



*Pitmiddle Village  
&  
Elcho Nunnery*

Perthshire Society of Natural Science

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&  
*Elcho Nunnery*

Research and Excavation on Tayside

An occasional publication issued to celebrate the 40th anniversary  
of the Archaeological and Historical Section.

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Cover Illustration: A section of *The Mapp of Strathern, Stormount and Cars of Gourie*  
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## FOREWORD

In February, 1948 at a meeting convened by the late Dr Margaret Stewart the Archaeological Section of the P.S.N.S. was formally inaugurated. Forty years later the Section is strong and active and a programme of regular winter lectures is well supported. During the spring and summer months interesting visits are arranged, some of which have extended over week-ends.

The Section takes a keen interest in all matters concerning local history and is ever watchful of developments which may reveal relics of the past, or equally, destroy part of our heritage.

At the start of our fortieth year, Mr Robert Butchart, a past president and founder member, was accorded honorary membership.

In May of this year we are privileged to be hosting the Council for Scottish Archaeology Summer School and a varied programme has been arranged.

Perth and Kinross District Council have offered a Civic Reception to the Summer School. They have also contributed generously to the cost of this publication, as has the Inch Fishing Company.

The project on the abandoned village of Pitmiddle was instigated by Mr Tom Ogilvy, who was able through his personal contacts and recollections to provide information which might otherwise have eluded us. On the occasions when I accompanied Tom I was impressed by his enthusiasm and ability to elicit information from the families whom we visited. Mr Ogilvy and his team gathered a vast quantity of source material from which we were able to compile a vivid picture of life as it was in the heyday of Pitmiddle.

To the late Dr Margaret Stewart, and the late Mrs Dorothy Lye we are indebted for their work on Elcho.

The mammoth task of assembling and co-ordinating the material for publication has been done by an editorial sub-committee consisting of myself, Mr David Perry, Miss Alison Reid, Mrs Rose Smith and Mrs Marion Stavert. Our thanks are due to Professor G.W.S. Barrow who read the text of the Pitmiddle history and to Mrs Anne Dixon who typed the Elcho text.

I express my gratitude to all who have planned and prepared the activities to mark our fortieth anniversary.

I also thank the members for their loyal support over the years and we look forward with confidence to a prosperous future for the Archaeological and Historical Section of the P.S.N.S.

Nancy Boyd  
President  
Archaeological and Historical Section  
P.S.N.S.  
1988

## NOTE ON SCOTTISH CURRENCY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

### Money

All references to money before 1707 are in pounds Scots unless otherwise stated. The pound Scots was roughly equivalent to the English pound until the end of the 14th century when it began to depreciate with the most marked decline in value between 1560 and 1620. From that date until the Act of Union in 1707, £12 Scots was equivalent to £1 English. A merk was two thirds of a pound or 13s 4d.

### Weights and Measures

#### Dry measures for Perthshire

1 boll of meal = 10 imperial stones = 140lbs  
1 boll of oats = 17½ imperial stones = 245lbs  
1 boll wheat = 17½ imperial stones = 245lbs  
1 boll of barley = 22½ imperial stones = 315lbs  
4 lippies = 1 peck; 4 pecks = 1 firloft;  
4 firlofts = 1 boll; 16 bolls = 1 chaldar.

### Linear Measurement

1 ell = 37 inches.

## CONTENTS

Foreword Nancy Boyd, President	3
Note on Scottish Currency, Weights and Measures	4
<b>Pitmiddle Village</b> David R. Perry	
Introduction	7
History	8
The Farming Community	16
Social Life	31
References	45
Bibliography	46
<b>Elcho Nunnery</b> Alison G. Reid and the late Dorothy M. Lye	
Introduction	49
History	50
Excavation	54
Human Bone	60
Pottery	66
Glass	68
Metalwork	70
Worked and Animal Bone	75
Worked Stone	78
Clay Pipes	81
Acknowledgements	81
Notes and References	82

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### **Pitmiddle Village**

Plate 1 A section of James Stobie's map of 1805 of Perth and Clackmannan.	6
Plate 2 Pitmiddle village from the Ordnance Survey map of 1860.	30
Plate 3 Postcard view of Pitmiddle village at the turn of the century.	42
Plate 4 Pitmiddle village in 1988.	43

### **Elcho Nunnery**

Plate 1 Location plan of Elcho Nunnery.	48
Plate 2 Three book clasps.	71
Fig. 1 Pins, lace-ends and a wire loop	71
Plate 3 Bronze oil lamp	79
Plate 4 Carved grave slab fragment	79
Site plan	End paper



Plate 1. A section of James Stobie's map of 1805 of Perth and Clackmannan. Pitmiddle is in the centre of the parish of Kinnaird. (Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

### Introduction

This study of Pitmiddle village is the result of a happy suggestion by the late Dr Margaret Stewart in February 1982. She had thought that a suitable project for the Archaeological and Historical Section of the P.S.N.S. would be to record threatened deserted settlements in Perthshire. The site originally suggested was in Glenalmond but this was rejected as it was thought to be too far from Perth for easy access by our members. The next suggestion, Pitmiddle, in the parish of Kinnaird and on the Braes of the Carse, seemed more promising and as Tom Ogilvie had personal knowledge of the area as well as acquaintance with some of the families who had lived there, it was this deserted village that was chosen.

Tom Ogilvie was the convener of the subcommittee which organised the investigations. Its other members were Eva Bennett, Mary Cairncross and Robert Butchart. This involved site visits and walks on the old tracks by the Section, interviewing elderly 'ex-residents', taking numerous photographs, as well as researches into school records, census returns, valuation rolls and parish records. The committee decided that the research should conclude at the end of summer 1984 and that the work would then be written up with a view to publication. It was the further historical research – originally undertaken by Charles Coventry – to put Pitmiddle into its proper context that unearthed a mass of documentation stretching back to the 12th century and revealed the importance of this one-time flourishing and prosperous community.

This short history is unable to give all the details revealed by the Section's researches, particularly the recollections of the surviving families. However all such material is preserved in a Pitmiddle archive and deposited in Perth Museum and Art Gallery.

This account of a community from its Pictish origins in the Dark Ages, through its recorded history down to its decline and reversion to stone walls and green field, possibly reflects the changing needs of those living in Tayside over the centuries. Perhaps if this settlement had been of easier access in the past, metalled roads would have been constructed, perhaps a water supply and then perhaps Pitmiddle might have survived as a commuter village for Dundee and Perth. We hope that this account has gone some way to give the inhabitants of Pitmiddle, both in the past and their descendants today, their proper place in the history of Scotland.

Marion L. Stavert

## HISTORY

### Richard the Clerk

The earliest reference to Pitmiddle is in a charter dating from 1172 to 1174 of William the Lion granting to Ralph Rufus 'Kinnaird in its right divisions except *Petmeodhel* belonging to Richard my clerk'. This reference is important for three reasons. Firstly, although it gives us our earliest date for the place, it implies that by that date Pitmiddle was an already existing settlement. Richard the first recorded owner's position as a clerk in the royal household, possibly in the chapel which was the king's secretariat, was similar to that of a modern civil servant. However there was no Scottish Office Finance Division computer in the 12th century to send out regular monthly pay cheques: wealth was based on land and the rents and dues paid by tenants to their landlord. It can therefore confidently be assumed that by 1174 Pitmiddle was a well-established community, whose rents were used by the king to pay Richard the equivalent of a salary. Secondly, it reveals that Pitmiddle and Kinnaird were royal lands. The king granted them to Richard and Ralph Rufus respectively as part of his policy of introducing Anglo-Normans to Scotland. They were in the earldom of Gowrie which had been in the crown's possession since the accession in 1107 of Alexander I who had been earl of Gowrie.

Finally, this reference reveals that Pitmiddle was part of a larger area, Kinnaird. Both were recognisable territorial units whose boundaries form the basis of the modern parish of Kinnaird which was not formed until after the Reformation and which as late as the 1790s still comprised just two estates: Kinnaird belonging to the laird of Fingask and Pitmiddle belonging to the laird of Inchmartine. Pitmiddle in the charter refers not only to the settlement but also to the land farmed as arable or pasture by its inhabitants, that is the whole of the eastern part of the parish of Kinnaird.

Richard's identity is unknown. There were at least four clerks of that name in the early part of William's reign (1165-1214). As not long after 1174 and certainly by 1182 Pitmiddle was granted by the king to his brother David, Richard must have died or resigned the estate. A possible candidate is Richard of St Albans who first appears as a royal clerk under Malcolm IV (1153-1165) and who died or retired about 1172.

### David Earl of Huntingdon

Between 1178 and 1182 William the Lion granted or confirmed to his brother David, later Earl of Huntingdon in England, substantial estates. Among them were Dundee, Longforgan and *Petmothel*. David was the most important person in the kingdom after the king himself whose heir he was until the birth of the future Alexander II in 1198. Subsequently David was granted other lands including Inchmartine in the parish of Errol but bordering his estate of Pitmiddle and it is with Inchmartine that the later history of Pitmiddle is linked.

David's charter is our first written record of the terms on which Pitmiddle

was held. He was to hold all his estates 'in their right divisions ... with all their just pertinents in wood and plain, in lands and waters, in meadows and pastures, in mills and ponds, in moors and marshes, in roads and paths, and in all other just pertinents both named and unnamed; with sake and soke, toll and team and infangthief' for the service of ten knights. This gave David complete control over all aspects of his estates including the right to charge tolls on travellers crossing his lands. The precise meaning of the phrase 'with sake and soke etc.' is unclear but it probably includes the jurisdiction by a baron over all crimes committed in his barony except the four pleas of murder, rape, arson and robbery.

Pitmiddle itself was never a barony and in David's time it was probably treated as a detached part of the barony of Longforgan. There was therefore never a castle, tower or manor at Pitmiddle but there was a manorial place at Craigmallie in 1609. A charter was issued at Pitmiddle in 1565 and witnessed by two tenants there and it may have been granted at the bailie's house. When Pitmiddle was part of the Inchmartine estate, the laird resided at Easter Inchmartine where a *curia* or hall and courtyard existed in 1241. By 1500 the hall had been replaced by a tower house, which in turn was replaced by the present Inchmartine House in the mid 18th century.

### **The Inchmartines**

Before 1214, David made over Pitmiddle to his illegitimate son Henry of Stirling.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he may have granted him part of Inchmartine from which Henry's descendants took their name of Inchmartine. The rest of Inchmartine was retained by Earl David's legitimate successors being inherited by John Balliol grandson of David's eldest daughter and the successful claimant to the Scottish throne in 1292. The Inchmartines held Pitmiddle for about a century and a half.

Sir John Inchmartine played a major part in the struggle against the English after 1296. His prominence was based on his position as a baron. As well as Inchmartine and Pitmiddle, he held from the crown the baronies of Dounie or Strathardle in north Perthshire and of Elcho near Perth. The latter was apparently acquired by 1304 in exchange for some land in the 'tenement' of Pitmiddle. If taken at face value, this exchange is extraordinary as it is inconceivable that land in (not the land of) Pitmiddle should have compensated for a barony unless Pitmiddle was an exceptionally valuable property or Elcho an exceptionally impoverished barony. As regards the latter possibility, one can only speculate about the effects of the war after 1296 although the Carse of Gowrie was not spared. In 1296 and 1303 the English army marched through the Carse, on the former occasion Edward I passing a night at Baledgarno, and Gilbert Hay claimed that his lands of Errol were devastated by the war.

Oddly, perhaps the most significant of Sir John's estates were those he held not of the crown but of the earl of Atholl.<sup>2</sup> These latter made him a vassal of the earl and it was with the earl that he was associated during the War of

Independence. In the rival claims to the throne after 1286, Atholl supported the Bruces and Inchmartine would have followed his lord. He was captured along with Atholl and others of Atholl's followers in the castle of Dunbar in 1296 and with them he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. It was on his lord's guarantee that Sir John was released in August 1297 to attend to the earl's business in Scotland before joining Edward I's army in Flanders but it is not known if he ever served there. Ironically it was just at this time, when Edward thought he had subdued Scotland and turned his attention to France, that Wallace's revolt took place. Sir John must have supported it as he was a Scots envoy to the peace negotiations at Canterbury in 1301 between France and England. The negotiations failed and with Edward increasingly successful in the war, most Scots leaders submitted in March 1304. Sir John was probably among them as in that year he delivered the crown's revenues from Glenlyon and Dull to the sheriff of Perth. In September 1305 he was among the ten Scottish representatives at the English parliament when the Scottish government was settled. Among its provisions was the choice of Sir John as sheriff of Perth and as a councillor to advise Edward's lieutenant in Scotland. Sir John is last mentioned in August 1306 when he undertook to deliver in person to Edward or his lieutenant in Scotland the son and heir of the Steward of Scotland and the son of the earl of Atholl. Atholl had joined Bruce's revolt and as Inchmartine was threatened with loss of life and goods, his loyalty may have been suspect.

Sir John's successor was his elder son, Henry. Like his father, he had been captured at Dunbar but was imprisoned in Windsor Castle. He was also released on Atholl's guarantee to serve in Edward's army in Flanders and he apparently did serve there. However, early in the following year the Scottish knights deserted Edward and returned to Scotland to support Wallace. Henry is next mentioned in 1306 when he received payment from Edward's chamberlain in Scotland for his expenses as a knight with one esquire from 1 March to 20 May. That he was not paid thereafter may indicate he had joined Bruce. While neither Sir John nor Sir Henry can be definitely linked to him, one member of the family certainly was. Sir David Inchmartine, who may have been John's son or brother, was captured at the battle of Methven in June 1306 and executed at Newcastle in August. The earl of Atholl was also executed for supporting Bruce.

Atholl's execution was significant for the Inchmartines. The new earl was a supporter of Edward I but Henry's brother and successor John supported Bruce. As a younger son he had been destined for the church but his seal as a baron is appended to the Declaration of Arbroath, the letter sent in the name of the Scottish barons to the pope in 1320, and he was sheriff of Perth in the 1320s. During Edward Balliol's brief occupation of the Scottish throne in 1332-34 with English help, he is noted as coming into the English king's peace. This was only a temporary submission as his successor Gilbert was killed at Neville's Cross in 1346 when David II was captured by the English. Gilbert's name is significant as it implies that after the break with the Atholls, the

Inchmartines linked themselves to their neighbour Gilbert Hay of Errol, a staunch supporter of Bruce.

The estates were inherited by the second Sir John's daughter Isabella and her husband Sir Alan Erskine. Erskine re-united the lands of Inchmartine by acquiring in 1379 that part which had been retained by Earl David. On their deaths without a son, their estates were equally divided between their two daughters, Margaret, who married Sir John Glen and Isabella, who married Sir John Wemyss.

### The Ogilvys

As the Glens also had no surviving son, their half of Inchmartine was divided equally between their three daughters, each of whom married an Ogilvy. The Ogilvys held the estate for some 200 years being the family with the longest ownership. During this period, while not a family of national importance, they played their part in national and local affairs as was expected by and of the lairdly class. In August 1480, David Ogilvy was about to serve in James III's army against the English. His illegitimate son and successor, James, was killed at Flodden in 1513.<sup>3</sup> In 1560 James' grandson, William, was present in parliament when the reformed church was established. Sir Patrick Ogilvy was a covenanter in the 1640s.

Involvement in public affairs did not prevent the Ogilvy lairds from following the greatest ambition of any medieval landowner, that of acquiring more land, but a pattern can be seen in their land dealings. When Andrew Ogilvy, who married the Glens' eldest daughter, succeeded his parents-in-law, he acquired one sixth of the Inchmartine estates at Inchmartine, Strathardle, Elcho and in Atholl, all in Perthshire; one third of the Glen estates in the Borders and Fife; and one ninth of all the Wemyss estates in Fife and Strathearn – the second Sir John Inchmartine having married an heiress of Wemyss – as well as lands in Lanarkshire. These formed a patchwork of small estates across southern Scotland which Andrew and his son David started to rationalise. They consolidated and expanded their estate at Inchmartine at the expense of their other lands. In this they were aided by the desire of their cousin John Wemyss of that Ilk, heir male of Wemyss, to recover the Wemyss lands. So in a series of transactions they exchanged their respective holdings. David Ogilvy also acquired another cousin's sixth of Inchmartine so that the Ogilvys eventually owned five sixths of Inchmartine and Pitmiddle. The missing sixth of Inchmartine and Craigdallie was inherited by the Cunninghams of Polmaise in Stirlingshire, descended from Sir John Glen's second daughter, and incorporated into their barony of Polmaise in 1484. In 1512 it was acquired by the earl of Errol. The profits from the sale or feuing of the distant lands were probably used to buy land around Inchmartine. Lands at Kinnaird, Inchmartine, Ballindean and Baledgarno (formerly belonging to the Knights Templar), as well as land in the neighbouring parish of Inchtute, at Balgay, and more land at Kinnaird, were all acquired between 1441 and 1521.<sup>4</sup> The latter acquisition was exchanged in 1548 for Drimmie (in Inchtute)

which Patrick Ogilvy gave to his youngest son Andrew. Land in Kincardineshire was acquired by 1480 and the barony of Lude in Atholl was owned by the Ogilvys from before 1555 to after 1609. In the 17th century, Sir Patrick Ogilvy benefited from the financial difficulties of the earl of Errol, gaining their baronies of Caputh and Errol itself as well as other lands including the missing sixth of Inchmartine and Craigdallie.

Not that the Ogilvys themselves were free from financial problems. By 1467 David Ogilvy wadset (mortgaged) Pitmiddle, or part of it, to a neighbour, William Monorgan. Under a wadset, the lender – Monorgan – had proprietary rights in the lands pledged until the borrower – Ogilvy – redeemed them by repaying the loan. However this did not stop a landowner from trying to maintain his previous rights. In October 1467 Monorgan went to court claiming that John Forest had despoiled him of certain goods which he had then sold for six merks (£4) of three terms mail (rent) from Pitmiddle. That Forest was Ogilvy's agent is clear from the latter's inclusion as a defendant. The judges found in favour of Monorgan who was to be compensated by Forest and peacefully enjoy the lands of Pitmiddle until Ogilvy redeemed them. They had been redeemed by 1492 when Ogilvy granted the Greyfriars of Dundee an annual rent of 12 merks (£8) from his lands of Inchmartine and Pitmiddle for a daily mass in honour of his parents. Apart from teinds or tithes this was the only grant to the church from Pitmiddle and was still being paid in 1569-70 to the Hospital of Dundee as the Greyfriars' successors, but it was not recorded in the list of payments in the rental of Inchmartine of 1650.<sup>5</sup>

David's successors also had financial problems. One of the more valuable parts of the estate was the mill with its revenues and twice in the 16th century, Craigdallie with its mill and mill-lands was wadset to John Ermar, Burgess of Perth and Gelis Blynsele his wife. Sir Patrick Ogilvy in the 17th century faced more serious problems. The 16th and 17th centuries were a time of high inflation which reduced the value of the landowners' rents and also saw the development of regular taxation of landowners' rental income from James VI onwards. In addition, Ogilvy had to pay some £16,133 6s 8d as forfeited caution (bail) for the earl of Kinnoull. The acquisition of some of the Kinnoull estates was little compensation as Ogilvy still had serious financial problems. In September 1648, all his estates were appraised along with those of three other Perthshire lairds for the sum of £29,000. Somehow all the estates involved were made over in 1649 (under right of reversion to the original owners) to Ogilvy's son and heir, Patrick Lord Deskford, who had married the daughter and heiress of the 1st Earl of Findlater. It was to pay off the debts that the barony of Inchmartine was sold in 1650 for 40,000 merks (£26,666 13s 4d) to Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven.

### The Levens

The new owner, who renamed the barony Inchleslie, was a professional soldier who had served in the Swedish army. Returning to Scotland in 1638, he soon afterwards became commander of the covenanters' army in England.

When Charles II was in Scotland in 1650-51 attempting to regain the English throne, Leven, who was about 70 years old, was still nominally the commander of the Scots army and it is at this time, with the survival of the kirk session records, that we begin to see the effects of national events on the parish of Kinnaird and its inhabitants.

On 21 August 1651 Cromwell captured Perth. The next day was a Sunday but the session records note that there was no preaching because of the enemy's coming to Perth. The following Sunday there was still no preaching because of the enemy's lying at Perth and thereafter there is a gap in the records till 19 October when the entry reads, 'Ther was no preaching in thir fields for a time because of the enemy'. General Monck, left in charge by Cromwell, had captured Stirling on 15 August then marched through the Carse to besiege Dundee which was captured on 1 September. The closure of the kirk at this time may have been due to Monck himself or the uncertainty of the minister of what to expect: Monck's troops had independent or congregational sympathies and were as opposed to presbyterianism as to episcopacy. Leven himself and other covenanter leaders were captured at Alyth on 28 August, Leven being imprisoned for a time in the Tower of London. Inchleslie was apparently forfeited and granted to Major-General Overton, Cromwell's commander in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Overton himself was suspected of conspiracy against Cromwell and imprisoned in the Tower. It was probably this that enabled Leven to recover Inchleslie by 1656.

The session records do not mention the momentous events in Scotland following Charles I's attempts to impose his new prayer book on the Church of Scotland but they do give an indication of their effects on the parish. There are occasional summonses before the session of women for adultery with soldiers. An entry on 21 February 1641 notes that a voluntary contribution was raised throughout Scotland for 'our' army lying at Newcastle, of which £32 16s 8d was raised in Kinnaird and delivered to the collector in Perth for the parishes in the earl of Montrose's division of Perthshire. (This was before Montrose joined the royalists.) From July to September 1644 the minister, Mr. Barclay, at the direction of the presbytery and committees of 'this division', preached to Lord Coupar's regiment at York. How many persons suffered losses similar to Patrick Kinnaird? When summoned before the session for non-attendance at communion, he said on 13 June 1652 that, 'the onlie caus therof was his being in a passion becaus a soldier had killed his hors the night befor'. The tragedy of war for ordinary folk, compounded with scarcity or famine, as in 1651, is reflected in the case of Jonet Walker who on 27 October 1651 – shortly after Monck's visitation – confessed that 'she said that hir mother was weill away [fortunate to be dead] and that she [Jonet] sold hir bairnes for money to the warris'. The bairns may have been boys sold as drummer-boys or soldiers or girls sold as camp followers to either the Scots army or Monck's. The session had not met regularly since June so her offence could have happened any time after then. The incident with the horse must also have reflected the famine of 1650-51 which would have lasted until the harvest of 1652: there is

not much one can do with a dead horse except eat it.

On the other hand not everyone saw it as a time of gloom and doom. Two parishioners, James Morton and William Mores, possibly from Pitmiddle as there were families of those names living there, saw a chance of adventure, to escape the discipline of the kirk, to get away from Kinnaird, to see the world or at least to have a go at the English. Not for them the finer points of debate: bishop or presbytery, king or parliament. So they ran off to enlist in the army. But a reckoning had to be made and the session bided its time. When the adventurers finally returned at the end of the civil wars in England, they had to make their repentance for their going 'in service agains England in the late warr' – on 28 January 1649, two days before the execution of Charles I, on which there is no comment.<sup>7</sup>

Leven died in 1661, having lived to see the Restoration. Inchleslie passed eventually through an heiress to David Melville, 5th Earl of Leven, but although he succeeded to the titles in 1681 he did not secure possession of Inchleslie till after 1691, after an expensive lawsuit against Francis Montgomerie, widower of the 3rd Countess of Leven in her own right. Leven himself was an exile on the continent after 1683, becoming a supporter of William of Orange with whom he landed in England in November 1688. He was a politician and soldier: he had raised a regiment among Scots in Holland and Germany in 1688 and in 1689 raised another on his return to Scotland to further William's cause. The latter regiment still survives today as the King's Own Scottish Borderers. Involvement in public affairs was an expensive business and Leven's position was worsened by his loss of all his offices in 1712. So in 1717 he sold the barony of Inchleslie for £11,454 0s 10d sterling, about five times what the first earl had paid for it in 1650.

### The 18th Century

The new owner was Patrick Ogilvy of Lonmay, grandson of Lord Deskford who had sold the estate in 1650, and he restored the name of Inchmartine. Ogilvys held Inchmartine till 1783 although it had been acquired in the mid 18th century by another family of Ogilvys, that of Rothiemay in Banff. Pitmiddle was not involved in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 but the neighbouring estate of Kinnaird was forfeited after 1715 because of the Jacobitism of its owner, Threipland of Fingask. The Old Pretender indeed passed through the Carse, staying a night at Fingask. The inhabitants of the area thronged to see him as he went by. More significant for Pitmiddle were the agricultural changes which took place in this period and which changed the nature of the community, leading eventually to its demise.

