The Laird's Houses of Scotland:

From the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution, 1560–1770

Sabina Ross Strachan

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis has been composed by me, the work is my own, and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except for this degree of PhD by Research.

Signed: ..... Date: .....

Sabina Ross Strachan

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to define the architectural development of laird's houses. The term 'laird's house' can imply, simply, 'the house of a laird'. Architecturally, it is used to describe a category of dwelling first defined in broad terms by John G. Dunbar in 1966 (*The Historic Architecture of Scotland*). This thesis seeks to detail, firstly, what is meant by a 'laird' in the context of one who is responsible for the building of 'laird's houses' and, secondly, the *physical* attributes of a 'laird's house'. A national overview of the development of laird's houses is then provided, principally based on the findings of a regionally-based approach. In-depth studies on the Scottish Borders, Shetland, and Skye, the Western Isles, and the Small Isles form Part II. The final part is a gazetteer of the laird's houses in these three areas together with a suggested format for a national gazetteer.

The earliest surviving examples of laird's houses date to the 1570s and '80s. However, there is evidence to suggest that they may have first appeared around the mid-16th century. Through the compilation and analysis of samples, and the detailed investigation of key examples through fieldwork, documentary and comparative research, two types of laird's house are discernible and are defined in this thesis as 'Type I' and 'Type II'.

Dunbar's hypotheses that: 1) the laird's house developed from the tower-house; and 2) a new type of laird's house was introduced in the 1680s or '90s, are tested and developed. It is proposed here that the two-storey Type I laird's house could equally have developed *up* from single-storey dwellings as *down* from the tower-house. Also, rather than 'hybrid' examples representing a transition from tower-house to laird's house, a similar Renaissance vocabulary could have been applied to houses of different scales. The Type II seems to have derived both from its direct predecessor and, from the 1670s, was influenced by new classical ideas and, later, the widespread availability of pattern books. The most important conclusion developed from the

regional studies is that many buildings which have been identified by others as ‘bastle houses’ are, rather, better described as ‘laird’s houses’.

In addition to defining the Type I and Type II laird’s house therefore, this thesis seeks to provide: 1) the first detailed national overview of laird’s houses; 2) a greater understanding of them through regional studies focused on their emergence (1560–1645), the development of the Type I (1589–1730), and the development of the Type II (1670–1770); and 3) a framework for a Scotland-wide gazetteer of this building type.

Acknowledgements

It has taken me about six years to complete my PhD research over 1997–2008. I can safely say that it may never have reached its final stage were it not for the help and support of a great many people. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them.

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Particular individuals from museums, libraries and archives have also been very helpful. They include: Brian Smith, Andrew Johnson and Tommy Watt (Shetland Museum & Archives); Margaret Moodie and Rebecca Mackay (*Urras Dualchas Ratharsaidh*/Raasay Heritage Trust Museum); Marion Scollay and Andy Duffus (Bressay History Group); Mary Ellen Odie (The Old Haa Museum); Chris Dyer (Shetland Amenity Trust); Maggie Macdonald and Ann MacKinnon (Clan Donald

Centre); Sîan Loftus and Rosie Watts (National Trust for Scotland); Michael Bolik (University of Dundee Archives); Cynthia Tulloch (Tangwick Haa Museum); and David Mackie (Orkney Library & Archives). Also, thank you to Rebecca Bailey of the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) for her advice about the Monument Thesaurus. I would also like to thank the staff of the RCAHMS Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, the National Museum of Scotland Library, and Historic Scotland's Image Library for their friendly and efficient service.

I would like to acknowledge here that I have written two articles on laird's houses which have been published (Strachan, 2000; 2001). My conclusions about the two laird's houses discussed therein have been subsequently revised and this is fully referenced at the appropriate points in this thesis.

The greatest time given to me by others has been in reading draft chapters, providing invaluable comments, and proof-reading this thesis. Firstly, sincere thanks to Dr Piers Dixon and John Dunbar who scrutinised my chapter on the Scottish Borders and provided insightful comments. John also kindly provided me with a copy of his notes on Old Gala House. Chris Tabraham was good enough to check a draft of my timeline for inaccuracies at short notice. My husband, Dr Allan Rutherford, has gone above and beyond the call of duty in reading my very rough drafts and providing timely suggestions and, by doing much more than his fair share of the household chores, giving me the time I needed to study; thanks sweetheart. Professor Richard Fawcett has always been extremely generous in sharing his capacious knowledge with me and, in particular, I will be eternally grateful for his ability to provide comments at lightning speed on draft chapters! And finally, I don't think I will ever be able to repay my debt of gratitude to my very good friend, Helen Jackson, who proof-read most of this thesis and who has the knack of being able to point out my grammatical failings in a cheerful way! *Thank you*.

Finally, finally, this thesis is dedicated to the memory of my godmother, Catherine Ross Strachan, who inspired me to write.

List of Abbreviations

ADCP	*Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501–1554*
APS	*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*
b.	born in
The Black Book of Taymouth	*The Black Book of Taymouth with other papers from the Breadalbane charter room*
Blackadder report	John Blackadder, 'Agricultural Report on Lord Macdonald's estates in Skye & North Uist based on surveys made in 1799 & 1800'
Cal. Border Papers	*Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the borders of England and Scotland*
Canmore	Computer Application for National MOnument Record Enquires. (Database of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)
⚔ (crossed swords)	battle of
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, 1108–1503*
CSP Scot.	*Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547–1603*
† (dagger)	died in
DSL	Dictionary of the Scots Language
DOST	Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*
HB NUM	Historic Building reference number (unique identifier of listed buildings in the Statutory List Description, Historic Scotland)
l.	left
L. & P. Hen. VIII	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*
The Lyon in Mourning	*The Lyon in Mourning, or, a collection of speeches, letters, journals, etc. relating to the affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Rev. Robert Forbes, A. M. Bishop of Ross and Caithness 1746–1775*
m.	married in
MacFarlane's Geog. Colls.	*Geographical collections relating to Scotland. Made by Walter MacFarlane.*
Melville Diary	*The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville, minister of Kilrenny, in Fife, and professor of theology in the University of St Andrews*

Miers notes	Mary Miers, *The Western Seaboard: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, 2001 draft
Mill Diary	*The Diary of the Reverend John Mill. Minister of the Parishes of Dunrossness, Sandwick and Cunningsburgh in Shetland, 1740–1803*
Name Book	Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Name Books for Scotland
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMR	National Monuments Record (English Heritage)
NMS	National Museums of Scotland
NSA	*The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the ministers of the respective parishes*
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
OD	Ordnance Datum (sea level)
Old Haa Museum notes	Display material and files associated with the Old Haa Trust's 2004 exhibition about Yell laird's houses (Shetland), consulted by the present author in 2006
OPS	*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*
Ork. & Shet. Ct. Bk. 1	*The Court Book of Orkney and Shetland, 1612–1613*
Ork. & Shet. Ct. Bk. 2	*The Court Book of Orkney and Shetland, 1614–1615*
OS	Ordnance Survey
OSA	*Statistical Account of Scotland*
O. & S. Deeds	*Deeds Relating to Orkney and Zetland, 1433–1581*
O. & S. Recs.	*Orkney and Shetland Records*
Prot. Bk. Corbet	*Protocol Book of Sir William Corbet, 1529–1555*
r.	right
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now English Heritage)
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales
REO	*Records of the Earldom of Orkney, 1299–1614*
RIAS	The Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*
RPC	*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

RSS	*Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*
SAM no.	Scheduled Monument reference number (unique identifier of monuments listed in the Schedule of Monuments, Historic Scotland)
SCRAN	Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network
SCT	The Scottish Civic Trust
Shet. Ct. Bk. 1	*The Court Book of Shetland, 1602–1604*
Shet. Ct. Bk. 2	*The Court Book of Shetland, 1615–1629*
Shet. Docs. 1	*Shetland Documents, 1195–1579*
Shet. Docs. 2	*Shetland Documents, 1580–1611*
SIC	Shetland Islands Council
SMA	Shetland Museum and Archives
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
SND1	Scottish National Dictionary
SNDS	Scottish National Dictionary supplement
SSPCK	Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SVBWG	Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group
Tangwick Haa Museum notes	Display material and files assembled by the Northmavine History Group on the history of Tangwick Haa (Shetland), consulted by the present author in 2004
UID	Unique Identifier
WoSAS	West of Scotland Archaeological Services

Part I
Introduction and Overview

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Forty years ago John G. Dunbar (1966, 65) introduced his chapter on laird's houses in *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* with the following plaint:

> While the castles and tower-houses of the Middle Ages and the great country mansions of the later Stuart and Georgian eras are familiar to all students of Scottish architecture, very little attention has been given to the type of building that forms the subject of the present chapter.

Is it fitting to repeat the same words today? This chapter will provide the justification for writing a thesis about this building type, specifically the architectural development of the laird's house from the middle of the 16th century through to the later part of the 18th century. It will set out the main aims of this study – to define the 'laird's house' and to provide a general overview of its origins and development – in the context of other work on the subject and in relation to its general topic, high-status architecture in early modern Scotland. In this, it will show that there remains a gap in architectural history both in terms of providing a framework for studies on individual laird's houses, and how the laird's house fits into our present understanding of other related building types and the period as a whole. The scope of this thesis will then be explained in terms of the date range, the areas covered and the approach adopted. Finally, the structure of this volume will be described and cross-referenced to the relevant aims.

1.2 Context

1.2.1 The study of laird's houses

Before *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* was published in 1966, it would be fair to say that 'laird's house' was used as a catch-all term encompassing tower-houses, early mansions, and 'laird's houses'. For example, Nigel Tranter's (1986) *The Fortified House in Scotland* series, first published in 1962, inventoried 'fortified

houses' (those with features regarded as being 'defensive') as opposed to 'unfortified houses', but both were seen by him as subcategories of the 'laird's house'. Dunbar (1966, 36–46) deals with 'tower-houses' as a section in a separate chapter, then goes on to define, in broad terms, laird's houses as the houses of lesser landholders of the late 16th to early 18th century, which vary in size and distribution but share "a conservatism and informality that betoken the work of local craftsmen and designers", and for which "it will be suggested that a well-defined process of evolution can be observed" (*ibid*, 65). Dunbar's work is therefore the most relevant starting point for all subsequent research on laird's houses and his conclusions will be discussed below. Other studies on laird's houses are confined to relatively limited sections in larger works, for example Joachim Zeune's (1992, 152–6) *The Last Scottish Castles* and short overviews in much broader articles, such as Deborah Mays's (2003) 'Middle-Sized Detached Houses'. There is also a small number of regional, local, and individual studies on laird's houses which vary greatly in depth and scope. It will be useful to describe their contribution to the study of laird's houses as a whole, particularly the individual studies derived from modern archaeological investigations. Following this analysis of existing work, gaps in the subject area will be identified and discussed.

Dunbar (1966, 66) divides his overview of laird's houses into two sections: first, those built "during the period of transition" between about 1560 and 1642, subtitled 'The Legacy of the Tower-House' and, second, those built in the 18th century. These correspond to two main types of laird's house he identified. The first is described as combining "castellated and domestic features in very variable proportions", and so such houses could be "the ultimate tipping of the scales towards domesticity" (*ibid*). The second is "a new type of medium-sized domestic residence, which owed nothing to the tower-house" whose "antecedents and origins… are not altogether clear" (*ibid*, 81).

Castle studies of the 1960s focused on the militaristic function of castles and tower-houses, exemplified by Stewart Cruden's (1960) highly influential *The Scottish Castle*. Our understanding of castles and, more importantly in terms of laird's house

development, late Scottish tower-houses moved on in the late 1980s with the work of Geoffrey Stell (1985), Chris Tabraham (1988) and Ross Samson (1990). These studies will be discussed further below in the wider context of early modern architectural history. The domestic function of castellated architecture and the symbolism of its form had begun to be emphasised in England in the late ’70s and ’80s (Liddiard, 2005, 6–7) and in a Scottish context Richard Fawcett (1994b, 237) wrote: “it is coming to be appreciated that there might be less alarming reasons for the belligerent appearance of the majority of residences dating from [1371 to 1560]”. So, is it still valid to look for the origins of the early laird’s house in the context of the ever decreasing ‘fortification’ of the tower-house? Compared to the early laird’s house, Dunbar (81–2) was less certain about the origins of the second type he identified, and offered a number of possible antecedents, discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (Sections 4.5 & 4.6), mostly from English sources.

Since Dunbar’s contribution, there has been no in-depth study of laird’s houses and no real attempt to review his conclusions about the early laird’s house in the light of later work on the tower-house or to test his suggested origins of the later laird’s house.[1] Few general works on Scottish architecture discuss this building type; those that do tend to reiterate Dunbar’s (*ibid*, 65) “well-defined process of evolution”, such as the overviews provided by Elizabeth Beaton (1997, 59–65) and Deborah Mays (2003, 67–71) which are discussed more fully in the next chapter (Section 2.2.3). A short section on laird’s houses in *The Last Scottish Castles* (Zeune, 1992, 152–6) describes them as having their main living accommodation within an unvaulted ground floor and few defensive features. A separate category of ‘semi-fortified’ house, *saalgeschosshaus*, distinct from the ‘laird’s house’, ‘bastle’ and ‘pele-house’, is also defined (*ibid*, 149). Zeune thereby departs from Dunbar’s “well-defined process of evolution” by introducing this intermediary category. Is the *saalgeschosshaus* a valid separate building type in a Scottish context and can the

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[1] The writer has recently become aware of a MSc dissertation on the ‘Lairds’ houses of the 18th century (Stirlingshire: a case study)’ by Sonya Linskaill which was submitted in September 2007; one aim of this is to review some of Dunbar’s theories regarding the origins of the later laird’s house (S. Linskaill, *pers. comm.*).

examples provided be described as 'semi-fortified'? Zeune's theories are tested in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.2.

RCHME (1970, xiv; NMR Monument Type Thesaurus, 'bastle') and RCAHMS (1956, I, 44; Monument Thesaurus 'bastle') have separate definitions of the 'bastle', discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5 (Sections 4.4.1.1 & 5.4.1), but in both cases they are seen as defensive houses or as places of retreat (Dunbar, 1966, 45; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 48–9). What is pertinent here is that several buildings which this present author would consider to be 'laird's houses' have been analysed and discussed by other researchers whose interest is in the defensible farmhouse. In this way groups of such houses have been studied by Philip Dixon (1976) in his PhD thesis and excavated by Tam Ward as part of the Clydesdale Bastle Project in South Lanarkshire (Ward, 1998; Ward, Gillanders & Christison, 1986). To date, these houses have been seen as part of a group of semi-fortified houses built on either side of the border in the later part of the 16th century and into the early 17th century. They have not yet been considered in the wider context of Scottish masonry houses of that period. The present author would regard at least four of the seven 'bastles' excavated by the Clydesdale Bastle Project, as laird's houses (Ward, 1998, 9–10, 26–9; Ward, Gillanders & Christison, 1986; *Current Archaeology*, 2006).[2]

A number of laird's houses have been discussed as part of area-based archaeological surveys or excavated as part of research-led or developer-funded work. Of these, a proportion have yet to be written up adequately. The author is aware of nineteen excavated examples, of which eight have been fully reported, two were antiquarian clearance excavations, and the remainder have only short interim reports or *Discovery & Excavation Scotland* summaries available to date.[3] Nevertheless,

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[2] Until they are fully reported, it is difficult to be certain about the identification of Snar and Smithwood (Ward, 1998, 28; *Current Archaeology*, 2006; WoSAS site report, ID: 22740, www.wosas.net).

[3] These are: in South Lanarkshire: 1981– 5 Windgate House, 1986–7 Glenochar, 1985 Glendorch, 1991–2 Wintercleuch, and 1995 Kirkhope (Ward, 1998; Ward, Gillanders & Christison, 1986); in Shetland: 1897, *c*. 1924 & 1950–1 Jarlshof (Hamilton, 1956), and 2004–5 Old House of Brow (Bigelow, 2004); in Clackmannanshire: 2006 Garlet House (Atkinson & Jones, 2006), and 2005 Old Sauchie House (S. Mills, *pers. comm.*); in Stirlingshire: 1890s Loch Dochart Castle (Place,

detailed standing building surveys, such as of Unish House, Skye (*see* Sections 7.4.1 & 7.5.3) and Uttershill Castle, Midlothian (*see* Section 4.4.1.1), have been invaluable as they provide reliable raw data which thus allows for reinterpretations (RCAHMS, 1993; Alexander, Bogdan & Grounsell, 1998).

Within the field of architectural history, three area-based studies of laird's houses have been published. These are: Mike Finnie (1996) on Shetland laird's houses; David Roberts's (1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1981a, 1981b & 1982) studies of Skye laird's houses in particular, concentrating on those built by the MacLeod family; and Daniel Maudlin's (2003) overview of a group of tacksman's houses in Morvern, Argyll. Each of these is discussed in greater detail in the Literature Review.

Finnie (1996, 39–40) defines a specific type of Shetland laird's house, "the true Haa", as a tall laird's house with regular fenestration built in the mid-18th century. Scottish tower-houses are offered as a possible influence on their distinguishing feature, their height, and Scottish masons as the source of their classical frontages. Finnie sees the small number of "true Haas" as forming a distinct subgroup of Shetland laird's houses, and as being particular to Shetland. However, no examples from outside Shetland are cited to help illustrate their suggested distinctiveness and it remains unclear as to how and why the Shetland 'Haa' became 'tall'.

Roberts analyses each of six MacLeod houses in Skye, Raasay and Easter Ross in detail. Rather than an overview of Roberts's more general conclusions, it is useful to discuss here his search for antecedents for the form of Unish House. Roberts (1981b, 303) writes: "it is clear that the inspiration comes from those urban houses in the cities commonly called 'Jews House'" built by 12th- and 13th-century bankers in France and Italy, but with "refinements of the age in which it was built [*c.* 1600]". Roberts (1981b, 305) also compares Unish with a late 16th-century Fifeshire laird's

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1906), and 1998 Old Auchentroig (Addyman, 2002); in Argyll: 2005 Old Glennan (James, 2005a & 2005b), and 1965–8 Breachacha Castle, Coll (Turner & Dunbar, 1969–70); 1980 Pitcairn House, Glenrothes, Fife (Reid, 1981); 1979–81 Smailholm Tower, Roxburghshire (Good & Tabraham, 1988); 1995 Uttershill Castle, Midlothian (Alexander, Bogdan & Grounsell, 1998); 1998 & 2002 Canna House, Canna (Harden, 2003); 2002 house in Blarmore, Ben Lawers, Perthshire (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003); and a tacksman's house, Rowallan, East Ayrshire.

house, English lodges like Wothorpe, built between 1615 and 1623, and a range of early 17th-century Irish houses. Unish House is discussed at length in Chapter 7, but here it is the somewhat confusing context offered that is important. It is both extremely broad-ranging in terms of place and date, and, upon closer inspection, the examples offered are less similar to one another than Roberts suggests (*see* Craig, 55–6 & 58; Wothorpe Parish Council, 2006, item 9.2). This implies that existing frameworks for contextualising this, somewhat unusual, laird's house were not sufficient in this case.

Maudlin (2003) looks at a group of five houses built by Campbell tacksmen in Morvern, Argyll, between 1755 and *c.* 1807, the MacLean tacksmen having been dispossessed by the Earl of Argyll in 1754. He describes them as "a deliberate aesthetic subgroup or spin-off" of the improved Lowland farmhouse built in Morvern "as symbols of the new economic imperative… [and] also marking the end of a smaller but long-standing territorial clan war" (*ibid*, 369 & 371). As "the precise architectural origins are unclear" (*ibid*, 365–7), he suggests that the designs may have been developed by masons, that contractors may have made direct gleanings from the *Rudiments of Architecture* (Jameson, 1772), or that the uniformity of design may have derived from estate regulations.

Maudlin has made extensive use of the RCAHMS Inventory of Argyll (1971–92). The few pre-1730 laird's houses identified are described therein as being "along traditional and domesticated tower-house lines", otherwise "archaic building-types [predominated], including creel or wattled houses" (*ibid*, V, 1984, 38 & III, 1980, 37). Most 18th-century examples are credited to the influence of lowland masons (*ibid*, II, 1975, 31). In this, the Inventory develops Dunbar's overview of laird's houses by suggesting a pattern for the introduction of the later laird's house form to the west-central highlands and islands. In itself, this overview is first described in the Stirlingshire Inventory (RCAHMS, 1963), with which Dunbar was directly involved. It need not necessarily follow that the laird's house *per se* developed in east-central Scotland and, from there, infiltrated into other regions, however.

In 1966, Dunbar provided a sequence for the development for the laird's house across Scotland and identified two main types: the first emerging around the time of the Reformation and originating from the tower-house; the second appearing around the last decades of the 17th century and which supersedes the earlier laird's house. In terms of research gaps: 1) the origins of the first type have not been tested in the light of new work on tower-houses; 2) it has not yet been confirmed whether the later laird's house derived from the possible origins suggested by Dunbar; and 3) the identification of two distinct types of laird's house has not been re-evaluated. The houses defined by Zeune as *saalgeschosshauses*, Ward and others as 'bastles', and Finnie as 'Haas' have not yet been compared with others built by the lairdly class elsewhere in Scotland to determine whether these separate categories are valid. Maudlin's (2003) study of improved tacksmen's houses in Argyll identifies a gap in our understanding of how this type of laird's house or farmhouse originated. We have also seen from the example of Unish House that, if there is insufficient depth in existing work on laird's houses, attempts at the classification of unusual types can lead to misleading conclusions. Modern survey and excavation has helped to provide new data on individual examples, but only a few areas have the advantage of accessible comparative data in the form of the post-1960 RCAHMS Inventories, in particular the seven volumes devoted to Argyll (1971–92) (James 2005b, 31–2; James & Francoz 2005, 26). Dunbar's chapter remains the contextual framework for the compilers of regional, local, and individual studies to place their findings. Therefore a study of greater depth, which could also take on board new ideas about contemporaneous building types and the findings of modern archaeological surveys, might be helpful forty years on.

1.2.2 High-status architecture in early modern Scotland

In the period covered in this thesis, 1560 to 1770, the main types of building which would have influenced the laird's house are likely to be the residences of the lordly class in Scotland. So, it is tower-houses, Renaissance mansions (whether built by secular lord or commendator, in town or country) and country houses that are the building types which provide the more general context for the laird's house. That is

not to say that the houses built by lords or the gentry class in England or the military architecture of Cromwellian or Hanoverian barracks were not influential, but in terms of existing research on Scottish architecture of the period the most relevant examples are discussed below.

In an essay published in 1985, Geoffrey Stell (1985, 195) acknowledged that "the study of castellated architecture has long had a specialist military bias" but that MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92) (*see* Literature Review, Section 2.2.2) and Mackenzie (1927) had given equal weight to the castle as residence (Stell, 1985, 205 note 7). Stell (*ibid*, 196) went on to point out that the tower-house is particularly prevalent in areas which did not necessarily correspond with areas of endemic violence, and that "more pacific 'domestic' buildings" first appeared towards the end of the 16th century when there was "intermittent warfare of an unprecedented scale and intensity". Therefore, the supposed link between the need to defend oneself and the building of houses with more or less 'defensive' features was broken. Good and Tabraham's (1981; 1988) 1974–81 excavations at Threave Castle and Smailholm Tower showed that some of the buildings within their courtyards were residential and contemporaneous with the tower-houses. Until then, the predominant view was that the tower-house was the epitome of economical security for the inhabitants, with the courtyard containing servile offices or only providing living accommodation at a later date (Cruden, 1960, 108–9). Tabraham (1988, 269) argued "that the traditional view of the medieval towerhouse as the full extent of a lord's residential needs may be seriously flawed." However, the tower-house within courtyard complexes was still seen as a position of strength, standing "at the heart of the complex, the chief residential unit and the most secure in troubled times" (*ibid*, 275), though none of the tower-houses discussed by Tabraham were built later than the 15th century.

Ross Samson looked at post-Reformation tower-houses in his contribution to *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, published in 1990, and placed the tower-house in the context of Keith M. Brown's (2003, first published 1986) re-evaluation of the level and nature of violence and threat in early modern Scotland. Like Stell (1985), Samson (1990, 197) pointed out that "the fall of tower-house architecture is

traditionally ascribed to the growing need for domestic comfort and an end to lawlessness". Samson (*ibid*, 202–5 & 212) analysed the 'defensive features' of several late tower-houses and concluded that each had a functional space-saving or attention-grabbing role instead of a defensive one. They were used because "tower-house architecture was heavily imbued with connotations of power and authority" (*ibid*, 213). Samson credited their decline to a fundamental change in the basis of power, and restitution in the form of legal process rather than bloodshed, particularly following the Union of the Crowns. Very few were built after *c.* 1620 and Samson (*ibid*, 220) saw changes in Scottish architecture of the period as being "related to English Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture… [but] more should be done to compare them".[4]

Samson's (*ibid*, 215–26) paper also chronicled the development of high status houses other than the tower-house in a section subtitled 'Seventeenth-century Scottish houses and Jacobean architecture'. He wrote: "to my knowledge no one has ever studied the nature of early seventeenth century Scottish architecture, except to say that it was a continuation of tower-house architecture but without the defensive elements" (*ibid*, 216, fn. 7). The 1990 Edinburgh International Festival exhibition on 'The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance' began to address this gap and looked at various building types between 1500 and 1660. The text of the exhibition includes a piece on '"Castle-wise" country houses' by Charles McKean (1990a, 17) in which he coined the term, 'Scottish chateau'. Several of the houses discussed by Samson are included in McKean's (*ibid*, 18) rapid overview, which concluded that "the days of dismissing such heritage ['castle-wise' country houses] as a 'tower house with barmkin' are justifiably over." Aonghus Mackechnie has also sought to reassess the late tower-house and Renaissance mansion, and papers by McKean (1995) and Mackechnie (1995) on this subject were included in a collection of essays on *Scottish Country Houses*. Mackechnie (*ibid*, 15) noted that "this topic begins more as a study

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[4] In a later paper Samson (1998, 145) suggests that the impetus for the redundancy of the vaulted ground floor might "owe more to a fundamental change in landlordship" than English fashions, but he is unsure about the relationship of the ground-floor and courtyard buildings to the storage of rents-in-kind.

of houses in the country than of any fully-developed 'country house' as the term is generally understood in the eighteen- or nineteenth-century context".

When it comes to 17th-century houses of a middling size, however, there is little existing literature. In *The Scottish Chateau*, MacKean (2001, 43 & 143) mentioned a small number of laird's houses only briefly. There has been much more research on Scottish classicism. The most important figures studied are Sir William Bruce (*c.* 1630–1710), James Smith (*c.* 1645–1731) and William Adam (1689–1748) (Dunbar, 1966, 107) and the most important building type, the country seat (Macaulay 1987; Glendinning, MacInnes & Mackechnie, 1996, 71–146). For example, in the case of Bruce, there have been studies of Kinnaird House (Dunbar, 1995) and Hopetoun House (Howard, 1995c). More recently, Kitty Cruft (2003) has provided an overview of country houses, mansions and large villas from the 1670s to the early 20th century in *Scottish Life and Society: Scotland's Buildings*. The development of Scottish classicism in terms of the Scottish country house has, therefore, been charted; however, the homes of the lesser gentry, other than villas, have not been reviewed to the same extent.

Since the mid-1980s, tower-houses have been looked at in a new light, particularly in the work of Stell (1985), Tabraham (1988) and Samson (1990). The general conclusion has been that the tower was a symbol of power and status which contributed to the longevity of its form; the reasons why the tower-house was no longer favoured from around the second quarter of the 16th century remain less clear (Samson, 1998, 144–5). However, the re-evaluation of the function of 'defensive' features has considerable bearing on earlier conclusions that the laird's house represents the final domestication of the tower-house form (*see* Section 1.2). Late tower-houses have also come to be seen in the context of Renaissance mansions or 'early' country houses, for example by Mackechnie (1995) and McKean (1990a; 1995; 2001). Late 17th- and early 18th-century country houses, with their wealthy patrons and as the work of Scotland's first architects, have long attracted considerable interest from architectural historians. The modern researcher has access to a wide-ranging body of works on this topic and benefits from the survival of

architects' papers, drafts and family archives. Dunbar (1966, 82) suggests that "Sir William Bruce and his circle [could not] have failed to exercise a widespread influence" on the development of the later laird's house. However, how these architects, their masons, clients and works of architecture did this, and in what way they were influential, has not yet been explored.

1.3 'The Laird's Houses of Scotland': aims

The above review of existing literature on both the subject, laird's houses, and the general subject area, high-status residential building types of early modern Scotland, demonstrates the gaps in our present understanding of the origins and development of laird's houses. These research gaps now need to be evaluated to help determine the purpose of this thesis. The scope of this thesis, discussed in the next section, has been designed to address the aims described here and the methods that have been applied to this research will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

It is clear that there has not been a fresh look at the proposed and suggested origins and development of the laird's house since Dunbar's (1966) *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* was published over forty years ago. The definition of laird's houses provided by Dunbar (*ibid*, 65) is very general, *viz.* the residences of lesser landholders built in the later 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries. Two distinct types of laird's houses were identified, but a specific definition of physical attributes is not provided for the earlier type. From the overview of related building types above, new ideas have developed over the last twenty years which might have a bearing on Dunbar's suggested origins and "process of evolution" (*ibid*). It may be argued that Dunbar's chapter is of insufficient scope and depth to contextualise unusual examples of laird's houses, like Unish, or improved houses, like those in Morvern. In discussing sources in the Methodology chapter (Section 3.4.2.1), it is apparent that there are inconsistencies at a national level, as the RCAHMS has found it problematic to distinguish a building or site as a 'laird's house' from a variety of other umbrella terms, including the most general 'house'. This in itself makes it difficult for the student of this building type to identify examples to compile baseline data. The value of individual studies on laird's houses, particularly from the field of

archaeology, would be enhanced if their interpretation had the benefit of easily-accessible information about comparative examples and regional and national studies in which to frame their findings.

The following aims, ranked in priority from 1 to 4, therefore, combine to form the primary purpose of this thesis:

Aims	
1	To provide a general overview of the origins and development of the laird's house so that existing studies of this building type may be contextualised and benefit future studies.
2	To provide a robust definition of the laird's house to help identify examples of this building type.
3	To provide a framework for the recording and classification of laird's houses.
4	To identify remaining gaps in the subject area.

Table 1.1: The aims of the thesis.

Aim 1 has been devised to fulfil a perceived need in architectural studies for an up-to-date and in-depth overview of the origins and development of the laird's house on a Scotland-wide basis. Aim 2, to provide a definition of the laird's house, is a requirement of defining the scope of the overview as the parameters of the building type being discussed must be defined. As sub-groups of laird's houses have been identified, these too are defined. Aim 2 also helps to achieve Aim 3, a framework for the recording and classification of laird's houses, as definitions are required to help verify the identity of houses which have been classed as laird's houses to date or those laird's houses that have not yet been labelled as such. A structure which identifies what data are required to allow a specific house to be classified and how that information may be organised is intended to provide a suitable framework for recording. By defining the gaps in our understanding of laird's houses, the value of the framework and overview would be clearer to future researchers; and this, therefore, forms Aim 4. Each of the aims are discussed more fully below.

Aim 1	To provide a general overview of the origins and development of the laird's house so that existing studies of this building type may be contextualised and benefit future studies.

To provide a general overview as described above it is, of course, first necessary to gather data on the laird's house (including existing studies and identifying probable or borderline examples in the early stages of research), to be able to establish patterns. A broad understanding of the time over which they are likely to have been built is also required before hypotheses for the possible origins of the building type can be developed. As will be discussed in Section 3.2, current best practise for national overviews of building types, as advocated by the RCHME (now English Heritage) for example (Cooper, 1999, x), stipulates that regional studies are also required in order to test the theories for how models originated and were dispersed. Aim 1 can be broken down further into: a) to establish the origins and development of laird's houses, in sufficient detail to allow various types of studies on laird's houses to be contextualised; and b) to provide relevant area-based case-studies to test the theories developed by the overview and allow its conclusions to be reassessed and updated accordingly.

Aim 2	To provide a robust definition of the laird's house to help identify examples of this building type.

As previously stated, Aims 1 and 2 are closely related, as the laird's house can only be defined once patterns and the development of the building type are better understood. Similarly, the subject matter of the overview can only be honed once the building type in question is defined. As well as a definition of what constitutes a laird's house, what is meant by the 'laird' in this context needs to be understood. Both definitions need to be clear and as complete as possible. Architecturally, it is the physical attributes of the house that need to be explained, in terms of plan form, size, composition, and so on. As data was gathered and analysed it became clear that the building type could be subcategorised further. The relevance of possible subdivisions were then determined to ensure that they are likely to advance the understanding of the laird's house and its development as a whole. It is important, therefore, that this thesis provides a clear definition of the laird's house, relevant subgroups, and descriptions of the 'laird' and overlapping or similar building types.

Aim 3	To provide a framework for the recording and classification of laird's houses.

In order to understand laird's houses sufficiently to define them and suggest their origins and pattern of development, baseline data had to be compiled and an element of this was to gather information about as many individual examples of laird's houses as possible. More particularly, given the need for area-based studies to inform the wider picture, the data on the examples within the chosen areas were enhanced. Through the research process and analysis of comparative databases, a methodology for the compilation and organisation of a gazetteer of laird's houses will be proposed. The classification of each example is naturally only possible once a robust definition of the laird's house and any subgroups has been established. Therefore, a gazetteer of sufficient detail allows for comparison between examples which also provides a tool for establishing patterns and a development history of laird's houses. To enable the conclusions of the area-based studies to be scrutinised, the gazetteers of these areas will be presented as part of this thesis, the methodology for their compilation set out, and a model for a national survey suggested.

Aim 4	To identify remaining gaps in the subject area.

As a first step in the research, gaps have been identified so that its aims could be defined and to ensure that the overview will be both robust and useful. By reviewing the existing work on laird's houses and developments in the wider field of early modern architectural studies, and then evaluating the results of this research, areas of future research outwith the scope of this thesis can be identified.

To summarise, gaps in the subject area first need to be defined together with the compilation of raw data to be able to establish the aims of the thesis, help to formulate theories for the development of laird's houses, and to define the laird's house. The need for area-based case-studies to inform the national overview has been identified and, together with the definition of the laird's house and its subgroups, forms a core part of this thesis. Through the identification of gaps it has become apparent that, not only is the compilation of data on individual laird's houses

required as a research tool for this thesis, but also a methodology for a national gazetteer would be useful to other researchers and recording bodies. Inevitably, not all the gaps which have been identified can be addressed by a single thesis, hence Aim 4.

1.4 'The Laird's Houses of Scotland': scope and structure

1.4.1 Scope

The purpose of this section is to define relevant, coherent and achievable limits to what will be covered by this thesis. These have been designed to achieve the stated aims of a general overview and definition of the laird's house, framework for recording laird's houses, and the identification of gaps in the subject area.

The 'general overview' needs to be sufficiently detailed for a range of professionals, students, and amateurs in the fields of architectural history and archaeology to contextualise their chosen laird's house or houses. Studies on this building type have been produced for a variety of purposes and so themselves vary in both depth and breadth. To enable the scope of the general overview to be defined, cognizance of the range and type of existing studies on laird's houses was first required. The suggested development has also been placed within the political, social and economic background of the period studied and, more specifically, the changing status of the laird, his means and aspirations. In order to understand the factors which may have influenced the form of the laird's house, how the laird and his builder were exposed to ideas and how they interacted with the wider world have been explored.

Naturally, what is meant by a laird's house needs first to be explained. Ultimately, the definition had to be succinct and encompassing, but the 'laird' as one who could afford to build laird's houses is more complex than the social class of the 'laird' and so had to be carefully defined here. The subgroups of the laird's house also had to be evaluated in terms of their usefulness for classification, defined and then related back to the single definition of the building type. A number of house types which also came under the laird's house category were identified, as well as others which could be confused with the laird's house: thus they have been clearly defined also.

Defining the subject of this thesis is therefore a central focus, and has been a complex task.

As discussed above and in greater detail in the Methedology chapter (*see* Section 3.2), case-studies are required to inform the national overview and to test theories about the origins and development of laird's houses. The choice of case-studies to be included in this thesis has been reviewed during the course of research to determine whether their number and range help to support the national overview and best illustrate the key points in the development of the laird's house (*see* Section 3.4.1). In this way, the scope of the case-studies was distilled down to three 'regional' areas. Each had to provide a suitable number of examples to enable comparative study, and the date range covered by each case-study could correspond to a main phase of development identified by the overview. This is graphically illustrated by Figure 1.1 below, which shows: 1) the periods over which laird's houses were built in each area by the dark-shaded bars with inferred lost examples indicated by the lighter sections; and 2) the periods covered by each case-study chapter. The latter are intended to correspond with: 1) the origins of the laird's house (Chapter 5); 2) the development of the Type I laird's house (Chapter 6); and 3) the development of the Type II laird's house (Chapter 7). The 'types' referred to are the two main subgroups which will be defined in this thesis.

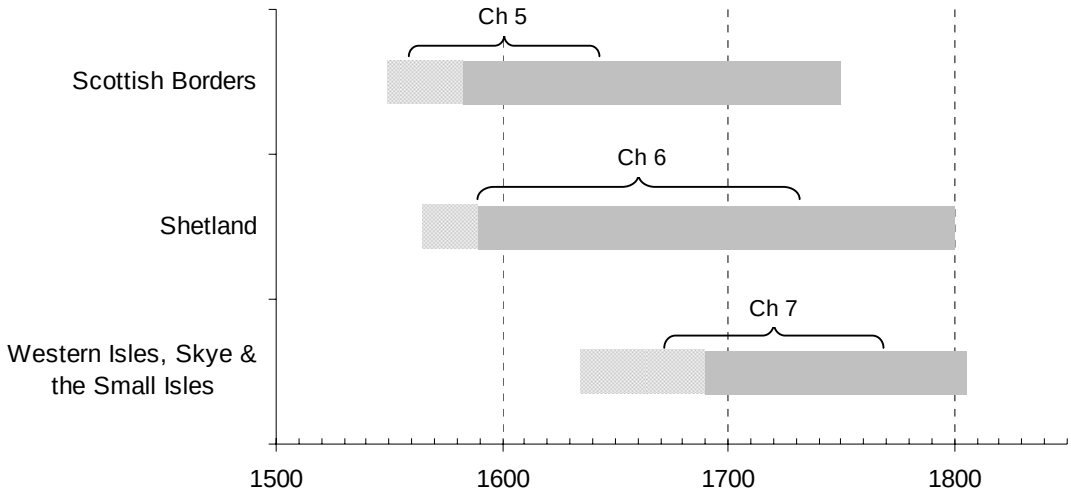

Figure 1.1: Case-study areas. Periods over which laird's houses were built and periods covered by each chapter.

The compilation of information about individual examples for the overview and case-studies has helped to develop a model for a gazetteer of laird's houses. The three case-study area gazetteers provide both a mechanism whereby conclusions presented in the main body of the thesis may be verified by others, and examples of the model gazetteer in terms of data for inclusion and its presentation. The explanation of the techniques used in gathering the data, the sources available (and critiques thereof), and the logic behind the data displayed have been designed to be of sufficient detail to enable informed use of the model by other researchers. The perceived gaps in architectural studies which relate to laird's houses has been clearly set out as an important part of this thesis which has informed both its purpose and scope. It also provided a basis upon which the contribution this thesis may make to the chosen subject could be evaluated. One result of this evaluation was the identification of areas of further work which have fallen outwith the scope of this thesis.

The scope therefore begins with the identification of research gaps, the method for gathering information about and classifying the laird's house, and the definition of the laird's house so as to set the parameters of the subject. To enable an overview of the development of laird's houses at the national level, case-studies are defined to inform and contribute to the conclusions of the overview. A framework for a national gazetteer and area-based samples are provided, finally, research areas which fall outwith the scope of this thesis are presented. This summary therefore forms the basis of the thesis structure.

1.4.2 Structure

The structure presented in this section is intended to break down the scope of this thesis into logical parts and chapters. Here it will be important to show how the aims will be addressed. For example the main aim, Aim 1, is tackled by the middle chapters of the thesis, supported by the preliminary and concluding parts which primarily address the complimentary Aims 2 to 4. The composition of each part and chapter will be discussed below.

Thesis Structure		Aims
Pt I	*Introduction and Overview*	
Ch 1	Introduction	4
Ch 2	Literature Review	4
Ch 3	Methodology	2; 3
Ch 4	The Laird's Houses of Scotland: An Overview	1; 2
Pt II	*Case-studies*	
Ch 5	The Scottish Borders: Early laird's houses, 1560–1645	1
Ch 6	Shetland: The development of the Type I laird's house, 1589–1730	1
Ch 7	The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles: The development of the Type II laird's house, 1670–1770	1
Pt III	*Conclusion and Gazetteer*	
Ch 8	Conclusion	3; 4
App A–C	Gazetteers of the Scottish Borders, Shetland, and the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles	3
App D	Model for national gazetteer	3

Table 1.2: The structure of the thesis.

The table above shows the main sections of the thesis by their titles, referenced to the aims set out in Section 1.3. The thesis has been divided into three main parts: i) introduction and overview; ii) case-studies; and iii) conclusion and gazetteer. Applying convention, Chapter 1 outlines the aims, objectives, scope and structure of the thesis together with a review of existing studies on laird's houses and early modern architecture in order to identify the major research gaps in the subject area. Chapter 2 develops and expands this review of existing literature, evaluates its contribution to the research topic, and provides an overview of the secondary sources available on the chosen subject. Therefore the Introduction and Literature Review define the purpose of this thesis and provide the background to help fulfil Aim 4, the identification of remaining research gaps. Chapter 3 shows how the purpose and

parameters of this thesis have evolved, explains the methods applied to the compilation of data and fieldwork, justifies the choice of case-studies included in this thesis, and describes and critiques the available sources. This, therefore, helps to provide a framework for future studies of laird's houses as set out in Aim 3. In order to classify the examples gathered, the laird's house and its main subgroups are defined in that chapter, together with other necessary components including the laird, which building terms might also describe a 'laird's house' and which do not. This section therefore addresses Aim 2. Finally in Part I, the critical aim of providing an overview of the origins and development of the laird's house forms the focus of Chapter 4. This follows the definition of the building type, but precedes the case-studies which help to reinforce the conclusions of the overview.

Part II consists of the three case-study areas over three defined periods which correspond to the pattern of development of the laird's house set out in Chapter 4. Chapter 5, on the Scottish Borders, traces the laird's houses that emerged in the 16th century in lowland Scotland, queries the application of the term 'bastle' to late 16th-century houses in the Borders, and discusses the earliest laird's houses in the region including town houses. This, therefore, focuses on the period around the Reformation of 1560, when laird's houses probably first originated, to the Civil War of 1642–6 when the laird's house could be said to be 'fully-formed'. Chapter 6 moves on to Shetland, where again the earliest appearance of the laird's house in these islands will be discussed, the earliest dateable example having been built in *c.* 1589. The influence of lowland forms of laird's house in Shetland is a central theme, together with the conflation of the laird's house and the merchant's house (or 'böd'), and the longevity of some traditional forms. The development of the 'Type I' laird's house is the focus of this chapter, but indications of the 'Type II' in the early decades of the 18th century are also included. The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles form the case-study area dealt with in Chapter 7. The focus of this chapter is the 'new' type of laird's house, the 'Type II', during the period from 1670 to 1770. What constitutes a Type II laird's house is looked at in greater detail together with evidence for its first appearance in this area. A critical part is the identification of mechanisms by which

the Type II developed in these western islands and their assessment. Together, these three chapters help to consolidate the overview presented in Chapter 4 and thus underpin Aim 1.

The case-studies are introduced by the national overview, but their combined contribution to the findings presented in Chapter 4 are summarised in Chapter 8, the Conclusion. The thesis as a whole is evaluated and the research gaps identified in Chapters 1 and 2 reassessed so that an agenda for future work in this subject area may be composed to address Aim 4. One such gap is a nationwide gazetteer of laird's houses and thus a model for such a tool is presented in Chapter 8. The gazetteers compiled to inform the three case-study areas covered form Appendices A to C. Though the resources available to a single research student means that they themselves cannot provide the level of detail advocated by the model in Appendix D, the gazetteer can be used as an indication of the value of a national survey and to verify some of the conclusions presented in Part II. The Conclusion and the Appendices together form Part III and are designed to address Aim 3, to provide a framework for the recording and classification of laird's houses. A full glossary is included towards the end of the thesis; definitions of any unfamiliar building term, words of local usage or archaic words related to landholding can be found therein.

The main research gap that has been identified, an up-to-date overview of the origins and development of the laird's house, forms the crux of this thesis and is the combined purpose of Chapter 4 and Part II. This aim is supported by providing a definition of the laird's house. Aims 3 and 4 are designed to fulfil secondary research gaps, *i.e.* a national survey and a research agenda, the justification for which is provided in Chapters 1 and 2 and addressed in Chapters 3 and 8. A well-rounded thesis, with parts and chapters arranged in logical steps and with a scope and structure appropriate to the stated aims, is the ultimate goal.

