable words:- "They take the lead in everything conducive to the welfare of the country, not in agriculture alone, but in whatever you can name." ... I confess, when I read the noble extravaganza – expressed, it is true, with the touching simplicity of sincerity – it was difficult to repress the vulgar but pungent commentary of – "Bosh!" Surely Lord Blantyre's otherwise practical mind

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<sup>848</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database."

<sup>849</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database." Expenditure Table, ID no. 1478.

<sup>850</sup> Donalds The Diary of Alexander Donald of Sornbeg.

must be dazzled, in a manner incomprehensible to common men, by the too earnest contemplation of the superexcellent qualities of the order to which he has the honour to belong, when he claims for the aristocracy pre-eminence, not only in the farm and at county meetings, but over everybody and in “everything conducive to the welfare of the country – whatever you can name.” They are the real, though hitherto unacknowledged, leaders in literature, science, arts, law, physic, religion, philanthropy, and war, no less than in agriculture. Prodigious!<sup>851</sup>

Scottish farmers were proud of their achievements and not about to cede credit for them. Although proud to think of themselves as ‘sons of the soil,’ their interests extended well beyond agriculture, and they accepted no class as their natural superiors.

## Summary

Farmers tended to socialise within their own group, which is unremarkable given that, in rural areas, most of the people they met would have farming connections. As children they were educated, and played along with children of farm servants, labourers, and miners, but tended to mix less with these groups as they grew-up. Although, the smaller the farm, the less the distinction. The men appear to have been highly competitive. The women seem to have had less opportunity for open competition, but did compete in the dairying arena. The women also seem to have had fewer social engagements away from the farm, but had the onerous responsibility of providing refreshments at farm social occasions, as well as the work related to neighbouring activities.

It is tempting to view neighbouring activities as a development from the community farming activities of the fermetouns, but so revolutionary was the rise of the single tenant farms that attempts to trace a development between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries must be viewed with caution. Neighbouring was a consequence of a particular set of circumstances and thrived among small family farms with low reserves of capital. It was made possible by the readiness to cooperate mentioned by Campbell (see above). Whether this readiness was due to necessity or tradition or was simply part of the character of rural people, neighbouring became part of the rich cultural heritage of the rural communities of West Central Scotland.

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<sup>851</sup> Glasgow Herald, Tuesday 21 June 1879; issue 9506, Letters to the Editor, Landlords and Farmers.

## Chapter Nine

### The Economic Octopus

Previous chapters have provided geographies of the four main farms, and the families who farmed them, in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. The farms have been sited within a local context, and farm personnel have been viewed in multiple contexts of farm community, of family and social groupings, and neighbouring networks. This chapter will provide a broader framing by examining the economic structure within which the family farms existed, and the market forces that influenced decision-making on the farms. This will be achieved by exploring the relationship between rural west central Scotland and the city of Glasgow. The ring theory models of Johan Heinrich von Thünen (see chapter Two) provide a departure point for investigation of a dynamic and increasingly complex economic landscape. In the first part of the chapter the underlying structure will be probed through reference to the work of two eighteenth century economists, providing a base reference for the later discussion of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century economic landscape. The later discussion will also draw on Catherine Park Snodgrass' work on Scottish agriculture and, interweave evidence pertaining to individual farms.

### Two Economists

Cities are commonly surrounded by kitchen-gardens, and rich grass-fields; these are the proper objects of agriculture for those who live in suburbs, or who are shut up within the walls of small towns. The gardens produce various kinds of nourishment, which cannot easily be brought from a distance, in that fresh and luxuriant state which pleases the eye, and conduces to health. They offer a continual occupation to man, and very little for cattle; therefore are properly situated in the proximity of towns and cities. The grass fields again are commonly either grazed by cows, for the production of milk, butter, cream, &c. which suffer by long carriage; or kept in pasture for preserving fatted animals in good order until the markets demand them; or they are cut in grass for the cattle of the city. They may also be turned into hay with profit; because the carriage of a bulky commodity from a great distance is sometimes too expensive. Thus we commonly find agriculture disposed in the following manner. In the centre stands the city, surrounded by kitchen-gardens; beyond these lies a belt of fine luxuriant pasture or hay-fields; stretch beyond this, and you

find the beginning of what I call oporose farming, plowing and sowing; beyond this lie grazing farms for the fattening of cattle; and last of all come the mountainous and large extents of unimproved or ill improved grounds, where animals are bred. This seems the natural distribution, and such I have found it almost every where established, when particular circumstances do not invert the order.<sup>852</sup>

The observations in the above quote seem to prefigure, and even to précis, the work of von Thünen and, although concluded in Scotland, the *Principles of Political Economy* (1767) was largely written in Germany and was early translated into German. The author, Sir James Denham Steuart (1713-1780), was raised near Edinburgh and inherited an estate at Coltness, near Glasgow, but lived a substantial portion of his life abroad. In his youth he spent several years making the Grand Tour of Europe and, after supporting Charles Edward Stuart in the 1745 Jacobite Rising, returned to the continent for eighteen years of exile.

Both Steuart and fellow Scot, Adam Smith, have been considered as precursors of von Thünen.<sup>853</sup> However, Steuart's *Principles* is more clearly comparable to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, than to von Thünen's *Isolated State*. Smith was born about ten years after Steuart, and his great work, published nine years after the *Principles*, quickly superseded the earlier work in Britain, and was more grounded in the United Kingdom. Steuart was criticised for 'imbibing prejudices abroad by no means consistent with the present state of England and the genius of Englishmen,' and he replied:

If, from this work I have any merit at all, it is by divesting myself of English notions, so far as to be able to expose in a fair light, the sentiments and policy of foreign nations, relative to their own situation.<sup>854</sup>

Neither Steuart nor Smith drew a detailed model of agricultural zones along the lines of von Thünen, although, as Chisholm says, 'the principles worked out by von Thünen fifty years later' can be discerned in the *Wealth of Nations*.<sup>855</sup> Steuart wrote that his subject matter in the *Principles* had 'but an indirect connection with the science of agriculture,'<sup>856</sup> while the *Wealth of Nations* provides specific references to Scottish farming. Steuart, who after his return from exile, managed his estate at Coltness,

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<sup>852</sup> Skinner, A. S., Ed. (1998). *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy by Sir James Steuart*. London, Pickering and Chatto. Vol.1, p.158.

<sup>853</sup> Chisholm, M. (1979). "Von Thünen anticipated." *Area* 11(1): 37-39. Champion, A. G. (1979). "Antecedents of von Thünen." *Area* 11(3): 258. MacLennan, D. (1979). "Steuart, Smith and von Thünen." *Area* 11(4): 312-313.

<sup>854</sup> Skinner, Ed. *Principles of Political Economy*. P. li.

<sup>855</sup> Chisholm "Von Thünen anticipated."

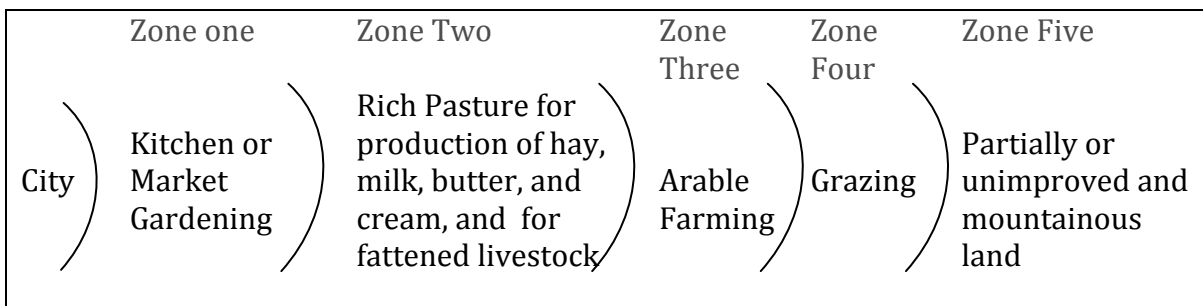
<sup>856</sup> Skinner, Ed. *Principles of Political Economy*. P. 143.



produced a small book dealing with the agriculture of Lanarkshire, and that county's 'capital for wealth and consideration,' Glasgow.<sup>857</sup> Thus both economists provided information on farming in Scotland, and both stressed the importance of good transport facilities:

Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expence of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town. They are upon that account the greatest of all improvements. They encourage the cultivation of the remote, which must always be the most extensive circle of the country. They are advantageous to the town, by breaking down the monopoly of the country in its neighbourhood. They are advantageous even to that part of the country. Though they introduce some rival commodities into the old market, they open many new markets to its produce ...<sup>858</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century a lack of good roads inhibited agricultural improvement. While wheeled transport was practicable in summer, in winter, pack animals were necessary. It could be easier to transport grain to Glasgow from south-east Scotland, and from Ireland, than from relatively inaccessible parts of the West Central Region.<sup>859</sup> Limitations in transport and in agricultural production were both reflected in diet.



### 71. Steuart's observations on the disposition of farming around a city interpreted as a series of zones.

Interpreting Steuart's observations, from the above quote, diagrammatically produces a model along the lines of von Thünen's (see figure 3 above). While written as a general description, and based on Steuart's experience of cities across Europe, it

<sup>857</sup> Steuart, J. D. (1769). Considerations on the interest of the County of Lanark: in relation to I. Agriculture; II. The prices of subsistence; III. The maintenance of the poor; IV. The wages of servants, Labourers, and Manufacturers; V. The connexion, and Common Interest of the land and trade; VI. The consequences of the new canal; Vii. The present state of land-carriage, and of Public Roads; Viii. And to the policy and practice observed in markets. By Robert Frame, Writer in Dalserf. Glasgow.

<sup>858</sup> Smith, A. (1937). An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, edited with an introduction, notes, marginal summary and an enlarged index by Edwin Cannan, with an introduction by Max Lerner. New York, Random House. P. 147.

<sup>859</sup> Steuart Considerations on the interest of the County of Lanark.

is interesting to consider what relevance the model had to the city of Glasgow. Steuart saw demand from the Glasgow market as the first inducement to agricultural improvement,<sup>860</sup> and he provided a valuable description of the relationship between Glasgow and its environs at a time when trade and industry were expanding, but before the major industrial development, improved communications and massive population increase in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>861</sup> The Union of 1707 opened up trade with the Americas to Scotland, and Glasgow merchants seized the advantage, first with regard to tobacco and later with cotton. Definitions vary but, drawing on Census returns and population tables, Gibb gives 66,000 as the 1791 population of the city and suburbs, and states that there was 'a steady and consistent increase from 1801, always over 30% and latterly over 35%, bringing the population total to over 274,000 by 1841.'<sup>862</sup> Steuart stated that, while previously the city had depended upon the surrounding region for agricultural produce, by his time of writing increased population had strained the agricultural resources of the county.<sup>863</sup>

For Smith, improvement was tied into the cattle trade. He reasoned that the only agricultural purpose to which much of the unimproved land of Scotland could be put was the rearing of cattle and that, until there was a substantial market for these cattle outside Scotland, their price could not rise high enough to make it profitable to cultivate land to produce feed for them. Campbell says that the rearing of black cattle was the only major success in Scottish agriculture in the early eighteenth century, and the cattle, reared mainly for export, helped pay for imports of grain. The trade in cattle with England had existed prior to 1707, but the lifting of political restrictions at the Union, in conjunction with a rising demand for food in England, and the Navy's requirement for salted beef, greatly expanded it.

Smith and von Thünen both mentioned that land around towns and cities could be improved first because it could be fertilised by the town dung. Von Thünen wrote that a distinctive feature of farmland close to his isolated city was that most of the manure utilised would come from the city, and this would put farmers in this zone at an advantage. In von Thünen's model, rent diminishes, as population density

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<sup>860</sup> Ibid. P. 3.

<sup>861</sup> Maver, I. (2000). *Glasgow*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>862</sup> Gibb, A. (1983). *Glasgow, the Making of a City*. London, Croom Helm. Pp. 104, 105.

<sup>863</sup> Steuart *Considerations on the interest of the County of Lanark*.

decreases, with increasing distance from the city.<sup>864</sup> The availability of a plentiful supply of manure enabled more intensive farming, but intensive farming was necessary in order to make a profit after paying the high rents of these areas:

In all farms too distant from any town to carry manure from it, that is, in the far greater part of those of every extensive country, the quantity of well-cultivated land must be in proportion to the quantity of manure which the farm itself will produce; and this in turn must be in proportion to the stock of cattle which are maintained upon it ...<sup>865</sup>

Thus, Smith saw the enhanced price of cattle in the export trade, and the consequent increased numbers of cattle on Scottish farmland, as a starting point for agricultural improvement in Scotland. Since both beef and dairy produce were derived from the same breed, the same mechanism which encouraged farmers to cultivate land for the purpose of rearing beef cattle raised the profile of dairy produce. Smith argued that about thirty years before his time of writing very few farmers thought it worthwhile to have a separate room for the farm dairy and the business was carried on 'amidst the smoke, filth, and nastiness of his own [farm] kitchen.' Although many farm dairies were still run along these lines when Smith was writing, demand for dairy produce had increased and the situation was changing:

The increase of price pays for more labour, care and cleanliness. The dairy becomes more worthy of the farmer's attention, and the quality of its produce gradually improves. The price at last gets so high that it becomes worth while to employ some of the most fertile and best cultivated lands in feeding cattle merely for the purpose of the dairy.<sup>866</sup>

Since the best cultivated and most fertilised lands tended to be in the proximity of towns and cities, it became economic to keep dairy cattle in these areas. Traditionally cities had been supplied with milk by urban cow-keepers.

Von Thünen considered milk a prime necessity for the Town, but difficult and costly to transport, besides being highly perishable, hence its position in an inner zone. However, as this was the area of highest rent:

The aim is to obtain the largest possible amount of feed from the smallest area of land; and since a given area is capable of supporting many more animals when these are stall-fed and not put out to pasture ... the local farmer will endeavour to grow a lot of clover and stall-feed his animals.<sup>867</sup>

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<sup>864</sup> Hall, P., Ed. (1966). Von Thünen's Isolated State, an English edition of *Der Isolierte Staat* by Johan Heinrich von Thünen, translated by Carla M. Wartenberg. Oxford, Pergamon Press. Pp. 9, 10, 285.

<sup>865</sup> Smith Wealth of Nations. P. 221.

<sup>866</sup> Ibid. P. 227.

<sup>867</sup> Hall, Ed. Von Thünen's Isolated State. P. 9

Here von Thünen seems to be describing a system similar to that of urban cow-keeping. Urban cow-keepers could rent pastures to grow feed for their cows, and/or buy feed from nearby farmers. The system of town dairies and urban cow-keepers developed to provide urban areas with fresh milk. Many British towns contained dairy herds, and these were the 'cattle of the city' mentioned by Steuart (see above). Gray<sup>868</sup> has remarked that there were more town dairies in Edinburgh than in Glasgow, despite Edinburgh's smaller population. This was a consequence of the environmental conditions around Edinburgh, which was not a pastoral region, and supported fewer dairy farmers than the area around Glasgow. In the nineteenth century there were serious outbreaks of cattle disease in town dairies, and many herds were slaughtered and never replaced. The cow-keepers who continued had to contend with government health and hygiene regulations, and high rents. Once railway developments increased the distance over which milk could be transported and remain fresh, many urban dairymen gave up keeping cows in the town, but retained their retailing rounds, and bought milk from the countryside.<sup>869</sup>

In order to provide city dwellers with vegetables in a 'fresh and luxuriant state,' Steuart and von Thünen placed kitchen gardens in a zone near to town. In 1718, land purchased for the construction of Ramshorn Church, in Glasgow, had to be cleared of the cherry and apple trees, gooseberry and currant bushes, kale, leeks and other vegetables grown for the Glasgow market by members of the gardeners' guild,<sup>870</sup> which indicates that, during the early eighteenth century, this zone of agricultural production was within the city. Gradually more and more of the Glasgow's green spaces were built upon, and mansion gardens gave way firstly to merchant dwellings, and later to densely packed working-class homes, and industrial and commercial premises. By the first half of the nineteenth century, the first zone of agricultural production could not be located within even the expanded city, and was displaced outwards.

The O.S.A. for the parish of Glasgow affirms that the land in the neighbourhood of the city was highly cultivated, while the report for Barony<sup>871</sup> Parish, which surrounded

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<sup>868</sup> Gray, A. (1995). White gold? Scotland's dairying in the past (with particular reference to the West of Scotland). Wigtown, G.C. Book Publishers. P. 26

<sup>869</sup> Ibid. P. 59

<sup>870</sup> Gibb Glasgow. P. 74.

<sup>871</sup> In the sixteenth century Glasgow was divided into two parishes, and the landward part of the original parish became known as Barony Parish.

the city on the north, refers to its 'richly cultivated fields.' South of the Clyde were the parishes of Govan and Gorbals (disjoined from Govan in 1771). Agriculture in Govan was said to be in 'a very advanced state of improvement,' and the 'astonishing rapidity' of growth within Glasgow provided both 'a sure and ready market' for the produce of Govan, 'and a plentiful supply of the best manure.'<sup>872</sup> The pasture was rich enough to support milk cows of a large size, and some cattle (mostly from the Highlands) were fattened in the district. The O.S.A. report for Gorbals includes the information that ground rents were high, and the author for Barony cites increasing demand from the city for farm produce as one reason for rising rents. The report for Gorbals mentions various manufactories in the parish, increasing population and large scale building work, and concludes 'in 20 years, a new Glasgow will probably be raised on the south side of the Clyde.'<sup>873</sup> Instead, Glasgow expanded over the south side of the Clyde, and in the N.S.A. the parishes of Barony and Gorbals were included in the report for the City of Glasgow.<sup>874</sup> The N.S.A. for Glasgow affirms that the landward parts of the suburban parishes were highly cultivated and productive, while the author of the Govan report in the N.S.A. described the 'well-enclosed' fields of the parish as 'producing as luxuriant crops as any in the kingdom' and, in addition to the field crops, there were gardens and orchards.<sup>875</sup>

These gardens and orchards, along with the high rents and use of town manure all fit von Thünen's model of an inner ring. If Steuart's observations were to be interpreted rigidly, the gardens and orchards should be in a zone distinct from the lush pastures and fattened cattle but, as mentioned above, horticultural enterprise had lost ground within the city and Steuart allowed for inversion of the zones by 'particular circumstances.' Of greater significance is the presence of 'operose' ploughing and sowing in this zone. The structure of the Statistical Accounts, whereby each parish report is the work of a different author, obscures cross-parish patterns in agriculture. Therefore, on the evidence of the Accounts, it cannot be said whether or not there was a small ring of pasture and market gardens, with a ring of arable farming beyond, around Glasgow. The county views of agriculture, from the end of the eighteenth century, provide a broader and more expert perspective. Naismith, who wrote the county view of Clydesdale (or Lanarkshire), reports that Glasgow was well supplied

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<sup>872</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan/>

<sup>873</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Gorbals/>

<sup>874</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Glasgow/>

<sup>875</sup> <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Govan/>

with culinary vegetables from market gardens surrounding the city.<sup>876</sup> Although Renfrewshire also touched Glasgow, Martin, in his general view of that county,<sup>877</sup> made no mention of market gardening around Glasgow. He did mention a great number of acres occupied as gardens in the neighbourhood of the thriving town of Paisley, which suggests that, although Glasgow was growing, it was not yet so prominent in the consciousness of the natives of the region as it was to become. While these county views bear out the model of market gardening proximate to populous centres, they do not suggest this was a distinct zone or a mixed garden and pasture for milk cows zone.

Lanarkshire stretched from just north of Glasgow as far south as the Southern Uplands, and Naismith provided an overview of the systems of agriculture pursued across the county at the end of the eighteenth century:

The face of this county being greatly diversified, the mode of occupation is different in different parts. The mountainous district, at the head of it, is occupied mostly with flocks of sheep: upon the ridges on the E. and W. sides, where the ground is marshy, and less proper for sheep, and the exposure too bleak to encourage the cultivation of corn, cattle are mostly pastured, and those generally milch cows and their young, many of which are reared; a small quantity of corn only being cultivated, principally for the sake of winter provender: the less rugged and less exposed parts are more occupied in the culture of corn, &c.<sup>878</sup>



**72. Fruit blossom, Crossford, Clyde Valley, 1949. Source – copyright Newsquest (Herald and Times Group), licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

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<sup>876</sup> Naismith, J. (1798). General view of the agriculture of the county of Clydesdale. With observations on the means of its improvement. Drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Glasgow, Board of Agriculture. P. 102.

<sup>877</sup> Martin, A. (1794). General view of the agriculture of the county of Renfrew, with observations on the means of its improvement. Drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London.

<sup>878</sup> Naismith General view of the agriculture of the county of Clydesdale. P. 55.

Naismith was aware of the influence of Glasgow on the surrounding area when he remarked that the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, 'though not originally more fertile, on account of its situation in the neighbourhood of Glasgow is now more valuable.'<sup>879</sup> However, he interpreted the pattern of farming in Lanarkshire as determined by climate and topography, rather than distance from Glasgow. Conversely, Martin informs us that a section of Renfrewshire<sup>880</sup> seemed 'peculiarly well adapted for sheep pasture,' but that except for some enclosures around the estates of gentlemen, the land was not so occupied. Instead, most of the farms were up to one third in tillage, and the rest kept in pasture for milk cows. He also mentioned an excellent turnpike road to Glasgow where the farmers had 'a ready money market for their great quantities of milk and butter.'<sup>881</sup> Snodgrass<sup>882</sup> followed Naismith<sup>883</sup> in consideration of agricultural appropriateness, and suggested that some areas, such as the central portion of the Middle Ward, were developed more quickly than neighbouring districts because of advantageous physical factors, such as relatively high temperatures, moderate rainfall and good drainage. The comparative warmth, dryness and sheltered aspect of the steep sides of the valley between the Falls of Clyde and Hamilton had long been recognised, and Snodgrass says that the Clydesdale orchards had been renowned since early times. Snodgrass also followed Naismith in estimating the distance to which manure from the city could be carted to farmland economically as six or seven miles.<sup>884</sup> Within this area she considered that a complete change in agricultural practice took place between 1750 and 1790, whereas revolution came later (1790-1845) to the Upper Ward, where Crookboat is situated.

The evidence supports von Thünen's statements regarding the part played by city dung in the process of agricultural improvement, and in the high rents of the peri-urban area. Moreover, von Thünen and Steuart were correct in the expectation of finding milk cows relatively close to centres of population. Where demand existed, unless environmental factors were in a large degree unsuitable, farmers would meet it. However, there was always some proportion of 'operose' farming among the

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<sup>879</sup> Ibid. P. 60.

<sup>880</sup> Parishes of Mearns, Eaglesham, Neilston, Lochwinnoch, Kilbarchan, Kilmacolm, and Erskine wherein lay Hatton Farm.

<sup>881</sup> Martin General view of the agriculture of the county of Renfrew. Pp. 13, 14.

<sup>882</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1937). "Lanarkshire: The Agricultural Geography of a Scottish County." The Scottish Geographical Magazine **LIII**: 176-199.

<sup>883</sup> Naismith General view of the agriculture of the county of Clydesdale. P. 81.

<sup>884</sup> Oxbang was about seven miles, by road, from the centre of Glasgow.

pasture. Appropriateness and tradition were also factors, as is evidenced by the Clydesdale orchards.

## The Tentacles of the Industrial City

The eighteenth-century inner rings of agricultural production around Glasgow were swallowed up by factories and housing in the nineteenth century, as population figures soared and industry proliferated. The industrial profile of Glasgow broadened in the second half of the nineteenth century and, according to Groome, there was 'hardly an article useful to mankind that is not made in the city of St Mungo.'<sup>885</sup> Additionally, Glasgow capital supported manufacturing operations in other parts of Scotland. Other industrial centres of population, such as Motherwell, Coatbridge, Airdrie and Paisley, grew up in West Central Scotland so that eventually Snodgrass was able to write of a 'central Clydeside conurbation.'<sup>886</sup> Population increase in the first half of the nineteenth century was largely the result of inward migration but, in the second half of the century, the rise in numbers was more the result of natural increase and a series of boundary extensions. In 1861 the population was 395,503, growing to 784,496 in 1911. In 1912 the inclusion of Govan, Partick and other outlying districts pushed the figure over the one million mark. At fifty-three people per acre, these were the one million most densely packed souls in the United Kingdom.<sup>887</sup> (The density of population across Scotland, at the end of the nineteenth century, is displayed on a map in Appendix Eight.) Many of the incomers were Irish, but the metropolis also drew citizens from the surrounding area and more distant parts of Scotland. Muir described the place Glasgow had in the imagination of the 'scots rustic' by 1901:

It is no wonder that Glasgow occupies an exceptional position in Scotland, and is most truly the heart of the country; from Skye to the Borders it drains the land to fill its workshops and its yards. All Scotland looks to Glasgow as the field for employment and energy ... Glasgow is the place for his advancement – the focus of his interest and thought – for are not Donald and Angus employed there, and is not young Archie going to enter a shop there when he is old enough to leave the little stony farm of his fathers? The high buildings, the very number of the public-houses, the "bleezing lowes" one after another along the railway line that ushers him

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<sup>885</sup> Groome, F. H., Ed. (1882-85). Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland: a survey of Scottish topography, statistical, biographical, and historical. Edinburgh, Jack.

<sup>886</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1959). Scottish Conurbations. The Conurbations of Great Britain. T. W. Freeman. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>887</sup> Maver Glasgow. P. 170.



into Glasgow intimidate his simple mind like the entrance to a great house. His country newspaper is full of the doings of Glasgow; he has acquired unconsciously the habit of looking to her to do the great things for Scotland.<sup>888</sup>



**73. Etching of Glasgow, viewed from the Necropolis (1850) showing tenements and industrial chimneys. The original painting, by John A. Houston, is held by Dundee Art Galleries and Museums (copyright Dundee City Council, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)).**

Glasgow, unsurprisingly, features strongly in the lives of the farming families at the heart of this thesis. James Turner of Oxgang, who was born in rural Old Kilpatrick, had worked in Glasgow before taking a lease of Oxgang. One of his brothers was an apprentice at an iron foundry, and his other brother, Peter, worked as a carter in Glasgow. Turner's middle son, Bill, worked for a time with a grocer in Glasgow, before returning to the family farm. The widowed Catherine Park or Arneil and her younger children moved from Erskine to Glasgow, where they subsisted on society's lower rungs. William Murdoch of Springs apprenticed his son, James, in the more proximate population centre of Ayr, but his daughter, Jessie, married a native of Banffshire, and the couple settled in Glasgow. Alexander Lamb's brother, Thomas, left his home at Crookboat around 1864, and became a carpenter in Glasgow. Ex-family farm members who went to Glasgow might return for visits or send their children, particularly if a child was ailing. It was thought that country air and farm fare would

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<sup>888</sup> Muir, J. H. (1901). Glasgow in 1901. Glasgow and Edinburgh, William Hodge. Pp. 26, 27.

strengthen a sickly individual. Jessie Murdoch's twenty-eight year old daughter, Jessie Duncan, was at Springs at the time of the 1901 Census, and Marion Craig (b. 1842) was first taken to her grandfather's farm of Cowdenmoor, Neilston, Renfrewshire after a bad teething time, when nobody thought she would live.<sup>889</sup> 'Mrs. Hazlitt,' whose parents had both been farm children, was born in Glasgow in 1906 (where her father was a provision merchant) and lived there until her parents returned to farming in Ayrshire.<sup>890</sup>

## City Manure

One consequence of increased population was that Glasgow produced considerably more manure (both human and animal) than in the previous century. Traditionally, human excreta were flung onto common middens or dungsteads in the back courts. By the 1860s the middens had been largely replaced by the privy and ash-pit system. Most household refuse was thrown onto the domestic fire, the ashes of which were added to the ash-pit in the back court.<sup>891</sup> The contents of the middens had been the property of the building proprietors to be sold as they saw fit, but from 1862 the contents of the back court privies and ash-pits became the property, and thereby the responsibility, of the municipal authorities. In addition to removing the contents of the privies and ash-pits, the Cleansing Department saw to the nightly sweeping of the city streets. There were many horses working in the city throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, and their dung littered the streets. Dung was also collected from the stables, dairies and piggeries scattered about the town. All this refuse was removed to depots on the fringes of the city, where it was sorted. Before the dung and ashes were mixed, items such as newspapers, old baskets, boots, bricks, and broken furniture were consigned to furnaces:

The expense of a much closer cremation and of the drying and condensation of manure, which is necessary in the large English towns from lack of a market for bulky fertilizers, is avoided in Glasgow. The heavy, cold Scotch soil is improved by a coarse and ashy manure that could not be used in the middle counties of England.<sup>892</sup>

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<sup>889</sup> Graham, T. (2004/5). "Recollections of the Craig Family." Renfrewshire Family History Society Journal.