### The Church

Before the Reformation, Kinnaird was part of the parish of Inchtüre, but Inchtüre itself was not an original parish. Between 1162 and 1164 the *chapel* of Inchtüre was granted by Richard, bishop-elect of St Andrews, to the Augustinian canons of St Andrews; but between 1165 and 1170, William the

Lion granted the *church* of Inchturre with its chapel of Kinnaird to the same Augustinians. Originally Pitmiddle, Kinnaird and Inchturre belonged to one of the neighbouring parishes: Longforgan or Rossie, both churches by 1153 and the latter a possible early Christian site, or Ecclesdouenauin, a lost early church site in the parish of Errol.

The parish was served by a parson or rector to whom the parishioners paid teinds or tithes as a tenth of their income. The church was also endowed with land where the priest could grow crops and pasture animals. The wealth of parish churches attracted the envious eyes of religious houses in need of money for their upkeep, or of ambitious absentee clergy possibly holding other benefices, or of laymen, usually younger sons like the second Sir John Inchmartine. Thus the revenues of a parish instead of being used to provide an educated parish priest and a well-appointed church, were diverted to other purposes. To safeguard the interests of parishioners, where parishes were appropriated to religious houses, bishops insisted on the appointment of a vicar at a minimum stipend of ten merks (£6 13s 4d).

Initially only the patronage of Inchturre or the right to appoint the priest was granted, not the revenues. In the mid 13th century the revenues were disputed between William de Bernham the nephew of the bishop of St Andrews and a student at Paris and Oxford, and the bishop of Aberdeen who claimed a pension of 60 merks (£40) from the parish. Some of William's letters have survived and reveal his difficulties in collecting his teinds. Among his complaints was that the teinds of *Petindille* (Pitmiddle) had been sold by the bishop to the rustics for 13 merks (£8 6s 8d). In his absence the parishioners were served by a hired chaplain, Gilbert, while the alterage dues or offerings of the chapel of Kinnaird were leased for three years to Osbert the clerk for £4.

A vicar was serving the parish in 1275 when he paid 20s as a tenth of his income to a papal tax collector although in the 1290s the church of Inchturre, probably the rectory, was worth sixty merks (£40). The revenues of Inchturre were appropriated about 1358 by William Landallis, Bishop of St Andrews, who had hitherto enjoyed them, to St Andrews cathedral. In 1419 they amounted to £60 of 'old sterling' and were coveted by Master Walter Blare who sought to have the appropriation annulled. The vicarage however was worth not more than £7 sterling in 1456 when Master Thomas de Rossy successfully petitioned the pope for a dispensation to hold any two other benefices with or without cure of souls. Rossy may not have been a resident vicar and would not have been if the petition was effective. He was an ambitious cleric (a university graduate), more concerned with his own career than with his parishioners who would have been served by a chaplain or curate, of minimal education and hired at much less than £7 sterling, and of whom there were an abundance in the medieval church.

One such was Sir Richard of Pitmiddle (sir was a courtesy title given to a cleric who was not a master of arts). In 1403 as a priest in the diocese of St Andrews he petitioned the pope for a benefice worth £20 in the gift of the

bishop, dean and chapter of Dunkeld. Ten years later he again petitioned the pope, for the church of 'Arddorevan' (Ardeonaig) in the diocese of Dunkeld although he was still expecting (after ten years!) his benefice worth £20 and claimed a right in the church of Menmuir in the same diocese, which he was prepared to resign. Both petitions were granted but neither may have been successful as he had no designation when he sold his father's two acres in Pitmiddle in 1425. While the pope could grant a petition, putting it into effect was another matter. Richard is an intriguing character. His father, William Thomassoun, was a small but free tenant in Pitmiddle. He himself may have been a younger son with no prospects or desire to become a peasant farmer. Instead he chose the church as a means of escaping and getting on in the world. If so he was not very successful although he must have gained the support of Sir John Glen and Margaret Erskine to have had a right in the church of Menmuir as they had land at Balhall in that parish.

The effect of the Reformation on the inhabitants of Pitmiddle is unknown as is their attitude to it. Doubtless the fact that their laird supported the changes encouraged his tenants to accept them. There are no instances of recusancy or Catholicism from the parish of Kinnaird although there are from the neighbouring parish of Errol where the earl of Errol was a Catholic.

It was after the Reformation that Kinnaird became a separate parish. At first it shared a minister with neighbouring parishes, the earliest minister being David Robertson in 1574, minister of Rossie since before 1565 and a former Augustinian canon of St Andrews. Under him James Wichtane was reader at Kinnaird and Inchtute. A regular succession of ministers does not begin until 1601 when John Ogilvie, also minister at Benvie, was presented by James VI to the vicarages of Inchtute and Kinnaird. On his translation to Kingoldrum in 1606, Kinnaird was presented with its own minister, Robert Seymour, and thereafter was a distinct parish. In 1617, when the cathedral chapter of St Andrews was reconstituted, the vicar of Kinnaird was appointed a member. Although Inchmartine had its own chapel or church and was in the parish of Errol, the laird had his seat in the church of Kinnaird despite the union of the church of Inchmartine to that of Errol in 1628. The church of Kinnaird was nearer Inchmartine and therefore more convenient.

Neither the overthrow of episcopacy in 1638 and 1689, nor of presbyterianism in 1660, led to the eviction of the minister from the parish, although in 1700 the Privy Council suspended the then minister. His successor, Mr Adams, was not admitted until 1707.

## THE FARMING COMMUNITY

### Origins

Pitmiddle was a farming settlement, or toun, and that was the reason for its existence until the agricultural changes of the 18th century. As a result of these changes, Pitmiddle ceased to be a toun and the decline of the settlement

set in, continuing throughout the 19th century and ending with the final abandonment of the site in January 1938.

Although first called a town in 1425, it had been one much earlier. Its origins are revealed in the earliest form of the placename *Petmeodhel*. *Pet* is a Pictish word meaning 'piece of land'. The meaning of *meodhel* is unknown but it may be a personal name. Most *Pit* names have Gaelic endings and were probably formed after the mid 9th century, when Gaelic speaking Scots conquered the Picts and occupied their land.

A study of *Pit* names reveals that most are situated at a height of between 50 and 650 feet (17 and 216m) on well drained loamy soils on sheltered slopes with a southern, or sunny, aspect. This is scarcely surprising, given that most low-lying ground was too marshy for habitation and cultivation – as was the Carse of Gowrie until it was drained in the 18th century. The sites of *Pit* names thus reveal their functions: they were settlements on the best available land, where inhabitants practised mixed farming – growing crops and rearing livestock.

The description fits the site of Pitmiddle perfectly. It is on the braes of the Carse of Gowrie, about halfway between Perth and Dundee, at a height of *c*600 feet (*c*200m). It is on a slope overlooking the Tay but sheltered from the south by Guardswell Hill. The land is good and fertile and is still cultivated today. Behind it Pitmiddle Hill rises to over 900 feet (*c*300m). Its site in a small hollow has misled some into assuming that its name derived from its site – the middle of a pit!<sup>8</sup>

Pitmiddle's origins should not be viewed in isolation. Similar settlements were being established elsewhere in the Carse between the 9th and 11th centuries. Although man was active in the Carse for centuries before then, there is no evidence of continuity of settlement. However, the constraints imposed by the availability of good land in the 9th century applied equally in earlier periods.

The system by which these settlements was organised is known as *multiple estates* and has been found along the east coast of Britain from Kent to the Moray Firth and in Wales. It is clearly an ancient pattern of land ownership and it pre-dates the arrival of Anglo-Saxons, Scots and possibly even the Romans, as it occurred outside their control. The introduction of feudalism in the 12th century did not greatly alter its organisation. Such an estate represented an area of lordship, whether exercised by a king, tribal chief, lay or ecclesiastical lord or feudal baron. It comprised the lord's own settlement, where he had his hall, with a number of other settlements, or touns, subordinate to it and was called a shire, or thanage. Dependent settlements generally have *Bal* or *Pit* names.

Tenants paid *cain* and *conveth*. *Cain* was originally tribute to a lord in recognition of his lordship – it was still being paid as *kain fowl* in Pitmiddle in 1622 and in Longforgan in the 1790s.<sup>9</sup> *Conveth* was a hospitality payment to a lord on his annual visit to his estate – these were originally payments in kind, in the produce of the land. Tenants also owed labour service on their lord's

own arable land or *demesne*; military service with their lord in the king's army; and suit of court to their lord. They were also thirled, or bound, to the lord's mill. In the lord's absence, the estate was administered by an official, the *thane* or *toshach*, later the steward or chamberlain. The economy was self-sufficient, the produce of the land being consumed each year by the tenants and the lord, with his household, despite the development of burghs in the 12th century. These were trading communities, whose inhabitants had to be fed from a surplus produced in the surrounding countryside and sold in the burgh. This possibly encouraged the development of a market economy, with growing prosperity for peasant and lord in the burgh's hinterland, although agriculture remained at subsistence level.

Some tenants may have been free but most were held in some degree of serfdom. Serfs ranged from landless labourers, heavily burdened with labour services, to substantial landholders, comparatively lightly burdened. Two broad categories of peasant are evident from the 13th century onwards – husbandmen (bondman with a house) and cottars (bondman with a cot). There may also have been slaves.

Pitmiddle, by the 12th century, had become dependent on Kinnaird but earlier it may have been dependent on Errol or Longforan, the former possibly, the latter certainly, an ancient shire. The existence of a boundary dispute at Inchmartine about 1200, between Ralph Rufus of Kinnaird and William Hay of Errol, suggests that the division between their estates was fairly recent in origin. Errol and Kinnaird, with Pitmiddle, may have formed a single pre-feudal estate, which the king sub-divided between Hay, Rufus and Richard the clerk.

## The Toun

The toun was the basic social and economic unit of medieval Scotland which was overwhelmingly rural in character until the 19th century. There was no standard pattern for touns, which varied considerably in size, shape and productive capacity but they did share certain common characteristics. In these respects, Pitmiddle was a typical toun. At its centre was the settlement. On Stobie's map of 1783, this appears as an irregularly-shaped cluster of dwellings and Pitmiddle had probably always been like this. Rural buildings are unlikely to have differed much from those found in excavations in Perth and Aberdeen – wattle and daub, single-storey huts, roofed with turf or thatch. There would be a single room with one end screened off for animals, the rest forming a living area with an open hearth and possibly a hole in the roof to let out smoke. Domestic rubbish was thrown onto a midden near the entrance. Attached to the hut was a yard, or kailyard, where hens or pigs foraged and vegetables could be grown. Enclosing the settlement was a ditch, or bank, beyond which lay the field, or arable land, an open expanse without dykes or hedges. Beyond the arable land and separated from it by the head-dyke was the pasture.

The organisation of Pitmiddle was also typical of most touns. It was held by

multiple tenure, ie by more than one tenant. It had been so since at least 1304, when the earliest known tenant, Adam, had only one acre. By the mid 17th century it had 19 tenants, though this was reduced to 15 by c1690. The tenants did not possess equal shares in the toun, with husbandmen having a larger portion than lesser tenants or cottars. The arable land was held by run-rig, ie each tenant's share was in strips interspersed with those of his neighbours, not in a single compact holding. Rigs were separated by ditches and are still visible near Pitmiddle. The rigs were periodically redistributed among tenants, possibly by lot. That a different system was used at Pitmiddle is revealed by the name of nearby Sunnyhall. The field was divided into sunny or shady portions. A tenant allotted sunny land was given rigs on the east and south; if given shady land, his rigs were on the north and west. Sunnyhall was a toun formed on land that had been part of the sunny land of Pitmiddle.

Another aspect of organisation is revealed in the name of a second nearby farm, Outfield. Originally the arable land of the toun was the field or infield. To supplement the produce of the field, possibly during a period of rising population or to meet rent increases, part of the pasture was brought under periodic cultivation. This development seems to have taken place in the 15th century, when references to outsets or outfield first appear, although it may have happened earlier, being included in the vague term pertinents. Outsets in the barony of Inchmartine are first mentioned in 1513.

The main crops grown at Pitmiddle, as evidenced in three 17th century rent rolls, were bere – a four eared variety of barley – and oats, both of which formed the basis of the peasants' diet – with some flax. Some wheat was grown but not in any sizable quantities, as it was not included in rent. The inventory of the goods of Androu Benbie, wright in Pitmiddle, in 1598 includes two firlots of wheat, as well as two bolls each of bere and oats.<sup>10</sup> Wheat was grown elsewhere on the Inchmartine estate.

The infield was under permanent cultivation and received most of the available manure. This was provided by grazing the livestock on the stubble after the harvest, during winter. Before ploughing, additional manure accumulated in the kailyards over winter was applied to that part of the infield where bere was to be grown. Apart from animal dung and domestic refuse, there was little other fertiliser available. The infield was generally divided into three breaks, which were distinguished not by dykes or boundaries but by changes in the alignment of the rigs. Crop rotation was of the simplest, one crop of bere followed by two crops of oats.

Like the infield, the outfield was divided into a number of breaks of which from a third to half might be cropped at any one time. Rotation was provided by cropping a new break every year, breaks being cropped for up to five years at a time, or until crop yields became too low. The only manure for the outfield was provided by grazing livestock during the summer on the new break, which was to be cultivated next year. The animals were confined to it by enclosing it within a turf wall. When the break was to be ploughed the turves were knocked down and ploughed in. No manure was available for the rest of the outfield

under cultivation. Oats were generally the only crop grown on the outfield.

Beyond the head dyke, which surrounded the outfield, lay the common pasture, or wasteland, which may have been shared with other touns. Animals were led to the pasture by the common hird, a servant hired in common by the tenants to look after their livestock (in 1647 Edmund Jackson, in Pitmiddle, was fined 10s by the session for striking the common hird on the Sabbath). Not only was there a right to pasture but there may have been a right to cut peat or gather brushwood for fuel, or to cut turves for building. If there was a wood or forest, there might have been a right to gather 'deadwood' for fuel or to graze pigs or goats, 'pannage'. Some touns, especially in the Highlands and the Borders, had shielings – more distant pastures where the tenants stayed in temporary settlements during the summer. Pitmiddle seems to have had a shieling on Blacklaw, or Black Hill, to the north, which by 1609 had been turned into a sheep farm. There the men sheared the sheep or tended the herd and flock, keeping off wolves and other predators. Wood was gathered, peat and turf cut and stored and dried. Women span the wool into yarn, milked the cows and ewes and made cheese. Once the harvest was in the animals were brought back to the toun for winter; the peat, turf, wood, cheese, etc, being carried back on sleds rather than carts.

Farming was very much a communal effort, requiring the co-operation of the tenants. Control of husbandry and ensuring that each tenant acted in concert with his neighbours were the responsibilities of the baron court or the birlaw court, the latter being a local court of the toun itself. These responsibilities were called 'the keeping of good neighbourhood'. Control of livestock was especially important to prevent overpasturing on the common. A tenant could only graze on the common in summer what he could support on the infield in winter. Any excess was slaughtered about Martinmas (11 November), the carcasses or marts being salted to provide meat during the winter. Evidence for numbers of livestock for tenants at Pitmiddle is limited. In 1425, two acres in the toun of Pitmiddle carried with them sixty sheep in the common pasture of the toun, seven cows, with a breeding sow, a laying goose and a brood mare, till their followers or young reached the age of one year. In 1598, Androu Benbie's inventory contained the following livestock: two mares, two oxen, a milk cow with her calf, two ewes, two wedders, five hogs. The hogs are probably yearling sheep which have not been shorn, rather than pigs. In 1682, Thomas Gairdner had a horse, a cow, a heifer, a young ox, and eight sheep and he was renting additional pasture from a neighbour.<sup>11</sup> The earlier list seems rather a lot for two acres and may reflect a trend to livestock farming after the Black Death in the mid 14th century.

The seasonal activities of farming were shared by the tenants. The traditional Scots plough was pulled by eight oxen, provided by up to eight tenants, and needed several men to operate. One man with a shovel went in front clearing any large stones or other obstacles into the ditch on either side of the rig; another led the oxen; a third moved alongside encouraging the team; a fourth guided the plough. The area ploughed was called a ploughgate,

generally and notionally 104 Scots acres. After ploughing, the land was harrowed. Neither action did much to break up the soil. Seed was sown by broadcasting or scattering it over the rig, generally in April for oats, up to mid-June for bere.

Harvesting took place between August and sometimes early November. The grain of John Millar, braboner or weaver in Pitmiddle, was still in the ground when he died in October 1622.<sup>12</sup> Crop yields were generally low, usual estimates being threefold for oats and fourfold for bere. These were officially accepted as the likely returns on John Millar's oats and bere, which were estimated to the third and fourth corn respectively. The harvest was the most important even in the farming calendar. A poor harvest brought scarcity and destitution and two bad harvests in a row caused famine. The run of bad harvests from 1695 to 1699 brought disaster to many and became known as the 'Ill Years'. It was, therefore, very important to bring in the crops and all available labour was put to it – women, children and hired labour. In August 1663, five parishioners of Kinnaird were summoned before the session for 'fying of sheavers on the sabbath'. The importance of the harvest was such that labour had to be hired whenever available and after Sunday service, when people might be meeting after kirk, was as good a time as any, whatever the minister thought. On 2 January 1659, an act of session forbade any servants 'to fie themselves or mak any paction on the sabbath for tearmes or sheaving in harvest', of which the minister had to remind his parishioners in May 1665. Harvesting was back-breaking work, being done with a sickle and after cutting, the corn had to be bundled together in stooks, then carried on sleds to each tenant's barn.

The corn was threshed with a flail to separate the grain from the straw and winnowed to separate the chaff. The straw was kept for fodder. The process began with the corn being cast into the barn. It was for casting in corn on Sunday's night that John Moreis, in Pitmiddle, and Henry Millar, perhaps his servant, were summoned before the session in January 1640. The grain was then dried in corn-drying kilns and taken to the mill, where it was ground into meal. A boll of oats, when milled, might produce only a firloft of meal.

The mill for the Inchmartine estate was at Craigdallie and was built by Henry of Stirling early in the 13th century. Before 1214, he received permission from his neighbour, Richard Kinnaird, successor of Ralph Rufus, to take a water lade from Richard's mill at Kinnaird across his lands as far as the boundary with Henry's lands of 'Petmothill'.<sup>13</sup> Having recently acquired Pitmiddle and probably Easter Inchmartine, Henry was going to build a mill to which his tenants would be thriled and the revenues of which would be a lucrative source of income. Till then the tenants of Pitmiddle must have used Richard's mill at Kinnaird. Craigdallie is first mentioned between 1306 and 1314 but that it is not referred to in Richard's charter, but called the lands of Pitmiddle, suggests that it did not then exist. It was, therefore, a new settlement, or toun, founded by Henry of Stirling on land that had formerly been Pitmiddle's. Thus began a process, which, when repeated over the

centuries, was to lead to the disappearance of Pitmiddle. Craigdallie's Gaelic name is significant, implying settlement by Gaelic-speakers, possibly from Pitmiddle. This contrasts with contemporary developments at Inchmartine itself, where the English name Threpland<sup>14</sup> (now lost) refers to the boundary dispute there, and in Errol parish, where the monks of Coupar Angus were transforming their marshy land at Edirpolles into the fertile Carsegrange, and William Hay was founding Muirhouse. All three place-names imply the presence of English-speaking settlers. When the mill at Craigdallie went out of use is not known. It appears on Stobie's map of 1783 but is not mentioned in the earliest valuation roll of 1855, nor are any mills mentioned in either of the Statistical Accounts.

The tenants took their oats and wheat to the estate miller and their bere to the estate brewer, who malted it and made it into ale, which he sold back to them. In 1650, there were a maltbarn, kiln and coble (a stone vat for steeping malt) at Wester Inchmartine.<sup>15</sup> Kinnaird session records mention the brewsters Patrick Will, Thomas Paterson and George Donald for selling ale in time of preaching in February 1650, without specifying Pitmiddle or Kinnaird but a Thomas Paterson was tenant in Pitmiddle in 1674 and 1691. George Donald's appearance was instead of Jonet Walker, who had appeared the week before. Was this the Jonet Walker who sold her bairns for money to the wars in 1651? (see p. 13).

After the ravages of the Black Death in the 14th century the expansion of touns seems to have resumed in the 15th century when outsets and outfieldes first appear. Whether the population was starting to grow again is unclear but there is no point in bringing new land under cultivation unless its produce can be consumed. If the new produce was not feeding an increasing population, then the existing population must have been consuming more. It was in this period that parliament, under James I and James II, began to concern itself with husbandry by encouraging the sowing of wheat, peas and beans, which, from the small quantities involved, were probably to be grown in the kailyard. Under James II, parliament also attempted to encourage the planting of trees and woods, the making of hedges for shelter and the sowing of broom for fodder. The population was certainly increasing in the 16th and 17th centuries, when more touns were created. This period is reflected at Pitmiddle by the development of three new touns on its land – Blacklaw (now Tulloch Ard) by 1609, Woodburnhead by 1635 and Sunnyhall by 1650<sup>16</sup> (this is the order in which they are first recorded, not the dates of their creation). Unlike Pitmiddle and Craigdallie, which were held by multiple tenure, the new touns were each held by a single tenant but otherwise, except perhaps for Blacklaw, their life and routine were similar to the older touns.

### The 17th Century

With the greater survival of documentary sources, more information is available on Pitmiddle in the 17th century. Three rent rolls exist for the Inchmartine estate from 1650, 1674 and the 1690s. The 1650 rental is a record

of the baron court with each tenant, listed by toun, confessing his rents. That of 1674 is in similar form but is not specified as being a record of the court. The last rental is completely different and was apparently compiled from a baron court roll. It is undated but can be placed after 1691 as 10 of the tenants are mentioned in the hearth tax list of that year and one name from it, Robert Young, is represented in the rental as 'Robert Young's roome', implying that his land was vacant through death or the expiry of his lease. Each tenant is listed under each form of payment – cloth, bere, meal and money – which are listed separately. Tenants' names are always listed in the same order under each form of rent but only Pitmiddle tenants are readily identifiable from a page headed 'Pitindle rental of cloath only'. The rental cannot have been made by a local official as Pitmiddle is spelled 'Pitindle' throughout.

Tenants paid rent in bere, meal, linen and money, with one exception: John Boug in 1650 paid in peat, not bere (no other tenant on the Inchmartine estate paid rent in peat). Generally only the grain seems to have been ground rent. In 1661 Thomas Christie in Pitmiddle received a heritable bond from the second earl of Leven. This was in effect a wadset whereby Christie loaned 600 merks Scots (£400) to his laird, secured on Christie's holding, which was defined as the yearly rent of two bolls bere, three bolls, one firloft, one and a third lippies meal, uplifted and uptaken of that part of the toun and lands of Pitmiddle with houses, biggings and pertinents, betwixt Yule and Candlemas yearly. There is no mention of money or linen.

Linen presumably represents those rigs or yards where flax was grown. A decline in the amount of linen rent is evident. In 1650, 12 tenants at Pitmiddle paid a total of 70 ells. In addition, all 19 tenants paid collectively another 18 ells for some acres west of the toun of Pitmiddle – perhaps an area set aside for flax-growing. By 1674 the collective element had disappeared but the individual rents were increased to 78 ells, an overall reduction of 10 ells. By the 1690s linen rent was down to 60 ells. The decline may be due to a change in fashion among the upper ranks of society or declining productivity – flax being a very greedy crop.

Money was being paid as rent as early as 1467 and may represent rent for the outfield or commutation of labour services or other rents in kind. The latter is suggested by Androu Benbie's inventory in 1598, where his debts to the laird included six capons and 12 poultry, as well as two bolls each of meal and bere – no poultry or capons are listed among his possessions. In 1622, John Millar's debts to the laird were £18 as ground rent and £6 13s 4d for 'kaine fowl'. No poultry or capons were payable from Pitmiddle in the rentals but, with geese, they were paid elsewhere on the estate. Those due from Pitmiddle had probably been commuted to money.