1.5 Conclusion

Dunbar's (1966) chapter on laird's houses is rightly described as "foundation material" for the subject and "provides an invaluable overview" (Mays, 2003, 67 &

87, note 1). Dunbar noted that this was an under-studied building type, established a view that there are two main subgroups of laird's house and described their characteristics and development, provided examples, and suggested origins for both types. However, given the developments in the fields of architectural history and archaeology relating to tower-houses, it is appropriate to re-evaluate Dunbar's conclusions of the origins of the first laird's houses and his suggestions for the origins of the second type of laird's house he identified have not yet been tested in subsequent research. There have been several, detailed, area-based surveys produced by the RCAHMS since 1966, most notably the Argyll Inventory (1971–92). There have also been about sixteen modern excavations of laird's houses and a number of standing buildings surveys which have provided considerable new data. It is therefore reasonable and appropriate to review Dunbar's "process of evolution" and suggest detailed definitions of this building type.

During the process of research, it has become apparent that the classification of sites, monuments and buildings as laird's houses has caused recorders some difficulty. One reason for this is because the laird's house has not yet been sufficiently defined. However, understanding the level of data required to be able to classify a house as a laird's house is also necessary. Thus, a framework for the fieldwork, recording and classification of laird's houses is included in this thesis. More importantly, the overview of their origins and development, supported by area-based case-studies, provides sufficient detail to enable researchers to contextualise their studies of single laird's houses or groups.

The production of a full development history of an under-studied building type is a significant undertaking. In the course of identifying research gaps and assessing what would constitute the most valuable contribution at this time, there are numerous gaps which have inevitably fallen outwith the scope of this thesis. However, these are discussed in conclusion as areas for further research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature specific to this research topic, the laird's house, is fairly limited. The most useful contribution has been John Dunbar's (1966, 65–92) chapter on the subject in *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* which was based primarily on first-hand observations as the building type had not previously been defined or treated as a coherent group (*ibid*, 7). In the 'further reading' section of the book, Dunbar pointed to the multi-volume works of David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, 1887–92 and Nigel Tranter on *The Fortified House in Scotland*, 1962 as, given the date range of these surveys, several laird's houses were included. In the few cases where more recent writers on Scottish architecture and archaeology have touched on the laird's house, Dunbar's conclusions and suggestions have often been reiterated rather than expanded or re-evaluated.

A small number of group studies about laird's houses have been published: Mike Finnie (1996) has looked at Shetland laird's houses; David L. Roberts (1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1981a, 1981b & 1982) has studied Macleod laird's houses, particularly those on Skye; and Daniel Maudlin (2003) has looked at the tacksman's houses of Morvern, Argyll. These have been summarised in Chapter 1 and will be expanded on here. As part of wider surveys, the RCAHMS (1963; 1971–92) recorded several examples in the expansive Inventories of Stirlingshire and Argyll, and Elizabeth Beaton (1994) discussed five examples as part of her overview of traditional buildings in Gairloch and Lochbroom in North-West Ross. Several of the houses identified by Tam Ward (1998) in South Lanarkshire as 'bastles' have been excavated and can be described as laird's houses. Other relevant works relate primarily to individual examples, often instigated by restoration proposals, or because they fall within the boundaries of geographically based surveys, or because they elicit the interests of local and family historians. The contribution of reports on a

number of excavated laird's houses has been invaluable. Reasons for why the laird's house has been relatively under-studied, and thus poorly understood, will be suggested in conclusion.

2.2 An overview of laird's houses

2.2.1 Dunbar, *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*, 1966

In his introduction to *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*, John Dunbar (1966, 18) set out the book's parameters:

> It is not confined to a survey of the more familiar categories of 'ancient monument', such as ruined castles and abbeys, but gives equal prominence to certain other types of structure about which basic information has so far been hard to come by—namely lairds' houses of post-medieval date, the greater and lesser country mansions of the later Stuart and Georgian eras, urban and rural buildings of traditional character, and the architecture of the Industrial Revolution.

This undertaking was set against a backdrop of accelerated demolition of such less well-known types in the 1960s (Binney, Harris & Winnington, 1980) and hence the book was intended to help "make available the raw material upon whose study and appreciation such opinion [of which historic buildings should be preserved] must be founded" (1966, 19).

Since 1966, the work of James Macaulay and Kitty Cruft in the field of 17th- to early 19th-century Scottish country mansions and villas stand out; Macaulay (1987) has considered the Scottish country house in its British and European context and, more recently, Cruft (2003) has provided a succinct overview of 'Country Houses, Mansions and Large Villas' in *Scottish Life and Society: Scotland's Buildings*. These types of buildings also form a core group in the Buildings of Scotland series volumes, and the appreciation of associated gardens and designed landscapes has improved since regional inventories began to be published in 1987. Our understanding of traditional urban buildings has moved on because of the work of

particular individuals, such as Geoffrey Stell (1988), and the Scottish Burgh Survey series (1977–). The journal of the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group (*Vernacular Building*, 1978–) and the RCAHMS's *Scottish Farm Buildings Survey* (1998–) are rich sources for their rural counterparts, with Fenton and Walker's *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (1981) providing a valuable overview. John Hume's Scottish volumes of The Industrial Archaeology of the British Isles series (1976–7) paved the way for more recent scholars of industrial heritage. The present writer will argue that since 1966, however, general surveys of laird's houses of a post-medieval date have done little to update our understanding of the subject and scholarly interest has focused predominately upon those that fall into the 'tower-house' category. For the houses of late medieval and early modern men of a similar standing (though, generally, of greater means) south of the border, English Heritage has recently published *Houses of The Gentry, 1480–1680* (Cooper, 1999).

Dunbar's chapter on laird's houses (1966, 65–92) broadly defined them as the residences of lesser landholders of the late 16th to 18th centuries. Importantly, he recognised that laird's houses "do not conform to a standard architectural pattern", and went on to explain a "well-defined process of evolution" (*ibid*, 65) using many examples to illustrate their development. This process began with a 'transitional form', built between *c*. 1560 and 1643, which shared aesthetic similarities with the tower-house but had a longitudinal rather than vertical emphasis. The first houses which were "sufficiently removed in appearance from an orthodox tower-house" (*ibid*, 72) to make the term inapplicable had access to a greater amount of primary accommodation around a courtyard, such as Hamilton House, Prestonpans, built in 1628 (Figure 4.28). Later in the 17th century the architect William Bruce (*c*. 1665–1710) became influential, with lesser houses built by master masons embodying the architectural fashion for symmetry. In general, more traditional forms of planning, such as principal rooms on the first floor, predominated until around 1700 (*ibid*, 74–6 & 82). At this point a "new type of medium-sized domestic residence, which owed nothing to the tower-house, began to appear in Scotland" (*ibid*, 81). This had two rooms on each floor at either side of a central staircase. Smaller houses often

contained a kitchen and parlour on the ground floor. Dunbar (*ibid*, 61–3 & 81–2) suggested that possible antecedents were the houses of the lesser gentry in England, Cromwellian barracks and pattern books, although a greater degree of symmetry can be observed in some early 17th-century laird's houses. This later type became incredibly common for laird, minister, merchant, master-craftsman and wealthy farmer, and, "in general, houses varied little in appearance from one part of the country to another" (*ibid*, 83). Dunbar continued his survey into the later 18th century with the introduction of the double-pile plan, basement, side pavilions or wings, hipped roofs and the standardisation of manses (*ibid*, 85–8). The revised edition, re-titled *The Architecture of Scotland*, summarised this overview into a single section: 'From Tower-House to Laird's House' (1978, 53–62). As this thesis also looks at town houses, Dunbar's 1966 chapter on burgh architecture is also relevant as is his description of a tacksman's house under the heading of traditional buildings (1966, 175–81, 185–95 & 237).

The writer's only criticism of *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* is that it was not referenced. However, Dunbar's aim was to provide the general reader with basic information and raw material about a type of building to which "very little attention" (*ibid*, 65) had been paid, and it more than succeeded in doing that. He acknowledged that many of his findings were based on first-hand observation of the buildings and primary research. For the majority of those mentioned in the text the records in the RCAHMS archive are fairly full, with which Dunbar was associated. As mentioned above, for further reading Dunbar suggested MacGibbon and Ross's *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887–92) and Tranter's *The Fortified House in Scotland* (1962). The present writer has found that these are still the most relevant Scotland-wide surveys which include laird's houses to 1700 and 1650 respectively.

2.2.2 General surveys: MacGibbon & Ross (1887–92) and Tranter (1962)

In their preface to Volume One of what was to become an epic five-volume work, MacGibbon and Ross set out to "deal in a systematic manner" with the history of "a most complete and almost unexplored series of domestic structures" (1887, I, v–vi). What is described as the 'Fourth Period—1542–1700' of their 12th- to 18th-century

survey, is introduced in Volume Two. They recognised that "the idea of erecting fortified residences was gradually abandoned" (1887, II, 2) over this period, but almost all of the houses highlighted in the discussion are tower-houses or what Dunbar would have termed 'transitional' (*ibid*, 1–20, 565–6 & 569–75). However, in the survey itself there are numerous examples of the houses of lesser landholders that are 'laird's houses'. For example Cardarroch, now in Glasgow, built in 1625 and extended in 1718, which "may be regarded as a connecting link between the old Scottish style of house and the modern" (*ibid*, 511) and the early 18th-century Balnacraig, Aberdeenshire, a five-bay house with straight skews and a nepus gable described as "a good specimen of a perfectly plain mansion" (*ibid*, 463).

Tranter's first survey was of *The Fortalices and Early Mansions of Southern Scotland, 1400 to 1650* (1935), which, in his preface and introduction, he qualified further as the "fortalices and lairds' houses" or "towers and semi-fortified houses" south of the Forth–Clyde line (1935, vii & 1). Houses built after 1650 were excluded as "the necessity for fortifying lairds' houses had passed". Also excluded were town houses "as they were designed for a different purpose and were not usually provided with defensive features", and very ruinous examples (1935, 1). The gazetteer comprised a short description and sketch of each structure with a list of "much-altered" buildings given as an appendix. Tranter (1935, 4) noted:

> it will be seen that a large number of early 17th-century houses, and also a number erected previously, contain no defensive features whatever… It must therefore have been largely a matter of local conditions or personal considerations which guided the laird in the provision of these defences.

The gazetteer was revised for the relevant volumes of the Scotland-wide survey that followed, titled *The Fortified House in Scotland*, first published in 1962. Like *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, Tranter's survey provided illustrated descriptions of buildings, many of which may be classed as laird's houses, showing their condition at a given time.

2.2.3 Later commentators: 1992–2003

Since *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* was published, few authors have devoted as much space to laird's houses in their general works on Scottish architecture. In *Scotland's Traditional Houses* (1997), Elizabeth Beaton included a chapter on 'Lairds' and Merchants' Houses, 17th–18th centuries' (*ibid*, 58–65), with further relevant sections in the subsequent chapter on 'Transition and Change, Fashion and the Vernacular from the 1700s' (*ibid*, 66–72). Dunbar's work was used very much as a starting point and was developed with a discussion on the laird's and merchant's houses of Orkney and Shetland (the latter drawing on the work of Mike Finnie, *see* below) and on north mainland examples such as those in Wester Ross. The house of master mason Tobias Bauchop, in Alloa, a four-bay symmetrically-planned house with lugged architraves built in 1695, is also described in a vignette (*ibid*, 65) (*see* Figure 4.34). Beaton included urban domestic architecture in her discussion using examples from Banff, Elgin and Thurso (*ibid*, 60–1). The book was, however, intended to be a well-illustrated overview 'From Cottage to Tower-house' and, as part of the Discovering Historic Scotland series, was directed at a general audience.

The A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology is a series which is intended to be scholarly, encyclopaedic and a sourcebook for higher education students. The *Scottish Life and Society: Scotland's Buildings* volume, mentioned previously in relation to Cruft (2003), included a chapter on 'Middle-Sized Detached Houses' by Deborah Mays (2003, 66–89) within which laird's houses are discussed. Mays acknowledged Dunbar's "pioneering monograph" and her intention was to "develop and extend its appraisal" (*ibid*, 67). The chapter expanded upon Dunbar's work by including small houses built from the later 18th century to the present, burgh architecture and terraced housing (*ibid*, 73–86). Examples of laird's houses discussed by Dunbar, like Pilmuir, East Lothian (1624) and Ford House, Midlothian (1680), as well as others, such as Leaston House, East Lothian (early 18th century), are used to summarise the pattern suggested by Dunbar. This overview of 'detached houses', therefore, does not expand on Dunbar's conclusions about the development of laird's houses.

In another scholarly series, the Architectural History of Scotland, laird's houses are mentioned, almost in passing, in the *1560–1660* volume by Deborah Howard (1995b, 59–61) as an "experiment in horizontality" with reference to the "ordinary manor houses" of the Northern Isles, illustrated by the Old Haa of Brough, Yell, Shetland (*c*. 1669–72; Figure 6.15). There is a useful section on Scottish town houses however, which includes Tankerness House, Kirkwall (1574; Figure 4.9) and Abertarff House, Inverness (1593; Figure 4.4) (*ibid*, 143–67). Similarly, in *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Glendinning, MacInnes & Mackechnie, 1996, xiii) the authors set out to provide "a history of 'Architecture' in the 'traditional' or canonical Western sense: a history of styles, of the works of key artists, and of their theories and ideas". However, laird's houses feature only briefly. A number of Renaissance houses are discussed, which no doubt influenced the lesser laird's house of the period and, of particular relevance to this study, the three-storey Amisfield House, Dumfriesshire, of 1631 (Figure 4.13), juxtaposed with its predecessor, a tower-house of 1600 illustrated in a Clerk of Eldin watercolour (1996, 50–1 & 56–8).

Joachim Zeune's doctoral thesis of 1987 was revised and first published in English in 1992. Entitled *The Last Scottish Castles*, it maded "particular reference to domestic architecture from the 15th to the 17th century". Writing from an archaeological perspective, Zeune (1992, 152–6, 152) included a brief chapter on the "small houses of [mid-] 17th-century lairds, landowners or gentry… which definitely and finally take over from the late mediaeval tower house". To distinguish laird's houses from the tower-house and hall-house Zeune characterised them as having less defensive features and no vaults, with the main living accommodation on the ground floor (*ibid*, 152). The present writer would argue that the laird's house type includes those with principal apartments on the first floor, but Zeune (*ibid*, 149) compared such houses, including Murroes House, Angus and Garleton, East Lothian (both late 16th/early 17th century; Figure 4.2 & Figure 4.17), to German *saalgeschosshauses* and hence a distinct group typologically between hall-house and bastle. These houses retain vaulting on the ground floor, which served as stores and apartments with

separate entrances; the main upper floor was divided into hall and laird's chamber, and, if a garret was present, it contained sleeping accommodation.

Zeune (*ibid*, 153–5) described the mid-17th-century examples of Pitcairn House, Fife, which was excavated in 1980, and Pitcastle, Perthshire (Figure 4.24), recorded by John Dunbar in *Scottish Studies* (1960), as examples that fall into his laird's house category. It is not possible to conclude whether the first floor at Pitcairn contained the principal living rooms as the upper floors do not survive (Reid, 1981) and the ground-floor chamber with the large fireplace may have functioned solely as a kitchen rather than as a kitchen-hall. A forestair at Pitcastle survives which may suggest that, as first built, its main public room was on the first floor. Alterations to the ground floor clearly divide the north chamber into kitchen and parlour, however. Although this writer does not advocate Zeune's application of the term *saalgeschosshaus* to describe the early laird's house with a principal first-floor, Zeune is the first scholar to attempt to sub-categorise or re-evaluate any of Dunbar's conclusions.

2.3 Regional, group and individual studies on laird's houses

2.3.1 Regional surveys

Only one specific regional study of laird's houses has been published, that is Mike Finnie's 'An Introduction to the Haa Houses of Shetland' article in *Vernacular Building* (1996). Unpublished regional surveys are limited to a BSc Hons dissertation (Robert Gordon University) by Finnie's student, Adrian Wishart (1999) on the Shetland laird's house. The MSc dissertation on the 18th-century laird's houses of Stirlingshire by Sonya Linskaill (University of Dundee, 2007) is not considered in this Literature Review (*see* note 1). Multi-volume editions of RCAHMS Inventories published since the 1960s, such as the two-volume *Stirlingshire: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments* (1963) and the seven-volume *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments* (1971–92), have included detailed descriptions of a number of laird's houses. In Stirlingshire the buildings and monuments were grouped thematically

rather than by parish; and in Argyll by theme and broader geographical areas corresponding to each volume.

Finnie (1996, 39–40) defined "the true Haa as a house which displays the typical characteristics of the building form—tall, narrow, gabled buildings often with pronounced garrets" which reached its zenith *c*. 1730–50. He suggested that the Haa originated in the 17th century; surviving examples from this time being one-and-a-half to two-storey with thick walls, small, irregularly-placed windows and crowstepped gables. The earliest true Haas, however, were built by Scots or their descendants who brought with them "the tall laird's towerhouse tradition of mainland Scotland", with the scarcity of timber encouraging narrow spans and three- as opposed to two-storeys (*ibid*, 40). Finnie (*ibid*, 41) also referred to the similarity between Haas and 'böds' (in this case, merchant's houses with ground-floor stores) and the influence of classical architecture from the early 18th century. Some 19th-century examples are cited as retaining "tall Haa features" but "tempered by contemporary styling appearing from outwith Shetland" (*ibid*, 42). Following a detailed study of the Shetland laird's house, the present writer does not agree with some of Finnie's points, in particular the narrow definition of a Shetland 'Haa' house as distinct from a 'laird's house', and that the tower-house was the influential form in the development of the Shetland 'Haa'. Finnie's conclusions and examples will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Although some laird's houses and surviving armorial panels are described in early RCAHMS inventories, the traditional cut-off date was 1707 and coverage of most counties was limited to a single volume; hence only some late 16th- to 17th-century houses are included in, for example, Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan (1933) and Orkney (1946, II). The two-volume Stirlingshire Inventory, published in 1963, marked a significant step forward with 'Houses of the 16th to 19th centuries' covered in 125 pages (RCAHMS, 1963, II, 275–399) which, therefore, included a number of laird's houses in both town and country. The scope of the Argyll Inventory (RCAHMS, 1971–92) was even more broad-ranging as it was published in seven volumes. Both Inventories provided overviews of the development of laird's houses

in that region or area in introductory sections on 'Houses of the 16th to 19th centuries' (Stirlingshire) and 'Domestic Architecture from the 17th to the 19th Century' (Argyll).

In the course of working on the Stirlingshire Inventory, John Dunbar (*pers. comm.*) developed his ideas about the development of the laird's house. The introduction to 'Houses of the 16th to 19th centuries (general)' (RCAHMS, 1963, I, 45–6) began:

> In Stirlingshire, as elsewhere in Scotland, the transition from mediaeval tower-house to the typical laird's residence of the 17th century was a gradual one, and it is impossible to draw a sharp dividing-line between castellated architecture on the one hand and domestic architecture on the other…. While the majority of 17th-century houses derived their characteristic features from the tower-house, the same cannot be said of the type of dwelling house introduced about 1700, which retained its popularity as a small laird's residence for more than a century.

This suggested sequence forms the basis of Dunbar's chapter on laird's houses published three years later. The Inventory highlights a number of interesting examples of laird's houses built in the second half of the 17th century, such as Ballencleroch (*ibid*, II, 359–60 & pl. 195) of 1665 with stair wing and mid-gable, but many more from the 18th century. The lack of surviving laird's houses of an earlier date is worthy of note (J. Dunbar, *pers. comm.*) and the recent study of laird's houses in this region has focused on the later period (S. Linskaill, *pers. comm.*)

The RCAHMS (1971–92, III (1980), 37) suggested that there was a general lack of two-storey masonry houses built for lairds and tacksmen in Argyll until the second quarter of the 18th century due to "the economic and social depression of the native landowning families under Campbell dominance, and the difficulty and expense of obtaining lowland masons, [which] favoured the survival … of archaic building-types". There are exceptions, however, such as the, now-demolished, Innellan House built in 1650 (*ibid*, VII (1992), 24 & 335–6) though laird's houses of this period are described as being "along traditional and domesticated tower-house lines" (*ibid*, V

(1984), 38). The introduction to *Lorn* (*ibid*, II (1975), 31) stated that Glenure "is of the symmetrical two-storeyed central-staircase plan common to Stirlingshire from about 1700" and that, in general, "the residences of the lesser lairds and tacksmen in the 18th century, like their grander counterparts, were constructed principally by masons from the Lowlands". The RCAHMS therefore suggested that the laird's house form found in Argyll was based on the model found in east-central Scotland, and looked to the Stirlingshire Inventory (RCAHMS, 1963) for antecedents.

Many surviving laird's and merchant's houses, town houses, manses and prestigious farmhouses are briefly described in the following standard gazetteers: the RIAS/Landmark Trust Illustrated Architectural Guides to Scotland series; The Buildings of Scotland series; and the RCAHMS's Exploring Scotland's Heritage series. The limitations of such publications, in terms of word count, focus, and the accessibility of the sites for readers, often means that there is much overlap in the houses described. There is also a tendency to follow the established pattern of laird's house evolution. However, the first-hand recording and analyses by RCAHMS's investigators in Stirlingshire and Argyll and their identification of previously little-known examples has resulted in useful interpretations of domestic architecture in these regional contexts.

2.3.2 Group studies

In general, most works about small groups of laird's houses have focused on one area or on those belonging to one family. These can be fairly general, such as Jane Mack's *Fetlar: The Lairds and their Estates* (1993), however, there are group-studies which discuss laird's houses from an architectural perspective. These include David Roberts' (1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1981a, 1981b & 1982; MacLeod & Roberts, 1981) articles on the Macleod laird's houses of the Hebrides and Easter Ross and Daniel Maudlin's (2003) paper on the Campbell tacksmen's houses of Morvern, Argyll. Elizabeth Beaton (1994) also included laird's houses in her paper on the 'Building Traditions in Lochbroom and Gairloch Parishes', North-West Ross. Finally, groups of laird's houses have been considered as part of wider studies of

specific building types, in particular bastles, and so this contribution is also discussed below.

The architect, David Roberts, focused on the development of six houses of the Macleod family in a series of articles published in the *Clan MacLeod Magazine* (1974, 1979a, 1980, 1981a, 1981b & 1982; MacLeod & Roberts, 1981). These were accompanied by historical accounts of the related septs by Ruairidh MacLeod (1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b, 1982). In 'The Vernacular Architecture of Skye' Roberts (1979b) brought together some of his observations about these laird's houses and categorised them as being both 'polite' and 'vernacular'. Roberts described those elements which would constitute a 'typical' 18th-century 'Skye house' as having three bays with a centrally placed door, dormered, with two rooms on each side of a centrally-placed stairwell, and any ornamentation would be sparse. In this, however, the present writer would refer to the above discussion on the 'Shetland Haa', in that Roberts' description could equally apply to the generic 18th-century laird's house found throughout Scotland. It is thus difficult to see those surviving examples in Skye as a specific regional type. Roberts' examples on Skye and Raasay are discussed more fully in Chapter 7 on the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles.

Looking now at the Morvern peninsula of Argyll, Maudlin (2003) discussed a group of five houses built there between 1745 and 1819 for Campbell tacksmen in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Maudlin (*ibid*, 359) argued that these houses represented:

> the last phase of clan warfare in the region… [which were] totally alien to the environment, culture and building traditions of the West Highlands… [and] stood at the vanguard of the agricultural reforms that were sweeping the Highlands from the south.

Three of the houses illustrated (*ibid*, illus 3–5, 363–5) are two-storey-and-attic in height and have three-bay façades; the present writer would argue that, in external appearance, parallels can be found in laird's and tacksman's houses in north-west

highlands and islands before 1745, such as those discussed on Skye (*see* Section 7.5.3). Comparison might also be made to the 'unimproved' three-bay Howlin House, Eigg which incorporated a byre at one end and was built in the 1770s (Douglas, 1997). Maudlin (2003, 365) described the Morvern group as having a standardised design whose "architectural origins are unclear" but suggested, as did Dunbar (1966, fig. 47, 79 & 82), that Design X in George Jameson's *Rudiments of Architecture*, 1772 may have been influential (Maudlin, 2003, 366 & 368, illus 7). Estate architecture and the influence of pattern books are discussed in Chapters 4 and 7.

Beaton's paper in *Peoples & Settlement in North-West Ross* (1994, 175) profiled the five surviving laird's houses in the parishes of Lochbroom and Gairloch and then discussed Kerrysdale (*c*. 1800) and Cliff, Poolewe (*c*. 1760) as examples of prestigious farmhouses that followed the same pattern. The short study provided an overview of these 18th-century houses, emphasizing the importance of Calda House, near Inchnadamph (*c*. 1727; Figure 4.42) as "the first symmetrical mansion of its kind in the North-West Highlands" (1994, 168). Calda and Flowerdale House, Gairloch (1738; Figure 4.43) are both early examples of double-pile houses and have M-gables, a feature which Beaton (1994, 168) suggested was influenced by Bernera Barracks, Glenelg (1717–23; Figure 4.44) and this comparison is discussed further in Chapter 4. The six-bay, two-storey-and-attic Flowerdale is highly sophisticated with its dogleg forestair to the central classical doorpiece, tall, segmental-headed first-floor windows, and slightly advanced central two bays crowned by a nepus gable flanked by four catslide dormers.

Studies on 'bastles', in particular by Philip Dixon (1976) and Tam Ward (1998), are also relevant given that the present writer relates these to early laird's houses rather than forming a distinct group. Dixon's thesis on the 'Fortified Houses on the Anglo-Scottish Border' (University of Nottingham) looked at tower-houses, bastles and pele-houses from 1485 to 1625. Whilst both the geographical area and period covered is larger than the focus of the Scottish Borders chapter in this thesis, Dixon's observations on late 16th- and early 17th-century bastles and pele-houses have been

invaluable. Dixon and Dunbar (1996, 433), in their contribution on 'Defensible houses' in the *Atlas of Scottish History*, have described "the later bastle houses… [as resembling] the seventeenth-century unfortified houses of the southern lowlands". This observation is important as it relates to the present writer's own assertions on the interrelationship between bastles and laird's houses. As part of the Clydesdale Bastle Project, led by Ward, six houses have been excavated in South Lanarkshire in 1981–2005. The first of this group, Windgate House, was reported in *Vernacular Building* (Ward, Gillanders & Christison, 1986) and interpreted as dating to the late 16th or early 17th century. A report on the house and fermtoun at Glenochar, now part of a heritage trail, was published in 1998 with a brief summary of the other sites investigated (Ward, 1998). Unfortunately, none of these excavations have been written up fully. Both Dixon and Ward described the bastle as a fortified house; several of the examples discussed by them are reconsidered in this thesis and are classed here as unfortified laird's houses.

2.3.3 Individual studies

Several studies on individual laird's houses have been published or exist as grey literature; in some cases the results of archaeological interventions have not yet been written up. The motivations for these studies are varied, such as: as a university assignment; from local interest; as standing buildings surveys, excavations, or Conservation Plans in advance of proposed development; as part of area-based surveys or training excavations aimed at students, communities or volunteers; or as part of RCAHMS surveys. A range of studies are discussed below.

Much of the published material has focused on family history rather than building evolution, and often appeared in the form of short-runs of pamphlets by owners, local history groups, or museum curators, for example, Kergord House, Shetland (MacRae, 1982) and on Wilton Lodge Museum, Hawick (Oddy, 1991). Often of greater detail are articles in journals such as *Vernacular Building* which have provided useful analyses and descriptions of lesser-known laird's houses such as Howlin House by Graham Douglas (1997) and on Belmont House, Shetland by Mike Finnie and Alistair Hamilton (1996). Conservation Plans have also proved to be a

useful archival resource which detail the documentary sources available on the particular building and offer an interpretation of its development history and its significance. For example, Andrew Wright (2003) was commissioned to produce such a plan for Raasay House in advance of its renovation and Sonya Linskaill's 'Borrowmeadow: A Conservation Plan', 2005, was written in the course of her MSc studies. However, few Conservation Plans on laird's houses have been written to date in the light of the facts that: a) this is a relatively recent recommendation for those seeking grant-aid or the necessary consents for restoration; and b) whether or not a Plan is required depends on the results of the assessment of merit of the particular building and impact of the proposals.

Archaeological reports produced in advance of development such as afforestation or restoration often provide detailed descriptions of the building and a summary of the supporting documentation, for example, on Old Poltalloch House, Kilmartin, Argyll (James & Francoz, 2005). In addition to the Inventories discussed in Section 2.3.1, the RCAHMS has also undertaken surveys of smaller areas, and in this way Unish House, Skye was recorded as part of its Waternish survey (RCAHMS, 1993, 8–11). Area-based surveys are also carried out by interest groups, such as the Sand Wick, Unst, area by the Shetland Community Archaeological Project in 2003 which included the ruin of Voesgrind House (Lelong & Shearer, 2004, 18 & 20). These approaches mean that it is often accidental if a laird's house is studied in detail or picked up by a landscape survey.

In terms of the excavation of laird's houses, there have been only seventeen to date (*see* note 3). These include Pitcairn House, funded by the Glenrothes Development Corporation as planning gain in 1980 (the excavation has yet to be adequately published), and the 1979–81 excavation of the courtyard of the guardianship monument, Smailholm Tower, Roxburghshire (*see* Figure 5.31). This excavation, by Historic Scotland's predecessor body, revealed that the hall-building was converted into a tacksman's house in the 1640s (Good & Tabraham, 1988). More recently, a pre-1640 laird's or feuar's house in Blarmore township, Perthshire was excavated in 2002 as part of the Ben Lawers Landscape Project supporting the National Trust for

Scotland's Thistle Camp volunteer programme (Atkinson et al, 2003); an 18th-century tacksman's house at Glennan, Kilmartin, Argyll was investigated in 2005 in advance of its planned reconstruction (James, 2005b); and in 2004–5 a laird's house at Brow, Dunrossness, Shetland was excavated as training for students from the University of Southern Maine (Turner, 2004; 2005; Bigelow, Brown & Proctor, 2004).

Some laird's houses have been highlighted in the Inventories of Gardens and Designed Landscapes if sufficient physical evidence of their associated gardens or policies survive, and in the Scottish Burgh Survey series if they were built as town houses or now fall within the burgh boundaries. Relevant university dissertations include a study on a minor landowner's house, the Old Mains of Rattray, Perthshire supervised by Bruce Walker (Paul, 1983) and the dissertation by Adrian Wishart (1999) mentioned above which included a detailed study of Grobness Haa.

All of the individual studies of the types described above are, of course, invaluable to a thesis on laird's houses. However, their principal source of reference has been John Dunbar's (1966, 65–92) chapter on laird's houses and, where relevant, the RCAHMS's post-1960 Inventories. The present writer therefore considers that they, at present, lack a broader Scottish context within which to frame their findings.

2.4 Conclusion

This survey of existing literature on the laird's house has shown that the primary work on this subject has been the 21 pages in Dunbar's *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* (1966, 65–87). Dunbar (*ibid*, 81) wrote that the origins of the second type of laird's house he identified, here described as the Type II, "are not altogether clear" but offered a number of suggestions. Some of these suggestions have been discussed by Maudlin (2003, 365–9) in order to propose models for a group of tacksman's houses in Morvern. However, only Zeune (1992, 149–151) has added to Dunbar's theories by suggesting that a particular group of houses could be described as forming an intermediate phase between the bastle and laird's house. Though bastles were treated separately by Dunbar (1988, 44–5) in his overview of Scottish

architecture, Dixon and Dunbar (1996) have since stated that late bastles share significant characteristics with unfortified houses.

The surveys by MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92), Tranter (1962), and those of the RCAHMS (1963; 1971–92; 1993) discussed above provide useful source material as they, by virtue of their subject or geographical areas, include examples of laird's houses. Finnie (1996) and Maudlin (2003) focused on laird's or tackmen's houses in particular areas, whereas, most of the other studies cited above discuss single houses. A common thread of the existing studies is that they refer, almost exclusively, to Dunbar (1966) in their attempts to contextualize the house or houses. Given the relatively limited scope of a single chapter and the forty years that have elapsed since it was written, they do not have the benefit of a modern synthesis on the subject or a clear definition of the type and subgroups. However, these studies have considerable value as source material to begin to reassess the origins and development of the laird's house.

Dunbar (1966, 18 & 65) acknowledged that the laird's house was, first, a building type, and second, an under-studied one; this justified his devotion of a chapter to it on a book on Scottish architecture aimed at the general reader. It is apparent that the primary focus of several gazetteers which happen to include laird's houses, *i.e.* MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92), Tranter (1962), Dixon (1976) and Ward (1998), was on building types which were considered to be defensive. Other than laird's houses, several of the other building types identified by Dunbar as poorly understood have been addressed more recently, they include: Renaissance mansions, country houses, villas, burgh dwellings, and the improved farmhouse. The fact that little or no room has been given to the laird's house in subsequent compendia is significant, for example, only six pages in *Scotland's Buildings* (Stell, Shaw & Storrier eds., 2003).

It is suggested here that a building is extremely difficult to identify as a laird's house primarily because its most common form – three-bays, two-and-a-half storeys, single-pile, and gabled – is extremely common in the Scottish landscape as manse,

farmhouse, inn, burgh dwelling and schoolhouse, as well as laird's house. To acquire the tools to differentiate a laird's house from any other house requires a considerable amount of research to be able to devise a robust definition. Only then can Dunbar's suggested origins and development of the type be re-evaluated.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis, as set out in Chapter 1, 'Introduction', is to provide a general overview of laird's houses in order to address a gap in architectural studies which has been identified in Chapter 1 and developed in the Literature Review. This chapter is intended to describe how this has been achieved in terms of the research methodology that has been applied, and the chosen parameters of the thesis. This will be set against the scope and stated methods of other comparable national studies such as Maurice Craig's *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size* (1976) and Nicholas Cooper's *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (Cooper, 1999). Crucially, the 'laird's house' will be defined by first providing a definition of the 'laird', then detailing what a 'laird's house' *is* and, equally important in this case, what it is *not*. This will be followed by a discussion of key types and sub-groups which have been identified during the course of the research. Part 2 of this thesis consists of three case-study areas. The reasons for including regional studies as part of a national overview will be explained early in this chapter; later, the choice of the number of and which areas shall be justified. Each area is accompanied by a gazetteer of laird's houses as an appendix. The reasons for compiling a gazetteer as part of the research process, and for including a sample in the thesis itself will be offered, together with a brief overview of its format, level of detail and organisation.

3.2 Scope and general methodology

The methods applied in terms of sample, fieldwork and analysis have inevitably changed as the scope of the thesis has become more focused and in response to revisions of the suggested development of the 'laird's house' that emerged in the course of the research. The methods that have been applied and why they are felt to be appropriate for this thesis are described here and compared to similar national and regional surveys.

As described earlier, the scope of the research has developed over time. This progression is shown below:

1	A detailed analysis of two laird's houses and their contexts as part of a wider study of laird's houses of the north and west highlands and islands.
2	A national survey with a detailed study of two laird's houses in each of five, but eventually three, case-study areas.
3	A national survey with three case-study areas highlighting key trends in the development of the laird's house that emerged from the national overview.

Figure 3.1: How the scope of the thesis developed.

The scope of the project increased from 'level 1' to 'level 2' as the research deepened and demonstrated a clear need for a national framework in which to place the findings of those few regional, group and individual studies of laird's houses that have so far been completed (*see* Chapter 2). The next major change of approach, from detailed studies of a small sample of laird's houses to a more general survey using several examples to illustrate key trends or exceptions (level 3), came after having written first drafts of two of the three proposed case-study chapters. Instead of illustrating the broader context, they offered a small collection of isolated in-depth studies to add to the others that had already been published and so allowed little scope for the 'bigger picture'. It will be useful now to assess the theoretical framework of the chosen approach alongside other studies of comparable building types that have been carried out on a national scale.

The recent work by Nicholas Cooper (1999) of English Heritage (formerly the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England) on gentry houses is very much in the tradition of surveys by the Royal Commissions. It was based on the detailed examination of a number of individual buildings, primarily from the upper end of the gentry class, in which "architectural innovation took place and where its origins and motivation are most easily studied" (*ibid*, x). Its main section on the

buildings, which is chronologically divided into four periods from 1480 to 1690, is accompanied by chapters on the builders and the functions of the house. Interior decoration, furnishings, outbuildings, and setting are outwith the scope of the book. The stated aim of Maurice Craig's slimmer volume on *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size* (1976) was to highlight a small selection of Irish houses dating from 1620 to 1800, which had been chosen for their "combination of architectural quality and significance to the typology of the subject" (*ibid*, 3). 'Great houses', town houses, suburban houses, those of complex origin and those published in Guinness and Ryan (1971) were excluded. In this, Craig provides a general overview of the development of this type of house in Ireland.

There has only been one national survey of Scottish laird's houses and manses to date: *c.* 11,000 words based on primary research with the RCAHMS by John Dunbar in *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* (1966, 65–88). This work has formed a basis for theories applied during the current research and several of Dunbar's suggestions for the development of laird's houses are tested in the next four chapters. Bob Meeson (2001, 28) has warned against an over-reliance on established overviews and new work must always be prepared to both question research that has gone before, and to build upon it.

Referring to vernacular buildings studies of England and Wales, Sarah Pearson (2001, 5) describes the change from simple inventorisation, as developed in the 19th century, to an archaeological approach to recording that emerged from the 1950s, the aim of which was to answer historical questions about specific building types or the nature of the society for which they were evolved. Detailed measured survey is not necessary in order "to build up a body of generalised knowledge to help understand and diagnose individual specimens" (*ibid*). In reviewing the survey approaches of English Heritage following its merger with the RCHME in 1999, Colum Giles (2002, 1) expands on this, stating that the typological approach sought to improve our understanding of buildings and monuments which were poorly understood, lacked protection, and were under threat. However, it also served to fragment the historic environment by considering each building type in isolation, and so, more recently,

studies "have sought to bring together the component parts of a landscape to provide an understanding of how and why particular places have evolved" (*ibid*, 2). Similarly, in the field of architectural studies, Christy Anderson (1999, 352) writes that "the most recent surveys… have aimed to shift the emphasis away from style as the dominating theme to issues of social, political, and historical contexts".

Looking now at specific examples, both English and Scottish Commissions have undertaken thematic surveys when looking at farm buildings: the RCAHMS (1998a; 1998b; 1999b) has published three regional surveys since 1998 and the RCHME produced a national overview, together with five local studies, in 1997 (Barnwell & Giles). The format of the English survey is in many respects similar to that adopted in this thesis, in that the farmsteads are examined in five contrasting areas to highlight regional diversity, though they are also placed within a national context (*ibid*, 1). This kind of typological and historical approach has prevailed since the 1970s and is at present seen as the backbone of decision-making for the statutory protection and management of less well-known or complex building types such as World War remains, farm buildings and moated homesteads. Cooper (1999, x) points out that "a national survey may show how certain models emerged, but it can do no more than suggest the ways in which they may have been diffused and the reasons why they were adopted. Much still needs to be tested by local studies."

The current national overview of laird's houses could not be based on a national survey of the depth presented in *Houses of the Gentry*, for example, but great efforts have been made to ensure that "the detail of the record… [is] commensurate to the task" (Pearson, 2001, 5). A complete gazetteer was not compiled for every region in Scotland nor are the sample gazetteers presented here as appendices believed to be 'complete'. Instead, a research agenda for the further study of laird's houses and a model for a national gazetteer are discussed in the Conclusion (Chapter 8), and the model is presented in more detail in Appendix D. The chosen level of survey undertaken in this research is sufficient to enable the formulation of: 1) a definition of the laird's house; 2) a national overview of laird's houses; and 3) a programme for a defined range of regional studies to support the national picture. What is proposed

in this study, therefore, is a methodology which will provide a national overview and a number of regional studies so that the conclusions can be developed with due cognisance of both of these contexts.[5]

In a typological study, the chronological development of the specific type needs to be established together with a definition of that type (Johnson, 1990, 246–7). Both of these have evolved during this period of research. Initially, certain assumptions had to be made, such as when and where the first 'laird's houses' might have been expected to emerge, to begin the search for examples, suggest date ranges and, tentatively, the building development. As has been described above, it is desirable that a national overview should be supported by carefully-chosen case-studies to illustrate the underlying national themes, to focus on key stages of development, and to provide the opportunity to discuss variations which may appear at the regional level. The number and specific areas were chosen in the light of preliminary research on the subject as a whole, and both were modified as the typological framework was revised in the course of the work. The early data-gathering for the case-study areas was assembled in the form of a draft gazetteer which was reviewed following fieldwork, and as the answers to the question 'what is a laird's house?' became more focused. In order to illustrate national themes, and those which are particular to the specific regions and periods, several laird's houses were then studied in greater detail. Often it was this more detailed analysis which led on to the development of themes or suggested their revision. The process of research was very much iterative in nature, therefore, in what had been an under-studied and poorly understood field.

3.3 Defining the 'laird's house'

'Laird's house' is an architectural term of modern invention, and so, for the purposes of this thesis, it will be distinguished from what we know of contemporary architectural and social definitions such as the 'beg house', 'the place of…', and 'town lodging'. This approach carries with it the potential for creating certain

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[5] In looking at the social and political construct of the English gentry, Heal & Holmes (1994, x) have also acknowledged that regional studies are vital to understanding the gentry in their own environment before a broader interpretation can be reached.

difficulties for the social historian by using a social construct, the 'laird', as part of a category of building distinguishable from others primarily by its architectural form. This is compounded by the use of other similar terms, such as 'tacksman's house', 'tenant's house' and 'factor's house', which define the social function of the inhabitant rather than conjuring an image of a distinctive building type. This author did consider whether, in choosing to research an established building type with a potentially confusing nomenclature, an alternative term could be found to describe it without using the word 'laird'. After toying with 'gentry house' and then rejecting it because it posed similar problems and it has been used to describe English gentleman's houses (e.g. Cooper, 1999, 109)[6], a satisfactory term akin to 'tower-house' and 'hall-house' proved elusive.

Although this is not a thesis which will be discussing all the domestic architecture of 'the laird', it is useful to first define what a 'laird' is in the sense of those persons who could have been responsible for building houses which fall into the architecturally-distinct group known as 'laird's houses'.

3.3.1 What is a 'laird'?

Several authors have tried to define a 'laird' and all are agreed that it is no easy task. 'Laird' is a catch-all term and, in contemporary usage, it would have simply indicated a landowner. From the 15th century 'laird' tended to imply a smaller baron or landowner to differentiate them from noble 'lords'. Lairds held their land directly from the crown as tenants-in-chief, or indirectly as a feuars from ecclesiastics, lay commendators or other lairds. Some lairds might have farmed all or part of their estates and small proprietors might have been termed 'portioners', who held part of a multiple-tenant township, or 'goodmen', who could otherwise have been large tenants. In Orkney and Shetland there was a particular type of, usually small, proprietor, the 'odaller'. All of these landowners could have been responsible for building 'laird's houses' as their main house (lesser lairds, small barons, portioners,

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[6] The 16th- and 17th-century houses of the gentry class in England was first discussed as a group by Eric Mercer (1956); the term 'gentry house' was coined thereafter. However, the English Heritage NMR Monument Thesaurus does not include the term (http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1, accessed 02-05-08).

feuars, goodmen and odallers) or as secondary houses, town houses, dower houses or factor's houses (lords, barons and greater lairds).

'Wadsetters' were not technically proprietors although they exercised control over land, were able to collect rent from it and, depending on the terms of the 'wadset' (mortgage), could build a residence upon it. There were also members of the tenant class who had sufficient means and reasonably secure tenancies to enable them to invest in substantial dwellings. In the period covered by this thesis (1560 to 1770) it mattered that you controlled land; it mattered less *how* you did. For example, goodmen could be small proprietors *or* substantial tenants; they were considered to be of lesser status than a laird but could build substantial houses and many rose to lairdly status. And so, how secure your possessions were and how much resources you had at your disposal would seem to be the main considerations for those who chose to build a laird's house on a particular tract of land. The term 'tenant' represents a broad class. Many kindly tenants were reasonably secure in their holdings as surviving rentals show continuity. Kindly tenants who built up substantial tracts of lands could acquire the means to build laird's houses, whether or not their lands were converted to feu-farm and they were successful in securing the feu. As discussed in Chapter 7, 16th- and 17th-century tacksmen were often close kin of highland chiefs. They had large tacks and sufficient wealth and status to build lairds houses. Smaller tacksmen prospered through the cattle trade and were able to build more substantial houses in the 18th century. Therefore, the patrons of laird's houses could include all those who controlled land, whether as landowners or landholders; the key groups are listed below:

BARON	A person with the right to hold a baron court and who held an estate 'in free barony'. As the powers invested in baron courts declined after 1587, the terms 'baron' or 'small baron' were often used in legal documents as a substitute for 'laird' as it could not be easily translated into Latin and the term 'laird was regarded as being too informal. 'Barons' did not, therefore, necessarily hold a barony. The subdivision of feus produced the term 'lesser barons' towards the end of the 17th century. (Meikle, 1992, 73; Goodare, 2001, 1105–6; Brown, 2004, 3; Meikle, 1988, 35; DSL – SND1: 'baron').