<sup>890</sup> Interview by Claire Toynbee and reported in Jamieson, L. and C. Toynbee (2000). Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930. Edinburgh, Birlinn.

<sup>891</sup> Blackden, S. (1976). The Development of Public Health Administration in Glasgow 1842-1872. Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

<sup>892</sup> Shaw, A. (1895). Municipal Government in Great Britain. New York.

In the summer of 1874, as much as 28,260 tons of material was stored at city depots.<sup>893</sup> For the year ending 31 May, 1893, the total quantity of material carted by the Cleansing Department 'was in excess of 361,000 tons, and the amount of manure sold was 276,000 tons.'<sup>894</sup>

Tait reported that the average quantity of manure laid on farmland near Glasgow, a great deal of which came from the city, was thirty to forty tons per acre. In the more distant parish of Carnwath, he recorded a farm where the meadows were top dressed with eighteen to twenty cart loads of dung per acre:

One great advantage possessed by tenants near Glasgow is the facility for obtaining manure. Those who are nearest the city have the dung carted to their farms, others who have stations convenient get it by rail, while a few on the canal banks have it brought in barges.<sup>895</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Peter Turner recorded getting wagon loads of dung for Oxcang from the station, which may refer to Glasgow dung brought to Kirkintilloch by train. He also collected dung from the canal basin. References to dung from Kirkintilloch might indicate locally produced dung, and references to town dung might mean either Kirkintilloch or Glasgow dung. The Turners obtained dung from a variety of sources, including the Star Foundry and the Co-operative Society.<sup>896</sup> Alexander Lamb made a payment of twenty pounds for 'Glasgow manure' in 1886, while in 1898 he paid twelve pounds and sixteen shillings for sixteen wagons of Glasgow dung.<sup>897</sup> William Murdoch, writing at a slightly earlier period, made no mention of any manure purchased directly from Glasgow in his accounts of Springs.<sup>898</sup> The *Caledonian Mercury* for 5 November, 1818 (issue 14160) carried an advertisement for a number of farms on the Erskine Estate, including North Hatton, South Hatton and Low Hatton. In recommendation, it was stated that the farms were 'at moderate distances from Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock, from which an inexhaustible supply of manure, both dung and lime, can at all times be had by water carriage.' Although Hatton was beyond Snodgrass's convenient carting zone of six or seven miles, proximity to the

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<sup>893</sup> Marwick, J. D. (1901). *Glasgow. The Water Supply of the City from the Earliest Period of Record: with notes on various developments of the city till the close of 1900*. Glasgow, Corporation of Glasgow.

<sup>894</sup> Shaw *Municipal Government*.

<sup>895</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland fourth series, volume XVII*.

<sup>896</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). "Turner Diaries Database."

<sup>897</sup> McGuire, D. E. "Lamb Accounts Database." I.D. nos. 107, 1491.

<sup>898</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2009). Murdoch Accounts Database, University of Glasgow.

Clyde meant the land could receive the benefit of town manure and have a choice of town, before the advent of the railways.

In 1895 Shaw wrote that the city of Glasgow owned seven hundred wagons for the transport of manure.<sup>899</sup> The city manure could be easily transported around the country by rail, but as the amount of dung produced in Glasgow increased, so did the amount of dung produced in other centres of population. The municipal authorities in Glasgow faced competition for the disposal of dung not only from Paisley and Greenock, but from Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee and even Aberdeen. Thus:

The drop in the price of manure per wagon load or ton in any of these cities meant a similar drop in the price asked by Glasgow for its manure, even when that sometimes meant a considerable loss. In May 1870, after the seasonal peak of demand was over for the year, the price per ton at Dalmarnock and Garngad Road depots had to be reduced to 2/6d. per ton to fall into line with Greenock and the other cities.<sup>900</sup>

If the material was left to accumulate at the depots, complaints were made, so land beyond the city was acquired to provide a destination for unsold refuse. In 1879, Fulwood Moss, Houston, Renfrewshire was taken on a thirty-one year lease and, by judicious application of town waste, was transformed from a bog into valuable agricultural land. Produce raised on this land was fed to the horses that drew the city's refuse carts. By 1900 the Corporation owned or leased 1,035 acres of land for the disposal of refuse,<sup>901</sup> but by that time the composition of the waste had changed. From the 1850s onwards houses were built with water closets, and a piped water supply. By the closing years of the century, water closets discharging waste into the Clyde were to be found even in the poorest areas.<sup>902</sup> Without this human element, the city refuse was less attractive to farmers, and the city authorities moved from a policy of improving land to one of landfill. However, as long as horses were a common sight in the city, the street sweepings had some value as manure. Horses expected to pull heavy loads require to be well fed and better feed leads to higher quality manure. Similarly, diet has an impact on human excrement and human health. The nineteenth century saw significant changes to diet, which are illustrative of changes in the market for agricultural produce.

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<sup>899</sup> Shaw Municipal Government.

<sup>900</sup> Blackden Public Health Administration in Glasgow. P. 260.

<sup>901</sup> Marwick Glasgow. Appendix Ma.

<sup>902</sup> Blackden Public Health Administration in Glasgow. Pp. 8, 277.

## Diet

Although, at the time Steuart and Smith were writing, grain was already being imported to Glasgow from outside the region, the population of West Central Scotland was, by and large, sustained by locally grown produce. Oatmeal, said Steuart, was the 'great article of subsistence for the people of Glasgow and neighbourhood to the west,'<sup>903</sup> and Smith concurred with regard to Scotland in general.<sup>904</sup> Regional variations in diet, described by Oddy,<sup>905</sup> underline the link between consumption and local agricultural production, which persisted up to the mid nineteenth century and mirror the east-west division in agricultural systems:

Across central Scotland, there was clear distinction between west and east ... In the industrializing west, cheese, butter and meat were added to the diet, while around the Firth of Forth basic foodstuffs were augmented by tea and wheaten bread.<sup>906</sup>

By the middle of the nineteenth century there was a divergence in diet between the urban and rural populations of Scotland. A survey carried out by Robert Hutchison in the 1860s indicated that oatmeal was still the staple article of daily diet for ninety percent of agricultural labourer families. Campbell compared Hutchison's survey results with the N.S.A. and found that, while quantities of meat in the diet remained small, they were increasing. Bread, rarely mentioned in the N.S.A., was almost invariably used at the labourer's tea by Hutchison's time, and the use of potatoes had also increased.<sup>907</sup> The continuing use of oatmeal can be partly accounted for by payments in kind, but oatmeal was cheap and available. It was what the Scottish countryside produced, and wages of agricultural labourers were low. The urban labourer's wages were low too. According to Burnett:

[Glasgow] grew on the basis of cheap labour, and the people there lived cheaply because they endured poor food and cheap accommodation ... The decline in maternal and infant mortality in the years before World War I

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<sup>903</sup> Steuart Considerations on the interest of the County of Lanark. P. 47.

<sup>904</sup> Smith Wealth of Nations. Pp. 76, 160-1.

<sup>905</sup> Oddy, D. J. (2000). The paradox of diet and health: England and Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Order and Disorder: the Health Implications of Eating and Drinking in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of the International Commission for Research into European Food History, Aberdeen 1997. A. Fenton. Edinburgh, Tuckwell Press in association with the European Ethnological Research Centre: 45-63.

<sup>906</sup> Ibid.

<sup>907</sup> Campbell, R. H. (1966). Diet in Scotland; an example of regional variation. Our Changing Fare: two hundred years of British food habits. T. C. Barker, J. C. McKenzie, J. Yudkin. St. Albans, MacGibbon and Kee: 47-60.

was partly due to a diet which was improving in the train of slowly increasing wealth.<sup>908</sup>

Campbell has pointed out that the dietary conditions of industrial workers varied according to location. Industrial workers in an essentially rural area had better access to good food than those working in large areas of industrial concentration, and Glasgow was the area of greatest industrial concentration. At the end of the nineteenth century, investigations of diet were carried out in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee. According to Campbell, all three 'reveal a uniformity of urban diet which can be set beside the uniformity of rural diet revealed by Hutchison.'<sup>909</sup> In contrast to the porridge and milk of the rural diets, the urban diets contained large quantities of bread, butter, jam and tea, and the urban diet was spreading to rural areas. Few Scottish homes ever had suitable ovens for baking bread, and bread could only be purchased if there was a baker operating in the neighbourhood, so the adoption of the bread and butter meal in rural areas was linked to the spread of bakeries.

McNeilage, from the perspective of the 1880s, wrote of the influence of this social change upon agriculture:

The greater part of the oats grown in the county [Dunbartonshire] is, we believe, consumed by horses. Farmers everywhere have a good market for horse corn, consequent upon the growth of industrial towns and coast villages, with their posting establishments, gentlemen's carriages, and contractors' carts. But while this department of business has grown large and important on the farmer's hand, another branch has decreased, and become insignificant, viz., the sale of meal. Farmers generally report that this has fallen off to a trifle. A change has passed upon the diet and domestic management of the people. The universal adoption of baker's bread has rendered oat cakes obsolete; the growing popularity of tea as an evening meal has banished the "halesome parritch" even from the farmer's table, and though porridge and milk are still prominent on the breakfast table of the working and middle classes, yet the meal is no longer purchased from the farmer. Instead of buying in from him at the time of new meal a substantial quantity, as was the thrifty custom of former days, consumers now supply themselves with stones or half stones of it at the grocer's, and the grocer in turn is supplied by some merchant in Glasgow ... That in circumstances of an increased population, the farmers' sale of meal should have become so insignificant, betokens a great alteration both

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<sup>908</sup> Burnett, J. E. (2000). Glasgow Corporation and the food of the poor, 1918-24: a context for John Boyd Orr. Order and Disorder: the Health Implications of Eating and Drinking in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of the International Commission for Research into European Food History, Aberdeen 1997. A. Fenton. Edinburgh, Tuckwell Press in association with the European Ethnological Research Centre: 13-29.

<sup>909</sup> Campbell Diet in Scotland.

in regard to the quantity of the article that people use and in their way of procuring it.<sup>910</sup>

William Murdoch made very few references to purchases of bread for Springs between 1855 and 1876. There are years between references, and indications that, when bread was bought, it was for special occasions such as his mother's funeral.<sup>911</sup> In contrast, between 1895 and 1898, Alexander Lamb made regular monthly payments for bread, suggesting that he had an account with a baker.<sup>912</sup> However, Murdoch did buy flour in large quantities, whereas Lamb appears to have purchased very little flour. If the Lambs bought flour in smaller quantities during shopping trips to Lanark, there would be no specific reference to this in the accounts, but the difference in the two sets of accounts suggests that, mid-century, the Murdochs did a lot of baking, while, at the end of the century, the Lambs baked less and bought bread.

Murdoch generally disposed of his oatmeal locally, but he did send one load to Glasgow in 1865. He sold meal, in bulk, to local merchants and, in smaller quantities of a boll or half boll, to individuals. Lamb made much fewer references to sales of oatmeal, and none of the sales are for quantities less than one load. The Turners also cultivated oats. In 1904, Peter Turner went to Woodilee to see some experimental plots of oats.<sup>913</sup> Like the Murdochs, the Turners sent oats to a local mill. Springs oats were returned as oatmeal but, around the turn of the century, Oxgang oats could be either ground into meal, or bruised, hashed or rolled.<sup>914</sup> It is likely that all three families retained a portion of their processed oats for household use, as personal reminiscences indicate that porridge continued to be prepared in farm kitchens. In the early-twentieth century young Lizzie Gardner enjoyed porridge, made from Creityhall oats with a generous helping of thick cream, for her breakfast.<sup>915</sup> Mrs. Leiper of Kilnpothall said she was brought up on porridge, receiving it twice a day.<sup>916</sup> The Blacks of Auchenfoyle kept back enough of their milk to put in their porridge.<sup>917</sup> Mr. Cameron of Auchingibbert, Cumnock said that his father sold oats for town horses, but porridge was eaten on the farm. He described how the miners, who

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<sup>910</sup> McNeilage, J. (1886). "The Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XVIII**: 1-69.

<sup>911</sup> McGuire Murdoch Accounts Database.

<sup>912</sup> McGuire. "Lamb Accounts Database."

<sup>913</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4 I.D. 777.

<sup>914</sup> Bruised or hashed grain would be fed to livestock.

<sup>915</sup> McGregor, E. (1993). Before I was ten; memories of a rural childhood. Kelso, Moira McGregor. P. 69.

<sup>916</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with Margaret Leiper, University of Glasgow.

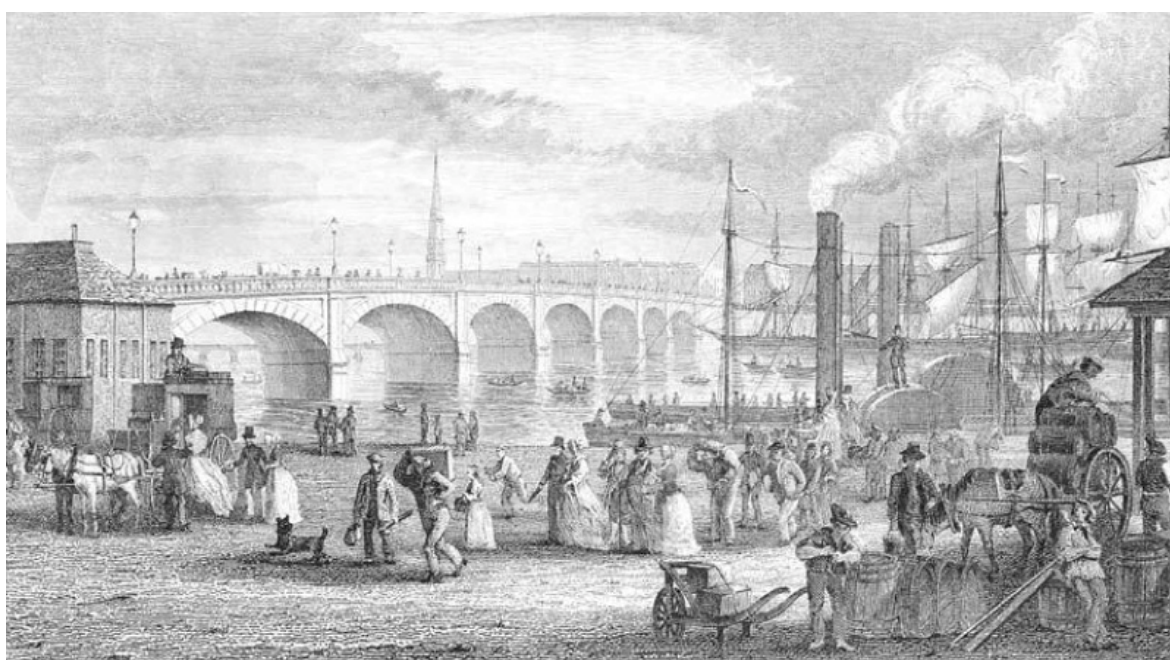
<sup>917</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2007). Interview with James Black, University of Glasgow.

engaged as casual labour during harvest, looked forward to receiving a plate of porridge in the farmhouse at night.<sup>918</sup> Although oats continued to have a place in the diet of farming folk, wheat flour was baked into various products. Elizabeth McGregor reported that her mother baked every day:

Girdle scones, treacle scones, tattie scones which were varied with a proportion of oatmeal for pieces for field workers, oatcakes and pancakes too, and a cloutie dumpling for Sunday's tea.<sup>919</sup>

For Campbell,<sup>920</sup> the abandonment of oatmeal as a dietary staple signalled deterioration in the national diet, but the move away from oatmeal also marked a break in the link between local production and consumption, and a shift in the relationship between Glasgow and the West Central Region. The exchange of agricultural produce became two-way; the rural areas still sent food to Glasgow but, as a port of entry, food flowed from Glasgow to the surrounding countryside, as did fashions in consumption.

## Trade and Implications for the Locality



**74. Broomielaw, Glasgow from *Black's Picturesque Guide to Glasgow and the West Coast*, Edinburgh 1852. Source – copyright Glasgow City Council Libraries and Archives, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

<sup>918</sup> Brodie, A. (1984). ASA 99A, Interview with Mr. Cameron of Auchingibbert Farm, Cumnock, Ayrshire Archives.

<sup>919</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. P. 38.

<sup>920</sup> Campbell *Diet in Scotland*.



There was a vast increase in the volume of trade in and out of Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century, encompassing China, France, Canada, the United States, South America, Australia and New Zealand. According to Groome, an export trade with France, 'which hardly existed before 1860, rose in one year to the large value of £367,000.' Groome described the extensive trade as 'comprehensive and widespread,' while the coasting trade was 'at once minute and enormous.'<sup>921</sup> This trade was made possible by the work of the Clyde Navigation Trust in transforming a shallow estuary into a shipping channel able to accommodate larger and larger vessels.

Imports of fertilisers (such as guano) and feedstuffs benefited the farmers of west central Scotland, as did exports of Clydesdale horses and Ayrshire cattle. By the mid-nineteenth century, separate breeds for dairy and beef production had been developed. While the Galloway and Aberdeen Angus breeds were the principal beef cattle in Scotland, Ayrshire cattle prevailed in the dairying arena. "The "Ayrshires,"" declared Sturrock, 'are now very generally acknowledged as the best breed of cattle for dairy purposes in Great Britain.'<sup>922</sup> By the time Lebon was writing, Ayrshires still dominated dairying districts, outnumbering all other breeds in Scotland. Sturrock estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 head of cattle were exported from Ayrshire annually. Lebon mentions exports to 'Finland and Sweden (where again it [the breed] dominates to the point of excluding almost all other cattle), and to the dairying belt of Canada and the United States.'<sup>923</sup>

Less welcome to the farming community was the import of agricultural produce. Foreign agricultural imports, fifteen per cent of the British market in 1868, comprised thirty-four per cent by 1892;<sup>924</sup> According to Groome, 7,197 tons of grain came to harbour at Glasgow in 1877, and in 1895 the quantity was 435,771 tons (including maize and flour).<sup>925</sup> Since grain does not spoil quickly and has a high value compared to its bulk, and is not difficult to transport, von Thünen placed it beyond the zone producing fresh milk, and before the livestock rearing zones. By the second half of

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<sup>921</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

<sup>922</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland Fourth series, vol. I: 21-106. P. 74.

<sup>923</sup> Lebon, J. H. G. (1937). The County of Ayr. The Land of Britain: The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain. L. D. Stamp. London, Geographical Publications Ltd. **1**.

<sup>924</sup> Scott, J. (1893). "British Farming and Foreign Competition." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland V(fifth series).

<sup>925</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

the nineteenth century, most of the grain that came to Glasgow was transported to the point of consumption from another continent, and this vast import depressed the price of domestic wheat. According to Scott, writing in 1893, the previous twenty years saw an increase in production in every branch of farming except grain-growing, and the price of wheat fell by fifty per cent over the period. However, the outsourcing of grain arguably enabled farmers in West Central Scotland to focus their efforts on a branch of farming more suited to the climate (see Chapter Two).

As the price of wheat fell, the price of milk rose by twenty-eight per cent over the period 1872-1892. Across the Britain, the increase in dairy production was both absolute and relative to the increase in population. Although no article was entirely free from foreign competition, the perishable nature of milk protected it from the late-nineteenth century agricultural depression.<sup>926</sup>

The year 1879 was the most disastrous experienced in the west for a long period, and depression can scarcely be said to have prevailed to any extent before then. Since that year, however, its existence has become more and more apparent year by year. It has materially affected arable farming, inasmuch as it has necessitated, in many cases, an alteration in the system of cropping ... Sweet milk is a commodity with which the foreigner cannot possibly supply our populace, and the production of this, together with the proximity of markets and centres of consumption, has helped more than anything else to ward off the gloom of depression.<sup>927</sup>

Some wheat continued to be grown in southern Scotland. In the early 1930s, Snodgrass<sup>928</sup> reported wheat being grown in the vicinity of Glasgow, and she suggests that this wheat was grown for the sake of its straw. Straw is required for litter for city horses, and has a low value in relation to its bulk, so von Thünen placed it in the innermost zone.<sup>929</sup> Additionally, Snodgrass mentions that there was a considerable demand for unbroken wheat straw for mattress-making in the Glasgow neighbourhood. If the value of straw was sufficiently high, the risk of the grain not ripening in a wet season was of less consequence. Wheat does not seem to have been grown at Oxbang in the 1890s, but Peter Turner started growing wheat in 1900 and continued growing it up to the end of the diary period (1908). In 1902 he mentioned that the wheat was 'very soft.'<sup>930</sup> Hard wheat is preferable for bread-making as

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<sup>926</sup> Scott "British Farming and Foreign Competition."

<sup>927</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XIX**: 1-110.

<sup>928</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1931). *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland. Geography*. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh. Pp. 106-9

<sup>929</sup> Hall, Ed. *Von Thünen's Isolated State*. P. 10

<sup>930</sup> McGuire. "Turner Diaries Database." Vol. 4 I.D. 148.

harder grains are more readily ground. North American wheat tends to be harder than British wheat, so it was more competitive in the market. McNeilage<sup>931</sup> said that, although wheat grown in Dunbartonshire fell behind that of the eastern counties in terms of colour and weight, some was grown in the lower parishes. Good prices were obtained for the straw, some of which was sold for horse litter, and some to mattress manufactures, but prices were in decline.

## Dairying Rings and Distortions

Dairying began to emerge as a specialism of West Central Scotland as early as the end of the eighteenth century. The combination of suitable environmental conditions and growing communities of non-agricultural workers encouraged the development of dairy farming. Fenton says that there 'was a growing demand for butter and cheese in the markets of Glasgow and Paisley, and some of the supplies even reached the remoter Edinburgh market.'<sup>932</sup> Like arable farming, dairy farming has its seasons, and the cycle of calving and milk production has been touched on in Chapter Four, in connection with Crookboat. As mentioned above, fresh milk does not have good keeping qualities, particularly in the warm months when it is most abundant. Sweet butter will last, unrefrigerated, for a few days, and salt butter much longer. Cheese could be stored for years, and its by-product, whey, fed to pigs. The by-product of butter-making, buttermilk or sour milk, was considered to have therapeutic qualities, and was used as a drink and in baking. There appear to have been traditional preferences in local dairy production. Macdonald<sup>933</sup> says that cheese-making was not in general favour amongst Renfrewshire farmers, whereas Tait<sup>934</sup> says that Lanarkshire had long maintained a high reputation for cheese-making. Ayrshire, the home of the Dunlop variety, was renowned for cheese-making, and Sturrock<sup>935</sup> thought butter making to be of less significance in Ayrshire than it was in Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire. There were some district specialties such as the

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<sup>931</sup> MacNeilage, A. (1909). "Typical Farms in the West of Scotland." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **XXI**(fifth series).

<sup>932</sup> Fenton, A. (1995). Milk and Milk Products in Scotland: the role of the Milk Marketing Boards. Food Technology, Science and Marketing: European Diet in the Twentieth Century. A. P. d. Hartog. East Linton, Tuckwell Press: 89-102.

<sup>933</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XIX**: 1-110.

<sup>934</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." *Ibid.* **fourth series, volume XVII**.

<sup>935</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." *Ibid.* **Fourth series, vol. I**: 21-106.

'peculiar kind of sour cream' which Groome<sup>936</sup> mentions as having long been manufactured for sale in Rutherglen and the surrounding district. By the 1880s, production of this had ceased.

Population centres provided a market for fresh milk and buttermilk, and Fenton has identified a pattern of zones circling early nineteenth century towns. In this model an inner ring of liquid milk production extended for two or three miles, or the range of access of a light horse-drawn vehicle, around the towns. Beyond this, in the outer, much deeper ring, liquid milk was processed into cream cheese or skimmed milk cheese. In the more remote districts much of the milk was fed to calves, which were eventually sold to form parts of dairy herds elsewhere. Fenton says that, from the mid-nineteenth century, these zone differences began to be eroded by the spread of the railways.<sup>937</sup> The influence of the railways went beyond the provision of a convenient means of transit for agricultural produce, fertilisers, implements and livestock. Railways enabled 'farmers to leave their own confined districts, and see personally how things are moving along in others, and that at little expense and little time lost.'<sup>938</sup> The 1916 obituary of Alexander Lamb<sup>939</sup> praised his facility for retaining 'the best of all he heard at kirk, mill, market, railway train, and by the wayside.' Alec Lamb maintains that trains were notable places for congregations of farmers to exchange opinions. Late nineteenth century reporters commented that improved transport had persuaded many farmers to switch to liquid milk production,<sup>940</sup> but the railways did not only provide opportunities, they increased awareness of possibilities. The zones were eroded not only by the speed with which produce could be transported from outlying districts, but by the responses of farmers to the various challenges and opportunities presented by the railways.

What emerged in the late-nineteenth century was a complex and shifting pattern of agricultural production, with a dominant theme of dairy farming, and individual management that varied in accordance with market forces, with local geography, and with the inclinations of farmers. McNeilage, writing in the 1880s, says that in former times Glasgow, 'being a much more circumscribed place, could get a sufficient supply

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<sup>936</sup> Groome, Ed. Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland.

<sup>937</sup> Fenton Food Technology, Science and Marketing.

<sup>938</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." P. 29.

<sup>939</sup> 'Hamilton Advertiser'

<sup>940</sup> Tait "Lanarkshire."

of milk without going beyond her own district.<sup>941</sup> Since Glasgow had extended by several miles, and a number of other populous places had sprung up, a great sweet milk and fresh butter industry had arisen and developed year by year. McNeilage saw signs that this industry had reached a peak, with the supply over Dunbartonshire roughly equal to the demand. However, Tait, also writing in the 1880s, could see no limit to the demand for milk, and commented that one great object of farmers near Glasgow was to increase the supply.<sup>942</sup> Another object of many farmers was to even out the supply, and the production of winter milk, discussed in Chapter Four in relation to Crookboat Farm, was an important, post-1860 development.



75. Butter-milk being retailed on a Glasgow street. Source – copyright East Renfrewshire Council, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).

By the 1880s the parishes of Cadder, Carmunnock and Rutherglen formed the inner ring of agricultural produce for Glasgow, with consequent high rents and pressure to farm intensively. Tait says that most of the farms operated a combination of arable and dairy farming, and that the fresh milk trade had been generally adopted on all farms within easy reach of the city, and none of the farmers retailed their milk in the streets. It was all sold wholesale to city dairies. Cows were bought in at all seasons, in order to maintain the supply of milk. Farmers who had previously produced butter

<sup>941</sup> McNeilage, J. (1886). "The Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XVIII**: 1-69.