Although there is little difference in rent totals paid in 1650 and 1674, that for the 1690s shows a surprising change. There is a switch away from money to grain and most of this change seems to have affected Pitmiddle, rather than the rest of the estate. Given the traditional low crop yields, it should be impossible for the increased grain demands to be met from the tenants' own

resources. The threefold return on grain was reflected in the rhyme 'Ane to gnaw, ane to saw and ane to pay the laird witha'. What seems to have happened is that six senior tenants, who head all three rentals, paid low grain rents but high money rents in 1650 and 1674. These high money rents probably contained an element of commutation of grain rents: their grain rents do not represent a third of their produce but much less, any surplus not required for their own use or for rent being sold for cash in the market. This would explain Christie's accumulation of £400, which cannot have been all his savings. It would also explain how Thomas Gairdner, a tenant farmer in Pitmiddle, apparently leased more land between 1650 and his death in 1682, while acting as a money-lender. At his death he owed the laird £83 and six firlots each of bere and oats, while he himself was owed by seven persons £353 6s 8d as principal, with £21 18s 0d as account or interest, as well as £40 from another person.

The grain rents of the 1690s are probably nearer a third of the tenants' produce, with a compensating reduction in money rents. The change was possibly the work of David, 5th Earl of Leven, after he secured possession of the barony from Francis Montgomerie. He may have been able to secure a better price for the grain than his tenants. He certainly would have done during the famine years of 1695-99, when grain prices rose.

The greatest problem for tenants was a lack of security of tenure. One effect of the disappearance of serfdom was to weaken the peasant's tie to the land. He was liable to eviction if his land was sold, alienated or wadset and leases were generally short, although parliament did try to protect tenants. Nevertheless, as in Ireland and the Highlands in the 19th century, evictions led to confrontations between tenants, with their supporters, and the laird's officers.

Two documents illustrate this lack of security for tenants on the Inchmartine estate. In 1304, John de Pincerna sold for £100 sterling, to Sir John Inchmartine, all the land with pertinents, which he had in the tenement of Pitmiddle, except one acre, which he had given to Adam his servant for life. Inchmartine would only acquire that acre on Adam's death. Clearly, Pincerna was securing the tenancy of a faithful servant so that the latter could live out his days in peace. Pincerna's other tenants at Pitmiddle were not so lucky.

In 1656, the earl of Leven granted a seven-year tack to William Ogilvy of Murie (in Errol) for the lands of Blacklaw. At the same time, he leased to Ogilvy 'that unstead of houss with the yaird, maltbarne kill coble and pertinents' in the toun of Wester Inchmartine, with two acres of land, all possessed by John Mortoun, elder, Agnes Mortoun, his grand-daughter, and Patrick Trumble, her husband.<sup>17</sup> Leven goes on to say that the late Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine had leased that 'unstead' etc to the Mortouns for their lifetimes and to the survivor of them. However, when Patrick Lord Deskford, Sir Patrick's son and heir and William's brother, disposed of the lands and barony of Inchmartine to Leven in 1650, the Mortouns' house and lands should have been 'purged and freed' but the Mortouns 'refused to remove'. That the Mortouns had refused to leave is quite understandable. Having

secured a satisfactory lease of the lucrative brewery from Ogilvy, why should they have to face the uncertainty of either re-negotiating their lease with Leven on possibly less favourable terms or being replaced with someone else? What is extraordinary is that Leven was not able to remove them forcibly, as would no doubt have happened in earlier times. The matter must have lapsed during Leven's imprisonment in England and Major-General Overton's possession of Inchmartine. When Leven regained possession, it was presumably too late to do anything against the Mortouns. He may not have expected much help from Cromwell's judges in any legal action against Deskford, now second earl of Findlater. Anyway, in return for Murie's payment of 20 merks Scots (£13 6s 8d) and an obligation on himself and his heirs to pay annually two bolls each of bere and wheat, Leven discharged Ogilvy of any legal action. The Mortouns do not appear in the 1650 rent roll, though Patrick Turnbull, younger, is recorded paying rent for the Calfward and Kirkland, as well as some rigs.

At the sale of 1650, presumably all existing leases were also to have been purged and freed. However, a comparison of the rentals of 1650 – drawn up before the sale – and 1674, reveal that Leven did not evict many Pitmiddle tenants, if any at all. Nine names are common to both rolls but William Anderson of 1674 is probably the son of his namesake of 1650. Patrick Robertson died before the rental of 1674 was made and was succeeded by his widow, Euphane Lousone. Two others, Thomas Christie and John Blair, were still there in 1661 but Blair had left by 1672. Three other surnames are common to both rolls. In 1674, Thomas Deucat, younger, was certainly and James Smyth possibly, the sons of tenants in 1650. Thus 13 of the 19 tenants at Pitmiddle in 1650 were still represented there in 1674 by 15 of the 18 tenants. In addition, in 1674, the touns of Sunnyhall and Woodburnhead were held by representatives of tenants at Pitmiddle in 1650. However, only seven of the tenants of 1674 were represented in the 1690s.

The problem of security needs to be considered further. Fifteen families in and around Pitmiddle can be traced in the records for at least two hundred years and a further 11 families for less than that<sup>†</sup>.<sup>18</sup>

But continuity of families does not mean security of tenure. Unfortunately there are no surviving leases relating to the Inchmartine estate, except that to William Ogilvy of Murie for Blacklaw for seven years and for the Mortouns' house and lands at Wester Inchmartine for their two lives. These were probably not exceptional terms. This lack of written leases is notable when compared with the abundance of leases for the other Leven and Melville estates in Fife, such documents surviving from 1548.<sup>19</sup> Although leases may

<sup>†</sup> Mortoun 1480-1690s; Christal 1480-1799; Benvie 1541-c1918; Duncan 1541-1930; Blair 1541-1869; Jackson 1566-1801; Mitchell 1609-; Gairdner/Gardiner 1635-1834; Lawson/Lousone 1635-1848; Moreis/Morris 1638-1841; Whittet 1639-1892; Robertson 1650-1910; Hood 1661-1851; Gray 1674-1910; Matthew 1691-1889; Anderson 1598-1674; Thom 1620-1674; Millar 1622-1691; Bowack/Book/Boug/Boyok 1622-1742; Will 1634-1774; Hall 1635-1691; Muir/Moor 1635-1748; Christie 1635-1674; Deugatt 1647-1691; Pirie/Pierie 1650-1691; Paterson 1674-1743.

have been passed on to the new owner at the sale of the estate in 1717, this seems unlikely, as the Leven and Melville papers do contain the Inchmartine charters from the 15th century onwards and various 17th century estate papers for Inchmartine. The presence of the tack to Ogilvy is probably due to its legal importance, containing as it did a discharge by Leven to Ogilvy of any right to legal action over the Mortouns. Ogilvy as a member of the lairdly class may have insisted on a written tack. Presumably, the other Inchmartine tenants were content with verbal leases. The contrast in this aspect of estate management between Inchmartine and the Fife estates is striking, even when they were under the same ownership.

In the absence of written leases we must, therefore, rely on the rentals for evidence of security. An unchanged rent implies a long lease, the expiry of the lease being a chance for the laird to increase rent or re-apportion rigs among other tenants. This latter would account for the progressive reduction in the number of tenants at Pitmiddle from 19 in 1650 to 18 in 1674 and 15 by the 1690s.<sup>20</sup> Only one family, the Mitchells, paid an unchanged rent throughout the period 1650-1690s. They may, therefore, have had a two-lives lease (the toun of Woodburnhead was held by three different tenants, each paying the same rent). Only one other tenant, James Anderson, paid an unchanged rent in 1650 and 1674. Three tenants had almost negligible increases in the same period, which may be the result of clerical error in the earlier roll, rather than an increase at a renewal of a lease: John Mure and Thomas Deugatt, elder, both with meal increased by one third of a lippie (Thomas Christie, in 1661, paid the same small increase) and Andro Blair, up 10d. They may, therefore, have had life, or long, leases. One tenant, Edmund Jackson, had his rent reduced by £7 0s 4d, apparently on renewal of a lease. Apart from the Mitchells, only one tenant, Patrick Martine, in the 1690s was paying the same rent as in 1674.

In general, the high turnover of names and changes in rent (14 out of 19 between 1650 and 1674 and 16 out of 18 between 1674 and the 1690s) suggest a tendency to short leases. The women in the rolls are probably the widows of tenants, allowed to remain in their late husbands' holdings, like Euphane Lousone, widow of Patrick Robertson.

An important point to be noted concerning changes in names between the rent rolls is the death of a tenant without children to succeed. Four testaments were examined for this study: Androu Benbie, wright, died 1598, John Millar, braboner, died 1622, Patrick Robertson, died 1674 and Thomas Gairdner, died 1682. Only Millar had children and they were minors.

What happened to tenants and their families when their leases expired? Where did they go, if anywhere? The case of the Bowacks who appear in 1674 and the 1690s but not 1691, suggests they did not leave but remained on the estate, not as tenants of the laird but as sub-tenants, holding as cottars of those who were the laird's tenants, bidding for leases from the laird when they became available. Two references suggest the presence of people on the estate who do not appear in the rent rolls. On 13 June 1647, the minister and elders

‘considering that the kirk and parochin of Kynnaird was burdent be some poor people resait be the tenants out of uthr paroches thairfoir they did statute and ordaynit that no man should resait nor accept people to be thir subtenants out of uthr paroches witout the consent of the Minister and elders askit and gewin. And quhosoevir was in the contrair salbe obleidged to susteine the saide persones upone thr awin expenssis. In cause the saids persones become infirme and unable to doe for themselffis’. Clearly, some of the tenants of the parish were in need of extra labour to work their rigs and tend their livestock: there was not enough labour within the parish itself. What is striking about this order is that no reference is made to either of the lairds being consulted. It obviously did not worry the laird that his tenants were settling sub-tenants on their lands. So long as he received his rents at the proper time, he was quite happy with the situation.

The other source is the hearth tax list.<sup>21</sup> This tax was payable at Candlemas (2 February) 1691 by inhabitants of all houses with hearths, except hospitals and poor persons living on the charity of the parish. The tax was collected from tenants by their lairds, who in turn provided the tax collectors with a list of those who paid. There is only one list for Kinnaird parish, compiled by Francis Montgomerie, laird of Inchleslie; the tenants on it are, therefore, his. The tenants of the barony of Kinnaird seem to be included in the list for the Fingask estate in Kilspindie parish. There are 27 names on the tax list but the total number of hearths is 78. With the possible exception of the miller’s, tenants’ houses are unlikely to have had more than one hearth. It is, therefore, evident that there were some 70 families on the Inchleslie lands in Kinnaird parish, that is more than twice as many as appear on the rent rolls. From the list it appears that most tenants had at least one sub-tenant, including cottars. As the cottars may have been tradesmen with servants either for their trade or to work their rigs, this is not surprising. Androu Benbie had two servants, Patrick Robertson had three and Thomas Gairdner had five, including two for harvest.

## The 18th Century

Now each of the rentals can be related to a change of ownership of the estate. That of 1650 would have been compiled during the negotiations for the sale by the Ogilvys to Leven. That of 1674 dates from soon after the marriage of the heiress countess of Leven to Francis Montgomerie. That of the 1690s dates from about the time the earl of Leven was taking legal action against Montgomerie to recover his inheritance. It is, therefore, unfortunate that no rentals survive or are available for the sales of 1717, c1740 and 1783, which would have revealed the progress on the Inchmartine estate of the changes which took place in agriculture in the 18th century.

The most obvious changes are evident in Stobie’s map of 1783. It shows that two more touns had been created on land belonging to Pitmiddle. These were Newtown, now Outfield, and Bank, now Guardswell, and they effectively deprived Pitmiddle of most of its farmland. The details are unclear but

Newtown must have taken most if not all of the former outfield of Pitmiddle on the north, while Bank took much of the lands on the south. The changes were apparently the work of the Ogilvys, formerly of Rothiemay in Banffshire, who bought Inchmartine in the mid 18th century, and whose heiress sold it in 1783 to James Allen. The greater tenants of the 17th century disappeared and Pitmiddle's remaining land was formed into one large farm, except for some small pendicles for the villagers.

There are two major sources of information for the position of agriculture at the end of the 18th century, the *Old Statistical Account*, which is not very detailed and Donaldson's *General View of Agriculture in the Carse of Gowrie*. Improvements in the Carse began about 1735, since when the number of farms in the parish had been almost halved to about 14 but of these four or five were so small as to require the farmer to take another job to live. No farms had over 130 acres of good arable. As well as the farms, the villages had some 50 to 60 acres of land divided amongst the tradesmen who lived there. These pendicles supported cows for the needs of the family and a horse for ploughing or transporting produce to market. The pendiclers shared the work of ploughing. Farmers practised a six-part rotation: fallow, wheat, peas and beans, barley, grass and oats, though the higher parts of the Carse included clover. Lime was now used in considerable quantities as a fertiliser. Small quantities of flax, potatoes and turnips were grown. Linen was a major domestic industry of the Carse, with cloth being stamped at Inchtute. Most of the linen manufactured was coarse, known as osnaburgs, and another coarse brown type was made into hat linings. Unstamped cloth was made into clothes for the farmer's family. After agriculture, weaving was the main occupation. In 1790 in Kinnaird parish there were 88 farm servants and 57 'artificers', of whom 44 were weavers, out of a total population for the parish of 404. In 1837, out of 90 families in the parish, 30 were engaged in agriculture and 27 in trades, manufactures or handicrafts. Bigger farmers reared 10 or 12 black cattle and nearly everyone kept pigs. Some 2,000 swine were reared annually in the Carse, being fed on clover in summer and in winter on potatoes and what they could scavenge in the yards. Pork and bacon were staples of the diet of the poor and nearly all tradesmen and servants kept one or two pigs for their own use, the rest finding ready markets in Perth and Dundee.

The old Scots plough with its team of oxen was replaced by models of the new type of plough invented by James Small in Berwickshire. A gravestone at Kinnaird, erected by Thomas Laird, farmer at Guardswell in 1769, has a carving of a heraldic shield bearing three ploughs supported by horses. This shows how quickly the new farming methods could be taken up by innovative men. By 1797 horses were so well established that a horse tax was imposed to raise revenue. Nine farmers in Kinnaird parish were liable. Peter Chrystal and James Soutar, at Craigdallie, had seven and three workhorses respectively, although only two of Soutar's were taxable. James Benvie, at Pitmiddle, and John Benvie, at Park of Pitmiddle, had four and two respectively, all taxable.<sup>22</sup> In addition to a new plough, a new corn-threshing machine was in widespread

use in the Carse. There were also a winnowing machine and a new and heavier harrow to break up the soil more easily after ploughing. Crops were now sown in drills, rather than by broadcasting.

Drainage of the marsh lands of the Carse began about 1760. Not only did this bring more land under cultivation but it had the beneficial effect of ridding the Carse of the pools and wetlands, which were a breeding ground for the mosquito. By the end of the century ague or malaria, consumption and rheumatism, which had been in evidence in the area were almost wiped out. The minister of Abernyte noted that if a farmer needed four workers he would hire six, because some would always be sick before the work was done. Drainage enabled a new turnpike road to be constructed across the Carse between Perth and Dundee, replacing the old king's highway along the foot of the Braes. Branches from the new road led to the villages on the Braes and the ports on the Tay. Allen of Inchmartine played a leading role in these road improvements, the former harbour at Pow of Errol becoming Port Allen. Road improvements made the carriage of goods to market in Dundee or Perth much easier. The old sled, suitable for the old rutted tracks, was replaced by a wheeled cart drawn by horses.

The living standard of farmers was greatly improved. Before about 1775 their houses were generally of mud and clay (daubing on a timber frame?), roofed with straw. Thereafter stone farmhouses were built. Until then farm leases in the Carse had generally been for one life and 19 years thereafter. The practice now was to grant 19-year leases and that was the length of leases on the Inchmartine estate recorded in the valuation rolls. Robertson gives a delightful picture of the pre- and post-improvement farmer. Where the former slept on a bed of straw or chaff, without curtains to keep out draughts, the latter now slept comfortably on a feather bed with his curtains drawn snugly round him. Formerly he took a simple repast of meal, vegetables and milk off his knee. Now he sat at a covered table, with a knife and fork set down before him, to dine on meat. Whereas in the past he had to walk to market, now he rode, well dressed and mounted.

Despite the changes in agriculture, life for the farmworkers had probably not altered much from pre-improvement days. By the end of the century, farm servants' wages were about £8 to £12 a year. In many cases they lived with the farmer's family. However, the practice was growing of paying them six and a half bolls of meal, with a house, garden, some pasture, all rent free and some coal. This was especially the case with married servants. Female servants lived with the farmer's family and earned £3 to £4 a year. Common labourers were paid 1s to 1s 3d a day. Reapers at harvest could be hired by the day for 1d to 1½d, by the season (30s for men, 20s for women), or by the acre (6s for corn, 3s for hay).

Although run-rig holdings might be grouped into a single holding, the physical remains of the old system were still there to limit the new horse-drawn plough, and the outfield-infield system still persisted in some parts of the Sidlaws. The new fields were not enclosed by hedges or stone walls,

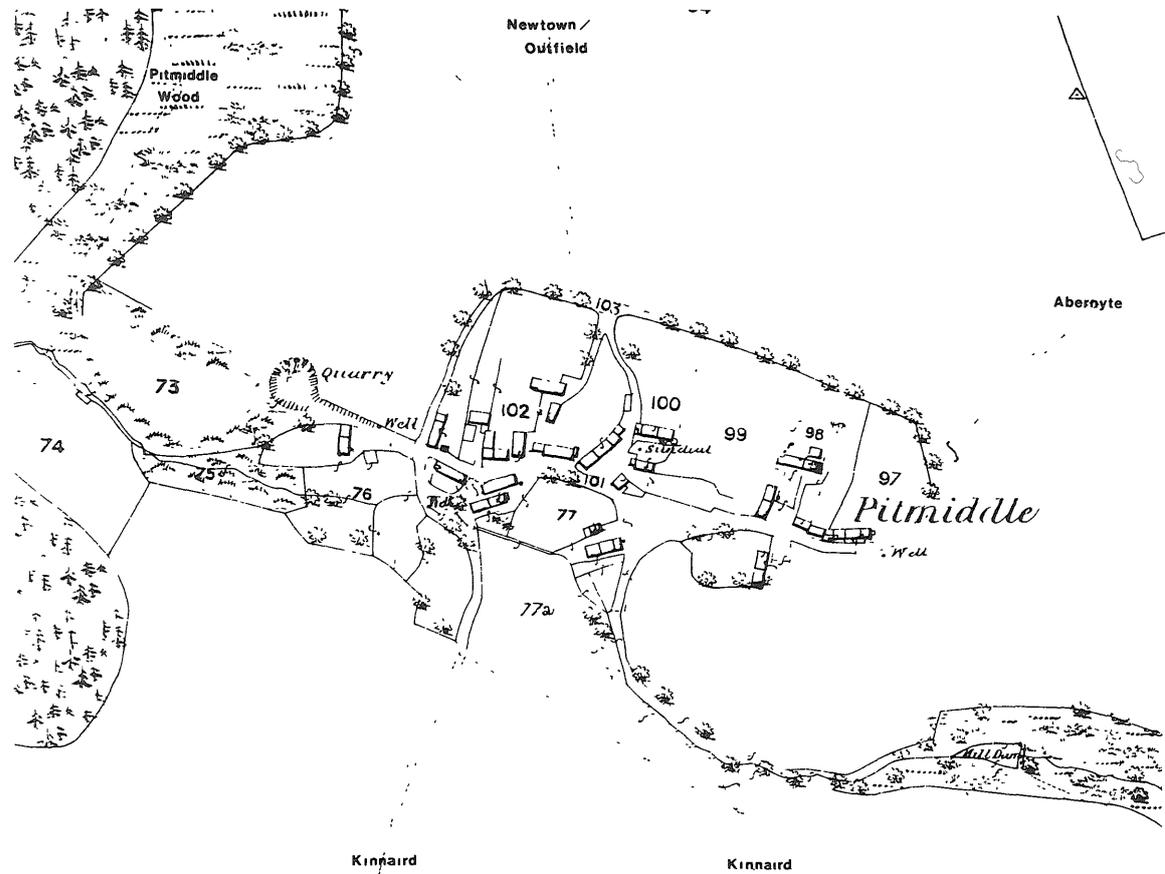


Plate 2. Pitmiddle village from the Ordnance Survey map of 1860. Note the roads, quarry, mill dam and wells.  
(Sandeman Library, Perth)

because the farmers feared they would harbour vermin: they still preferred open ditches, which could act as drains. Estimating the value of the improvements in the Inchmartine estate is not possible but it is worth noting that the barony fetched £11,454 0s 10d sterling in 1717, while in 1783 it sold for £28,333 9s 8d, a two and a half fold increase, including the new Inchmartine House built in the mid 18th century. This should be compared with the five fold increase between 1650 and 1717 (see p. 14).

## SOCIAL LIFE

Our main source of information for parish life before the 19th century is the kirk session. For 17th century Kinnaird there are two slightly overlapping records.<sup>23</sup> The Session Book, kept by the session clerk, begins on 24 November 1633, with the appointment of Mr John Barclay as parish minister, and ends in 1656. The Register of the Discipline begins on 22 August 1649, with the appointment of Mr Thomas Kinnares as parish minister, and continues till 1683.

### The Kirk

The records reveal the workings of the kirk. The laird of Inchmartine had his seat in the choir, where the more important parishioners sat. In 1635 John Millar, officer to the laird of Inchmartine, was allowed to set down a chair behind his laird's seat, provided that he stood during the pleas of the minister and session. In 1639 John Hunter in Hoole was allowed to build a seat for himself in the choir. His wife, however, was to have a stool in the body of the kirk, to be removed when the session thought fit. The rest of the congregation sat on forms, which were moveable. The seating cannot have been too uncomfortable, as in 1646 the beadle was instructed 'to goe thrw the kirk in tyme of sermoun and waiken these that are sleipie'. In 1640 two planks were bought, to be made into boards, a 'great trie' to be forms and a 'nyne ell to be ain ledle'. Were these for new communion arrangements, with the congregation seated at tables in place of kneeling?

Services were held every Sunday, unless the minister was absent or sick (Mr Kinnares was frequently sick). Sometimes services were held by neighbouring ministers. There was a reader, who read prayers or the lesson but he did not take services. Under Mr Barclay, communion was held once a year in March or April, probably at Easter, with the Friday before as a day of preparation (Good Friday). Under Mr Kinnares, a change is evident. Communion was still once a year but no longer at Easter, which was too closely associated with popery or episcopacy. It was now usually celebrated in August and this remained so even after the Restoration. It became a three-day event, with preparation, celebration and thanksgiving over a weekend.

Parishioners had to provide testimonials of good behaviour before they could receive communion. On 15 April 1636, a day of preparation, John

Jacksone, George Will and William Parker 'were defferit from the communioun because they made not ther depositiones gude'. (Communion was on the 17th.)

On 31 July 1664, the minister announced that 'the Elders would be carefull that none come to there quarters without testimonialls, and if any be wanting to dilate them to the sessione that they may be censured and looked upon as persons formerlie scandalous'. Mr Kinnares' register gives a typical account of communion for that year. On (Tuesdays) 5 and 12 July the people of Pitmiddle were examined, followed by Craigdallie (19), Kinnaird (26), Flawcraig (2 August) and the hill quarter (upland parts of the parish) on Thursday 4 August. On each occasion the examination was 'both diets', morning and afternoon. On 6 August, Mr Midltoune, minister at Longforgan, preached a preparation sermon on Mat 5, v6. On Sunday communion was celebrated and the minister preached at both morning diets on Rev 3, v20. He also preached a thanksgiving on the same text in the afternoon. The next day Mr John Robertson, an expectant (he was awaiting a call from a parish) preached a thanksgiving (no text given). This team of neighbouring ministers preaching at communion is surely a forerunner of the 'Holy Fair' of the 18th century. Not that communion always had a sanctifying effect on the parishioners. On 30 May 1652, Androu Taylor and John Arclay appeared before the session for fighting immediately after communion (on 16 May).

The only other regular service was a solemn thanksgiving on 29 May for the restoration of Charles II but there were occasional solemn fasts and thanksgivings. On 10 February 1650, Mr Kinnares announced a lecture and catechising on Tuesdays, beginning on 12 February with a part of Craigdallie. On 19 February he finished Craigdallie. Various parts of Pitmiddle were lectured and catechised on 26 February, 5 and 19 March and 9 April, followed by Kinnaird on 4 and 19 June, Nether Mains and Mill of Kinnaird on 25 June and 2 July and Flawcraig on 9 and 30 July. These Tuesday lectures are not mentioned every week. Rather, they seem to be annual events, with the minister catechising in different parts of the parish once a year over a series of weeks, sometimes on Thursdays as well, not every week of the year. The number of days spent catechising in Pitmiddle, together with the pre-communion examination diets, shows that it was the most populous part of the parish at this time, as it may always have been until the end of the 19th century. Mr Kinnares also on 10 February 1650 required the elders to be careful to have prayers and family exercises in every house in their districts and he frequently reminded them of this duty.