FEUAR	These could be lords or lairds who held feu charters from church or crown, or sub-vassals or freeholders who held their land from subject-superiors. Their original status may have been that of kindly tenant or professional, such as a lawyer, or merchant. Those who only held feus were probably of lesser status. (Meikle, 1988, 37; Goodare, 2001, 1119; DSL – SND1: 'feuar').
GOODMAN	The owner or tenant of a property of small extent or a farm below the rank of 'laird'. (DSL – DOST: 'goodman').
KINDLY TENANT	A person who possesses a lease by right of birth, descent or inheritance. The earliest references can be found in southern Scotland and the term became more common when feuing accelerated around 1560. The term was also applied to tenants and tacksmen who claimed a prescriptive right to the tenancy or tack because of its long continued occupation by a single family. (DSL – DOST & SND1: 'kindly')
LAIRD	A landed proprietor holding land directly from the crown, or indirectly through a nobleman, church, monastery or from another laird in blench- or feu-farm. For the eastern Scottish Borders, Meikle (1988, 30) describes 'lairds' as those possessing land of two or more husbandlands (*c.* 52 acres or 21.1 ha). Lesser lairds might still have their own demesne to farm. Some 'greater lairds' could have substantial landholdings and power. They usually held land direct from the crown as tenants-in-chief, many were lords or were raised to noble status during their lifetimes. The terms 'lord' and 'laird' diverged from the 15th century, from when 'laird' tended to imply a smaller baron or landowner. (Meikle, 1988, 28–30, 35, 39; DSL – DOST: 'lord' & 'lard'). In Shetland there were 'lairds' who held land under odal tenure, not feu-farm.
LORD	A titled individual with the exclusive right among the landed classes (until 1587) to be represented at the Scottish parliament. Tenants-in-chief were nobles because the fee endowed the grantee with rank. Their holdings could be indistinguishable in size from that of greater lairds, some of whom were untitled. 'lord' and 'laird' only began to be differentiated from the 15th century. (Meikle, 1992, 70 & 72; Goodare, 2001, 1118; DSL – DOST: 'lord').
ODALLER	Possessor of land held in odal tenure in Orkney or Shetland. This was the prevailing landholding system in these islands until the second half of the 16th century, however, odal tenure continued after this date. It differed from feudal tenure in a number of ways; importantly, the odaller did not hold the land from a superior.
PORTIONER	A small proprietor who usually held a share or was a co-heir of a multiple-tenant township or, simply, a proprietor who only had a small feu. His holding could equate to that of a bonnet laird or large tenant. Larger proprietors could, of course, have also held 'portions' of a township (Macinnes, 1991, 10; Meikle, 1988, 35; DSL – SND1 & SNDS: 'portioner').
RENTALLER	A holder of a rental lease. A rental was a written list of register of the rents due by tenants to a proprietor or lessor and the rentaller's title was that written in the rental-book. The conditions of the lease varied from one estate

	to another. The lease might not have been set within definitive bounds, or it could be equivalent to a liferent lease, or it could be heritable over two successive lives. "Rentalling was, in fact, a system of inheritance subject to renewal which preserved continuity of possession in a family" (Sanderson, 1982, 51). (DSL – DOST: 'rental'; 'rentaler'; 'kindly'; DSL – SND1: 'rental'; 'kindly').
TACKSMAN	A holder of a 'tack' (lease), hence a 'tenant', often more specifically a tenant who leases land to sublet. In the Highlands, the term 'tacksman' was applied to the more important tenants who had military responsibilities in a given area from the 17th century. For widely-dispersed Highland estates, the tacksmen also acted as rent-collectors. Their districts could be extremely large (which supported sub-tacksmen) or as modest as one township in extent. In Argyll, the system which supported great tacksmen and sub-tacksmen was abolished in 1737. (Donnachie, 1986, 54–5; Brown, 2004, x; Creegen, 1969, 93–4; DSL – DOST: 'takisman').
TENANT	A person who rents land from a proprietor. This therefore includes tacksmen. Some tenants' holdings were of a similar size as those of portioners and small lairds. The terms of their lease, and thus their security of tenure, could vary considerably. Similarly, proprietors could also tenant other landholdings. Factors (agents who manage heritable estates for another person) were often drawn from the tenant class and possessed substantial holdings. The position became increasingly popular for large estates in lowland Scotland from the second half of the 17th century. (Whyte, 1975, 64; DSL – DOST: 'factour'; DSL – SND1: 'factor').
WADSETTER	A person who held a wadset (mortgage) of land. 'To wadset' is to convey land in pledge of a debt where the debtor can recover the lands once the debt is cleared by whatever agreed means. Wadsetting became more common during the 17th century. The terms of the wadset could include the right to build a house upon the land and thus, though the wadsetter did not own the land, he could have invested in a substantial house comparable with a laird's house. Often the proprietor defaulted on the terms of the loan and so the land passed to the wadsetter. (Meikle, 1988, 35; DSL – DOST: 'wedset'; DSL – SND1: 'wadset'; Sanderson, 2002, 27).

Table 3.1: Who built 'laird's houses'? Landowners and landholders.

In her study of the 16th-century landed families of the eastern English and Scottish borders, Maureen Meikle uses the term 'bonnet laird' to describe small proprietors who had worked at least a part of their own land and whose total holdings were on a par with large tenant-farmers (1988, 34; 2004, 17). The term has a longer etymological history, having been first coined in 1816 By Sir Walter Scott: "a bonnet-laird signifies a petty proprietor, wearing the dress, along with the habits of a yeoman" (1897, 38). Here, the present author has decided not to apply it

retrospectively to small 16th- to 18th-century proprietors. Following his accession in 1625, Charles I promoted the use of the term 'gentlemen' in Scotland, a term with which he was familiar in England and which had entered the legal vocabulary of crown officers after the Union of the Crowns. The 'gentry' was a collective term for small or untitled barons, freeholders and feuars (Macinnes, 1991, 7; Brown, 2004, 3 & 12) and an indication of "a sharpening divide" between them and the nobility (Meikle, 1992, 73). As with the preferred use of the term 'baron' over the term 'laird' in legal documents, one reason why 'gentleman' may have found favour was because of the informality associated with 'laird' (Goodare, 2001, 1106). Therefore, 'gentleman' does not appear in Table 3.1 as it was used simply to indicate a landowner that was not a lord.

In this thesis, houses of merchants are also considered in Chapter 6 (Shetland) as they are often architecturally similar to the 'laird's house'. However, 'merchant' has not been included in Table 3.1 as most of the surviving two-storey examples in Shetland were built for men who already fall under one of the other categories. Elsewhere, merchants and professionals like lawyers, speculated in the land market by becoming feuars, acquiring land under the terms of a wadset, or marrying heiresses. The country estate was often viewed as a status-symbol as well as an investment (Macinnes, 1991, 15; Lynch, 1992, 254–5; Sanderson, 1983, 184–5). Burgesses could own dwellings in burghs which resembled 'laird's houses', equally ministers could live in manses of a similar form. As provision of manses improved, particularly from the mid-18th century, and since in some cases glebes were large enough to sub-let, the minister could acquire the status of a landholder. Landed ministers and burgesses are subsumed by the existing terms in the tables and are not separately listed. Naturally, burgh dwellings and manses which are similar in form to laird's houses are discussed in the subsequent chapters by way of comparison. However, unless their patrons had a direct link with the control of land, they are regarded as separate subject areas which fall outwith the scope of a thesis on 'laird's houses'.

What is apparent, is that a wide selection of people could have been and were responsible for building 'laird's houses'. This should not be surprising given the wide and disparate group of individuals who considered themselves 'lairds', let alone those with sufficient resources to build a house that was, to all intent and purpose, a 'laird's house'. So, what form of dwelling did they commission?

3.3.2 What is a 'laird's house'?

> The houses comprising this group may be defined broadly as the residences of lesser landholders of the later sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—a category that embraces both the lower ranks of the baronial class and the 'bonnet' lairds….
>
> John G. Dunbar. *The Historic Architecture of Scotland.* 1966, p.65

> Laird's house: a medium sized domestic residence of a lesser landholder *c.* 1560–*c.* 1750, the earliest being of a tower-house form, the later ones of symmetrical rectangular plan.
>
> RCAHMS Monument Thesaurus, www.rcahms.gov.uk, downloaded 20-08-07[7]

The above quotes are the only published definitions of a 'laird's house'. Dunbar's definition identifies the period over which they were built and by whom, but not what architectural form they took. However, Dunbar (1966, 66 & 81) goes on to discuss two main types of laird's house under the headings 'The Legacy of the Tower-House' and 'Lairds' Houses of the Eighteenth Century' and offers a definition of the latter (*see* p.59). Here, in Chapter 4, it is suggested that the laird's house developed in parallel with the tower-house, rather than having developed from it. In that case, the tower-house 'legacy' may be of less significance than previously thought (*ibid*, 66). The Thesaurus of Scottish Monument Types, developed by the RCAHMS from 2000, was first published on-line in August 2007

[7] The English Heritage NMR Monument Thesaurus also includes laird's house as a term but has a simple scope note (description of agreed thesaurus term): "residence of a leading land-holding family within the district" (http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1, accessed 02-05-08).

(www.rcahms.gov.uk).[8] The first part of the description seems to be a brief summary of Dunbar's general definition and the ways in which the 'early' and 'later' types are referred to could be shorthand for the two types of laird's house that Dunbar described. It is argued in the next section that recognising the main differences between earlier and later laird's houses can be a useful tool in identifying examples of the building type; these subgroups are here labelled as 'Type I' and 'Type II'.

This author's overarching definition of the 'laird's house' is as follows:

> A masonry-built, gable-ended, dwelling-house, typically two to two-and-a-half storeys, three to six bays in width, with a one-room deep rectangular-plan (main variations are the L- and T-plan), that was built from the mid-16th century (*infra*) until *c*. 1800 by proprietors, usually of the lairdly class, or by major tenants in town or country. It has two main types, defined here as 'Type I', which can be described as vernacular in style, and 'Type II', which is better described as 'polite architecture'.

As this is not a study which encompasses all house types that were occupied by 'lairds' from the mid-16th century to *c*. 1800, it is important to clearly define what is meant by the term 'laird's house' in a way which describes its three-dimensional form. And so, the main building material, height (in storeys), width (in bays), depth (number of rooms), plan-form, and roof-form of a 'typical' laird's house is described above together with a date range and patron. Typological studies need boundaries and, here, clarity is hampered by the particular nomenclature. In 'defining the 'laird's house'' it is important to discuss architectural terms which have been applied to examples of 'laird's houses' (Section 3.3.4) and those houses which may be, literally, 'a house of a laird', but which are not 'laird's houses' in a strict architectural sense (Section 3.3.5).

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[8] Many of the scope notes were written by Andrew Bain but the derivation for the laird's house scope note has not been recorded (R. Bailey, *pers. comm.*).

Firstly, the 'laird's house' is subcategorised in this thesis into two main types; this approach is discussed below and is followed by more detailed definitions of each type.

3.3.3 Categorising the laird's house

Dunbar recognised two groups of 'laird's house', by relating the earlier, irregularly fenestrated models with first-floor halls to the tower-house, and describing the later regularly fronted, symmetrical houses with ground-floor living rooms as "a minor revolution in architectural styles" (1966, 81). In discussing the earlier group, the ground-floor hall – or, more simply, referred to as the 'living' or 'principal room' – was acknowledged but regarded as an exceptional. It was related to instances "where a part courtyard lay-out provides sufficient ground-floor superficial area to accommodate both living and service rooms" or where a principal room and kitchen would be placed on the ground-floor in smaller houses if "service requirements were more modest" (*ibid*, 81). Architecturally, there is a significant difference between the earlier and later forms Dunbar identified. However, it is argued in this thesis that the later form owes much to several decades of earlier development of the laird's house. So, why make the same distinction as Dunbar?

Naturally, fewer laird's houses survive which date to the 16th and 17th centuries than the 18th century, hence classifying examples which fall into the 'Type I' category is less arduous than for the later 'Type II'. When it comes to the 18th century, many more persons other than lairds could afford to build 'middle-sized' houses; a trend which gathered pace as the century progressed. Few laird's houses built after 1750 are discussed at length in the main body of this thesis. This is because the 'laird's house' essentially became the universal model for dwellings of two or two-and-a-half stories built for persons of sufficient means or status. This includes farmhouses, factor's houses and manses. The form was even adapted for inns. By around 1800 lairds of that era considered the 'laird's house' to be too modest for their own abodes. There is, therefore, value in differentiating the early and late laird's house to: a) highlight rare early examples; b) help distinguish laird's houses from *e.g.* farmhouses and manses; and c) as a mechanism to help chart the development of the

laird's house as a whole. 'Type I/II' has also been used in the gazetteers (*see* Appendices B and C) to indicate laird's houses in the case-study areas which preserve characteristics of both types (B.62, C.19 and C.44).

Is there any added value in subcategorising the laird's house into more than two groups? Philip Dixon (1976, 199–202) in his thesis on the 16th-century 'Fortified Houses on the Anglo-Scottish Border' defines four types of 'tower', three types of 'bastle', and four types of 'pele-house'. Attempting to closely define several sub-groups of the laird's house in a similar way could be problematic. For example, when recorded for the RCAHMS Stirlingshire Inventory (1963, II, 369), Old Auchentroig (1702; *see* Figure 4.39) was thought to be a small, two-storey, three-bay rectangular-plan laird's house. Later archaeological investigations proved that it had been built on the T-plan, the jamb having been removed in *c.* 1800 (Addyman, 2002, pt. 1, 11). And so, using a common typological tool, the plan-form, Old Auchentroig could have been classed as, say, a Type II.2 (built on a rectangular plan) rather than a Type II.4 (built on a T-plan). How would its later remodelling into a rectangular plan be expressed? In any case, detailed classification is only possible if the examples are fairly complete and the original intentions of the builder and major changes are well understood. This is not the case for most laird's houses.

However, defining two main types of laird's house helps us to broadly date examples and to highlight an important phase in their development where characteristics of both types are observable. These defining characteristics are described more fully in the next two sections.

3.3.3.1 Type I laird's houses

What is meant by the 'Type I' laird's house? The historical context in which the laird's house could have emerged suggests that it did so in the mid-16th century. In the absence of surviving examples of laird's houses of this date, however, an analysis of those domestic buildings that have survived has been used (*see* Chapter 4) to speculate on this theoretical starting point. Moving on to the first dateable examples from the 1580s, these are classed by the present author as the 'Type I'. Typically, it

has a rectangular plan, masonry walls, gable ends, is one-and-a-half, two- or two-storeys in height, and has on open hall on the ground floor, or on the first floor over service accommodation. In two-and-a-half storey examples, the main entrance usually reached via a forestair on one long elevation which opens into a hall with a smaller chamber at one end; each having a gable-end fireplace. Sometimes there are three chambers on the first floor meaning that the central hall has to be heated by a fireplace in a lateral chimneystack or in a mid-gable. The bedchambers are in the garret, which is accessed by a ladder from the first floor. There is usually more that one room on the ground floor, each independently accessed from the outside; one may serve as a kitchen with a large fireplace, generally in a gable wall. The ground-floor windows are small and little more than ventilation slits, and the garret is lit by small windows high in each gable. The first-floor windows are larger and half-shuttered, and the openings are usually irregularly disposed. The roof is thatched, flagged or slated. The arrangement of the first floor and garret is the same for the ground floor and garret of one-and-a-half storey laird's houses. The house is approached obliquely through a tight courtyard which is closed by a screen wall. One or more sides of the courtyard is occupied by ranges of ancillary buildings, usually single-storey, such as a kitchen, brewhouse and byre, which are likely to be thatched. This arrangement is illustrated by 'Jarlshof', a laird's house in Shetland which dates from *c.* 1589 to the mid- to late 17th century and is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The sketch reconstruction of how it may have looked in its final phase is reproduced below for convenience. The north range (bottom right Figure 3.2) is representative of a Type I laird's house with a ground-floor hall, and the south range (top left in Figure 3.2), is representative of a Type I laird's house with a first-floor hall.

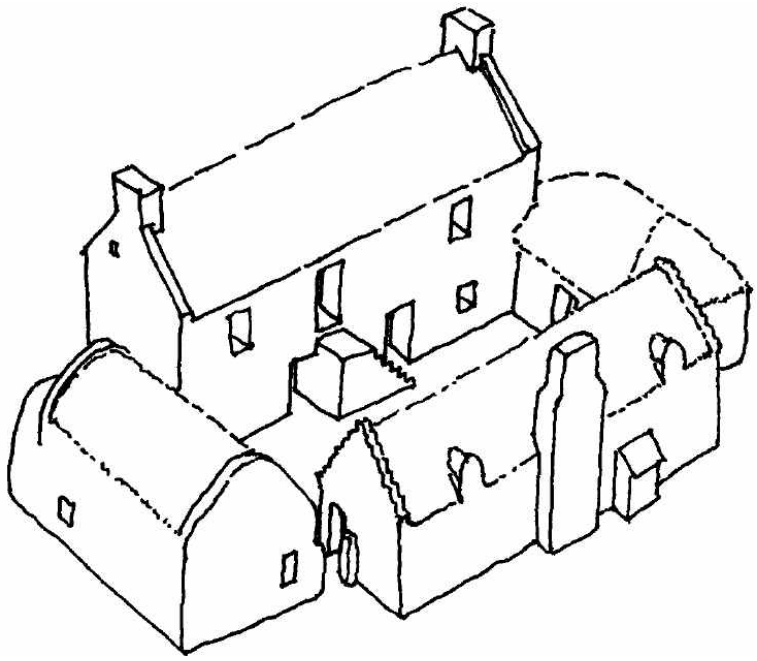

Figure 3.2: A 'typical' Type I laird's house. Jarlshof, Phase III, conjectural reconstruction. Drawing by S. Strachan.

Within the above broad definition there is scope for variation in plan, alternatives being commonly T- or L-shaped, the jamb often containing a stairtower so that the stair is internalised. Sometimes additional accommodation is provided in the jamb, and the stairtower is moved to the re-entrant angle, or the upper storey of the stairtower may be corbelled out to provide extra room on the first and garret floors only. Fewer examples of laird's houses with open hall on the ground-floor survive. This could perhaps have been more typical for earlier laird's houses, and persisted in the houses of owner or tenants of lesser means. The ceiled ground-floor hall is sometimes found in more prestigious laird's houses, and this may indicate the owner's awareness of English models. In the later Type I house the hall is an uncommon feature. Living accommodation is more generally located on the ground floor, perhaps adopting the 'parlour' as one of the main rooms, and the stair is taken into the main body of the house, dividing it into two unequal parts, with the main entrance at the foot of the stair. Evidence of such planning is, however, difficult to find in the Type I but it is not unknown and in this it anticipates the Type II.

In terms of style, the Type I laird's house could be said to be 'vernacular' in the same way that tower-house development in Scotland is distinctive; both building types are included in Elizabeth Beaton's *Scotland's Traditional Houses* (1997), for example. However, "by definition, vernacular architecture is the 'architecture of the common people' and hence, is not the architecture of… power elites" (Oliver ed., 1997, I, 659). Nevertheless, a section on the buildings of 'Authority and Status' appears in the *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture* "though their scale, form and purposes may differ from one another and from the houses of the people, they can be indicative of the nature of the social organization of a culture" (*ibid*, 657). Though the Type I laird's house provided one model for its successor, the Type II, the latter is not regarded as being traditional or vernacular in the same sense. This theory is developed in the next section.

To summarise, the Type I laird's house is defined as follows:

> Type I laird's houses were built until *c.* 1700. Until *c.* 1650 the principal accommodation (an open hall and chamber) was located on the ground or first floor. In the latter, it was usually reached by a forestair or stairtower over a service ground floor which might contain the kitchen. Fenestration would be irregularly disposed. From *c.* 1650 ground floor living rooms become more common with an internal stair roughly centrally-placed. The openings on the main façade would be vertically aligned. The house would normally be approached through a tight courtyard with ancillary buildings. The Type I could be said to be 'vernacular' in style.

3.3.3.2 Type II laird's houses

The Type II, on the other hand, represents Dunbar's 'Lairds' Houses of the Eighteenth Century' (*ibid*, 81) which he describes as a:

> plain, rectangular, gable-roofed block of two main storeys and an attic having a symmetrical plan in which a single large room is placed on either side of a central staircase on each floor. More accommodation is sometimes obtained

> by the addition of a basement, and by increasing the width of the building so that two rooms, instead of one, can be placed on each side of the stair. The symmetry of the plan is clearly reflected in the elevations, particularly in the main front, where the windows are almost always regularly disposed about a central entrance-doorway at principal-floor level. In smaller houses kitchen and parlour usually occupy the ground floor, with perhaps one other living-room and bedrooms above, but where there is a service basement as many as three or four principal rooms may be grouped on the two main floors.

Dunbar ascribes the first examples of this type to the years immediately preceding the Union of the Parliaments. The earliest examples known to the present writer date to the 1690s and the main differences between them and the Type I are the symmetrical main façades, preference for ground-floor living rooms, the particular type of internal stair, and an axial approach. The plans are not always symmetrical, however. For example, they could have three rooms in a single pile, in which case the position of the internal stair is not always easy to resolve. At Old Sheildbank, Fife, for example, there may have been a corridor between the off-centre entrance and the foot of a quarter-turn stair contained in a rear outshot (Stell, 1981/82, 32). A centrally-placed stair is more common however, and this can be straight, but is more often dog-leg or, in some larger examples, half-turn. The stair can rise to the attic storey, or this last floor may be reached by a ladder or narrower stair. The main elevation varies from three to six bays in width and the space above the entrance might be left blank. The house is often approached through a large forecourt, which may have flanking ranges, and some examples have single-storey side wings with lean-to or hip-ended roofs. The main roof of the house could be thatched or pantiled but is more commonly slated. Early examples have half-shuttered or fixed-pane windows but more often the Type II house windows are sash-and-case. Udrigle House, built or reconstructed in 1745, in Wester Ross is discussed in the next chapter, however, a three-dimensional sketch based on its conjectural reconstruction by Simpson and Brown Architects (see Figure 4.46), is illustrated below as an example of a 'typical' Type II laird's house.

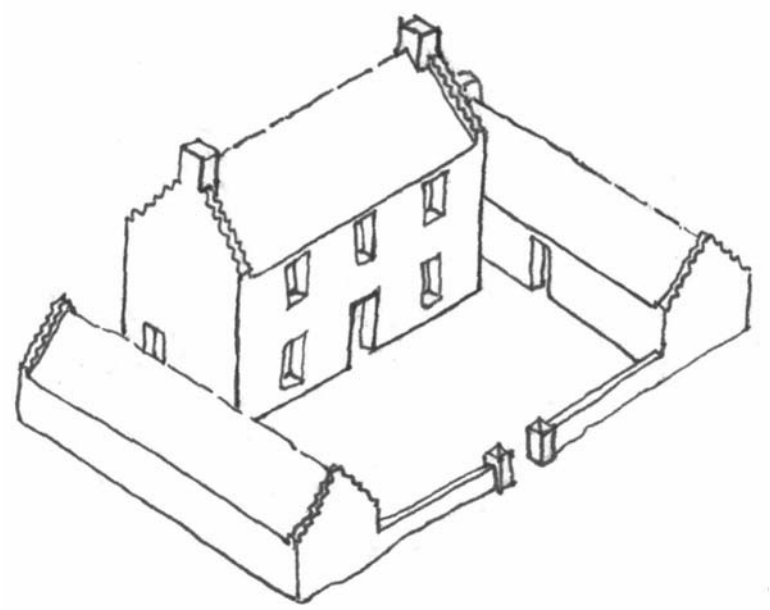

Figure 3.3: A 'typical' Type II laird's house. Udrigle House, Wester Ross, reconstruction drawing based on Wentworth & Sanders, 1996, 19, fig. 1. Drawing by S. Strachan.

Variations on the basic plan include the T-plan, with the jamb at the rear containing a stair or additional accommodation; the L-plan is less common in the Type II. Usually the house is single-pile, but examples that are two-rooms deep are known; under a single roof the rear rooms are usually narrower than the front rooms, or, where the rooms are of equal width, the house is M-gabled because of its double-pitched roof. Later Type IIs tend to have roofs of a lesser pitch, larger windows and, for example, three broad bays rather than five narrow ones. Some examples are three storeys in height, and, using the classical language, the upper or 'attic' floor is denoted by smaller windows (for example, Bayhall, Shetland, *c.* 1750, B.3). In examples with basements the main entrance is reached by a stair ranging from a few steps to a long flying stair. In some examples the main elevation is modified by a central bay or bays (which may be slightly advanced) topped with a gable (or pediment) with straight or shaped skews and, in some instances, a chimneystack (termed a 'nepus gable'). There is greater variation in the Type II than in the Type I, and that over a shorter time-span. The later Type II is found used for laird's houses, factor's houses, manses and farmhouses alike.

The Type II laird's house is considered here to have developed, in part, from the increased awareness of classical ideas of symmetry, in elevation, approach and internal planning, and in response to the general spirit of improvement which, architecturally, would have extended to the form and layout of high-status dwellings in the first instance. Though a major influence on the form of the Type II would have been the culmination of incremental changes discernable in the Type I over the second half of the 17th century, the Type II is not regarded here as being 'traditional' or 'vernacular' in the same way. This is because the builders of Type II laird's houses understood and applied classical ideas in external appearance, and later, planning, which was followed by increased standardisation made possible by the availability of pattern books. In this case, the Type II might be better described as an example of 'polite architecture', defined by English Heritage (2007, 2) as "buildings that adopt the architectural language of the court or aristocracy". However, the same authority warns that:

> there is no hard-and-fast line between the vernacular and the 'polite'…. Vernacular buildings were responsive to change and frequently emulated polite architecture but a degree of conservatism remains an essential part of their character.

David Roberts (1979b, 150) describes several laird's and tacksman's houses on Skye (which mainly date to the 18th century) as being both polite and vernacular as they attained both "a gentrified quality" and are buildings "of a distinctive local type using locally obtained material". The present writer would argue that these houses as less distinctive than Roberts suggests, however, and so the Type II is described here as predominately 'polite' in character.

The characteristics of a Type II laird's house is summarised as follows:

> Type II laird's houses are built from the 1690s until *c.* 1800. Until *c.* 1740 the Type II was typically five-bay and the main living rooms (at least the kitchen and parlour) were on the ground floor. The entrance would be centrally-placed on the main façade, whose fenestration would be symmetrically

arranged. The disposition of rooms was not necessarily symmetrical. From *c.* 1740 the Type II was built with, typically, three broader bays with larger windows and a roof of shallower pitch. The Type II was usually approached axially through a forecourt which might have had flanking wings. The Type II could be said to be 'polite' in style.

3.3.4 What else can be a 'laird's house'?

The 'laird's house' and two sub-types, the 'Type I laird's house' and the 'Type II laird's house' have been defined above. In Section 3.3.1 a broad range of landowners and landholders responsible for building 'laird's houses' were identified. Returning to architectural terminology, several other labels have been applied to houses which the present author would argue are 'laird's house' in a strict architectural sense. Most of these alternative terms do not conjure a specific image of their form, instead they describe the occupant of the house: dowager, minister, merchant, tenant or tacksman; or where the house is. The exception is the 'bastle' which has been defined as a two-storey defensible house with byre or store on the ground floor (RCHME, 1970; Dixon, 1976; Ward, 1990). The present author believes that many of the 'bastles' thus far identified are in fact Type I laird's houses and would query the validity of this separate term. The tacksman, dowager and tenant were all directly linked to the control of land and the form of some of their houses would have conformed to the definitions of the 'laird's house' provided above. Some ministers and merchants could also have been involved in the land market and so these manses and merchant's houses or böds would also fall under the 'laird's house' category. 'Town houses', whether of lord, laird or merchant, could be built to mirror their rural cousins. These terms, together with 'bastle', are listed in Table 3.2 below:

'BASTLE'	Term devised to describe two-storey masonry houses with byre or storage on the ground floor. The present author disputes the validity of a separate term and whether there is any definitive evidence to support the byre-function. Instead, many of the houses identified as 'bastle houses' in Scotland to date are seen in the context of the Type I laird's house (*see* Sections 4.4.1.1 & 5.4.1 for greater detail).

BÖD	Norse-derived word for a 'booth', a shop from which trade is conducted (medieval to 19th-century Shetland). Böds could also include living accommodation. The two-storey examples in Shetland had the shop or store on the ground floor and a residence above, in this they are similar to Type I laird's houses and many fish merchants were also landowners.
DOWER HOUSE	The house set apart for a widow with a dower or jointure (a dowager), usually located on her late husband's estate. Old laird's houses or a tacksman's house could be utilised for the purpose. Houses built as dower houses could resemble laird's houses. The dower house would have been built by the dowager's late husband or her son, the new laird, and the jointure would usually include dowerlands held in liferent.
MANSE	The house of a minister or cleric. Their form often differed little from contemporary laird's houses and some ministers would have been able to sub-let their holdings. The houses of ministers who controlled land can therefore be considered as 'laird's houses' and examples of manses that were built on the laird's house model are discussed in this thesis.
MERCHANT'S HOUSE	The house of a merchant, usually including storage provision on the ground-floor or in a cellar. Some merchants built up landholdings and the houses of such merchants that reached two storeys are considered in this thesis as 'laird's houses'. The term 'böd' is used to describe merchant's houses in Shetland (*see* above). The RCAHMS Monument Thesaurus definition is that merchant's houses were originally found in towns or ports (www.rcahms.gov.uk, downloaded 16-03-08).
TENANT'S HOUSE	The house of a tenant. Some larger tenants would have been able to build substantial houses which would have differed little from laird's houses, and were able to sub-let parcels of land. Tenants include tacksmen and factors. In upland districts of the Scottish Borders, two-storey 'pele-houses' may have been built by tenants of average wealth towards the end of the 16th century but these are considered to be a separate building type from the laird's house (*see* Section 5.4.1.3 for discussion). (RCAHMS, 1994, 9 & 13).
TACKSMAN'S HOUSE	Defined by the RCAHMS as "a dwelling occupied by a tacksman, the chief leaseholder of a township who rented out lands to sub-tenants". This does not, however, define the form of the tacksman's house. Like greater tenants, some tacksmen built laird's houses to two storeys. (Monument Thesaurus, www.rcahms.gov.uk, downloaded 21-09-07).
TOWN HOUSE	The town lodgings of a laird, lord or merchant. Some town houses are of mansion-house proportions, some are urban tower-houses, and others are built on the 'laird's house' model. Is this last form of town house that is included in the 'laird's house' definition. (Macinnes, 1991, 16; Stell, 1988, 70; RCAHMS Monument Thesaurus, www.rcahms.gov.uk, downloaded 16-03-08).

Table 3.2: What else can be a 'laird's house'?

It is important not to discourage the architectural study of dwellings which belong to well-defined social groupings, like the merchant, dowager, minister, tenant or tacksman, by hiving off some of their houses into the 'laird's house' category. However, it is this author's assertion that most *two-storey* houses built for these persons in the period covered by this thesis will be essentially 'laird's houses'.

Looking at ministers more closely, they were often themselves sons of ministers, merchants, craftsmen or lesser lairds. Their living came with a stipend and a glebe, but, initially, "the responsibility for repairing and building manses was left to the ministers who were, in a sense, treated like ordinary tenants whose buildings… were valued… when they entered a holding and when they gave it up" (Bangor-Jones, 1993, 52). And "in many burghs, well into the second half of the [16th] century, the 'manse' must have been of a makeshift nature" (Sanderson, 1997, 84). Old Kilrenny Manse built for James Melville in Anstruther in 1590 was exceptional, having been paid for by the heritors (landed proprietors of the rural parish) and the burgesses of Anstruther Easter (*ibid*, 92; Lynch, 1992, 255; Dunbar, 1966, 87). It was only after 1649 that heritors were obliged to provide the manse (*APS*, VI, pt. II, 287–8). As discussed in Chapter 4 (p.112) the 1574 archdeacon's house in Kirkwall ('Tankerness House') probably represents the type of house built by lairds at the same period, although we do not know of examples of laird's houses that survive from that date. The heritors of some parishes were more generous than others in post-Reformation Scotland, and in such cases the manse might be more substantial than a single-storey structure. As the heritors were generally lairds, we can surmise that two-storey manses were probably modelled on the laird's house. In some parishes, ministers had considerable extents of glebe-lands, which they may have sub-let; or they might have been lairds in their own right.

Turning now to the term 'town house', Macinnes (1991, 16) notes that "by the beginning of Charles I's reign it was fashionable among the landed classes to build modest houses in smaller towns to retain a watching brief over the commercial as well as social life of the localities." For example, Andrew Pringle of Smailholm and Galashiels built a new house near the growing settlement of Galashiels in 1583,

raised to a burgh of barony in 1599. The house is now enveloped by the town, but it was sited to be close to a particular settlement, the growth of which the Pringles encouraged. And so the 'laird's house' form was often versatile enough to be the house of choice whether in a rural or urban setting.

3.3.5 What is a 'laird's house' not?

Several other architectural terms, most of which are defined by their form rather than their occupant, are discussed in this section as they indicate domestic structures which should be differentiated from the 'laird's house'. These are listed in Table 3.3 below:

BISHOP'S, ABBOT'S OR COMMENDATOR'S HOUSE	Residence of the senior cleric of an abbey, cathedral, bishopric or priory, or lay commendator. The last examples were built at the end of the 16th century. They were usually the equivalent of a mansion rather than a laird's house.
BURGH DWELLING	Tower-houses, mansions and laird's houses were all built in urban settings. There were of course, people other than lords and lairds that built dwellings in the town. A few examples, such as the houses of merchants, clerics (therefore 'manses'), and wealthy tradesmen or craftsmen, are close in form to the laird's house and some of their owners would have had landed interests.
COUNTRY HOUSE	The first 'country houses' in Scotland have been traditionally ascribed to Sir William Bruce from the 1670s. Large houses built in the country before this date have not normally been termed 'country houses'. However, some 'Early Renaissance' or 'Early post-Reformation' houses are included in Gow and Rowan eds., *Scottish Country Houses, 1600–1914,* 1995 (1–33). A country house can be built in a variety of styles from classical to Gothic to Scots Baronial.
FARMHOUSE	One- to two-stories in height situated on one side of a courtyard which contained ancillary agricultural buildings built from the very end of the 17th century (Whyte, 1975, 65). It is likely that the earliest improved farmhouse of the tenant-farmer was similar to that of the small laird.
HALL HOUSE	Instead of a tower-house, the main accommodation of a castle complex could have been contained within a hall house. Hall houses had a hall open to the rafters on the first floor, over an undercroft. Most Scottish examples date to the late 13th and early 14th centuries. However, the term has also been used to describe two-storey high status houses with hall and chamber on the first floor that were built in the 15th to early 17th centuries.

MANSION	A large house. Large houses of the Renaissance period that are not 'palaces' may be described as 'mansions'. Large 'tower-houses' from this period have also been described as 'mansions'. It is also a catch-all term for all large houses in town and country. In terms of distinguishing a laird's house from a mansion, the latter is described in this thesis as being of seven bays and three full storeys in height or greater.
TOWER-HOUSE	A residential 'tower', usually rectangular-plan, reaching three or more stories in height. The tower often contained the main living chambers of the medieval castle complex where there might even be another tower serving as a gatehouse or guest accommodation. From surviving examples, smaller landholders were building tower-houses which provided much reduced accommodation than that expected of a lord during the 16th century. 16th- and 17th-century examples tend to be set within a courtyard ('barmkin') with ancillary buildings. The last newly-built tower-houses date to the mid-17th century. Small tower-houses in the border area of Scotland have also been termed 'pele-towers' (*see* Section 5.4.1.1 for discussion on pele-towers).
VILLA	The term 'villa' has a variety of meanings, applied first in the Roman period. In the sense where the term could be confused with a laird's house, the villa is a small 'country house' often built as a summer residence at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century on the newly-acquired estates of professional men as "a popular pastime" (Cruft, 2003, 53). Villas were built in a variety of styles from Georgian to Gothic to Scots Baronial.

Table 3.3: What is a 'laird's house' not?

Landowners or landholders of similar means might equally have built 'tower-houses' rather than 'laird's houses'. And so, the 'tower-house' (a house with vertical emphasis) and the 'laird's house' (a house with horizontal emphasis) could be seen as two forms of the social definition of a 'laird's house' (houses built by lairds). Nevertheless, the 'tower-house' is, today, a relatively well-defined building type and the distinct form associated with the architectural term 'laird's house' needs to be similarly defined. A lengthy discussion is offered in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1.2) which casts doubt on the existence of a 'hybrid' type, half-way between the 'laird's house' and 'tower-house', and it is suggested instead that both forms shared a similar architectural vocabulary.

'Laird's houses' are not 'mansions' or 'country houses' by virtue of their smaller size. Traditionally, the term 'Scottish country house' had been applied to houses

designed by the first 'gentleman architects' such as Sir William Bruce (1630–1710) from the 1670s who brought with them ideas of classical architecture which had developed in England (Cruft, 2003, 48–9; Worsley, 1995, 153 & 157). However, re-evaluation of high status architecture of the late 16th and early 17th centuries in Scotland has shown that the classical language has a much more complex history that previously thought. The time of Bruce is described as the period in which "the aristocratic classical country house emerged at last from the role it had been developing since the 1560s, as the dominant building type" (Mackechnie, 2005, 318). In this, the development from Renaissance mansions to the country houses of the 1670s is considered to be rather more fluid than the traditional view. From the later 18th century an eclectic mix of styles, such as the Gothic Revival, the Picturesque, Rococo, and, from the mid-19th century, Scots Baronial, were applied to country houses (Cruft, 2003, 54). These same styles were applied to 'villas', which were small country houses often built as summer residences or suburban retreats by professional gentlemen from the late 18th century (*ibid*, 53). Where lairds built their houses using these styles or as square-plan hipped classical 'boxes', a form which became particularly popular during the Georgian era, they are not 'laird's houses' by type.

The houses leading 16th-century clerics or lay commendators are often referred to by their occupants but their dwellings tended towards 'mansion' in size, in terms of landholding, their peers would have been lords or substantial lairds. The term 'hall-house' is often used to describe large, early medieval two-storey dwellings which had a hall on the first floor. It has been used to describe houses which had similar arrangements in the 16th and 17th centuries, such as the original house at Argyll's Lodging, Stirling (Fawcett, 2002, 717) and Uttershill Castle, Midlothian (Alexander, Bogdan, Grounsell, 1998, 1108). By this late date, however, the function of the hall was quite different from the early medieval period, and so, the present writer would query whether the term should be applied in these cases. Instead, they might represent laird's houses or mansions.

‘Town houses’, as defined in Table 3.2 above, are naturally built in urban settings and form part of the more general group ‘burgh dwellings’. However, there are some burgh dwellings which would not be regarded as ‘laird’s houses’ and so they are included in the table above. Some of these houses are, however, relevant to this study by way of comparison. Examples include the house re-fronted by the mason Tobias Bauchop in Alloa in 1695 (Figure 4.34) and the house built for Sir George Bruce in Culross in 1597 (Figure 4.10). They are so similar to laird’s houses, or are so likely to have been influential to their development, that it is difficult to exclude them from this study. It is likely, however, that many of the wealthiest burgesses, merchants and lawyers also acquired landed interests (like Sir George) and so in this sense could be considered as a laird’s town house. In general, the building type ‘burgh dwelling’ is regarded separately as the patron of only some examples were landed and some buildings contained more than one lodgings rather than being self-contained houses.

One of the most difficult categories to deal with, so far as its close affinities with the laird’s house is concerned, is that of the farmhouse. As has been mentioned, some lairds farmed their own estates, at least in part. Some tenants, who were no doubt tenant-farmers as well, as *e.g.* tacksmen or factors, were able to build substantial houses that were similar to laird’s houses. These men were therefore also farmers and their dwellings functioned as ‘farmhouses’. Ian D. Whyte (1975, 65) has shown that in lowland Scotland, in the years that followed the Restoration, the size of individual landholdings was tending to increase, as a consequence of which the numbers of agricultural tenants decreased, which enabled more efficient grain production and resulted in cash surpluses for tenants. These ‘improved’ farms were the locations for the first ‘improved’ farmhouses. However, the first survivals of these in Tayside, for example, which date to the 1690s “invariably turn out to have been on independent farms and therefore would have been the houses of minor landowners” (Walker & Gauldie, 1984, 57).

Whyte (1975, 65) describes early farmsteadings as usually having been built on a courtyard plan, with a one- to two-storey farmhouse and two flanking wings; an example of which was Over Mosshouses, Midlothian as illustrated on the 1717 Clerk

of Penicuik estate plan. It is probably true to say that the "need for more and larger outbuildings to house the increased number of draught and carriage animals and equipment… and to store the greater quantities of grain and winter fodder" (*ibid*) might have created larger farmsteadings than would have accompanied the average laird's house. The laird's own demesne would probably have been farmed by his servants and the rest of his holdings tenanted. There is always going to be a grey area between the early Type II laird's houses and the earliest farmhouses, but as the pace of agrarian change quickened the two building types would have diverged somewhat, with the larger farmsteadings becoming closer in form to the laird's home farm rather than to his own house and ancillary buildings.

The Type I and Type II 'laird's houses' and the 'laird' have been defined (Sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.3), and then the range of dwelling types which the laird's house can encompass, are similar to, and can be confused with, have all been discussed. How the Type I and II developed, and how one was transformed into the other, is the subject of Chapter 4. Part 2 of this thesis consists of three case-study areas designed to provide examples of the two types, chart their development and discuss regional variation. The logic behind the choice of the particular case-studies and the format of the gazetteer forms the basis of the next two sections.

3.4 The case-study areas

3.4.1 Choosing the case-study areas

As discussed in the general methodology section above, it is desirable to test the validity of the suggested development of a national building type at the regional or local level. Following preliminary research on laird's houses a provisional sequence for their development emerged with possible 'start' and 'end' dates for each of two main types. Different patterns were noted at the regional level. As shown in Figure 3.1, the number of case-studies has changed over time. At first, coverage was limited to Shetland and Skye; then extended to include Edinburgh, Argyll and the Scottish Borders; and finally settling on the three areas that are included in this thesis.

The Overview chapter considers a range of examples from all over Scotland, in particular, it highlights a number of laird's houses in Fife and Perthshire. When developing this chapter, the author did consider whether a case-study centred on east-central Scotland might be enlightening. However, this was at a relatively advanced stage of the research and would have required a further period of fieldwork. Furthermore, Fife is particularly distinctive as its fragmented pattern of landownership has resulted in an exceptionally dense distribution of 16th and 17th century laird's houses. In terms of balance, examples from Fife may be better used to help illustrate the overall pattern of the development of this building form – as outlined in Chapter 4 – rather than three key milestones, which is the function of Part II. In terms of numbers, the gazetteer (Appendices A–C) related to the Borders has 49 entries, Shetland has 66, and The Western Isles, Skye, and the Small Isles has 45. These numbers partly reflect the paucity of surviving examples from the 16th and 17th centuries in the latter, the continued building of laird's houses into the 19th century in Shetland, and the falling favour of the type in the Borders from the 18th century (also illustrated by Figure 1.1, p.18). Each case-study also considers the origins of the laird's house in that particular area and, this in itself, helps to diffuse the prominence that has been given to east-central Scotland for originating a laird's house 'model'.

In the light of previous assertions about the influence of the tower-house on the development of the Type I laird's house, the Scottish Borders was seen as likely to be of particular interest, since it has both a tower-house tradition and was thought to have supported a range of 'fortified' house-types. As the research progressed the influence of the tower-house was discovered to be less significant. However, since some of the earliest surviving examples of laird's houses belong to this region it provides a useful basis from which to discuss the early origins of the Type I.

Shetland does not have a vernacular tower-house tradition, and it has a relatively high number of surviving laird's houses (*c.* 60) despite its small area (1426 km^2) and historical population size (*c.* 12,000 in *c.* 1600 and *c.* 18,000 in *c.* 1800). The landholding system also differed from the rest of Scotland in the early period, and

there is the added interest that there seems to have been a significant number of merchants who became landowners. It therefore provides a useful contrast to the mainland area in attempting to chart the development of the Type I throughout the 17th century.

The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles can be regarded as representative of the north and west highlands and islands, in that few Type I laird's houses seem to have been built or have survived there. This is therefore considered to be a good area to illustrate the introduction and development of the Type II laird's house. The chart in Figure 1.1 shows the survival of laird's houses in each case-study area and the period covered by each accompanying chapter. Further justification for their choice will now be offered, and the boundaries of each of these three areas described more fully. The extents of each case-study area are illustrated in Figure 3.4 below.