<sup>942</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." *Ibid.* **fourth series, volume XVII**.

were persuaded to give this up by the high prices paid in Glasgow for fresh milk. In Renfrewshire, the cows were fed very intensively, and regulated to calve periodically throughout the year. McNeilage says that, in the mid-nineteenth century, the dairy produce of Dunbartonshire was disposed of as butter and cheese, and that much milk was devoted to the rearing of young cattle, but with the development of the fresh milk market came a 'higher style of feeding.' Opinion had been 'expressed that proper bounds have been exceeded in this respect, and that cattle would be healthier and longer lived if a more natural style of feeding were resorted to:'<sup>943</sup>

The scarcity of grass is, on many farms, the reason for such an artificial style of feeding cattle. Desirous of cropping as well as dairying, farmers cannot afford as much pasture land as the stock would require, and so are forced to supplement with draff, bean meal, &c<sup>944</sup>



**76. Dairy shop, Dalmarnock Road, Glasgow, 1909. The shop also sold a variety of foodstuffs including tea, biscuits and bread. Source - copyright National Museums of Scotland, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).**

Substantially stall-fed cattle would explain how Hatton, a dairy farm, could, at the same time, be described as 'wholly arable'<sup>945</sup> (see Chapter Four). In keeping with general practice, various crops were grown in rotation, some of which were sold off the farm, but a considerable portion was consumed by the livestock, alongside a substantial quantity of bought-in feeding stuffs. McNeilage says that about half the farmers in the parish of Kirkintilloch were involved in the sweet milk trade (milk,

<sup>943</sup> McNeilage, J. (1886). "The Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton." Ibid. **fourth series, vol. XVIII:** 1-69.

<sup>944</sup> Ibid.

<sup>945</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." Ibid. **fourth series, vol. XIX:** 1-110.

skimmed milk and cream), and that most of this milk was sent to Glasgow. Oxgang milk was sent to Glasgow at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, although by the final years of the farm the milk was sold to a dairy in Kirkintilloch. Farm management at Oxgang, as described in Chapter Four, involved supplemental feeding and winter milk production, with cows being bought and sold throughout the year.

It would appear that there was a ring of liquid milk producers around Glasgow, similar to that described by von Thünen, around Glasgow but in a deeper zone than that described by Fenton. However, these broad strokes conceal a more nuanced pattern, as the general management pattern of intensive feeding and staggered births included a number of variables. Farmers had to maintain the fertility of the soil through crop rotations and the application of fertilisers, whether produced on the farm or bought in. They fed their cows through a combination of pasture, supplementary material produced on the farm (such as turnips) and bought-in feed. The optimal balance between the purchase of feed and fertilisers on one hand, and prices obtained for dairy products and cash crops on the other, constantly shifted, so farmers might adjust by making small or significant changes year by year, although they remained constrained by the quality of the land they worked. The closer and more accessible to Glasgow or other populous centre, the more intensive the focus on fresh milk seems to have been. However, given the nature of the landscape, there were always relatively remote areas, where winter milk production might not be adopted. Although dairying in some form seems to have been ubiquitous across the region, it was often combined with other types of farming. The Parks of Hatton and Glenshinnoch combined dairying with arable farming and the breeding of Clydesdale horses. Moving through Lanarkshire from north to south, dairying might be found in combination with arable farming, with fruit growing, and with sheep farming.

Sometimes similar management was adopted for different reasons. Facing the parish of Erskine across the Clyde is West Kilpatrick and, although the steep hillsides and rough grazing of West Kilpatrick contrast with the lush and gentle landscape of Erskine, in both a system resembling that of a cow-feeder was carried on. In Erskine the amount of land farmed as arable restricted the amount of pasture, while in West Kilpatrick geographical constraints curtailed available pasture. In both districts, calves, and cows not in milk, were found to be an inconvenience:

The stocks are not kept up by rearing; they are flying stocks, composed of mature cows, bought in when in calf or milk. These cows are not allowed to calve again, but are farrowed and sold to the butcher, being fed well with that view. Thus a constant buying and feeding off of milk cows goes on throughout the parish. Paisley weekly sale is the principal mart for the purchase of these cows, and a constant market for fed-off beasts is found in Glasgow.<sup>946</sup>

The newly calved or near calving cows brought into the flying herds came 'chiefly from the more distant rearing districts, such as Ayrshire, Argyll, and Lanarkshire, so that there never is any difficulty in obtaining the number of cows required.'<sup>947</sup> The arable/pasture/rough grazing ratio varied in neighbouring parishes. Some rearing of calves was carried out in East Kilpatrick, and a few farmers in the fresh milk districts of Renfrewshire raised enough young cows to maintain numbers. The system of 'flying herds' has been mentioned in Chapter Four in relation to Oxgang Farm, but, although the Oxgang herd was a 'flying' one, the cows were put out to pasture in the summer months. Oxgang cows came from various sources including Milngavie in East Kilpatrick Parish. Turner generally bought one or two cows at a time and many were purchased from farmers in the same or neighbouring districts. Just as in east Renfrewshire and the lower ward of Lanarkshire, some of the farmers in the fresh milk trade, in the detached portion of Dunbartonshire, reared some calves, but, says Tait, it was difficult for farmers contracted to maintain a constant supply of fresh milk to rear calves, and those who made butter and sold sour milk were more successful breeders.<sup>948</sup> While the fresh milk trade was profitable, and the milk could be sold in Kirkintilloch, Coatbridge and Kilsyth, as well as Glasgow, in the more remote parts of Kirkintilloch, and in Cumbernauld, milk was churned and sold as butter and butter-milk, which did not require early morning delivery but was readily retailed in the streets of Glasgow and suburbs. Between the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld together, a considerable amount of rearing was carried on. In the more remote parts of Renfrewshire, where the pasture was fine, but the retail opportunities for fresh milk less good, farmers tended to rely more on the pasture for feeding and not to practice winter dairying. They reared their own replacement stock, and produced butter (either selling the butter-milk or feeding it to pigs) and cheese. Under this management, the cows followed a more 'natural' life.

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<sup>946</sup> McNeilage, J. (1886). "The Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XVIII**: 1-69.

<sup>947</sup> Macdonald, A. (1887). "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XIX**: 1-110.

<sup>948</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." *Ibid.* **fourth series, volume XVII**.



Tradition and personal preference also played a part. Tait mentions butter produced and consumed in the eastern part of Stirlingshire, but not in the west. It is not clear whether this is due to the predominance of the fresh milk trade in the west, or whether butter was not a traditional product in this part of the county. Tait profiles two farmers in the western district of Stirlingshire who, unusually, made cheese 'in the Ayrshire fashion.' As cheese was only made in the summer, one sent milk to Glasgow in the spring. Pigs were kept to consume the whey.<sup>949</sup> Where calves were not reared, they were soon sent to Glasgow for veal. Veal feeding was not common in Ayrshire so calves not selected to be reared were generally sold to butchers as 'slinks' (newly dropped calves), and their stomachs returned to the farmer for the rennet. Stots (young bullocks) were sold to graziers when two years old, and queys (heifers) were either sold, in calf, at the age of three, or taken into the dairy as replacement stock.<sup>950</sup>

Better roads increased the distance over which produce could be conveniently carted. According to Macdonald, farmers could cart their milk ten or twelve miles, but the average distance was seven miles. Small scale farmers in Renfrewshire generally sold milk directly from a cart in the streets and, if they made butter, might also sell the butter and butter-milk from the cart, or the butter could be distributed among a number of grocers. In the Kilpatricks the majority of farms produced sweet milk for the Glasgow market, and the farmers journeyed six to eight miles to deliver to a dealer. From Kirkintilloch, some of the farmers sent their milk by rail, but most preferred to deliver it personally. This necessitated an early rise at about 4 a.m. and a daily drive of nine or ten miles. The preference for delivery by cart also prevailed in Renfrewshire, where only in the most southerly parts of the county was the milk sent off by rail. Some Cumbernauld farmers drove fourteen miles every day to deliver fresh milk to Glasgow. There had to be a reason for the hours sitting on a chilly cart, and taking the horse away from the farm, day after day, when trains were available. According to Tait the morning train did not get into the city in time for the first delivery of milk, so milk delivered by rail did not fetch the highest prices.<sup>951</sup> Farmers could cart their milk to retailers in Glasgow or one of the 'populous centres,' by about 5.30 to 6.15 a.m. Crookboat milk did not reach Glasgow until about 7 a.m. Once the

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<sup>949</sup> Tait, J. (1884). "The Agriculture of the County of Stirling." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **fourth series, vol. XVI**: 143-180.

<sup>950</sup> McNeilage, J. (1886). "The Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XVIII**: 1-69.

<sup>951</sup> Tait, J. (1884). "The Agriculture of the County of Stirling." *Ibid.* **fourth series, vol. XVI**: 143-180.

railways opened the Glasgow fresh milk market to farmers in more distant districts, the price fell; so it was not always advantageous for farmers in outlying districts to pay the rail carriage to take their milk to Glasgow. In south Lanarkshire, the Lambs had the incentive of being very conveniently situated for the railway. The cost of sending milk to Glasgow, Edinburgh or Carlisle was (at one penny per gallon) the same for each of these destinations. However, Tait says, the cost was considered high, so in the summer months, when the milk supply was plentiful and prices obtained by the farmers low, the milk was retained to be made into cheese. In winter, when the farmers could get a higher price for their milk, but the difficulty was in getting a sufficient quantity for cheese-making to be considered worth the bother, they were more inclined to pay for railway carriage.

By the late-nineteenth century, there were many towns and villages in West Central Scotland. Instead of sending milk to Glasgow by rail, farmers might opt to retail it in a local town or village. In the western lowland part of Stirlingshire, from which milk was regularly sent to Glasgow by rail, it was also supplied to the towns of the district. The Vale of Leven, with its large dye-works and calico-printing establishments, was a densely populated area, and shipbuilding, engineering and founding, raised the number of inhabitants of Dumbarton to 14,172 by 1881. Thus in the western part of Dunbartonshire, a winter milk trade was pursued. McNeilage says that about half of the farmers of Dumbarton Parish sold their milk, skimmed milk, and cream wholesale to a dealer, who would collect from the farm twice a day. The other half of the farmers retailed their milk to private families. Further along the coast, at Cardross, fresh milk was sent to Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh, but the main dairy produce was butter and butter-milk, which was sold, off the cart and to private families, in Dumbarton and Helensburgh.

Fenton's early-nineteenth century outer ring of cheese producers was shifted further out, and pierced by railways that brought milk from farms as distant as Crookboat to Glasgow. Sturrock reports that prices for Ayrshire cheese were good in the 1860s. A couple of decades later Tait, writing about Lanarkshire, remarks that:

Notwithstanding the great importation from America, home made cheese continues to bring remunerative prices; but the quantity made has been reduced owing to the great demand for sweet milk.<sup>952</sup>

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<sup>952</sup> Tait "Lanarkshire."

The choice facing dairy farmers was not simply that of cheese, butter or milk. Sturrock referred to 'a mixed sort of system' where producers responded to market forces by varying the proportion of their cream turned into butter, and making cheese with the remaining milk and cream.<sup>953</sup> There was less reliance on the fresh milk trade in south Lanarkshire and in Ayrshire, but there was no less variation in farm management than in districts closer to Glasgow. As in the hillier parts of Renfrewshire, in south Lanarkshire and parts of Ayrshire, dairying was combined with sheep farming. Sturrock made mention of the particular circumstances of Largs:

On the hilly tract to the east of Largs parish, a mixed system of sheep, meadow, and dairy farming is followed ... A fifth part of the old ewes on most of these farms are sold about the end of September to low-country farmers, who fatten them off for the butchers; a corresponding number of lambs being kept as holding stock. On some, however, wedder stocks are kept, usually sold off at 3 and 4 years old. The "hoggs" are regularly sent down to some low-country dairy grass farm for wintering ... and that is common with all the sheep farmers round about. Large dairies are wrought by most of these sheep men in the north-east of Cunninghame; there being good demand and high prices for butter during summer, at the adjacent "watering-places" of Largs, Fairley, Millport, &c.<sup>954</sup>

Sturrock described the management system of the coast farmers as crop, stock and dairy husbandry combined, and that of the farmers on inland arable land as almost exclusively dairy. Springs, an inland farm, did have some sheep, providing Murdoch with wool to sell. In 1873, 74, and 75, Murdoch wintered hoggs for another farmer.

Lebon mapped cattle density in Ayrshire at the end of the study period of this thesis, and the considerable variations in density across districts reflect variations in farm management. He says that the lower density of cattle along the coast was, in general, the consequence of considerable cropping, which reduced the area available for pasture, whereas in Erskine the large arable/low pasture ratio does not seem to have restricted dairying. In some upland parishes like Largs and Straiton, the lower density of cattle was due to bleakness, steep slopes and poor pasture. Farmers in Ayrshire and parts of Lanarkshire bred replacements to local herds, and fed queys into the flying herds. Additionally, some farmers also fed cattle for beef. According to Sturrock, Monktonhill, near Prestwick, was looked upon as one of the best arable farms in Ayrshire, and it was also a 'feeders' farm. There was a dairy stock of twenty-one cows from which twelve to sixteen calves were reared each year; fifty to sixty

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<sup>953</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." *Ibid.* **Fourth series, vol. I:** 21-106. P. 83.

<sup>954</sup> *Ibid.* P. 46.

head of cattle were fed over the summer, and 250 sheep kept. At Shields Farm, two to three miles from the coast, in St. Quivox Parish, Kyle, and extending to 275 acres, sixteen milk cows were kept, with as many calves reared. Moreover, around forty cattle were annually fed for the butcher. Sturrock says it was the custom for Ayrshire feeders to keep a small dairy stock.

The pattern of dairy management in Ayrshire had changed by Lebon's time of writing, and the exports of Ayrshire cattle across the Atlantic may have had something to do with this. Increasing imports of American cheese depressed the price of the local product, while demand for milk from the industrialised areas continued to increase. More and more farms went over to a system of winter milk production, taking advantage of imported feeding-stuffs. By the 1930s, year round milk production prevailed north of the River Ayr, while the parts of the county south of the Ayr continued to show a sharper peak of milk production in summer. In the north, generally only enough calves to maintain stock levels were reared, although ratios suggest that some farmers were buying in milking stock from the south, where there was considerable grazing of young cattle and young dairy stock.<sup>955</sup>

### The Family Holiday

One factor influencing the pattern of dairying in West Central Scotland, which was a new development in the second half of the nineteenth, was the phenomenon of family holidays for the middle and working classes. The annual Glasgow holiday, the Fair Fortnight, was held during the last two weeks in July, and it was said that the only time the skies above Glasgow truly cleared was at the end of July, after the many factory chimneys had ceased reeking for a week or so. So many people left the city at this time that urban demand for fresh milk dropped. The Crookboat milk sales charts show a regular dip in sales in July, indicating that Crookboat milk was not sent to Glasgow during the Fair Fortnight in those years (see Appendix Three). Mrs. Leiper<sup>956</sup> said that Kilnpothall milk was sent by rail to Motherwell but that, during the Glasgow Fair, so many people were away that the milk could not be sold. It was processed into butter and cheese for use on the farm, and to give to friends, but not sold. The Fair Fortnight was the time of greatest migration, but people left the city, at

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<sup>955</sup> Lebon Land Utilisation Survey.

<sup>956</sup> McGuire Interview with Margaret Leiper.

intervals, for varying periods of time, starting in late spring, and continuing until the end of summer:

It is safe to say that Glasgow generally was satisfied to make holiday within a radius of fifty miles of the city, and mainly on the shores of the Firth of Clyde. As youngsters we knew one or two families who annually were taken inland, and we pitied them, for to us, as to most boys and girls, the countryside appeared as a place in which there was nothing to see and little more to do.<sup>957</sup>

Travelling by steamer, the holidaymakers fanned out north and south along the shores of the Firth, and west to the isles of Arran and Bute. Sheltered shores and heads of lochs were acceptable holiday destinations along with the coast proper. Bell says that 'people who did not rent furnished houses for a month or two took 'apartments' or 'lodgings,' and he described what he regarded as a typical Glasgow family holiday in a farmhouse near Castle Carrick. Renting out the farmhouse for the summer months was extra income for the farming family, but it meant decamping, presumably to an outhouse.



77. Comic postcard from around 1890. Source – copyright National Museums of Scotland, licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).

As the demand for fresh milk dipped in Glasgow in the summer months, it rose in the various holiday destinations, and local farming practice adapted to suit this. Since there were not many visitors before late spring, the milk was fed to the calves at this time and, because demand fell away when the summer visitors departed, in winter

<sup>957</sup> Bell, J. J. (1932). *I Remember*. Edinburgh, The Porpoise Press. P. 56.

the cows were able to get a respite and build their strength for calving in spring. Thus more healthy calves were produced.

## Fruit

In 'an excellent example of long-continued exploitation closely adapted to a special physical environment,'<sup>958</sup> the Clyde Valley orchards persisted. Snodgrass commented upon the relative absence of small fruit growing in Renfrew and Ayr, and the almost complete absence of market garden crops from Renfrewshire, considering the nearness of population centres. She concluded that the explanation was the heavy rainfall coupled with the lack of suitable soil. Although appropriate physical environment is relevant to the success of any crop, it is especially important with tender produce. More suitable soils were to be found in the middle Clyde valley, which had a relatively low rainfall.<sup>959</sup> Market gardening was also carried out on the raised beaches, and sands and gravels of the Clyde valley about four miles upstream from Glasgow, where it was combined with dairying, and the wastage from the garden crops fed to the cows.<sup>960</sup> In 1882, there were 551 acres returned as orchards and 319 as market gardens in Clydesdale:<sup>961</sup>

Under the shadow of the trees [apple and pear] are often great plantations of gooseberries and currants, and sometimes strawberries ... At present the orchards are more extensive than they have been at any former period, but are changing their character, having less tree fruit and more gooseberries, with a great trade to Glasgow and other jelly factories. In recent years there has likewise been a great extension of strawberries, which are creeping higher and more widely up the slopes on both sides of the river. The extent of strawberry culture varies from year to year, and can be easily increased or diminished, as the planting costs little and they can be readily trenched down. Thus any farmer with suitable land can at any time have a few acres under this crop.<sup>962</sup>

Strawberry production, which Tait saw expanding, crashed in the early 1920s as a result of disease, but there were signs of revival by 1930.<sup>963</sup> By that time, the fruit producing region extended into the northern part of the upper ward. Foreign imports of fruit had an impact on the cultivation of pears and table apples. McGregor remembered the case of Canadian red apples that her family bought every winter.<sup>964</sup>

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<sup>958</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire."

<sup>959</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*.

<sup>960</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire."

<sup>961</sup> Tait "Lanarkshire."

<sup>962</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>963</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire."

<sup>964</sup> McGregor *Before I was ten*. P. 5.

In the fine new emporium in his fictional Ayrshire village, in *The House with the Green Shutters* (first published 1901), George Douglas Brown placed 'a big barrel of American apples just inside the door, and their homely fragrance wooed you from afar.'<sup>965</sup> However, Snodgrass states that large imports coupled with 'encouragement from the medical profession,' stimulated a general demand for fruit, of which Lanarkshire farmers took advantage. Plums and cooking apples became the predominant tree fruits, and the area of heated tomato-houses was increasing. Nightly, in season, special trains conveyed tomatoes, strawberries and raspberries to Glasgow and the large industrial towns of northern England.<sup>966</sup>

## Potatoes

Another reason Snodgrass gives for the presence of wheat crops in the vicinity of Glasgow lies in the rotations practised. Snodgrass reports that wheat was often grown after potatoes in a rotation. Von Thünen included potatoes in the ring closest to his isolated city,<sup>967</sup> and potatoes, being bulky and labour intensive, were often grown near population centres. Although potatoes can grow under a variety of climatic conditions, Snodgrass<sup>968</sup> says their cultivation on a commercial scale was limited to certain areas, and these areas tended to be close to large population centres, such as Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow. Much of the labour required was of a casual nature, so that it was rational to grow potatoes close to centres of population which had supplies of casual labour. Large industrial centres, as well as mining and fishing villages, met this requirement. There were, says Sturrock, large acreages of potatoes grown in Ayrshire in the first half of the nineteenth century and at least two-thirds of these were grown in the vicinity of towns and large weaving villages. This profitable business was blasted by the potato blight of 1845-46, after which most inland farmers only grew about half an acre of potatoes for home consumption.<sup>969</sup> The coastal strip of Ayrshire, having a lighter soil than the adjacent land and being free from late frosts, is suitable for the cultivation of early potatoes, which command a relatively high price. Here the disadvantage of distance from Glasgow was outweighed by favourable environmental conditions. The mild and damp coast lands between Largs and Ballantrae became the main potato producing area in Ayrshire,

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<sup>965</sup> Brown, G. D. (1923). *The House with the Green Shutters*. London, Andrew Melrose Ltd. P. 87.

<sup>966</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire."

<sup>967</sup> Hall, Ed. *Von Thünen's Isolated State*. P. 10.

<sup>968</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 134.

<sup>969</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire."

and growers or contractors were able to bring in supplies of manure and gangs of casual labourers from a considerable distance, transport the crop and still make a profit.<sup>970</sup>

Tait suggests that a steady increase in potato growing in Lanarkshire was not linked to demand from Glasgow. At the higher elevations in the south of Lanarkshire, potatoes were not as vulnerable to disease as in low-lying areas and, when crops in the Lothians and England were badly affected by disease, potato crops in Lanarkshire were not. Here too the farmers contracted with dealers who brought in gangs of workers from the nearest towns or villages to lift the crop. 'The trade,' says Tait, 'was a fairly profitable one for all parties till 1880, when the continued glut in the market brought prices down to a low level. The dealers or middlemen suffered heavily from this cause, and also from frost.'<sup>971</sup> Presumably the trade revived, as Snodgrass proposes that the only cash crop produced in the Upper Ward in 1927 was potatoes. These were mainly seed potatoes, and their trade was encouraged by the accessibility of the English potato-growing districts by road and rail.<sup>972</sup> Thus, although potatoes were generally grown near to population centres, favourable environmental conditions tending towards an earlier crop, or disease free seed, inverted the zones.

## Summary

Cities were at the centre of the agricultural schemes described by Steuart and von Thünen, and the city of Glasgow is a keystone in the story of farming in west central Scotland. A centre for education, entertainment and commerce, with an increasingly international market, the dominance of Glasgow grew with its industry and its population. The zones of Steuart and von Thünen can be discerned around Glasgow at the close of the eighteenth century, when access to market was largely equated with proximity to market. As various developments in transport (roads, railways, shipping, and refrigeration) granted access to increasingly distant areas, distance from market became less important, and Snodgrass' ideas of agricultural appropriateness became more significant. Instead of particular crops, such as the early potatoes of coastal Ayrshire and the Clyde valley fruit, being grown near the consuming centres and under diverse physical conditions, they were grown in places

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<sup>970</sup> Snodgrass *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. P. 146.

<sup>971</sup> Tait "Lanarkshire."

<sup>972</sup> Snodgrass "Lanarkshire."



physically suited to their requirements. Instead of concentric zones spreading out from Glasgow there were patches of different types of crop, and the general suitability of dairying encouraged the widespread adoption of this branch of farming throughout the region.

This led to a different set of zones as modes of dairying were adjusted to the imperative of market forces. The biggest change was the ever-increasing sales of fresh milk to population centres, and the most extreme expression of this was exemplified by winter milk production and the flying herds. At late nineteenth century Crookboat, the cows had names, but there seems little place for the humanising characteristic of naming livestock in flying herds with rapid rates of change, early retirement of cows and the speedy removal of calves. This type of management hints at a change in the relationship between the farming families and their livestock, and points towards the more generally intensive farming methods that were to come. Still, this type of management did not represent a solid zone around Glasgow, as from place to place there might be more or less pasturing, and varying proportions of calves reared. Sturrock highlights one of the problems of reporting on farm management when, offering a few examples, he states that, 'although those mentioned are all fair specimens of the Ayrshire husbandman, yet there are scores of others equally as good.'<sup>973</sup> This caution can be applied to the whole West Central Region. Each farm had its own micro-geography where physical and human influences combined in a myriad of adaptations; and, as family dynamics were varied, so too was farm management. Sturrock's remark is a reminder that fluctuating local conditions, combined with personal preferences, make generalisations problematic. However, in general, further out from Glasgow, there was less concentration on the production of fresh milk, although the fresh milk zone increased throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. Despite the continuing variety in farm management, the spread of liquid milk production may have resulted in a greater degree of uniformity across districts as local specialties, such as the Rutherglen sour cream, disappeared.

Milk production might seem less troublesome than cheese-making because less processing was required on the farms, but it brought other problems. Farm women had taken care of cheese production, and dealt with the merchants who toured farms

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<sup>973</sup> Sturrock "Agriculture of Ayrshire." P. 33.

annually, buying up the produce. A shift to liquid milk production had an impact on their role. Many farmers retailed their own milk, which was a daily effort, and might involve a lengthy journey. Other farmers had to maintain contracts with retailers, and to bear the expense of railway carriage. Successful cheese-making required constant attention to detail on the part of the maker. Winter milk production required much calculation on the part of the farmer in deciding the optimum amount of feed to give, when to buy and when to sell cows. While farmers in the immediate vicinity of Glasgow switched to liquid milk production as a response to demand from the city, for farmers in more remote areas, such as parts of Ayrshire, the later change was a response to international competition in cheese. The competitive quality of north American cheese was, in part, a testimony to the success of the farmers of West Central Scotland in breeding and exporting Clydesdale horses and Ayrshire cattle.

Despite the imported oats mentioned by Steuart, there was, at the close of the eighteenth century, a clear connection between the agricultural produce of West Central Scotland and the diet of the population, both rural and urban. During the course of the nineteenth century, this changed. The change was gradual, and seems to have rippled out from the urban areas, as wheat replaced oats as the staple cereal. Fruit and meat products were also imported, and an increasing amount of processed and pre-packaged goods became available. Although the farmers adapted, and new crops, such as hot house tomatoes and forced rhubarb, were cultivated, there was not the same correlation between what the land produced and what the people ate as previously. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many of the townspeople were former country people and some returned to the country, but in the second half of the nineteenth century, and into the early twentieth century, the percentage of rural migrants lessened. For a while, the migrants maintained connections with their roots, perhaps into the second or third generation, but these ties weakened and an urban or suburban identity took over.

# Chapter Ten

## Conclusion

- Why did the Region's agriculture develop in the way that it did?

It has been shown that the development of agriculture in West Central Scotland is the consequence of a set of circumstances both geographical and historical. The land was always more suited to pastoral than to arable farming, but remained substantially undeveloped until political and economic conditions were favourable. The difference in agricultural development across the Central Belt, which resulted from the climatic differences set out in Chapter Two, and saw a trend towards grain production on relatively large farms in East Central Scotland, is clear. The different development should be viewed as such, without being imbued with connotations of backwardness, or lack of enterprise and skill relating to farmers in the West. Appropriate application of new ideas, rather than their blind adoption, is what was required. Less clear is the difference in development between West Central Scotland and livestock region in North-East Scotland (see figure 4, Chapter Two). Of the two most famous breeds of cattle to come out of Scotland, the Aberdeen Angus from the North-East was bred for its meat, while the Ayrshire of West Central Scotland is a dairy animal. As mentioned in Chapter Nine, Smith regarded dairying as a side development from beef production and, while the adoption of livestock farming was an adaptation to regional environmental conditions, the move into dairying was determined by location, and largely location in relation to Glasgow.