The kirk session was a law-court with jurisdiction over breaches of God's law: adultery, fornication, absence from the kirk – especially from communion, breach of the Sabbath, cursing, flytting or quarreling, even assaults, which may have been expected to go before the baron court but as on some occasions the assault took place on Sunday they may have counted as breach of Sabbath. Absence from kirk was of particular importance, as it could imply disaffection from the kirk: Catholicism at all times, episcopacy between

1638 and 1660 and presbyterianism after 1660. There does not seem to have been much disagreement from the established kirk in the parish, whether it was episcopal or presbyterian. Even the schisms of the 18th century had little impact. At the end of the 18th century, there were only one family and one member of another family who did not attend the parish church.

Breach of Sabbath covered a multitude of sins: drying clothes, carrying a load, handling bolls (presumably carrying grain or provisions from the barn into the home – it should have been done the day before), playing at the kyles (skittles). The usual penalty for breach of Sabbath was a 10s fine. More serious forms of breach of Sabbath were covered in the act of session of 1659. As well as proscribing the hiring of servants and sheavers, it prohibited buying or selling or making worldly bargains on the Lord's day, and forbade anyone under pretext of visiting friends to travel from their own congregation on the Lord's day, except in case of necessity. In 1665 the minister had to remind the congregation of the earlier act for transgressions of the Sabbath prohibiting, in addition to the above, driving goods to market or grassing (pasture), private meetings of men and women and any manner of playing in any part of the congregation, under pain of public censure as Sabbath breakers. The reference to bargaining and buying and selling must be to markets held after Sunday service. To a large extent these problems of breach of Sabbath were of the kirk's own making. Before the Reformation the farming year had been broken by saints' days and holy days but that ceased after the Reformation, when almost the only respite from work became the Sabbath. Events like marriages became an excuse for jollification (if they hadn't always been so). On 1 September 1639, following John Lowson's marriage on 27 August, the session imposed a penalty of two merks (£1 6s 8d) on anyone committing any disorder on marriage days, such as 'cutting of headleaces' (ribbons worn by women in their hair), which occasioned the shedding of blood at Lowson's marriage. Neither Christmas nor the New Year were holidays. On 25 December 1660 and 1 January 1661, the minister was out lecturing and catechising in Pitmiddle on his annual rounds of the parish as on any other Tuesday. It was, therefore, natural that the parishioners should seek to relax, fishing, playing at kyles or visiting friends and relations.

The session as a court had its limitations. It relied very much on the conscience of the individual before it, either clearing him- or herself by an oath or confessing, no doubt under the stern admonition of the minister and threats of eternal damnation. But if one was prepared not to be cowed, it was possible to beat the system and one man who did so was Thomas Christie in Pitmiddle (see p. 23). His case begins on 13 April 1651 when Elizabeth Love confessed fornication with a soldier, Thomas Wood, in her master's house (she was a domestic servant living in her master's household) but her case was deferred, she being suspected with another. The next reference is not until 18 January 1652, when Thomas Christie was summoned to the next meeting, suspected of adultery with Elizabeth Love. Christie did not appear until 8 February, when he denied any 'carnall dealing' with Elizabeth Love. But the session declined

to take his oath clearing himself and decided to stage a confrontation between the guilty pair at the next meeting. Christie did not appear but Elizabeth (as in the register) or Elspet (as in the Session Book) Love did and confessed. She also said (as in the Register) 'that he forbad her to com to the kirk the next sabath and said he would be mensworn [perjured] that day and that he promised that so long as he had twa pennies she should have one of them and if his wife were dead he should marie hir if she should stand to a constant deniall'. These were her words as noted in both records and they can only be what Christie had said to her (unless she was a scheming hussy). But 'constant deniall' was beyond the poor woman (or girl). On 14 March Christie did appear and denied her charge but his oath was still deferred. By the following Sunday the presbytery had been consulted and on their order the minister 'called on Thomas Christie posed him on his guilt with Elizabeth Love and layed befor him the praesumptions thereof, and asked if he was clear to purg himselfe be his oath, which he offered to doe and was refered till further advyement'. Thereafter there was a battle of wills between the minister and Christie, not recorded after 25 April 1652 until January 1653, when the session clerk recorded 'The Minister required thomas christie [here the minister himself has inserted "as he had requyred every other sabbot befor"] to declaire befor the congregatioun if he was guiltie of the sin of adulterie wit Elspet Love or ells to purge himselff thairof the next sabbot by his solemne oath'. So the following Sunday the matter was closed as far as Christie was concerned when 'being (required efter calling upoun the name of god) upoun his oath by the Minister to declair if he was guiltie of the sin of adulterie wit elspet love: did swear solemnlie that he was not guiltie of the said sin Albeit she affirmed the contrair in presence of the congregation (not being required)'. It is clear that the minister had grave doubts about Christie's oath but what could he do? In Scots law two witnesses are needed to prove a crime and in something as private as adultery what was to be done if one party confessed and the other denied? Christie's advice to 'stand to a constant deniall' shows the weakness of the session as a court, when an accused had little regard for the minister's threats of hellfire. Fortunately, not everyone had the strength of character or brazen nerve to resist the minister week after week for eight months. What did the congregation make of the confrontation?

While Christie escaped, Elspeth Love did not as she had confessed. So, on 17 July 1653, having appeared before the presbytery, she began her repentance in sackcloth for her adultery (with whom?) and was to continue the next Sunday. However, for some reason her next appearance was not till 5 March 1654, almost eight months later. Thereafter, she appeared weekly in sackcloth until her eighteenth appearance on 1 July, when she was received (back into the congregation by the minister) according to the advice of the presbytery.

But a denial in the face of witnesses was pointless, as Elisabet Anderson in Pitmiddle found. On 4 July 1658, being suspected of charming (using spells), she was ordered to appear at the next meeting. So on 18 July she denied the charge but was again ordered to appear at the next meeting, where witnesses

were also summoned. Her trial was held on 25 July, when she still denied any charming. 'Many witnesses were called and compared the name of god being called upon they were all judiciallie sworn in hir presence. some of them declared that they saw hir come out of other men's byres earlie before the sune and that ther kine gave no milk for a good time after. some of them threatening hir for taking away ther kines milk she bad them go home the kine was weel enough and so soon as they went home ther kine gave milk. some of them, that ther Kine should have Milk to sell them with but not to swhe [churn] and they found it so, some of them, that she borroued a cage wherein afterward they could never make butter and some that they saw her give Kine a handfull of grasse after which they immediatlie rammished [rushed about in a frenzy] and as it was thought would have died if they had not been cured, and severall other things non of which she could weel deny where upon her censure was delayed till the Minister advised with the presbitrie.' So on the advice of the presbytery she made public repentance on 8, 15 and 22 August, when she was 'sharplie rebuked and promised never to use such sinfull and scandalous wayes herafter'. It is quite possible that her denial was quite true. None of the witnesses gave evidence of hearing her say spells, nor did anyone apparently resort to her for spells or potions. They only saw her doing certain, to them, strange and unusual things after which cows failed to produce milk or butter would not set. How often did these things happen at other times? But they were sufficient to condemn her at a time when anything unusual was frightening and dangerous. She was lucky not to have been burned as a witch.

The session was not only a court which took action on its own initiative, it was also available for any parishioner to seek redress against a neighbour. Such cases usually involved slander (gossip). In a close-knit rural community this was rife and could be very hurtful and savage to the victim. On 30 September 1638, Agnes Mitchell cleared herself by oath of being 'with bairne'. However, the gossips were right and she was pregnant but because she had kept her dalliance secret they didn't know who was responsible, so they blamed her father. Three months later, on 30 December, William Mitchell cleared himself of the slander laid upon him and his daughter in bedding together. He also desired the benefit of baptism to a bairn gotten in adultery betwixt James Blyth in Flawcraig and Agnes Mitchell, his daughter, and acted himself (undertook) to make her satisfy the order of the kirk when she was able to travel thereto. If Agnes's pregnancy had run the normal nine months and her bairn was born in December she must have been about six months pregnant when she swore before the session that she was not. How observant were the minister and elders? Agnes does not seem to have been proceeded against for perjury but after her child was weaned she made her repentance from 28 December 1639 to 1 February 1640 when she was received. As a final notice, on 22 November 1640, James Blyth promised to give £4 to the session for William Mitchell to sustain his bairn.

The usual procedure for an aggrieved parishioner, when he or she knew the source of the slander, was to give in a complaint upon the person to the session

and deposit a pand or pledge, usually 6s 8d, as evidence that he or she would prove his or her case. So on 27 October 1634 Margaret Mortoune gave in her complaint upon George Will for calling her a common thief and come of thieves and saying that he would prove that she was put out of the chamberlain's house for theft. She consigned her 6s 8d if she approved not the same again at the next session. Now she had been a household servant in the chamberlain's house, probably of Kinnaird, and she had lost her job, which naturally set the tongues wagging. On 3 November George Will said that he heard Catherine Ramsay say that Elspet (*sic*) Mortoune was a thief and that he would prove it by his oath. But Catherine 'reservit it to the said george his aith'. So Will was ordered to lose his half merk because he could not prove his complaint. Margaret, presumably, got her pand back.

Like any court, the session could act with discretion. On 1 December 1649, the minister recorded that Margaret Lowsone (in Craigdallie) gave in a bill of complaint against Johne Gourlaw (in Kinnaird) for slandering her with 'being possesst with the divil and in seeing hir have carnall copulation with him'! Gourlaw was, therefore, summoned and, on 15 December, confessed that he spoke blasphemous words against Margaret Lousone but alleged that 'he was distracted at that tyme, the truth whereof being knoun to severalls of the session: it was thought fitt to proceed no further wit him'. The session clerk records it somewhat differently. It was on 9 December that Margaret made her complaint, with a pledge of 12s to prove it with witnesses. On 30 December, Gourlay (as he is called by the clerk) confessed that he was 'distractit' but the case was deferred because the witnesses did not appear. On 20 January 1650, Gourlaw again confessed to saying that Margaret was 'possest with a devill and that the devill did ly with her [as] a man lyeth wit a woman wit uthair Blasphemose speiches he did affirm that he was distracted of his wittes in the tyme'. The witness James Mortoun confirmed this. So Gourlaw got off in effect with a plea of diminished responsibility. But how did the poor woman feel about it, and what caused Gourlaw's distraction? (Thomas Christie's heritable bond in 1661 was drawn up by Mr Patrick Gourlaw, a notary. Was he related to Johne and did he advise him on his plea?)

There was no time limit on offences which came before the session. On 26 November 1648, Patrick Blair, sometime indweller in Pitmiddle, 'who had fallen in the fearfull sinne of Incest with his sister and had beene fugitive from the discipline of the kirk since [1635] and was not knowen having changed his name In the parts of Angus wher he lived', began his solemn repentence in sackcloth, having been previously admitted to repentence by the presbytery of Dundee. Incest was a capital offence and that Blair was dealt with by the presbytery and session suggests his offence was not serious. He may also have been a child when the incident took place. On Saturday (a day of preparation for communion), 5 May 1649, Elspet Baxter in Pitmiddle purged herself by her oath of the scandal that she occasioned the incest committed by Patrick Blair and his sister Margaret 'hir children in law be laying them together in one bedde that sche might save beddeclouthes'. She also purged herself of 'advising

her son to flee the discipline of the kirk and deny his name'.

Patrick and Margaret Blair were Elspet Baxter's 'children in law', ie lawfully born. She was 'Mrs Blair' but married women in the session records and testaments are always referred to by their maiden names, never their married names. They must, therefore, have used and been known in the community by their maiden names.

The session was not only a court of law. It dispensed poor relief to needy parishioners or strangers. Relief was taken out of the box where the kirk funds were kept, or from the weekly collection. In the winter of 1638-39 there were regular payments to three poor women in Pitmiddle, not named, generally 6s fortnightly. There were also payments to named individuals. Sometimes a payment was made for shoes or clothes. On 15 February 1652, 10 merks (£6 13s 4d) was given to William Anderson, in Pitmiddle, for an old cloak to be made into a 'stand of clais' for Patrick Sharpe, elder, in Pitmiddle and 13s 4d of it paid to a tailor to make the clothes. This money was taken from a special collection made for the prisoners in Dundee (this was after Monck's capture of Dundee). On 15 March 1663, that day's collection, 6s, was given to 'ane old weak man in Pitmidle John Buok'. There were occasional bequests to the poor. On 10 May 1635, John Lowsoune, in Woodburnhead, gave in 40s left by his wife to the poor. (It was probably his re-marriage or his son's marriage which occasioned the special act of session on disorderly marriages.) A reference in 1647 to 'the beldhall' may refer to a shelter or almshouse for aged or infirm parishioners.

## Education

One aspect of parish life not evident in the session records is education. There is no mention of a school in the parish but that there was one, at least by 1682, is evident from the testament of Thomas Gairdner, in Pitmiddle, where he owed 13s 4d to James Small, schoolmaster. Lack of education earlier in the century is highlighted by a special meeting of Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine as heritor and the session called by the minister on 8 May 1640. Mr Barclay proposed to build an aisle at his own expense on the north side of the kirk for use by the congregation and as a burial vault for himself and his friends. Sir Patrick and the elders readily agreed (they weren't paying!) and an agreement was signed by Sir Patrick, with James Turnbull, chamberlain, of Kinnaird, Alexander Ogilvy in Craigdallie and John Millar in Flawcraig, elders; also by William Mackintosh, session clerk at the command and desire of William Blair, John Blair, George Couper, John Hunter, William Anderson and John Moreis, elders 'because they cannot wreit'.

The schoolmaster was also the session clerk and was not well paid before the 19th century. In the 1790s, in both capacities, he could make £11-£12 sterling a year, slightly more than a farm labourer (£8-£10 with milk and meal). By the 1840s, the master was receiving the highest salary by law, £34 4s 4½d,<sup>24</sup> with pupils' fees of up to £24 a year. There was a good attendance, because the people were anxious for their children to have a good education and did not

grudge paying for it. (Education was not free, pupils paid fees.) A new schoolroom 'large and commodious' had recently been built (in 1834, to accommodate 90 pupils) and the heritors were about to build a new schoolmaster's house to replace the present very old one. There was no library in the parish but there were some nearby, the writer of the New Statistical Account noting that 'a taste for reading seems to spread fast'. Fees, however, were too much for some parents, as in 1847 the parochial board received a list from Mr Robertson, the schoolmaster, of children unable to pay. These included four children from three families at Pitmiddle. The board instructed the inspector of poor to pay their fees but recommended that in future it should not be liable for expense of education, except in extreme cases of poverty. The 1851 census shows that girls, as well as boys, were pupils.

When the Kinnaird School Board was set up under the Education Act of 1872, the state of education was noted. There were 59 children in the parish aged between 5 and 13 (others attended from Errol parish). The school room was in an 'ordinary good state of repair'. School fees, to be collected by Mr Robertson, still schoolmaster, were quarterly: reading 2s, reading and writing 3s, reading, writing and arithmetic 4s, Latin and geometry 6s, although they could be raised in the winter to pay for heating. In 1876, Mr Robertson died and the post was advertised. A certificated male teacher was sought, at a salary of £60 a year, with school fees and a government grant extra and about £30 from an endowment. The past year's average attendance was 68 out of 91, including 31 from Errol parish. A free school house and garden were provided. Mr John Fairweather was appointed.<sup>25</sup>

The fees list indicates that teaching was basic but the education inspector's reports were generally satisfactory. The schoolmaster was sole teacher, except for teachers of sewing and cookery, appointed in 1873 and 1894 respectively. There were occasional pupil-teachers but an assistant teacher, Mrs Fairweather, was not appointed till 1903. Andrew Soutar, in Pitmiddle, appears in the 1881 census as a teacher but it is not known where he taught. The Christal Trust made grants to the teacher and certain pupils. In 1885, Peter Gray, Esther Gray and Eliza Mackinnon, all from Pitmiddle, became Christal scholars. In 1889, the terms of the trust were altered and all money went to the teacher, who taught the two senior classes, standard VI and ex-VI, free. In addition to the public school, a school at Craigdallie appears in the valuation rolls from 1875/6 for a few years. It was run by the Misses Kettles but nothing is known of it.

The county council opened classes in Kinnaird in 1892 for technical education, comprising drawing, land-measuring, farm book-keeping and preparing for veterinary examinations, with other subjects available as desired by members of the classes. In 1900, there were continuation classes in veterinary science, horticulture, poultry and bee-keeping, with ambulance work suggested if sufficient funds were available. The Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture opened classes in the area in 1908; dairying at Rait, agriculture at Kinnaird and Kilspindie and forestry at Kinfauns, with

butter making and poultry keeping included in all. These classes were designed to meet the needs of an overwhelmingly farming parish like Kinnaird, teaching newer and better methods to the farmer.

However, farming had its problems for the school. In 1885, Kinnaird school board received a letter from its neighbour in Abernyte complaining that schoolboy John Bell was being employed by John Reid in Pitmiddle to look after his herd. The letter went on to say that 'this is by not any means the first time children have been removed from Abernyte school to work in the Parish of Kinnaird' and asked for action to be taken. The Kinnaird Board replied that, as the boy stayed with his parents in Abernyte, it was Abernyte's problem and nothing more was heard on the matter. The absence of pupils from school during the fruit picking and potato lifting seasons was a problem the board tried to solve by fixing school holidays from the beginning of August to the beginning of October, first mentioned in 1894. But, in July 1895, poor attendance due to fruit picking led to early closure of the school. In 1901, the holidays were fixed as six weeks from the end of June, with another three weeks later for potato lifting. Other holidays were rare, one week at Easter being first mentioned in 1907. During the Great War, scarcity of labour led the board, at the end of 1916, to grant exemption from school to two boys, James Neave from Pitmiddle, and David Cromb formerly of Pitmiddle, who would be aged 14 in January and June respectively.

Other causes of closure of the school were epidemics of scarlet fever, measles or diphtheria. In 1903, two of Mr Fairweather's children died of diphtheria. There was a lack of satisfactory sanitation and no water supply at either the school or the schoolmaster's house and the board were reluctant to pay for proper improvements. Eventually, after the school inspector's report in 1910, which suggested introducing a water supply and providing facilities for handwashing, a supply was laid on. The lack of piped water was a general problem throughout the Carse, which the local authority attempted to resolve before the Great War. Pitmiddle never had piped water.

### **The Parochial Board**

Responsibility for poor relief was removed from the kirk session in 1846 and transferred to the new parochial board. Shortly before then, the number on relief had generally been about three (out of a population of over 400), almost the same as in the 1790s. In the same period, the poor fund had grown from £50 sterling to over £300, with interest and collections sufficient to meet the needs of relief. Payments in the 1840s were generally 4s 8d a month for each recipient according to circumstances. There was a general aversion to seeking assistance by the poor, who might endure considerable distress before claiming relief. This reluctance was due to the stigma of being a pauper and the tight-fistedness with which relief was given.

When the board took over there was only one person in Pitmiddle on the poor roll, Isabella Gray, in receipt of 1s 6d per week. The disgraceful attitude of the board is baldly stated in its dealings with Isabella Gray and Mrs Dugan.<sup>26</sup>

Barny Dugan in Outfield was an Irishman, possibly an immigrant during the 'Hungry Forties', who found work in the construction of the railway between Perth and Dundee, opened in 1847. He married a local woman and stayed on in the area as a labourer. His wife, unfortunately, was of unsound mind and she had been a patient in the asylum in Perth. Since Martinmas 1851, she had become worse and Dugan asked the board for £25 so that they could emigrate to Canada, where her sister resided. The board 'considering the risk of her becoming a heavy burden on the Parish by again being a patient in the asylum, are of the opinion in the whole circumstances it will be advisable to enter into the arrangement proposed by Dugan'. However, the Dugans were expelled by the medical officer on the ship at Greenock. Mrs Dugan was then placed in her sister's care at Inchtute and £20 was refunded by Dugan to the board.

But that was not the end of the matter. By 1854, both Isabella Gray and Mrs Dugan were in Murray's Asylum in Perth. The inspector of poor reported that 'the two paupers at present in Murray's Asylum in Perth could be accommodated at Musselburgh (*sic*) at a less rate than they were presently paying for them...' Musselburgh was charging £20 a year against Perth's £26. So the board, on 23 September 1854, instructed the inspector 'to remove the paupers before 1 October from Perth to Musselburgh in as cheap a manner as possible'. Isabella Gray died in 1856. Mrs Dugan died in 1885 at Murthly, having previously been returned to Perth.

The dealings of the board with Agnes Whittet in Pitmiddle were little better. In 1887, she was granted 2s 6d a week, which the inspector was instructed to try and recover from her illegitimate children. In February 1890, the board told her that it was too dangerous for her to live alone in her present house and that her relief would be stopped unless she left to stay with her son in Dundee. However, the old woman – she was 80 or 81 – refused to leave and her relief was stopped at Whitsunday. By February 1891, she had moved to her son in Dundee. He asked the board for payment of her relief from the time it had been stopped but the board only granted it from 11 February 1891. By 1894, she was in the poor house in Dundee, where she died in 1895.

The board also had some responsibility for health and in 1848 Dr Whyte of Errol was appointed to attend the board. The vaccination of children, first mentioned in 1861, was regularly carried out, without defaulters. The sanitary conditions of the parish were generally considered satisfactory by the board, though the county thought otherwise and the problems at the schoolhouse have been mentioned.

### The 19th and 20th Centuries

Early in the 19th century, the houses at Pitmiddle were rebuilt in stone. No attempt was made to lay out the village in an orderly fashion, the houses being built at all angles, probably on the sites of their timber predecessors. The stone was quarried just to the west of the village, possibly under a mason, James Gillies, brought up from London. The houses were of roughly hewn stone,

undressed, except for doors, windows and corners. They were single storey and thatched. The floors were stone flagged and the fireplaces were built into the gables. The houses were divided into two rooms by box beds. The kitchen fireplace had hooks for kettles and pans. Ashes were kept back by a piece of iron. Around the fireplace was a fender, with a fender stool. This at least was how they were fitted in living memory. The 1861 census shows that all households had two rooms with windows, except John Soutar's (farmer of four acres), which had three. By 1891, there were three families each living in a cottage with three rooms with windows and two families with only one such room, the rest still having two such rooms. Attached to the houses were wooden sheds, byres and small gardens. The water supply to the village came from three wells. A 19th century observer noted the presence of trout in the wells, possibly as a test of the purity of the water.

The rebuilding of the village did not halt its decline. Donaldson, writing at the end of the 18th century, observed that the young people were leaving the Carse for work in the factories of Dundee and Perth, with the result that strangers had to be brought in to work the farms and by the mid 19th century people were already emigrating to Canada. In 1861, 15 out of the 48 villagers were born outside the parish of Kinnaird; in 1891, it was 15 out of 32 villagers.

One new family in the village in 1861 was that of James Smith, a Greenwich Pensioner, ie an outpensioner of Greenwich Hospital, the naval counterpart of the Chelsea Hospital. Although admitted a pensioner in 1843, his admission papers are missing: these would have given his service record in the Royal Navy. Such information as there is shows that he was a professional sailor, with over 23 years' service in the Royal Navy – probably during the Napoleonic Wars – and 20 years in the merchant navy. His last ship was the *Semiramis*, a ship of which name was in the Royal Navy from 1808 to about 1830, and he was not wounded. The Smiths are not recorded in the valuation rolls but his widow, Ann, known as 'Sailor Annie' was back in Pitmiddle in 1891, when she is described as a Gaelic speaker, the only one in the village (she was born in Dunkeld).<sup>27</sup>

The decline of Pitmiddle as a farming community is evident from the censuses. By 1851, the large farm at Pitmiddle had been broken up and there were now eight farmers, or pendiclers, working a total of 52 acres, of which 23 were held by Hugh Gray and 12 by John Robertson. The farm of Outfield by contrast had 130 acres. In 1891, there were only five families of crofters.

## The Crofts

The crofts were insufficient to support the crofters, who had to find work elsewhere and the croft lands were, therefore, worked by other members of their families. In addition to the traditional crops of barley, oats and flax, and the newer turnips and potatoes, soft fruit was grown in the gardens and marketed in Dundee and Perth. One family, the Reids, grew about ten hundredweight of redcurrants, which they sold to Keiller's jam factory in Dundee, generally at 6d a pound. In one year of scarcity, the price was doubled



Plate 3. Postcard view of Pitmiddle village at the turn of the century.