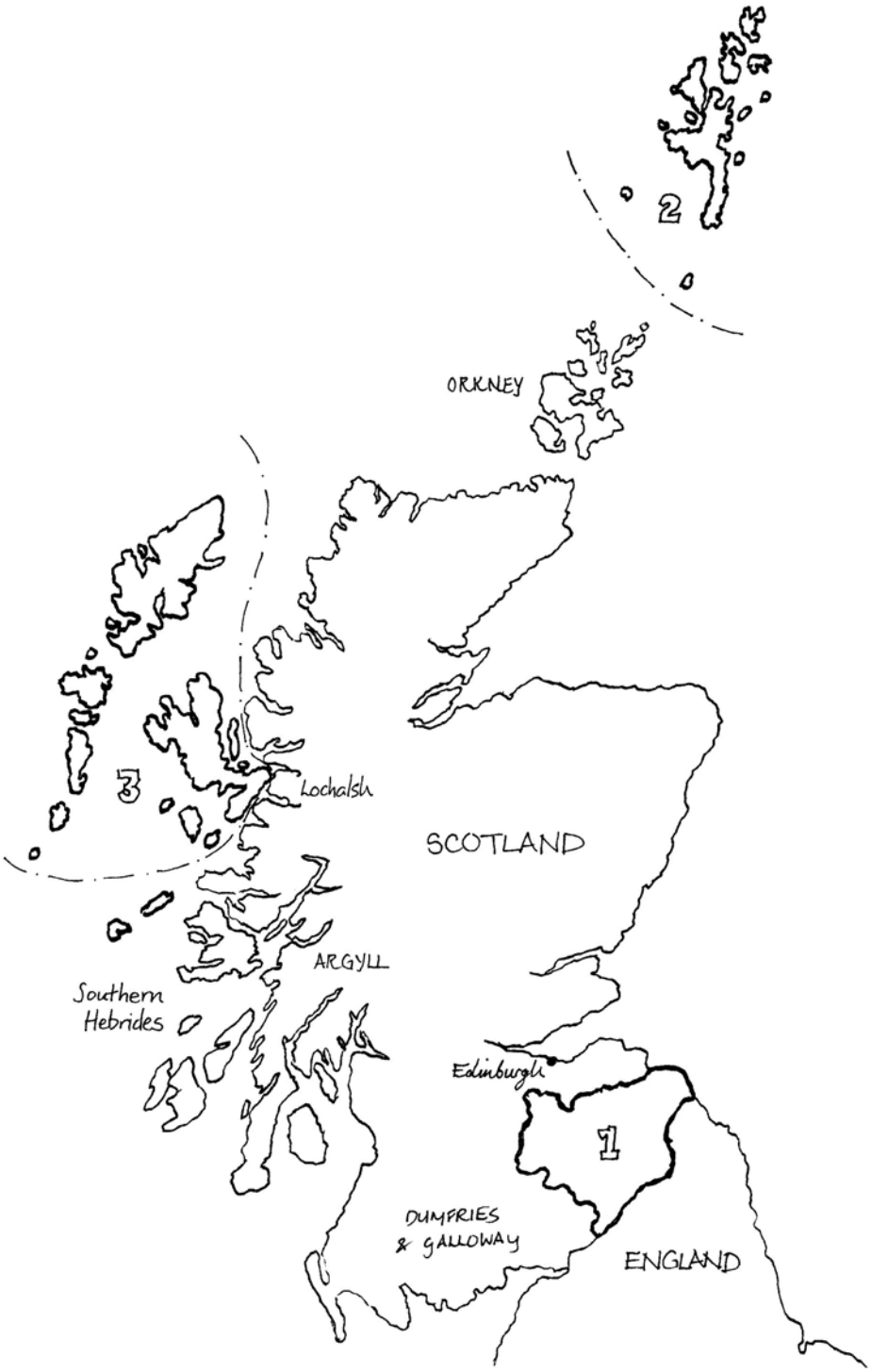

Figure 3.4: The case-study areas: 1) The Scottish Borders; 2) Shetland; and 3) The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles.

The present boundaries of 'The Scottish Borders' are a recent political creation. The local government unitary council, effective from 1995, follows the same boundaries as the 1975 regional council. At that time only one significant change was made to the extremities of the four old counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk and Peebles, when the southern tip of the former Midlothian was included. These county boundaries, delineated in 1889, closely followed the former shires or sheriffdoms of the same name.[9] The present council boundary has been adhered to in this thesis, following the model of the Buildings of Scotland *Borders* volume (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006). In the medieval and early modern period, 'The Borders' would have been identified with the administrative areas of the four sheriffdoms abovementioned, but would also have embraced Kirkcudbright and Dumfries. These last formed the Scottish 'West March'; Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles the 'Middle March'; and Berwick the 'East March'. The West March, which is cut off from the modern Scottish Borders by the band of Southern Uplands, is best dealt within the context of the modern boundaries of Dumfries & Galloway, however.

There is no similar problem with boundaries when looking at island groups; the main difficulty was in deciding which groups of islands should constitute a single study area. This was more difficult for the third case-study, but in the case of Shetland the question is simply whether or not to group it with its neighbour, Orkney. Orkney and Shetland were treated as separate volumes for the 1946 RCAHMS Inventory, but accompanied by a single introductory volume. Other series such as the RIAS/Landmark Trust Illustrated Architectural Guides (Finnie, 1990; Burgher, 1991) and Exploring Scotland's Heritage (Ritchie, 1997; Ritchie, 1996) have dealt with them separately.[10] In the early medieval period Shetland was withdrawn from the Norse earldom of Orkney so that the Norwegian Crown could exercise greater direct control. Both island groups were pledged to the Scottish Crown in 1468 and 1469, but for the preceding two hundred years Scottish possessors of the earldom had

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9 McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 27–9; 'History of Scottish Borders Council'; the official website of the Scottish Borders Council, www.scotborders.gov.uk.

10 Exploring Scotland's Heritage grouped Shetland and Orkney together in a single volume in the first edition, however (Ritchie, 1985).

exerted significant influence upon Orkney. Influence from mainland Scotland was only notable in Shetland after the 1472 annexation of the Northern Isles, and was particularly apparent from the later 16th century. By this time the pattern of landholding in Shetland was extremely fragmentary as 'odal tenure' persisted. Odal estates were obliged in tenure and heritable by division to male and female heirs, and most odal proprietors were absentee. There was an increase in the number of feudal tenures towards the end of the 16th century, and larger blocks of landholdings developed during the course of the 17th century as a result of consolidations through acquisitions of odal land. In terms of who built laird's houses and by what date, Orkney and Shetland are, in certain respects, quite different. In addition, sufficient numbers of laird's houses survive in both groups of islands for them to be treated separately and so Shetland will be considered alone in Chapter 6.

The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles have been dealt with in published surveys in a variety of ways. In the Buildings of Scotland series one volume covers the whole of the *Highland and Islands* (Gifford, 1992b); the Illustrated Architectural Guide for this area, *The Western Seaboard* (Miers, forthcoming), covers the Hebrides and Lochaber; and the RCAHMS Exploring Scotland's Heritage series includes the case-study area in *Argyll and the Western Isles* (Ritchie & Harman, 1985). However, the RCAHMS Inventory of 1928 does group these islands in the form presented here whereas the 'Southern Hebrides' are included in the seven-volume Inventory of Argyll (RCAHMS, 1971–92). The Western Isles, or Outer Hebrides, consists of five main islands: Lewis and Harris, North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist, and Barra. Today these are served by *Comnhairle nan Eilean Siar*, the Western Isles Council. To their east lies the northern group of Inner Hebrides which, together with Lochalsh, form one district of the modern Highland Council. This island group consists of Skye and Raasay and the four islands known collectively by their parish name of 'The Small Isles', that is Canna, Rum, Eigg and Muck. The 'Southern Hebrides' lies to the west of the Argyll coast and primarily consist of the large islands of Mull, Jura and Islay, and the smaller islands of Coll, Tiree, Colonsay and Oronsay. In the late medieval and early modern period this group of islands had greater affinities with its

neighbouring mainland provinces than with the other islands and for this reason they have been considered to fall outwith this case-study area.

The case-study areas provide the opportunity for examining the contrast between highland and lowland, and mainland and island; between landholding systems such as odal in Shetland and tacksmen in Skye; between other dwelling-types such as tower-houses and pele-houses in the Scottish Borders and merchants' böds on Shetland; and between different urban settings such as Galashiels, Lerwick and Stornoway. Crucially, they allow for the two main types of laird's houses to be discussed over three important periods: 1) the development of the Type I in the Scottish Borders (1560 to 1645); 2) the development of the Type I in Shetland (1589 to 1730); and 3) the development of the Type II in the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles (1670 to 1770), with a discussion of the Type I in this area. The next section will look at the process of data-gathering and the format of the gazetteer of each of these three areas.

3.4.2 Compiling the gazetteer

Draft gazetteers were compiled, during the early stages of this research, for each of the five provisional case-study areas, and partial ones for other areas as a research tool. Once the three final case-study areas had been chosen, a period of fieldwork followed, after which the gazetteers were revised – these are included as Appendices A to C and correspond with each case-study area as they are arranged in Part II. Sources and fieldwork methods will be discussed in this section, together with the rationale behind including the resultant gazetteer in this thesis. Here, a 'brief record' view and an explanation of its fields is included to illustrate how the entries in Appendices A to C have been arranged.

3.4.2.1 Sources and fieldwork

The gazetteer was first put together from easily accessible sources as a preliminary research tool. 'Laird's house' is not a well-understood term, which means that the most accessible sources of information do not always provide full information on them. The RCAHMS Thesaurus of Scottish Monument Types definition is

particularly succinct (*see* p.53) and was only published in August 2007. Before then, English Heritage's Thesaurus of Monument Types had been available (thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk) which includes a very brief description of a 'laird's house'. It will take several years for the 'type of site or building' of existing entries in the RCAHMS's online search engine, 'Canmore', to be reassessed (R. Bailey, *pers. comm.*). For example, the type of site or building field for Abertarff House in Inverness (*see* Figure 4.4) is marked as 'term pending'; in this thesis it is classed as a laird's house. It will be shown here that those that input data into the RCAHMS database have found it difficult to apply the term 'laird's house' consistently to sites and buildings. This difficulty reinforces the principal findings of the literature review (Chapter 2), that the existing definitions of 'laird's house' are out-of-date and the term is often misapplied. As a result, it was considered that providing a new and robust definition of the laird's house, together with an overview of its development, a selection of regional surveys, and draft gazetteers of each case-study area, would help address this problem.

Using Canmore, searches are possible using various fields, these are: site or building name; type of site or building; parish; council; former region; the RCAHMS unique identifier; and keywords. For Shetland, for example, it should have been straightforward to enter 'laird's house' in type of site or building and 'Shetland' for the council area to bring up all the RCAHMS results for this building type in that area. However, the 'type of site or building' definition for laird's houses can in fact range from 'country house' and 'mansion' (bearing in mind that many larger houses embody laird's houses at their core), 'lairds house', 'tacksmans house', 'residential', 'house', 'domestic', 'farmhouse', 'town house', 'manse', 'merchants house', 'storehouse' (for böds), and 'bastle'. Of these, several are, of course, extremely wide-ranging. The entries themselves are usually composed of an abridged Inventory extract (if one exists), together with any visit information by RCAHMS or OS investigators, any relevant data from the annual *Discovery and Excavation Scotland*, and sometimes a brief description using sources such as the Illustrated Architectural Guides, MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92) and Tranter (1962).

In addition to Canmore, the primary sources which were consulted to put together the preliminary gazetteer of laird's houses were: the RCAHMS Inventories; the Exploring Scotland's Heritage series; the Illustrated Architectural Guides; the Scottish Burgh Survey series; MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92); Tranter (1962); the Scottish Natural Heritage/Historic Scotland Inventories of Gardens and Designed Landscapes;[11] the Buildings of Scotland series; the Buildings at Risk Register (www.buildingsatrisk.org.uk, online since 2003); Historic Scotland Statutory List descriptions; and Historic Scotland Scheduled Monument documents.[12] Fieldwork was then undertaken in Shetland, Skye and Raasay, and the Scottish Borders in 1998–9. There have been opportunities to visit Lewis and Harris and Canna since then, but otherwise the few gazetteer entries for the remaining islands are reliant on the observations of others. The RCAHMS has undertaken detailed survey work on Canna, Eigg and Muck since 1994, and plans to put together a publication on the Small Isles once its survey of Rum has been completed. In the meantime, its survey data is available to consult in the RCAHMS archive, and a broadsheet on Canna has been published (RCAHMS, 1999a), as has a new edition of John Lorne Campbell's book on Canna (2002). Of the three case-study areas only the Highland portion the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) of 'Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles' is online (www.ambaile.org.uk/smr, since 2003), though this service does not include all the SMR data. The map-based search engine, 'PastMap', launched in 2004 and run by the RCAHMS (www.PastMap.org.uk), has included online SMRs since 2006. Other SMRs can only be consulted, together with the full version of the Highland SMR, by arrangement.

A number of other sources were also useful at the regional level. These have included: Dixon (1976) for the southern Borders; the Accessing Scotland's Past

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[11] Now maintained solely by Historic Scotland. Slightly altered version of the published inventories have been available on-line since 2007 at www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/index/gardens/gardens_inventory_intro/gardens_search.htm.

[12] Both the list descriptions and scheduling documents have been available online through PastMap since 2004. Fuller versions of the scheduling descriptions, visit information and slides or digital images by Monument Wardens, a photographic collection of listed buildings and Architect's Advisory Reports can be consulted at Historic Scotland, Edinburgh.

project (www.rcahms.gov.uk/asp) which enhanced RCAHMS data for the Merse (and the Cairngorms National Park) in 2002–3; extended notes on the western seaboard kindly loaned to the writer by Mary Miers; and Mike Finnie's 1996 gazetteer of Shetland 'haas' which was appended to Wishart (1999). The motivation behind the fieldwork was to ascertain the present condition of the laird's houses, to enhance those draft entries that had inadequate descriptions, and to take photographs of their external appearances. Access to the interiors of occupied buildings was limited by the nature of the rapid survey, as was taking measurements. The understanding of the development of laird's houses as a whole, in each of the three regions, and the evolution of the two main types has, however, been greatly expanded during the course of this research. The gazetteers have been regularly revised, though repeat visits to the buildings were a rarity.

3.4.2.2 Gazetteer layout

The gazetteers compiled for each of the case-study areas are arranged at the end of this thesis as Appendices A to C. Table 3.4 shows the layout of each gazetteer entry and Table 3.5 shows the type of information which populates each field. The entries appended to this thesis are described as 'brief records'. The limitations of the data and fieldwork have been discussed above. As each entry in the appendices has a unique identifier number, the relevant entry will be indicated in the main body of the thesis when appropriate. A nationwide gazetteer, and methods of data collection, fields and layout which could be applied to it, are discussed in Chapter 8, 'Conclusion', as it has been identified as a 'gap' which falls outwith the scope of this thesis. Tables showing a suggested layout for a 'full record' and an explanation of its fields are provided in Appendix D.

8 IMAGE(S)	1 UID	2 SITE NAME	13 DATE(S)	5 GRID REF	12 TYPE
	15 FULL DESCRIPTION				
caption	16 REFERENCES				

Table 3.4: Model layout for a brief record.

1	UNIQUE IDENTIFIER	UID of site composed of 'Region' number ID followed by a sequential number.
2	SITE NAME	Name of house. Further qualification may be required if another house of the same name exists/existed in the 'Region'. If in a town an address might be applicable.
4	'REGION'	'Region' relating to each of the case-study areas. Appears as page header and is implicit in field 1, UID.
5	GRID REFERENCE	OS 8-figure with map sheet reference.
8	IMAGE(S)	Each image should have a caption describing the view i.e. 'house from NE', '1st floor plan', date taken/drawn, and photographer/artist.
12	TYPE	Type I, Type II, both, or unidentified.
13	DATE(S)	Dates or date ranges of main phases.
15	FULL DESCRIPTION	**a) general condition, type and 'size', plan, number of storeys/bays, position of entrance;** **b) overall plan dimensions of the whole or part of the building which constitutes the 'laird's house';** **c) building materials;** **d) who or which family the house was built for, if known, including whether the occupant was a laird, minister, tacksman, tenant, etc.;** **e) mason/architect if known;** **f) the logic behind ascribing a particular date to its origin;** **g) any major alterations and additions (when, for whom, by whom?);** **h) date of abandonment or demolition if applicable;** **i) any details known about its internal planning, functions of rooms;** **j) decorative details** *e.g.* **surviving panelling, armorial panels, carved skewputts;** **k) details of its approach** *e.g.* **through courtyard, axial, tree-lined avenue;** **l) details of ancillary structures** *e.g.* **separate kitchen block, offices, walled garden;** **m) cross-references to any other linked gazetteer entry** *e.g.* **superseded**

		by…; **n) Other name(s) by which the site may be known, including alternative spellings and former names;** **o) current use.**
16	**REFERENCES**	References of sources with page numbers including unpublished or on-line sources and personal communications. Other UIDs *e.g.* RCAHMS number; SMR number; Listed Building number. Date of site visit by gazetteer compiler.

Table 3.5: Required fields for a brief record with explanatory notes.

In Appendices A to C, the entries are arranged alphabetically, ignoring prefixes such as 'The', 'New' and 'Old', to help with searching by the reader, however they are also given unique identifiers (A.1, A.2 and so on) which are used, where appropriate, in the main text. Standard abbreviations are used, such as for cardinal points, and short forms for references can be found in the List of Abbreviations (p.xxiii). The fields required for a 'brief record' are designed to be the minimum necessary to summarise the entry (site name, grid reference, and Type I or Type II) with the items listed as a) to o) under 'full description' in Table 3.5 the optimum information that would fully describe the entry. The field numbers used in the above tables correspond with the full record view and explanatory notes provided in Appendix D; hence they do not appear to be sequential. The national grid reference and other identifiers, such as the RCAHMS and SMR numbers (included in field 16: references in the brief record), would help to ensure that the entry is not confused with any other with a similar name. In choosing the fields used for both the brief and full records, the present writer has taken account of those used by Canmore and best practice for heritage documentation as recommended by the Council of Europe (1995).

3.5 Conclusion

A detailed account of the method adopted for this research, the scope of the resultant thesis, and the format of the gazetteer have been provided in this chapter, together with definitions of the 'laird' and 'laird's house'. Several examples of thematic, typological, national and regional studies of building types have been discussed in order to clarify the basis for the decision to combine a national overview of laird's houses with three regional studies. The starting point for the overview, typology and definitions, that is Dunbar's 1966 chapter in *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*

(65–92), has not yet been superseded. What has changed since the commencement of this research in 1998, however, is the range of accessible *i.e.* online resources, particularly PastMap, the Buildings at Risk Register, online SMRs, The Drawn Evidence (archive of Scottish architectural plans and drawings, 1780–2000, www.drawnevidence.ac.uk),[13] Shetland Museum and Archives Photo Library (photos.shetland-museum.org.uk/index.php), National Library of Scotland digitised maps (www.nls.uk/maps/index.html), and an enhanced SCRAN ('Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network', www.scran.ac.uk).

The architectural definition of a 'laird's house' is not as straightforward as 'a house of a laird'. Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 attempt to create an easy form of reference as they list all the different terms or types of dwellings which could be 'laird's houses' and those which are distinct from 'laird's houses. Table 3.1 attempts to show that 'laird's houses' could be the houses of a range of land*holders*, not just land*owners*. What has been provided in this chapter is a definition of a 'laird's house', the 'Type I laird's house' and, building on Dunbar (1966, 81), a definition of the 'Type II laird's house', with descriptions of the multitude of variations of both types. The summary definitions which have been provided in Section 3.3.2 are brought together in Table 3.6 below:

[13] The Drawn Evidence is currently offline due to server problems; there are, however, plans to re-establish online access in the medium term (M. Bolik, *pers. comm.*, 17-09-07).

LAIRD'S HOUSE	
A masonry-built, gable-ended, dwelling-house, typically two to two-and-a-half storeys, three to six bays in width, with a one-room deep rectangular-plan (main variations are the L- and T-plan), that was built from the mid-16th century (*infra*) until *c.* 1800 by proprietors, usually of the lairdly class, or by major tenants in town or country. It has two main types, defined here as 'Type I', which can be described as vernacular in style, and 'Type II', which is better described as 'polite architecture'.	
TYPE I	**TYPE II**
Type I laird's houses were built until *c.* 1700. Until *c.* 1650 the principal accommodation (an open hall and chamber) was located on the ground or first floor. In the latter, it was usually reached by a forestair or stairtower over a service ground floor which might contain the kitchen. Fenestration would be irregularly disposed. From *c.* 1650 ground floor living rooms become more common with an internal stair roughly centrally-placed. The openings on the main façade would be vertically aligned. The house would normally be approached through a tight courtyard with ancillary buildings. The Type I could be said to be 'vernacular' in style.	Built from the 1690s until *c.* 1800. Until *c.* 1740 the Type II was typically five-bay and the main living rooms (at least the kitchen and parlour) were on the ground floor. The entrance would be centrally-placed on the main façade, whose fenestration would be symmetrically arranged. The disposition of rooms was not necessarily symmetrical. From *c.* 1740 the Type II was built with, typically, three broader bays with larger windows and a roof of shallower pitch. The Type II was usually approached axially through a forecourt which might have had flanking wings. The Type II could be said to be 'polite' in style.

Table 3.6: Summary definition of a 'laird's house' and the two main types.

Problematic building types, such as the farmhouse, have been discussed above because of the potential for it to overlap with the Type II. The overarching definition of the laird's house and of two main sub-groups, however, have developed from, and have enabled the enhancement of, a gazetteer of the three regional areas included in this study. These definitions and the national overview (Chapter 4) are a necessary prerequisite to the creation of a national gazetteer, discussed in Chapter 8. Even in their 'brief record' form, the gazetteer entries provided in Appendices A to C could supplement existing RCAHMS and SMR records, and in some cases, provide the basis for new entries. In this way the gazetteers, the national overview, and regional studies provide both a clearer understanding of the 'laird's house' as a building type, and the basis for future research on this topic.

Chapter 4 The Laird's Houses of Scotland: An Overview

4.1 Introduction

Laird's houses are those dwellings which meet certain criteria developed in this thesis, as set out in Chapter 3. Laird's houses can be usefully divided into two key types, and their development discussed over three periods. To recap, these are: 1) the origin of the Type I laird's house; 2) the development of the Type I laird's house, and; 3) the origin and development of the Type II laird's house. The three case-study regions in Part II were chosen to illustrate each of these three categories. To provide a broader context it is necessary to look at various themes on a national basis and detail the social and political world in which the lairds themselves lived.

The key events which signalled the emergence of the minor laird, and thus the laird's house, will be discussed in this chapter. Around the middle of the 16th century the land market change significantly as the conversion of kirklands into feu-farm accelerated around the time of the Reformation of 1560. Over the later part of the 16th century, therefore, economic circumstances and opportunities were such that many longstanding customary tenants were able to gain a more stable foothold than previously and small and middle-sized lairdly families increased their portfolios. The 17th century was turbulent, particularly between the succession of Charles I in 1625 and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, and so, it tends to be towards the end of this period that significant changes can be observed in the laird's house. However, the class of small laird, and thus the small laird's house, was sustained by restricted growth due to labour-intensive agrarian and fishing practices and the almost continual flux in politics. Finally, the concept of Improvement came about in the years which preceded the Union of the Parliaments (1707), and with it, the first 'improved' laird's houses were built. Around the middle of the 18th century, the decline in dwellings built by lairds in the laird's house form is noticeable and the type is found instead as a model for the houses of factors and substantial farmers.

Estate improvement came with a financial cost and rents suffered in times of hardship such as famine or epidemic. As a consequence, debt finally crushed many long-standing families and changed the characteristics of what constituted a 'laird' for ever. All of the events relating to the historical contexts provided in this, and the next three, chapters are brought together in Table 4.1 for ease of reference. The reader should note that events listed under each region do not necessarily indicate that they happened within, or were confined to, the geographical extent of the area.

Without the benefit of surviving 'laird's houses' which date to before *c.* 1570, other house types that do survive from this period must be considered to help shape theories about what form the first laird's houses took. In this, the tower-house, hall, town house, Renaissance country house and tenant's house are discussed. A key point to emerge from comparing later laird's houses, such as Abertarff, built in 1593, to contemporary tower-houses is that they share a similar architectural vocabulary but that it does not necessarily follow that the laird's house developed *from* the tower-house. Also, domestic hall ranges of tower-houses, such as at the early 17th-century Murroes House, may provide a more direct link to the laird's house. The mid-16th century example of a one-and-a-half storey house of a crown tenant at Finlaggan in Islay is considered to highlight less prestigious antecedents of houses built by large tenants or new feuars. The key feature of the Type I laird's houses is the open hall, whether situated on the ground or first floor. Two late 16th-century examples of the latter built on either side of the Forth, Grange House and Bay House, are discussed followed by two 17th-century examples which preserve evidence of ground-floor halls, Pitcastle and Balsarroch, in Perthshire and Wigtownshire. As has been discussed at length in Chapter 3, terminology is particularly problematic when studying laird's houses. The use of the term 'bastle', defined broadly as a semi-fortified farmhouse, has been applied to many examples of late 16th- and early 17th-century houses. However, it is argued in this chapter that several could be termed unfortified 'laird's houses'. Furthermore, Joachim Zeune (1992, 149) defines a group of houses from that period as the Scottish equivalent of German *saalgeschosshauses*, rather than hall houses, bastles, or laird's houses.

John Dunbar (1996, 81–2) has suggested several possible antecedents of the Type II laird's house. These are: 1) the late development of the Type I laird's house; 2) the now lost Cromwellian citadel forts of the mid-17th century; 3) the influence of the houses of the lesser English gentry; 4) the influence of Sir William Bruce and his fellow architects from 1670; and 5) pattern books. All of these suggestions will be examined in this chapter; to which is added the early 18th-century Hanoverian barracks and, developing from item four above, the influence of the mason. One of the most fundamental changes between the Type I and Type II is the passing of the hall in favour of the parlour. This change can be observed in a few examples of the Type I, built or remodelled between 1620 and *c.* 1660, in which English models would appear to have been influential. A mid-18th-century example of a Type II laird's house is then described, as are various developments, such as the service-basement and pavilions, and unusual variations such as the double-pile plan. In conclusion, the ways in which the 18th-century Type II laird's house became a model for other types of dwelling are considered.

4.2 The historical context, 1560–1770

It is important to first describe the historical circumstances which shaped the 'laird' over the period in which laird's houses emerged, developed, and flourished, and how the 'laird's house' form goes on to be mirrored in later house types. As has been discussed in the preceding chapter, the term 'laird' was applied to a large body of men of varying means; however, for the purposes of this discussion, it is pertinent to focus on the group who lived in, and may be credited with the functional and aesthetic development of, the 'laird's house'.

	Scotland	Scottish Borders	Shetland	Western Isles, Skye, and the Small Isles
1500	**James IV (1488–1513)** 9 Sep 1513: ⚔ Flodden **James V (1513–42)** *1515–17, 1520–2 & 1523–4: John Stewart, 4th Duke of Albany* *1517–20, 1522–3 & 1524–5: group led by James Hamilton, 1st Earl of Arran* *1525–8: Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus* 1543–51: Eight Years War/'Rough Wooing' 1547: death of Henry VIII of England	1535: Act for Buildings of Strength on the Borders Aug 1542: ⚔ Hadden Rigg 24 Nov 1542: ⚔ Solway Moss Feb 1545: ⚔ Ancrum Moor 1547: Eyemouth Fort built by Edward Seymour, Lord Protector		
1550	**Mary I (Queen of Scots) (1542–67)** *1542–54: James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault* *1554–60: Mary of Guise* *1567–70: James Stewart, Earl of Moray* 1557–59: Anglo-French War 1559: Elizabeth I accedes to English throne 1560: Scottish Reformation 1567–73: The Marian Civil War **James VI and I (1567–1625)** *1570: Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox* *1570–1: John Erskine, 1st Earl of Mar* *1571–81: James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton* *1581–2: Esmé Stuart, 1st Duke of Lennox* *1582–3: William Ruthven, 1st Earl of Gowrie* *1584–5: James Stewart, Earl of Arran* 1586: England–Scotland Treaty or 'League' 1587: Shire Commissioners Act 1594–1603: The Nine Years War 1596–8: Octavians seize control of financial administration of government	1550: Treaty of Boulogne, under which English withdrew from Eyemouth, Lauder and Roxburgh 13 May 1568: ⚔ Langside 1569: The Northern Rebellion (England) 1587: First Maxwell Revolt (Pro-Catholic rebellion led by John, 8th Lord Maxwell, West March) 1588: Second Maxwell Revolt	1565–93: Lord Robert Stewart 1571–1617: Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie in Shetland 1593–1615: Lord Patrick Stewart	1597: statute, chiefs to prove land ownership by 1598 1598–1601: First attempt by the Fife Adventurers to colonise Lewis
1600	1603: Union of the Crowns **Charles I (1625–49)** 1625: Act of Revocation 28 Feb 1638: The National Covenant 1639: First Bishops' War 1640: Second Bishops' War 1642–6: The First Civil War (England) 25 Sep 1643: The Solemn League & Covenant 1647–9: Covenanters control Scots government	Feb 1605: 'Middle Shires' of Scotland and England and commission of justiciary established 1611: Border guard disbanded	1611: Lord Patrick Stewart imprisoned 1611: abolition of the 'Danish laws' by the Privy Council Aug 1614: Rising by Robert Stewart	1605–07: Second attempt by Fife Adventurers 1609: Third attempt by Fife Adventurers 1609: Band and Statutes of Iona 1614–15: Islay Rebellion 1616: Privy Council regulations
1650	**Charles II (1649–85)** 3 Sep 1651: ⚔ Worcester **1651–60: Interregnum** *1651–8: Oliver Cromwell* *1658–60: Richard Cromwell* 1652: First Anglo-Dutch War 1660: The Restoration of the Monarchy 1660–63: Navigation Acts 1662: Act of Indemnity 1665–7: Second Anglo-Dutch War 1672–4: Third Anglo-Dutch War 1678–88: The 'Killing Time' 1679: Covenanters' rebellion **James VII and II (1685–9)** 1688–9: The English Glorious Revolution 1689–90: The Revolution Settlement **William II and Mary II (1689–1694)** **William II (1694–1702)** 1696–1700: severe famines 1698–1700: Darien Scheme		1655–7: Fort Charlotte built in Lerwick	1653: Cromwellian fort built in Stornoway 1689–90: First Jacobite Rising 27 Jul 1689: ⚔ Killiecrankie 1 May 1690: ⚔ Cromdale 6 Feb 1692: Massacre of Glencoe
1700	**Anne (1702–14)** 1702–13: Queen Anne's War/War of the Spanish Succession 1707: The Act of Union **George I (1714–27)** **George II (1727–60)**		1712: Salt Tax	1701: death of James VII 1708: Second Jacobite Rising 1715–16: Third Jacobite Rising 13 Nov 1715: ⚔ Sheriffmuir 1719: Fourth Jacobite Rising 10 Jun 1719: ⚔ Glenshiel 1720–3: Bernera Barracks built 1745–6: Fifth Jacobite Rising/'The Forty-Five' 21 Sep 1745: ⚔ Prestonpans 17 Jan 1746: ⚔ Falkirk 16 Apr 1746: ⚔ Culloden 1747: Heritable Jurisdictions Act
1750	1754, 1756–63: Seven Years War **George III (1760–1820)** 1770: Entail or Montgomery Act 1775–83: French Revolutionary and War of American Independence 1792–1815: Napoleonic Wars		1783: Fort Charlotte rebuilt	1752–84: Commission of the Annexed Estates 1766: death of 'James VIII' 1784: Highland and Agriculture Society established 1788: death of 'Charles III' 1792: 'Year of the Sheep'
1800				

Table 4.1: Timeline of the historical events mentioned in the thesis. The shaded areas indicate the main periods covered by each case-study chapter.

During the first half of the 16th century extensive tracts of crown lands were converted from leasehold to feu-farm during the reigns of James IV and James V. Over time, though the outlay associated with the feu proved to be too great a burden for some, many new feuars prospered due to the reducing effect of inflation on their annual feu duty (Madden, 1976, 70; Devine & Lythe, 1971, 98 & 105). They also had greater security as feu-farm usually resulted in a more stable pattern of landholding than kindly tenancy (Sanderson, 2002, 13 & 26). One example is the feu of the royal mill of Denmylne in Fife which was granted to Patrick Balfour, son of the previous tenant, by James V in 1541; the Balfours had sufficient resources to built a relatively substantial tower-house there soon afterwards (RCAHMS, 1933, 3–4). Margaret Sanderson's (1982, 66) analysis of surviving ecclesiastical feu charters shows that most were issued in the two decades either side of the Reformation settlement. About 16% of late 15th- and 16th-century charters of kirklands were granted to lairds, a similar proportion to laird's kinsmen, but about half went to tenants. Only 3% were granted to nobles or their kin. A significant proportion – more than 10% – were burgesses or professionals (*ibid*, 77). These figures do not equate with the physical extent and value of land that was feued but Sanderson (2002, 31) remarks that, in the 16th century, longstanding tenant families "were not so removed socially from the gentry and cadets of noble families as their descendants were to become"; there are recorded instances of marriages between these groups, for example.

The fortunes of kindly tenants were mixed, but those who held their lands by customary possession for several generations might attain a reasonably high standard of living. For example, the 1584 testament of a feuar on the Scone Abbey lands in Perthshire, William Small, included goods worth almost £2,000. His ancestors had held their lands there by a succession of life-leases from at least 1465 and then as feuers after 1560.

> It is customary to see the coming of feu-ferm as bringing the tenants who could afford it the kind of security which would encourage them to develop

> [*sic.*] their farms and so prosper. However, it may be that tenants-turned-feuars like William Small of Fortherans… also built on the advantages of longterm possession and a knowledge of the land which their families had worked for a hundred years (*ibid*, 16).

It should be remembered that not all land was converted to feu-farm. Peculiar to Orkney and Shetland is a landholding system called odal tenure which created both odal proprietors and odal tenants. This system is discussed at length in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.2). Elsewhere, Carmont (1909–10, 323) highlights the rentallers of the Four Towns of Lochmaben (Higtae, Smallholm, Heck and Greenhill) in Dumfriesshire who had probably held their lands from the Crown since the 14th century, and exceptionally, had the right to alienate their holdings to strangers. Forty of the Lochmaben kindly tenants still existed in the early 20th century.

In any event, during the middle and later 16th century, there would appear to have been a growing body of individuals who could both afford to build substantial dwellings *and* had greater security of possession. Brown (2003, 266) describes "a growing population within the landed community scrambling to grab their share of a highly volatile land market". This pattern would have been most characteristic in the fertile areas of Scotland where large ecclesiastical holdings had existed. It follows that small proprietors became most numerous in these areas, in counties such as Fife, Angus and Ayrshire (Sanderson, 1982, 77 & 89). Professionals, merchants and prosperous artisans invested in the same counties towards the later 16th and early 17th century. Di Folco (1979, 1–2) has studied the fortunes of the talented lawyer Thomas Hope who prepared Charles I's deed of Revocation in 1625 and became Lord Advocate. In 1619 Hope acquired the barony of Craighall in Fife – a sound investment that would have carried with it a certain cachet. In the later 17th century, most recipients of kirkland feu charters were nobles and greater lairds (Brown, 2004, 27). We may hypothesise that one reason for the paucity of surviving laird's houses of a 16th-century date is that many became redundant after only a couple of generations as the lands of some of the small proprietors were subsumed into larger holdings. However, some of the new feuars survived and their families flourished.

James VI's statute of 1587 admitting shire representation in parliament by freeholders was one expression of his desire to loosen the stranglehold the nobility had on state affairs. These 'freeholders' were, nevertheless, substantial proprietors given the clause that their land must be valued at above forty shillings of old extent;[14] but some of them would have been 'new' men who had benefited from the acquisition of feudal land and risen through court offices (Goodare, 2001, 1118, 1127). Lairds of all degrees benefited from the relative stability of James's reign pre- and post-Union, which enabled those who had interests in new industries, such as coal-mining and salt-panning, to profit. The king was determined to exert his authority over borderers and highlanders; the policies of his government are discussed more fully in Chapters 5 and 7 but one notable outcome that should be mentioned here was greater intercourse with the lowlands by the lairds of both of these areas. It was in lowland Scotland that the Scottish Renaissance developed and from here that architectural features, interior décor and furnishing spread to the houses of lairds throughout Scotland.

By around 1600, the 'laird's house' could be found in most parts of the country. A few of these, built up to the middle of the 17th century, have been described as 'transitional' because they share features with the tower-house. The heyday of the Type I laird's house is a long one – from the Union of the Crowns until about 1690. During this time there are some modifications, but in appearance the type varied little. This was, perhaps, symptomatic of troubled economic conditions brought about by decades of political instability, war and protectionism. Charles I succeeded in alienating a great many landholders through his Act of Revocation, ratified by parliament in 1633, as it applied to all those who had been previously granted kirklands and teinds, heritable jurisdictions and feudal tenures. Similarly, many Scottish merchants suffered through his 1634 impost on coal export which resulted in the complete transfer of the Dutch market to England (MacInnes, 1991, 54, 118).

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[14] In 16th-century Scotland, public land valuations that existed were 'old extent' (1326) and 'new extent' (1366) with the former being the more prestigious of the two and used for parliamentary taxation. They had little relationship with current values, however, Goodare (2001, 1118) has estimated that a freeholder worth 40 shillings of old extent in 1587 would have been "a substantial landed proprietor – a laird".

This recession was fuelled further by the material cost of war – that is, devastated harvests, depreciation, taxation and emigration – both at home, with the Bishops Wars of 1639–40, and as affected by the English Civil Wars over 1642–51.

The Interregnum brought lasting administrative changes, but fiscal policy continued to favour England over Scotland. Dunbar (1966, 82) suggests that the buildings within the four Cromwellian citadels erected during the 1650s, in Ayr, Perth, Inverness and Leith, may have had some influence on the development of the Type II laird's house; this possibility is analysed later in this chapter. Like these citadels, which were thrown down after the Restoration, many nobles who had supported the Commonwealth suffered fines and forfeitures under the 1662 Act of Indemnity to compensate Royalists returning from exile (Mitchison, 1982, 244, 250). The economy remained depressed, thwarted again by English embargoes during the Second Dutch War of 1665–7, which cut Scotland off from its best customer, as Cromwell had done during the first war of 1652–4. The Duke of Lauderdale, John Maitland, effectively 'ruled' Scotland for the first two-thirds of Charles II's reign. It was Lauderdale's post-1666 Privy Council which introduced some far-reaching changes, including allowing markets and fairs outside the burghs, which led to the birth of modern Scots law. Though England maintained its stance on customs, Glasgow contravened the Navigation Acts by developing trade links with the colonies and as a result the burgh grew rapidly. As the 17th century progressed, contact with England increased, particularly through the cattle and linen trades. At the same time, the influence of English approaches to the design of domestic architecture on the houses of "patrons whose lives were spent on the political stage in London" (Cruft, 2003, 48) can be seen in the great mansions which crowned their Scottish estates, such as Sir William Bruce's (1630–1710) remodelling of Thirlestane Castle for Lauderdale in 1670–6.

The new classicism was perhaps more genteel than that of the Scottish Renaissance. The external changes apparent in the laird's house can be summed up as a greater preference for symmetrical façades and axial approaches. More significant are internal changes, that is: the centrally-placed staircase, the placing of the principal

accommodation on the ground rather than first floor, and, in some instances, the double-pile plan. By the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the square-plan, double-pile, hipped-roofed villa makes its first appearance in east-central Scotland. The influence of Sir William Bruce and his circle is far-reaching, both over long distances and across many levels of society, in a relatively short time span. An important element in understanding how these new ideas influenced the Type II laird's house is establishing the method by which they were spread, through 'carriers' such as masons and pattern book subscribers, and this will be explored in greater detail in a later section.

Rosalind Mitchison (1982, 293) describes the 'domestic revolution' – first evident in the improved living standards of substantial farmers and ministers of the Lothians in the 1680s and '90s – as a development that went hand-in-hand with better farming practices such as liming the soil and the extension of arable. Improved productivity enabled greater surplus to be transformed into cash which, with one eye on the English Joneses, could be spent on home improvement. This trend has also been observed in the houses of tenants who were building up larger holdings and diversifying into part-time professions such as factoring as "the pace of agrarian change quickened… particularly after the Restoration, with an increasing trend towards commercialisation in agriculture" (Whyte, 1975, 65). Despite the famine of the 1690s, the advances of the preceding decade enabled larger tenants and small proprietors to survive. However, the impact of both European trade and of war – including the 1689–91 trade slump in Baltic and French markets, and the 1702–13 Anglo-French war – together with the massive failure of the Darien Scheme, combined to slow the introduction or application of Improvement and, perhaps along with this, the building of Improved laird's houses (Type IIs) throughout Scotland.

Jacobitism, with its origin in the 1689 Revolution followed by successive post-Union Rebellions, led to many lairds being punished by fines and forfeiture. This affected the acceptance of new ideas, with the greatest impact being on predominantly Jacobite areas. Counter-measures to the Rebellions mirrored Cromwell's fortification programme, but on a much larger scale. Fort William, of 1690, was followed by the

barracks built at Ruthven, Bernera (Glenelg), Kiliwhimen (Fort Augustus), and Inversnaid (Stirlingshire) by the Board of Ordnance in 1718–23. Plans survive, as do the substantial ruins of Ruthven and Bernera. The tenements within them had a much longer life-span than those of the 1650s. It has been suggested that Bernera's double tenements, with their M-gables, served as a model for laird's houses built in North-West Ross within the two decades that followed its completion (Beaton, 1994, 168). The first Type II laird's houses in the north-west highlands and islands were also being built at this time and several examples are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

After 1707 a fairer customs and excise policy allowed Scotland to begin to catch up with its neighbour. 'Polite society' very much aspired to the lifestyles of the English gentry, who were developing a taste for greater functional division of space and had a greater concern for "stylistic correctness" (Cooper, 2002a, 28), and so fresh architectural solutions (such as pavilion wings) found their way into laird's houses, while the square-plan villa became increasingly popular. An important change was a marked decline in the numbers of small proprietor in the countryside. In Aberdeenshire, for example, the number of landowners began to fall and the size of individual estates increased during the second half of the 17th century; a trend which continued well into the 18th century. At the same time, the few small estates were being bought by men from outwith the lairdly class – merchants, lawyers, soldiers, administrators or colonial entrepreneurs (Callander, 1986, 5 & 7). As the Improvement era took hold, the Type II laird's house slipped down the social scale, becoming the model for the lairds' home farmhouses, and for the houses of tacksmen, factors, ministers and substantial farmers. Across Scotland as a whole, the last houses that can be termed 'laird's houses' were built in the late 18th century, reflecting both a significant shift in the scale of estate management and the much greater variety of acceptable country house styles.

There is, hardly surprisingly, a great deal of regional variation relating to the period during which laird's houses were built, as well as their prevalence or otherwise in any one area, and the specific architectural preferences demonstrated in layout and detail. Some groups will be identified in the text below, in particular those which fall

outwith the main case-study regions but which nevertheless illustrate pertinent themes.

4.3 The origins of the 'laird's house'

Around the middle of the 16th century tower-houses were still the prevalent form of lordly home, the scale of which corresponded with the means (or aspirations) of the laird or noble. There is a much greater body of evidence for tower-houses than laird's houses of this period. Traditionally, the tower-house has been seen as the blueprint for the laird's house. However, in this section, several other possible antecedents or influences are considered from the hall building which often formed one of the ancillary buildings associated with tower-houses (Section 4.3.1.1), to the social mobility of the tenant and how this may have been reflected in their houses (Section 4.3.2), to non-tower-like yet prestigious dwellings in burghs (Section 4.3.3). In more general terms, the Renaissance is considered in discussing early Scottish Country Houses in Section 4.3.4.

This writer would query whether such houses should be termed in this way, as such terminology suggests that laird's houses were conceived as squat tower-houses and directly derived from towers. Rather, it is suggested here that 'hybrid' laird's houses merely shared an architectural vocabulary with the tower-house and that the two building types developed in parallel over the later 16th and early 17th centuries. An hypothesis will be set out below.

4.3.1 The tower-house

"The laird's house of the seventeenth century evolved directly from the late medieval tower-house, but the development was so gradual as to make nonsense of any attempt at neat classification" (Dunbar, 1966, 66). Most references to laird's houses and their origin have repeated this statement. As outlined above, there are several other possible antecedents for the laird's house and the present author would query whether the laird's house should be seen as being directly derivative of the tower-house.

In this section one example of a 16th-century tower-house is described (illustrated below) which was, helpfully for the purposes of this discussion, later juxtaposed with a laird's house in the 18th century.

Figure 4.1: Hills Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire, from the north-east, *c.* 1530 tower with *c.* 1598 upperwork and 1721 house. © Peter Nicholson & Peter Armstrong, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Hills Tower, Kirkcudbright, is a simple and fairly complete example of a tower-house built in the second quarter of the 16th century. It survives within a barmkin wall with a gatehouse of 1598 on the west side. A contract of 4 April 1721 to build a new house on "the southeast end" stipulated that materials could be quarried from another house, "on the east side of the Close".[15] It is not clear if the mason did appropriate the material from the existing building as Francis Grose's illustration of 1789 (1789–91, II, pl. facing 185) includes a range on the east side of the barmkin which was subsequently demolished. The interior of the barmkin was excavated in

[15] RCAHMS archive, NX97SW 5, 'Hills Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire', typescript of contract, D3.23 HIL(P). Original ref: Ardwell Papers, vol 49, 12.

1970 and uncovered its footings (Maxwell-Irving, 2000, 149), however, the results have not yet been published.