- What was the influence of Glasgow upon the farms and farming people of the region and how did increasing distance from Glasgow affect farm management?

Dairying would not have developed, to the extent that it did, in nineteenth century West Central Scotland without the ever-increasing market for dairy produce provided by Glasgow and the other consuming centres of the Region. In this way farm management was indeed influenced by location, but, as has been shown in Chapter Nine, management involved more decision-making than the choice of arable or pasture, and dairy or beef. If late nineteenth and early twentieth century Glasgow is viewed as the central city in a von Thünen-like model (see Peet's diagrammatic

representation in Chapter Two) then the influence of various complexities (other consumer centres, availability of transport facilities, and diversity of ground conditions) combined with the knowledge and inclination of individual farmers to produce not so much bands, however uneven, spreading out from Glasgow, but an irregular patchwork effect with subtle shadings of dairy farming, shifting year by year. With developments in transport, distance from Glasgow was not so much an issue as ease of access to Glasgow or to the mining and manufacturing towns, and even the villages that were satellites of the metropolis.

- What were the consequences of increasing urbanisation?’

The influence of Glasgow upon the farms and farming people of West Central Scotland went far beyond choice of farm management. Glasgow was much more than an expanding physical presence. The city provided banking facilities and access to markets and, by the second half of the nineteenth century, these markets were very extensive. Glasgow was also, increasingly, a social centre with many entertainments on offer. Extravaganzas like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show and the International Exhibitions pulled in crowds from across the Region and, although a visit to Glasgow was a rare experience for many, the existence of Glasgow was what might be termed an ‘emotional fact.’ People were aware of Glasgow. All sorts of manufactured goods and processed foods issued from Glasgow. Farm produce was sent to Glasgow, and many rural people went there in search of work. Glasgow, as the place where the international touched the local, was a link with a wider world, and the people of West Central Scotland had more cause to be aware of this wider world than their forebears. Many of the farming families had international links, in the persons of family members who farmed on other continents, while the economy of local farms was tied into international trade by the use of imported fertilisers and feed, and by the export of cattle and horses. As has been mentioned, the challenges and opportunities presented by overseas trade had not the same impact in the west as in the east due to the differing forms of agriculture but, in both regions, a series of adjustments was required by farmers to adapt to changing markets.

The impact of the city was greatest on the immediately surrounding area, which had ready access to and from the city. As time went by, these areas became urbanised, and in more distant districts commuter housing sprang up around railway stations, stimulating demand in formerly rural districts for the trappings of urban life.

Industrialisation and urbanisation proceeded hand in hand and, while many innovations first took hold in urban areas, both urban and rural dwellers enjoyed the fruits of industrialisation. It has been shown that rural housing improved during the period under consideration. Drier homes made it possible to keep items such as books and soft furnishings without fear of mould, while industrialisation filled the enlarged farmhouses with a plethora of manufactured goods. A prized item was the kitchen range which allowed for more sophisticated cooking. The value of the range can be gauged by the energy expended in polishing it (Chapter Seven). In the older style, damp farmhouses, cooking and cleaning were carried on to a basic level. In the new farmhouses much higher standards of cuisine and cleanliness were possible, and soon became mandatory. With all the visiting that went on between farming families, they knew what the standards were, and knew that they would be talked about in a negative way if their own accommodation and hospitality fell short. Housekeeping was the preserve of female members of the family, so this had consequences for their daily routine, as the amount of work needed to clean and maintain farmhouses in good order was vastly increased.

- How were traditional roles altered in a changing commercial climate, and in the face of a more scientific and professional attitude towards farming?

In that other traditional sphere of female influence, the dairy, higher standards of hygiene also became possible. Whereas in the farmhouses self-policing among farm women kept up standards, if standards within the dairy were not upheld, infection in the milk could lead to the outbreak of disease, which could be traced back to the farm.<sup>974</sup> For many women, duties included milking cows and caring for the sick of the household. As understanding of the means whereby infection could be spread increased, there was pressure to erect barriers between these two functions by a physical separation of dairy premises and dwelling house, and by enforcing a regimen of hand-washing and the scalding of dairy vessels. While farm organisation was broadly similar across Lowland Scotland, the association of women with dairying, coupled with the importance of dairy produce to the farm economy in the West, led to an enhanced status for dairy workers. It has been described in Chapter Seven how a more scientific and professional attitude towards dairy farming tended to undercut the traditional roles of farm women, and how the physical territory of women shrank,

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<sup>974</sup> Robertson, E. (1998). Glasgow's Doctor, James Burn Russell 1837-1904. East Linton, Tuckwell Press.

but that women on small farms maintained a flexible approach. However, withdrawal from other areas of the farm in the direction of the farmhouse occurred at a time when labour demands within the farmhouse were increasing, yet, in the small farms, the kitchen remained the hub of farm operations. By controlling the kitchen, farm women were able to exert influence through the 'the complex interplay of emotion and power in family life,'<sup>975</sup> although this was a hidden and unquantifiable influence, dependent upon the characters of those involved.

Gender was one factor determining someone's position within rural social structure; class and religious affiliation were others. The gulf between farmer and farm worker in the East of Scotland was marked. In the West, in the early nineteenth century, farmers and their servants shared a diet, dressed alike, and might also have similar reserves of cash. By the end of the century, a rift had opened up and, although this did not reach the proportions of the gulf in the East, there was a sense of class difference. Nonetheless, this perceived difference did not obviate the need for the unrelenting physical labour of members of the farming family on small farms, and so the impact upon farm organisation was minimal. Although religious affiliation has emerged as a component of rural social structure, and it has been suggested in this thesis that the proliferation of members of a distinct religious group may have had consequences for household unity, further research is needed before this impact on farm organisation can be clarified. It should be borne in mind that the belief system, code of ethics and forms of worship of the Church of Scotland were embedded in the social and cultural landscape of rural West Central Scotland.

- How did rural social structure impact upon farm organisation?

In order to understand the farming life, it is necessary to have an awareness of the broader cultural background. Between town and country there was a shared cultural and religious heritage, and a pride in Scottish history, but, as noted in Chapter Nine, the urban/rural relationship in West Central Scotland altered over the course of the research period. Glasgow was increasingly provisioned from more distant areas, and fewer and fewer of the citizens maintained rural links. Interestingly, there seems to have been appreciation of Robert Burns across Scottish society, with the farmers looking upon him as one of their own, while the urban proletariat regarded Burns as a

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<sup>975</sup> Vickery, A. (1993). "Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history." *Historical Journal* 36: 383-414.

champion of the rights of the working class. Despite this, the increasingly different realities of town and country life promoted separate social development. On the small family labour farms of West Central Scotland, where homes were much more spread out than in town but not so remote from each other as in districts with large farms, the social landscape was made up of various family and community networks, and community events such as agricultural shows. It has been shown how neighbouring activities addressed practical problems connected with more limited capital. Neighbouring also acted as a social glue within the farming community, although the exact nature of neighbouring and other social activities might vary between districts to produce a sense of local identity within the overall West Central Region.

The figure of Catherine Park Snodgrass is as a ribbon running through this thesis. Snodgrass wrote about the physical environment of Scottish farming, and was a product of the social environment of Scottish farming families. When Snodgrass stepped outside the farming community to pursue a career in academia, at a level unusual for a woman of her generation, she took with her, not only an understanding of the physical factors influencing agriculture, but also a social and cultural heritage. Her knowledge and understanding of the physical aspects of farming were an overt influence on her writing. In her thesis, Snodgrass wrote there was a considerable degree of correlation between the agriculture of her selected regions and the physical environment in which it was carried on.<sup>976</sup> In her article on the agriculture of Lanarkshire from the late eighteenth century up to the 1920s, she commented:

... it may be said that the present agricultural systems of Lanarkshire seem well adapted to the physical and economic conditions of the county. The farmers, during the period under review, have recognised the possibilities of each district and have adapted their methods to changing economic and social circumstances ...<sup>977</sup>

This notion of suitable or appropriate farming comes across clearly in Snodgrass' work, and suitability is a factor in the persistence of the small family farms of West Central Scotland. Although there were bankruptcies, the farming families proved resilient in 'The Great Agricultural Depression' when many of them successfully migrated to the East of Scotland or South-East of England (Chapter Two). Perry gives

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<sup>976</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1931). *The Influence of Physical Environment on Agricultural Practice in Scotland*. *Geography*. Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh.

<sup>977</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1937). "Lanarkshire: The Agricultural Geography of a Scottish County." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* **LIII**: 176-199.

the reasons for this success as experience with livestock, hard work and a readiness to accept a low standard of living.<sup>978</sup> These latter two reasons are not concerned with suitable adaptations to physical and economic conditions, but are social and cultural. Snodgrass, coming from the same cultural background as the migrants, must have been well aware of how hard members of the farming community worked, but may have accepted that as normal. As mentioned in Chapter One, Snodgrass thought that economic activities should be accessed primarily by human values, and the principle behind this thesis has been to access the human element in farming in West Central Scotland.

Research into the farms of Hatton, Springs, Crookboat and Oxgang, along with perusal of the various oral testimonies has brought that element into the light, revealing strong, hard-working individuals, not lacking a sense of fun, and with an appetite for life. However, what comes across most forcefully is that the small family farms of West Central Scotland were indeed family farms. An ideal of family life was upheld by the Churches and, although the definition of 'family' narrowed, the strength of family relations has been indicated in Chapter Five. The relentless grind of hard work for which these families were renowned was largely self-inflicted. It was required to maintain the farm so people 'got on with it,' but sometimes the demands placed upon family members were unacceptable. Discussing the labour requirements on Oxgang Farm, Peter Turner junior remarked:

Then there was the ploughman and unfortunately he took appendicitis one year and I was taken away from school and given a ploughman's job. That sickened me of farming (laughs). I was too young and it was too much.<sup>979</sup>

Perhaps Kautsky had such situations in mind when he expressed concern that children on family labour farms were worked so hard by their parents that their health suffered (see Chapter Two). In this case the great advantage of the family farms, the reservoir of family labour, was overdrawn, and although the immediate crisis was met, when Peter Turner senior tried to pass on the farm to one of his sons, none of them wanted it. There is a limit to the amount of hard labour with little material gain individuals will accept, when alternatives are available. Rich though life on small family labour farms could be, it could only ever have a limited appeal.

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<sup>978</sup> Perry, P. J. (1974). British Farming in the Great Depression 1870-1914; An Historical Geography. Newton Abbot, Devon, David and Charles (Holdings). P. 24.

<sup>979</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2003). Interview with Peter Turner, University of Glasgow.

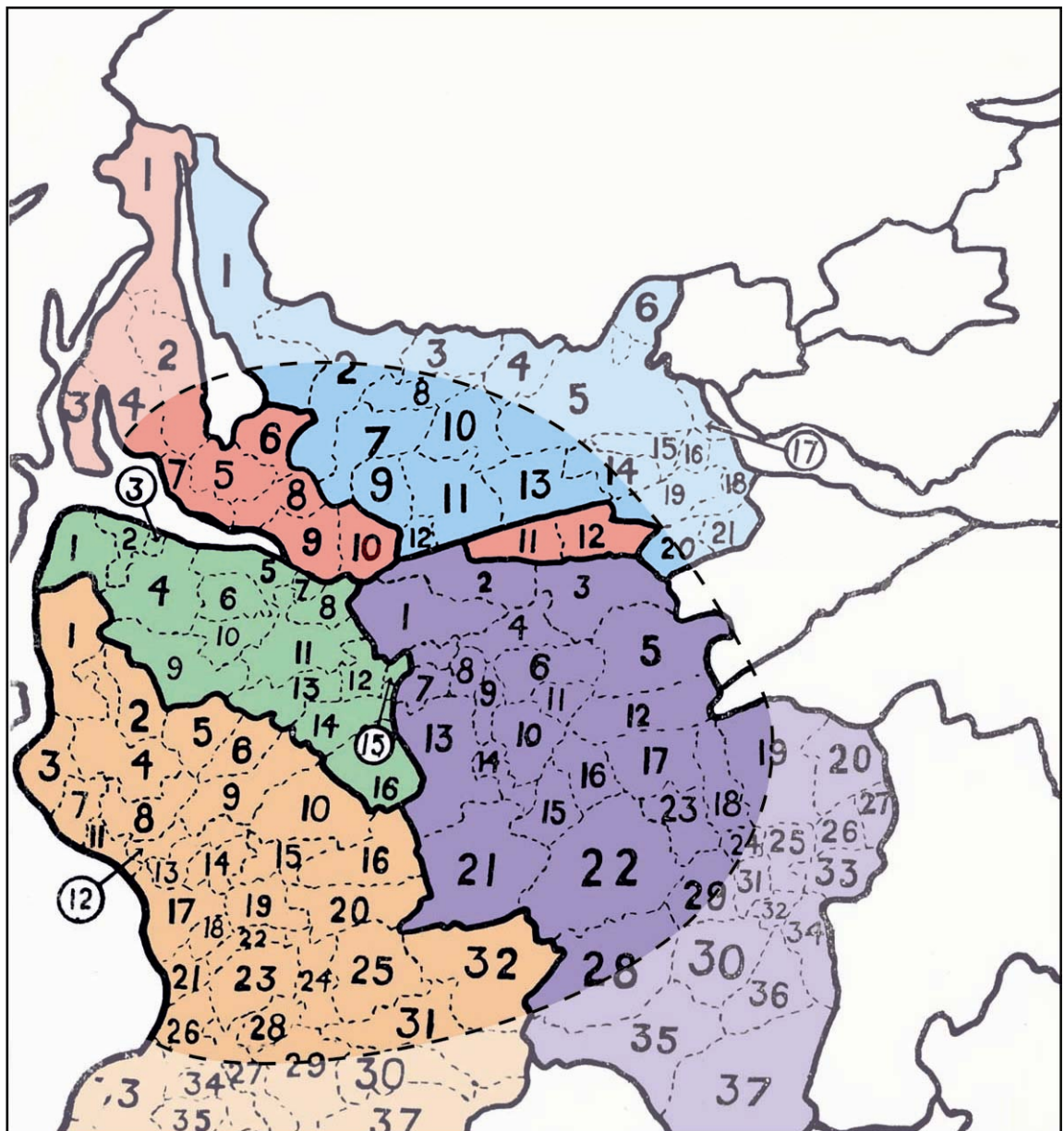


# Appendix 1

## West Central Region – Defined and Described

### Definition

The 'West Central Region,' as defined for this thesis, is contained within the Midland Valley of Scotland and cuts across the boundaries of the pre-1975 counties of Ayr, Lanark, Stirling, and Dunbarton. A detailed map of the Region at the beginning of the twentieth century can be found in a pocket at the back of the thesis.



Since, during the period under study, local government had a two tier structure of county and parish level, the above map shows the boundaries of the parish administrative units as they were in the 1920s overlaid by a dashed line indicating the approximate boundary of the West Central Region. The map, and the following parish lists have been adapted from those provided by Herbert Wood.<sup>980</sup> Ayrshire is depicted in orange, Lanarkshire in purple, Renfrewshire in green, Dunbartonshire in red and Stirlingshire in blue.

## Ayrshire

1. Largs
2. Kilbirnie
3. West Kilbride
4. Dalry
5. Beith
6. Dunlop
7. Ardrossan
8. Kilwinning
9. Stewarton
10. Fenwick
11. Stevenson
12. Irvine
13. Dreghorn
14. Kilmaurs
15. Kilmarnock
16. Loudoun
17. Dundonald
18. Symington
19. Riccarton
20. Galston
21. Monkton and Prestwick
22. Craigie
23. Tarbolton
24. Mauchline
25. Sorn
26. Ayr
27. Coylton
28. Stair
29. Ochiltree
30. Old Cumnock
31. Auchinleck
32. Muirkirk
33. Maybole
34. Dalrymple
35. Kirkmichael
36. Dalmellington
37. New Cumnock

## Lanarkshire

1. Glasgow
2. Cadder
3. New Monkland
4. Old Monkland
5. Shotts
6. Bothwell
7. Carmunnock
8. Cambuslang
9. Blantyre
10. Hamilton
11. Dalziel
12. Cambusnethan
13. East Kilbride
14. Glassford
15. Stonehouse
16. Dalserf
17. Carluke
18. Carstairs
19. Carnwath
20. Dunsyre
21. Avondale
22. Lesmahagow
23. Lanark
24. Pettinain
25. Libberton
26. Walston
27. Dolphinton
28. Douglas
29. Carmichael
30. Wiston and Roberton
31. Covington
32. Symington
33. Biggar
34. Culter
35. Crawfordjohn
36. Lamington and Wandel
37. Crawford

<sup>980</sup> Wood, H. J. (1931). An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland. London, George Gill.

## Dunbartonshire

1. Arrocher
2. Luss
3. Rosneath
4. Row (Rhu)
5. Bonhill
6. Kilmaronock
7. Cardross
8. Dumbarton
9. Old (West) Kilpatrick
10. New (East) Kilpatrick
11. Kirkintilloch
12. Cumbernauld

## Stirlingshire

1. Buchanan
2. Drymen
3. Kippen
4. Gargunnoch
5. St. Ninians
6. Logie
7. Killearn
8. Balfron
9. Strathblane
10. Fintry
11. Campsie
12. Baldernock
13. Kilsyth
14. Denny
15. Dunipace
16. Larbert
17. Airth
18. Grangemouth
19. Falkirk
20. Slamannan
21. Muiravonside

## Renfrewshire

1. Inverkip
2. Greenock
3. Port Glasgow
4. Kilmacolm
5. Erskine
6. Houston
7. Inchinnan
8. Renfrew
9. Lochwinnoch
10. Kilbarchan
11. Paisley
12. Eastwood
13. Neilston
14. Mearns
15. Cathcart
16. Eaglesham

## Description

Beginning on the south bank of the Clyde, downstream from Glasgow, the region encompasses the whole of Renfrewshire from its raised beaches and alluvial plains, through undulating land on boulder clay (mostly in the east and north-east of the county), rising to the Renfrew and Eaglesham Heights. This upland belt is part of a line of volcanic hills which, continuing on the north side of the Clyde, stretch across the region as the Kilpatrick Hills and the Campsie Fells, extending into the eastern part of the Midland Valley with the Kilsyth Hills, the Ochils and the Sidlaws. In Renfrewshire the ground rises, 'in long gentle step-like slopes'<sup>981</sup> from sea-level at the shore of the Clyde, to over 1,000 feet in parts of the upland. The summits are flat-topped, and the heights contain a 'great extent of moorland covered with coarse vegetation, in part peat bogs, while here and there rocks are thrust through the surface.'<sup>982</sup> These heights are broken in two places by rift valley gaps, known as the Loch Libo Gap, which forms an important route between Glasgow and the Clyde Basin, and the Kilbirnie or Lochwinnoch Gap, which forms an important route

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<sup>981</sup> Scott, C. A. (1915). "The County of Renfrew (with maps and diagrams)." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* XXXI: 188-199, 225-240.

<sup>982</sup> Ibid.

between Glasgow and Ayrshire. The other important route into Ayrshire is round the Clyde coast.

The west central region extends down the Ayrshire coast to include Heads of Ayr, but stops short of the Brown Carrick Hills. A mantle of Boulder Clay covers most of Ayrshire and is broken, not only by the Renfrew and Eaglesham Heights, but by another line of volcanic hills and plateaus along the eastern boundary. This range, also punctuated by valley gaps, eventually meets the Southern Uplands. However the defined region only extends to the Muirkirk Gap, as the southern boundary of this region (through Ayrshire) is defined by the valley of the River Ayr. Lebon has described the raised beaches and marine platforms fringing the Ayrshire coast.

... north of the Heads of Ayr the land slopes very gently to the sea, and the water is shallow for miles from high-water mark. The upraising of the land produced here a coastal platform at least two miles wide, extending up the Irvine valley almost to Kilmarnock, and the Garnock valley to Lochwinnoch. It stretches also around the southern foot of the Renfrew Heights past West Kilbride to Largs. Generally sandy, and only occasionally pebbly, the beaches and platforms provide a parent material of soils which are lighter and much more easily tilled than the heavy soils derived from the Boulder Clay.<sup>983</sup>

From the raised beaches between West Kilbride and Ayr, the countryside rises to the Ayrshire Plain, which extends to the hills. Although called a plain, Lebon says that 'for the most part it is a low dissected platform.'<sup>984</sup> The river valleys often have steep sides, there are many low hills and, Sturrock says,

No part of it can be strictly termed level, as almost every field undulates more or less ... the two divisions of Cunningham and Kyle, mostly rise from their sea-borders in easy acclivities and wavy-champaign country, till terminating in an expanse of pastoral moorland and hill towards their north and eastern verges.<sup>985</sup>

The circumference of the defined region, leaving Ayrshire by the Muirkirk Gap, enters Lanarkshire at the western extremity of 'the fertile and beautiful vale of Douglas Water'<sup>986</sup> and, skirting the Tinto Hills, follows the north-easterly course of that river to its confluence with the Clyde, about three miles south of the county town of Lanark. The pre-1975 county of Lanark was divided into three parts; the Upper, Middle and

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<sup>983</sup> Stamp, L. D., Ed. County Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey, various authors, various dates in the 1940s. Pt. 1, p. 8.

<sup>984</sup> Ibid.

<sup>985</sup> Sturrock, A. (1867). "Report on the Agriculture of Ayrshire." Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland **Fourth series, vol. I**: 21-106.

<sup>986</sup> Tait, J. (1885). "The Agriculture of Lanarkshire." Ibid. **fourth series, volume XVII**.

Lower Wards, with the Upper Ward being the most southerly, and the Lower Ward containing Glasgow. Stamp,<sup>987</sup> writing at a time when these divisions still held, described how Lanarkshire straddles the Southern Upland fault, so that the southern third belongs to that upland area. This southern third does not directly correspond with the old Upper Ward, as the parishes of Lesmahagow, Lanark, Carmichael, Carluke and Carstairs were in the Upper Ward, but were not part of the Southern Uplands. These parishes can be considered as belonging to Stamp's northern two thirds of Lanarkshire. 'Clydesdale,' Stamp reminds us, is a name once applied to the County of Lanark, and he found this name particularly apt for the northern two thirds of the county, as they coincide very closely with the basin of the River Clyde. It is these northern two-thirds of Lanarkshire that are included in the defined west central region. Stamp described the land of the basin as 'rolling, with hills of subdued relief though rising in the case of the Tinto Hills to 2,335 feet. These hills,' he tells us, 'like the other major groups of the Midland Valley, owe their existence to outcrops of igneous rocks.'

Immediately before meeting the Douglas Water, the Clyde, the gradient of its bed very slight, flows through a wide shallow valley, carpeted mainly by deposits of sand and gravel.<sup>988</sup> Only about a mile downstream from its confluence with the Douglas Water, the Clyde drops seventy feet over the Falls of Clyde to flow, between Lanark and Hamilton, 'through a deeply entrenched, steep-sided valley which is cut to a depth of up to 300 or 400 feet below the rolling surface of the plateau or peneplane which lies on either side.'<sup>989</sup> By the late nineteenth century, these sheltered slopes were utilised in the production of fruit. The peneplane itself only extends over the centre of the Clyde Basin. Its surface, as that of the Ayrshire Plain, is mostly covered by boulder clay, but the Lanarkshire boulder clay is of a different type, and yields particularly heavy and intractable soils. In their upper courses, the tributaries of the Clyde flow through wide shallow valleys, which provide insufficient drainage to the upper peneplane but, as they approach the Clyde, the tributary courses become narrow and ravine-like.

Below Hamilton the valley of the Clyde widens. To the north lies a low plateau 200 to 400 feet above sea level which is formed by Carboniferous rocks covered with a mantle of boulder clay through which appear

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<sup>987</sup> Stamp, Ed. County Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey.

<sup>988</sup> Snodgrass, C. P. (1937). "Lanarkshire: The Agricultural Geography of a Scottish County." The Scottish Geographical Magazine **LIII**: 176-199.

<sup>989</sup> Stamp, Ed. County Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey.

occasional low craggy hills of igneous rocks ... The river itself is bordered by gravel terraces and below the famous village of Cambuslang are to be found the raised beaches with soils of carse type, though the fertile loams which result have now been almost covered by the extension of housing from Glasgow...<sup>990</sup>

Glasgow, while not the geographical centre of the west central region, is a prominent feature. The city can be viewed as the commercial centre, the chief market, and the greatest centre of population in west central Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Immediately north of the city, the parish of Cadder was also part of the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, and the chief water course of Cadder, the River Kelvin, flows into the Clyde in the west end of Glasgow.

The boundary of the west central region circles round the eastern side of the Clyde Basin, and takes in the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld before crossing into Stirlingshire. These parishes were, at one time part of Stirlingshire but, for centuries, they formed the eastern, detached portion of Dunbartonshire. Stamp declared these parishes to be typical of the heart of central lowland Scotland; 'an undulating, ill-drained boulder clay area, ranging from a little over one hundred to four or five hundred feet above sea level.'<sup>991</sup>

According to Stamp,<sup>992</sup> Stirlingshire is 'a county of many contrasts,' but physically and geologically, it lends itself to a six part division. Not all of these sections fall within the west central region. The north-west, Highland section of Stirlingshire, essentially the Ben Lomond massif, is outwith the region, as is the lower flat plain of the River Forth, and the upland area in the extreme south-east of Stirlingshire. Of the three remaining sections, the southernmost is comprised of the valleys of the River Kelvin and the Bonny Water (a tributary of the Forth), and is cut through by the Forth and Clyde Canal. Both the Kelvin and Bonny rise in the vicinity of Banton, and flow in opposite directions. The west central region includes the valley of the Kelvin, but not the Bonny. The section, described by Stamp, lying immediately north of the Kelvin valley, is that of the volcanic hills. These hills are part of that belt, mentioned above, which include the Renfrew Heights. Stamp divides the Stirlingshire portion into four sections, but one of these, the Ochil Hills forms no part of the west central region. The other three groups of volcanic hills are :

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<sup>990</sup> Ibid.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid.

<sup>992</sup> Stamp, Ed. County Reports of the Land Utilisation Survey.

...the Campsie Fells with the Kilsyth Hills partly separated by the valley of the upper Carron from the Fintry Hills. The highest point of the Campsie Fells is Earl's Seat (1,894 feet), of the Kilsyth Hills Laird's Hill (1,393 feet) and of the Fintry Hills Stronend (1,676 feet). The central mass of volcanic rocks forms a plateau with a flat or undulating surface and precipitous sides – especially to the north where there are almost sheer drops of 1,000 feet and more to the Old Red Sandstone valley. The volcanic hills on the Dunbartonshire borders are separated from the Campsies by the important depression of Strathblane, in the midst of which lies the town of the same name.<sup>993</sup>

From Kelvinhead, the boundary of the west central region is traced round the Kilsyth Hills, and through the Carron valley to Fintry. Staying west of Stronend, the boundary line reaches the last of Stamp's sections of Stirlingshire, 'the depression between the Highland margin and the abrupt edge of the volcanic hills.' A feature of the area is 'a low cross-ridge from west-north-west to east-south-east which forms the water parting between streams draining to the Forth and streams draining to Endrick Water and so to Loch Lomond.' The boundary of the defined region takes the west-north-west direction, and follows the Endrick into Dunbartonshire.