Plate 4. Pitmiddle village in 1988. Only the foundations of the buildings on the right and the far side of the street remain. (Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

to 1s and they thought their fortune was made! Manure was still largely the product of the byres and yards, with domestic refuse. Ashes from the fireplaces and lime were also used. Livestock – cows – were grazed on Pitmiddle Hill in the charge of a herd boy, the successor to the common herd. When the lad blew his horn, some 20 or 30 cows were unchained and driven to the hill. Each crofter fed the boy according to the number of cows he had – one cow, one day, two cows, two days, etc. Crofters also kept goats, a pig or two and hens. Women and children helped to pick the fruit and vegetables, as well as helping with the spring cultivation and harvest. They milked and fed the cows and made butter and cheese. They also spun wool and linen yarn into clothes, although by the 1880s a writer noted that the loom no longer brought a welcome addition to the family's income. In 1851, there were a dressmaker (female) and two male weavers at Pitmiddle and a spinner at Park of Pitmiddle. For leisure, there were a bowling-green in the centre of the village and a curling pond nearby. Dances and social events were held.

The decline of the village hastened after the turn of the century. By 1900, multiple tenancies appear in the valuation rolls. In that year, the farm of Guardswell and five crofts at Pitmiddle were let to John White, wine and spirit merchant in Dundee. Two of the crofts were sub-let to locals but the others were used as holiday cottages. It is recollected that the cottages were let as summer homes to five families of publicans and licensed persons. As the older established families moved away, they were succeeded by others staying only a year or two.

The sale of timber from Pitmiddle Hill during the Great War led to great damage to the roads, or tracks, leading to Pitmiddle, especially that by Sunnyhall to Kinnaird village. The poor nature of the roads, coupled with the lack of an adequate water supply and sanitation, made the village less attractive compared with the colonies, especially Canada, where several members of the Gillies family emigrated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, or with the towns and cities, which had better amenities. The families left one by one, sometimes without bothering to take their tools with them. The last inhabitant of the village was James Gillies, grandson of the mason who had arrived a century before. A farm sale of implements was called for 4 January 1938 but a snowstorm caused its cancellation. Mr Gillies just left everything behind when he departed. Such were the circumstances surrounding the desertion of the thousand year old community of Pitmiddle. All that is left are the ruins and silent tracks.

Following the breakup of the Inchmartine estate in 1917, Pitmiddle was eventually acquired by the White family and farmed from Outfield. It is ironical that the site and land of Pitmiddle are now farmed from Outfield, a farm created on land originally worked as an extension of Pitmiddle's arable land. The site of Pitmiddle is now an extension of Outfield. The child has consumed the parent.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

S.R.O. Scottish Record Office  
D.D.A. City of Dundee District Archives  
P. and K.A. Perth and Kinross District Archives

- <sup>1</sup> S.R.O. GD1/346/1.
- <sup>2</sup> S.R.O. Register House Charters No 67.
- <sup>3</sup> S.R.O. GD26/3/1090, /1099.
- <sup>4</sup> S.R.O. GD26/3/1110, /982, /1020, /1082, /1090, /1091.
- <sup>5</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/248.
- <sup>6</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/595.
- <sup>7</sup> D.D.A. CH2/418/1.
- <sup>8</sup> Sandeman Library, Perth Local History Collections, *Perth Pamphlets* x, 152.
- <sup>9</sup> S.R.O. CC20/4/8.
- <sup>10</sup> S.R.O. CC20/4/3.
- <sup>11</sup> S.R.O. CC20/4/3, /14.
- <sup>12</sup> S.R.O. CC20/4/8.
- <sup>13</sup> S.R.O. GD1/346/1.
- <sup>14</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/248, /250.
- <sup>15</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/19.
- <sup>16</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/248.
- <sup>17</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/19.
- <sup>18</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/1057, /1066, GD26/1/102, CC20/4/13, E69/19/2, E326/10/4.
- <sup>19</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/2.
- <sup>20</sup> S.R.O. GD26/5/259.
- <sup>21</sup> S.R.O. E69/19/2, p. 102.
- <sup>22</sup> S.R.O. E326/10/4.
- <sup>23</sup> D.D.A. CH2/418/1.
- <sup>24</sup> S.R.O. HR418/1.
- <sup>25</sup> P. and K.A. CC1/5/65/1.
- <sup>26</sup> P. and K.A. CC1/7/19/1, /2.
- <sup>27</sup> Public Record Office, Kew, ADM73/46, 73/60.

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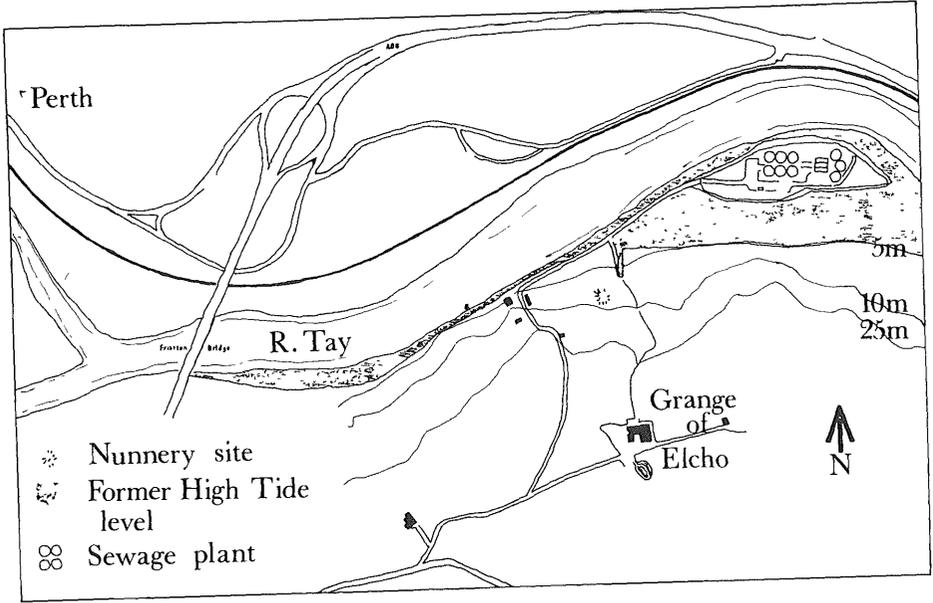


Plate 1. Location Plan of Elcho Nunnery.

## Introduction

The excavation at Elcho Nunnery was undertaken by members of the P.S.N.S. Archaeological and Historical Section between October 1968 and July 1973 over weekends and in the evenings. The workforce during that period never numbered more than fifteen people, and was often considerably less. The excavation was directed by Dr M.E.C. Stewart, and most of the post excavation work was done, or organised by Mrs D.M. Lye.

The specific site of the nunnery was not lost after the Reformation in the way that many other monastic sites were, for example the Carmelite House of Whitefriars in Perth, nor built over as for example the Dominican House of Blackfriars in Perth. Indeed parts of the buildings remained until the late 18th century at least, attested by documentation<sup>1</sup> and maps,<sup>2</sup> and even when the walls were reduced the site continued to be noted. The area around the nunnery remained an orchard until comparatively recently under the names 'Grange Orchard' and 'Orchardnook' (OS/1932), and the present day farm above the site is called Grange of Elcho.

The nunnery was not scheduled as an ancient monument, and was threatened with destruction in 1968 by workings for a new sewage plant nearby. Fortunately the owner, Mr Lyburn agreed to save the site on condition that it was excavated. In this way the work began, and continued until the nunnery was made into a scheduled ancient monument in 1973.

Today, as in 1967, the remains of the nunnery complex are visible as an uneven rectangular mound about half an acre in size. They lie on a raised terrace just above the south bank of the river Tay about three miles south east of Perth, beyond the Friarton Bridge and in the parish of Rhynd. Elcho Castle lies about a mile and a half further east.

Unfortunately both Dr Stewart and Mrs Lye died before work on the publication began. The following report is therefore the responsibility of Miss Alison Reid, Assistant Keeper of Human History at Perth Museum and Art Gallery to whom any enquiries should be addressed. The finds and archive of the excavation are now housed in the Museum, George Street, Perth PH1 5LB.

Mrs Lye had organised several specialist reports and comments on the finds after the excavation. Where a specific specialist is named in the text, the report following it is almost entirely that person's work, excepting comparative discussion of material since about 1975. Unattributed sections, and updating material are the responsibility of Miss Reid. Comments on individual items or interpretations are acknowledged at the end of the text.

The excavation plan was compiled by Miss Reid from various partial plans. Its content is discussed opposite the plan itself. References are numbered in order of appearance and listed at the end of the text.

The workings for the new sewage plant uncovered upright and cross timbers at a depth of over 4 metres in the gully to the east. This area was not excavated, and it is not clear whether these were part of an early landing stage, or the

foundations for a 19th century Ice House. It is reported on in *Discovery and Excavation*, (1968), p. 35.

## HISTORY

Marion L. Stavert

Bishop Pocock touring Scotland in 1760 writes: 'We came to the part called Elchow Wester; Elchow Easter where Lord Wems has a large house being a mile lower on the Tay. I came to see what remained of a Nunnery of Cistercians founded by David Lindsay of Glenesk and his mother. Nothing is to be seen of it but the tower of the church and the foundations of the buildings'.<sup>3</sup>

There is no record as to who was responsible for any of the building of Elcho nunnery nor can it be proved beyond doubt that David Lindsay was its founder, as Ian Cowan says, 'The history of the nunnery is obscure'.<sup>4</sup> Even though little is known of its history, its site has been recorded on early maps and has also been undisturbed by later building. Elcho (Elchok, Elchiok, Elgok, Elquho) is situated in the parish of Rhynd on the south bank of the river Tay and was three miles (4km) downstream from the flourishing royal burgh of Perth, whose overseas trade depended on the access afforded by the tidal river. Other religious foundations making use of this river artery were Lindores, five miles (8km) downstream, and Balmerino, another Cistercian house, a further ten miles (16km) east, while Scone was a few miles upsteam of Perth.

The Cistercian order followed the Benedictine rule reformed in 1113 by St Bernard of Clairvaux in France. It stressed the importance of discipline, simplicity of lifestyle and hardwork. The new order had expanded rapidly and Elcho was the seventh establishment of white robed nuns in Scotland. It was also the furthest north and had the smallest income at the time of the Reformation.<sup>5</sup> The new houses were meant to consist of a minimum of 13 nuns and 10 lay brothers to work the land. The order originally accepted endowments of land only, though in later centuries this was overlooked and Elcho certainly had one money payment of 6s 8d from a tenement in Perth.<sup>6</sup>

The foundation of the Cistercian nunnery of Elcho is attributed to David Lindsay of 'Glenesk' and his mother Lady Marjory. From a charter of 1282 concerning a dispute between the nuns and Lindores abbey it can be inferred that the nunnery was in existence 34 years previously, in 1247. If Boece is correct in his statement that David Lindsay took part in St Louis' Crusade of 1248, then his foundation, another act of piety, would have been before his departure. In an undated reference David Lindsay refers to his obligation to pay half a stone of wax as quitclaim of that parcel of land in which the monastery of Elcho is situated.<sup>7</sup>

Land endowments for the nunnery included Kinnaird in Fife (2½ miles (4km) south east of Lindores) probably granted by the earl of Strathearn, the church and lands of Dun near Forfar and the places and villages of Elcho, Binning near Linlithgow, and Standartis in the constabulary of Haddington. These were all confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII in 1418 and feature in 16th

century charters as well as in the testament of the last prioress Eufame Leslie.<sup>8</sup>

Very little is known about Elcho's prioresses and of the six recorded names only the last three can be further indentified. The nuns must have lived a peaceful and blameless existence as it is legal disputes which have given us information previous to the 16th century. In 1282 Agnes of Arroch reached agreement with the abbot of Lindores, after the judge delegate, the abbot of Dunfermline appointed by the pope, had suspended the nuns from entrance to their church 'for contumacy'. The subject of the dispute was suit and multure (a duty consisting of a proportion of the grain or meal payable to the proprietor of a mill on corn ground there) owed by the nuns' tenants in the lands of Kinnaird to the abbot's mill at Lindores and which the nuns had prevented their tenants from giving. The dispute had been going on for some time with arrears of multure calculated at 120 merks (£80) and after the nuns had built their own mill on the lands at Kinnaird, for which the abbot gave permission, they were to pay the abbot 3 merks (£2) yearly in lieu of multure.<sup>9</sup>

No prioress was named in the first known violent episode in the nunnery's history. This was the murder of Ranald MacRuairdh. In October 1346, the Scottish host were mustered in Perth, prior to the invasion of England and defeat at Neville's Cross, with a contingent from the Isles under Ranald MacRuairdh. Unfortunately as Andrew Wynton tells us,

'The Erle off Ross wes thare allsua,  
That to this Raynald wes full fa;  
Tharfore he gert hym swa aspy  
In till Elyhok that nunry,  
Quhare he wes lyand then,  
He gert sla hym and his sevyne men;  
And to Ros with his menyhé  
Agayne in hy than turned he.'<sup>10</sup>

The next recorded prioress is Elizabeth of Aberlady in dispute with the prior of May in 1405 over garbal and other lesser teinds of the parish of Rhynd but when this dispute was finally settled forty years later, the prioress was Isabella, Elizabeth presumably having died.<sup>11</sup> The Lady Margaret, sister of James III, came to live at Elcho after 1489 and subsequent to the birth of an illegitimate daughter, according to payments detailed in Exchequer Rolls. The yearly allowance of 100 merks (£66.66) must have been a welcome additional source of income for the nunnery. During part of the Lady Margaret's residence at Elcho, Margaret Swinton was prioress. She had been widowed by 1493 and ten years later, when James IV declared the priory of Elcho to be under his protection possibly on the death of his aunt, it was Dame Margaret who was the prioress. This protection was also declared at the cross of Haddington and as the nuns were the superiors of the nearby lands of Standartis, this could be the explanation for the extra attention of the king. Margaret resigned office in 1511 and Elizabeth Swinton, nun professed in the same place, was given permission by Alexander Archbishop of St Andrews to purchase the nunnery. It is not known what relationship if any, Elizabeth had to Dame Margaret.<sup>12</sup>

If the nuns had accumulated any wealth during the period of the Lady Margaret's stay, it was dissipated by Elizabeth Swinton. According to a charter of 1529, the 'lately deceased Elizabeth' had been deprived of the administration of her office for her excesses but continued to molest the nunnery by uplifting its fruits and possessions so that the cups and other precious things had to be sold and debts contracted. Eufame Leslie had been appointed prioress and, amid the urgency of creditors and their extreme necessity, the single friend that occurred to them was Robert Leslie of Innerpeffry, advocate, who defended the nuns against these molestations, redeemed their cups and paid their debts. The only means of compensating Robert, incidentally the half-brother of Eufame, was by feuing the lands of Kinnaird to him for an annual rent of 40 merks (£26.66) and granting him the farms, amounting to 21 merks (£14) of their lands of Binnings until the debt of £226 7s 0d remitted by Robert, had been repaid in full.<sup>13</sup>

Although Eufame Leslie is less obscure than her predecessors, we are still not sure of her parentage as neither of the authorities are very reliable. Her personal seal bears the arms of Leslie and Stewart of Atholl and it is probable that her father was James Leslie 2nd baron of Pitcaple, a cadet of the family of Balquhan and that her mother was one of the numerous daughters of John Stewart Earl of Atholl but there is no record of any marriage.<sup>14</sup>

The finances of Elcho were still precarious however and the nunnery in need of repair. John Swinton of that Ilk had paid 'certain sums of money to us ... to the reparacioun and bigging of our said abbay' and Eufame had as a result, renewed letters of tack with him in 1532. These were for the lands of Standartis for 19 years and for an annual rent of 10 merks (£6.66). A quitclaim was written in the prioress's own hand in contrast to the ten nuns who signed the letter of tack with their hands led by the notary. Seven years later they feued these lands to John Swinton at the same time feuing the lands of Cottis and Caldcottis within the barony of Elcho, to Alexander Dundas of Fingask for 20 merks (£13.33), 48 poultry with other services and granting a tack of the teinds of the parish of Dun to John Erskine.<sup>15</sup>

Eufame had to cope with the aftermath of the English invasion of 1547 as well as the financial mismanagement of her predecessor. The English commander at Broughty 'sent Mr Wyndham to burn a nunnery within 2 miles of St Johnstoun (Perth) who brought away all the nuns and many gentlemen's daughters at school with them'.<sup>16</sup> This is the only reference we have to a school at Elcho and from the evidence of the nuns' inability to sign their names, it would appear that writing was not part of the curriculum. Sir John Wemyss, the neighbouring laird and baron of Elcho, came to their help and lent them 20 bolls of bere (barley) and money to help with the rebuilding of their church and other buildings.

He helped in other ways. He lent the nuns 100 merks (£66.66) to enable them to redeem the lease of the lands of Cottis from John Swinton 'which operated greatly to their hurt'. Another lease was negotiated with John Wemyss, also appointed their heritable baillie, at an increased rental. The

rental for other lands also leased to John Wemyss at this time included 24 loads of coals each year. A further charter of August 1558 again acknowledged the nuns' debt to Sir John for help in rebuilding and embellishing their house of God, and feued more lands to him within the lordship of Elcho.<sup>17</sup>

Disaster struck once more next year. 'Before they were able to repay John Wemyss, there came enemies of their own countrymen, much crueller and more bitter enemies of their religion, who utterly overthrew their monastery and buildings, they themselves having to flee, so that there was no place left to them, unless they wished to live under the open sky' and the nuns again had to ask for help. In return for several sums of money for their sustenance, the nuns feued the Mains and Grange of Elcho for £40 Scots yearly. Thus, by the time of the Reformation of 1560, all the priory lands except the building itself and its orchard were in the hands of John Wemyss who continued to look after the nuns' affairs until his death in 1572.<sup>18</sup> However it would appear that they were unable to return to Elcho as it was beyond their means to repair.

The testament of Eufame Leslie sheds some light on the fate of the prioress and the five remaining nuns. By 7 September 1570, the date of the prioress's death, Helen Stewart had married a burghess of Perth and was in receipt of a pension of £10, six bolls and six pecks of bere paid until 1585 which was presumably when she died. Three other nuns were owed a similar pension by the prioress but nothing is known of their whereabouts, the fifth is not mentioned in 1570 and most probably had died sometime between then and the signing of the charter in 1559. Eufame Leslie owed 40s (£2) chalmers mail to William Cok baxter burghess of Perth and a further £4 5s for providing bread and broken meat suggesting that she lodged in a property of his with her two servants. She owed debts of over £400 – including the pensions to the four nuns – but was herself owed more than £600 in unpaid rents over several years, a reflection on the difficulties the nuns had in collecting rents from their more distant properties. The inventory of her goods and gear includes various black gowns and kirtles, two velvet headdresses, a partleit or neck covering of satin and taffeta and two beaver furs. The English bible she bequeathed to Alexander Cok formerly curate of Perth and the master of work for the kirk, does not feature in the inventory.<sup>19</sup>

In November 1570, Andrew Moncreiff, son of William younger of that ilk, was granted the perpetual Commendatorship by the Crown. He conveyed the nunnery – described as lying waste – together with its orchards and precincts to his brother William. A third brother, Mr Archibald the minister at Abernethy, received an assignment of income from the nunnery of Elcho after Andrew's death and a year later was presented by the Crown to the commendatorship. In 1606 a pension from the fruits of Scone abbey was granted to Moncreiff apparently in lieu of the commendatorship with the nunnery being erected into a temporal lordship for Lord Scone, later Viscount Stormont, and confirmed by a charter of 1610.<sup>20</sup> Sometime later in the 17th century the property was acquired by the 1st Earl of Wemyss.

### Known Prioresses of Elcho Nunnery

1282	Agnes of Arroch
1405	Elizabeth of Aberlady
1445	Isabella
1503	Margaret Swinton of Kimmerghame, widow of Thomas of Faulside
1510	Elizabeth Swinton
1529-1570	Euphemia (Eufame) Leslie

## EXCAVATION

Three sectors were opened during the excavation, all at the north end of the surviving mound, in the presumed area of the nunnery church. These were Trench I opened in 1969, Squares 1-10 opened in 1970, and Area 12 opened in 1972. The principle features and finds are shown on the fold-out plan at the back of this booklet.

The site was excavated by a small and changing team over the seasons and recording standards were not always consistent. Certain areas of the site were excavated to a greater depth than others, as the work stopped before the initial goals of this excavation were achieved.

The following report is compiled from the original site day books, find books and plans, and commentaries made at various dates by those involved. It follows that some of the conclusions stated below may have been different had the full programme of excavation been completed.

The site is described in three phases which represent the earliest occupation found on the site, the latest church on the site, and the post-reformation use of the remains. The area excavated was a consistent mix of rubble and earth in varying proportion, and so no stratigraphy as such was recorded. Where possible finds have been mentioned if reasonably attributable to a particular phase, but are discussed in detail in the relevant finds report.

### Phase I

The earliest features recovered were sections of walling in Trench I (wall 102) and Squares 7 to 10 (wall 106), both running east-west. In Trench I the wall ran off into the east baulk of the excavated area, but stopped abruptly 3m across the trench. As excavated, it survived to a height of .27m and two courses at some points, and was built of dressed facing stones with a mortared rubble fill. The width from face to face was 1m. The surviving fill level was lower than the top level of the facing stones.

One slab on the north face had five cup and ring markings on its upper surface. These markings are generally dated to the Bronze Age (c2000 BC) and must be part of a cut down stone re-used from another site. Such stones are found re-used in buildings of many different types and dates, and the presence of this example at the nunnery does not necessarily imply any superstitious belief on the part of the builders.

In the hollow of this wall, and in the fill between it and a parallel later wall

(Phase II wall 100) to the south, fragments of human bone were found. These were broken but were mostly from children.

A parallel wall of the same build and dimensions, and at approximately the same level was uncovered in Squares 7 to 10. This feature (wall 106) survived best in Squares 7 to 9, and was almost completely robbed out further west in Square 10.

In Square 7 this wall ran up to and appeared to meet a north-south wall (103), but was not keyed into it, and did not continue beyond it. A strip of probable paving (originally considered to be an earlier wall) ran along the south face of this wall (106) in Square 7 and also Square 9. The probable paving also survived in a strip on the west side of the north-south wall (103) in Square 7.

On the south face of the east-west wall (106) were two plinths. One in Square 8 (107) had a mortared base measuring 1.3m (e/w) by 1.5m (n/s). Above this was a 1m square plinth slab with bevelled edges on the three exposed faces. This feature was built against the wall (106) but not keyed into it. A similar base (108) measuring 1m (e/w) by 1.5m (n/s), but without an upper plinth was found running under the west baulk of Square 9.

As the wall was heavily robbed out from here westwards, it is possible that this may have been a more substantial feature than the plinth, for example another north-south wall. A bevelled plinth stone similar to that found in Square 8 (107) was found in the lowest level of the north-south wall (103). It is not clear whether this was a re-used stone, or whether another plinth had existed, which was then built over by a later wall. On balance the evidence suggests that it was in a re-used position.

An undisturbed burial B6 was found in Square 8. It lay close to the north face of the slighted wall (106) but at a lower depth, and may belong to Phase I. No floor level was detected above it.

## Discussion

These two walls (102 and 106) represent the north and south walls of the earliest building found on the site. The presence of burials and later finds show this was the church. On the recovered evidence it must have been 7m wide and at least 15m long.

These walls had both been deliberately slighted and robbed out, presumably at the rebuilding (Phase II) stage. The abrupt ending of wall 102 implies this, as does the re-burial of fragmentary skeletal material in the cavity wall 102 and between it and the later wall 100. These burials must have dated to the same earliest phase of the site.

It is possible that the heavy robbing of the south wall (106) in Square 10 represents the presence of better pieces of worked stone such as might be expected around a doorway. The presence of one definite, and another possible plinth of decorative rather than structural construction on the outside of this wall strengthens this suggestion. It is possible that the surviving fragments of probable paving formed the surface for a cloister walk with

statues and access to the church for the nuns. In monastic buildings cloister and conventual buildings usually lie on the south side of the church, although not always.

The position of the east and west walls of this Phase I church are not clear. No evidence of an early west wall was found, although the line of wall 106 is the same as the later Phase II wall (111) in Area 12. It is possible that earlier walls underline this and also the west wall (112).