The tower-house at Hills consists of four stories and a garret. It is rectangular in plan and measures 9.1 by 7.4 m over walls 1.4 m thick on the basement floor and 1.2 m above. The main entrance is surmounted by an armorial panel and, once through the doorway, the turnpike on the right provided access to the first-floor hall whilst a doorway straight ahead led into the vaulted basement. The basement measures 2.7 m high to its crown and was lit by four slit-windows. Each upper floor seems to have originally contained one room only (though timber partitions cannot be ruled out) with internal measurements of 6.3–6.9 m by 4.7–5.0 m. The wall-walk which surrounds the garret displays features typical of the late 16th century and is accessed from a caphouse (*ibid*, 149–53). Tower-houses without wall-walks were beginning to be built shortly after the Reformation, though the wall-walk remained a favoured architectural device for some time (Dunbar, 1966, 67). A summary of the accommodation provision at Hills is simple: the ground-floor served as storage; the hall, which was the most accessible room of the residence, was located on the first floor; and there were sleeping chambers on the three floors above.

The prevailing view in castle studies is that, while defence of possessions might warrant certain architectural provision, the medieval castle or tower represented "a clear statement of the standing, power and lineage of that owner" (Fawcett, 1994b, 237). Small proprietors, relatively secure tenants and new feuars may well have aspired to tower-houses such as Hills built by Edward Maxwell (†1546), the laird of Lochrutton, "a man of considerable wealth and influence" (Maxwell-Irving, 2000, 149). However, it need not follow that a laird's house should be regarded as a cut-down version of a tower-house.

Dunbar (1966, 71) has offered an hypothesis that:

> …the most significant developments from tower-house to laird's house were those relating to plan form…. Thus it came about that proprietors who, unable to aspire to a full-scale courtyard lay-out, nevertheless felt unduly

> restricted with an orthodox tower-house, found that an acceptable compromise could be achieved by limited longitudinal expansion….

As has been discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2), the once-dominant view of the tower-house as an isolated structure has been largely superseded (Tabraham, 1988, 274–5). It also follows that early laird's houses, like their successors, were accompanied by ancillary buildings. A small tower-house and its complex, perhaps laid out as one or more courtyards, and possibly including a range of farm buildings, would not have been particularly restrictive for the small proprietor. Therefore, laird's houses cannot be seen simply in terms of a longitudinal expansion of tower-houses in order to gain additional floor-space in the knowledge that both types were accompanied by ancillary structures.[16]

A rectangular-plan vaulted or un-vaulted two-storey house need not be inextricably linked for its derivation to the thick-walled, vaulted tower-house. There may be other, more straightforward sources for the earliest two-storey laird's houses, such as the a simple vertical extension of one- or one-and-a-half storey tenant's houses or halls with lofts that formed part of tower-houses complexes. As the laird's house developed in the later 16th-century, however, there is evidence of shared features whether the house of the laird was a two-storey house or a three-storey tower. In the first place, the hall building and the tower-house/hall relationship is considered further below.

4.3.1.1 The tower and the hall

Tower-houses were often the nucleus of, or were added to, more substantial castles and one range of a castle complex was often a hall (Tabraham, 1988, 274–5). The juxtaposition of tower and hall has a long medieval pedigree; two examples on the

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[16] Dunbar's suggestion might be more applicable when considering the proprietor of greater means who sought to extend his principal accommodation by building or enlarging a tower-house which resulted in a rectangular plan with a length considerably greater than its width. One example is Melgund Castle, which has a length to width ratio of 2.5:1 (31.7 by 12.5 m). It consists of a four-storey L-plan tower with an interconnecting two-storey range and was conceived as a single entity after 1543 for Cardinal Beaton to house his mistress and family (Dunbar 1971, 71; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, VI (1892), 316; Fawcett, 1997, 93).

Anglo-Scottish border discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.1) are the late-14th century Branthwaite Hall in Cumbria and the mid-16th century Cowdenknowes in Berwickshire. There is some evidence to suggest that this pairing filtered down to tower-house-builders of lesser status than the Lords Home of Cowdenknowes. Examples from south and east Scotland are discussed here; in particular, the hall building is carefully considered as one possible antecedent of the laird's house.

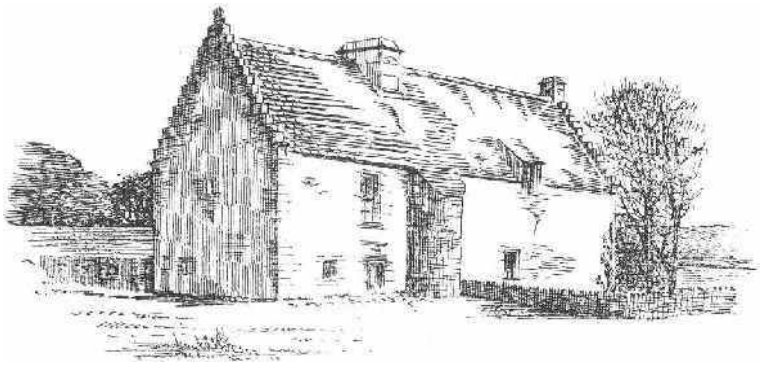

Figure 4.2: Murroes House, Angus, late 16th and early 17th century, from the west. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), p.355.

Murroes House in Angus is an intriguing example of a much-altered tower-house and hall which was built by the Fotheringhams of Wester Powrie, presumably as a second residence or for a younger son, probably in the late 16th century. The north end of the present west range represents a small square-plan tower-house (left of the stair projection in Figure 4.2), the remainder represents the former hall range. It now reads as a long one-and-a-half- to two-storey house. Offices survive on the west side of the courtyard and traces survive on the north side also. David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross (1887–92, IV (1892), 354–5) did not note that the west range had been composed of two elements; this seems to have resulted from the facts that many features were covered by harling and they had limited access to the interior. The tower is acknowledged by the Statutory List Description (HB NUM: 19011), revised in 1991, however, the adjacent 'range' is described in its present form and not interpreted as a hall. An excursion of the Vernacular Architecture Group in April 1981 inspired some investigative work by the then owners which led to a resurvey of the structure by the RCAHMS. The present entrance to the hall range is through a porch at the mid-point of its courtyard wall; surviving jamb stones suggest that it was

originally a fireplace formed within a lateral chimneystack. The interior floor level was lower than at present and the original entrance was on the east side. The hall was ceiled and the lateral stack converted at an early date, probably at the end of the 17th century.[17] The original form of Murroes might be reflected in Easter Fordel, Perthshire, which has been described as a "diminutive tower with later wing incorporating a projecting ingle" (G. Stell in Stell & Walker, 1981, n.p.).

The complex of buildings at Smailholm, Roxburghshire, which includes a tower and hall, is described in detail in the next chapter (Section 5.3.2). It is useful to highlight it here as the hall building is much eroded when compared to Murroes and Easter Fordel but it has been excavated in 1979–81 (Good & Tabraham, 1988). All three examples retain evidence for a lateral stack on the courtyard side although it has been attributed to a *c.* 1645 reworking in the case of Smailholm; the interpretations of Phase I (Figure 5.6, p.199) and II (Figure 5.31, p.246) at Smailholm can be compared. The link between hall ranges of 16th-century tower-house complexes and laird's houses might be illustrated by Loch Dochart Castle in western Stirlingshire, shown below.

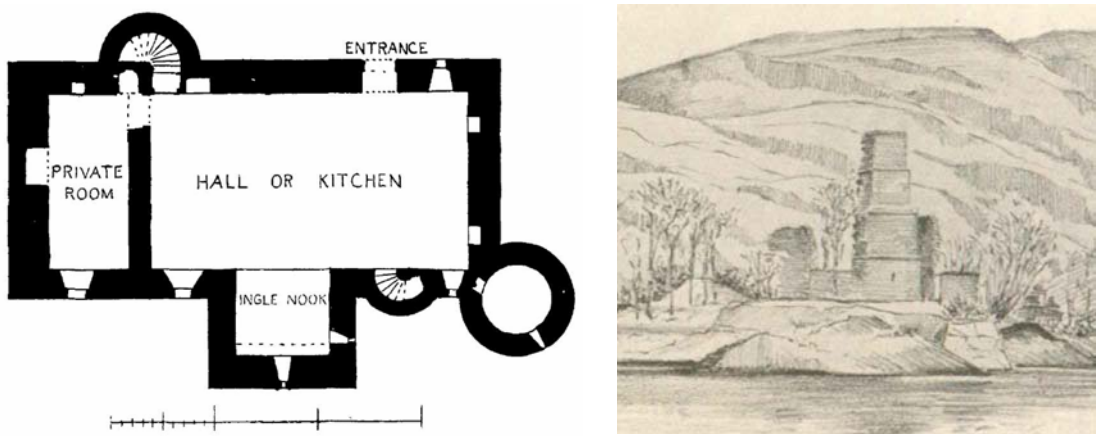

Figure 4.3: Loch Dochart Castle, Stirlingshire, ground-floor plan and view from the south-west by Thomas Ross. Place, 1906, figs 4 & 14, p.363 & p.368. © The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

[17] The author is indebted to Geoffrey Stell for highlighting the RCAHMS survey, providing copies of letters from John Coyne, the then owner, of 1981, copies of correspondence between O. P. Thompson, the then owner, and J. Nicoll, parish minister, and J. Nicoll and Thomas Ross, of 1925, and his own notes relating to the RCAHMS survey.

According to *The Black Book of Taymouth* (35), compiled between 1598 and 1648, "The howss of Lochdochart" was built on an island in the loch of the same name for Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh Laird of Glenorchy "for the workmanship quhairof he gaiff twa thowsand markis, anno". Its date of building is therefore likely to lie within the period of Sir Duncan's lairdship, 1583–1631, and it was razed by Royalist forces in 1646 (*ibid*, 100). The interior of the ruin was cleared of loose stone and vegetation by the owners in the 1890s; their account, accompanied by plans and drawings by Thomas Ross, was published in 1906 (Place, 1906). The rectangular-plan house once reached two-and-a-half-storeys, had a round tower at the south-east corner, two half-round stairtowers and a large projecting inglenook. A tympanum of one dormer window was recorded in the debris and the ruins of two other rectangular buildings were noted on the flatter parts of the island which probably originally served as offices (*ibid*, 358 & 364).

Zeune (1992, 262) bases his interpretation of the house on this earlier account (Place, 1906, 362) and describes the ground floor as consisting of a hall "with solar[18] and a small kitchen in the 'ingle-nook'". In a study of the Glenorchy Campbell castles, Dalglish (2005, 253) suggests that Loch Dochart had the conventional arrangement of kitchen and offices on the ground floor with hall and chamber above. The definition of an inglenook can be quite broad, but it is not, in itself, a 'kitchen'. Ray Marshall (1983–4, 29) published a preliminary survey of the inglenook in Scotland and, for his purposes, has defined it as "a hearth in a chimney recess, large enough to accommodate seating around the fire". He goes on to describe it as having been "a common feature of Scottish houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but passed from favour with the introduction of the symmetrical house" (*ibid*). Place (1906, 358) describes a narrow window in the east gable which went through "two storeys" which most likely indicates that the large east room was an open hall.

The theme of the hall will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections, in particular when describing the characteristic Type I laird's house (Section 4.4.2) and

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[18] The 'solar' is really a term borrowed from English castles. In Scotland hall and laird's or lord's chamber is more appropriate.

the influences for the 'demise of the hall' (Section 4.5). Similar architectural devices can be found in both tower-houses and laird's houses of the late 16th- and early 17th-century and this has often been cited as evidence for the laird's house having 'evolved' from the tower-house; this proposition will be reconsidered below.

4.3.1.2 The tower-house and the 'transitional' laird's house

> Individual buildings erected during *the period of transition* [itals. mine], that is to say from about the time of the Reformation to the Civil War [1560–*c.* 1640], combine castellated and domestic features in very variable proportions…
>
> John G. Dunbar. *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*. 1966, p.66

'Hybrid' or 'transitional' laird's houses have been identified by other authors, such as Tranter (1962, IV, 175), where certain features which also characterise the tower-house are identifiable, such as turnpike stairs, caphouses and turrets. Direct comparisons between the tower-houses and laird's houses of the latter part of the 16th century and early 17th century, at first glance, could suggest a 'transitional' category for a number of laird's houses. However, this would imply that laird's houses with features such as stairtowers, corbelled turrets and gunloops represent a step in the development of laird's houses *from* tower-houses. By suggesting instead that surviving laird's houses built between 1560 and *c.* 1640 shared aspects of their architectural vocabulary with contemporary tower-houses, this enables us to consider a more diverse range of possible origins.

Figure 4.4: Abertarff House, Inverness, 1593. © Highland Council (Am Baile www.ambaile.org.uk/smr).

Figure 4.5: Muckrach Castle, Inverness-shire, 1598, restored 1985. © Highland Council (Am Baile www.ambaile.org.uk/smr).

For example, Abertarff House in Inverness (Figure 4.4) has been variously described as a "diminutive version of a Highland castle" (Howard, 1995b, 152) and "an example of a turnpike street dwelling" (*Inverness Official Guide*, 1957, 22). It was built as the town house of Simon Fraser, 6th Lord Lovat and sheriff of Inverness, in 1593 (Gifford, 1992b, 201). The 'castle' comparison no doubt refers to its stairtower, which projects from roughly the mid-point of the south elevation and contains the main entrance at its foot and has a corbelled-out attic room at its top. Stairtowers often feature as part of small high-status rural or burgh dwellings of this date. Examples to be found in Fife include Old Kilrenny Manse, Anstruther (1590) and 'The Study', Culross (early 17th century), except that these are square-plan with a single continuous corbel-course carrying the upperwork. A closer match for Abertarff is the stairtower of Muckrach Castle (Figure 4.5) built in 1598 near Grantown, which is first circular in plan then corbelled out to the square (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 77–8). The same type can also be seen in later examples such as Andrew Leslie's 1634 town house in Elgin (*ibid*, V (1892), 85 & 88).

Abertarff is a two-storey-and-attic laird's house built by a lord in the town. Its T-plan (created by the projecting stairtower), overall size, asymmetrical main elevation,

crowstepped gables, and vertically aligned windows, all sit comfortably within the definition of a Type I laird's house (see Table 3.6, p.83). The projecting stairtower is one feature that can be found on two different scales of houses, the tower-house *and* the laird's house. The status associated with first-floor living, and the architectural vocabulary of armorial panels, gunloops and stairtowers, seems to have been shared by different members of the lairdly class, whether they could afford to build to two, three or more stories.

Dunbar (1966, 66) refers to "a gradual withering away of specifically defensive features" in both laird's houses and tower-houses of the later 16th and early 17th centuries. However, the 16th-century tower-house is today regarded as having been less defensible than previously thought (*see* Section 1.2.2). It has been suggested that laird's houses resulted from the 'domestication' of the tower-house; this view does not seem to take on board the domestic/symbolic function of the tower-house, however. In terms of layout, the predominance of first-floor living rooms and courtyard-planning at surviving laird's houses is found at earlier tower-houses, such as Hills. Whilst the present author does not regard the 16th-century tower-house as being the direct antecedent of the laird's house, it was no doubt influential and what the small laird or large tenant aspired to. For clues as to the form of the very first laird's houses – neither one-storey or tower-houses – we will look at the those who had newly acquired sufficient security of tenure or possession and sufficient resources in the 16th-century next.

4.3.2 The tenant's house

The general proposition presented here is that the small number of late 16th-century laird's houses which can be positively identified as such should not necessarily be regarded as derivative of the tower-house as they may owe much of their form to the mid-16th-century laird's or tenant's houses of their fathers. Though we cannot now be certain of the general form of these houses, it seems likely that the majority were built as 'houses' rather than 'towers'.

Joachim Zeune (1992, 21) has observed that, based on surviving examples from the mid-16th century, the average tower-house measured *c.* 11 by 8 m; a ratio of 1.4:1. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine from ruinous or excavated remains and the surviving documentary evidence, whether or not all of Zeune's sample reached the requisite height (at least three full storeys) to be classed as 'tower-houses'. For example, Brockloch Tower in Nithsdale has clay-bonded walls which survive to only 1 m above ground level but it could be misleading to rely on its roughly square plan of 6.7 by 5.8 m as a basis for assuming it reached tower-height (Maxwell-Irving, 2000, 266) given the dimensions of near-complete examples of two-and-a-half-storey pele-houses in Roxburghshire like Mervinslaw (7.8 by 6.4 m) (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 565–6). The RCAHMS (1956, 483–5) define pele-houses and pele-towers as small clay-bonded[19] masonry houses whose ground-floors are usually un-vaulted built by lesser landholders in the later 16th and early 17th centuries. Border peles are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.1.3).

Another well-preserved example of a pele-house in Roxburghshire is Slacks Tower in Southdean parish (*see* Figure 5.9, p.210). It dates to the late 16th century and has overall dimensions of 11.8 by 7.45 m. The length to width ratio of this plan is 1.6:1, which is similar to Zeune's average for tower-house plans. Although the Southdean tenants had one-year leases "there must have been considerable security of tenure, or kindly tenure" as documentary evidence "indicates a continuity of settlement [and surnames] from at least 1541 through to the late 17th century" (RCAHMS, 1993, 9). Furthermore, in Southdean, the RCAHMS (*ibid*, 9, 11 & 13) survey of 1991–2, showed that the distribution of the peles correspond closely with the named forest steads of crown tenants[20] in the 1541 rental (*ER*, xvii, 702–4). The fabric of the best-preserved of these seven examples might date to the later 16th century. A reasonably

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[19] In the 17th century the use of lime mortar was widespread for tenants' houses in certain regions, particularly on the east coast (Whyte, 1975, 61), so its use cannot be taken on its own as an indication of relative wealth.

[20] For the most part, the Southdean tenants held their lands from the Lord Douglases.

well-preserved tenant's houses in Argyll might pre-date them and it is discussed next.

Figure 4.6: 'Building C', Eilean Mor, Loch Finlaggan. Left: view from north, 2004. Photograph by A. MacSween. Top right: NW gable, exterior © NMS (Caldwell, 1997). Bottom right: NW gable, interior, 1989 © NMS ('Finlaggan 1st Interim Report', [1990]).

The programme of research and excavation on the island of Finlaggan in Islay led by the National Museums of Scotland during the 1990s interpreted one pair of buildings there as a house and barn which were "clearly the property of a family of some standing, perhaps the MacGilleasbuigs, tenants of Finlaggan in the mid-sixteenth century" (Caldwell & Ewart, 1993, 156). The house is illustrated above. It has a medieval core associated with the occupation of Eilean Mor and Eilean na Comhairle in Loch Finlaggan as the administrative centre of the Lordship of the Isles. Following the Argyll Inventory labelling (RCAHMS, 1971–92, V (1984), 279) this house is Building C, and with its barn at B, is the most substantial of the post-medieval structures. K with L, U with T, and the buildings on Eilean na Comhairle have been interpreted as other, though less prestigious, house-barn combinations. The Crown took over the rentals of the Lordship of the Isles following its forfeiture in 1494. In the 1541 rental of Islay, Donald McIllaspy is listed as the crown tenant of 'Ellanynegane' (Finlaggan), Staoisha and Balde (*ER*, xvii, 616) and his graveslab, carved with an armoured effigy, survives inside the ruinous chapel on Eilean Mor

(RCAHMS, 1971–92, V (1984), 280, No. 11). The abandonment of the settlement may have corresponded with the reduction in status of the MacGilleasbuigs to joint-tenants by 1628 (Caldwell, McWee & Ruckley, 2000, 67).

Building C has a rectangular plan measuring 7.3 by 6.3 m (a ratio of 1.1:1), over walls 0.8 m thick bonded with lime-mortar, and, at least in its 16th-century form, it had a garret storey. On the ground floor there are traces of an entrance and a window on the south-west elevation, and it has a window with a relieving arch in the north-west gable and aumbries in both gables. On the garret floor, the large window in the south-east gable would have had shutters which could be secured by a draw-bar and there was a small window in the opposite gable. As the floor surface had been removed the excavators did not find evidence of a hearth. The upper floor might have been carried on beams which rested on the longitudinal wallheads and, given the relatively small floor area (27.4 m^2) and lack of evidence for the position of a stair, reached by a ladder.[21] The steep pitch of the gables suggests that the roof was thatched (RCAHMS, 1971–92, V (1984), 278; Caldwell, 1997; Caldwell & Ewart, 1993, 156).

A change from constructional techniques using timber and clay to those involving stone and clay or lime mortar could have been a factor in determining the size of the houses that secure kindly tenants or new feuars could have built. At Finlaggan, the first floor was contained wholly within the roof space. Houses with two full floors might simply have been conceived as a straightforward vertical expansion of one-and-a-half-storey houses like Building C. The status that would have derived from the ability to place the principal chambers above ground-floor level, was probably a desirable feature of tower-house and laird's house alike. However, we cannot always be sure that the hall would have been on the upper floor in all cases; ground-floor halls are discussed in Section 4.4.2.2.

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[21] It has been suggested that the slots visible on both the interior and exterior faces of the gables might "belong to the building's medieval phase and may be evidence for an upper storey projecting out over the lower walls", and that this building could have been a tower connected to the neighbouring medieval hall (Building A) (Caldwell, 1997).

4.3.3 Town houses

In 16th-century Scotland, "as was the case in most of the rest of Europe, rural and urban economies and politics were closely identified with one another", and particularly in Scotland, where "urbanisation was less advanced" (Brown, 1987, 103). It follows that the town and rural dwellings of nobles, lairds and ecclesiastics differed little (Fawcett, 1994b, 280–1, 283–4; Stell, 1988, 70; Howard, 1995a, 63). Abertarff House, built in Inverness in 1593 has already been discussed. Town houses from an earlier period built by burgesses and clerics might also offer clues as to the form of mid-16th century laird's houses, and so a number of pertinent examples will be discussed below. Finally, the late 16th- and early 17th-century house of a merchant is considered in conclusion as a more direct parallel for laird's house whether in town or country.

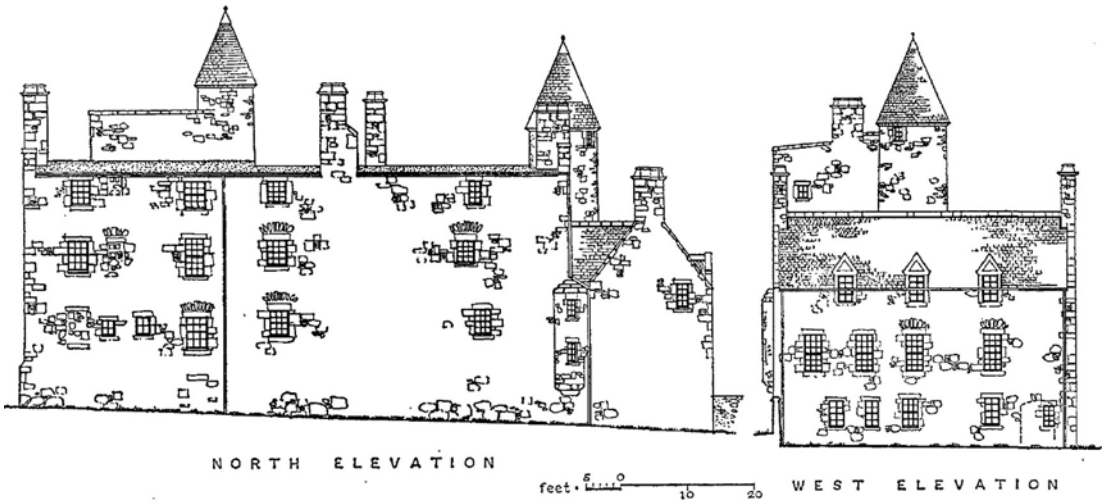

Figure 4.7 Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen, north elevation: (from left to right) *c.* 1545, *c.* 1570 & 1626, west elevation: 1626. Meldrum, 1958–9, fig. 4, p.95, © E. Meldrum and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The street of Guestrow in New Aberdeen housed several town houses (or 'lodgings') in the 16th century. Edward Meldrum (1958–9, 86) describes them as having "consisted of a house fronting, and parallel to, the street, through which a pend gave access to an inner court, one side of which was occupied by a building at right angles to the street house. The back of the court might be closed by another house with pend

access to the 'four-neukit' garden". Only Provost Skene's House[22] survives today and Figure 4.7 shows the north and west elevations in 1961, soon after its restoration. The oldest part of the house was built in about 1545 by Alexander Knollis, whose family had acquired land around Aberdeen and became burgesses of the town by 1488. The rectangular plan of the three-storeys-and-attic house measured 13.7 by 7.9 m (45 by 26 ft), and the east gable backed on to the house adjacent to the street. In terms of plan area, is more than twice the size of Building C at Finlaggan and had two more floors. The hall was on the first floor over a vaulted ground floor, and a (possibly timber) forestair gave access to the upper floors (*ibid*, 99). Some of its small original window openings are visible on the north side and its originally pitched roof was perhaps thatched. It was almost doubled in size in *c.* 1570 with a full-height extension and it was extended again with a west gallery wing in 1626 (*ibid*, 99–100).

Geoffrey Stell (1988, 70) highlight the existence of a "terraced or semi-detached treatment [which] is… detectable among buildings in, for example, Abbey Strand, Edinburgh and the Shiprow, Aberdeen". The Guestrow example could represent one of these. The *c.* 1545 house core might illustrate the form of non-tower-like houses of the period which may have influenced contemporary laird's houses.

The houses of bishops and archbishops reflected the high status of their occupants, who often had more than one residence. Their lifestyles were not dissimilar to those of lay magnates (Fawcett, 1994a, 108; 1997, 90). Close bedfellows of secular lords were commendators, who were often lords themselves, and the 1590 example of a commendator's house in Melrose is discussed in Chapter 5. Manses for the canons would have been built close to secular cathedrals. Within the canonries, their pattern varied. For example, they could be arranged along a street (*e.g.* Dunkeld) or be more dispersed (*e.g.* Elgin) (*ibid*, 94–5). The best-preserved of these is the chantor's house at Elgin (Figure 4.8). It consists of a three-storey main block containing cellar and kitchen in the vaulted undercroft, hall on the first-floor, and chambers above. A

[22] So named because of its 1669–94 owner, Sir George Skene.

chamber wing on the north side preserves a 1557 datestone and is linked to it by a stairtower. Formerly, there was a courtyard on its west side closed by a screen wall with an arched opening (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 58–60; V (1892), 91; Fawcett, 2001, 7; 1997, 95). Its form could be described as a small (pre-1557) L-plan tower-house with a later north wing which sat neatly within its own walled enclosure. It is domestic in scale and has little castellated ornamentation. The tight courtyard arrangement is repeated elsewhere and is a common plan type for surviving laird's houses (in particular, see Chapter 6).

Figure 4.8: The 'Bishop's House' (chantor's house), Elgin, 1557 and earlier, from the south-east. © Historic Scotland.

Figure 4.9: Tankerness House, Kirkwall, East gable of 'archdeaconry' and archway, 1574. Photograph by S. Strachan, 2007.

Taking this theme further, several of the manses of Kirkwall Cathedral were arranged as independent dwellings with offices around an extended courtyard, and were remodelled, as was the case with 'Tankerness House' (albeit for multiple households of the same family) after *c.* 1631. The earliest dateable part is the former residence of the archdeacon; its adjacent archway is surmounted by an inscription and the date '1574' (Figure 4.9). What is clear from the view of the archdeaconry above is its domestic scale, involving a single-pile plan, two-and-half-storey height, tight courtyard arrangement, stairtower, crowsteps and no turrets. This may be a more direct parallel for laird's houses of this early date as the lifestyle of clergy like Archdeacon Gilbert Fulzie would have been comparable with that of the lairds (RCAHMS, 1946, II, 149; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, V (1892), 93–7).

The entrepreneur George Bruce succeeded in rejuvenating the coal industry in Culross, which had earlier been developed by the monks of the Cistercian Abbey. His fortune allowed him to buy the estate of Carnock and he was knighted in 1610. Bruce's house (Figure 4.11), with a core dating from 1597, has been known as 'The Palace' since the 18th century.[23] The buildings embody four main phases, all of which can be attributed to the rise of Sir George.

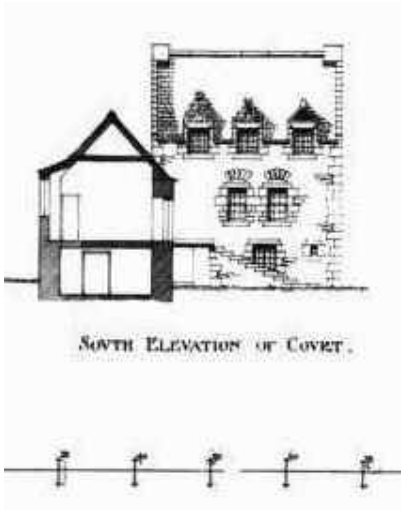

Figure 4.10:'Culross Palace', S elevation of 1597 house surveyed in 1914. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 4.11:'Culross Palace', 1973 aerial view from south-east. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The original two-and-a-half-storey house measured 12.2 by 5.5 m, but as its west end was later curtailed it now reads as three bays wide over 7.6 m (see Figure 4.10). The main entrance was at first-floor level on the north side, presumably reached by a forestair, and the kitchen was on the ground floor. The roof was probably thatched.[24]

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[23] At that time, deeds which included the term 'palatium' were mistranslated by the then owner as 'palace' rather than as an appellation which denoted a large building or one occupied by a nobleman. Sir George's house has otherwise been variously known as 'The Great Lodgings' or 'Colonel's Close' (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, V (1892), 25). Some authors (*e.g.* Jervise, 1857, 342) mistakenly linked the 'Culross Palace' name with the royal invitation by James VI/I in 1617 to "dine along with him at a collier's house" (*OSA*, 1794, X, 144).

[24] The earliest date at which the house could have been roofed with pantiles, as it is at present (Figure 4.11), is probably the end of the 17th century. Howard (1992, 37) writes that "it would be surprising if imported Dutch pantiles had not been used there [at the East Neuk ports] domestically before 1700" though the earliest evidence of the use of pantiles for roofing domestic buildings in Scotland dates to the early 18th century (Shaw, 1990, 29).

The subsequent building programme consisted of an L-plan wing on the south side to house a 14.2 m-long room, possibly a gallery. This gave the house a U-shaped plan, with ranges around three sides of a courtyard. A north service range contained a new kitchen and bakehouse at ground floor level, and a turnpike stair was built between it and the old house to give access to chambers on the upper floor. Shortly thereafter another north wing was added, the upper floor of which accommodated a strongroom for the safekeeping of Bruce's papers. The existing two-and-a-half-storey four-bay house to the north-east was assimilated into Sir George's residence in 1611 for his growing family, possibly functioning as a separate household like the arrangement of the post-1631 Tankerness House. It provided access from the main courtyard to the terraced garden via a straight stair (RCAHMS, 1933, 78–80; Sked, 1994, 9 & 11; Jervise, 1957, 339–41). Evidence of painted decoration survives in several of the rooms, some of which have been restored. One of the most impressive compositions is in the barrel-vaulted attic room of the north-east block and is based on allegorical scenes from woodcuts and emblems found in Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* printed in England in 1586 (Bath, 2003, 57). MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92, II (1887), 432) call Culross Palace "a good specimen of the town mansion of the period".

The houses built in towns by burgesses, clerics and merchants should be regards as both influential and, sometimes, indistinguishable from some of the more substantial laird's houses built in the countryside the 1550s–90s.

4.3.4 Early Scottish Country Houses

In the breadth of his interests, Sir George Bruce was very much the embodiment of Renaissance man. Despite his extensive building programme however, his house could not have been more different from that of his brother, Edward Bruce, a lawyer, "who became Lord of Session in 1597 and helped negotiate the Union of the Crowns, for which he received a peerage as Lord Bruce of Kinloss in 1602" (Bath, 2003, 57). The mansion was built next to Culross Abbey in 1608 (Figure 4.12) with "two show fronts; that to [the] south was set above a garden terrace and with square end pavilions, strictly regular fenestration with different window detailing at either level,

it was a remarkably classical composition" (Mackechnie, 2005, 310). In 1603, Kinloss became the English Master of Rolls, and Mackechnie (*ibid*, 310–11) suggests that the work of Robert (*c.* 1535–1614) and John Smythson (†1634) in England may have been influential, but also that a range of buildings built in Scotland, France and Italy could have been possible antecedents. On the other hand, Sir George's 1597 house and its general layout would have been derivative of existing laird's houses (remembering that he himself came from a lairdly family and that he went on to build up his own estates) whilst the ambition of the additions – the long 'gallery', strongroom, painted decoration and terraced garden – would have inspired many.

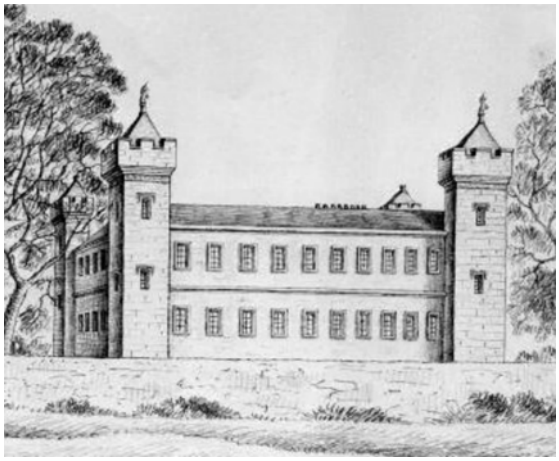

Figure 4.12: Culross Abbey House, 1608, drawn in 1835 by A. Archer. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

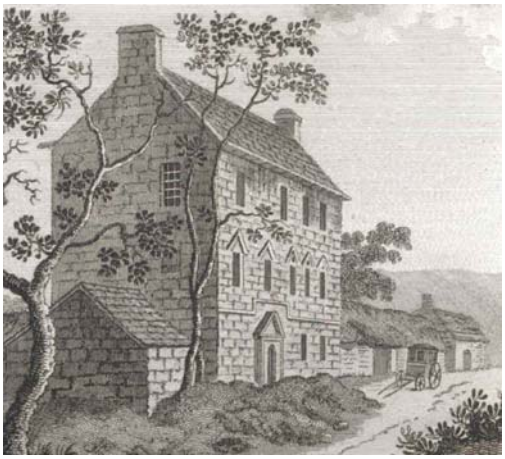

Figure 4.13: Amisfield House, 1631, Francis Grose, 1789. Grose, 1789–91, I (1789), plate facing p.155.

The Renaissance in Scottish architecture has been described as primarily a Lowland phenomenon linked with economic growth and court culture from 1550 to 1660 (Howard, 1990a, 5). Its influence can be seen in the Type I laird's house and some of the same features can be seen in newly-built or modified tower-houses of the period, as their patrons were of the same class and their masons drawn from the same pool. Houses like Amisfield in Dumfriesshire (Figure 4.13), built for Sir John Charteris in 1631 to supersede the adjacent tower-house, were perhaps of greater influence than the quadrangular Culross Abbey House because of its use of stringcourse, pediments and vertically aligned fenestration over a rectangular-plan with gabled ends, straight

skews and a pitched roof. In comparison to the upperwork of Amisfield Tower added in *c.* 1600 "crowned by an outcrop of gables, rope-mouldings and columned dormer decoration" the house is described as "austere" (Glendinning, MacInnes & Mackechnie, 1996, 50).

Laird's houses of the period are equally relatively uncluttered and some surviving examples for the middle of the 17th-century preserve evidence of vertically aligned windows and open aspects; these are discussed in Section 4.5.2. And so, in this way, some of the principles of Renaissance design permeated out from the court centres and were adopted by middle-ranking society.

4.4 The Type I laird's house

4.4.1 'Bastles', '*saalgeschosshauses*' or 'laird's houses'?

A large part of the next chapter, on the Scottish Borders of the mid-16th century to the early 17th century, sets out the present writer's hypothesis that many houses which have been identified by others as 'bastles' are more appropriately described as Type I laird's houses. Dozens of examples outwith the Scottish Borders have been classed as such, in particular a group in Upper Clydesdale (South Lanarkshire), by Tam Ward and the Biggar Museum Trust.

Ward (1998, 7) has defined bastles as:

> defensive farmhouses dating from the late 16th and early 17th centuries… built and occupied by relatively wealthy tenant farmers who required strong houses to protect their families and their possessions against attack by lawless bands of cut-throats, popularly known as the 'Border Reivers'…. This lawless behaviour continued from medieval times until… 1603.

In general, Ward (1998, 24) follows the RCHME (1970, xiv) definition of bastles, which are normally of two storeys with a byre or store on the ground floor below the living accommodation, and have two separate entrances serving the ground and first floors. The RCAHMS (1956, I, 44–5) definition distinguishes between 'bastles' and 'pele-houses' in terms of size, the bastle being "less lofty" than a tower and usually

with a vaulted basement, the pele-house being a more "elementary type", usually bonded with clay mortar and having an un-vaulted basement.

The houses recorded by the Clydesdale Bastle Project represent a range of early 17th-century houses in terms of scale, function and status; however, only the term 'bastle' has been used to classify them. Joachim Zeune (1992, 149) has proposed another typological grouping, half-way between a 'bastle' and a 'laird's house' and uses the German term '*saalgeschosshaus*' to describe them. Is it necessary to distinguish some laird's and tenant's houses using 'bastle' or '*saalgeschosshaus*'? This proposition is considered below.

4.4.1.1 'Bastles'

Certain aspects of one of the Clydesdale examples, Glenochar and its associated settlement (excavated 1986–93), are highlighted by way of comparison in Chapter 5. Here, two Clydesdale houses are discussed below, built for a substantial tenant and a wealthy goldsmith/landowner, as well as a 'bastle' in Midlothian built for the barons of Peniculk.

Of the thirteen Clydesdale examples listed by Ward (1998, 26–30) the first to be excavated by the Clydesdale Bastle Project was Windgate House in 1981–5 (Figure 4.14), built on the uplands of Cowgill at *c.* 370 m OD. The land was owned by the Baillies of Lamington and, rather than a second residence to their nearby tower, it was probably occupied by the laird's principal tenants or retainers (Irving & Murray, 1864, I, 245). In 1621 Sir William Maxwell, alias Baillie, granted Cowgill in conjunct fee to Robert Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh, and his wife Marion Purves (Baillie, 1872, 36). In her study of the testaments of Edinburgh merchants from 1570 to 1603, Margaret Sanderson (1983, 185) asserts that "the more recently established merchants [acted] as outposts of families in rural areas and smaller burghs". Twenty of the 205 testaments indicate that the individuals had specific landed interests in the form of the possession of stock, crops and rents. It is possible that Robert Baillie maintained such an interest and, whilst he traded in Edinburgh, Cowgill Glen was probably stocked with sheep looked after by a tenant or farmer. The only ancillary

structures found in its vicinity were a drystone enclosure and, further north-west, three sheep buchts.

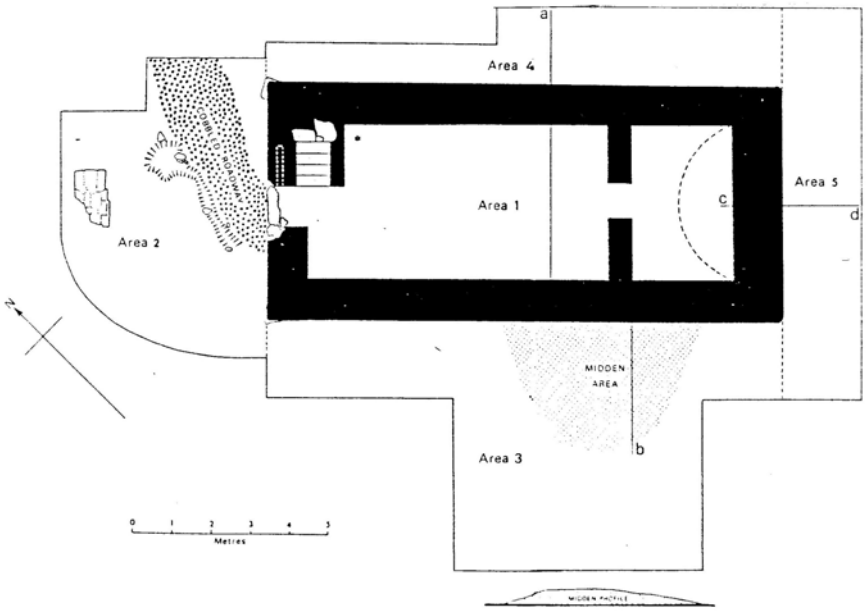

Figure 4.14: Windgate House, plan. Ward, 1986, fig. 2, p.4.

The house was ruinous by 1813 ('The county of Lanark from actual survey by Willm Forrest', 1816) and it appears to have been deliberately demolished, probably sometime in the second half of the 18th century. It is now a consolidated ruin which has a rectangular-plan measuring 13.2 by 6.1 m, with walls surviving up to 2 m in height. Windgate was built of lime-mortared whinstone and finds suggest that its jambs were finished with dressed sandstone, some of the sills/lintels found had holes for bars, and its roof was slated. No window glass was found amongst the debris. The excavation revealed a door in the north-east gable with a draw-bar slot which gave access to a vaulted basement which had two compartments and the floor was compacted clay mixed with stones. Four steps of an intramural stair to the left of the entrance survives. The path from the north to the entrance was roughly cobbled and a midden area was recorded against the south-west wall. Dating evidence includes coins minted in *c.* 1588 and later, potsherds dating to the 16th and 17th centuries, and evidence for the keeping of horses and sheep (Ward, Gillanders & Christison, 1986, 2–9).

The tenants of Windgate, before and after it was feued to Robert Baillie and his wife, could well have been kin of the Baillie family. It was a relatively substantial structure bonded in lime mortar and, at least at some point, slated rather than thatched. There was evidently a need for the basement to have been secure and, as the excavators did not find evidence of an external stair, presumably the intramural stair functioned as the main access to the living accommodation. The remains of domestic ancillary structures did not come to light during the survey and excavation and so, presumably, cooking took place in a hearth on the first floor. The roof space probably contained a garret.

Ward (1990, 36–7 & 43) regards bastles as having been "mini fortresses", and lists their "security features" as: 1) barrel-vaulted basements; 2) the use of lime mortar; 3) ground-floor openings in the form of narrow ventilation slits and a doorway with one or more draw-bar slots; 4) a similar doorway on the upper floor with small windows protected by iron bars; 5) ladder access to a first-floor door or through a hatch from the basement; and 6) a slate or stone slab roof covering. As will be set out in detail for the East and Middle Marches in the next chapter, and is equally applicable to the western districts of the border country, some misunderstandings about reiving continue into modern writings and Ward (1990, 39) seems to have been overly reliant on George MacDonald Fraser's *The Steel Bonnets*, 1971 (see Section 5.2.1).

The excavators describe Windgate as a bastle on the basis of comparison with the English examples in RCHME (1970) because of its 1) elongated plan; 2) barrel-vaulted ground floor; 3) partitioned basement;[25] 4) barred windows and draw-bar slot; and 5) date (*ibid*, 8). Horses or a few lambs could well have been housed in the basement, but is this possible provision sufficient to set it apart from the houses of other substantial tenants or lairds which had service basements and thus warrant separate classification? Two further examples are discussed below.

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[25] Unlike Windgate, the cross-walls of the English examples listed by the RCHME (1970) are not primary features. Temon, Upper Denton and West Side, Allendale have secondary partitions, each with their own entrance. The partition at Ottercops, Elsdon represents a rebuilt wall providing the east side of a second bastle abutting the first (*ibid*, 79, 82 & 85).

Another excavated 'bastle' in Clydesdale is Glendorch (Figure 4.15). It is, however, significantly different from Windgate. It is larger, measuring 16.4 by 7.1 m, and was entered via the smaller of two rooms where a stair may have been positioned on the left; a door on the right led to the larger vaulted room. The house had dressed sandstone margins and leaded-glass windows. The lands were occupied from 1608 by Thomas Foulis, an Edinburgh goldsmith, who owned and worked the mines in the nearby Leadhills (Ward, 1998, 28; Zeune, 1992, 182). The first serious attempts to exploit minerals came relatively late in the 16th century and leadmines were particularly attractive as silver, and occasionally gold, could often be found in the same seams. Foulis went on to build up extensive holdings. For example, in 1613 he became part-owner of the rights to Hilderstone mine in West Lothian (Brown, 2004, 61).

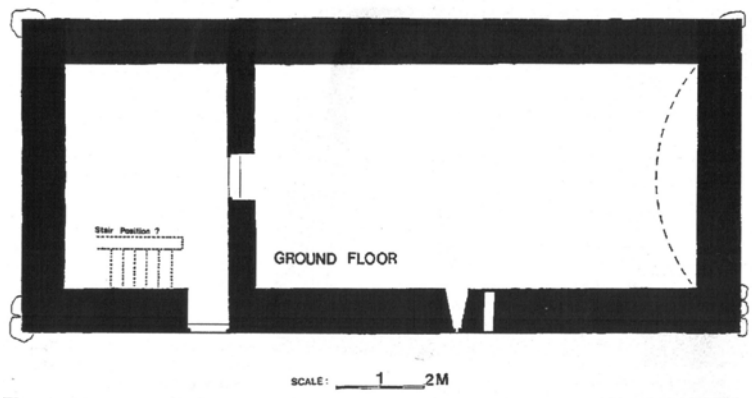

Figure 4.15: Glendorch, plan (T. Ward). Ward, 1998, fig. 27, p.28, © Biggar Museum Trust & Lanark and District Archaeological Society.