From the mouth of the Endrick, the boundary of the west central region crosses Loch Lomond to Arden, and continues west to the Clyde coast at Helensburgh. The main body of Dunbartonshire, like Stirlingshire, contained both Highland and lowland areas, and the Highland area, lying west of Loch Lomond and north of Helensburgh, is not part of the west central region. In Dunbartonshire the line of volcanic hills, first noted with the Renfrew Heights, is again discerned in the Kilpatrick Hills and, like the other masses, the Kilpatrick Hills form a plateau-like mass of moorland which rises, in Fynloch Hill, to 1,313 feet.

Though not precipitous as some of the volcanic hill masses, the south-western edge overlooking the Clyde is steep and in Lang Craigs the steep slope becomes a rocky crag face. Economically the moorlands of the Kilpatrick Hills are important as the gathering ground for water which is collected into no less than thirteen lochs and reservoirs for the supply of Dumbarton and Clydebank Districts.<sup>994</sup>

Undulating ground around the foot of Loch Lomond is interrupted, a few miles east of Helensburgh, by a hill mass developed on sandstone. The River Leven drains out of the most southerly point of Loch Lomond, at Balloch, and flows between this hill mass and the Kilpatrick Hills, to empty into the Clyde at Dumbarton. As south of the Clyde

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<sup>993</sup> Ibid.

<sup>994</sup> Ibid. vol. 2, p. 333.

in Renfrewshire, raised beaches border the north of the Clyde in Dunbartonshire, providing settlement sites, and excellent arable land.

Between the Kilpatrick Hills and Glasgow is a part of the Central Lowland in which the poor undulating land bordering the hills gives place to a fertile plain over which the suburbs of Glasgow have been spreading steadily ... The boulder clay at higher levels is mainly under grass; at lower levels it supports more arable cultivation. Where, however, the boulder clay gives place to or is overlain by glacial sands, gravels, and brickearth the correlation with large stretches of arable is unmistakable.<sup>995</sup>

Having reached the north side of the Clyde, opposite Renfrewshire, the circuit of the defined west central region is complete.

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<sup>995</sup> Ibid. vol. 2, p. 334.



## Appendix 2

### Databases

#### Transcription of Turner Diaries, Sample Page (see Chapter Three)

Oct. 1897

Bulloch £19 per ac

Fri.1<sup>st</sup> Very dull & calm. Thatching Potatoes sold to  
Sat.2<sup>nd</sup> " " " " Some drizzling showers  
Meal from Mill. Very good.  
Sun. 3 Good afternoon.  
Mon.4<sup>th</sup> Very dull & misty. Put in 3 stacks No drouth  
Teu.5<sup>th</sup> " " " " 2 " & 3 carts into barn  
Finished  
Wed.6<sup>th</sup> " " " Thrashed. Thatching  
Thur.7<sup>th</sup> " " Cold. Finished thatching & driving  
stacks. Bill at Arkleston. Fast day.  
Fri.8<sup>th</sup> Cold showery. In[?] barn.  
Sat.9<sup>th</sup> " Good drouth. Raking stubble  
Sun.10<sup>th</sup> " " " Wet night  
Mon.11 " " " Dung from Mitchel 12 carts Rolled  
1st Cut hay.  
Teu 12<sup>th</sup> Very cold. Bill at Dickson's potatoes  
Wed.13<sup>th</sup> Hard frost. Dug Up to Dates  
Thur.14<sup>th</sup> Very " " " Bruces Luggie frozen  
Fri.15<sup>th</sup> Extremely cold stormy wet morning  
Sat.16<sup>th</sup> Stormy wet. Good afternoon.  
Sun.17<sup>th</sup> " " day.

Oct. 1897

Mon.18<sup>th</sup> Dull Morning. Good afternoon. Bill  
Allison here. Commenced to plough stubble.  
Teu.19<sup>th</sup> Dull. James & I at Duntiblae with digger  
Wed.20<sup>th</sup> " " James " "  
Thur.21<sup>st</sup> " Misty. At Badenheath sale very close  
Fri.22<sup>nd</sup> " Close Ploughing  
Sat.23<sup>rd</sup> Cold dull " Bill at Thorn.  
Sun.24<sup>th</sup> Good day. Bob laid off with slipped shoulder  
Mon.25<sup>th</sup> Dull " Bulloch commenced potatoes  
Teu.26<sup>th</sup> " " At Milngavie with  
2 cows. Extremely dull sale £11.10/ & £12.17/6  
Wed.27<sup>th</sup> At Glasgow. Bulloch  
Thur.28<sup>th</sup> Very dull & warm. at  
Fri.29<sup>th</sup> " " Dung from Barr. potatoes.

Sat.30<sup>th</sup> " " Warm " "  
Sun.31<sup>st</sup> " " Colder drizzling

## Extract from Turner Diaries Text File

Dittos have been replaced with text, and the entries have been broken up into smaller units by tab stops

Oct

Fri 1 Very dull & calm. Thatching Potatoes sold to Bulloch £19 per ac  
Sat 2 Very dull & calm. Thatching Some drizzling showers Meal from Mill.  
Very good.  
Sun 3 Good afternoon.  
Mon 4 Very dull & misty. Put in 3 stacks No drouth  
Teu 5 Very dull & misty. Put in 2 stacks & 3 carts into barn Finished  
Wed 6 Very dull & misty. Thrashed. Thatching  
Thu 7 Very dull Cold. Finished thatching & driving[?] stacks. Bill at Arkleston.  
Fast day.  
Fri 8 Cold showery. Clean harness[?] barn.  
Sat 9 Cold Good drouth. Raking stubble  
Sun 10 Cold Good drouth Wet night  
Mon 11 Cold Good drouth Dung from Mitchel 12 carts Rolled 1st Cut hay.  
Teu 12 Very cold. Bill at Dickson's potatoes  
Wed 13 Hard frost. Dug Up to Dates  
Thu 14 Very hard frost Dug Bruces Luggie frozen  
Fri 15 Extremely cold stormy wet morning  
Sat 16 Stormy wet. Good afternoon.  
Sun 17 Stormy wet day.  
Mon 18 Dull Morning. Good afternoon. Bill Allison here. Commenced to plough  
stubble.  
Teu 19 Dull. James & I at Duntiblae with digger  
Wed 20 Dull James at Duntiblae with digger  
Thu 21 Dull Misty. At Badenheath sale very close  
Fri 22 Close Ploughing  
Sat 23 Cold dull Ploughing Bill at Thorn.  
Sun 24 Good day. Bob laid off with slipped shoulder  
Mon 25 Dull day Bulloch commenced potatoes  
Teu 26 Dull Bulloch At Milngavie with 2 cows. Extremely dull sale £11.10/ &  
£12.17/6  
Wed 27 At Glasgow. Bulloch at potatoes [phrase across 27th-30th]  
Thu 28 Very dull & warm.  
Fri 29 Very dull Dung from Barr.  
Sat 30 Very dull Warm Dung from Barr  
Sun 31 Very dull Colder drizzling

## Sample query from Turner diaries Database

The Code field was queried to produce entries relating to health, and the Person field was queried to limit results to a specified individual, producing a table on the health of the diary writer, Peter Turner. Only the relevant data fields are displayed:

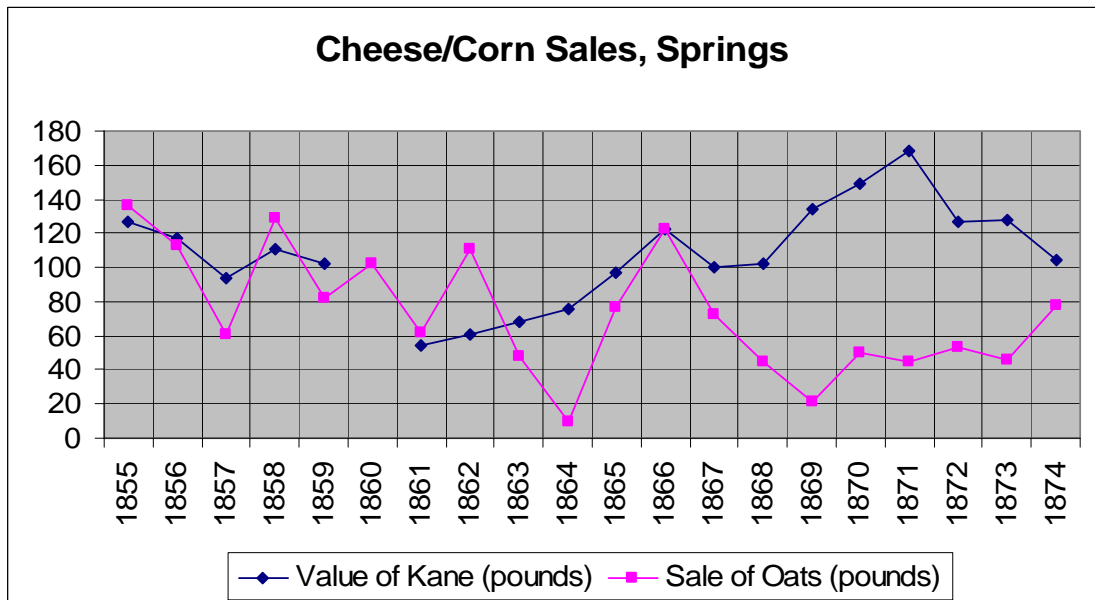
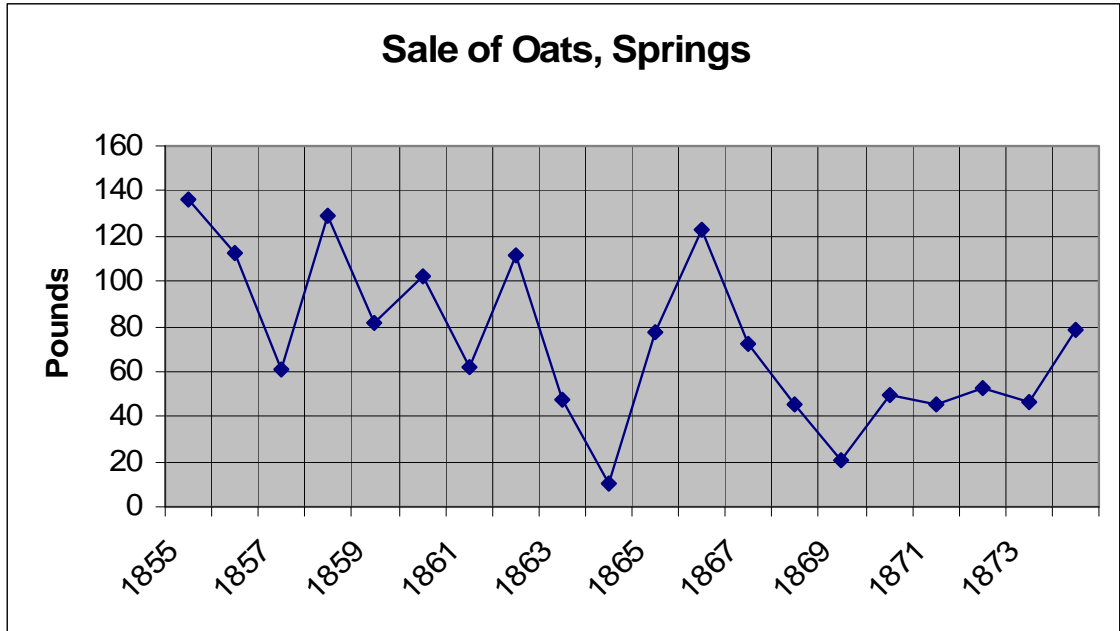
vol	ID	Order	year	month	day	description
1	414	4	1892	Fe	Mo 1	At Glasgow in afternoon getting tooth pulled.
2	609	3	1898	Ja	We 12	Finger sore
2	611	5	1898	Ja	Fr 14	Finger worse.
2	612	3	1898	Ja	Sa 15	Finger worse.
2	613	2	1898	Ja	Su 16	Got finger lanced whetol
2	617	3	1898	Ja	Th 20	Finger all right
2	967	2	1899	Fe	Su 5	Not very well
2	968	2	1899	Fe	Mo 6	Had to go to bed slight influenza
2	969	2	1899	Fe	Tu 7	Not better.
2	970	3	1899	Fe	We 8	Better
3	196	3	1899	De	Fr 15	Unwell fainted in morning
3	218	4	1900	Ja	Sa 6	Unwell from dinnertime
3	435	4	1900	Au	Mo 20	Fainted in morning 5th time.
3	482	3	1900	Oc	Sa 6	Had slight turn of sickness at night milking time. Last time Aug 20
3	504	2	1900	Oc	Su 28	Slight turn of sickness after dinner last time Oct 6. time before Aug 20th.
3	546	1	1901	Fe	Fr 8	Turn of faintness at 9.30 or 10a.m. Last 10 mins.
3	645	2	1901	Jn	Tu 18	Had fainting fit in morning.
3	690	4	1901	Au	Sa 3	Called to see Dr Wood.
3	763	5	1901	Oc	Tu 15	Unable to work myself with sore back.
3	770	4	1901	Oc	Tu 22	At Bearsden seeing Doctor.
3	773	3	1901	Oc	Fr 25	Slight sickness at breakfasttime about 1 min
3	820	3	1901	De	Sa 14	Very slight turn
3	826	4	1901	De	Fr 20	Had bad turn in morning. lasted 1/2 hour. at breakfast.
3	952	2	1902	Ap	Mo 28	At Queenzieburn & Thorn & Craig Wood[?] Dr.
4	40	6	1902	Jn	Fr 20	Had bad turn of sickness between 12 & 1 in morning in bed
4	159	2	1902	Oc	Mo 20	Fell off ladder & sprained wrist
4	159	5	1902	Oc	Mo 20	Fell off corn stack & sprained wrist.
4	176	2	1902	No	Su 30	Had slight turn sitting at kitchen fire @ 6pm lasted 3 or 4 sec.
4	259	3	1903	Fe	Mo 23	At Broomhill Home at night.
4	273	4	1903	Mr	Mo 9	At Convalesant home Lenzie
4	287	4	1903	Mr	Mo 23	Very slight sickness this morning 1 minute
4	329	4	1903	My	Mo 4	Slight turn in morning at milking
4	477	5	1903	Oc	Th 1	Had sore back
4	478	4	1903	Oc	Fr 2	Unable to work with sore back.
4	479	6	1903	Oc	Sa 3	Back very painful at times scarcely able to move.
4	480	3	1903	Oc	Su 4	Back a little better
4	487	3	1903	Oc	Su 11	Back Sore yet.
4	593	2	1904	Fe	Mo 1	At Thorn, Hillfoot & Doctors

4	745	2	1904	Jl	We 6	At Glasgow & Dr. Wood in afternoon
4	826	2	1904	Se	Fr 30	Bearsden Doctor
4	918	5	1904	De	Sa 31	Bad boil on wrist.
4	1295	4	1906	Ja	Th 18	At Bearsden Dr Wood & Thorn afternoon.
4	1373	3	1906	Ap	Fr 6	In bed nearly all day
4	1632	2	1906	De	Th 20	At Glasgow 4.18 p.m. Dentist
4	1671	2	1907	Ja	Mo 28	& Doctor
4	1764	2	1907	My	We 1	At Glasgow Infirmary
4	1774	3	1907	My	Sa 11	Got hand operated on.
4	1954	3	1907	No	Mo 11	Called in at Infirm. to see Doctor about hand
4	1956	3	1907	No	We 13	at Glasgow. Dr Stewart dressed my hand
4	1958	5	1907	No	Fr 15	At Infirmary got hand opened. Last time was 11th May.
4	1961	3	1907	No	Mo 18	At Glasgow Infirmary
4	1991	5	1907	De	We 18	First morn. Ive fed cows since got hand cut

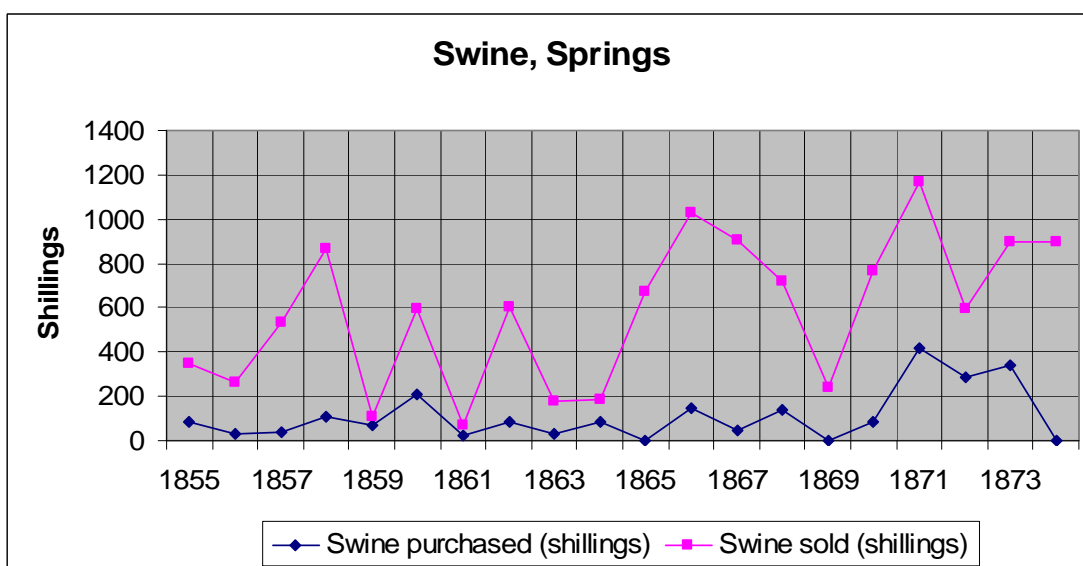
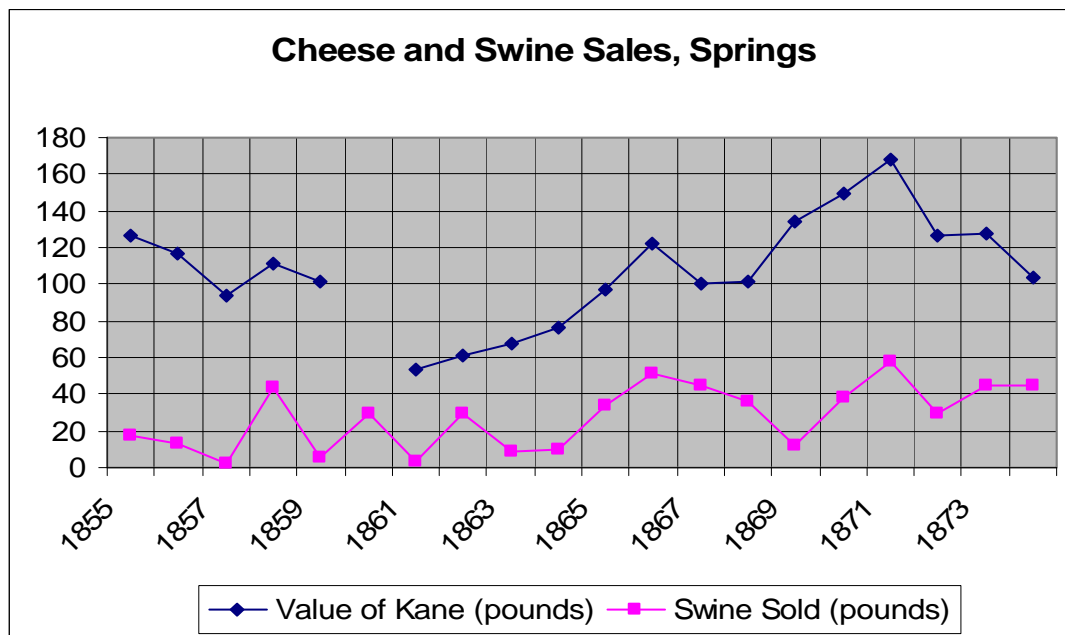
# Appendix 3

## Produce Charts

### Springs



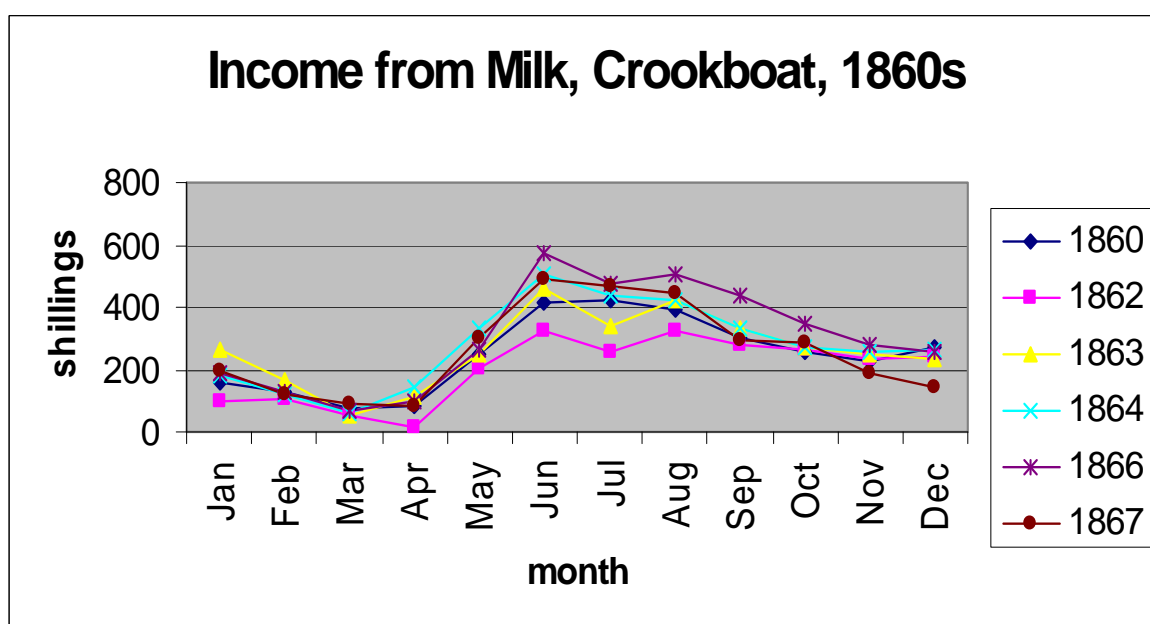
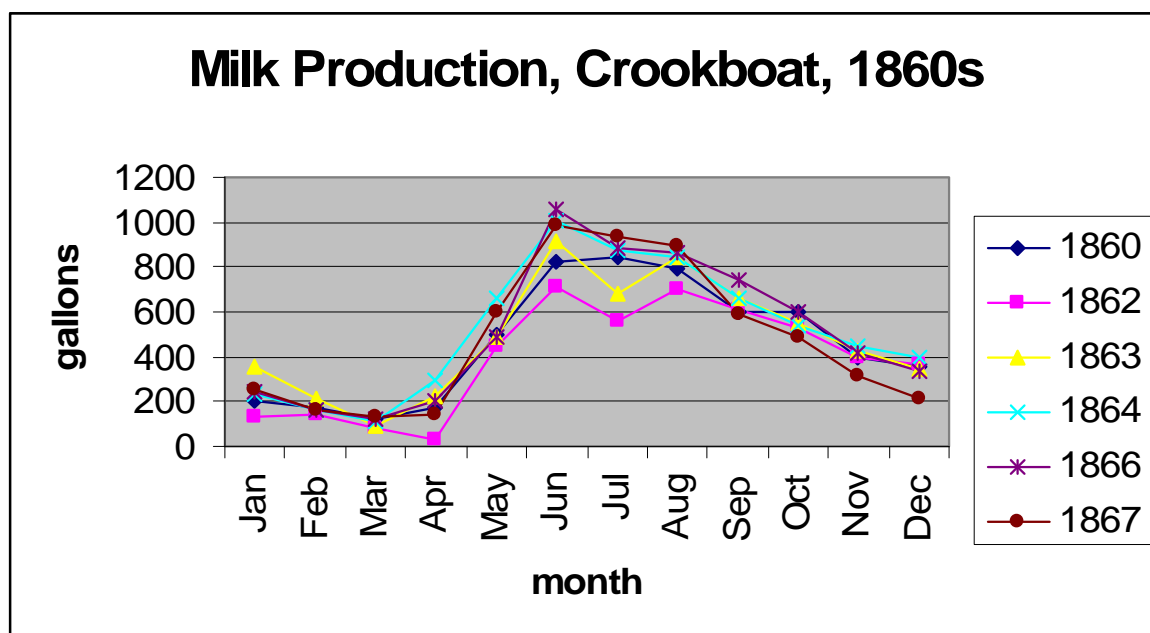
The chart below demonstrates the relationship between cheese and pig sales at Springs.

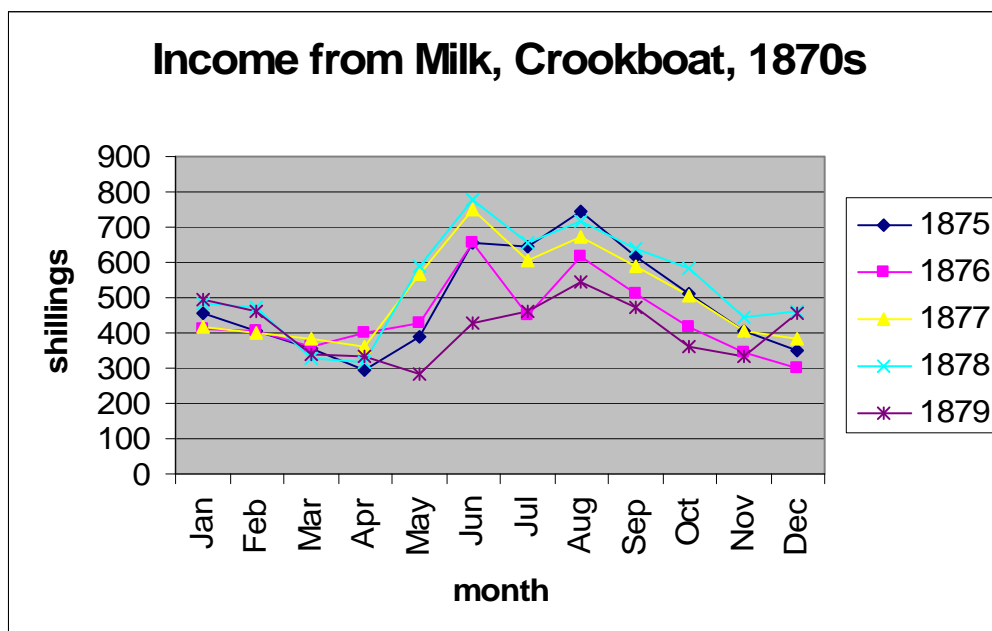
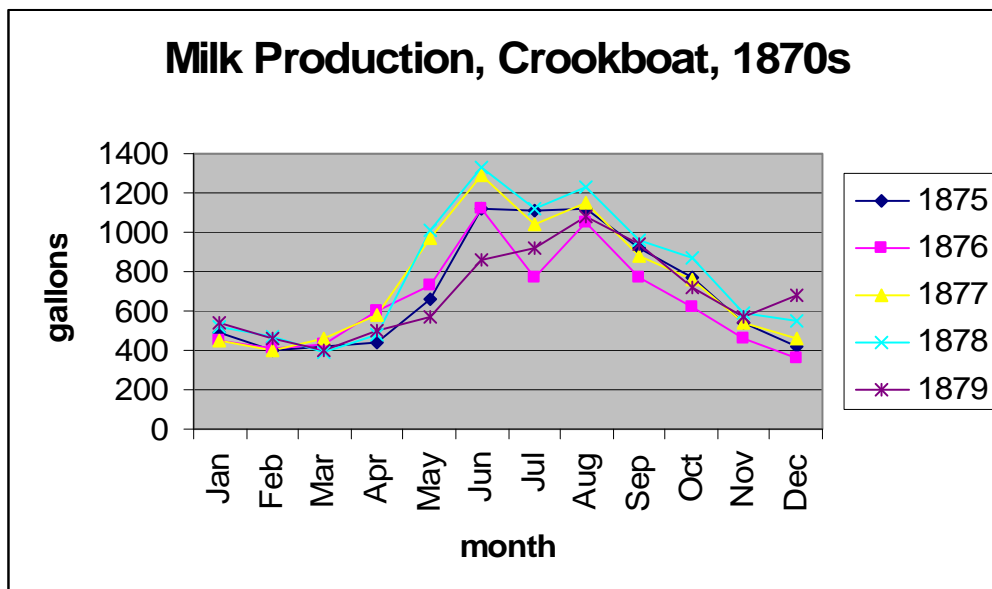


## Crookboat

John Lamb's notebooks provide statistics for milk sales off Crookboat for the whole of years 1860, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1875-79, and parts of 1861, 1865, 1874, and 1880. The complete years have been divided into two groups (1860s and 1870s), and a series of charts created for each group. When yields were high, Lamb generally made daily notes of the quantity of milk. Sometimes, in winter months, when milk yields were low, he only noted the quantity, and price of milk every other day. He

never noted any milk produced on a Sunday. Alec Lamb has said that, as the trains did not run on Sundays, the Sunday milk was processed into butter or cheese, but John Lamb did not mention Sunday milk even in 1860 (before Sandilands Station opened). In some summers (1864-67) there are 'Saturday night' entries. If there was a late train to Glasgow on Saturday evenings, this might be a way to reduce the quantity of Sunday milk left on the farm.