The surviving east wall (103) already mentioned also belongs to Phase II, but as the south wall (106) does not continue beyond it, it may be the unaltered east wall of Phase I as well as Phase II. The presence of the re-used plinth stone in its lower level suggests rebuilding. Photographs and plans of the section of that wall south of wall 106 show that it was less well preserved at the south end. It could be an extension built against the end of wall 106, and that that point had formerly been the corner of the Phase I church.

The date of this building is not known, but it may represent the first stone church on the site, probably within the nunnery's first 50 years of life (c1240-1290).

## Phase II

The second phase of activity on the site was marked by substantial walls in all parts of the excavation.

In Trench I the north wall (100) ran less than half a metre (0.46m) south of the earlier Phase I north wall. The later wall was similarly built with dressed facing stones on either side and an inner rubble core bonded with traces of mortar. The wall survived to a maximum height of .75m and a maximum five courses of facing stones. The angular core material mostly survived higher than the facing courses. It was 1.15m in width.

On the north face was a buttress (101) measuring 1.20m (e/w) by 1.25m (n/s) and similarly built, but surviving to only two courses. The buttress was founded partly on the earlier north wall, and was built against, not bonded into the later wall.

In Squares 1 and 6 a major wall (103) running north-south was uncovered at a similar level. The wall ran off into the unexcavated area at both ends although it had been much reduced at its south end. At its highest it stood to .60m and a width of just over 1m. A maximum of five facing courses survived with the same angular rubble infill with mortar found in Trench I.

On the east face (or exterior) of this wall there was a buttress (104) measuring .80m (e/w) and .60m (n/s). This survived in a similar build to the wall, to a level of three courses. The stones of the lowest course were bevelled outwards to form a plinth similar to that located on the south wall in Phase I Square 8. This buttress appeared to have been keyed into the east wall at the top surviving course.

Another wall (105) running east-west in Square 7 was keyed into the main wall by one slab on its north face. This subsidiary wall was only .90m wide and ran off into the unexcavated area. This wall was almost in line with the earlier

south wall (106) of Phase I.

The area bounded by the later east wall and the subsidiary wall in Square 6 had a fill of much less rubble and more darker soil giving way to areas of clay. In the south east corner a small 'box' of slates was discovered dug into the clay. It measured .27m in length by .25m to only .15m in width oriented north/south. The thin slabs of which it was built appeared to be re-used and broken roof tiles. The 'box' had no lid and no floor slab and contained no objects. The side slabs did not meet properly, and two were split. The purpose of this container is not known, but it cannot have held liquid.

Substantial walling was also uncovered just under the turf in Area 12. This proved to be the remains of both east-west, and north-south walls which survived to a height of over 1m in the south-west corner.

The east-west wall (111) was substantially built with dressed facing stones and an inner core of mortared rubble 1.5m wide. At its east end it turned or joined a fragment of north-south wall (114) which ran out of the excavation. At its western end this wall stopped unevenly, and appeared to have been robbed.

About .80m from its west end a north-south wall (112) turned off it. This wall narrowed from 1.1m to 1.05m as it ran north and dropped in surviving height. The rubble core survived to a higher level than the facing stones. The wall ran for 2.2m and then dropped to a bottom end course of dressed stones which formed one side of a doorway.

At the west edge a projecting shaped block was matched by a similar block to the north across a gap of .95m, and the dressed blocks to the east of these were angled inwards to make a gap of 1.69m at the eastern face of the wall. Beyond this gap, the north-south wall resumed and ran off into the edge of the trench. The section of the trench showed no trace of the wall turning and resuming an east/west course at this point.

The area between this north-south wall (112) and the west edge of the trench, from the doorway to the wall (111) had been cobbled. In the corner of the trench to the north west of the doorway a section of solid block walling (113) standing to 1m in height in four courses joined the north-south wall and continued out of the west and north sides of the trench. A number of roof tile fragments and pieces of moulded stone were found in the rubble fill of the Area, and a high percentage of the glass fragments. Inside these walls (111 & 112) were a number of disturbed burials and one undisturbed east/west burial (B11) in the corner where they joined. This young adult partly lay under a collapsed block of mortar, and as with the burial in Square 8, there was no sign of a coffin or shroud, or a clear grave cut or covering.

Another undisturbed burial B6 was found in Square 8. It lay close to the slighted wall (106 Phase I) but at a lower depth. Other parts of disturbed burials were found across the excavated areas in the rubble-earth fill.

Most of the finds appear to have come from levels consistent with this phase of walling. Patches of clay turned up across the site, as well as probable floor paving stones and a fragment of a recumbent gravestone in Square 3. All the paving stones were found fairly high up in the excavation, and were in

apparently re-used contexts. Traces of plaster were also noted on the south (inside) face of wall 100.

## Discussion

The higher levels of walling represent the east, north and west walls of the latest church building on the site. Wall III represents part of a south wall, but the fragment of wall 114 cannot be certainly interpreted. No connection to the earlier robbed out south wall 106 could be proved, so it may have linked the west end of the church to a later Phase II south wall outwith the excavated area, or to the west range of the conventual buildings.

The presence of widespread clay patches suggests a much disturbed floor level which may have been at least partially paved. The two undisturbed burials must have been below this level. B6 in Square 8 was at a lower depth as the slighted wall 106 and so the floor presumably ran over it as well, although it may belong to Phase I.

This church must have been a minimum of 8m wide and 21m long. It had a doorway in the west wall and the trace of walling 113 combined with the rise in ground level and earlier map and documentary evidence suggests that it had a tower in this position, which remains unexcavated.

The section of cobbling west of wall 112 suggests that this was outside the building possibly part of a porch, path or yard. The robbed extension of wall 111 beside this remains unexplained. Only further excavation to the west can provide a solution to the question of the tower and approach to the complex.

The recovery of large quantities of glass suggests that the building was well lit, and that some of the glass was decorative. The glass was found across the site, but the largest concentrations occurred in Squares 5, 7 and Area 12, which might suggest the positions of windows.

At its east end in Square 1 a buttress (104) of similar but not identical form to those of Phase I wall 106 appeared to have more of a structural purpose than the earlier plinths; as did the buttress 101 in Trench I. This may reflect a contemporary, or slightly later supporting of the walls of the enlarged church.

In addition the form and function of the structure partly formed by wall 105 and the southern part of wall 103 remains a mystery. Here the small slate box was bedded in a fairly large area of clay, presumably a floor or floor bedding. Unless it had a sealed lining, now lost, the box cannot have contained a liquid. Its size rules out any substantial objects, such as books and no obvious explanation comes to mind.

This phase represents the latest phase of the buildings as a nunnery church. The end of the nunnery's life is not clear. Documentary evidence states that the nunnery was badly damaged by the English in 1547, but that some rebuilding was carried out before the Reformation. It is clear that the nunnery at this date was not wealthy, and seems to have been abandoned after the Reformation only a decade or so later.

The documentary evidence, the scale of the surviving walls, the large quantities of rubble, and the Phase III activities on the site all imply that the

nunnery ultimately fell down of its own accord, rather than from being rased to the ground. What is not clear is how much of the nunnery was destroyed in 1547, and whether any of it was rebuilt before the final desertion after 1560. After the robbing from Square 10, large quantities of re-usable stone were left to become overgrown.

### Phase III

Several features were found which relate to use of the building remains after its abandonment as a nunnery.

In Square 2 a concentration of stone 110 in the central area suggested the remains of a built feature. The area was roughly 1.5m square and just under turf level, with dressed slabs in its lower levels. The east and north sections and floor of this square at the same depth of .35m showed a clear layer of coal fragments. Above this was a layer of small rodent bones – mice, vole – frog, bird and also fish bones. These features were higher in the section than the lowest level of the built feature described above, and the areas of clay.

In Square 10 a setting of mortared stone blocks (109) was found on a base of rubble, without sufficient definition to categorise. A similarly built area of possible north-south walling (115) in a mortar rubble base was found under the baulk of Squares 4-5 running .76m (n/s) from the south side of these squares and .99m (e/w). This feature did not align with any of the previously located walls.

### Discussion

It is not clear how many phases of re-use these features represent. It would appear that some sort of structure was built in Square 2 as a coal store, possibly a lean-to against the surviving east wall (103) of the church.

Whether this is contemporary with the rebuild in Square 10 (109) and, or the north-south wall (115) under the baulk of Squares 4 and 5, is not known. It is clear though that a high proportion of the finds of Post-Reformation date are concentrated at the west end of the site. This included the later coins, buckle pieces and a button, and some of the clay pipe fragments. The two coins were mid 17th century, and the datable pipe fragments slightly later.

Finally, after humans had abandoned the site, owls roosted on the east wall and their droppings on the roofless and empty coal store created the thick deposit of small animal and bird bones described above.

It appears that the walls continued to deteriorate, mostly by natural rather than human influences. By 1760 only the tower and building foundations were to be seen, and by the beginning of this century, no walls were visible above the ground surface at all.<sup>21</sup> The site is now a scheduled ancient monument.

### Introduction

Most of the human bone recovered from the site at Elcho was fragmentary and derived from disturbed burials. Frequently it was mixed with animal bones. Only two undisturbed burials were recorded, and the fragmentary nature of the material made the assessment of the number of burials difficult. As far as possible, bones were grouped into assemblages which seemed likely to have come from one individual, and this was done on the grounds of location, size, weight, texture and colour. In the case of immature individuals, of whom there were many, the ages assigned to single bones also assisted in the process. The dentition was of particular value in the assessment of the number of individuals represented. However, it must be stressed that the groupings of bones were often tentative, and that there were many single bones which may have come either from the partially 'reconstructed' skeletons, or from an indefinite number of further disturbed burials.

Many children were represented in the material. Developmental bone ages could be assigned to many of the immature bones, and the developing teeth gave particularly useful information concerning the children's ages, based on detailed analysis of the stage of development of each tooth in a dentition. Assessment of age in adults from the bones can be difficult, and in the case of the mature skeletons, age was estimated wherever possible by using the degree of wear or attrition of the permanent teeth.

When sufficient of the skeleton had survived, sex was assessed from the bones. The pelvis, which gives the best indication of the sex of the individual, was seldom recovered.

Occasionally there was some evidence of trauma having occurred to one or more bones during the life of the individual. More frequently, there was evidence of dental disease. Where any pathological condition of bones or teeth was observed, it has been recorded in the description of the individual.

### Children

Fragments of a considerable number of children and adolescents were recovered from the site. Part of a skull from Square 9 was of late foetal or early post-natal age. Trench 1 produced further very young children, labelled skull A and burial B by the excavators. This material contained parts of the skulls of at least two infants, one neonatal and the other in early childhood, and parts of three post-cranial (trunk and limbs) skeletons, one late foetal or neonatal, one within the first two years of life, and the third somewhat older. Square 1 produced long bones from an infant of 6 months or less, and also from an infant older than 6 months but less than a year.

The earliest dentitions were those from four children aged between 1 and 2 years: two from Trench 1, aged *c*1 year-15 months, and *c*1½-2 years respectively, and two from Area 12, aged *c*1-1½ years and *c*2 years respectively. In the case of the specimens from Area 12, fragments of crania

and post-cranial skeletons of a similar age were probably associated with the jaw fragments.

Square 5 produced part of the upper jaw of a child aged between 3 and 4; and an isolated deciduous molar from Square 4 indicated the presence of another child aged between 3 and 6: this tooth has a small carious lesion (tooth decay). From Trench 1 came parts of both upper and lower jaws of a child of  $c5\frac{1}{2}$  years, and fragments of the lower jaw of a child of  $c6$  years. There were cranial and post-cranial fragments which were thought to have been from the same children, but the bone analysis seemed to indicate ages closer to 7 and 7-8 respectively. The child of dental age  $5\frac{1}{2}$  showed early dental caries: there was a very early lesion, not yet a frank cavity, in one of the deciduous molars. The same child had a marked hypoplasia line (indicating faulty formation of the enamel in a very restricted zone) round the crown of a first permanent molar, suggesting that there had been some transitory upset to the metabolism, perhaps a childhood fever, at the age of approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years.

Part of the lower jaw of a child aged  $c7$  years was found in Area 12, and the bones from Trench 1 which gave ages of 7 and 7-8 have been mentioned above. There may have been a third child aged 7-8 in this trench. Trench 1 produced parts of both jaws of a child aged  $c8$  years, whose dentition was particularly interesting in that three upper deciduous molars showed evidence of advanced tooth decay. All three teeth had large carious cavities which were so deep that they had involved the pulps of the teeth. This had resulted in infection of the pulps and subsequently an abscess had developed on one of the teeth. The same child exhibited marked hypoplasia of several teeth, indicating a fairly serious disturbance to the metabolism between the ages of 1 and 2 years. A mandible from Area 12 was from a child of  $c8-9$  years. Square 5 produced a fragment of a very thin cranial vault, which from its size seemed to have come from a child of not less than 8. The bone was so thin as to suggest there may have been some pathological condition (arising from disease or developmental abnormality).

From Area 12 came the well preserved jaws of a child aged  $c10-11$ . This child also exhibited dental caries of the deciduous molars, though the permanent teeth were caries free. In the same child there is a very rare developmental anomaly, congenital absence of the mandibular right second permanent molar: this tooth has failed to form, though the second molars in the other three quadrants of the mouth were developing quite normally.<sup>22</sup> It is very uncommon for permanent second molars to be congenitally absent, though this condition affects other teeth more frequently, notably the third molar. From Square 4 came an immature hip joint, from an individual aged  $c11-12$ . Fragments of maxilla and mandible from Trench 1 were from an individual aged  $c13-14$  years, one of whose third molars was probably congenitally absent. Trench 1 also produced some fragments of post-cranial skeleton which gave an age of 10-15 and may perhaps have come from the same individual. A person of between 15 and 18, probably nearer 15, was represented by bones of both feet from Trench 1.

## Adults

The only two relatively complete and apparently undisturbed burials from the Elcho site were B6 from Square 8 and B11 from Area 12. Both skeletons may have been of women in their twenties.

Burial B6 was found oriented east/west close to the south wall (106) in Square 8. The skull was fragmentary but the jaw bones and teeth were well preserved. The permanent dentition was completely developed and in full function, but the relatively slight wear of the teeth suggested an age between 20 and 25. There was sufficient of the post-cranial skeleton to suggest that this was probably a female, and one of the long bones gave an estimate of height between 1492-1555mm (4'11"-5'1"). A fairly heavy deposit of calculus (tartar) on many of the teeth suggested that oral hygiene had been poor, and there were signs of dental disease. Small carious cavities were present in two molars, and there was some evidence of periodontal disease, an inflammatory condition of the tissues supporting the tooth which will ultimately cause the tooth to fall out. At some time there had been a fracture of the left ankle which had been badly set, but had healed.

Burial B11 was also oriented east/west in Area 12, with remains of several disturbed burials. The skeleton was well preserved, but the legs were not excavated. The right half of the pelvic girdle was complete and showed that this had been a female. Many of the bones were incompletely formed, with unfused or recently fused epiphyses, allowing bone age to be estimated as 22-25 years. This was confirmed by study of the dentition: the permanent teeth were all fully developed, but the relatively slight degree of attrition indicated an age in the mid-twenties. The height was calculated from arm bones to have been between 1493 and 1610mm (4'11"-5'3"). The teeth were well formed and there was no evidence of either dental caries or periodontal disease.

The remaining adult material was disturbed and fragmentary in nature. Material collected under the numbers B2, B4 and B5 from Square 9 proved to derive from a single individual, possibly female. Height was estimated from arm and leg bones as 1615-1650mm (5'3½"-5'5") if female and 1668-1700mm (5'5½"-5'7") if male. Incompletely fused epiphyses in the pelvis indicated a young adult, and this was corroborated by the dentition. Slight attrition of the fully developed upper teeth indicated an age of 20-25. The skull was broad and rounded, and the bone seemed thicker than normal. Three of the upper permanent teeth had carious cavities: two of these were small but the third, affecting a first molar, was extensive and had resulted in the loss of almost half the crown of the tooth. This cavity was so deep that the pulp of the tooth had become inflamed and as a result a large dental abscess or dental cyst had formed at the tip of the root. The abscess had caused the removal of some of the bone in this area, and there was probably a sinus discharging pus into the mouth.

Fragmentary remains of an adult or adults in the age group 20-25 were also recovered from Trench 1, and a further adult in this group appeared in the

material from Square 5. A mandible from Area 12, B9A, which could not be associated with any other bones, was thought on the grounds of the slight degree of attrition to have been from an individual in the mid twenties. One early carious cavity was seen in this dentition, and the mandible also exhibited a pathological lesion which is impossible to explain, in the form of a dental abscess or cyst at the root of a molar which had neither caries nor periodontal disease.<sup>23</sup> The individual also showed congenital absence of at least one third molar.

Slight remains of an older adult, probably over 25, were found in Trench 1. A fairly well preserved skull from Area 12 was probably that of a male, aged 30-35 on the evidence of the degree of attrition of the teeth. Parts of a post-cranial skeleton which matched this skull in appearance were considered possibly to be from the same individual, who may have suffered an injury to the knee-joint: the upper ends of the bones of the lower leg, especially the tibia, were deformed. There was also evidence of osteo-arthritis in the knee-joint, and since none of the other joints had been affected by arthritis, this condition probably followed upon some traumatic injury to the knee. The dental health of this individual was poor. The crown of one upper premolar tooth was completely destroyed by dental caries, and two lower molars had large carious cavities and dental abscesses at the tips of the roots.

The burial B7 from Square 8 comprised a well preserved skull and mandible, together with the cervical vertebrae and a partially ossified thyroid cartilage. This probably represented a male of large build and at least 40 years old. He probably had a long nose with a prominent bridge and there is marked deviation of the nasal septum. The state of dental health was poor. Heavy deposits of tartar indicated a lack of oral hygiene. Six upper teeth and two lower teeth had been lost during the life of the individual, leaving behind infected areas in the bone of the jaws. The crowns of two molar teeth had been completely destroyed by dental caries, and large dental abscesses surrounded the roots of both teeth. Another abscess was present in the socket of a tooth which had been lost after death, suggesting that this tooth also was severely affected by dental caries. Smaller carious cavities were present in two more lower molars. Fairly severe periodontal disease had removed some of the bone supporting many of the teeth. Such advanced dental disease made estimation of the dental age of the individual very difficult, but it seemed probable that he may have been aged 40-45.

An incomplete skull from Square 1, burial B8, represented an even older individual, considered on the basis of severe attrition of all the teeth to have been 45-55 years old at least. The sex was doubtful: the individual may have been a female or a lightly built male. The chin was broad and fairly prominent. In addition to severe attrition of the teeth, there were small carious cavities in four teeth, and one tooth had been lost during life, leaving behind an area of severe bone infection. There may have been arthritis of the right jaw joint.

## Conclusions

A tentative list of the probable minimum number of individuals represented in the skeletal material from Elcho may be constructed as follows:-

Age	Number of individuals
Late foetal or neonate	2
Birth - 6 months	1
6 months - 1 year	1
1-2 years	4
3-6 years	4
7-9 years	5
10-15 years	3
15-18 years	1
Total immature	21
20-25	6
25-35	2
40-45	1
45-55	1
Total adults	10
Total individuals	31

The number of immature individuals, and in particular, the number of children below 6 years (12) and below 10 years (17) is noteworthy.

Sex could be assessed with some degree of confidence in five adults, of whom two were female, one possibly female and two probably male. One further adult may have been either female or a lightly built male, and the rest of the adult material was too fragmentary to allow of sex assessment.

Pathological conditions of the bones were observed in three adults. One female in the mid-twenties had had a fractured ankle which had healed in spite of having been badly set. There had probably been trauma to the knee-joint in the male of 30-35, and arthritis had followed the traumatic injury. Arthritis was also seen in the fragmentary individual of 45-55, this time in the jaw joint. In no case from Elcho could the cause of death be established.

There was a good deal of dental disease in the adult dentitions, and dental caries was also observed in the deciduous teeth of the children (but not in their permanent teeth).

Of 13 dentitions from children and adolescents, 4 showed evidence of dental caries in deciduous molars. In three children, aged 3-6, 5½ and 10-11, the lesions were small, but in a child aged 8 there were extensive cavities, sufficiently deep to have involved the pulps, with the subsequent formation of dental abscesses on at least one root.<sup>24</sup>

Dental disease was even more prevalent in the adults, affecting 6 of the 7 adult dentitions. In two of the adults in their early or mid twenties, and in the adult of 45-55, the carious lesions were small, but in the other three adults, aged 20-25, 30-35 and 40-45, there were extensive, deep cavities which had caused inflammation of the pulps of the teeth and subsequently dental abscesses or cysts at the apices of the roots. Further abscesses could be observed in a few sockets where the teeth had been lost post mortem. Two of the

dentitions showed evidence of periodontal disease, and the two oldest adults (40-45 and 45-55) had lost teeth during life. In one or two dentitions, the presence of heavy deposits of tartar indicated a low level of oral hygiene, but as tartar is readily lost from the teeth post mortem, it is not possible to determine how widespread this situation may have been.

The only adult with a sound, healthy dentition was the young woman, B11.

On the whole the teeth appear to have been well formed and adequately mineralised. In two of the children, aged 5½ and 7-8 respectively, the presence of enamel hypoplasia suggested that there had been upsets of the general body metabolism between the ages of 1 and 2 years. Such upsets are generally thought to be due either to severe attacks of childhood fevers, or to prolonged and severe malnutrition. The fact that enamel hypoplasia is not more widespread in the whole sample suggests that the general levels of health and diet in the community were reasonably good.

## Discussion

The material from Elcho was very fragmentary and disturbed. It probably also represents no more than a sample of the total number of burials at the nunnery, and should be viewed in this light.

Since this excavation, similar trial areas at the Carmelite Whitefriars House and the Dominican Blackfriars House in Perth as well as elsewhere in Scotland have provided comparative material in undisturbed contexts. Elcho appears to have a relatively high number of child and infant burials when compared to only two from Perth Whitefriars, but less so when compared to twelve under 20's from Perth Blackfriars. Excavations at the Aberdeen Whitefriars House recovered thirty-nine children when compared to fifty-four adults, but at the Linlithgow Whitefriars House there were one hundred and forty-four children compared with only eighty-three adults.

As all of these are sample excavations, the total picture may be very different. It is clear that there is nothing untoward about finding so many child burials at a monastic site. The rate of infant and child mortality in the Middle Ages, and indeed until recently, was much higher than today's.

It is also not certain that all these burials date to the time of occupation of the nunnery. The re-interments in the earlier north wall, the undisturbed burials in the church (B6 & 11) suggest that both internal and external burials were going on throughout the life of the nunnery. It is possible that the 'holy' ground was used after the Reformation for other burials, as happened at the Perth Whitefriars House. The Perth Greyfriars grounds were taken over by the town as a burying ground.

The burials represent more than just the nuns. The presence of male skeletal material is to be expected, just as female skeletal material was recovered from both Whitefriars and Blackfriars. Patrons of the nunnery and their families may well have expected to be buried there, as well as the families of the lay workers who farmed the nunnery's land. The recorded retirement of Princess Margaret, aunt of James IV, to Elcho from the late 15th century

indicates that they also had resident 'guests'.

The two undisturbed burials in the church show no evidence of coffins. The bodies appear to have been laid in shallow earth cut hollows, presumably wrapped in shrouds. The presence of the large number of pins from the site suggests this, and the lace ends may indicate that some of these were laced up leather, not just cloth. Where the surviving evidence allowed assessment to be made, it appears that the burials followed orthodox Christian burial lying east/west with the head to the west. The presence of the carved grave-slab fragment and paving fragments indicates that the interior of the church was at least partially stone floored.

As the area excavated covered part of the church building itself, and little else, it is impossible to say whether there are many more burials lying around the north, east and west sides of the priory. The north side of the church is traditionally the least favoured area for burials and this may further prejudice the sample recovered.

## POTTERY

Derek W. Hall

The pottery consisted of approximately 500 sherds most of which are extremely small and many of which are abraded. They are all from the backfill of the church and are therefore treated as one group. The sherds have been examined by eye and are discussed by their identified fabric types.