Ward (1998, 28) has categorised Glendorch, like Windgate, as a 'long-type' bastle because of its proportions and its (partly) vaulted and partitioned ground floor. While it is conceivable that the larger chamber at Windgate could have accommodated livestock, the same scenario is less convincing for Glendorch given that the house probably functioned as a second home for Foulis whilst on business in the area. It has been suggested that the runnel drain in the cobbled ground floor found during the excavation of Glendorch "indicates that the basement served as a byre at times" (Zeune, 1992, 179). The route into and back from the larger chamber would have been very restrictive for animals and the presence of a drain could have helped to

keep storage areas dry rather than having been necessarily associated with stock-keeping (*see* Section **5.4.1.4** for further discussion). Zeune (*ibid*, 178) suggests that examples like Glendorch can be seen in the context of strongholds, since the goods of men like Foulis would have been susceptible to theft, and the house was provisioned with gunports. Nevertheless, upon comparison with other Type I laird's house discussed in this thesis, it is impossible not to see Glendorch, built close to the business interests of a wealthy Edinburgh burgess, in the wider context of laird's houses rather than as a 'bastle', broadly defined as a defensible farmhouse.

Windgate and Glendorch show that the building of substantial masonry houses in Clydesdale is more likely to relate to security of tenure and an increase in sheep-farming in upland districts (Dodgshon, 1983, 49) and the development of the mineral industry in this area rather than as a reaction to the threat of raiding which had lessened considerably by the time these houses had been built.

Finally, the first phase of Uttershill Castle built by the barons of Penicuik in Midlothian (Figure 4.16), partly excavated in 1995, has also been identified as a bastle (Alexander, Bogdan & Grounsell, 1998, 1021). If the west wall of the eastern extension represented its limits, then the original house measured 12 by 7 m (from left extent of Figure 4.16 to right door jamb). The ground-floor entrance may have been in the east gable, which led into a small vaulted entrance chamber lit by a single slit window. This then gave access into a vaulted basement which has a similar window in one wall. Much of the south wall has collapsed, but evidence survives to show that, although the upper floor was fairly comprehensively rebuilt, it probably consisted originally of a hall with a garret above. The return stair in the south-east corner could be attributed to this phase and there may have been a separate external access to the upper floor. The house would have been accompanied by ancillary buildings within a barmkin, a stretch of which may border the terrace on which it sits (*ibid*, 1020–4).

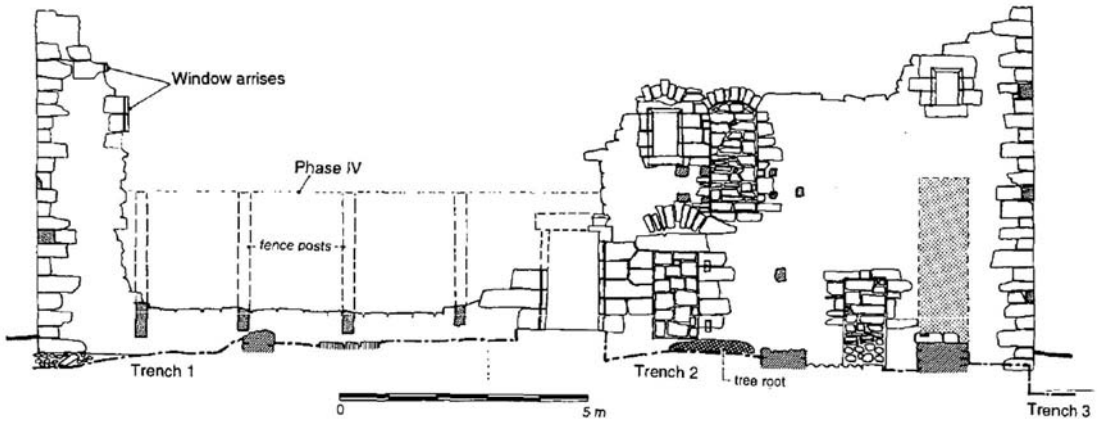

Figure 4.16: Uttershill Castle, south-east elevation. Alexander, Bogdan & Grounsell, 1998, illus. 5, p.1026, © CFA Archaeology and Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The excavators were probably directed to 'bastles' as a definition for Uttershill because of the discovery of a channel in the floor of the basement. Alexander, Bogdan & Grounsell (*ibid*, 1023) state that, therefore, "it is likely that the undercroft was originally used as a byre for livestock and that the central drain was used for cleaning out animal effluent". Similar channels have been found elsewhere and, as discussed in the next chapter, their presence does not necessarily indicate a byre-function. Also, for livestock to have had to negotiate a 'porch' area at Uttershill, which was considerably narrower than the smaller chamber at Glendorch, is likely to have been extremely impractical. Looking again at the internal stair, in relation to tower-houses and hall ranges, its purpose could have been to provide a link between the hall and basement for the convenient conveyance of supplies, and in particular expensive commodities like wine, without the need to open principal doors – storage therefore seems a more likely function for the basement. Like Glendorch, Uttershill was built for wealthy patrons, the superiors of the barony of Penicuik. A now lost datestone, purportedly inscribed '1511' (Hannah, 1928, 238) but perhaps of '1571', might date its completion.[26] If indeed Uttershill represents a two-and-a-half-storey rectangular-plan laird's house from 1571, it would represent one of the earliest surviving examples of the laird's house in Scotland.

[26] Very few authentic datestones earlier than the mid-16th century are known (Zeune, 1992, 50).

4.4.1.2 'Saalgeschosshauses'

Referring to 'bastles' in the Scottish Borders and in South Lanarkshire, Zeune (1992, 177) finds it "difficult to draw a borderline separating them from structurally similar edifices like Garleton…, Powrie… Skelbo" or Murroes which constitute "a type of building representing a typological link between hall house and bastle house" (*ibid*, 149). Zeune (*ibid*) describes these four examples as the Scottish equivalent of the German *saalgeschosshaus* which he defines as:

> A long, low building of only two main storeys and sometimes a garret. The length of the longitudinal walls may be three times that of the gable walls, so that the basement affords room for a fair number of vaulted cellars and dwelling rooms with separate access; but the traditional subdivision of the first floor into Hall and solar with adjacent entrance doors still obtains. The garret above – if there was one – held sleeping accommodation.

As far as the present author is concerned, this description is almost indistinguishable from the definition of the Type I laird's house presented in Chapter 3. Taking each of Zeune's examples in turn, Skelbo and Garleton were remodelled from castle courtyard ranges and Garleton may well have originally functioned as a lodge rather than a laird's house in itself, Murroes has been discussed in Section 4.3.1.1 as having originated as a tower-and-hall, and Powrie was built as one range of a much larger complex and so it not considered here to be a laird's house. However in external appearance, the remodellied Murroes, Skelbo and Garleton have much in common with each other and with the Type I laird's house.

Figure 4.17: Garleton, East Lothian, south elevation. © 1995–2007 Gazetteer for Scotland, www.geo.ed.ac.uk/scotgaz.

Figure 4.18: Old Sauchie House, 1631, east elevation (demolished *c.* 1930). MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, I (1887), p.268.

The RCAHMS (1924, 8–9) suggests that the house at Garleton, East Lothian (Figure 4.17), was built as one of two lodges at the western end of the courtyard which may have been built in the mid-16th century and were contemporary with the L-plan tower-house at south-east corner of the courtyard.[27] It is difficult to find parallels for lodges in surviving castle complexes of a similar date (Allan Rutherford, *pers. comm.*). The ground floor has several wide-mouthed gunloops of a type found throughout the 16th century (Zeune, 1992, table 9). The present building could have been remodelled to include the curtain wall of the courtyard together with, perhaps, an office that had butted against it. When this reworking happened is debateable. If the purpose was to create a new principal dwelling, then a parallel may be found at Sauchie, Clackmannanshire (Figure 4.18) where a fragment of curtain and tower (possibly part of an office) was reused in the 1631 house (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, I (1887), 270). Alternatively, it may have been built as a house from the outset or it could have been built or remodelled as a lodge and thus never served as a laird's house. One parallel for this is the keeper's house at Kinnaird Tower, Perthshire, built in 1610 (*ibid*, 273). Garleton's present appearance dates from its conversion to farm labourers' houses in the 19th century to match the newly-built pair to the north.

[27] MacGibbon & Ross, (1887–92, IV (1892), 190) attributed the castle to Sir David Lindsay (†1555).

Whether or not a separate category can be justified, a firmer building sequence would be required to determine whether Garleton is indeed a 'laird's house'.

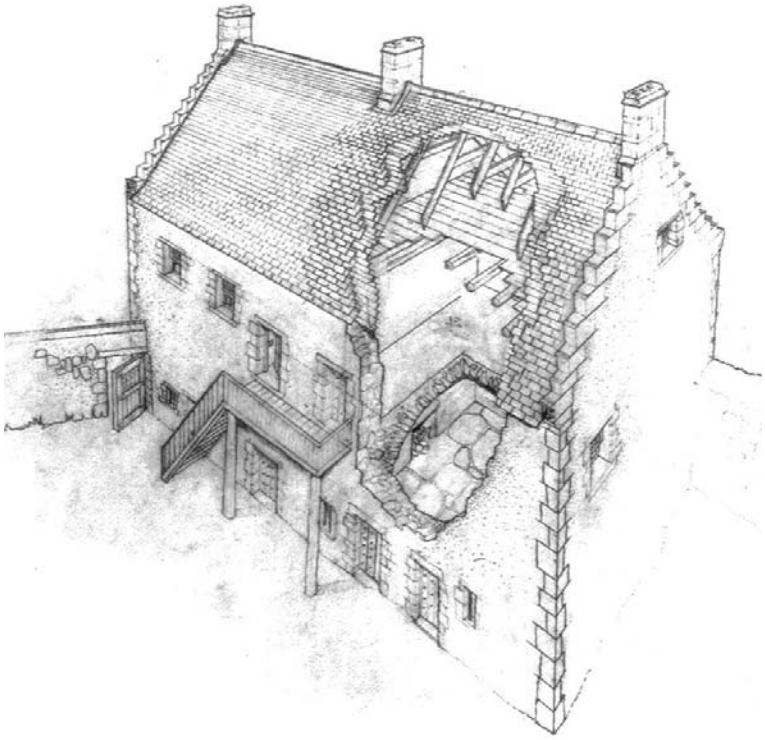

Figure 4.19: Skelbo, reconstruction drawing by Tudor Morgan, 1984. © RCAHMS.

At the south-west corner of the enclosure of Skelbo Castle, Dornoch, stands a ruinous two-storey house. It has been described as a "Highland bastle, constructed c. 1600" (Beaton, 1997, 56), and it has been suggested that part of the "cellars were probably used for housing stock" (Bangor-Jones, 1989, 93–4). It was extensively rebuilt and remodelled in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Originally, it seems to have had two vaulted rooms on the ground floor; the north-most one was probably the kitchen. The RCAHMS noted a "a rough arched recess" at the base of the south gable towards the west end in 1966 (Record Sheet SUR/1/1, 23-10-66) and this is indicated on its 1983 survey drawing (DC/3480, 10-10-83). Geoffrey Stell (*pers. comm.*) suggests that this functioned as a drain hole and that a drainage channel was noted at the time of the survey, although the latter is not indicated on the ground-floor plan. The range sits on a north–south slope and there may have been a need to

keep the south chamber dry, either for storage or, perhaps, stabling. By the later 18th century it had three chambers on both first floor and attic (*ibid*, 100, 103–5, 108–9). Architectural embellishments included a projecting eaves course and skewputts, one of which has a carved mask (Tranter, 1970, 177). Tudor Morgan's reconstruction drawing (Figure 4.19) shows a mid-gable and external timber stair to two first-floor doors. Tranter (*ibid*) suggests that Alexander Sutherland, first Lord Duffus, was its likely builder. He married by 1644, and was granted his title in 1650 or '51; but as the features associated with Skelbo have a long pedigree it is possible only to say that it was probably built during the first half of the 17th century. There is no reason to directly link features like the draw-bar slot and loophole or, more specifically, a room provided with drainage, with 'bastles', however. This is discussed more fully in Section 5.4.1.4.

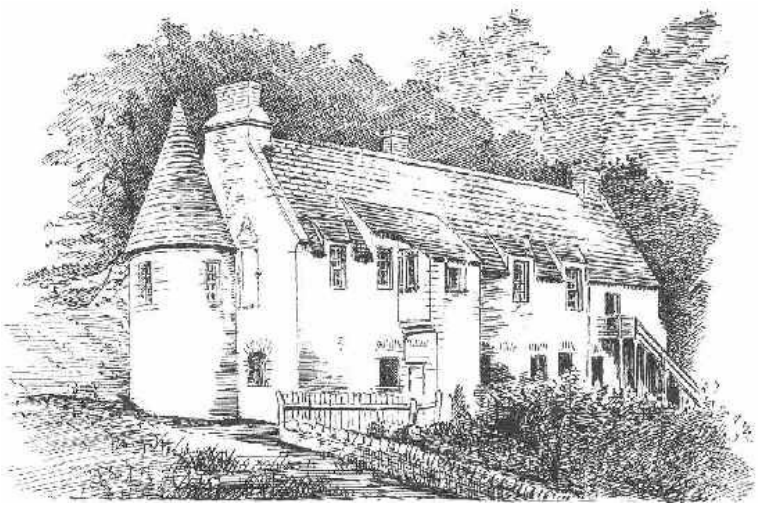

Figure 4.20: Powrie Castle, Angus, 1604. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), p.355.

The two other examples cited by Zeune, the north range of Powrie Castle (1604) is illustrated Figure 4.20 and Murroes House (Figure 4.2, p.98), were built in Angus by the same family, less than 9 km apart.[28] Powrie is by far the most elaborate of the four and was built to accommodation offices and lordly accommodation opposite a

[28] McKean (2001, 143) likens Powrie and Murroes to Invergowrie (1601), Pitkerro (2nd ½ 17th-century), Blackness (early 17th-century, demolished *c.* 1930s) and probably Logie (?early 17th century, demolished 1908) and Gagie (*c.* 1614), which are all in or in the vicinity of Dundee. As a group he describes them as being "unusually low and plainly rectangular, adorned only by a staircase tower, cylinder-like bedroom tower, occasional turret and crowsteps."

16th-century tower with, a now lost, 'woman's house' on the east side of a courtyard. It retains a wealth of sophisticated features such as the broad, circular corner tower (reminiscent of Provan Hall, Glasgow, late 16th century) and Renaissance porch window "with its fluted pilasters, its delicately carved capitals, and effective frieze" (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), 352).

It is, of course, possible to find similarities between these four examples; but there is nothing in Zeune's definition of a Scottish *saalgeschosshaus* that does not accord with a Type I laird's house. *Saalgeschosshauses* have been more broadly defined as the high status residences with first-floor halls built from the second half of the 12th century (Fehring, 2002, English abstract). In this, it could share greater affinities with the early medieval Scottish hall house. Moreover, it would be misleading to regard Garleton, Skelbo, Powrie and Murroes as representing "the last phase in the gradual transition from embattled residence to unfortified laird's house and palatial castle" (Zeune, 1992, 151).

4.4.2 The characteristic Type I laird's house…

A range of laird's houses has been discussed in Sections 4.3.1, 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2. In particular: the original building at Uttershill, which may date to as early as 1571; Glendorch; Murroes; Skelbo; a town house in Inverness, Abertarff; and possible examples of laird's houses at Windgate and Garleton. Tankerness House (1574) and Culross Palace (1597–1611), discussed in Section 4.3.3, were both built by men who drew part of their incomes from the land; Fulzie was a senior cleric, who, after the Reformation was minister of two rural parishes from which he drew considerable tiends, was permitted to marry and whose property was now heritable, and Bruce, a laird's son, acquired the estate of Carnock.

The common factor between the two- to two-and-a-half storey late 16th- and 17th-century laird's houses discussed in this section is that they had open halls, whether placed on the ground or first floor. The 16th-century houses are associated with families who directly influenced the burgeoning settlements along the Forth with their business interests. The 17th-century examples are somewhat humbler but are

important examples from highland Perthshire and western Galloway for which parallels can be found in the case-study chapters.

4.4.2.1 ...with first-floor halls

Though 'restored' as part of a Little Houses scheme in 1968–9, sufficient evidence survives or was recorded at Bay House, Dysart to provide a conjectural reconstruction of the house built in 1583[29] for Patrick Sinclair (Figure 4.21), the eldest son of Henry, 5th Lord Sinclair. The entrance to the main house was through a narrow pend or courtyard, and up to the principal floor via a forestair. The ground floor contained independently-accessed rooms, the east one probably being the kitchen, opposite a service building. The hall on the first floor has a coombed ceiling and painted decoration was discovered in the adjacent rooms. An outshot, probably added in the 18th century, may have been built on the site of a covered gallery accessed from the hall. A large corbelled-out lateral chimneystack survives on the south side and carved heads on three skewputts are thought to represent James VI, Anne of Denmark and the future Charles I (Gifford, 2003, 290; Swan & McNeill, 1997, 78–9, 108 & 110–11).

[29] Most accounts marry the '1583' lintel in the garden wall with a date of building for Bay House (*e.g.* RCAHMS Record Sheet FIR/12/1, Sep 1969). Swan and McNeill (1997, 78) point to old reports which suggest that the lintel of the entrance to courtyard of the manse that once stood behind Bay House as being carved with 'My Hoip is in the Lord' and the date, '1583'. Therefore the authors accord the surviving lintel with the manse. Bay House is referred to as the 'new biggit house' of Patrick Sinclair, in a land conveyance of 1585 and his initials are carved on a dormer pediment, and, with those of his wife, are painted onto the first-floor ceiling (Bath, 2003, 247).

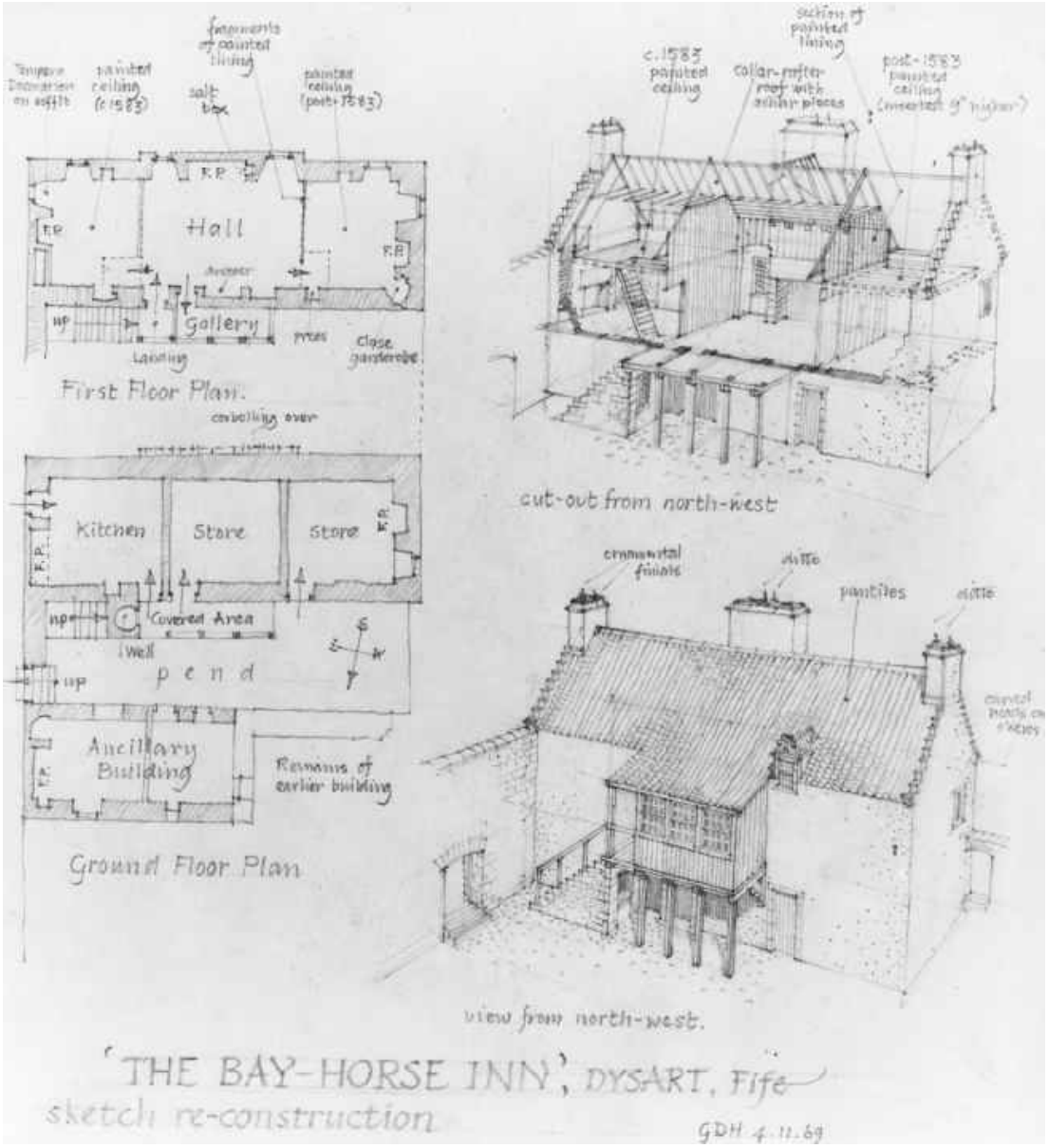

Figure 4.21: Bay House, Dysart, 1583. Reconstruction drawing by G. D. Hay, 1969. © RCAHMS.

Bay House shares similarities with Culross Palace, built slightly further along the coast by a man with equally close links to the reigning monarch. The two houses were built at a time when the East Neuk burghs were buoyant due to their export of coal and salt to the Low Countries (Smout, 2001, 115; Swan & McNeill, 1997, 13 & 17). Bay House is an early, near-complete example of the general form of laird's house which prevailed until the middle of the 17th century.

The house built by the Grange-Hamiltons on their estate opposite Culross on the south coast of the Forth, could have originally been built as a laird's house on a rectangular 15.7 by 6.28 m (50 by 20 ft) plan as early as 1564. In its final form it was two-and-half stories high and three-bays wide. Unlike Tankerness in Orkney and Uttershill in Midlothian built in the 1570s, Grange House no longer survives having been demolished in 1906 after, ironically, it had been undermined by coal mines. Fortunately, it was recorded in the 1880s and '90s by MacGibbon and Ross (published 1892), Hippolyte J. Blanc (designs as proposed, 1899), the Scottish National Buildings Survey (1885), and the National Art Survey of Scotland (1897).

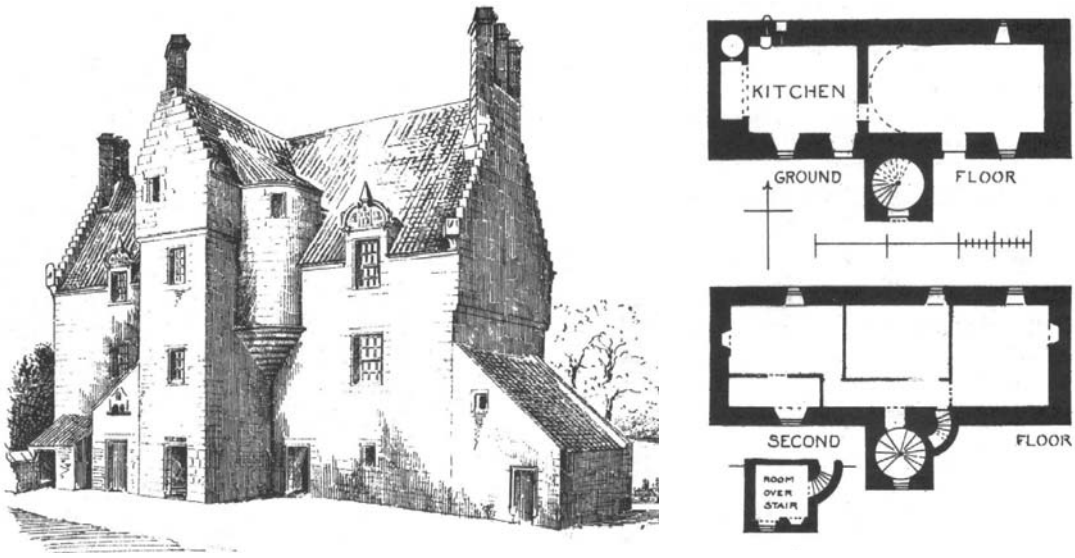

Figure 4.22: Grange House, Grangepans from the south-east. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), figs.670–1, pp.82–3.

Originally, as the name suggests, the lands were the grange farm of a monastic establishment, in this case Culross Abbey (Hall, 2006, 89). The abbeys of Holyrood and Dunfermline are known to have been extracting coal and salt from the area since the 12th and 13th centuries. The Grange-Hamiltons were a cadet branch who acquired the grange after the Reformation. The salt pans, which they owned, were located to the immediate north of the house. Around them a settlement grew which became known as 'Grangepans'. The house is shown on the Roy military map of 1747–55 (Figure 4.23), located in the middle of three gardens, overlooking Grangepans and the Forth with the port town of 'Burrowstowness' (Bo'ness) to its

west. Grange House, illustrated above, has been attributed to Sir John Hamilton of Grange, who is on record between 1570 and 1615, and may have been a Master Stabler to James VI. The initials 'S I H' were carved on a dormer pediment and there was also a 1564 datestone over the entrance at the foot of the stairtower on the middle of its south side (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), 81; Salmon, 1913, 147–9). Because the house no longer exists, it is not now possible to determine whether the datestone had been reused. Diagonally-set chimneystacks derived from English architecture and only became a popular device after the Union of the Crowns, the earliest examples in Scotland dating to the 1620s and '30s (R. Fawcett, *pers. comm.*). It also had other details, such as the skewputts carved with sundials and painted ceilings, of considerable architectural pretension.

Figure 4.23: 'Grange' and 'Grangepans', General William Roy military survey, 1747–55. (Roy map 06-6c), © British Library, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Grange had two rooms on the ground floor which were both independently accessed from the outside. The west room served as the kitchen and had a large fireplace, water inlet and slop drain. The larger east room was vaulted. It seems possible that this lower storey could have dated to 1564. The main entrance to the house was at the foot of the stairtower which contained a turnpike stair and a room in its attic storey reached by a corbelled-out stair from the second floor. The original arrangement of

the upper rooms is uncertain, but by the end of the 19th century the first floor was divided into three main rooms. The top storey was lit by pedimented half-dormers, at least on its south side. It should be noted, that the arrangement of the south façade was fairly symmetrical, with the stairtower centrally placed and the windows of the two outer bays vertically aligned. The east gable (and possibly the west too) had a corbel table marking the second floor level, as did the upper part of the stairtower. MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92), IV (1892), 81–130) grouped Grange with a range of other T-plan houses of the 'Fourth Period', that is 1542–1700, including Queen Mary's House, Jedburgh, which has a more substantial jamb than Grange and is discussed in the next chapter (*see* Figure 5.21, p.235). It seems likely that, at least, the upper part of the house represents a considerable reworking, probably during the second quarter of the 17th century. Nevertheless, if the general, late-19th-century form of Grange, with independently accessed ground-floor service rooms and first-floor principal rooms, reflected its original mid-16th-century arrangement then this would help to indicate the likely layout of contemporary laird's houses.

4.4.2.2 ...with ground-floor halls

A few examples of laird's houses with possible ground-floor halls built in the Borders and Shetland between *c.* 1589 and *c.* 1645 are discussed in the next two chapters (Sections 5.7 & 6.5.2). Due to later remodelling or poor survival, clear evidence of ground-floor halls is hard to come by, however, two 17th-century examples from Perthshire and Wigtownshire are discussed here. Both structures have been surveyed by the RCAHMS.

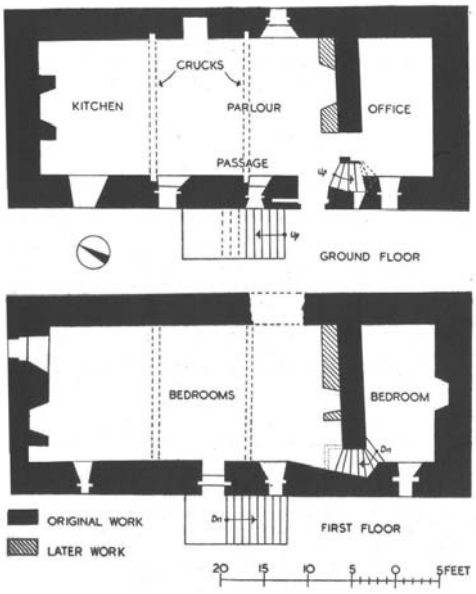

Figure 4.24: Pitcastle, Perthshire, 17th century. Right: ground- and first-floor plans surveyed by J. Dunbar and J. Wallace. Top left: view from south, G. Quick, © RCAHMS. Dunbar, 1960, p.115 & pl. VI. Top left: view from south. Dixon, 1925, pl. 93, p.267.

Pitcastle (Figure 4.24) near Pitlochry, was possibly built for the Robertsons of Tenandry sometime during the 17th century. This ruinous clay-mortared rectangular-plan two-storey house is subdivided by a mid-gable towards its south end and it measures *c.* 16.1 by 7.2 m overall. Two pairs of crucks supporting a thatched roof survived until at least the 1920s when it was photographed by John Dixon (1925, pls. 93–4, 267–8). The wooden studded door with draw-bar and triangular peephole also survived and provided the principal entrance on the west side (bottom left, Figure 4.24). It opened onto a short passageway which provided access to four rooms. On the left there was a narrow, partly intramural, stair which provided access to a room on the first-floor on the south side of the mid-gable and a doorway providing level access to the room beneath it. Straight ahead of the entrance door was a wooden partition which separated the passage from a room which probably originally functioned as a hall. A door at the north end provided access to another room which had a fireplace in the gable. The partition between the two rooms lined up with the

northern pair of crucks and was decorated with painted arcading (*ibid*, 143–4). It is not clear whether the arrangement of timber partitions belonged to the first building phase. The, predominantly, small square windows were originally unglazed and later adapted to take glass (Dunbar, 1960, 113). Some evidence of associated buildings to its south-east were observed by Dixon (1925, 145) together with an area of raised ground which indicated the site of "other larger buildings".

When the house was discussed by Dunbar in *Scottish Studies* in 1960, it was in the context of his earlier paper on cruck-framed buildings in Perthshire (Dunbar, 1956–7). Therefore, he does not expand on his interpretation of the original arrangement of the building. Dixon's photograph of the west elevation when it was more intact (bottom left, Figure 4.24) suggests that the first-floor entrance is secondary and, by inference, so is the forestair. It is possible that, as first built, the middle section of the house was open to the roof timbers, *i.e.* mirroring the layout of the upper floor of Bay House, and a loft was provided at the north end. This would help to make sense of the unusual access created for the southern room on the first floor. After the hall was ceiled, an external door and forestair were added to provide access to the other room(s) on the first floor. At the same time, two fireplaces were built against the mid-gable to replace what was, presumably, a canopied chimney which served the hall.

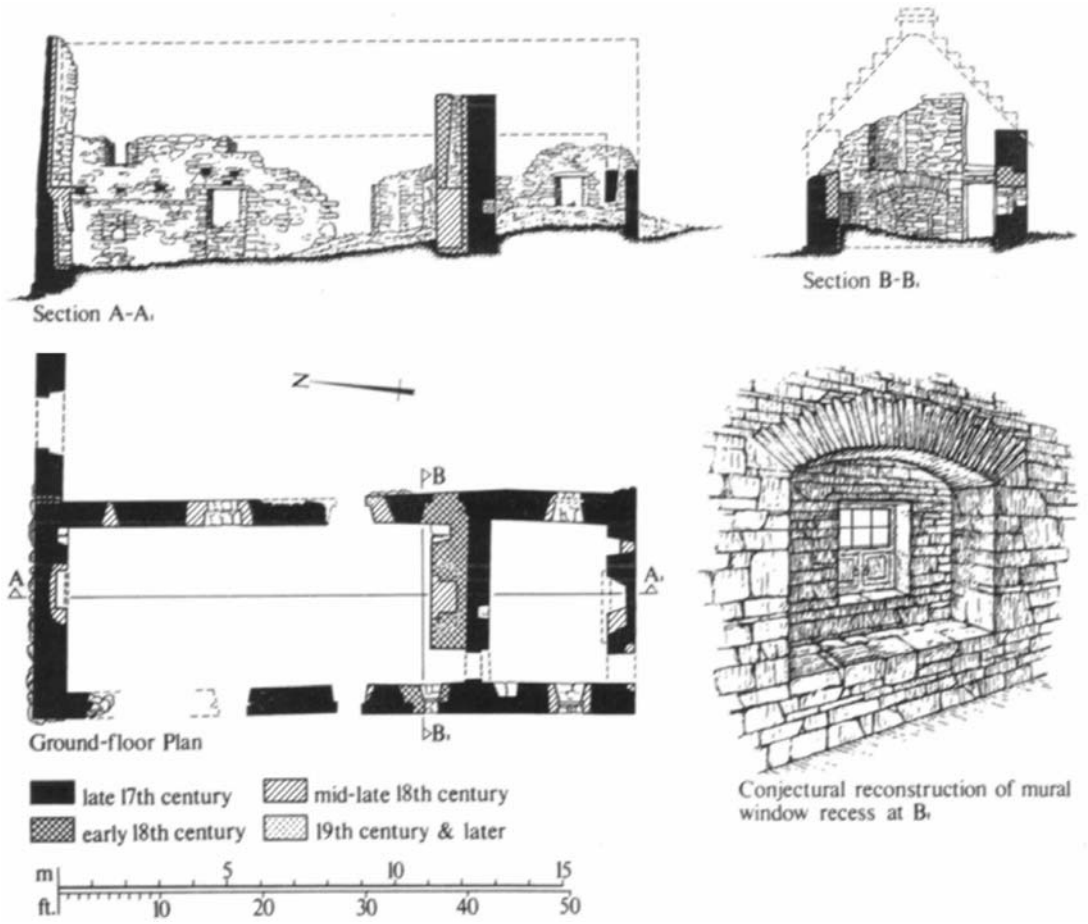

Figure 4.25: Balsarroch House, Galloway, ground-floor plan, sections and conjectural reconstruction of window recess. Smith, 1985, fig 1, p.74. © RCAHMS.

Ian Smith (1985, 73 & 75) has suggested that Balsarroch, in western Galloway, probably dates to the last quarter of the 17th century, however, "the absence of specifically dateable features precludes a precisely dated sequence". Smith (*ibid*, 75 fn 3) goes on to note that the slab-lined crow-steps "are of a type paralleled in the 16th century tower-houses at Lochnaw… and Meikle Galdenoch". Therefore an earlier date for Balsarroch should not be ruled out and it also shares characteristics with laird's houses in Orkney and Shetland built in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (*see* Section 6.5.2). Balsarroch was part of the barony of Corsewall and it belonged to the Campbells during the 16th and 17th centuries, "one of whom was presumably responsible for erecting the house" (*ibid*, 81).

Figure 4.26: Balsarroch House, Galloway, from ENE, *c.* 1914 (*Country Life*, 36 (11 July 1914), 70 – 1). Smith, 1985, fig 1, p.74. © RCAHMS.

The ruinous two-storey house at Balsarroch has a rectangular plan measuring 18 by 6.5 m and, like Pitcastle, it was constructed of clay-bonded rubble masonry, has a mid-gable at the south end, and was still substantially intact in the early decades of the 20th century (Figure 4.26). Evidence of its wider layout is clearer at Balsarroch than at Pitcastle. The house forms the west range of a courtyard layout, a parallel range to the east is just visible behind the house in Figure 4.26 (only a 5 m-long fragment of it survives), and the north and south sides of the courtyard were closed off by a screen wall. In this it is very similar to the suggested Phase II sequence at Jarlshof (Figure 6.11) and early 17th-century laird's houses in Orkney such as House of Meil (Figure 6.8). The arched entrance in the north screen wall survives and the house was entered from the courtyard side. Like Pitcastle, it is suggested that the middle part of the house originally contained a hall heated by a canopied chimney against the mid-gable and there was a loft at its north end. The first-floor room on the south side of the mid-gable and the loft at the north end were presumably independently accessed via timber stairs or ladders. An interesting feature of Balsarroch is the remains of opposing mural window recesses in the long walls opposite the presumed location of the canopied chimney. The remains of joist pockets at a higher level than those associated with the loft and the thickened mid-gable providing ground- and first-floor fireplaces suggest that the hall was ceiled

over at a later date. This characteristic of the later development history of Balsarroch and Pitcastle is discussed in the next section.

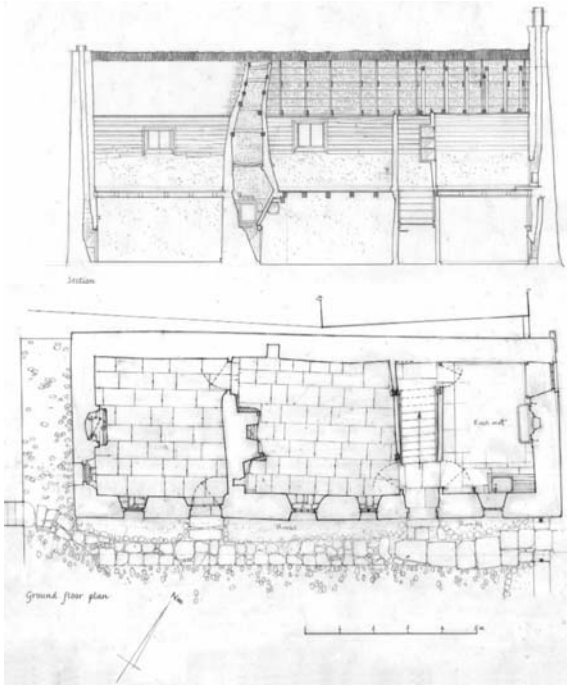

Figure 4.27: Hugh Miller's Cottage, Cromarty. From east, 1968. Ground-floor plan and longitudinal section, surveyed 2001, A. Leith and J. Borland. © RCAHMS.

The original layout of these two laird's houses appear to be reflected in pre-improvement "lofted open-hall farmhouses", a form highlighted by Bruce Walker in *Vernacular Building* in 1988. Following a detailed survey by the RCAHMS,[30] in its original form, Hugh Miller's Cottage in Cromarty (Figure 4.27) might represent a house of this category. It is so-called because it is the birthplace of the geologist/naturalist Hugh Miller (b. 1802). It is often described as being built in 1711 by Hugh's grandfather, John Fiddes, but the RCAHMS (2004, 40) suggest a broader date range of *c.* 1680–1710. Structural traces of a canopied chimney were found at the position of the present stair which suggested that it was superseded by the present chimney when the hall was ceiled over, perhaps in *c.* 1800 when Miller House was built next door (*ibid*). Lofted open-hall farmhouses represent the longevity of the hall

[30] A full survey was conducted by the RCAHMS in 2001 but, at the time of writing (April 2008), the drawings had not been archived in the RCAHMS. The author is indebted to John Borland for kindly supplying a copy.

and the general Type I laird's house layout in buildings of lesser status well into the 18th century in some parts of Scotland (Walker, 1988, 46).[31]

To summarise, the typical form of a Type I laird's house is one- or two-storey-and-garret, rectangular plan, with a hall open to the roof timbers, which formed the principal range around a courtyard. Within this broad definition there is of course room for variation, such as with plan form. The next section begins to chart fundamental changes in the Type I laird's house, in particular, the demise of the hall and rise of the 'parlour', which no doubt influenced the development of the Type II.

4.5 Type I to Type II: the demise of the hall

The 'Type II laird's house' is described by Dunbar (1966, 81) as a "new type of medium-sized domestic residence", a development which quickly found currency after the Union of the Parliaments, with differences so marked "as to be explicable only in terms of a minor revolution in architectural styles". Unfortunately, he goes on to write that "the antecedents and origins of this type are not altogether clear". Dunbar offers several suggestions for antecedents, however. The first of these, that is, significant developments of the Type I laird's house which might have been influenced by English fashions, will be discussed in detail here. Primarily, we are concerned with a fundamental change, from the prestige associated with open halls waning in favour of ceiled ground-floor parlours.

Two phenomenon are discussed below, firstly, ceiled ground-floor halls found in some prestigious town houses of the first half of the 17th century and, secondly, the influence of the parlour from the middle of the 17th century.

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[31] An example of a cruck-framed one-storey farmhouse with an 'open hall' might be represented by Over Croy Farmhouse in Dunbartonshire which was surveyed by the RCAHMS in 1979. It originated as a mains farm, "thus of some middling grade status" (Stell, 1981–2a, 9), which was probably built in 1728 for John Hay of Overcroy. Stell (2005, 3) also suggests that the ruinous Gutcher's Isle in Stewartry, which might date to the second half of the 17th century, may be another parallel which had a lofted hall.

4.5.1 The low hall

In England, the low hall had currency from the early 16th century. Initially, it functioned as "the most public room in the house… used by everyone who had access to the house and providing the central circulation space off which lay parlours or services and from which simple stairs rose directly to chambers at either end" (Cooper, 1999, 275). It evolved in size and layout as its function changed "from the most important room into an ordinary room and then into a vestibule" (Mercer, 1954, 23). One of the most important developments of the 16th century in England was the low hall, above which was a room of high status. Though this indicates that the prestige associated with open or high halls in England was waning, it took time to be adopted by the lesser gentry (Cooper, 1999, 277–9). Two houses built for high status individuals in East Lothian and Stirling in 1628–33 show an awareness on the part of the designers of the function of halls in fashionable English homes of this period.

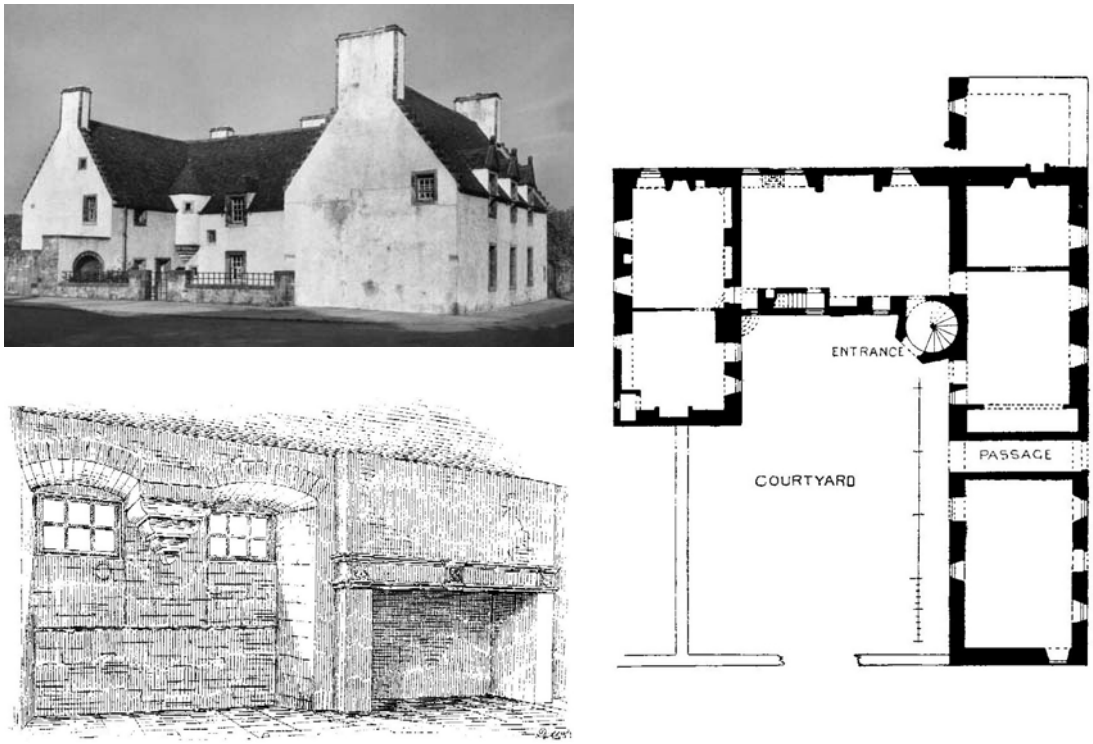

Figure 4.28: Old Hamilton House, Prestonpans. Right: ground-floor plan. Bottom left: interior of hall. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), figs 966–7, p.546. Top right: view from SSE. © Newsquest (Herald & Times), licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Old Hamilton House was built for Lord Magdalens (a Senator of the College of Justice) in Prestonpans in 1628. It is arranged on (a now truncated) courtyard plan and had a low hall in the east wing accessed directly from an entrance in the base of the octagonal stairtower which provided a 'porch' (Figure 4.28, right). It was heated by a lateral stack in the north-east wall to the left of which is a buffet recess (Figure 4.28, bottom left). A private stair in the opposite wall linked the hall to the first-floor room above. The stairtower provided the grand access to principal rooms on the first floor (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 545–6, 548–50). Dunbar (1966, 81) considers that the "part courtyard layout provides sufficient ground-floor superficial area to accommodate both living and service rooms" and hence halls could be placed on the ground floor. However, we have seen that most laird's houses would have been laid out on a courtyard or associated with ancillary structures. Later modifications have masked the original arrangement of the first floor at Old Hamilton but it is conceivable that the room directly above the hall was a dining room. In this its vertical arrangement seems to have been based on the stacked low hall–great chamber of contemporary English manor houses (Cooper, 1999, 293).