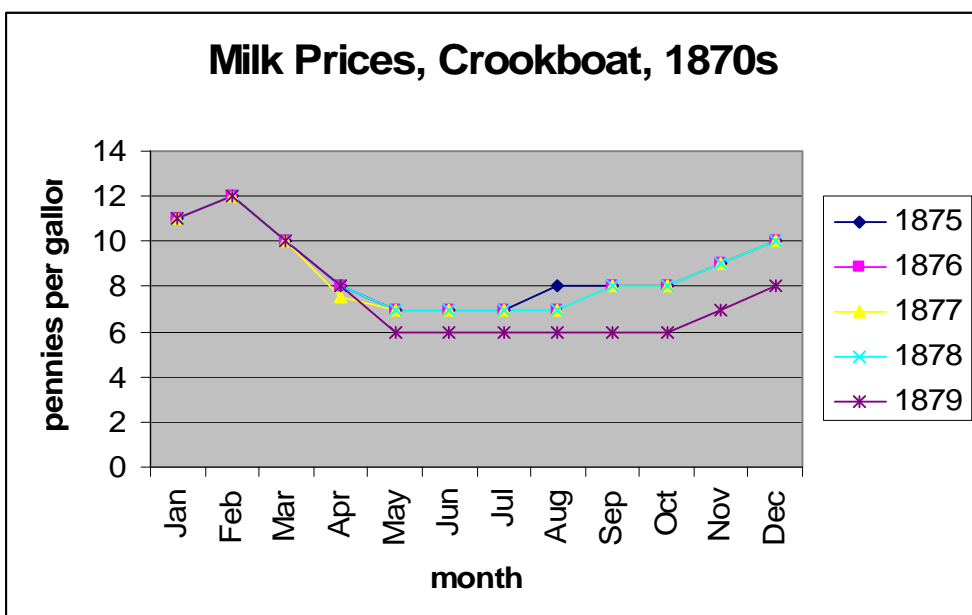
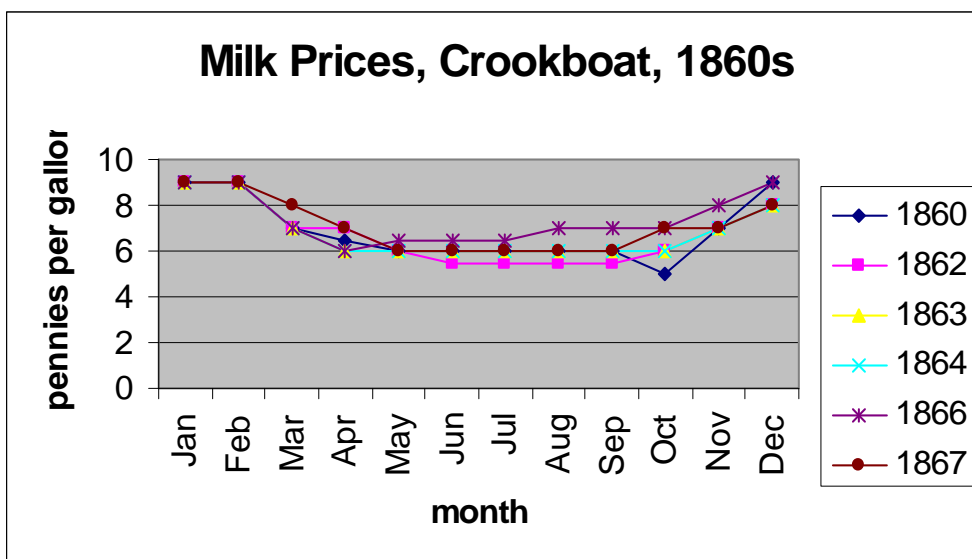


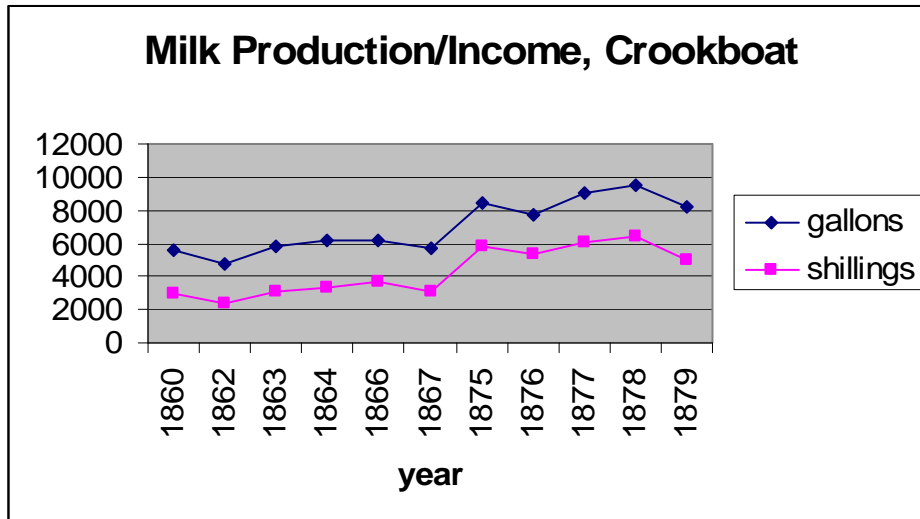


The charts show a dip in milk production and income in July of some years, and this is explained by missing days in the accounts. In the milk accounts for 1862 the last week of July is missing. There is a gap between the twentieth and thirty-first of July 1863 and, in the accounts for 1876, there is a jump from the eighth to the twentieth of July. In 1877 there is a jump between the twelfth and the twentieth of July. In 1878 there is a jump between eleventh and nineteenth July. Only seventeenth and eighteenth of July are missing in 1879, and there is no gap in 1860. These missing days must represent hundreds of gallons of milk unaccounted for, and the timing suggests a link with the Glasgow Fair. During this fortnight industry shut down and there was an exodus from the city. However the city never entirely emptied so, while



the market for fresh milk would be greatly reduced, it would not disappear. It would seem that some years the Lambs continued to supply the city with milk during all or a part of the Fair fortnight. As for the missing gallons of milk, there is a note towards the back of one of John Lamb's books which indicates that, over the seven day period of the 'Fair week' of 1877, 345 gallons of milk were produced, along with seven 32 pound cheeses, and 41 pounds of butter. It would appear that the dips in the milk production charts do not represent a dip in actual milk production, but only in milk sent to Glasgow. The dips in income from milk sales should be offset against income from butter and cheese sales, but I have not found systematic figures for the disposal of butter and cheese.



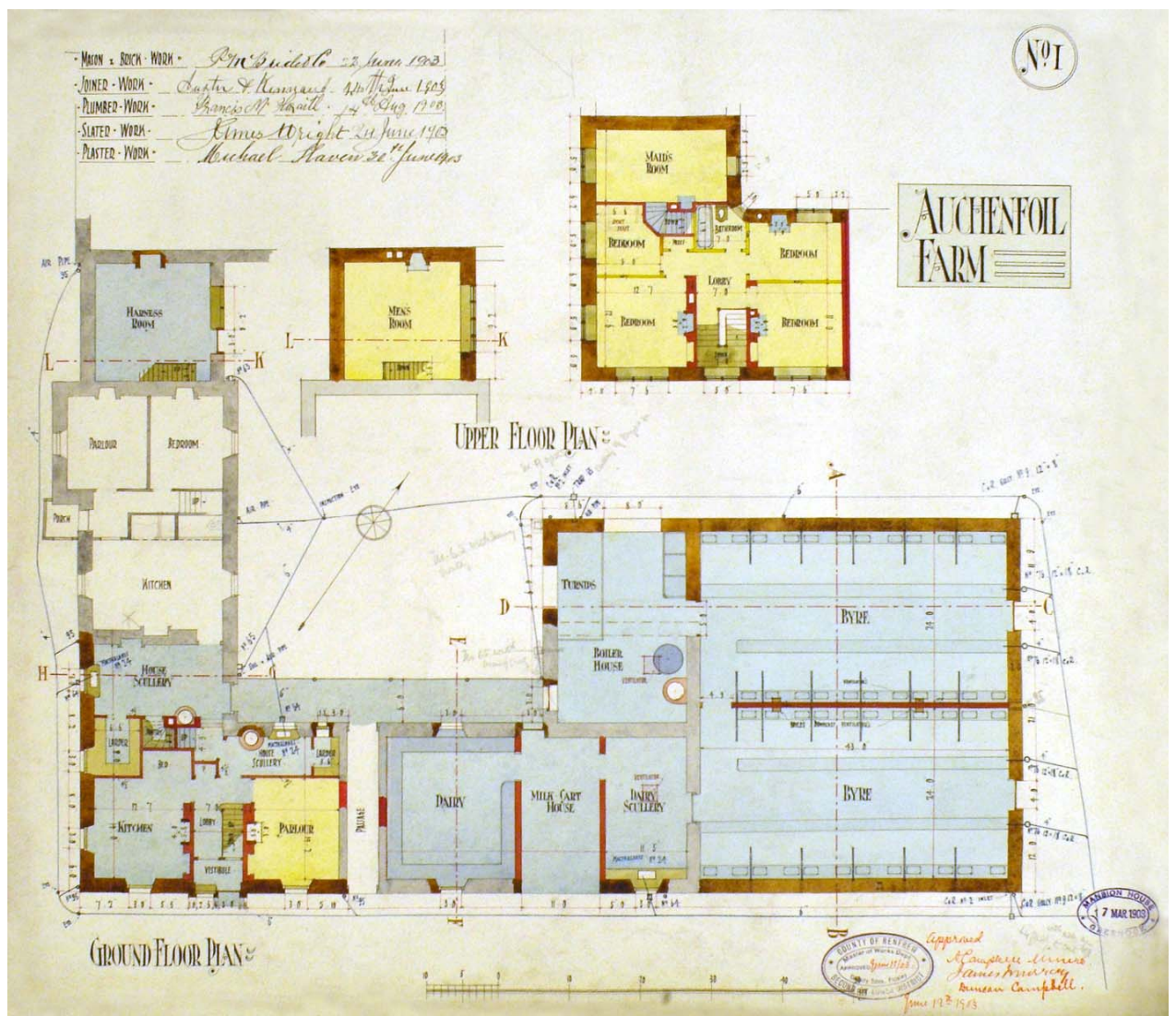


Overall there is an annual cycle to milk yields on the farm, and there is a general upward trend to production and income figures over the period covered by the account books. The price per gallon also followed an annual cycle, falling when yields were high, and rising again in the drier winter months. On the evidence of the notebooks, prices were generally higher in the 1870s than in the 1860s, but 1879 was not a good year.

## Appendix 4

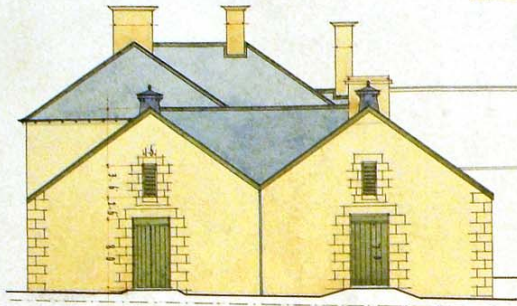
### Auchenfoyle Plans

The plans in this appendix are reproduced from a set held in the Archives in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (ref. T-Ard 1/5/C39 1903-1904, plans, sections, and elevations of Auchenfoil farmsteading). A set of farm plans (T-Ard 1/5/B109) tentatively dated, in the Archive, to around 1860, gives the extent of Auchenfoyle as 199 acres. Auchenfoyle was purchased by John and James Black in 1919. The same year they also bought the farm of Horsecraigs (98 acres), which they had leased since 1895 (T-Ard 5/2/3). The pre-existing farmhouse is not coloured in. The front door of the new house is on the east, while the front door to the pre-existing house is on the south elevation. Although built as separate houses, the connecting door allowed the Blacks to operate as one household.

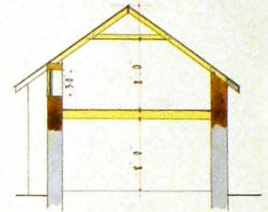


AUCHENFOIL FARM

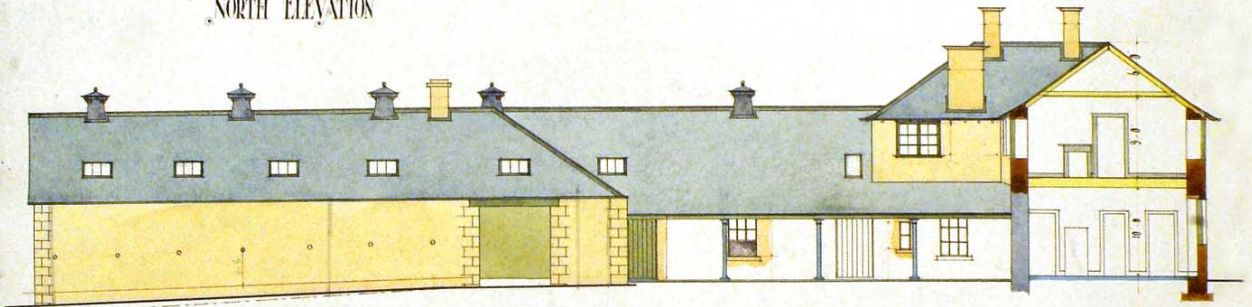
No 2



NORTH ELEVATION

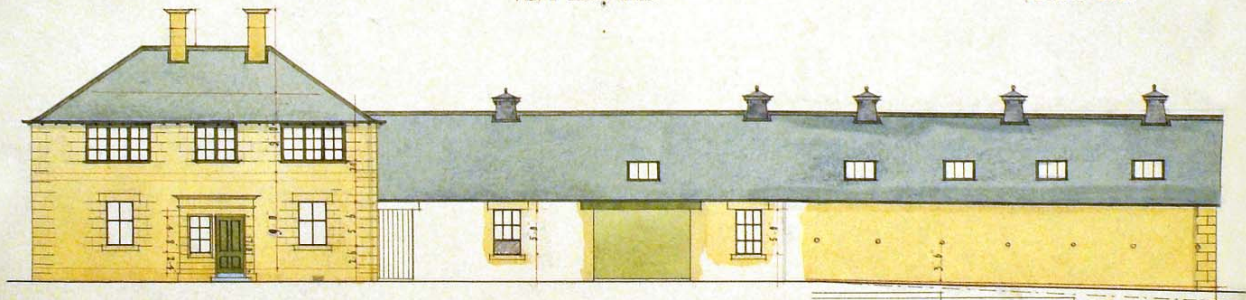


SECTION K.L.

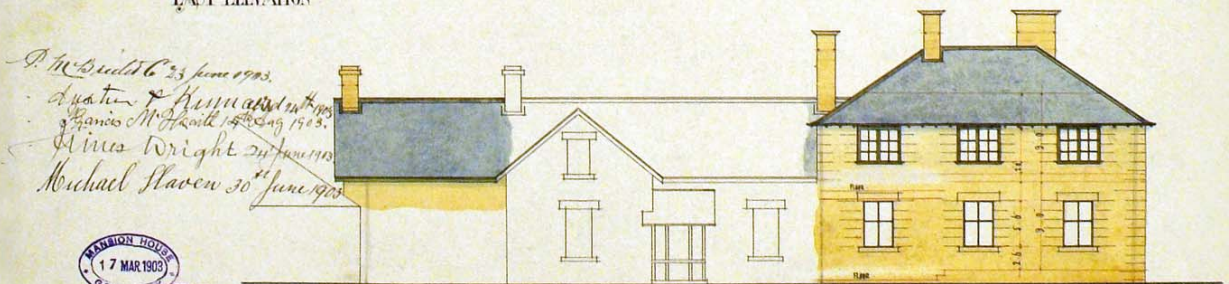


WEST ELEVATION

SECTION G.H.



EAST ELEVATION



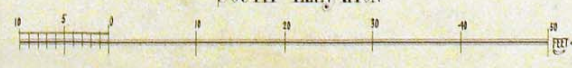
SOUTH ELEVATION

*A. M. Smith 6<sup>th</sup> June 1903.  
A. Watson & Kinnaird 14<sup>th</sup> June 1903.  
James McPherson 19<sup>th</sup> June 1903.  
Miss Wright 24<sup>th</sup> June 1903.  
Michael Flaven 30<sup>th</sup> June 1903.*

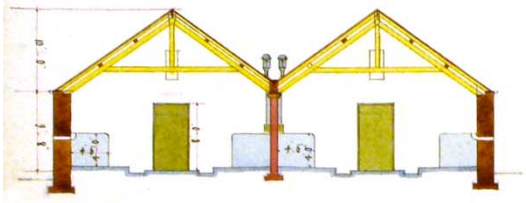
**BARBICHO HOUSE**  
17 MAR 1903  
GREENGLASS

**COUNTY OF NEWCASTLE**  
APPROVED BY THE  
COUNTY COUNCIL  
SECOND OR LOWER DISTRICT

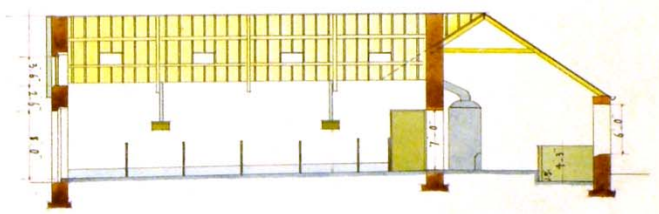
*Approved  
A. Campbell  
James Murray  
Duncan Campbell  
June 12<sup>th</sup> 1903.*



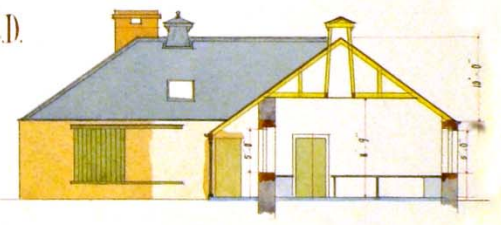
# AUCHENFOIL FARM



SECTION A.B.

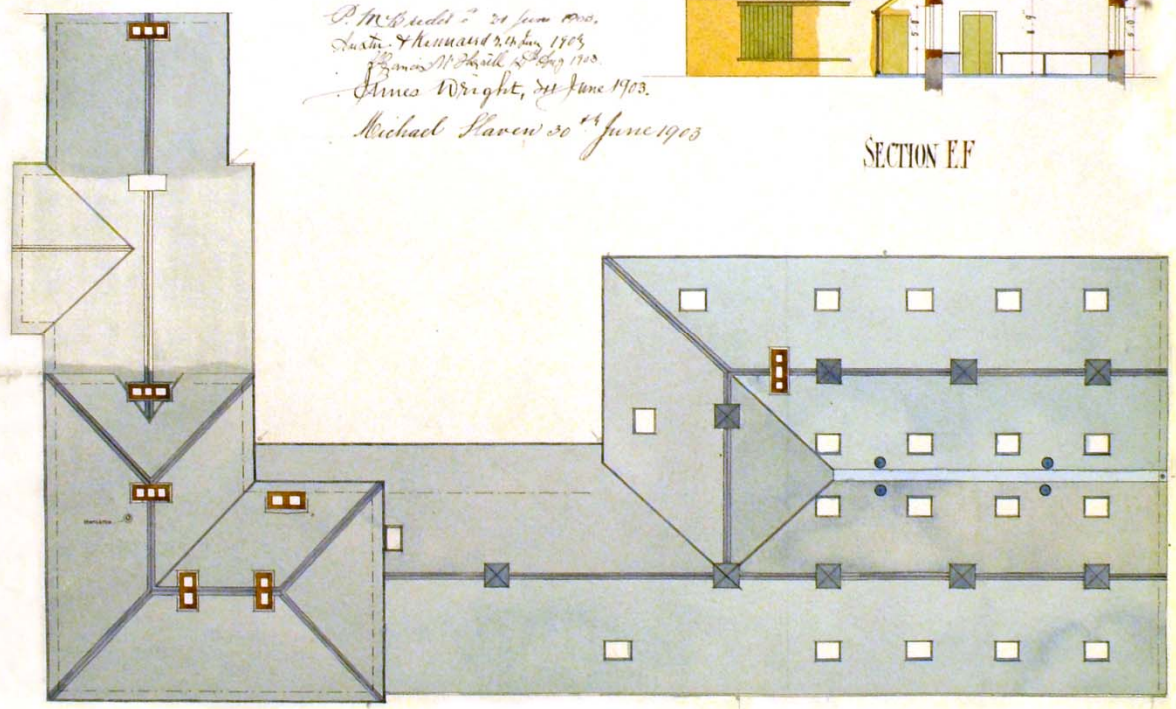


SECTION C.D.

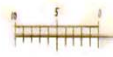


SECTION E.F.

*P. M. Smith 24 June 1903.  
Austin Thenuard 24 June 1903.  
James W. Wright 24 June 1903.  
Michael Laven 30 June 1903.*

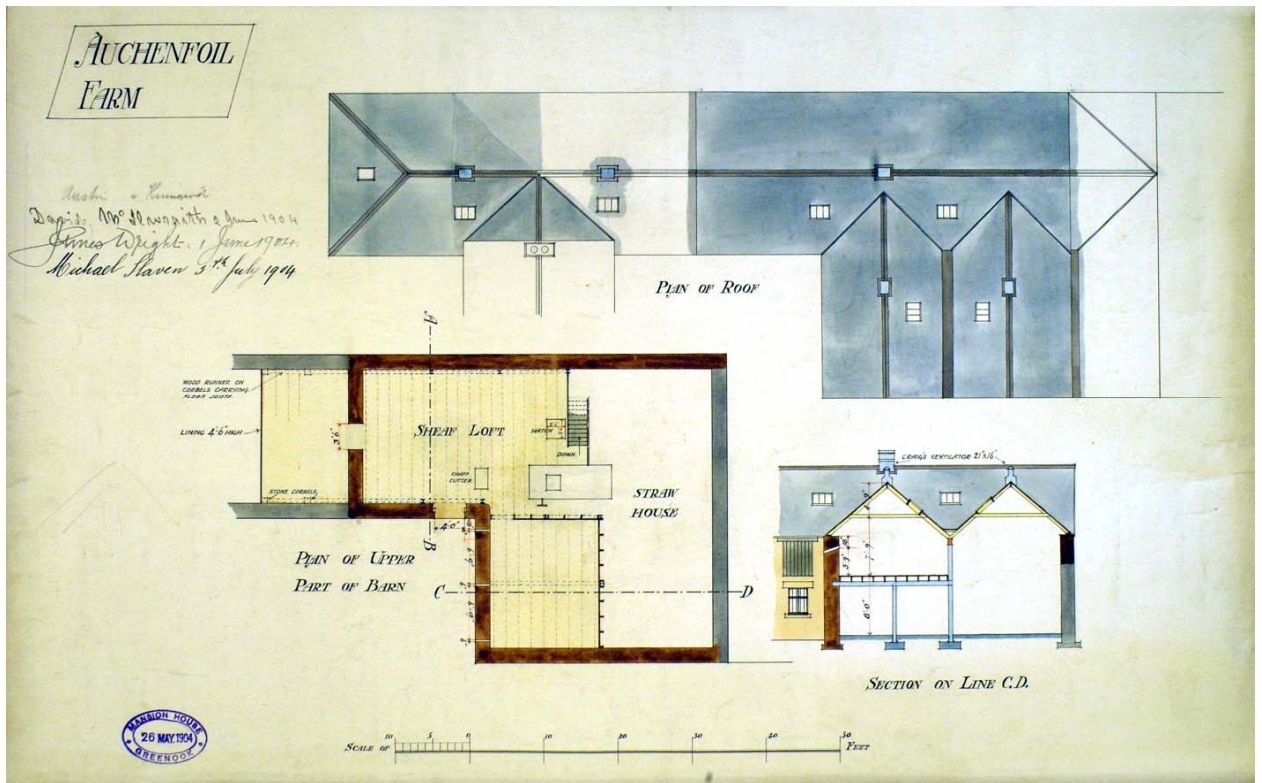
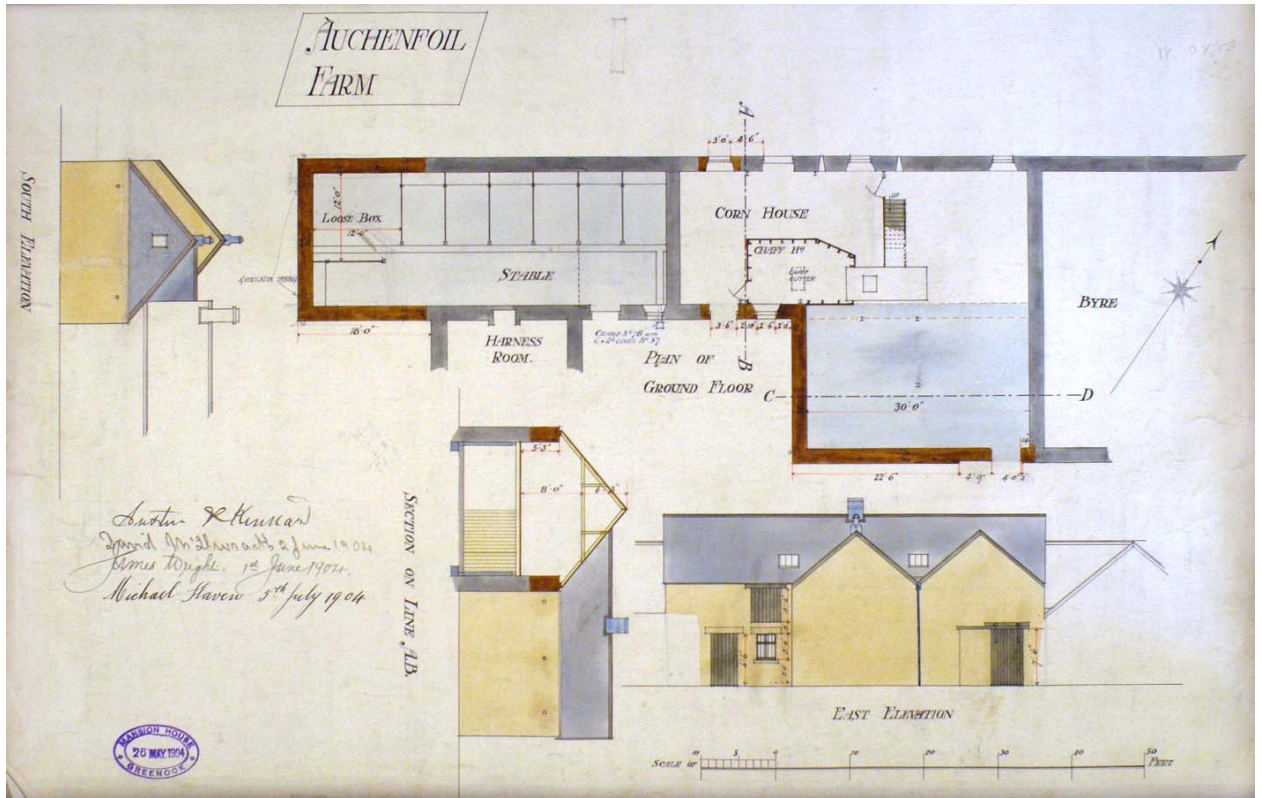


ROOF PLAN



*Approved,  
James Henry  
Bureau Campbell  
June 17 1903*





## Appendix 5

### High Hatton Bowers

<b>Census</b>	<b>Bower at High Hatton</b>	<b>Birth Parish</b>	<b>Approximate year of birth</b>
<b>1851</b>	William Gilmour	Barony, Lanarkshire	1811
<b>1861</b>	William Hendry	Cambuslang, Lanarkshire	1825
<b>1871</b>	Thomas Waddell	Houston, Renfrewshire	1828
<b>1881</b>	Thomas Waddell John Steel	Houston, Renfrewshire Beith, Ayrshire	1828 1828
<b>1891</b>	John Steel	Beith, Ayrshire	1828
<b>1901</b>	James Whyte John Bradshaw	Houston, Renfrewshire Paisley Abbey, Renfrewshire	1870, 1834

According to the 1841 Census, William Gilmour was an 'agricultural labourer' in the parish of Govan. Ten years later, he was a 'dairyman' at High Hatton, and employed two dairymaids. William and his wife, Mary, had a son in New Kilpatrick before the 1841 Census, and two more children were born in Govan in 1842 and 1843. In the 1861 Census, William Gilmour was listed as farmer of 40 acres, at Park Erskine, employing five labourers, and by 1871, he was the farmer of West Glen Farm, Erskine, with seventy arable acres. By the time of the 1891 Census, William Gilmour was well into his eighties, but he was still the farmer of West Glen.