### Perth Local Ware

Sixty percent (322 sherds) is in variations of this fabric type. This pottery type was originally published as Kinnoull ware owing to the suggested existence of a kiln there.<sup>25</sup> However recent examination of this material did not reveal any identifiable wasters and it may simply represent a dump of this pottery type. Excavations in the medieval burgh have produced large quantities of this fabric and it was subsequently renamed Perth Local.<sup>26</sup>

The sherds in this fabric are commonly smooth, oxidised to a pink colour and have traces of a poorly adhering pale green glaze. Occasionally some of the sherds are reduced to a grey colour. Both jugs and cooking pots are represented in this assemblage and there is part of a large internally glazed open bowl or storage jar. Due to the fragmentary nature of the pottery it is not possible to identify any vessels directly related to activities within the nunnery as was possible at the Carmelite Friary in Perth.<sup>27</sup>

Recent work on pottery from sites within the medieval burgh suggests that the Perth Local industry began in the 13th century and continued until the 16th century when it was replaced by reduced grey wares.

### White Gritty Ware

Thirty seven percent (216 sherds) is from vessels in East Coast white gritty ware. The sherds are from cooking pots and glazed jugs and are normally hard,

buff to pink in colour and contain large amounts of quartz grit inclusions. No reconstructable profiles are present.

There are two cooking pot rims of the frilled, piecrust type and these are almost certainly products of the Fife white gritty industry. Recent work on material from St Andrews has identified this rim type as a possible regional variation within the white gritty industry not present in material from the Border or Lothian production centres.<sup>28</sup>

The small group of material from Elcho may include vessels from all three identified production centres as some of the sherds appear to be from straight sided cooking pots of Border type<sup>29</sup> and some may be products of the Colstoun Kiln in E. Lothian.<sup>30</sup> Dating of this material relies on pottery from other excavations. Excavations at King Edward Street, Perth<sup>31</sup> indicate that the white gritty ware from the King Edward Street site was present in levels also containing imported wares from London, Stamford and the Low Countries and not Perth Local ware. This suggests a pre-13th century date for the start of the white gritty industry. White gritty continues in production until the 15th century when it is replaced by metal cooking pots and reduced grey ware.

### **Scarborough Ware**

There are seven body sherds from a jug in Farmers phase 1 fabric.<sup>32</sup> This fabric is pink in colour with an internal and external lustrous green glaze. Farmers phase 1 fabric is the earliest highly decorated material to be produced at Scarborough and has been dated to the early 13th century.

These highly decorated water jugs were very popular imports in medieval Scotland and in excavations in the medieval burgh Scarborough ware represents the most common imported ware. As this ware was such a distinctive and well made product it may have survived in use for a long time after the end of the Scarborough pottery industry being regarded akin to a family heirloom.

### **French Wares**

There are six sherds from vessels in two fabrics that are probably French in origin. One of the fabrics is very hard and unglazed, is extremely fine, and buff to white in colour. The second fabric is similar to the first but has an external bright green glaze. There is a parrot-beak bridge spout in the second fabric that is similar to those found in 13th/14th century levels in Southampton.<sup>33</sup> This piece is probably from the Saintonge, on the western seaboard north of Bordeaux.

### **Low Countries Grey Ware**

There is one body sherd from a vessel in this fabric. It is light grey in colour and unglazed. This sherd is probably from a cooking pot. Low Countries pottery was a very popular import to the medieval burgh particularly in the early 12th century levels.

## **Stoneware**

One abraded neck fragment from a stoneware jug was found. It has a pale grey fused fabric and a brown internal and external glaze. Stonewares were imported to the medieval burgh from the 14th century. The piece from Elcho may date to the 15th/16th centuries and may be German in origin.

## **Miscellaneous Sherds**

Seven overfired earthenware body sherds could not be identified, although several of them may be in the Perth Local fabric.

## **Discussion**

This small group of pottery is comparable to material from excavations in the neighbouring medieval burgh of Perth. The percentages of fabric types are similar to those recovered in the burgh. The date range is from the 13th and 16th centuries, and is compatible with the disturbed nature of the deposit.

## **THE GLASS**

**Ruth Hurst Vose**

### **Window Glass**

A total of two hundred and sixty five fragments of glass were found in the excavation, all but two fragments being of flat window glass. All the fragments had suffered from weathering in varying degrees, some having a dark brownish opaque surface patina, but with most of the body of the glass unaltered. Many more fragments were corroded throughout, the weathering layers flaking off in gold, blue, green and silver opaque iridescent hues. In addition there was a considerable amount of glass which was completely reduced to these flakes, about which nothing constructive can be said.

All but six fragments of the window glass were of clear colourless, or clear green tinted glass. It must be stressed however that all the glass was of a generally poor quality, and the weathering both of the surfaces and edges of the fragments limits the conclusions that can be drawn from the pieces.

Glass is basically made from sand (silica), soda and lime. As the melting point of sand is very high, a flux is added to lower the temperature required. In northern Europe in the medieval period this flux was a potash made generally from beechwood or other woodland sources. Unfortunately the chemical composition of potash often made the glass less durable and more prone to weathering. It is probably this factor which is mainly responsible for the decay of the Elcho fragments. Window glass such as the Elcho pieces was most likely made by the cylinder or muff process, which produces sheets of glass which can be cut into smaller sizes. The hot bubble of glass on the end of a blow pipe was blown and smoothed on a marver to the required size, then swung to and fro to elongate it. After cooling slightly, the ends were cut off and the cylinder sheared open lengthways. Reheated, the cylinder would fall into a flat sheet and was then left to anneal (cool) slowly. Once cooled the panes were then cut

down to the desired shapes and trimmed with a notched grozing iron. This produced small panes or quarries with the characteristic slightly rough 'grozed' edges.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the Elcho fragments were small, none being larger than 3mm in length. Where edges have survived they are mostly grozed.

A few fragments appear to have the original flame rounded edge of the cylinder sheet from which they were cut.

The most dominant shape was the diamond quarry with grozed edges (25 pieces), but rectangular and square quarries were also found.

While fragments were found in every excavated Square and Area 12, that is inside the church building, only one fragment was recovered from Trench I, that is, the area outside the north wall. The highest concentration of glass fragments occurred in Squares 3 (18 frags) 5 (54+ frags) 6 (23 frags) 7 (38 frags) and Area 12 (36 frags).

Six pieces of stained or coloured glass were found. Four pieces from Square 2 were of a clear blue glass, one of which possibly had a grozed edge. Two fragments of 'flushed' red on a pale clear green glass were found in the baulk between Squares 2 and 5.

Stained or coloured glass was produced in the same way as clear colourless glass. The colour was provided by adding minute amounts of metal oxides to the melt. A wide range of colours can be produced depending on the mix, the heat of the oven and the length of the melting process. Blue is usually produced by adding cobalt oxide. Iron and manganese in wood ash could also colour glass blue, green, amber or pinkish purple.

Red window glass was produced differently, because the depth of colour would stop most of the light getting through it. Instead a hot gather of clear glass was dipped into molten red, made with the addition of cuprous (copper) oxide, creating a thin skin of colour once the gather was blown and shaped. This thin 'flashing' of red made the glass much more translucent. Manganese was also used by medieval glassmakers to produce a clear pale rose-red glass.

The red glass fragments were both irregular four sided pieces with grozed edges, while three of the blue fragments may have come from a square or rectangular pane.

Other decorated glass has been found in excavations in Perth, particularly on friary sites. Late 13th or 14th century painted fragments were recovered from the Carmelite House of Whitefriars at Tullilum in 1982.<sup>35</sup> In 1983-4 late 13th century painted fragments with linear, curvilinear and cross-hatching designs, similar to that from Whitefriars, was found at the Dominican House of Blackfriars at Kinnoull Street in 1983-4.<sup>36</sup> A painted border fragment of 14th or early 15th century date also came from Canal Street II excavation in 1981.<sup>37</sup> The Whitefriars and Canal Street II pieces parallel an Austrian panel, now in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow.<sup>38</sup>

Similar painted glass is known from other Scottish Cistercian Houses, for example Glenluce in Wigtonshire, and Melrose where a fragment with red flashing has also been found. Other sites closer to Elcho have produced

painted glass, for example St Andrews Cathedral and Lindores Abbey, which also had a fragment of blue coloured glass.<sup>39</sup> A keyhole excavation at the closest Cistercian House to Elcho, at Balmerino near Gauldry also on the north shore of the Tay, produced two fragments of glass but they were badly damaged, possibly burnt.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore not inconceivable that painted glass was in use at Elcho, but has deteriorated now beyond recognition.

There is nothing in the window glass from Elcho which is inconsistent with the dating of the nunnery between the 1230s and 1570s, and it can therefore be dated within the medieval occupation. As the first mention of Scottish glassmaking came with a patent to make glass in Scotland for forty-one years granted to George Hay in December 1610 by King James I of England (and VI of Scotland), the glass from Elcho must have been imported from England or abroad. During the medieval period coloured glass was imported to England from Normandy, Burgundy, the Rhineland and elsewhere, and stained glass workers from France, Flanders and Germany worked in other countries from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

Several pieces of window leading and fragments of window tracery were also found. These are discussed in the Metalwork and Worked Stone sections.

### **Vessel Glass**

Two fragments of vessel glass were found. One from a thick walled vessel of pale green glass may be from a wine bottle of the late 17th century or after. The other is a rim fragment of a thin walled pale green vessel decorated with two applied glass threads running roughly parallel below the rim. In appearance it resembles Early Wealden forest glass (1330-1567), though this style of decoration was in use throughout the Dark Ages and Medieval period.

## **METALWORK**

### **Copper alloy objects**

**David H. Caldwell**

Three pieces of book clasps (Plate 2), one mount, one stud, part of a hanging lamp and two buckle pieces were recovered. The two buckle pieces are late 18th century in date, one may be from a shoe. The other items are earlier and were probably lost during the life of the nunnery.

The book clasp fragments are of 15th or early 16th century date. Two are clasps, the third is a catch. Clasp E3 (70 x 39mm) was found in a deposit of black earth with iron fragments against the south side of the exterior wall in Trench I (ie inside the building). It has lost its inner bronze sheet and has no trace of leather. One end is splayed into a wide end (now broken) decorated with six perforations and engraved leaves.

Clasp E8 (50 x 24mm) has a fragment of leather strap rivetted between the sheets. The upper sheet is broken, but three rivets remain, and the strap end of the upper sheet has been fashioned into a fishtail. This piece weathered out of the south baulk of Square 5.

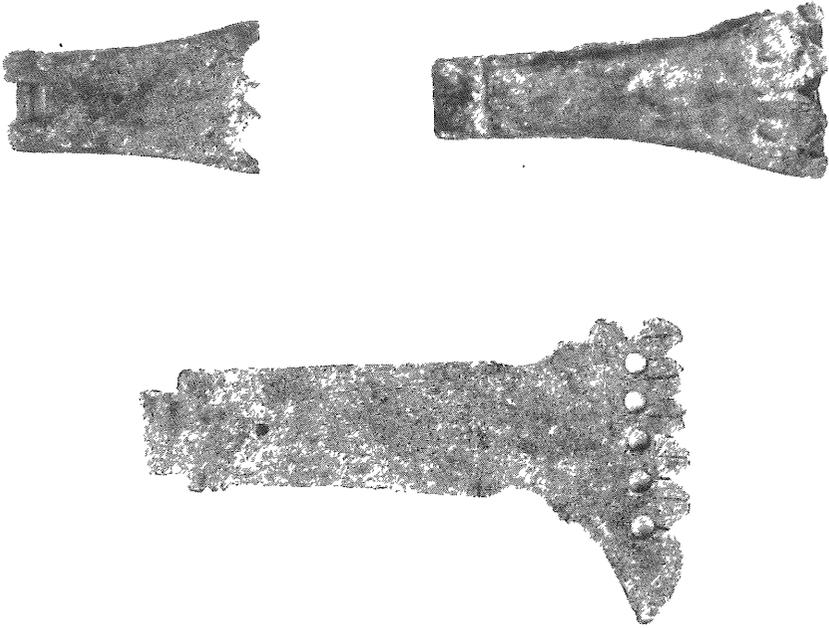


Plate 2. Three book clasps from the site E3, E8 and E7. (Approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  size)  
 (Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

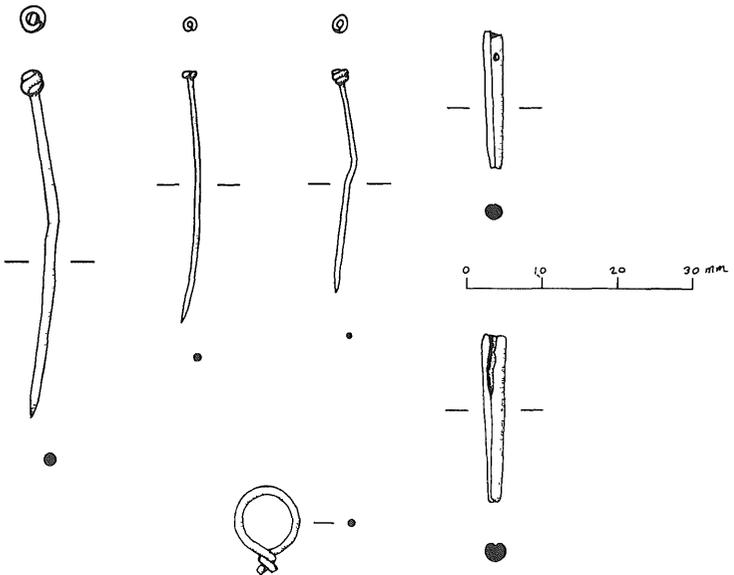


Fig. 1. Pins, lace-ends and a wire loop showing their construction.  
 (Frank W. Moran)

Catch E7 (34 x 21 mm) also has a fishtail terminal and has retained its hinge, but not the three rivets with which it would have been attached. It was found in Area 12 in a clay level.

Parallels to these clasps can be found in material from the Culbin Sands (Nairn) and Crossraguel Abbey (Ayrshire) now in the Royal Museum of Scotland. Several bookclasps were also found at the Carmelite Whitefriars House in Linlithgow,<sup>41</sup> and one has recently been recovered at Inchaffray Abbey at Strathearn.<sup>42</sup> Similar examples are also known from surviving manuscripts, for example the Haye Manuscript bound c1480-95,<sup>43</sup> another volume bound after 1475 for Henry Barry, rector of Collace<sup>44</sup> and a volume of Duns Scotus *Super sententiarum* bound c1507 for the Carmelite Convent in Aberdeen.<sup>45</sup>

The bronze mount E4 may also be from a book cover. It was recovered in Square 6 in black topsoil. It has no decoration, and is roughly rectangular with a small rectangular cut in one corner. The small stud is engraved with star shaped design. It could be from a leather strap or belt, or else a piece of fabric. It has a loop attachment on the reverse which could have been pushed through the material and held by a pin at the back.

### Lace-ends, pins and loops (Fig. 1)

A considerable number of these were found on the site, (c200) most of which were found in two concentrated areas. The first group of pins and loops came from Square 5 in loose soil and mortar. The second group of pins and lace-ends came from Area 12 in loose gritty soil on the exterior face of the east/west wall. A number of worked bone splints were also found with this group which appear to have been used as pins.

The pins are of two rough sizes from about 45mm and around 35mm. The larger pins have a shank diameter of 1mm, the smaller of .7mm. The heads are formed by winding wire around the shaft one or two times to form a small turban. In some of the smaller pins these appear to have been hammered to give a flatter head, but many of the examples are broken and corroded.

Pins such as these are common from medieval and post medieval sites. Similar large and small pins have been found at the Dominican House of the Blackfriars in Perth,<sup>46</sup> at St Paul Street<sup>47</sup> and at the Carmelite House of Whitefriars in Aberdeen,<sup>48</sup> and at the Carmelite House in Linlithgow.<sup>49</sup> They are also found on English sites for example, Norwich,<sup>50</sup> Southampton<sup>51</sup> and Northampton,<sup>52</sup> and on both secular and religious sites. The larger pins were probably used for clothing or dressmaking, but the smaller pins are more frequently considered to be shroud pins. The similarity to those from the sites already cited above and others such as Crossraguel in Ayrshire,<sup>53</sup> along with the burials recovered at Elcho would tend to confirm this, although none was found directly associated with human bone.

Lace-ends are also commonly found on medieval sites and are of two forms, both of which are found in the Elcho material. In the first a small sheet is tightly rolled around the cord, with its edges touching and overlapping at the end.

These often have two small perforations at the wider end to secure a rivet through the cord holding it more securely. The second form is where a small sheet is folded around the cord and the ends are rolled inwards and tightly crimped to hold the cord in place. A study of lace-ends from Northampton has suggested that the second form is the later, from perhaps the 16th century onwards. At Linlithgow both forms were found, and a third type not recovered at Elcho.<sup>54</sup> Some still had traces of leather in them. Lace-ends were used to fasten clothing, but in this context it is probably more accurate to hold them as parts of lacing for shrouds, possibly also of leather.

Loops, where a piece of wire has been folded to make an eye or circle, and the ends are twisted, have been found at Southampton, Crossraguel and Linlithgow. In Linlithgow they were more commonly associated with burials than were the lace-ends. They may have been used in combination with wooden pegs and thongs.<sup>55</sup>

### **Bronze Lamp**

Part of a bronze hanging lamp was found just inside the church by the south wall in Square 7. The shallow square dish tapers to a star point at each corner, and the upper edge curves inwards between each point. At the centrepoint of each side is a cast loop to allow a chain or rope to be fed through to hang the lamp with. Each of the four points could serve to hold a wick, fed with oil from the dish. As it survives there is no sign of an attachment for a lid, or covers for the nozzles or wicks below the flame. The lamp measures about 155mm square by 25-30mm deep. (Plate 3, p. 79)

No exact comparison for this piece has been found. The nearest example is the lamp used as a badge by the Society of Antiquaries, found at St Leonard's Hill in Berkshire. It has four open nozzles, but they project from a circular basin, and the lamp is suspended by four fixed legs attached to an integral collar around the basin. An almost identical lamp to this has been found in Lincoln, and other examples with varying numbers of wicks have been found in Britain and on the continent.<sup>56</sup> In 1981 a three wick lamp was found at the Peter Street excavation in Bristol, in a late 14th century context.<sup>57</sup>

It is possible that the lamp had a thin flat lid, which is now lost. The other lamps mentioned above have a hook or eyelet underneath. These sometimes held a lower pan, similar to the later common Scottish 'cruise' lamp, but the Elcho example shows no sign of such an arrangement.

### **Coins**

**Anne S. Robertson**

Six coins were recovered, all but one of them from Area 12. Four of these were bare metal 'billon' coins of James IV of Scotland (1488-1513). Three were billon pennies minted in Edinburgh, and one of these could be more specifically dated to the second issue of the reign. The fourth was a billon plack, the equivalent of four pence.

The fifth coin from Area 12 was a silver half-groat of the York mint of Archbishop Edward Lee (1531-1544) in the reign of Henry VIII of England

(1509-1547). It was found in a mixed area of clay, gravel, charcoal and mortar. Of the billion coins, one of the pennies and the plack were found at the same depth as, and not far from, Burial 11 and other fragmentary bone in loose brown soil. A third penny was in the same area at a slightly higher level and the fourth has no context.

These can all be seen as being lost or deposited during the life of the nunnery. The sixth coin is later, a copper 'turner' or twopence of Charles I (1625-1649) or possibly Charles II (1660-1685). It is very heavily worn and was found close to the surface in Square 5 in topsoil.<sup>58</sup>

## **Lead**

Lead from the site consisted of one possible weight, several pieces of window lead and some fragments which may be melted window lead or waste. The weight is an irregular oval shape, tapering towards one end and with a perforation running through it set slightly off centre. It measures 47mm in length with a maximum diameter of 15mm. It may have been used for a fishing net. It was found in the baulk between Squares 9 and 10.

Five sections of lead stripping used to hold window glass in place and known as comes, were found. The largest piece is 67mm in length. One piece, part of an H-section came was found with fragments of flat glass and diamond quarries in Area 12. Another piece came from Square 5 close to a glass fragment, as did a section from the baulk between Squares 9 and 10, and pieces from Square 2. The melted lead was also found close to glass fragments in Square 5.

## **Iron**

A large number of corroded iron fragments was found mostly representing entire, or parts of nails of various sizes. These were spread across the site, the heaviest concentration, of seven, being in Square 4. One twisted nail was found apparently associated with Burial 11 in Area 12.

The complete nails vary in size from over 130mm in length with square section and domed head (similar to type B from Perth sites),<sup>59</sup> to 'tack' nails just over 40mm in length with a rectangular section and with a flat L-shaped head (similar to type E from Perth sites). Examples of Perth type A nails with square flat heads and shanks, and type F with flat 'T' shaped heads and square shanks were also found.

Some fragments from Area 12 were mixed with mortar, much of which is attached to the iron.

A distinct category of nine circular iron shafts with diameters of 5mm and lengths from 970mm to nearly 2800mm were recovered from Squares 5 and 6. While the smaller six could arguably be nails, the three larger pieces must have had some alternative function as wires. It has been suggested that a similar more looped piece of wire from Threave Castle could be a handle for a bucket.<sup>60</sup>

One piece from Square 10 appears to be a tool of some sort although it is

corroded at one end. It has a rectangular section and tapers to both ends. This is similar to a leatherworking awl from Perth High Street<sup>61</sup> in size and form, and awls from Sandal Castle,<sup>62</sup> and Northampton.<sup>63</sup>

A key was also found with an oval shaped bow and solid shank. It is 17mm long. The rectangular bit is cut once on the top and once on the base. The key can be classified as a type IV from *The London Museum Medieval Catalogue*.<sup>64</sup> It could have been used for either a door or a chest in the medieval period or later. In medieval times locks were fixed to the outside of doors or panels, not incorporated into them as nowadays. This means that the key could only be used from the outside, which would be true for the Elcho example as it is not symmetrically cut.

## WORKED BONE

Five bone artefacts were recovered from the site, a die, two beads and two parts of possible handles.

The die was found in the south area of Square 5 at a depth of 0.25m in a mixture of loose soil and mortar. It measures 8mm square and the numbers consist of ring and dot designs on each face. The numbers on opposing faces add up to seven (ie 1+6, 2+5, 3+4).

This style of die was common from roman times onwards but continued through the medieval period despite the emergence of another style where succeeding numbers were put on opposite faces (ie 1+2, 3+4, 5+6). Examples of both forms were found in equal number on the Perth High Street excavation of 1975-77.<sup>65</sup> The Elcho type were from 14th century contexts. Two dice of the second form were found in the Queen Street Midden Area excavation in Aberdeen,<sup>66</sup> and one has come from Threave Castle in Galloway.<sup>67</sup> Two other dice have recently been found at Rattray Castle, a deserted medieval site in Aberdeenshire.<sup>68</sup>

These and other English examples such as those from Southampton<sup>69</sup> and Exeter<sup>70</sup> show how common a feature of medieval life they were. Ten different dice games are known by name which date back to the 12th century, and clerics would have played them just as lay people did. Each of the ring and dot designs is fairly regularly placed on the face as on a modern die.

The beads are circular and polished, and were made by cutting bones into suitable lengths, drilling a longitudinal perforation and then mounting on a rotary lathe to finish the shaping. The larger has a diameter of 10mm, the smaller is 6mm. Both were found in Square 5 in similar material to the die at depths of 0.5m and 0.25m respectively. The circular lathe markings on the smaller bead appear to be deliberately enhanced at the top and bottom of the bead to form a decorative feature. Both beads have flattened tops and bottoms. The perforation in the larger bead is not properly centred. Similar beads have been found in Northampton<sup>71</sup> on a secular site with an early medieval date range. It is possible that these beads are from a rosary, as is the jet bead (see Worked Stone).

One fragment of a possible handle was found in Square 9 only 0.15m below the turf. It measures 38mm in length and 18mm in diameter, is hollow and only half of the full circumference survives. Although the surface is polished, there is no sign of any carved decoration, or perforation. If this was a knife handle the iron whittle tang would have been held in position by the bone tube. Another broken and discoloured hollow bone 'tube' was recovered in Square 5 in loose soil. It was more oval in section, measuring 28mm in length and 6mm in width.

In addition a number of apparently worked bone slivers probably used as pins were found in Area 12 with metal pins and lace-ends.

## ANIMAL BONE

The late G.W. Ian Hodgson & Catherine A. Smith

Fragmentary animal bone was found across the site and at all levels. From this, it can be assumed that the majority of the material can be dated to the period of the nunnery's occupation between about 1240 and 1570. Evidence was found for later 'squatter' occupation however, and it is possible some material dates to this later phase of the 17th century or after.

Most of the animal remains recovered were from domestic animals or from wild species which could be eaten. The bones may reflect the availability of meats or the dietary preferences of the people living in or close to the nunnery at this time.