Figure 4.29: Argyll's Lodging, Stirling, from the north-east, photographed in the 1950s. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The much grander 'Argyll's Lodging'[32] in Stirling is also U-plan (Figure 4.29), created when the existing tower-house on the site was extended for Sir William Alexander (later Earl of Stirling) in 1632–3. The house may have been designed by William Wallace (†1631), in collaboration with Alexander's son Sir Anthony (†1637), both of whom were masons to the Crown (Fawcett, 2002, 718 & 723). It has been suggested that the resultant plan, three ranges around a courtyard with a screen wall on the fourth side, was based on the French *hôtel* (*ibid*, 719; McKean, 2001, 189; Howard, 1995b, 143; Mays, 2003, 69; Lynch, 1992, 258). Post-1603 influences from England can be seen in the regular quadrangular-plan (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 19), although a strong Scottish tradition along these lines, in terms of tight courtyards closed off by screen walls, was already familiar. Deborah Howard (1995b, 143 & 145) describes Tankerness House (Figure 4.9, p.112), as remodelled in *c.* 1631, as "a more coherent *hôtel*" than previously. It comprised more than one distinct abode before and after its reworking, and, in terms of both scale and aesthetics it has little in common with the French model. The *hôtel* may not therefore have been the inspiration for all courtyard town houses, large or small.

Internally, the room names at Argyll's Lodging derive from 1680 and '82 inventories, so it is not now certain how each room functioned in the 1630s (Fawcett, 2002, 725). What can be ascertained, however, is that the centrally-placed entrance to the main (east) wing of Argyll's Lodging opened directly into a 'laigh hall', the north end of which was screened, behind which a stair which led to the principal rooms on the first floor. A large original fireplace survives at the south end of the hall, and doors here led to a spiral stair and a room, called the 'low dining room' in the 1680s. A door on the east side of the hall led to the gardens and, like Old Hamilton, a buffet recess survives in the west wall.

The way in which other rooms and stairs are arranged around the hall at Argyll's Lodging, would suggest that its patron, "one of the leading courtiers and men of letters of his generations, and Secretary of Scotland from 1626", would have ensured

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[32] So-called after 1640; later additions including the screen wall were added by the Earl of Argyll in 1674.

that his house would impress his monarch, Charles I, who had been raised in England and who finally returned north for his Scottish coronation in 1633 (Fawcett, 2002, 718). Prestigious houses like Argyll's Lodging and Old Hamilton indicate the ways in which contemporary views about the symbolic function of the hall were beginning to change in Scotland. However, as in England, the ceiling of halls, which we see at Pitcastle and Ballsarroch, represents a more gradual change in the houses of lesser lairds. Another English concept, the parlour, may have been more influential in the laird's houses of the second half of the 17th century and, hence, the form of the first Type II lairds houses; this innovation is discussed next.

4.5.2 The parlour

More significant in the development of laird's houses are later examples of the Type I which have a kitchen and a principal room on the ground floor separated by a centrally-placed internal straight stair.

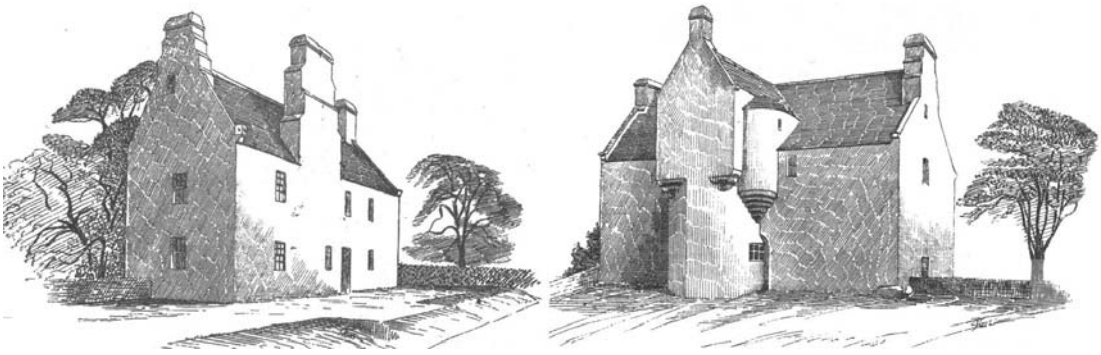

Figure 4.30: Williamstoun House, Perthshire, early 17th century and *c.* 1650s, from the north-west (left), from the south-west (right). MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1878), figs. 654–5, pp.195–6.

Williamstoun House is reminiscent of houses like Abertarff (Figure 4.4), in that it has a tower corbelled out from the octagonal-plan to the square on its north side (left, Figure 4.30). It may have once functioned as a stairtower with the principal entrance at its foot. In its present form, the main entrance is located towards the east end of the south front (right, Figure 4.30). Here, the three bays are fairly evenly arranged, despite the fireplaces and flues of the large lateral chimneystack. Though the interior

was gutted as recently as 2001–04,[33] it once consisted of a kitchen and parlour on the ground floor entered from a tiny lobby at the foot of a straight stair, while the landing provided access to first-floor rooms on either side.

The estate of Williamstoun changed hands in 1650 when it was purchased from Sir William Blair of Kilfauns by Lawrence Oliphant of Gask and the building of the house is traditionally associated with Lawrence's son, Master Patrick Oliphant. As Patrick did not succeed to his father's properties after 1679 as he was disinherited, Patrick continued to live at Williamstoun (Tranter, 1986, II, 148–9; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 195–6). Williamstoun may represent a major modification from a principal front with stairtower (such as Abertarff built in 1593) leading to a first-floor hall with a lateral stack (such as Bay House of 1595) reoriented to form a regularly disposed principal front and re-planned with ground-floor parlour and straight internal stair. Patrick Oliphant may therefore be credited with remodelling this house, rather than having been responsible for the original building.

[33] The work had been unauthorised and the opportunity was lost to sufficiently record the original structure ("Williamston House, Crieff", 2004).

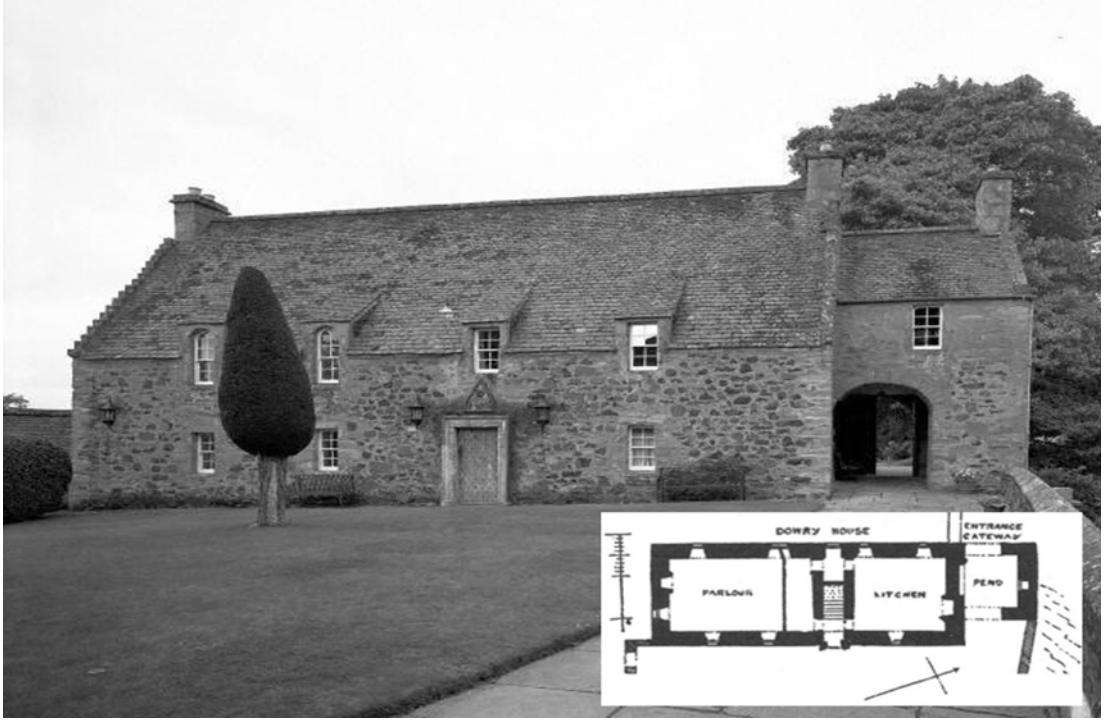

Figure 4.31: Dower House, Stobhall, Perthshire, 1610s and *c.* 1650s, from the east. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Ground-floor plan (inset), MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), fig. 806, p.359.

The Dower House at Stobhall (Figure 4.31) was gutted and re-roofed in the 1950s, however, the straight stair with its plaster ceiling recorded by MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92, II (1887), fig. 811, p.363) survived. The barony of Stobhall came into the possession of the Drummond family in the 14th century; Drummond Castle in Strathearn became their principal seat from 1488. The earliest surviving building at Stobhall is the chapel which dates to 1578. The triangular armorial panel over the entrance to the Dower House has the initials 'E I P' and 'C I P' indicating Earl John Perth and Countess Jane Perth. John succeeded to the earldom in *c.* 1612 around the time of his marriage and his wife died about ten years later. This provides a fairly secure date for the original building. The south end of the house probably originally functioned as a ground-floor hall with the site of the fireplace serving it most likely occupied by the present stair. The gateway on the north side of the pend has an armorial panel much like the one over the entrance and the detail of the archway's mouldings marries well with a date in the 1610s.

The Dower House probably took its present form after Lord Perth (†1662) moved to Stobhall from Drummond Castle in *c.* 1650. '1671' is carved elsewhere in the building so therefore his grandson, James, is credited with its completion and probably added the plaster ceiling over the stair (*ibid*, 366). The RCAHMS suggests that it may have not been completed until 1695 (RCAHMS visit notes, 1989, NO13SW 6.00, Canmore database). A date in the 1650s for the straight stair with paired rooms is credible on the basis of comparison with the probable date for the remodelled Williamstoun, also in Perthshire. MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92, II (1887), 365) observed that the plan of the Dower House "was a common one at this period". The presumed hall was ceiled over and the dormers added to light the upper floor. A room was added over the pend in the 18th or early 19th century.[34]

The presumed function of the ground-floor public room in the remodelled Perthshire laird's houses described above is as a parlour. The other main ground-floor room, the kitchen, continued in its original function.

The origins and functions of the English parlour in secular houses is somewhat unclear, but from the late 14th century they functioned as "the family's everyday sitting and eating room, and where one entertained guests except when dining more publicly in the hall or more grandly in the great chamber" (Cooper, 1999, 189). The parlour could double as a guest bedroom, or, in smaller houses, the householder's bedroom, however, by the early 16th century, "parlours in houses of any consequence" did not contain beds (Girouard, 1978, 58–9). This intimate, low-ceiled room was usually located on the ground floor below the great chamber or, if the house had a ground-floor hall, at the high end. Around 1600, parlours came to be increasingly important, with interior fittings similar to those of great chambers (*ibid*, 104).

Whether the ground-floor living rooms at Williamstoun and Stobhall were known as 'parlours' by their mid-16th-century occupants is not known. In large English houses

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[34] Straight stairs can be found in early Renaissance mansions like Duntarvie Castle, West Lothian (built after 1588) but there the stair leads to first-floor principal rooms and the ground floor is used for a kitchen and stores.

of a similar date, the great chamber, which was used for state dining and was separate from the more private sleeping chamber, was positioned directly above the parlour (*ibid*, 128). Scottish traditions of the semi-public function of the principal bedchamber[35] and first-floor open halls might suggest that the rooms directly above the 'parlour' in Williamstoun and Stobhall could have been more public than private. In seems reasonable to suggest that ideas related to 'polite' architecture from England, such as ground-floor parlours, would have influenced houses of the upper classes in Scotland, in particular, after the Union of the Crowns.

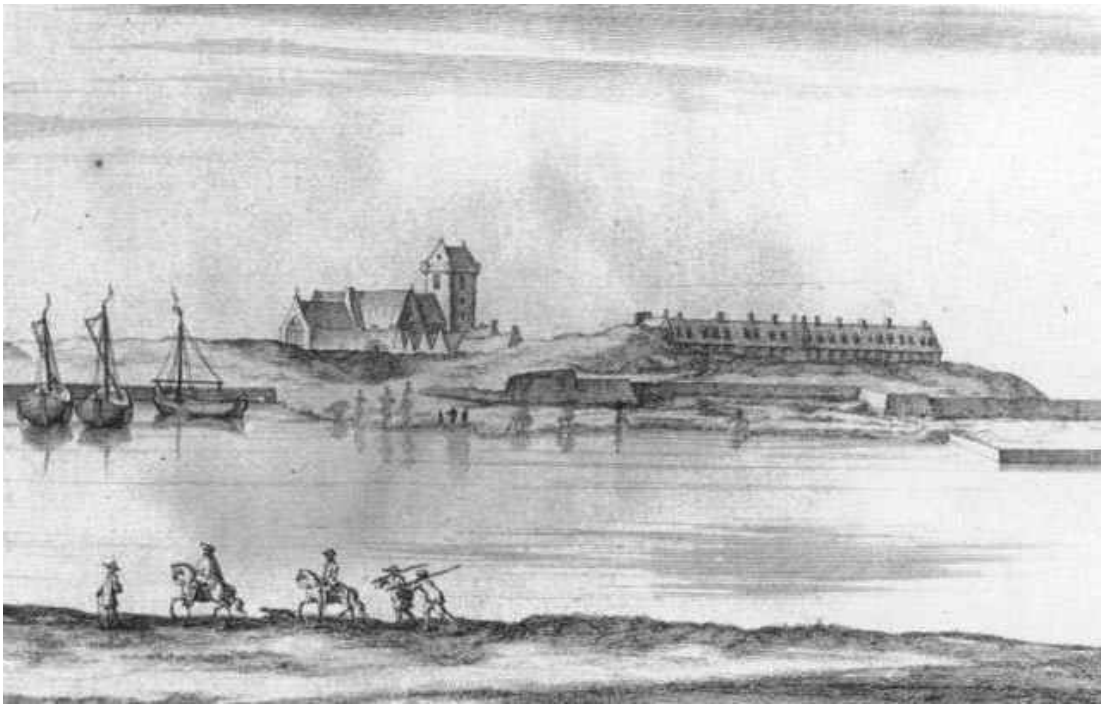

Figure 4.32: 'The Prospect of Ayr from the East' by John Slezer. Slezer, 1695, II, pl. 30.

Dunbar (1966, 82) has suggested that English fashions may "have penetrated into quite remote parts of the country… when Ordnance Department engineers are known to have erected a number of important fortifications and barracks at strategic centres as far apart as Ayr and Inverness" from 1651 to 1660. Only the citadel forts built in Ayr, Inverness, Leith and Perth, to designs of military architects (three of whom

[35] Girouard (1978, 99) notes that bedrooms were simply described as 'chambers' (implying their function as bed-sitting rooms) until the mid-16th century in England when the term 'bedchamber' becomes common. On the continent, in France for example, chambers continued to serve for both sleeping and 'sitting' throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

originated from the Low Countries), contained buildings that could have *directly* influenced planning on a domestic scale, that is the "very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers and soldiers" described by John Ray when he visited Leith in 1661 (cited in Grant, 1880–83, VI, 258).[36] The few plans, descriptions and one surviving view (*see* Figure 4.32) show that they were dominated by their churches, piazzas and four-storey barrack blocks. However, the citadels themselves had a very short lifespan as they were thrown down in the few years following the Restoration of 1660 (Tait, 1965, 12–13 & 15; Roy, 2002, 145).

What may have been of greater importance to the planning of laird's houses therefore, is the communication of ideas both within genteel society and between master-builders. At the same time, some of the traditional functions of the Scottish 'hall', such as for holding court, were no longer valid and so the 'hall' could be more readily compared to the English 'parlour'. Ceiling over the hall is evident in both examples of laird's houses described in Section 4.4.2.1 and in the later house in Cromarty. At Balsarroch and Pitcastle it is not clear exactly when this happened, but it could be towards the end of the 17th century when the first new laird's houses are built with the ground-floor kitchen/stair/parlour arrangement. If the mid-17th century date for the remodelled Williamstoun is secure, then it represents an early survival of other characteristics found in the Type II laird's house such as the shift away from stairtowers/forestairs to straight stairs and more emphasis on the symmetry of the principal façade.

4.6 The Type II laird's house

What is it that makes the Type II so different from the Type I? The origins of the main difference—the demise of the hall—have been traced above. The next important characteristic is the symmetrical façade, though "a degree of symmetry, both of plan and of elevation, can be observed in certain lairds' houses of the seventeenth century" (Dunbar, 1966, 81), particularly in larger Renaissance mansions. It follows that with the kitchen/stair/parlour arrangement one would

[36] The soldiers' houses are likely to have followed the Ayr and Inverness model of four-storey blocks.

expect to see a symmetrical façade. However, at Stobhall and Williamstoun the constraints of the original layout resulted in the entrances being sited both left of centre. Symmetry tends to be more strictly adhered to in the later Type II houses, whether built anew or resulting form a radical reworking. The first examples of the Type II date to the 1690s and several early houses will be discussed to highlight the type's characteristics and early development. Here we shall also consider whether parallels can be found in three of Dunbar's (*ibid*, 81–2) suggested antecedents: the English gentry house, the architecture of Sir William Bruce and his circle, and pattern books. Finally, a particular variant of the Type II, the double-pile plan, will be discussed, followed by a discussion of a 'typical' mid-18th-century laird's house.

4.6.1 Gentleman architects and the English gentry house

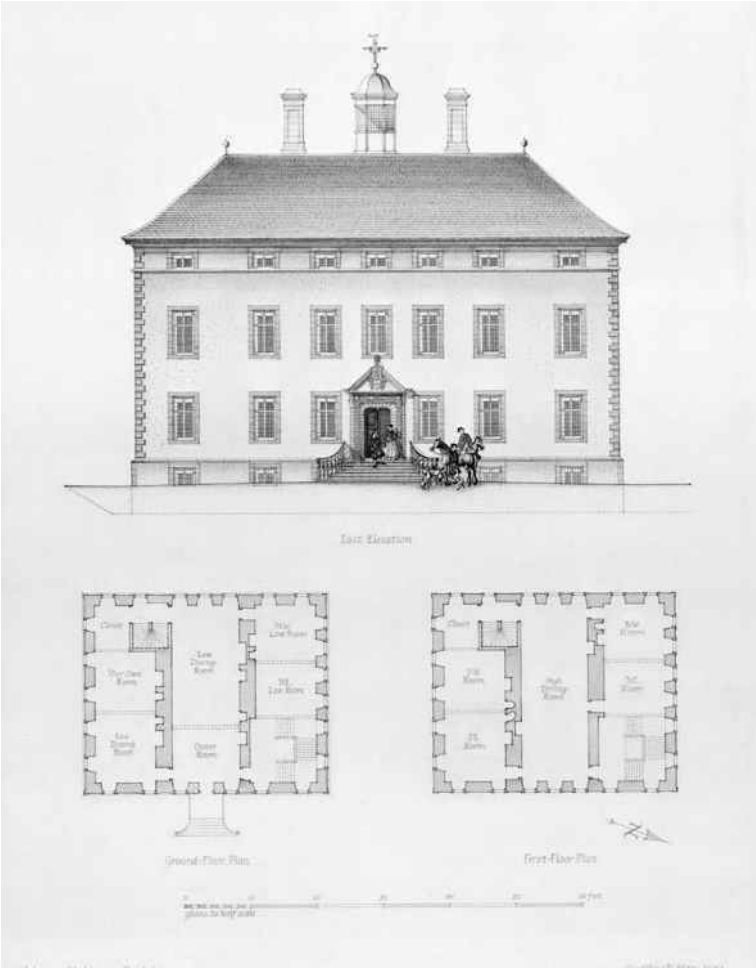

Figure 4.33: Moncrieffe House, Perthshire, by Sir William Bruce, 1679 (destroyed by fire 1957), surveyed 1957 and drawn 1970 by G. D. Hay. © RCAHMS.

The ideas of classicism developed by the first Scottish 'architects', Sir William Bruce and James Smith (*c.* 1645–1731), would have been first seen in the grand designs of country seats such as Moncreiffe House, Perthshire (Figure 4.33), built by Bruce in 1679. At Moncrieffe, Bruce employed a triple-pile, tripartite plan, with the principal floor reached by ascending a grand flight of steps over a semi-basement. The attic storey has compressed windows between a stringcourse and the eaves of the hipped roof. Crucially, the main elevation is symmetrical, with a strong emphasis at the entrance. Bruce was widely travelled in England, France, Germany, Norway and the Low Countries (Wemyss, 2005, 14 & 17). In terms of English architects, the work of Sir Roger Pratt and Hugh May (1621–84) would have been influential (Colvin, 1978, 1520). Bruce may have influenced the remodelling of his childhood home, Blairhall, in the *c.* 1690s: this is regarded as a 'laird's house' and is discussed in the next section. In general, the most likely 'translators' of the new ideas of classicism of Bruce and Smith, would have been the masons who assisted them, such as Tobias Bauchop (†1710) who worked on Bruce's own mansion, Kinross House (1686–93).

Figure 4.34: 'Bauchop's House', 25 Kirkgate, Alloa, 1695, south elevation, surveyed 1971. © RCAHMS.

The house Bauchop built for himself in Alloa still survives; however, work carried out in 1979–81 and 2002 involved some rebuilding (Figure 4.34). It has been

described by Howard Colvin (*ibid*, 79) as showing "an intelligent understanding of the new architectural principles which Bauchop [*sic*] would have learned from Bruce." It seems that Bauchop re-fronted an existing house, as the south façade was poorly tied into the structure (Historic Scotland Architect's Advisory Report, 13/03/95, unpublished report). In its remodelled form, its composition and many of its finely-wrought features would have influenced the development of the laird's house. It has a four-bay symmetrical façade, a central doorpiece with a delicately lugged architrave, a datestone inscribed with 1695 and "T.B.M.L.", acanthus-decorated skewputts, and "an exquisitely carved mural sundial" (Beaton, 1997, 65) nestling between two first-floor windows. It is set out on an L-plan and though the internal arrangements attributable to Bauchop are difficult to define due to subsequent alterations, it has been suggested that the kitchen was housed below the presumed parlour in a service-basement (RCAHMS record sheet, NS89SE 53, CLR/5/1, Aug 1971). This is a rare and early example of service-basements in houses of this size.

Figure 4.35: Pilrig House, Edinburgh, 1638, remodelled late 17th or early 18th century, from the south-west. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 4.36: 'The Mansion House', Eamont Bridge, Cumbria, 1686 (attributed to Thomas Machell), photograph by Peter Higginbotham, 2006. © www.workhouse.org.uk.

Pilrig House, now enveloped by Edinburgh (Figure 4.35), was also built on the L-plan and was remodelled around the time of Bauchop's House. It was built in 1638 (though it may incorporate earlier material) with its main entrance at the foot of a circular stairtower at the re-entrant angle. The introduction of a 'service basement'

reoriented the house towards the south. The new entrance was framed by a Doric-columned doorpiece reached by a flight of steps, the central two bays being topped by a shaped nepus gable. There seems to have been a revival of the 'Dutch gable' conveyed via England after the accession of William and Mary in 1689, and so it seems unlikely that these modifications to Pilrig could be earlier in date (Howard, 1992, 37–8, 44-45).

In terms of contemporary houses built in England of a comparable size to Bauchop's House and Pilrig, the most useful parallels are those with symmetrical façades, often of five-bays, built in the northern counties, and which vary from T- to L-plan to double-pile (Barley, 1979, 253; Cooper, 1999, 237). One Cumbrian example with baroque detailing is illustrated in Figure 4.36. This house in Eamont Bridge, built in 1686, has a well-delineated five-bay façade, small attic windows, and, like Pilrig and Bauchop's House, a strongly emphasised central bay. Nicholas Cooper (2002a, 30) has observed that, in England, "there is in the course of the seventeenth [century] a falling-off of all forms of decorative display, whether didactic or status-based, both inside and outside …, implying a changing attitude to cultural and personal display". The plainer architecture of Inigo Jones (1573–1652) and his followers, found favour in this climate. And so, the preferences of the lesser gentry in pre-Union England could have influenced their Scottish counterparts. For example, their desire for privacy and retirement manifested itself in the decline of the hall and rise of the parlour. Status did not need to be so overtly expressed through display and so internal surface treatments became plainer, and exteriors became less cluttered characterised by the symmetrical façade and decline in heraldry. The influence of the architects of the late 17th-century Scottish country house, distilled through mediums such as their masons and through direct links with the lairds, may have had even more bearing on the earliest Type II laird's houses.

4.6.2 The first Type II laird's houses

Two laird's houses which survive to different degrees, Blairhall, Fife, remodelled in the late 17th century (Figure 4.37) and the Old Mains of Rattray, Perthshire, 1694 (Figure 4.38), were two-storey, single-pile houses with steeply-pitched roofs.

Blairhall (13.3 by 5.8 m) is a remodelled Type I house and Rattray (12.4 by 5.7 m) may have been built on the site of its predecessor as they both have similar plan proportions to many Type I houses. A T-plan laird's house, built in Stirlingshire in 1702, provides an example of a more resolved plan and shows how classical principles found at Blairhall and Rattray were applied to smaller houses. Blairhall is discussed first and, as has been mentioned above, is particularly significant, given its direct links with Sir William Bruce.

Figure 4.37: Blairhall, Fife, from the south, 1982 (before restoration). © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.co.uk.

Blairhall is the birthplace of the 'pioneering architect' Sir William Bruce. By about 1630, his father, Robert Bruce had already added an east wing (demolished 1820s, rebuilt 1990s). Soon after William's elder brother Thomas inherited Blairhall he rebuilt the south front to create a symmetrical five-bay façade. The ceilings were raised so that the garret was suppressed, and a rear outshot containing a quarter-turn stair was added. The new south-facing windows were probably sash-and-case, a type developed in England in the 1670s.[37] A west wing to balance the east one was planned but never built: this design may have been directly influenced by Sir William. The alterations to the original block did not create a symmetrical plan; the

[37] Sir William could well be credited with bring the technology back to Scotland as early versions seem to have been installed at Ham House, Surrey (1670–78) when he was working for his patron, John Maitland, 2nd Earl of Lauderdale (Duke from 1672) (Colvin, 1978, 154; Louw, 1983, 62).

centrally-placed bolection-moulded doorpiece opened into a large hall and the drawing room was on the west. Rather than a corridor, the foot of the stair may have been reached by crossing a large hall. Later alterations and the demolition of the east wing make it difficult to be certain about the internal layout and room function (Dean, 1987, 5–7; Stell, 1981–2b, 28–9). Blairhall is of course highly significant as it shows how the ideas Bruce borrowed and developed, both during his time in England and as a merchant based in Holland (Wemyss, 2005), were translated directly into the more modest laird's house without these ideas having to be mediated through the country houses for which he is best known.

Figure 4.38: Old Mains of Rattray, Perthshire, from the west, 1966. © RCAHMS.

Rattray was built for 'DAVID [CRIC]HTON' in '[1]6[9]4', as indicated by a now illegible armorial lintel over the door and a 1694 datestone over the kitchen fireplace. Crichton was the factor of Thomas Rattray of Craighall and had acquired a sixth part of the Mains of Rattray in 1692 (Paul, 1983, 51). Intriguingly, its present appearance, with a gently pitched roof of 40º, and three broad bays, belies its original form which would have been closer to that of Blairhall, though perhaps of four rather than five bays (RCAHMS record sheets, NO24NW 48, PTR/10/1, 28/10/66 & 19/10/67; TA/PE/8, Dec 1982). Details include skewputts with carved human heads and roll-

moulded attic windows.[38] Its windows were probably half-shuttered with leaded lights in the upper parts, and those on the ground floor had iron bars (Walker & Gauldie, 1984, 57; Addyman, 2002, pt.1, 2). The extension against the north-west gable has a '17 DC IR 20' lintel and probably replaced the original kitchen. Though a separate kitchen block would have been a feature of some Type I laird's houses, the practice of moving the kitchen outwith the main body of the house into a pavilion which developed in England in the 1680s may have been of greater influence in Scotland later in the 17th century (Girouard, 1978, 151). In the early years of the 19th century another outshot was added to the rear, and the main house was remodelled to three bays, with the eaves raised to the same pattern as the nearby Mains of Rattray, built in 1802 (Paul, 1983, 62).

Of the early Type IIs known to the present author, the planning is often difficult to unravel and, in the words of Geoffrey Stell (1981–2b, 29), do "not easily fit the accepted norm of a two-unit symmetrically-planned laird's house". This includes Old Shieldbank, Fife (15.1 by 6.3 m) which seems, like Blairhall, to have been remodelled from a Type I. The entrance is towards the west end of the south front and the panel above the lugged bolection-moulded door surround is dated 1722. It had three rooms on each of its main floors. The two west rooms were separated by a mid-gable, and it has a stair outshot in the manner of Blairhall (*ibid*, 29 & 32; RCAHMS record sheet, NT09SW 95, FIR/62/1, Dec 1981 & archive drawing DC6057). By the late 17th century in English country houses, the great chamber (now termed the 'saloon') was often placed on the ground floor, so that it was next to the hall which served as an impressive vestibule rather than for public dining (Girouard, 1978, 137). It is possible, that in laird's houses with a tripartite division of space, as well as a parlour, a more formal dining room could have been located on the ground-floor. As kitchens were taken outwith the main body of the house (as at

[38] These might represent reused architectural fragments from an earlier building together with a moulded fragment at eaves level in the north-east wall, a keyhole gunloop in the 1720 addition, and another possible gunloop in the outbuilding 30m to the west. RCAHMS visit notes of 1989, NO24NW 48, Canmore database, www.rcahms.gov.uk; RCAHMS record sheet, NO24NW 48, PTR/10/1, 28/10/66 & 19/10/67.

Rattray in 1720), a dining room/stair/parlour arrangement became more common later in the 18th century.

Planning seems to be slightly more resolved at Hills, Kirkcudbrightshire (Figure 4.1, p.98) where a new house was built in 1721 adjoining the existing tower by John Selchrig, mason, for Edward Maxwell. The building contract is specific about its dimensions, 40 by 15 ft (12.2 by 4.6 m), a wide fireplace and oven for the kitchen in the south-east gable, half the ground floor was to be boarded and the other half flagged, and there was to be a "convenient handsome chimney in the other gable for a chamber".[39] A central stair of 13 steps against the mid-gable provided access to the first floor, and there was a narrower stair to the attic rooms. As the tower was remodelled and the north range (demolished after 1789) retained, and the contract is non-specific other than for the kitchen and chambers, the function of rooms is not easily assigned. The entrance in the north façade is slightly left-of-centre and a fourth bay is squeezed against the west wall. Selchrig used the interesting device of a heraldic panel between each of the upper four windows (the west one is now blocked) which creates a regular rhythm and, unlike the Type II examples thus far discussed, the house had to be approached obliquely through the 1598 gatehouse (McCulloch, 1934–5, 344; Maxwell-Irving, 2000, 149, 151–2; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, III (1889), 391; Statutory List description, HBNUM: 9715).

[39] RCAHMS archive, NX97SW 5, 'Hills Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire', typescript of contract, D3.23 HIL(P). Original ref: Ardwell Papers, vol 49, 12.

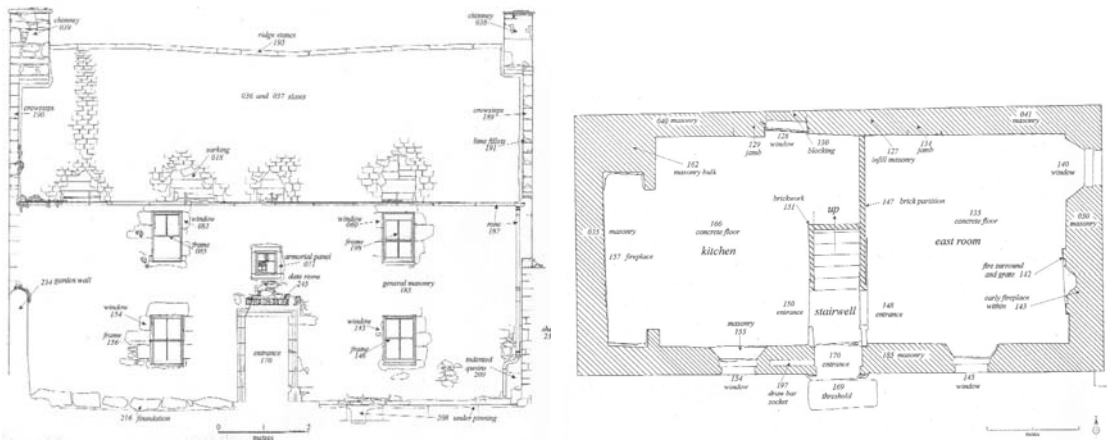

Figure 4.39: Old Auchentroig, Stirlingshire, 1702, survey of south elevation and ground-floor plan (position of north wing not indicated). Addyman, 2002, pt. 2. © National Trust for Scotland:

Old Auchentroig, Stirlingshire (Figure 4.39), completed in 1702,[40] was the subject of survey and limited excavation in 1998 which revealed that it had been built as a T-plan, possibly fronted by a formally-planned forecourt (Addyman, 2002, pt.1, 1 & 7). It had a centrally-placed straight stair between a ground-floor kitchen and parlour, and a three-bay, relatively symmetrical façade. It has been described as both "a hybrid structure, containing archaic details… and vernacular construction techniques, with some concession to modernity" and "an example of almost the last stage in the evolution from the tower house to the purely domestic" (*ibid*, 35). This last remark may relate to the draw-bar and window bar slots, but, as has been discussed previously, the tower-house and laird's house of the 17th century should not be regarded as defensive. The other 'archaic details' are listed as the chamfered window surrounds, crowsteps and the kitchen fireplace (*ibid*) but these same details are shared by other laird's houses of the same period.

The south-facing windows of Old Auchentroig are arranged so that they are centrally-placed to best light the rooms on each floor, not so that they are evenly

[40] Addyman (2002, pt.1, 22) suggests that John Maclachlan may have begun to build the house in the 1690s but could have been one of thousands who lost money in the Darien Scheme (1689–1700). There is evidence to suggest that fitting-out of the interiors was delayed and this might tie in with his slow financial recovery.

disposed on the main façade.[41] The house was approached axially, a device which first became "a pervasive design principle in Scotland… after the Restoration" (Howard, 1995b, 58). Thus it is more outward-looking than, say, the Dower House at Stobhall whose entrance (thus 'principal' façade) was only apparent once within the courtyard. In terms of planning, it has been suggested that the masons had used a short-lived ell measure of 3 ft 9 ins (1.1 m) since, for example, the internal dimensions of the parlour are 4 ells by 4 ells and 2 ells in height. It is difficult to regard this small T-plan house as having its internal arrangement determined solely on the basis of geometry, however, particularly as there are a few discrepancies in its retrospective application.[42]

The original functions of the extant ground-floor rooms of Old Auchentroig are fairly clear-cut; a kitchen and parlour. Moving upstairs, the larger east room, directly above the parlour, has a bolection-moulded fireplace and is thought to have been lined with wood-panelling and had a plastered ceiling: the smaller west room had a similar arrangement, but from there a closet provided ladder-access to the loft. Though intended, the loft never functioned as a garret as a necessary second collar rendered the space unusable for bedrooms (Addyman, 2002, pt.1, 16). The survey report (*ibid*, pt.1, 36) suggests that the ground floor of the wing may have contained a pantry, accessed from the kitchen, and a bedroom off the parlour, and that the first floor consisted of a principal bedroom and subsidiary rooms (perhaps 'withdrawing' rooms?) off the two rooms in the main block (*ibid*, 17–20 & 36). With the surviving rooms on the ground and first floors being of roughly equal size, it is doubtful that any of the rooms functioned in the same way as the hall which typified the Type I laird's house. As has been suggested at Stobhall and Williamstoun, the principal

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[41] Addyman (2002, pt.1, 22) suggests that, as the house would have been approached obliquely from the south-east, the bays would have appeared more symmetrical and the house seem longer. But elsewhere this possibility is contradicted by the presumed axial approach from the south through a forecourt (*ibid*, 7 & fig. 1).

[42] The wing is given as 4 ells by 3 ells (Addyman, 2002, pt.1, 21) but to achieve this the party wall must have been 9 ins (0.2 m) less than its present 2 ft (0.6 m) thickness. Though rebuilt in places after the wing was demolished in c 1800, there is no evidence in the survey plans and context descriptions (*ibid*, pt.2, ground floor: plan, first floor: plan & pt.3, 19) to suggest that it differed in width from the other masonry walls. The grid of ells fits less well when applied to the elevations.

bedroom at Old Auchentroig with its superior mouldings may well have retained a public function. Indeed, Girouard (1978, 130) suggests that the public function of the bedchamber, which had been out of favour since the mid-16th century, became fashionable again in England after the Restoration of 1660 as court architecture became influenced by French models. As discussed in Chapter 7 (p.380), chambers in laird's houses could still have functioned as bed-sitting rooms, and hence had a daytime public role, into the 1770s.

4.6.3 The double-pile plan and pattern books

The two-storey, three-bay laird's house – the model that is perhaps most familiar, and evoked by the remodelled Old Mains of Rattray of *c.* 1802 (Figure 4.38) – should perhaps be seen as one of the last manifestations of the building type, given the 250 years of preceding development. Even Old Auchentroig of 1702 does not quite fit this model, with its slight asymmetry and blind bay above the door. Perhaps one influence on Rattray might have been the standard designs for small houses in the pages of pattern books, and another, the first steps taken by Improvers in Scotland. Sir William Bruce, favoured the double-pile plan, with the principal floor raised over a basement, and in some cases with flanking wings; all of which can be seen in varying degrees in some laird's houses. A few small, hipped-roofed, square-plan houses were built in Scotland shortly after the Union, such as Lochlane House, Perthshire (1710), but these are exceptional for their time (Dunbar, 1966, 86–7). The double-pile can be found in laird's houses with a foreshortened rear pile, as at Forebank, Kincardineshire, built in 1757 (*ibid*, 85), or with two parallel blocks under a M-gable. It is thought that perhaps the M-gable could have been influenced by the double tenements of the Hanoverian barracks in Kiliwhimen and Bernera, 1718–23; this will be discussed here using examples from a group in Wester Ross and West Sutherland (Beaton, 1994, 168).

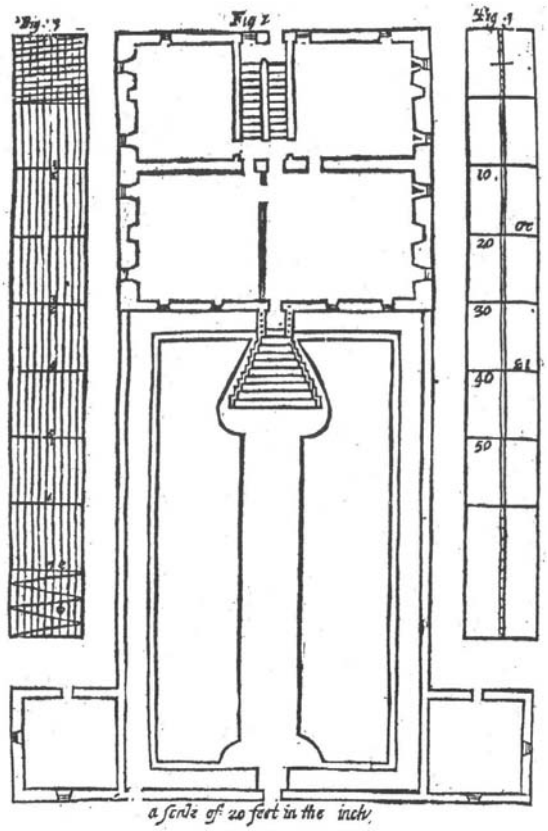

Figure 4.40: Illustration from Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner*, **1683, fig. 1.**

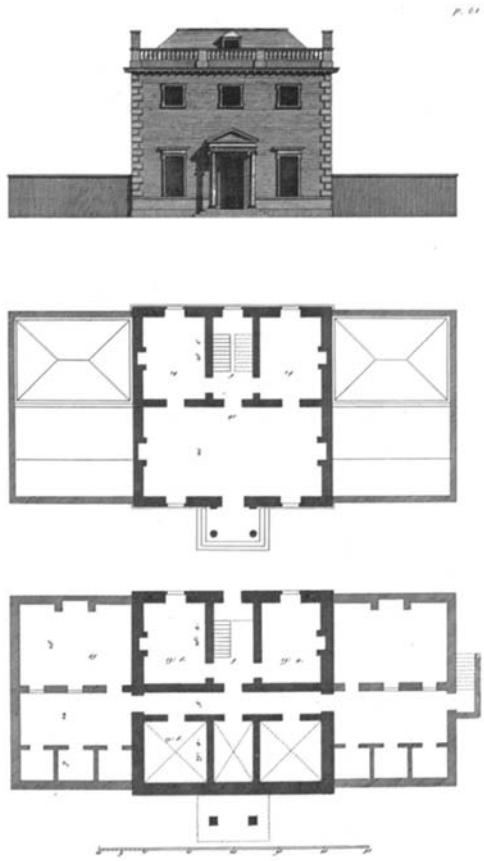

Figure 4.41: Illustration from Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, **1728, pl. 61.**

Dunbar (1966, 82) was the first to suggest that pattern books may have influenced the new type of laird's house. A square-plan, double-pile house is illustrated (Figure 4.40) in *The Scots Gard'ner* by John Reid (1683, 1–2); it begins with the "first step, the house":

> it is but little, yet very commodious & Cheap. There is only 4 Rooms on a Floor… all which enter off the Stayr (yet comunication betwixt) and the door is in the midle, & there is 10 steps up to the first Story, (which is hall or dining Room, withdrawing Room, Bed-Chamber and Waiting-Room) and 10 Steps down to the lower Storey, which is half under ground, and vaulted, this is Kitchen, Cellers and Ladners, &c. That above the dining Room Storey may be Bed-Chambers, library and with-drawing Room: and above these garrets for wardrops. The Roof may be in three so as the midle part may be flat and

> covered with lead and the two sides more steep & flated: there is also a Stayr coming down from the hall without to the parterre of grass and gravel, on whose corners ar two Pavilions opening without the line of the House and sets off in place of Jammes; one of which may be a Store-house, and the other a Dove-house: the Stables, Baking and Brewing house ar on the opposite side, most conveniently placed, as hereafter I shall demonstrate.

Dunbar (1966, 82) describes this house as "a small mansion" and so later pattern books (he offers George Jameson's *Thirty-three designs with the Orders of Architecture according to Palladio*, 1765 expanded into the *Rudiments of Architecture: or, the Young Workman's Instructor*, 1772), which "illustrate less commodious houses", may have provided better parallels for the small Type II laird's house.[43] Certain features, like the axial plan and pavilions, can be found in a number of laird's houses, but, as discussed above, might equally owe their derivation to Bruce and other architects of his time.

It is really only in the 18th century that "the book of house patterns" (Connor, 1987, 66) emerges from English publishing houses. For example, amongst the many plates for country houses in *A Book of Architecture* by James Gibbs (1728), is one of a three-bay, double-pile house with only three steps over the basement (Figure 4.41) "proposed to my Lord *Ilay* for the same place" (*ibid*, xvi); the general composition of its main façade could be said to be similar to the later Type II houses. The same is true of, for example, Design X, from the *Rudiments of Architecture*, 1772, a three-bay, two-and-a-half storey, rectangular-plan, gabled house, two-rooms deep but with one narrow pile, and side wings. It, and a handful of other plates, were well-thumbed by 18th- and 19th-century builders as models for manse, laird's house, villa and farmhouse alike, such as the new Mains of Rattray (Mays, 2003, 71; Dunbar, 1966, 82; Cruft, 2003, 52; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 59–60).

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[43] Some authors, perhaps misreading Dunbar, have suggested that Reid provided "the standard type of small, rectangular laird's house" (Zeune, 1992, 155–6) and have compared it to Blairhall (Mays, 2003, 68), to which it actually bears little resemblance.

David Yeomans (1986) has also considered the role of tradesmen's manuals in the development of modest houses in 17th- and 18th-century England. The first of these were fairly technical and provided formulas and ready reckoners for calculating quantities of materials aimed at the surveyor and carpenter. The scope of the books on offer responded to changing architectural fashions. For example, the text on carpentry added by Godfrey Richards' to his translation of Palladio's *First book of architecture* in 1663 included instruction on the hipped rafter which was required to build 'flat' roofs, that is, hipped roofs shallow enough to be screened by a parapet like that shown in Figure 4.41. 18th-century manuals also included drawings of decorative details and the classical orders, such as the much-reprinted *A Treatise on Carpentry* by Francis Price, first published in 1733 (*ibid*, 14 & 17–18).