William Hendry was a married farm servant in his birth parish of Cambuslang in 1851. His wife, Jean was also born in Cambuslang, as were their two eldest children (born about 1847 and 1849). William was a 'dairyman' at High Hatton in 1861 and employed one dairymaid.

Thomas Waddell was 'dairyman' at High Hatton at the time of both the 1871 and the 1881 Census, so it is easy to imagine him there for an extended period, but his residence at High Hatton was not necessarily continuous. Information from the 1841 Census suggests that Thomas' father, also Thomas, was the farmer of South Crooks

Farm, Houston but, at the time of the 1861 Census, Thomas Waddell was a married ploughman on a farm in Roseneath, Dunbartonshire. His wife, Jane came from Galloway, and they had probably been in Roseneath for between one and three years, as their one-year-old was born there, but their three year old was born in Inchinnan Parish. They were still at Roseneath when their daughter, Janet, was born, around 1863, but their son, Robert was born in Erskine, around 1867. They had a daughter, Margaret, born in Roseneath, in 1861, and another Margaret born in Erskine, around 1869. At High Hatton they employed a thirteen year old female general servant. Two more sons were born in Erskine Parish around 1873 and 1876, suggesting that even if the Waddells were not continuously at High Hatton throughout the 1870s, they did perhaps remain resident in Erskine Parish. They did not employ any live-in servants in 1881, employing instead two grown daughters and their fourteen year old son. By 1891, Thomas Waddell had his own farm in Kilbarchan.

In 1851, John Steel (from Ayrshire) was a married farm labourer, in the parish of Old Monkland, Lanarkshire. His wife was a native of Old Monkland, and their sons John and William were born there around 1851 and 1853, but their son, Robert, and daughter, Margaret, were born in Glasgow around 1856 and 1858. Their daughter, Mary was born in Drymen Parish, Stirlingshire, in 1860, and John Steel was listed as a 'dairyman' in the parish of Drymen in the 1861 Census, where he employed two female servants. So, James Steel had some experience of bowing before he came to Hatton. The family were still resident in Drymen in 1862, when daughter, Jean was born but, around 1864, son Matthew was born in Old Kilpatrick. Son James was born in Houston around 1868. The family were at Hatton at the time of the 1871 Census, when John Steel was employed as a ploughman there. By the time of the 1881 Census, John Steel was a dairyman at High Hatton, where he employed two of his daughters as dairymaids, and his fifteen year old son as a farm servant. James was also listed as a dairyman at Hatton in the 1891 Census, but any movements between 1871 and 1891 are unknown, since no additional children were listed either in the 1881 or the 1891 Census Reports. Curiously, the Steels seem to have divided into two households between the 1881 and 1891 Reports. Sixty-two year old James Steel was a dairyman at Hatton West, and headed a household which included his wife, Mary, and their grown-up children, James and Jean. However, their son Matthew Steel was also listed as a dairyman, and head of household at Hatton Dairy West. His household included his sister Margaret, and a female dairy servant. In 1901, John steel was the



farmer of Knockmountain Farm. His household included his wife, and children Matthew, Margaret, and Jean, and a male farm servant.

James Whyte was a live-in farm servant at Hatton at the time of the 1891 Census, as was dairymaid Mary Aird. By the time of the 1901 Census James Whyte and Mary Aird were married, and James was a bower at High Hatton. It seems that Mary Aird first saw the light of day through the Glasgow smoke pall, as Census reports indicate that she was born in Glasgow around 1867. James and Mary's son, John was born in Erskine around 1895. Mary's mother was also part of their household in 1901, as were two female servants.

The 1901 Census also lists John Bradshaw as a bower and head of household, living in 'High Hatton farm bower's house'. Also in the household were John Bradshaw's daughter Janet, his son John, John junior's wife Maggie, their infant son, and a fifteen year old general servant girl. Like his father, John junior's occupation was listed as 'bower', and the household headship may not have been as clear cut as the Census designation. It appears that John Bradshaw was working as a grain carter in Glasgow, at the time of the 1861 Census. In 1871 He was working as a ploughman near Paisley, and in 1881 he was listed as a 'farm servant' on a farm near Paisley. By that time he was a widower, and had five of his children living with him. The three youngest (including the fourteen year old young John) were still at school, fifteen year old Janet was acting as housekeeper, and Thomas (b. 1862) was a factory engine driver. In 1891 John Bradshaw was the farmer of Muirton, Paisley. Possibly this was a very small farm, as the household consisted only of John and his two youngest children, Emily and Archibald (19 and 16).

## Appendix 6

### Clothing at Springs

The Murdochs obtained clothing from Arthur, Currie & Co., Currie, Rae & Co., and Arthur, Rae & Co., Ayr. The family also patronised the firms of McMurtrie & Co., McMurtrie & Young, Guthrie & Co., and Reid & Sloan, Ayr. Arthur, Currie and Rae, and McMurtrie seem to have provided a range of apparel for both sexes, from silk dresses to top coats and waterproofs. The references to Guthrie, and Reid and Sloan are too few to draw any conclusions. A number of individuals were mentioned in connection with clothing, and it has been possible to make tentative identifications of some of these from the Census. Murdoch mentioned John Smith, wool weaver, in 1855 and 1856. There were two weavers called John Smith living nearby, in Tarbolton, in 1851, one was a weaver of silk, and the other a weaver of cotton, although, in a later Census, the cotton weaver had become a silk weaver. During the 1860s, Murdoch made references to a wool weaver named Jamieson, in Newton. In 1851 there was a woollen manufacturer named, William Jamieson, in Newton on Ayr. In 1869 Murdoch purchased twenty yards of tweed manufactured by Daniel King,<sup>996</sup> and this may be the Daniel King who was the woollen manufacturer employing five men and four women, in Old Cumnock, in 1861. James McMaster supplied shirting and linen in 1860,<sup>997</sup> and, in 1861, there was a James McMaster, cotton weaver in Monkton, and a James McMaster, bank agent and draper, in Sorn.

Once the cloth had been obtained, it had to be made up. Arthur, Currie & Co. had in-house tailors, and Murdoch may have used these on occasion, but he also mentioned some tailors in his accounts. In 1859 Murdoch mentioned a tailor by the name of Paterson, and there was a David Paterson, tailor, living in Tarbolton in 1861. Another local tailor was William Smith, of Joppa, Coylton, and Murdoch employed a tailor of that name in 1862 and 1863. In 1869 and 1875 Murdoch employed tailor, John Hodge. There was a Kilmarnock tailor by the name of John Hodge in the Cunninghame poorhouse at the time of the 1871 Census, but he was out and living in lodgings in Kilmarnock by the time of the 1881 Census. The Murdochs were

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<sup>996</sup> McGuire, D. E. (2009). Murdoch Accounts Database, University of Glasgow. Expenditure table, ID No. 717.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid. Expenditure table, ID No. 1584.

orientated towards Ayr, rather than Kilmarnock, but tailors could be itinerant, travelling round country areas, taking orders, and returning with the finished goods at a later date. In 1870 Murdoch mentioned a tailor by the name of McCosh, and there was a Thomas McCosh, tailor employing three journeymen and one apprentice, in Ochiltree, in 1861. Head gear topped off an outfit, and Arthur, Currie & Co. did stock hats. Murdoch bought one from them in 1856, but the everyday head gear for male members of the family was a soft hat known as a bonnet. Murdoch does not usually mention where he purchased his bonnets, but he did buy hats and bonnets from a Miss Cowan in 1869. There was an Elizabeth Cowan, milliner, living in Tarbolton, in 1871.

Between 1855 and 1865, Murdoch made several references to purchasing footwear from, or having footwear repaired by James Lees. At this time there was a James Lees, shoemaker, living in Tarbolton. Indeed John Smith, the weaver was boarding in the Lees household in 1851. In 1861 James Lees was described as a master shoemaker employing two men, and he was still living in Tarbolton in 1871, although he was not specifically mentioned by Murdoch after 1865. In addition to footwear for the family, Murdoch made payments to James Lees for Margaret Aird, and John Stevenson, two of his employees. Between 1859 and 1873 Murdoch purchased footwear, or had footwear repaired by William Allan, and Allan was another Tarbolton shoemaker. In 1863 he also made payments to William Allan junior, and 'Wm Allan & twins'.<sup>998</sup> William Allan did have a son, William, who would have been about sixteen at this time, and twin sons Robert and Richard, who would have been about ten. Between 1859 and 1875 Murdoch received money from William for farm produce. Allan bought oatmeal, buttermilk, butter, and cheese. There was no such reciprocal arrangement with James Armstrong who supplied the Murdochs with footwear between 1867 and 1876, as Armstrong was based in Ayr.

The table below details payments made by William Murdoch on behalf of, or to his son William Murdoch (1844- 1902)

ID	da y	mo	year	Vo l	description	£	sh	d
2	30	Jl	1854	1	two pairs Boots for William at 7/ pr pair	0	14	0
163	0	No	1856	1	Bought of D. Strang suit of Clothes for Willie at	1	10	0

<sup>998</sup> Ibid. Expenditure Table, ID No. 1893

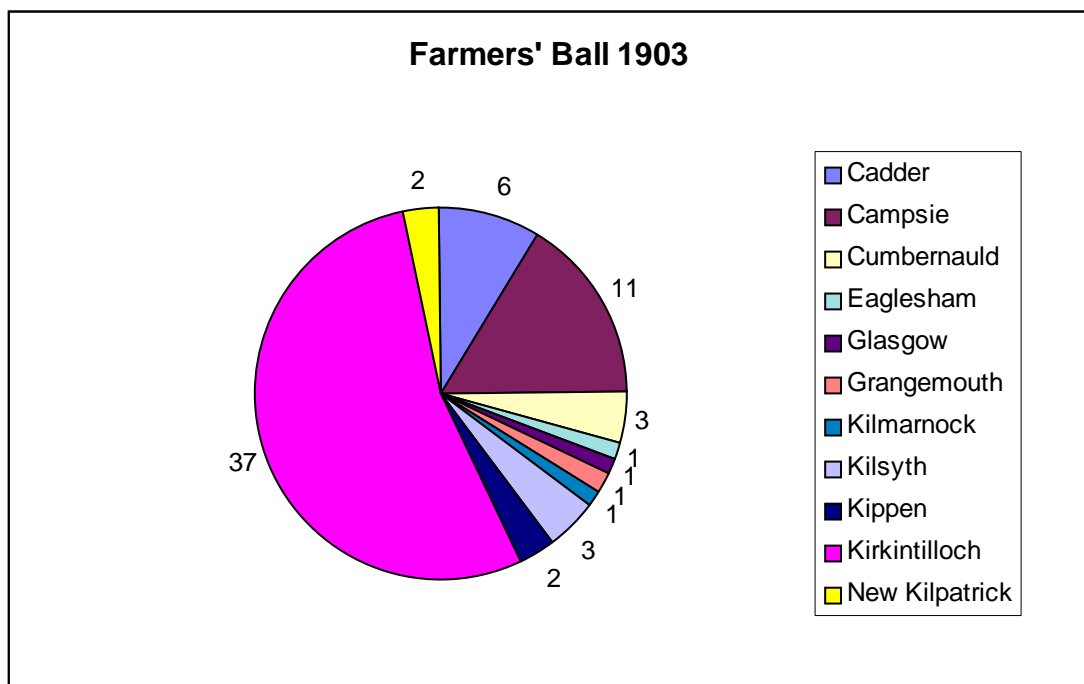
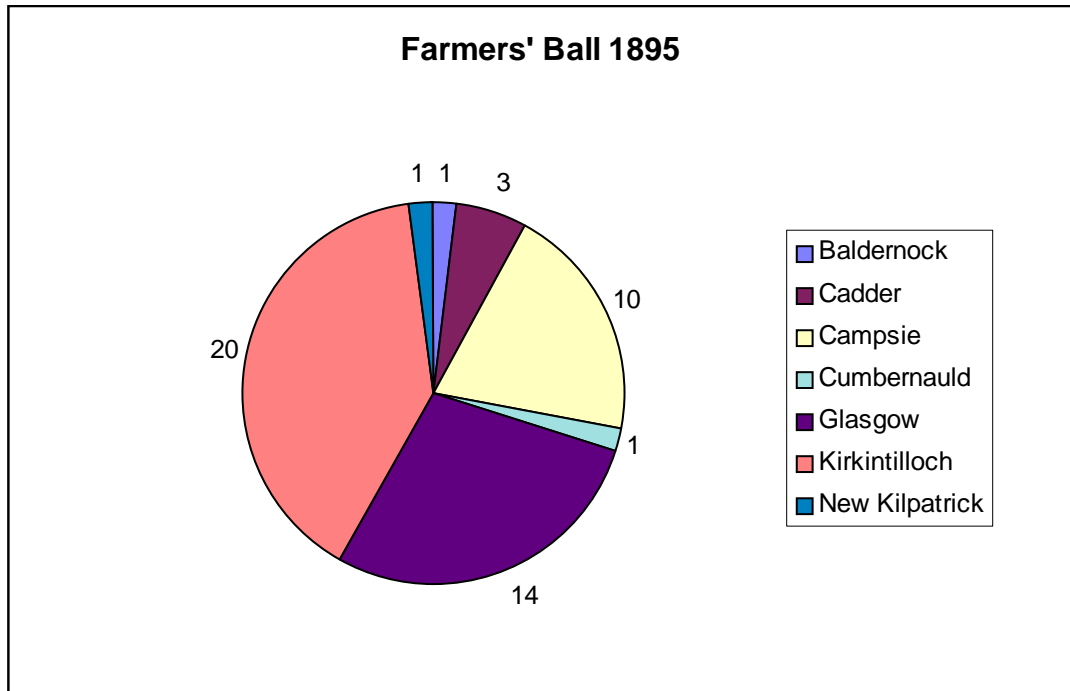
1314	17	De	1857	2	to new Boots to Willie	0	13	4
1324	23	Mr	1858	2	Suit of Cloaths to Willie	1	16	0
1390	8	Oc	1858	2	Bonnet to Willie	0	2	6
1393	20	Oc	1858	2	two new Books for Willie	0	3	6
1423	1	Fe	1859	2	pair Boots to Willie from Andr. Hunter at 12/6	0	12	6
1435	12	Ap	1859	2	One pair Boots to Willie	0	10	0
1473	9	Au	1859	2	Book for Willie	0	1	6
1486	16	Se	1859	2	Strang for trousers to J. & W.	0	14	0
1527	10	Ja	1860	2	Bonnet for Willie from Laidlaw	0	2	6
1544	2	Mr	1860	2	Suit new Cloaths for Willie from Guthrie & Co	3	0	0
1565	1	My	1860	2	Willie one pair Strong Boots	0	11	0
1664	30	Ap	1861	2	Pair New Boots to Willie	0	14	0
1672	11	Jn	1861	2	To one pair Boots to Willie	0	11	0
1729	26	Ja	1862	2	Strang Cloth for Willie Highland Cloak	1	0	0
1730	26	Ja	1862	2	To Tailors Making Do [see ID 1729]	0	9	6
1772	23	Jn	1862	2	Aurther Currie & Co one Suit Cloathes to Willie hat	4	4	0
1840	23	De	1862	2	To Pair Boots to Willie	0	15	0
1846	10	Ap	1863	3	pair Boots to Willie	0	18	0
1849	13	Ap	1863	3	To pair Boots to Willie	0	18	0
1944	22	De	1863	3	To pair trousers Willie	0	17	6
1992	4	Jn	1864	3	To James Thom for Willie Chest A. y.C	0	12	0
2000	16	Jn	1864	3	To Willies watch repairs	0	3	0
2012	26	Jl	1864	3	To Willie new Cloths wearing vest & Trousers	1	5	6
2017	7	Au	1864	3	Willies trousers	0	0	
2038	4	Oc	1864	3	Willie	0	4	0
213	13	Jn	1865	4	To Willie	0	4	0
214	0	Jn	1865	4	To Willie	0	8	0
230	12	Jl	1865	4	To Willies Boots Marr	0	19	0
307	26	De	1865	4	Willies Drawers & Collor	0	10	6
367	19	Jn	1866	4	McMurtie & Young as pr Acct Wm & Mrs	5	5	0
389	1	Au	1866	4	McMurtie & Co. Trousers to Willie	0	12	10
503	22	Jl	1867	4	Willie Boots 15/ Cash £1	1	15	0
509	1	Au	1867	4	Willie Glasgow Show	0	6	6
560	3	De	1867	4	McMurtrie Top Coat Willie	1	15	0
562	11	Ja	1868	4	Trousers & vest to Willie	1	0	0
655	31	De	1868	4	McMurtie & young suit Cloaths Willie & Hugh	5	13	6
679	15	Mr	1869	4	McMurtrie & Young. Willies vest	1	2	10
722	21	Oc	1869	4	Willies Leggans 7/6	0	7	6
727	0	No	1869	4	McCosh Tailor making and trimming suit grey cloths & trousers to Willie	0	19	9
818	14	Fe	1871	4	Wm Allan new Boots self	0	15	0
913	28	Jn	1872	4	Wm Murdoch Ayr fair - £1 -	1	0	0
1003	20	Oc	1873	4	Armstrong New Boots to William, Hugh, Jean & Self	2	12	0
1050	0	Jl	1874	4	Currie Rae & Co. Willies suit	4	8	0
1133	10	De	1875	4	Willie paid small sums	2	0	0
1148	15	Fe	1876	4	Currie Rae & Co. Willie Jacket	0	16	0
1187	22	Au	1876	4	J. Downie Willies Boots	1	0	0
1194	0	Oc	1876	4	Hughs boots 16/ Willies 1/	0	17	0

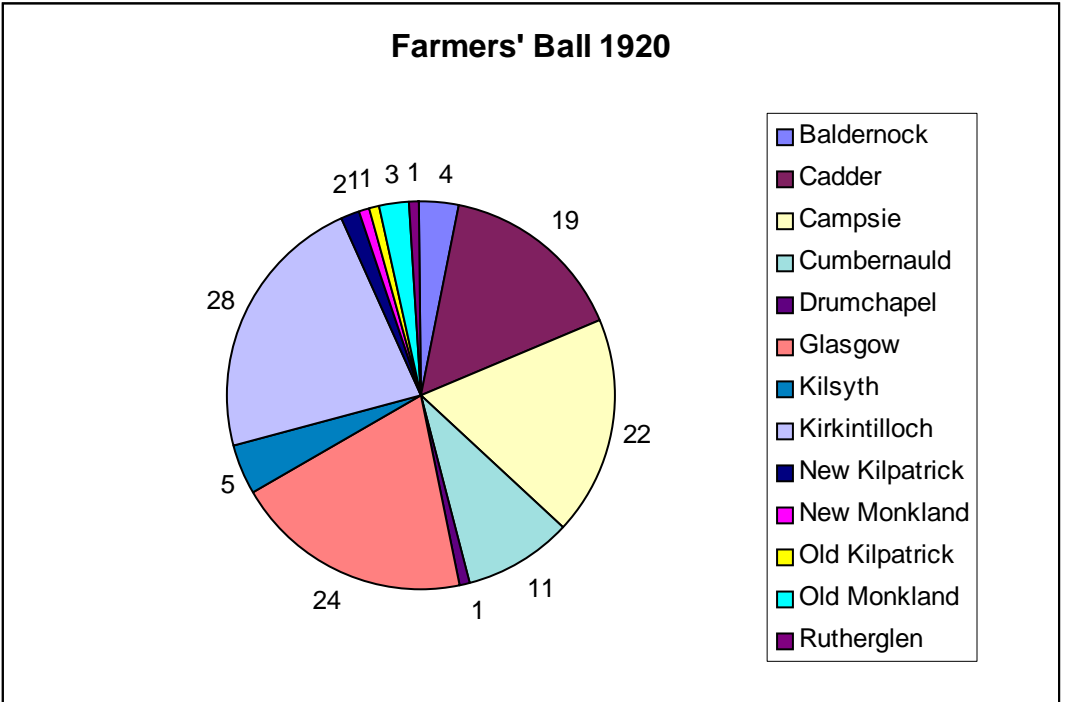
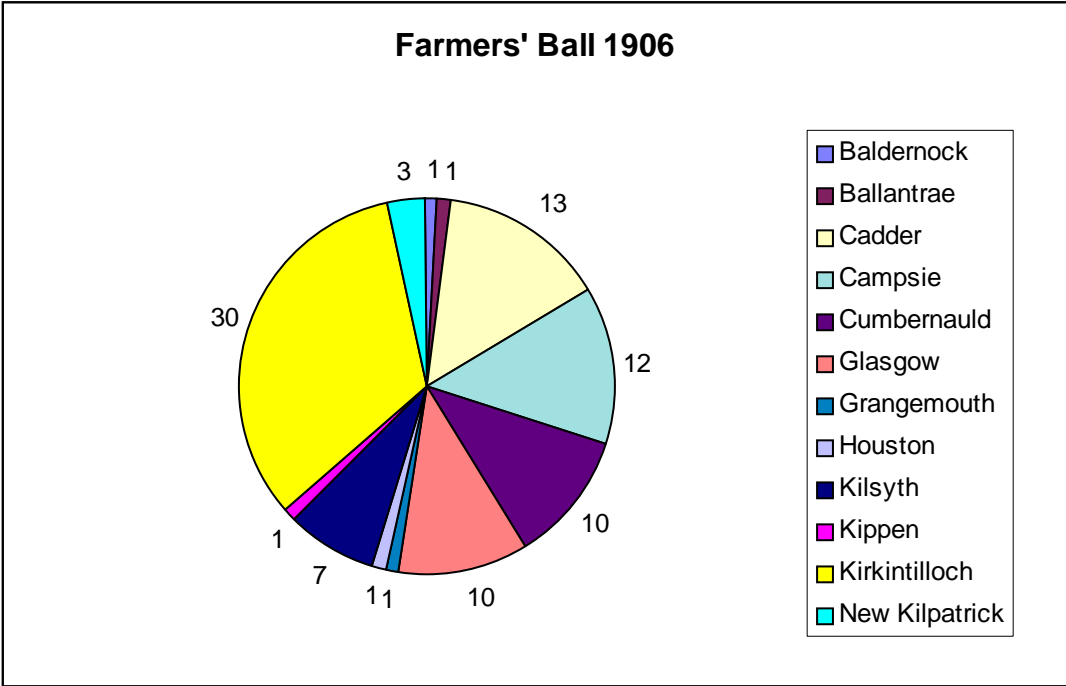
1215	1	Ja	1877	4	Currie Rae & Co. Willies coat 2/2. 3.5 -	2	7	1
1251	0	Jl	1877	4	Suit clothes Willie	3	5	0

## Appendix 7

### Kirkintilloch Farmers' Ball

Based on lists of names and addresses published in the *Kirkintilloch Herald*, the charts below provide a parish break-down of attendance at Kirkintilloch Farmers' Balls.





The contingents from Houston and Ballantrae, in the 1906 chart, are accounted for by Bill and James Turner.