The species represented are: cattle 5, sheep/goat (including one lamb) 6, pig (including one piglet) 2, horse 1, dog 1, cat or kitten 1, hare 1, bird 9, fish and shellfish, and possibly roedeer 1, squirrel 1. The minimum number of animals present allows some estimate to be made of the relative abundance of the different kinds of meat available.

It is difficult to distinguish the long bones of sheep from goat, and in the case of the jaw bones it is impossible to do so. The bones were identified by direct comparison with modern de-fleshed specimens including those of Scottish Soay and Jacob sheep. On the basis of this comparison and the use of Boesneck's<sup>72</sup> (1964) criteria the author is fairly confident that the bones are from sheep rather than goat. This is somewhat surprising for the historical literature on Perth is rich in references to large flocks of goat being kept or sold at the town.<sup>73</sup>

If these remains are a reflection of the meat eaten locally then it would seem that beef and lamb or mutton were mainly consumed with suckling pig or pork, fowl, fish, and hare supplementing the diet.

The sample of bones is small, therefore it is unwise to read too much into these data, but an analysis of the types of bones found suggests that we are dealing mainly with the parts of the carcasses of animals which yielded little meat. A large number of the bones are from the feet, fetlocks and lower limbs of animals while the high meat yield bones, humerus, femur and pelvis representing shoulder, leg and aitch bone 'joints' of meat are correspondingly

few in number. This suggests that either we are dealing with the low meat yield remains of carcass dressing and that the joints went elsewhere or that the inhabitants were poor and could only afford the cheaper cuts of meat.

The cattle were probably slaughtered under the age of three when they would not yet have reached an optimum size for meat. It will be realized however that in medieval and post-medieval times up to the industrial revolution, the so-called by-products from animals were often of much more value in relation to the meat of the animal from which they came. There is abundant documentary evidence of a flourishing hide and skins trade in Perth which enjoyed a monopoly not only against competition from abroad and at a distance but against the surrounding rural districts which raised the animals. In short, the market pressures and restrictive practices (upheld by parliament as well as burgh laws) would to a large extent dictate the age at which the animals were presented for slaughter. Of the sheep remains two points are worthy of comment. Firstly, on the evidence of two jaw bones (therefore they could have been goats) two of the animals were at least eight years old when they died or were killed. This is old even by modern standards and suggests a nanny or ewe being kept for milking. Secondly, the almost entire skeleton of a young lamb was found as was the left side of a sheep. It is difficult to relate these two finds to the consumption of meat. It is most likely to be the burial of a dead lamb and that of a rotten half side of mutton although the association between sacrificial lamb and the Church must not be forgotten. Whatever the cause of these burials it says much for the skill of the excavators that these fragmentary bones have been recovered and can now be shown to belong to two distinct carcasses. The remains of horse are few, ranging from on the one hand two unworn molars from a young horse to a large right calcaneum (back ankle) on the other. This calcaneum measures 133mm in length and is as large as that of a modern day shire horse and is larger than anything recovered from the huge sample of bones from the medieval levels at Perth High Street.<sup>74</sup> Presumably the flesh of a horse would be consumed when the animal died or its useful working life was at an end.

The bones of the birds present contrast sharply with those of the animals discussed earlier in that the majority of them are high meat yield bones ie the humerus and femur bones representing the fleshy parts of the wing and leg of birds. It was not possible to identify them as to species but they range in size from birds of about the size of a modern pigeon to those the size of a modern hen. The majority were hen sized and probably came from domestic fowl. None were as large as the bones of a goose.

Some of the animal bone from the site may have been used to make the small sliver pins found with metal shroud pins in Area 12. Four slivers of bird bone were found in association with a group of naturally sharp fish bones and it has been suggested that these bones may have been used as a substitute for shroud pins. Certainly the size and shape of these splinters would have made them suitable for use as pins, particularly if the fabric to be fastened was of a loose weave. None of the bone fragments exhibited signs of wear but since the use of

shroud pins would be necessarily limited, this is not unexpected.

Other remains of fish were few in number consisting of only four vertebrae and the ray of a fin possibly belonging to the same animal. This is not to argue that fish did not figure prominently in the diet because fish remains are readily eroded in soil and they are more likely than the remains of most animals to have been fed to cats or removed by scavengers such as gulls and rodents.

Large quantities of complete oyster shells were recovered from the site from all areas. Some of these may have been brought to the nunnery to be crushed and used in mortar for building. It is more likely though that they were used primarily as a source of food, or fishing bait. Large quantities of oyster and other mollusc shells have been recovered from the medieval levels of Perth. Shells of other marine and land molluscs were also found – mussel, cockle, whelk and periwinkle.

Part of the left leg and the jaw bone of a very young cat or kitten were found. It is not possible to say whether this animal was a tame or feral species.

The right shoulder blade and the right femur of a dog were identified. These came from an animal about the size of a modern terrier dog.

A concentration of small rodent bones including mouse, vole, shrew, mole, frog and small birds and fish was found beside the east wall in Square 2. These are the result of owl droppings from a roost on the remains of the wall after the abandonment of the site.

In conclusion, it appears that we have evidence of a group of people who ate the poorer offcuts of meat from carcasses of ox, sheep and pig as well as whole lamb, kid, piglet, hare and fish. It is tempting to speculate that these meat supplies would be gifted to them by the neighbouring community. It seems likely that they kept hens and ewes or nanny goats to provide eggs, flesh, milk and cheese and dogs and cats as pets, guards and as a means of controlling vermin.

## WORKED STONE

Most of the pieces of worked stone found on the site were architectural fragments. One prehistoric cup and ring mark stone with five cup and ring marks on it was built into the earlier, northern east-west wall bottom course. Two of the cup and ring marks had channels striking out at right angles from the central cup. The original slab had been squared for re-use, and measured roughly 300mm by 300mm on top but only about 70mm deep.

### Flooring and grave slab

Traces of a flagged floor were found on the inner (south) side of the north wall in Trench I, one piece had a moulded edge. Other paving fragments were found in Squares 2, 7, and 10.

The grave slab fragment was found in Square 3 in an area of dark brown soil and rubble. The fragment is part of a recumbent grave slab which would have

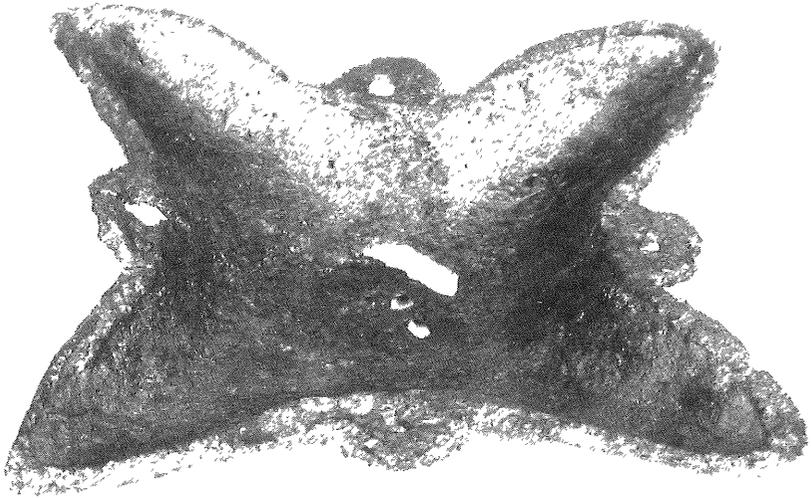


Plate 3. Bronze oil lamp with four perforated loops for hanging chains. (Approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  size)  
(Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

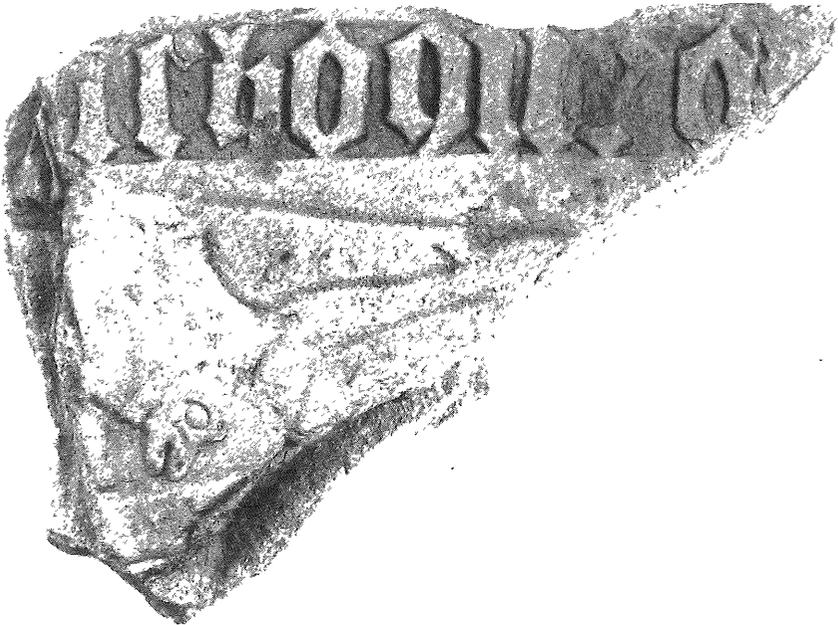


Plate 4. Carved grave slab fragment, reading 'lcho nuno'. (Approximately  $\frac{1}{6}$  size)  
(Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

been set into the floor of the church. It was clearly not in its original position. The section which survived is triangular in shape and shows the head, collar and part of the body of a dog against, presumably, the robes of the person remembered. On the edge a band of lettering survives carved in a higher relief than the dog and robes. The lettering reads 'LCHONUNO' which must be part of 'Elcho Nunnery'. (Plate 4)

In recumbent monuments, the legend starts at the top left corner and runs clockwise around the slab so the name and position of the person interred below this slab are lost to us. It was clearly someone of wealth and position, and in some way attached to the nunnery either as a patron, or possibly even a prioress. The style of the lettering probably dates to the early 15th century.

### **The architectural fragments**

A number of pieces of worked and moulded stone was found, with several coming from Area 12. Most were very fragmentary, only two being identifiable as possible fragments from a door or window. Roof slate fragments were common, some with peg holes, mostly from Area 12. The best piece of carved stone was in the form of a flower carved on a pentagonal tapering fragment measuring 74mm deep by 50mm across. This may have been the stop end of the moulding over a door or window. It dates to the late 13th or early 14th century and was found in Square 3.<sup>75</sup> All the fragments were grey sandstone, probably local in origin.

### **Worked stone artefacts**

Two pieces of flint and one piece of agate were found, and a broken jet bead.

The jet bead, which is large and highly polished (17mm in diameter), was found in Square 5 not far below the turf level. Jet is not found naturally in Scotland, the nearest source being Whitby in Yorkshire.

It is likely that it was part of a rosary. Jet was much favoured for devotional items because of its natural colour.<sup>76</sup>

One of the flints is a scraper of yellow brown with a clear striking platform and percussion bulb. The edges opposite the platform have been retouched. It measures 22mm in length, 26mm in breadth and is 10mm thick. The scraper is of neolithic/bronze age date, and was found in Square 5. The second is a small chip of red flint with no signs of working which came from Square 10 just below the turf.

The agate fragment was found in Square 6. The agate is a slice from a broken pebble, the side edges being heavily pitted. It shows no sign of working or use, and has a diameter of roughly 25mm and is 12mm thick.

Prehistoric flints are found on medieval sites, being re-used for their original purpose, or for secondary uses such as striking sparks for fires. Flints have been recovered from excavations in Perth, for example the High Street site 1975-77.<sup>77</sup> It is also possible that the flints were there long before the nunnery.

## CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

Twenty-four fragments of clay tobacco pipe were found in the fill of the excavated area, with a concentration in Squares 5, 10, and Area 12.

Seventeen were unmarked pipe stem fragments with a varying diameter of 5-10mm. Three were fragments of bowls with feet, and one a complete bowl and foot. These had a five-pointed star in a milled circle stamped on the foot. One of them had a moulded six-dot design (one central and five encircling) on the bowl.

The star stamps varied in the thickness of the points, but in general the design is believed to be Scottish and dates from around 1660-1700.<sup>78</sup> Similar examples have been recovered from Linlithgow<sup>79</sup> and Perth.<sup>80</sup> Two similar moulded dot designs have come from Perth, one from a rubbish dump on the North Inch, and the other from Canal Street I excavation.<sup>81</sup>

Pipe-bowls with these dots are believed to be Dutch, from Amsterdam, and are dated to about 1640-1660.<sup>82</sup>

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- <sup>60</sup> G.L. Good and C.J. Tabraham, 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway' in *Medieval Archaeology* vol 25 (1981) p. 129.

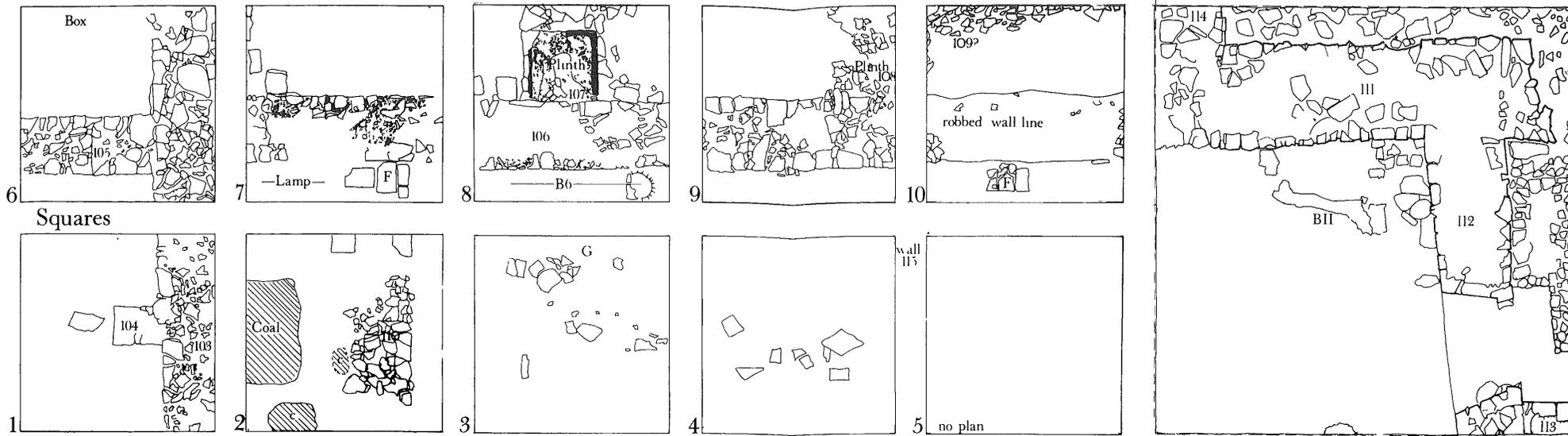
- <sup>61</sup> Iron artefact from Perth High Street Excavation 1975-77 housed in Perth Museum and Art Gallery.
- <sup>62</sup> P. Mayer and L.A.S. Butler, *Sandal Castle: excavation 1964-73*, Wakefield Historical Publication (1983).
- <sup>63</sup> J.H. Williams, *St Peter's Street Northampton: Excavations 1973-6 op. cit.*
- <sup>64</sup> London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, (HMSO 1940 4th imp. 1975) pp. 138-9.
- <sup>65</sup> A.G. MacGregor, 'Dice' in 'The Worked Bone' in *Perth High Street Excavation Archwe Report Fascicule VIII*, Perth Museum.
- <sup>66</sup> A.G. MacGregor, 'The Worked Bone' in *Excavations in the Medeval Burgh of Aberdeen 1973-81, op. cit.* p. 182.
- <sup>67</sup> G.L. Good and C.J. Tabraham, *Threave Castle, op. cit.* p. 129.
- <sup>68</sup> J.C. Murray, personal comment.
- <sup>69</sup> C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Southampton 1953-69*, vol 2, *op. cit.* p. 271.
- <sup>70</sup> J.P. Allan, *Medieval and Post Medieval Finds from Exeter 1971-80*, Exeter Archaeological Report vol 3 (1984), p. 351.
- <sup>71</sup> J.H. Williams, *St Peter's Street Northampton: Excavations 1973-6 op. cit.*
- <sup>72</sup> J. Boessneck, Muller and Teichert, *Osteologische Unterscheidungsmarkale Zwischen Schaf und Ziege*, Kuhn-Archiv 78 i, 1-129.
- <sup>73</sup> G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth 1836*, reprint Wm. Culross & Son Ltd. Coupar Angus (1986).
- <sup>74</sup> G.W.I. Hodgson, A. Jones and C. Smith, 'The Animal Bones' in *Perth High Street Excavation Archwe Report* Perth Museum.
- <sup>75</sup> N. Cameron, personal comment.
- <sup>76</sup> D.A. Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery from the 11th to 15th Centuries*, Shire Archaeology no 21 (1982).
- <sup>77</sup> J. Kenworthy, 'The Flint' in *Perth High Street Excavation Archwe Report* Fascicule VIII.
- <sup>78</sup> A. Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, British Archaeological Research Report 14 (1975) Fig. 3 g.
- <sup>79</sup> L.R. Laing, 'Excavations at Linlithgow Palace, West Lothian' in *PSAS* vol 49 (1966-67) p. 126 and Fig. 7.
- <sup>80</sup> P. Davey, 'Clay Pipes from Recent Excavations in Perth', Archive Copy, Perth Museum.
- <sup>81</sup> Perth Museum Acc No 1983.431 North Inch (Eight Dot).
- <sup>82</sup> Perth Museum Acc No 1984.587 Canal Street I, PEM 1020/A0014, (Six Dot both sides).
- <sup>82</sup> P. Davey, as above.

#### EXCAVATION PLAN

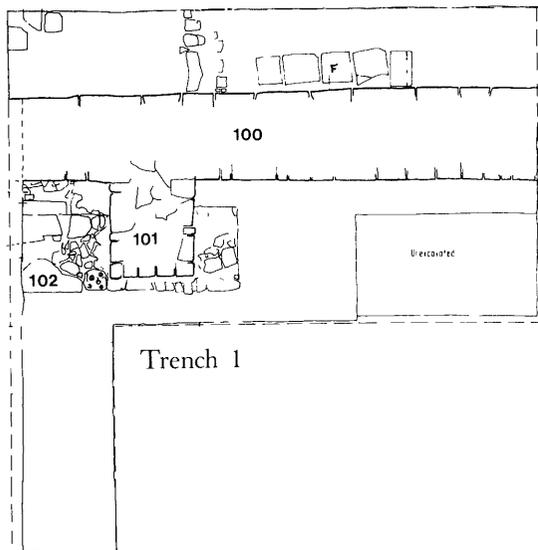
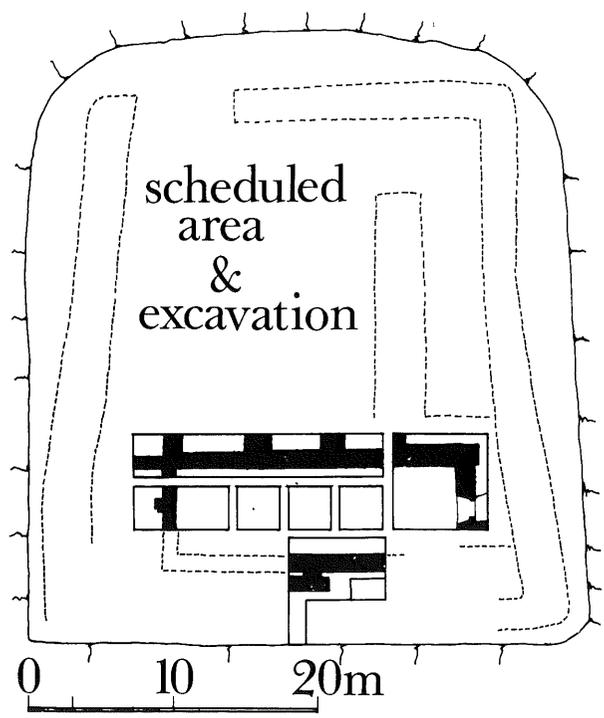
The plan opposite has been compiled from several different plans at different stages of production, from original site work through to publication drafts. There is no complete site plan at any depth and so the principal features and finds discussed in the excavation text are all indicated where it is possible to do so, regardless of Phase. The numbers relating to the built features are not original, but have been added to make the excavation report easier to follow.

#### KEY

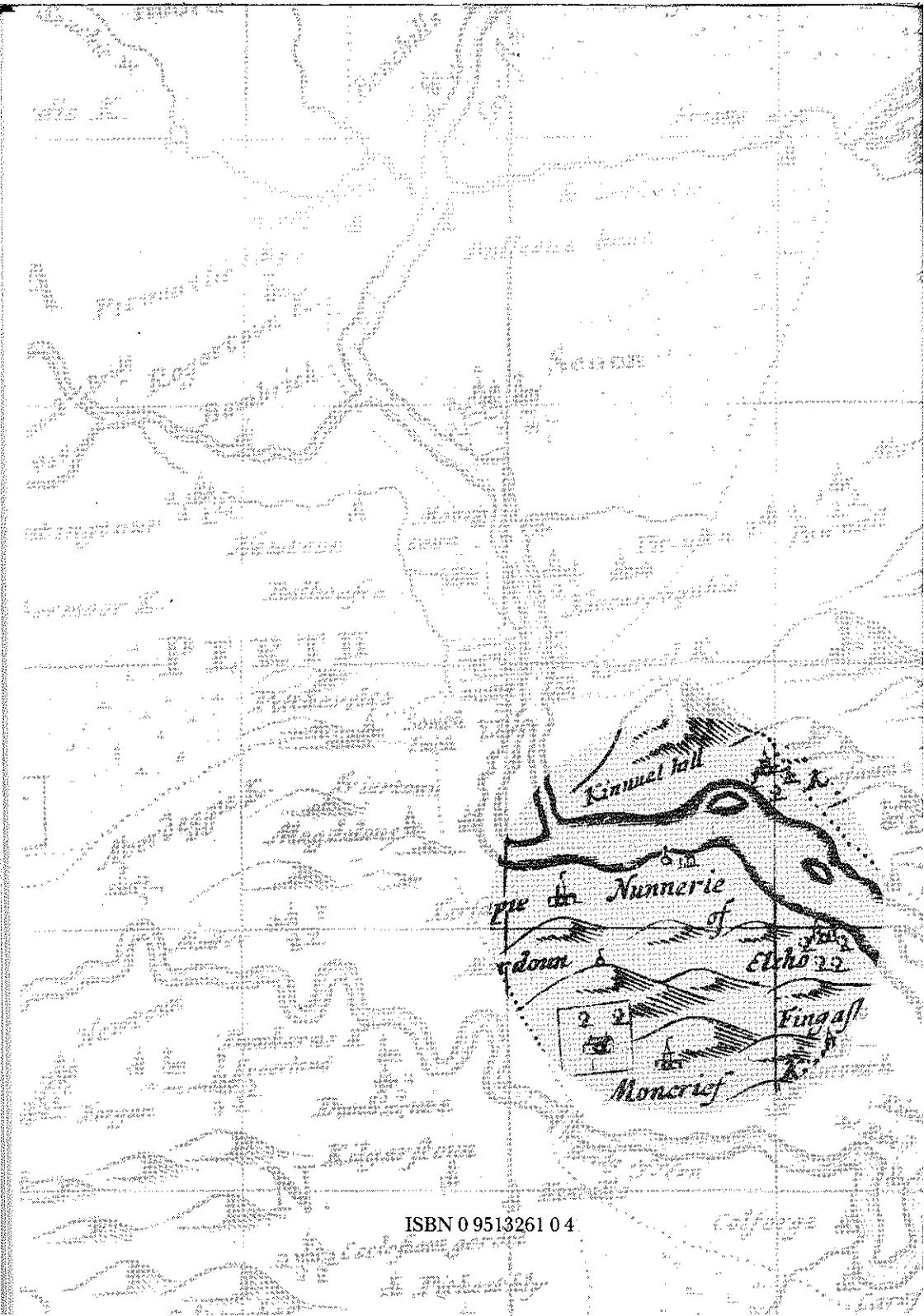
100	Built feature, wall
F	Probable paving slabs, areas of flooring
c	Coal Layer
BII, 6	Undisturbed burials
G	Graveslab fragment
Box	Slate box set in clay flooring
Lamp	Approximate findspot of bronze lamp
109?	Probable location of Phase III rebuild
Wall 115	Location of undrawn Phase III rebuild



Area 12



# Elcho Nunnery Excavations '69-'73



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