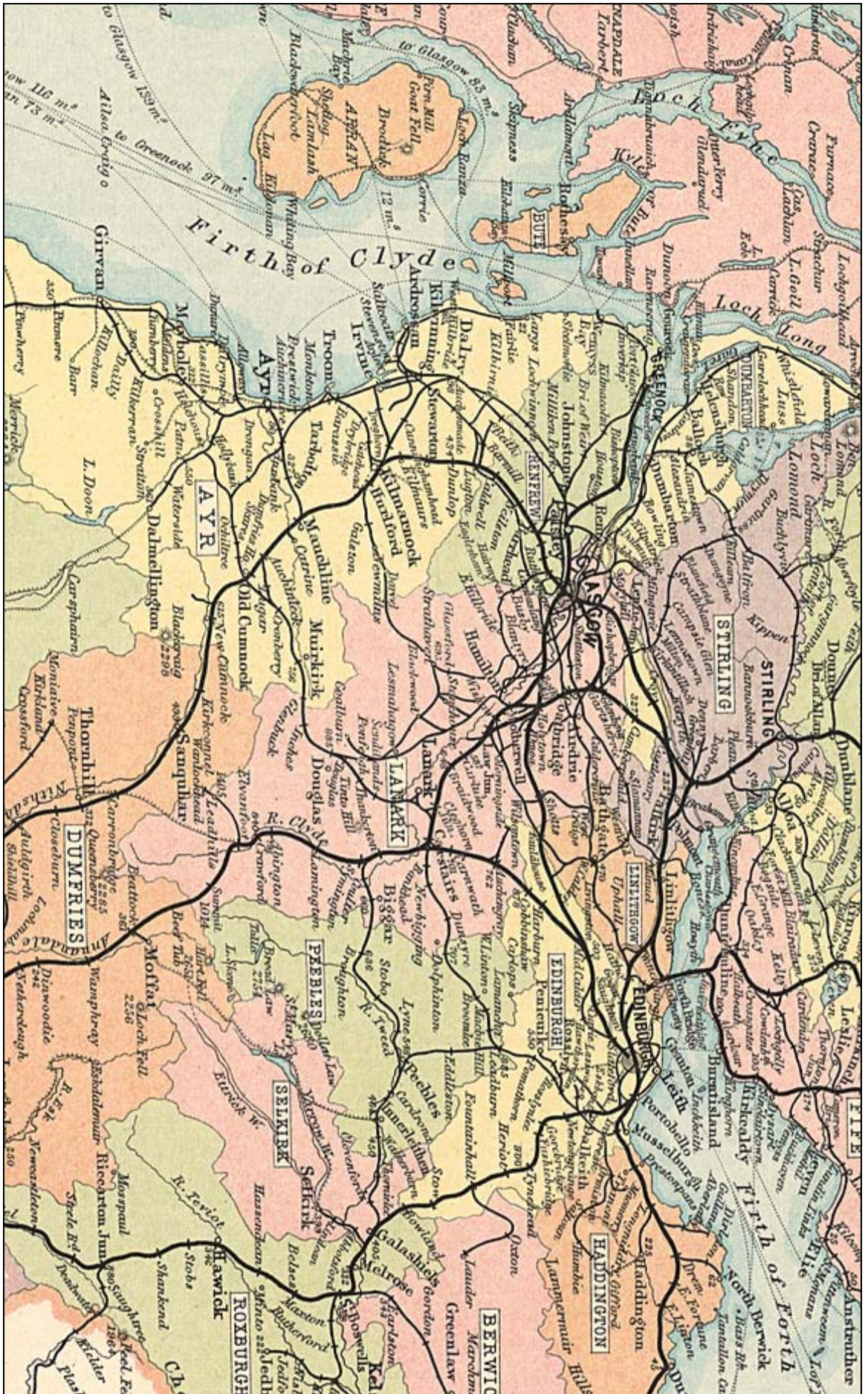
## Appendix 8

### Bartholomew's Survey Atlas of Scotland

Bartholomew's Survey Atlas of Scotland was first published in 1895 and reissued in 1912 with changes. Here the Railways and Routes map from the 1912 edition has been cropped to reveal the detail of the transport structure of central Scotland. The two thematic maps of Scotland were published on a single plate in the 1895 edition, but were not used in the 1912 edition. The title of the first reads, 'Scotland. Land Surface Features,' and it was drawn up by John Bartholomew. The three colours on this map differentiate between woodland, moorland and cultivated land. The title of the second reads, 'Scotland. Density of Population,' and this map was drawn up by Friedrich Bosse in 1891. In Bosse's map the areas of high density population appear like a splash of blood across central Scotland. The legends to the maps have been enlarged to display separately, and the National Library of Scotland holds the copyright to all three maps, which were licensed by Scran ([www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)).





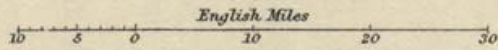


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

# SCOTLAND

## LAND SURFACE FEATURES

BY J. G. BARTHOLOMEW

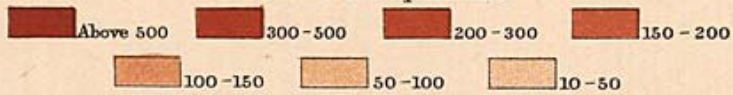



### EXPLANATION OF COLOURING

-  Cultivated Land
-  Woodland
-  Moorland Hill Pasture and other uncultivated lands.

### EXPLANATION OF COLOURING

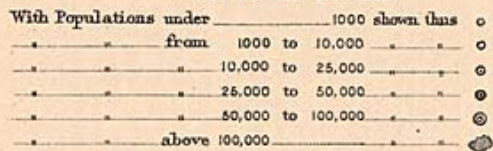
#### Inhabitants to 1 Square Mile

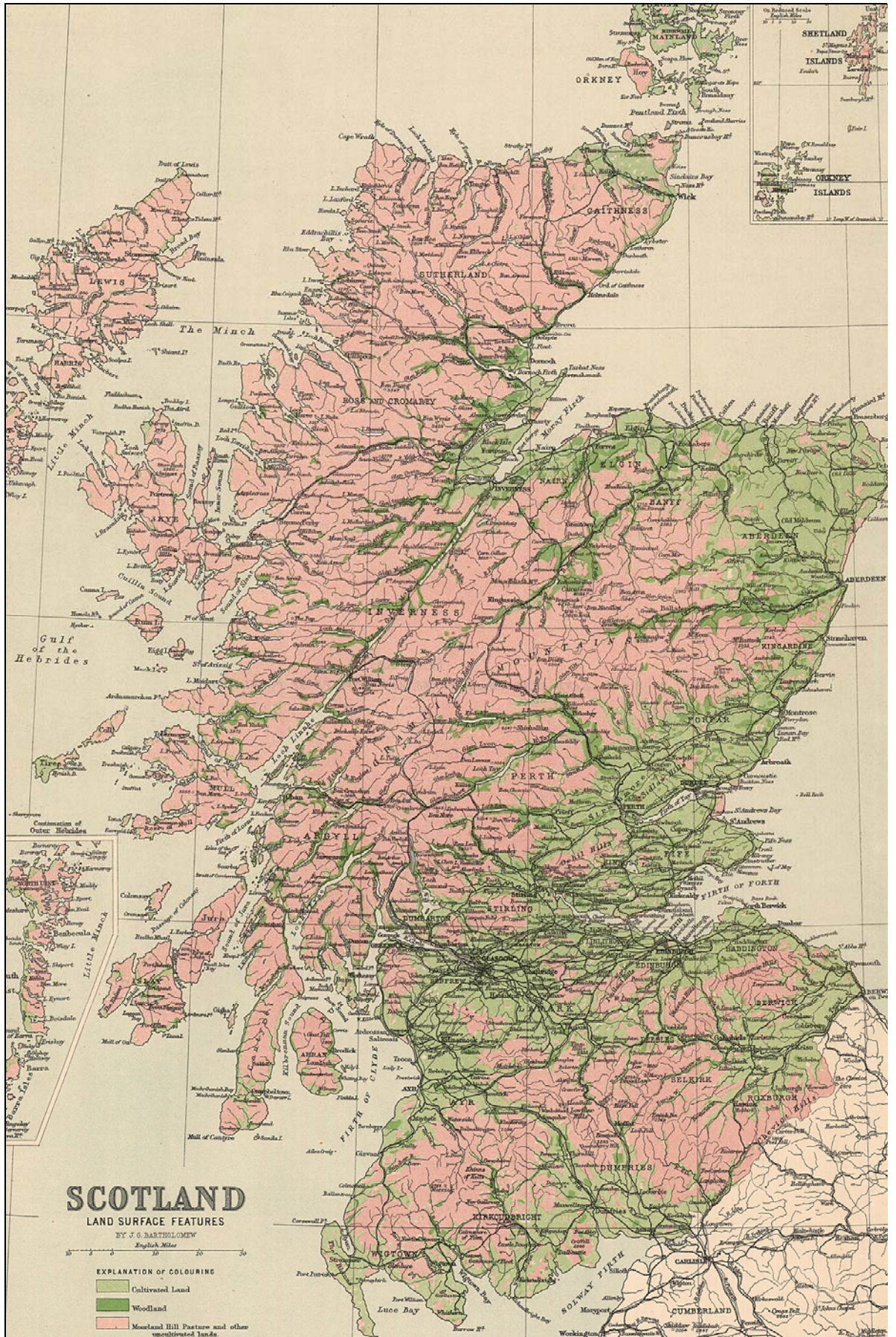


 Uninhabited, or not inhabited throughout the year including uninhabitable land.  
*(This area has been excluded in calculating the density.)*

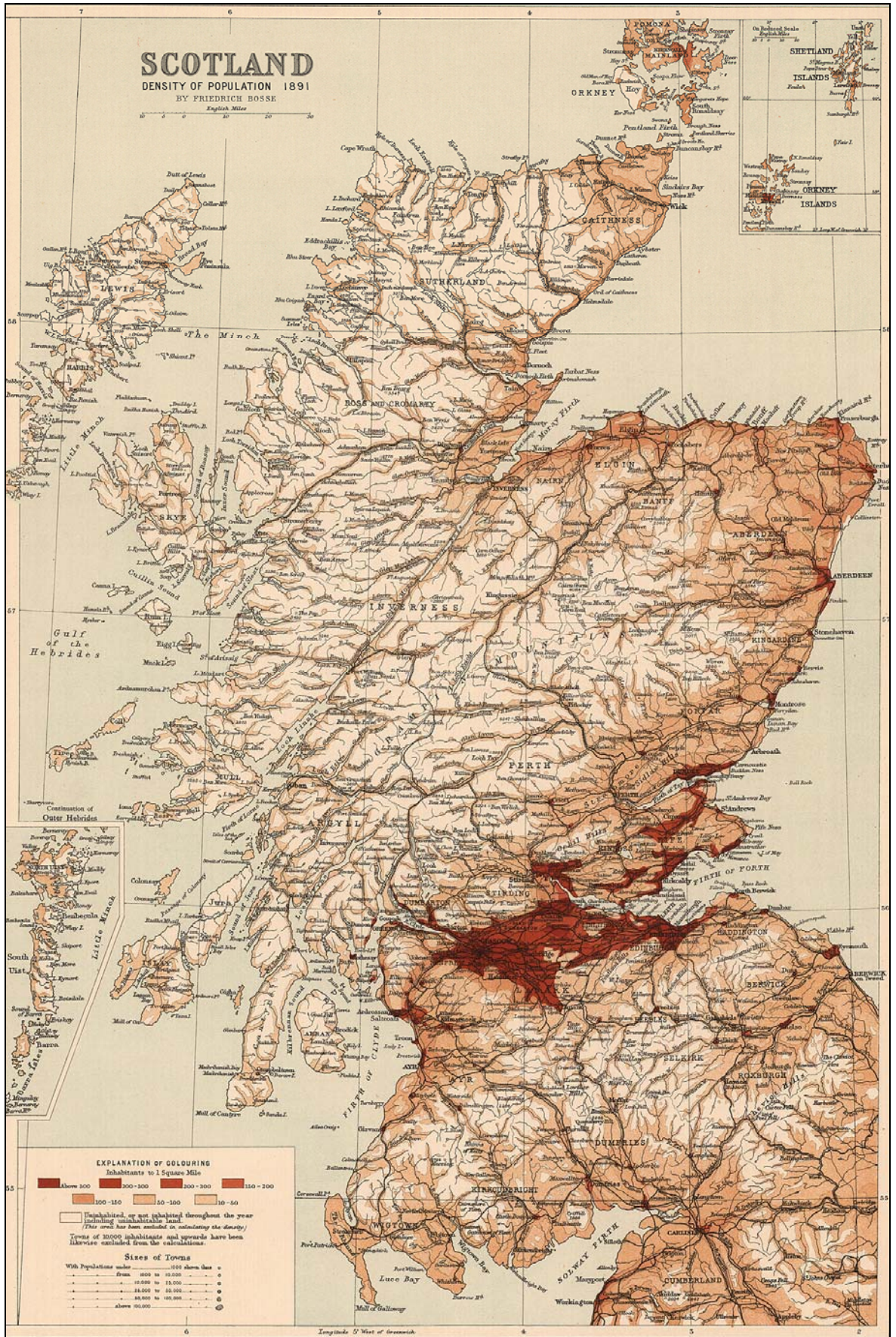
Towns of 10,000 inhabitants and upwards have been likewise excluded from the calculations.

#### Sizes of Towns





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## Glossary

Most of the material for this section has been drawn from the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL), which is available online at [www.dsl.ac.uk](http://www.dsl.ac.uk). The DSL comprises electronic editions of the two major historical dictionaries of the Scots language: the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST)* and the *Scottish National Dictionary (SND)*. *DOST* contains information about Scots words in use from the twelfth to the end of the seventeenth centuries (Older Scots); and *SND* contains information about Scots words in use from the eighteenth century to the present day (modern Scots). DSL contains four separate files of lexicographic data: the *DOST* main text file, *DOST Additions* file, *SND* main text file, and *SND Supplement*.

The creation of the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL) has been funded largely through a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Board, under the Resource Enhancement Scheme. Partnership funding has also been provided by Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. (formerly the Scottish National Dictionary Association) and the Russell Trust. In addition, the project has incorporated work from a pilot scheme to create an electronic *SND*, which was funded by grants from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland and the Scottish Parliament.

A small number of definitions have been drawn from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (COD)* sixth edition, and the online edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) ([oed.com](http://oed.com)).

**Albert** – COD, watch-chain with crossbar.

**Bleezing** – SND1, Bleeze, blaze; (1). To calumniate. (2). To boast, brag.

**Bondager** – SND 1, Bondager, “One who performs bondage service, but latterly applied only to the female field-worker that each cottar or farm-tenant is bound, by the conditions of his tenancy, to supply to do regular field-work on the farm” (*Supplement to Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary*, by D. Donaldson, 1887, *Addenda*). SND 2: A tied farmworker, latterly a female farmworker hired for specific tasks.

**Bonspiel** – SND1, Bonspiel, bonspiel, bonspiel; A match between two opposite parties in the game of curling. It takes place generally between different clubs or parishes. In former days the word was employed in a wider sense, e.g. in connection with golf or archery/

**Bothy** – SND1, Bothy, Bothie. Bathie; (1), generally any primitive dwelling or shelter of any kind. (2), especially living quarters, permanent or temporary, used to house workmen engaged in the locality; a building near the fishings used by salmon fishers, Gen Sc.; a shelter on a hillside for shepherds or climbers; an independent building on a farm or part of the farm steading, used to house unmarried male farm servants, Gen. Sc. SNDS, There are difficulties in the history of this now common word, which is, curiously enough, attested in its earlier instances in English writers, Holinshed, Pennant, Lightfoot, and it may have originated in a confusion between Gael. *bothan*, a hut, and *buith* or its English form booth, neither of which would give the form *bothy* by reg. phonological development. The word may indeed be of literary. origin,

spreading into popular speech through e.g. the writings of Hugh Miller who uses it frequently.

**Carrier** – COD, person or company undertaking for hire the conveyance of goods or passengers.

**Carse**– SND1, Carse, cars, kerse 2 Low and fertile land; generally, that which is adjacent to a river” (Sc. 1808 Jam.). “The name appears to have originally referred to their [flat lands’] wet fenny character, but is now associated with their rich fertility” (N.E.D.).

**Cauld** – DOST, Cald, Cauld; cold in various physical applications.

**Chizzet** – SND1 Chessart, Chesser, Cheshert, Chesset, Chisset, Chizzart, Chis(s)at, Cheesard, a cheese-vat; a cheese-press.

**Cog** – SND 1, Cog, Cogue, Coag, Cogg, Cowg, Coug, Kog; 1. A wooden vessel, made of staves and girded with metal bands, used in milking cows, carrying water, or in drinking or eating. One or two staves langer than the rest form the handle or handles.

**Clottie** – SND1, Clottie, Clooty, Cloutie, Clouty; made of pieces of cloth. SNDS, Clottie; Wrapped in a cloth, especially of a pudding or dumpling, and boiled in water or broth.

**Darg** - SND1, Darg, Dairg, Daurg, Darg(u)e; A day’s work. Often in combination *day’s darg*. Hence extended to mean a task, work in general, whether lasting for a day or not. Love-darg, a piece of work or service done, not for hire, but merely from affection; a labour of love; a gift day of service of horses, men, etc. by neighbour farmers to a new-come farmer.

**Disruption** – SND1, Disruption; the split which took place in the Established Church of Scotland on the eighteenth of May 1843, when some 450 of its 1200 ministers left the Church in protest against its failure to maintain spiritual independence of the civil authorities. In particular, controversy raged round the right of patronage in the appointment of parish ministers. About one third of the members followed suit and these formed themselves into the Free Church of Scotland. The term was used in anticipation of the actual event.

**Dochter** – DOST, Tochter, dochtir; a daughter.

**Douce** – SND1, douce, douse, douss, dooce, dowse; (1). Sedate, sober, quiet, respectable, often with a connotation of circumspection or cautiousness. (2). Pleasant, kindly, gentle, lovable.

**Draff** – SND1, Draff; used as in England to signify dregs, refuse, especially the refuse of malt after brewing.

**Draper** - COD, Retailer of textile fabrics.

**Drysalter** – COD, Dealer in drugs, dyes, gums, oils, pickles, tinned meats, etc.’

**Elder** – SND1, Elder; In the Presbyterian church, “one who is elected and ordained to the exercise of government in ecclesiastical courts, without having authority to teach, hence, for the sake of distinction, often called a *ruling elder*” (Sc. 1808 Jam.) in contradistinction to the minister or *teaching elder*.

**Factor** – SND 1, Factor; 1. An agent or steward who manages land or house property for its proprietor; one who has charge of the administration of an estate.

**Farrow** – SND1, farrow; of a cow: having missed a pregnancy, not in calf.

**Fash** – SND1, Fash; (1). To make angry, enrage, to fret, be angry. (2). To trouble, annoy, bother, inconvenience, vex. (3). To put (oneself) about, to vex, bother, disturb (oneself).

**Flesher** – DOST, Flescher, Flesher; A butcher.

**Fu’** – SND1, Fou, fu’; Scottish forms and usages of English *full*. (1). As in English. (3). Full of Liquor, drunk, intoxicated.

**Grieve** – SND1, Grieve; the overseer on a farm, a farm-bailiff.

**Gudewife** – DOST, Gud(e)wife, Guid-, Goodwife; a wife or woman as the mistress of a house.

**Ha’bible** – SND1, Ha; Sc. Forms and usages of English *hall*. *Ha-bible*; a large family bible, one which formerly was used in the ha’.

**Haffet** – SND1, Haffet, (1) that part of the head above and in front of the ear; the temple, the cheek. (2) Generally in plural, locks of hair growing on the temples.

**Haply** – DOST, Happin; mayhap, perhaps.

**Heritor** – SND1, Heritor; Scots Law: a landowner, a landed proprietor, now specifically in regard to his liability to contribute to the upkeep of the parish church.

**Hogg** – DOST, Hog, hogg; a young sheep which has not yet had its first shearing, a yearling.

**Ingle** – DOST, Ingill, ingle; (1). The fire on a household hearth; any ordinary domestic fire.

**Jockey** – SND1, Jockie, jock(e)y (1). A stroller, vagrant beggar or pedlar, gipsy. (2). A horse-dealer; a postillion.

**Kane** – SND1, Kane, kain(e); (1). A payment in kind, esp. of poultry, made by a tenant of land as part of his rent. (3). Specifically of articles originally paid as rent in kind: a quantity of cheese, probably at first that made during a season on an average dairy farm and variable in amount but later fixed in weight and given as 300 stone tron (about 60 cwt.). Hence *kainer*, a dairyman who pays his rent in cheese.

**Kirk session** – DOST, Kirk-sessioun, also Kirke- and –sessioun, -session; the lowest court in the Reformed Church of Scotland, comprising the minister and elders (in

some instances also the deacons) of a parish or congregation, or rather, those who held active office for that particular year.

**Kist** – SND1, Kist; (1). A chest, box, trunk, coffer, especially a (farm-) servant's trunk. Also a chestful.

**Laigh** – SND1, Laich, laigh, leagh; Scottish forms and usages of English *low*.

**Lowe** – SND1, Low, lowe. Lou; (1). A flame, the reddest part of a fire. (2). Fire in general, a fire, whether indoors or out, a blaze.

**Lyart** – SND1, Lyart; (1). Usually of the hair: streaked with white, grizzled, silvery, dappled, of a horse.

**Midden** - SND1, Midden; (1). A dunghill, the place where a farmer piles his farmyard manure; a refuse-heap in general, a compost-heap; a domestic ash-pit or dusthold; a refuse-bin or its contents, the domestic rubbish put out for disposal by the local authority.

**Minister** – SND1, minister; (1). A clergyman in general, specifically and commonly, a parish minister of the Church of Scotland.

**Operose** – COD, Requiring or showing or taking great pains, laborious.

**Piece** – SND1, Piece; (2). A piece of bread and butter, jam, or the like, a snack, usually of bread, scone or oatcake, a sandwich.

**Quey** – SND1, Quey; A heifer, a young cow, up to the age of three years, or until she has had a calf.

**Sasine** – SND 1, Sasine, Scottish forms of English Law term *seisin*. Scots Law; the act or procedure of giving possession of feudal property, until 1845 by the symbolical delivery of earth and stones or similar appropriate objects on the property itself, and by the later registration of the deed of conveyance in the local Register of Sasines. Symbolic delivery has now been abolished and all sasines are registered in the General Register of Sasines in Edinburgh.

**Shaw** – SND1, Shaw; (3). The haulm or foliage of certain vegetables of which the roots are eaten, the stalks and leaves of potatoes, turnips, carrots or the like, what shows above ground. To cut off the shaws or haulms of turnips.

**Single** – SND1, Single; III. To thin out seedlings (especially of turnips) to single spaced plants.

**Sunday School** – OED, 1. Originally: a school for the general instruction of children on a Sunday, usually set up and controlled by a parish. In later use: a school or class held on a Sunday, organized by a church or other religious organization, for instruction in a particular religion.

**Stirk** – SND1, Stirk; (1). A young bovine animal after weaning, kept for slaughter at the age of two or three, not for breeding, and usually referring to a steer or bullock, less frequently to a heifer, though the plural generally includes both.



**Stot** – SND1, Stot, (1). A young castrated ox, a steer, bullock, generally one of the second year and upwards.

**Tattie** – a potato

**Teuchter** – SND1, Teuchter; a term of disparagement or contempt used in Central Scotland for a Highlander, especially one speaking Gaelic, or anyone from the North, an uncouth, countrified person, jocularly also applied to animals.

**Unco** – SND1, Unco; (1). Of people, animals, things, places: unknown, unfamiliar, strange. (2). Unusual, out of the ordinary; odd, strange, peculiar, weird, uncanny. (3). Used as an intensive epithet: remarkable, extraordinary, notable, great, large, “awful,” etc., deriving specific meaning from the context.

**Wag at the wa’ clock** – A wall mounted clock with a pendulum.

**Wales** – SND1, Wale; (1). Choice, the act of choosing, scope for choice; a selection; abundance, plenty to choose from.

**Wedder** – SND1, Wedder; Scottish forms and usages of English *wether*, a castrated male sheep.

## Weights and measures

By Act 5 Geo. IV. c.74, 1824 uniformity of weights and measures was statutorily established and gradually this was conformed to although the names of the older measures like FIRLOT, FORPIT, LIPPIE were transferred to fractions of the Imperial hundred-weight and are still sometimes heard. The tables of weights and measures below have been taken from The Dictionary of the Scots Language (see above). However, as Simpson points out, although tabulation has been found to be useful, the systems of weights and measures was more complicated and obscure than the format suggests and ‘there is, unfortunately, great danger in presenting seemingly exact detail in this way, even in the somewhat different circumstances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and much of the detail of this tabulation is now appreciated to be incorrect or inappropriate.’<sup>999</sup>

## WEIGHTS

1. According to the standard of LANARK, for TROY or DUTCH, weight:

<b>Scots</b>	<b>Avoirdupois</b>	<b>Metric Weight</b>
1 drop	1·093 drams	1·921 grammes
16 drops = 1 ounce	1 oz. 1·5 drams	31 grammes

<sup>999</sup> Simpson, A. D. C. (2005). Interpreting Scots Measurement terms: a cautionary tale. *Perspectives on the Older Scottish Tongue*. C. J. Kay and M. A. Mackay. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 139-52.

16 ounces = 1 pound	1 lb. 1 oz. 8 dr.	496 grammes
16 pounds = 1 stone	17 lbs. 8 oz.	7.936 kilogrammes

2. According to the standard of EDINBURGH for TRON, weight:

Scots	Avoirdupois	Metric Weight
1 drop	1.378 drams	2.4404 grammes
16 drops = 1 ounce	1 oz. 6 drams	39.04 grammes
16 ounces = 1 pound	1 lb. 6 oz. 1 dram	624.74 grammes
16 pounds = 1 stone	1 stone 8 lbs. 1 oz.	9.996 kilogrammes

## CAPACITY

Liquid measure according to the standard of STIRLING

Scots	Imperial	Metric
1 gill	.749 gill	.053 litres
4 gills = 1 MUTCHKIN	2.996 gills	.212 litres
2 mutchkins = 1 CHOPIN	1 pint 1.992 gills	.848 litres
2 chopins = 1 PINT	2 pints 3.984 gills	1.696 litres
8 pints = 1 gallon	3 gallons .25 gills	13.638 litres
1 pint = 104.2034 Imp. cub. ins.	1 pint = 34.659 Imp. cub. ins.	1 litre = 61.027 cub. ins.

Dry measure according to the standard of LINLITHGOW

1. For wheat, peas, beans, meal, etc.

1 LIPPIE (or FORPIT)	.499 gallons	2.268 litres
4 lippies = 1 peck	1.996 gallons	9.072 litres
4 Pecks = 1 FIRLOT	3 pecks 1.986 gallons	36.286 litres
4 Firlots = 1 BOLL	3 bushels 3 pecks 1.944 galls.	145.145 litres
16 Bolls = 1 CHALDER	7 quarters 7 bushels 3 pecks 1.07 galls.	2322.324 litres
1 Firlot = 2214.322 cub. ins.	1 gallon = 277.274 cub. ins.	1 litre = 61.027 cub. ins.

2. For barley, oats, malt.

1 Lippie (or Forpit)	.728 gallons	3.037 litres
4 Lippies = 1 peck	1 peck .912 gallons	13.229 litres
4 Pecks = 1 Firlot	1 bushel 1 peck 1.650	52.916 litres

	gallons	
4 Firlots = 1 Boll	5 bushels 3 pecks ·600 gallons	211·664 litres
16 Bolls = 1 Chalder	11 quarters 5 bushels 1·615 gallons	3386·624 litres
1 Firlot = 3230·305 cub. ins.		

## MEASURES

According to the standard ELL, of Edinburgh.

### Lineal

1 inch	1·0016 inches	2·54 centimetres
8·88 inches = 1 Sc. link	8·8942 inches	22·55 centimetres
12 inches = 1 foot	12·0192 inches	30·5287 centimetres
3 1/12 feet = 1 ELL	37·0598 inches (1 1/37 yards)	94·1318 centimetres
6 ells = 1 fall (FA, <i>n.</i> )	6·1766 yards (1·123 poles)	5·6479 metres
4 falls = 1 chain	24·7064 yards (1·123 chains)	22·5916 metres
10 chains = 1 furlong	247·064 yards (1·123 furlongs)	225·916 metres
8 furlongs = 1 mile	1976·522 yards (1·123 miles)	1·8073 kilometres

### Square

1 sq. inch	1·0256 sq. inch	6·4516 sq. centimetre
1 sq. ell	1·059 sq. yards	·8853 sq. metre
36 sq. ells = 1 sq. fall	38·125 sq. yards (1 pole 7·9 sq. yards)	31·87 sq. metres
40 falls = 1 sq. rood	1525 sq. yards (1 rood 10 poles 13 sq. yards)	12·7483 acres
4 roods = 1 sq. acre	6100 sq. yards (1·26 acres)	·5099 hectare

## Currency

The old Scots currency was abolished in 1707. The currency employed in the farm account books is Sterling.

<b>Pre-decimal coinage</b>		<b>Decimal</b>
12 pennies	1 shilling	5 pence
2 shillings	1 florin	10 pence
5 shillings	1 crown	25 pence
20 shillings	1 pound	100 pence/1 pound
21 shillings	1 guinea	105 pence

Simpson, A. D. C. (2005). Interpreting Scots Measurement terms: a cautionary tale. Perspectives on the Older Scottish Tongue. C. J. Kay and M. A. Mackay. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 139-52.

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