The earliest double-pile houses known in Scotland are unusual in both form and date. Drochil Castle, Peebleshire, built by Regent Morton in the 1570s consists of two parallel blocks, the span of each allowing for vaulted cellars, with a central corridor between them: the whole arrangement created an extremely imposing near-square block (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 221–2). Provost Pierson's House, Dundee, probably built in the early 17th century (demolished 1890s), had an arcaded basement with its entrance on the north gable at the end of a spine wall which contained all of the fireplaces and flues (*ibid*, V (1892) 68–70; Walker & Gauldie, 1984, 23). Two houses built on the square-plan are Halkerston Lodge, East Lothian and Preston Lodge, Cupar, Fife. Both seem to date from the early decades of the 17th century. With their pyramidal roofs (that of Preston has been raised), topped by chimneys, tall end-chimneystacks, and catslide dormers (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, IV (1892), 356–63), they probably owe their derivation to square-plan English double-pile 'lodges' built from around the 1620s (Cooper, 1999, 118). It is unlikely that any of these four examples provided a model for late 17th-century or early 18th-century laird's houses, as they are rare, differ considerably in outward appearance, and in some internal devices such as the use of spine walls, and are removed in time by at least 70 years.

M. W. Barley (1979, 254–5) has traced the development of the double-pile plan in England, from medieval examples of two parallel ranges, particularly found in southern towns, to the influence of the Renaissance, social aspirations, regional traditions, and the preferences of builder and patron. Towards the late 17th century and into the early 18th century, "double-pile houses of medium size", that is 12–15 m^2, were built by patrons of manorial status or in the growing suburbs where they belonged to the "rising middle class", and several were built as parsonages (*ibid*, 259). Cooper (2002b, 300) considers the 'London house', as in "the town house that made the most a constricted site by having a plan of two room deep and in which the hall was no longer at the centre of a hierarchical layout", to have influenced houses of all sizes. Rather than the originator the 'double pile' (as has been traditionally suggested *e.g.* Colvin, 1978, 658), Cooper (2002b, 300–1) credits Sir Roger Pratt with coining the term when advocating the form in notes he wrote in the 1660s. In most cases, each pile is of equal depth, but a few examples have a narrow rear range; the whole under a single, gabled roof (Barley, 1979, 254, fig 1c & 262). In the design of the laird's house, the single-pile plan remained most common, however, from the 1720s and '30s, and as discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.5.4), some were built with narrow rear rooms. This may have been made possible by changes in roof and floor construction made possible by advances in the understanding of timber technology in 17th-century England and disseminated in 18th-century manuals such as Price's (Yeomans, 1986, 18). On rare occasions, houses with equal piles were also built at this time, but under two roofs rather than one.

Figure 4.42: Calda House, Assynt, conjectural reconstruction. © Historic Assynt 2005.

Figure 4.43: Flowerdale House, Gairloch. © E. Beaton, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

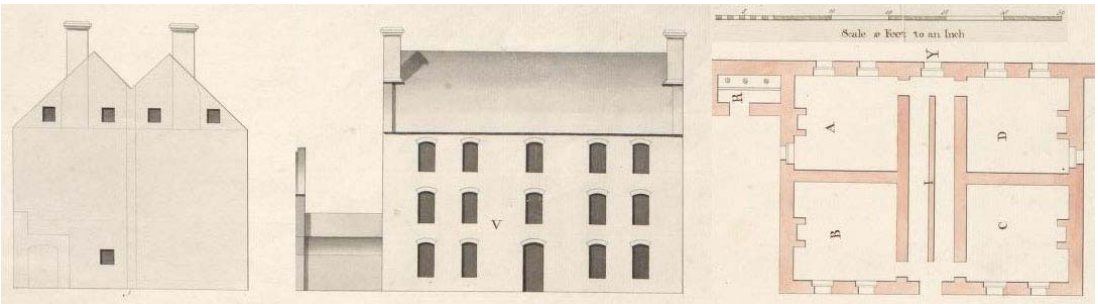

Figure 4.44: One of a pair of barrack blocks at Bernera Barracks, Glenelg, 1720–3 (surveyed in 1763 by Francis Gould) MS.1647 Z.03-05b. © Crown Copyright and © NLS.

Looking particularly at Lochbroom and Gairloch parishes in Wester Ross, but also at one example of a laird's house in neighbouring Assynt, Elizabeth Beaton (1994, 168 & figs 8.18–19, 170–1), has suggested that Calda House (1726) and Flowerdale (1738), built for the Mackenzies of Assynt and Gairloch respectively, were influenced in their double-pile, M-gabled form by Bernera Barracks built in Glenelg in 1720–3. The three buildings are illustrated above for comparison. M-gabled houses, "in which parallel ridges are separated by a valley at a level higher than the eaves… [which] facilitated access between the two ranges of garrets and even made possible a room the full depth of the house", are known in England but were "widely dispersed and uncommon" and the earliest examples date to around the 1690s (Barley, 1979, 258–9). They are similarly rare in Scotland, occasionally formed, perhaps, where a parallel range is added at a later date (Beaton, 1989, 18). Therefore, the M-gables of Bernera, and perhaps details like the segmental-headed windows

(Flowerdale) and paired bays (Calda), could well have influenced the patrons of these two northern laird's houses.

Figure 4.45: Mains of Haddo, Aberdeenshire, first half of the 18th century, from the west. Photograph by G. Mackie, 2007. © Historic Scotland.

The contracts to build Ruthven and Bernera were awarded to Sir Patrick Strachan of Glenkindie (Strathdon) by the Board of Ordnance, and Stell (1973, 22) suggests that Sir Patrick probably used his own workmen. Sir Patrick also built officers' houses in the Kirk Town of Glenelg (Miket, 1998, 43 & 78). Perhaps the Mackenzies had access to the same workforce? Whilst these local families would have known of Bernera by sea, the military roads of 1725–63 could have increased the sphere of influence of forms more common in lowland areas. Calda is one of the earliest symmetrically-planned laird's houses known in the highland region. It is reminiscent of six-bay houses like the T-plan Mains of Haddo, in Crimond parish (Aberdeenshire) in elevation (*see* Figure 4.45), which may have been remodelled from an earlier house after it was acquired by William Black in c. 1700 (Aberdeenshire SMR, NK05NE0014). Flowerdale, built a decade later, also has an entrance reached by a forestair over a basement like Pilrig (Figure 4.35) and the central bays of its six-bay façade are slightly advanced under a crowstepped nepus gable. Similar gables can be found throughout Scotland such as at Leaston House, East Lothian (early 18th-century), Balnacraig (early 18th-century) and Nether Ardgrain (1751), both Aberdeenshire, and Old Allangrange, Ross & Cromarty (1760). In looking closely at two areas in the late 17th and early 18th centuries,

traditionally thought of as being remote, that is Shetland (Chapter 6) and the Western Isles, Skye, and the Small Isles (Chapter 7), it will be shown that there was very little time lag between ideas that seem to have developed in lowland areas, that patrons were extremely well-travelled, and that local masons could have developed advanced ideas fairly independently.

4.6.4 The characteristic Type II laird's house

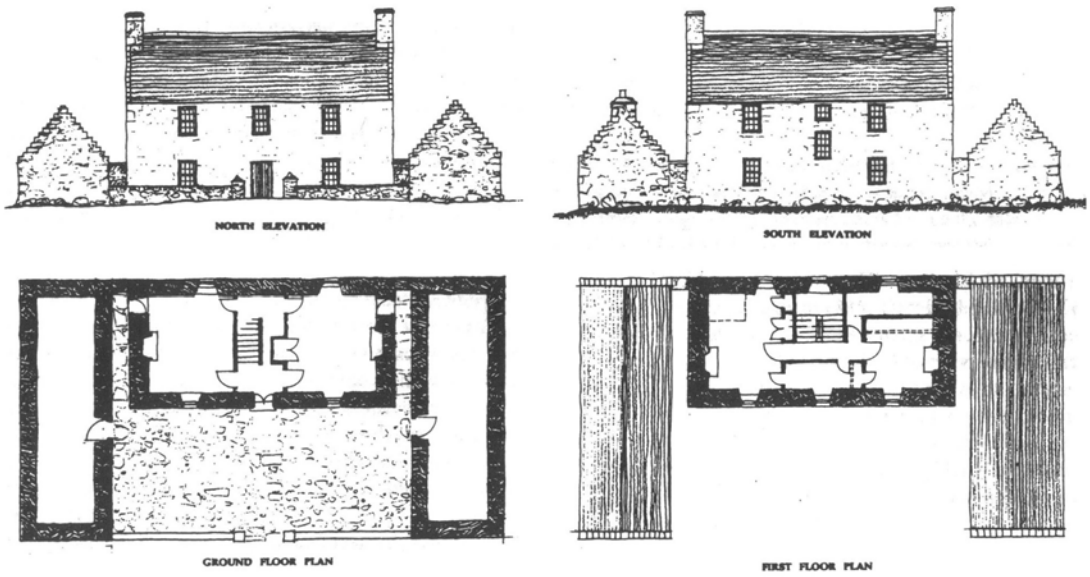

Figure 4.46: Udrigle House, Gairloch, conjectural reconstruction (John Sanders). Wentworth & Sanders, 1996, fig. 1 p.19. © Simpson & Brown Architects.

Perhaps archetypical of the smaller laird's house by the mid-18th century is another example in Gairloch, Udrigle House (Figure 4.46), built by "a slightly less prosperous Mackenzie of Gruinard" (Beaton, 1994, 168) in 1745. Udrigle was probably remodelled from an earlier house,[44] but its 1745 form was of three-bays and two-storeys-and-attic built with two narrow detached ranges flanking a courtyard. The principal façade faces north, to which a porch was added in 1756, and would probably have had an axial approach reminiscent of Old Auchentroig. The door would have opened into a lobby with a kitchen and parlour on either side of a dog-leg stair (Wentworth & Sanders, 1996, 18 & 25–6). In this the stairwell had moved

[44] Two blocked windows and a roll-moulded stone found during the course of restoration in 1992–4 indicate an earlier structure (Wentworth & Sanders, 1996, 21 & 25).

on from the straight stair at Old Auchentroig and dog-legs can be seen centrally-placed at the earlier examples of Dalquhairn (1711, demolished 1960s) and Borrowmeadow (*c.* 1730), both in Stirlingshire. This may reflect a growing emphasis on the lobby as a reception area as the double-width of the stair would create a larger, more open space, and also provide easier access to a third room on the first floor, as at Udrigle. The windows of the rear façade are vertically aligned but the western pair are further towards the centre (perhaps to provide sufficient clear wall internally to accommodate a box bed) and the two central windows are positioned so as to light the stair, which is taken up to the attic floor. Original timber panelling has survived in the first-floor rooms along with the timber stair. Though the ranges, which were probably thatched, might seem crude in comparison to, for example, the hipped pavilion wings of some other contemporaneous laird's houses, they are part of the same genre.

To summarise, the Type II is usually composed of a symmetrical three- to six-bay main elevation. It has a rectangular, single-pile plan, and the entrance is almost invariably centrally-placed. The ground floor is normally arranged as kitchen/stair/parlour with bed chambers on the floor above. A common modification to the stair is the dog-leg, which is often placed in an outshot to create the T-plan. The house is normally approached axially with ancillary ranges or pavilions flanking a forecourt. By the mid-18th century the Type II laird's house had been firmly established and had superseded the Type I.

4.7 Conclusion

The slow development of the laird's house has been traced in this overview, first based on conjecture about those that must have existed in the mid-16th century, then the earliest surviving examples of the 1570s and '80s, through the Scottish Renaissance and Sir William Bruce's classicism, to changes in social expectations and domestic life. Two 'types' of laird's house have been described and what is apparent is that there was a slow changeover and only subtle differences between the late Type I and the early Type II. Several misinterpretations have been highlighted, mainly concerning whether some laird's houses should be seen as 'defensible',

which relates to outmoded theories about later tower-houses, and thus whether any laird's house should be seen as 'transitional'. Important but, to date, overlooked antecedents of the laird's house – the hall and the tenant's house – have also been considered. The evolution of the laird's house will be summarised in this final section, along with a discussion of the greater standardisation that can be observed in planning and elevations during the second half of the 18th century. During this period, the 'laird's house' form and the 'improved farmhouse' become indistinguishable from one another amongst the growing number of houses of small lairds, factors, greater farmers, and ministers. Many 'laird's houses' were also swallowed up in the country houses that they eventually became, while many others were no longer the houses of lairds, and others were simply abandoned. This trend will also be discussed in the conclusion, as it signals the demise of the 'laird's house'.

It is difficult to conjure up an image of the first 'laird's houses' due to the paucity of both physical and documentary evidence. It is possible that some fragmentary remains have been misidentified as the ruins of tower-houses; but it is often impossible to determine whether 'tower-house' or 'laird's house' would be the most appropriate label for many buildings. This dilemma has been described using the examples of Brockloch Tower, Dumfriesshire, and Mervinslaw, Roxburghshire, whose similar plans could have produced either 'tower' or 'house' superstructures. It is clear from the historical evidence that small proprietors emerged in significant numbers during the 16th century as security of tenure increased. It seems likely that masonry 'laird's houses' were being built by relatively secure kindly tenants and new feuars, a process which probably intensified in the decades either side of the Reformation. The one-and-a-half house on Finlaggan is a rare survival of the mid-16th century dwelling of a crown tenant which could represent an important step towards the first 'laird's houses'. Critical to our understanding of the form and function of the earliest laird's houses is the hall. Examples of hall ranges, whether attached to a tower-house or one range of a tower-house complex, and a standalone

hall-house in the case of Loch Dochart, are therefore discussed as key models for the laird's house.

Three examples of other types of houses, a tower-house, a town house and a manse, of 1530–57, from Kirkcudbrightshire, Aberdeen and Elgin respectively, have been discussed in this chapter to illustrate a range of domestic forms which might have also been influential. The 1574 manse in Kirkwall, 'Tankerness House', is so close in form to the first dateable laird's houses that it was probably indistinguishable from such houses in Orkney. It can therefore be regarded as representative of the laird's houses of the 1570s. The town houses described in Culross, Dysart and Prestonpans built during the period 1583–1624 are also considered as 'laird's houses' and they mirrored the courtyard form of their rural counterparts. Renaissance country houses were often built with symmetrical façades in the early 17th century, but it is not until later in the century that this classical ideal becomes commonplace. Four examples of laird's houses from the late 16th- and 17th-centuries are described to illustrate common characteristics of the Type I laird's houses, whether built by wealthy industrialists or the sons of noblemen or by minor lairds, in terms of the open hall and courtyard plan.

Only one of the 'bastles' or 'pele-houses' identified by others in southern Scotland appears to be as early as Tankerness, and that is Uttershill near Penicuik, which might date to 1571. It has been argued in this chapter that the majority of the examples are 'laird's houses' rather than 'defensible farmhouses' following the RCHME (1970, xiv) definition of bastles. Features which are said to characterise bastles, such as the ground floor being given over to an ancillary function, barred windows and draw bar-slots (Ward, 1990, 36–7 & 43) can all be found in 17th-century laird's houses. The details and *dramatis personae* of two Clydesdale examples, Windgate and Glendorch, indicate that their function and status were quite different from one another and one would query, therefore, whether all rectangular-plan houses with vaulted ground-floors should be grouped together. The association of the 'bastle' with a byre function is also disputed by the present writer and this argument is developed in the next chapter.

As with 'bastles', some laird's houses have been seen as being 'transitional', between the 'defensible' tower-house and the 'domestic' laird's house, because of certain shared features. Examples of these features that might be cited are the gunloops, draw-bar slots, window bars, and stairtowers found variously at Garleton, Skelbo, Old Auchentroig, Abertarff, and Old Mains of Rattray. In relation to Rattray (1694), Brian Paul (1983, 63) writes:

> The lower gentry, who clung to the traditional baronial ideas, only slowly accepted the new, and in the process of this acceptance produced a hybrid, which initially was the tower house form overlaid with occasional Renaissance devices, and became simple classical blocks showing baronial remnants in some of the details.

As outlined in Section 4.3.1.2, however, it is clear that both laird's houses and tower-houses were equally influenced by the Renaissance, as there are examples of both types which have more-or-less symmetrical façades, and that incorporate shaped pediments, classical door surrounds, and painted interior decoration. It has also been made clear that the stairtower developed at the same time as a practical and decorative feature in both building types. The 'baronial remnants' in houses such as Rattray – crowsteps, armorial panels, datestones, draw-bar slots, large kitchen fireplaces – are features that were not necessarily regarded as archaic or likely to have a detrimental affect on the classical elevation or approach.

To summarise, the principal features of the model Type I house was the open hall on the ground or first floor accompanied by the laird's chamber, above which were sleeping chambers. If the hall was on the first floor then it was reached via a forestair or stairtower and the ground floor provided service accommodation. The house was almost invariably set within a small courtyard which contained ancillary buildings around its perimeter. In the main, there were few attempts to achieve symmetrical façades or planning but, as time went on, fenestration might be vertically aligned. Plan variations include the L- and T-plan; but generally the houses were rectangular, single-pile and gable-ended.

Moving on to the Type II, the first examples seem to tie in with a more buoyant economy in the 1680s, following decades of unsettling wars both at home and abroad which affected trade, population stability and harvests. All of John Dunbar's (1966, 81–2) suggested antecedents for the Type II have been discussed in this overview: the later developments of the Type I laird's house, the lesser English gentry house, Cromwellian forts and barracks, the architecture of Sir William Bruce and his circle, and pattern books. To these has been added Hanoverian barracks, which may have had a greater influence than the short-lived Cromwellian citadels, though we have little evidence for the form of the domestic accommodation within the latter. Dunbar (*ibid*, 82) writes that "the architectural achievements of Sir William Bruce and his circle" must have exercised "a widespread influence, the new-fashioned classical mansions of the wealthy inevitably serving as models for the small laird and his master-builder." This seems to have been an extremely important factor in modifying the Type I into the Type II house and has been demonstrated by looking at Blairhall (1690s), built for Sir William's brother, alongside the house of one of Sir William's masons, Tobias Bauchop (1695).

The principal change in the later Type I laird's house was the demise of the open hall which were ceiled over and the first Type II laird's houses embraced English concepts of the entrance hall and parlour. One of the by-products of this in two-storey examples was internalising the stair as a direct public approach to the hall was no longer required. A straight stair can be seen at the 1611 block at Culross Palace, though here it is essentially a link between the courtyard and upper terrace. In the mid-17th century, however, it provided access to the newly created first-floor at Stobhall and superseded the stairtower Williamstoun. The straight stair can be seen at Old Auchentroig (1702), a stair with a quarter-turn in rear outshots at Blairhall (1690s) and Shieldbank (1722), the popular dog-leg at Dalquhairn (1711), and the broader half-turn stair is found in examples with greater emphasis on the hall-lobby such as Mains of Haddo (first half of the 18th century).

Behind the three- to six-bay symmetrical frontages of the Type II house, planning can vary greatly. The 'typical' Type II house had a centrally-placed entrance on the

ground floor with a kitchen against one gable and one or two main rooms on the ground floor. The stair, usually immediately within the entrance, rose to give access to one or more rooms on the first floor, some of which may have had a public function, and then up to the attic rooms. In some Type II houses the notion of the service basement was coupled with the *piano nobile* so that the first floor could contain the principal public rooms. Examples include Flowerdale (1738) and three-storey examples in Shetland, such as Bayhall, Old Haa of Scalloway and Haa of Sand, all dating to around 1750–4. Variations in plan include the T-plan with stair or additional rooms in the jamb, the rectangular-plan with wings either sharing the gables, joined by link blocks, or forming the flanking ranges of a forecourt, and the double-pile. The latter is rare in laird's houses and has been explored fully above.

Houses like Rattray and Blairhall were being built into the mid-18th century, such as the two-storey-and-garret, five-bay house of Colin Campbell of Glenure, Argyll of *c.* 1740–9. The south-west room on the ground floor functioned as the dining room, with the small room behind the stairs described as the 'drawing room' in 1779. The north-east room was called the 'laigh bedroom' in 1749. The two main first-floor rooms were panelled, but the ground-floor rooms were not. A two-storey five-bay kitchen wing was built by a Stirling mason in 1751 and linked by a colonnaded corridor. The Campbell of Barcaldine papers survive to show that masons and wrights from Fife and Edinburgh had also been employed to complete the main house in 1749 (RCAHMS, 1971–92, II (1975), 256–8).

Plans only began to be more standardised during the second half of the 18th century, with the widespread adoption of models from the often-reprinted *Rudiments of Architecture* (1772), for example, and with manses and 'improved' farmhouses built using single designs like the manses in Sutherland and Easter Ross by James Boag of Dornoch, 1760–1804 (Dunbar, 1966, 88). The influence of architects designing suites of buildings for estate improvers from around the mid-18th century in the highlands and islands is specifically discussed in Chapter 7. The agrarian revolution which "brought prosperity to the more progressive tenant farmers,… also led to the absorption of many of the small independent estates that had been so numerous at the

beginning of the Georgian era" (*ibid*, 238). The Rev. Charles Findlater (1802, 38) compared the improved farmhouse, as built in Tweeddale in the Borders from *c.* 1770, to the manse which he described as rectangular-plan, 10.4–12.2 m by 5.8–6.7 m (34–40 ft by 19–22 ft) internally, with a centrally-placed entrance, behind which was a small entrance lobby and stair with a kitchen to one side and the "best room" on the other. The space above the kitchen was normally divided into two bedrooms and the space above the parlour could also be divided, "affording some sort of drawing room, with a small sleeping closet. The garret space… may be divided into a place for lumber at one end, and the other end fitted up with a couple of beds". In this, Findlater could have been describing the typical plan of the small laird's house of the preceding century. Farmhouses would normally be smaller in size but have a kitchen outwith the house so that more servants could be accommodated and, interestingly, he also noted that some of the houses "presently occupied by farmers… were formerly occupied by the proprietors" (*ibid*, 39). The length of the manse or farmhouse would probably be of three bays, thus, emulating examples of house designs in Jameson's *Rudiments* and houses like Udrigle, rather than Glenure.

Whilst Type II laird's houses continued to be built for factors, ministers and farmers into the 19th century, the assimilation of the holdings of many small lairds in the Improvement era, and the preference of remaining or new lairds for villas rather than 'laird's houses', or mansions that were Grecian, Italianate, Gothic or Baronial in design, was the beginning of the end of the 'laird's house'. The case-studies that follow will serve to illustrate the three main periods of laird's house building, these are: 1560 to 1650 and the early Type I house in the Scottish Borders; the 17th century and the development of the Type I house in Shetland; and the Type II house of the late 17th and 18th centuries in the Hebrides.

Part II
Case-studies

Chapter 5 The Scottish Borders: Early laird's houses, 1560–1645

5.1 Introduction

A the 'bastle', defined as a 'fortified farmhouse', has been strongly associated with the Scottish Borders. The term has been applied to some late 16th- and early 17th-century houses outwith the Border region more recently (Ward, 1998, 30). A number of these have been compared with examples of laird's houses in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.1.1) and there would seem to be sufficient similarities to warrant some to be reconsidered in terms of 'laird's houses'. A number of houses which have been termed 'bastles' from within the Border region, such as Old Gala House (1583), will therefore also be re-evaluated, but more particularly in order to help establish the origins of the laird's house in this region. This case-study area also has a large number of tower-houses and 'early mansions', and the extent of their influence on the development of the laird's house will be discussed. Instead of building anew, many existing tower-houses were modified and these have been included in the gazetteer where the resultant house can best be described as a 'laird's house' rather than a 'mansion' in terms of scale (*see* Appendix A). The reader should note that houses that were built as tower-houses or mansions between about 1580 and 1730 are not included in the gazetteer, so it cannot attempt to reflect the volume of house-building by lairds in the Scottish Borders over that period.

As discussed in Chapter 3, what is implied by 'mansion' is particularly varied, from the early mansions of the Scottish Renaissance, which were built in the decades either side of 1600, to the country houses of the later 17th century. Whether there is any real differentiation between a 'late tower-house' and an 'early mansion' has also been debated (*see* Sections 1.2.2 & 3.3.5). Border examples will be discussed more fully below together with their significance for the emerging 'laird's house', in particular Hutton Hall (1573) and Cowdenknowes (1574). The castles of greater lairds, such as the Kers of Cessford, are likely to have had some influence on the

houses of the lesser lairds and so precede a discussion on the mid-16th century Smailholm Tower, a fairly complete tower-house whose barmkin has been subject to modern excavation and its environs surveyed. Evidence was uncovered of modifications dating to the 1640s which is discussed in the context of early 17th-century laird's houses at the end of this chapter. Smailholm is also the former home of the Pringle lairds who built a new house in Galashiels, the aforementioned Old Gala House, which is particularly significant as an example of an early non-tower-like house. There are houses that are now too fragmentary, or documentary references (to the 'fortalice or manor-place of…' for example) that are too indistinct to conjure a clear idea of what they may have looked like at their conception or following modification to make a definitive classification. Those sites and ruins which have been included in the gazetteer should therefore be regarded as tentative in the absence of detailed survey or excavation.

The section on 'bastles' and 'pele-houses' (5.4.1) attempts to identify which of these structures might be laird's houses as well as what can be gleaned from these late 16th-century houses which would be relevant to our search for the form of the earliest laird's houses in the area. The terms 'bastle' and 'pele' have also been applied to houses in northern England and cross-border studies, in particular Philip Dixon's thesis (1976), are discussed to determine whether an Anglo-Scottish context for early laird's houses in the Scottish Borders is relevant. The RCAHMS's (1994) 1991–2 survey of Southdean parish has identified several 'peles' but suggests that, given their density and the nature of landholding in the later part of the 16th century, these substantial masonry-built houses were built for kindly tenants rather than lairds.

Also relevant is the 'town house'. The Scottish Borders contains a number of royal burghs and burghs of barony and regality. Though, in the 16th and 17th centuries, not regarded by English visitors as anything like 'towns', they are comparable to most Scottish burghs of the day. In the post-Reformation period, the royal burghs were Selkirk, Jedburgh and Peebles; burghs of barony included Hawick and many more were designated as such from the 1590s, such as Galashiels. As one might expect, the

town houses of the landed classes showed some of the same characteristics as their country seats, whether tower or house, and also shared characteristics with stone-built merchant's dwellings. Those that could afford to have a 'second home' tended to be of noble rank, but the sizes of their town houses make them worthy of comparison to the laird's houses, and known examples have been included in the gazetteer. Old Gala House in the settlement of Galashiels and the L-plan tower 'Queen Mary's House' (*c.* 1600) will be discussed and, given their state of preservation, they are key examples of pre-1600 lairdly residences on which to draw for the form of earlier laird's houses. Also in the Scottish Borders there were the great abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso and Jedburgh, as well as other religious establishments. Post-Reformation commendators of these foundations included James Douglas, grandson of the Regent Morton, whose house at Melrose (1590) is a fairly complete (though heavily restored) example of a secularised residence of that time and, though a 'mansion' rather than 'laird's house' in scale, may be considered in a similar context with the other town houses aforementioned.

In the first instance, the Scottish Borders will be placed in a historical context for the period studied. Critically, reference will be made to modern scholars who have reassessed the level of violence and raiding in the late 16th century, which has a bearing on the defensibility or otherwise of the tower-house, 'strong-house', 'bastle', and 'pele-house' and thus whether 'fortified house' or 'semi-fortified house' are appropriate terms. The social mobility of the laird will also be discussed in the context of the availability of crown and church lands through feuing and the nature of kinship in the Borders.

5.2 Warfare and 'reiving' in the Scottish Borders

5.2.1 'Settled frontier society' or 'other borderland'?

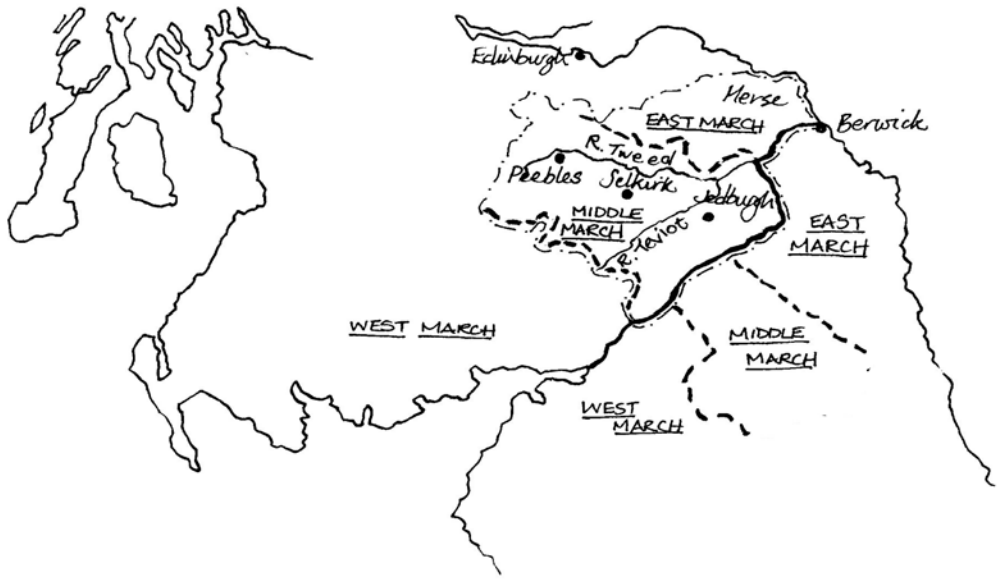

Figure 5.1: Case-study area.

The modern boundaries of the Scottish Borders are defined to the north by the Lammermuir and Muirfoot Hills, and to the south by the Anglo-Scottish border along the Cheviot Hills and River Tweed. This boundary is indicated above together with the former sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, Berwick, Selkirk and Peebles which formed the East and Middle Marches in the later 16th century. The marches as administrative units took shape after the first phase of the Wars of Independence (1297–1328) with counterpart English marches in Northumberland, North Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland. Each had a warden to represent their interests, and gradually their role evolved to include powers to settle cross-border disputes (Williams, 1963, 6–7). Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (2000, 195) describe the eastern borders as having been regarded by James VI/I as a "settled frontier society". By contrast, the western districts were characterised as the "wilderness" of the "other borderland" (*ibid*). Maureen Meikle's (2004, 9) study of the *Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603* looks at the Scottish and English East Marches but spills along the East Lothian coast to Dunbar and into the Middle March as far as Galashiels, Selkirk and Hawick. She associates this area with those border lairds who saw

themselves as having an identity distinct from those who inhabited the western borders. Within the Scottish Borders the 'other borderland' took the form of a 'horseshoe' of uplands with narrow V-shaped valleys and fast-flowing burns, with lairds' dwellings located on the more marginal pastoral slopes, many of which were sited on the border. Together with Liddesdale, itself an area with a separate keeper (a reflection of the turbulence therein), and the West March (modern Dumfries and Galloway), these upland areas have been the focus of widely-read and highly influential texts by Sir Walter Scott and George MacDonald Fraser.[45] These works have focused on 'reiving' (raiding) and the 'surname' (kinship) system. The emphasis on defence and aggression has had an impact on modern interpretations of the houses of border lairds and tenants.

These texts include Scott's *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814) and *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1869) and Fraser's *The Steel Bonnets: The story of the Anglo-Scottish border reivers* (1971). Fraser (1971, 5) describes the reiver as "as an agricultural labourer, or a small-holder, or gentlemen farmer, or even a peer of the realm; he was also a professional cattle-rustler." This is perhaps a simplistic view, as raiding was a well-used military tactic both under Henry VIII during 'the Rough Wooing' and by Regent Morton and James VI/I as part of the effort to suppress rebellion (*see* Sections 5.2.2 & 5.2.4). Fraser ('Foreword', in Dent & McDonald, 2000, 3) goes on to reinforce his view that raiding was widespread and relentless when "even in times of official peace between the realms, the violence continued… hardened by generations of slaughter, plunder, and guerrilla existence, [the borderers] carried on the tradition of raid and feud learned in war time". Though Scott and Fraser continue to be widely read,[46] they are not regarded as reliable historians by most academics. Rosalind Mitchison (1982, 157) acknowledges that "far too much of the picture of border society in the sixteenth century is of clan

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[45] George MacDonald Fraser (1926–2008) is best known as the author of the Flashman series of novels, 19th century romps of the unlikely hero 'Harry Flashman' in various military settings around the world.

[46] Fraser (1971, 392) himself expresses his debt to Scott and describes the 19th-century works as "mines of information on every aspect of Border life"; for an earlier example *see* Borland (1898, xv). For homage to Fraser *see* Elliot (1995).

feuds, cattle thieving, and bloodshed" and Meikle (1988, 7) writes that Fraser's "*Bonnets* sensationalises [*sic.*] the violence of the Borders out of all proportions".[47]

The moderate view is presented in Keith M. Brown's *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625* (first published 1986). Analysis of over 300 separate cases of feud in that 50-year period showed that the statistics for the Borders do not distinguish it from other regions. As a result Brown (2003, 7) decided *not* to create separate chapters on the borders and highlands as "feuding was a Scottish experience, and not one which was a product of highland tribalism, or border lawlessness." Nevertheless, reiving, in the form of the theft of cattle and sheep, certainly did take place in the Borders, more often than not between feuding families, whether cross-border or solely north or south of the frontier. However, an over-reliance on contemporary accounts, such as exaggerated reports of the intensity of raiding and feuding by Elizabethan officials to a distant authority in London, and claims by tenantry of the scale of loss and damage inflicted by reivers, can lead to an unrealistic picture of conditions on the border (Meikle, 2004, 3 fn.16, 7, 107 & 227; Robson, 1989, 179; Williams, 1963, 4; Dixon, 1976, 61 & 70).[48]

In northern England it tended to be the case that local power rested with a 'headsman', who presided over a kin group consisting of relatives and those who owed him allegiance. These groups were known as 'surnames' and were first recorded as such in 1498 (*CDS*, IV, no. 1649). This system, which resulted from national instability in a frontier zone geographically distant from central authority, eventually crumbled in the course of Tudor and Elizabethan suppression of the over-mighty northern English magnates, culminating in 1569. Bereft of support, the 'surnames' faded by the mid-1580s (RCHME, 1970, 65 & 69; Rae, 1966, 5–6; Watts, 1975, 23, 25 & 28–9). The term 'surname' was also applied north of the

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[47] For references to both Scott and Fraser *see* Meikle (2004, 3). Robson (1977, 12) illustrates how a particular ballad in Scott's *Minstrelsy* "supplied with Scott's unreliable notes" has been used as evidence for the builders of Allanmouth Tower.

[48] Fraser (1971, 392) recommends *Cal. Border Papers*, which contains the letters and reports of the wardens of the English Marches of 1560–1603 (mainly from 1580 onwards), to see "the Border reivers almost at first hand" and acknowledges the reports "are the basis" of his book.

border and Goodare (1999, 257) describes those in Scotland as "bearing more resemblance to Lowland lordship pattern than Highland clan system".

The Black Douglases had dominated southern Scotland until 1455 when their vast estates, predominantly in the Middle and West Marches, were forfeited. Into this power vacuum stepped the lesser families of the Homes, Scotts, Kers, and Douglases of Drumlanrig, creating what Michael Brown (1998, 331) describes as "a society in which lordship had been fragmented" leaving "a patchwork of local lairds and lowland nobles drafted in as lieutenant or warden where authority had broken down". Feuding between competing branches of the same or neighbouring families would, therefore, have intensified over the next few generations. Also, closely linked with these groups were 'gangs' of landless men, known to both sides of the border and the Scottish highlands, whom landholders 'patronised' to provide them with protection, and to execute blackmail, raid and murder (Rae, 1966, 7; Dixon, 1976, 55; Brown, 2003, 20). Moving into the 16th century, however, Meikle (1988, 50) places the families of the eastern borders firmly within a wider definition of Scottish kinship which "encompassed a mutual respect for blood-relationships, endless cousinage, surname and at its widest point it also included landholding and political alliances". The focus of power also began to shift when nobles and lairds increased their patronage of burghs, and barons recognised the potential economic benefits of establishing a new burgh within their jurisdiction (Rae, 1966, v & 15–18; Rae, 1958, 6; McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 201 & 208; Symms, 1986, 44 & 348).

Some have seen "lawlessness and constant raiding" (Dent & McDonald, 2000, 67) as the impetus for the construction of towers and bastles in the Borders during the 16th century. However, John Dunbar (2006, 45) relates the building of masonry houses to increased security of tenure brought about by the Feuing Movement from the reign of James IV (1488–1513) onwards and, over time, the benefits accumulated by the inflationary impact on static annual feu duties. As Sanderson (2002, 5 & 7) has pointed out, some kindly tenants also enjoyed relative security. Dixon (1976, 55–7 & 71), in his study of the 15th- and 16th-century 'fortified houses' on both sides of the

border,[49] has discussed changes in the pattern of raiding and possible links to the density and distribution of towers, pele-houses and bastles.[50] The following three sections focus on changes in the pattern of warfare, raiding and landholding over the mid- and late 16th century to provide a context for later discussions on the effect this may have had on the form and development of laird's houses over this period in the Scottish Borders as a whole.

5.2.2 After Flodden, and the 'Rough Wooing' (1513–51)

As discussed in the last chapter, little physical evidence survives for the form of the laird's house before around 1570. The situation is no different in the Borders. However, it is argued in the next section that there may have been those that had sufficient means to build reasonably substantial masonry houses by around the middle of the 16th century. This section demonstrates that national politics had a significant impact on the Borders around that time, in particular during the 'Rough Wooing', although Philip Dixon (1976, 61) has suggested that the scale of the devastation may have been exaggerated by English accounts.

The state of turbulence on the border intensified after James IV (1488–1513) was killed at Flodden, given, as Gervase Phillips (1999, 139) puts it, the determination of James's English brother-in-law, Henry VIII "to bully and cajole Scotland into acquiescence or even to rule by proxy through a pro-English faction of nobility". The warden of the English West March led devastating raids into the Scottish West and Middle Marches, using both reivers of the northern borderland and Scottish 'broken men'. Though the threat from Henry dissipated somewhat during the regency of the pro-English Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1524–8), border tension as a whole did not. Given his appropriation of the positions of East and Middle March warden and lieutenant in 1526, Angus inevitably had difficult relations with the former

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[49] Dixon's study area is a 40-mile wide band from the North Sea to the Solway Firth. 'Abstract', Dixon (1976).

[50] Also, *see* distribution map in Dixon & Dunbar (1997, 433).

wardens and also with that of the West March.[51] Two years later, at the age of sixteen, James V wrested control from Angus, seizing the earl's extensive lands (in the Borders this included the regalities of Jedforest and Bunkle and Preston) and those of his kinsmen, the Red Douglases (McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 432; Meikle, 2004, tables 2.1–2.2, 57–8). Exiled in England, Angus launched his own raiding parties into the marches on Henry's behalf.

Meanwhile, the Scottish king himself led several military and judicial expeditions into the borders, such as those to Liddesdale in October 1534 and another based in Jedburgh the following year. Though he retained influential local wardens in office during his reign, he weakened their allegiance to him, owing to the fact that he placed in ward several of their friends and relatives, while Henry exerted his authority over the English marches (Rae, 1966, 169–71). Anglo-Scottish relations disintegrated following James's successive marriages to two French brides. Henry's disfavour culminated in the battle of Haddon Rigg (August 1542); but James's plans to invade England were catastrophically halted at Solway Moss three months later.

After James's death in 1542 English forces continued to conduct forays into the marches in an attempt to persuade the Scots Parliament to ratify the 'Treaty of Greenwich', which made provision for the betrothal of the infant Mary to Henry's son Edward. One of the most intensive periods of activity was a six-month raiding campaign by a 5,000-strong force on the Merse from October 1543, intensified after Parliament rejected the union that December. Thus the 'Eight Years War' began, posthumously known as 'The Rough Wooing'. Henry mounted an all-out invasion in May 1544, when he dispatched a huge fleet carrying 10,000 men under Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, to Leith; their triumphant return overland devastated the borders once more. Angus himself eventually left Henry's camp and rallied an army joined by Regent Arran, which defeated English forces at Ancrum Moor in 1545 (Merriman, 2000, 6, 143, 145, 149 & 152; Robson, 1989, 183–5; Phillips, 1999, 159,

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[51] Angus's regency is described by Phillips (1999, 146) as having brought "some measure of quiet to the tormented Borders" however Rae (1966, 160–2) describes how Angus's activity in the borders and wardenship did not result in good administration over that time.

166 & 170–4). Hertford retaliated with a 12,000-strong force focused on the Merse and Tweeddale. In the space of two weeks they destroyed crops and razed the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh and Jedburgh: the York Herald listed 16 castles, towers and peels and 243 villages that had been "burnt, razed and cast down" (Laing, 1854, 272, 276 & 279).

Following Henry's death in 1547, Hertford became Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset, and continued to pursue the Tudor Protestant agenda, culminating in the Battle of Pinkie. He then set up garrisons in Roxburgh Castle and Hume Castle and built a new fort at Eyemouth from where raiding continued unabated. Marcus Merriman (2000, 238) describes the occupied eastern Borders as having been "virtually an English shire". Philip Dixon (1976, 61), however, suggests that though a large expanse of borderland, from Nithsdale to the Merse, was indeed harried during the Rough Wooing, the scale of destruction is likely to have been less dramatic than that suggested by English reports given the apparent recovery. In the more fertile districts at least, this view is supported by what can be surmised from the stipend records of the Reformed Church ministers one generation later.[52] A decisive event was Mary's betrothal to Francis, the Dauphin, in July 1548 in return for French military assistance ratified by the 'Treaty of Haddington'. English forces withdrew finally from Eyemouth, Lauder and Roxburgh under the 'Treaty of Boulogne' in 1550. Anglo-Scottish relations remained relatively amicable for the next fifteen years which coincided with a period in which church lands were becoming increasingly available. However, as is shown in the next section, the land market in the Borders had already begun to become more accessible.

5.2.3 Feuing and the Reformation (*c.* 1500–1560s)

The impact of the Rough Wooing on the abbeys, priories and friaries of the Borders was so great that the physical consequences of the Reformation itself may have seemed less dramatic than was the case elsewhere. The Borders had several major

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[52] A list complied from letters 2 July–17 Nov 1544 in *Collection of State Papers in the reign of Henry VII, 1542–70*, London: 1740, 43–51 gives the number of towns, towers, steads, barmkins, parish churches and bastle houses destroyed as 192 by English raids in that six-month period. Laing (1854, 276).

monastic foundations which had attracted gifts of land throughout the medieval period, both locally and in neighbouring districts and burghs. Other ecclesiastics, including the bishops of Glasgow, also held significant properties there. The main impact of the Reformation was perhaps an increased acceleration of the process of alienation of monastic land into secular hands, which had begun in the late 15th century. This process was also reflected in the taxation of monastic holdings by James V, in order to raise revenue for his ambitious architectural and military programmes, and in the increased tendency to appoint royal favourites and illegitimate children to monastic commendatorships (RCAHMS, 1967, 8; Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 59; Devine & Lythe, 1971, 98; and Laing, 1854, 276). The abbeys found that cash rents were required to pay taxes and feuing, to influential local lairds in particular, was also a means of finding support in the unsettled climate of 16th-century Scotland (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 266–7). In a detailed study of Allanmouth Tower and the Scotts of Allanhaugh, Michael Robson (1977) describes how a link between the Scotts of Buccleuch and Melrose Abbey emerged at an early date. David Scott of Buccleuch was empowered to administer one of the abbey's estates in 1480 and then became bailie for the abbey four years later. It was probably one of David's grandsons that was first styled 'of Allanhaugh'. Meikle (1988, 40–1) has detected fifty such cadet branches emerging in 1540–1603 in the eastern borders with "feuing account[ing] for much of the new wealth in the Borders", coupled with the rewards of success at court, pensions and local power provided by offices.

Similarly, successive monarchs and regents used grants of monastic lands to gain support from nobles or local lairds. For example, Sir Andrew Ker of Littledean was granted lands belonging to Coldstream Priory for reporting promptly the Scottish victory at Haddon Rigg to James V in 1542 (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 281; Meikle 1988, 27). James also showed favour by procuring the sought-after commendatorship of Melrose for his eldest illegitimate son, James Stewart in 1541. Since he was still a minor, the abbey was first administered by crown-appointed stewards; but "the result was an accelerating programme of alienation of the monastic properties [and] encroachment onto monastic lands by lay landowners" (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 58).

Even when there was little land left to alienate, parochial teinds were an additional benefit of commendatorship and so the revenues, as well as those teind leases from a vicar or post-Reformation minister, were coveted (Meikle, 1993, 14).

There also existed a large amount of crown lands in the form of royal forests (hunting reserves) in the borders. Craig Madden has studied Ettrick Forest in particular where, in 1541, about 50% of those feuars of its 86 steads were lairds or their sons, many holding more than one feu. As Madden observes, the huge increase in the annual rents and entry fines associated with the 1501 conversion from leasehold to feu-farm[53] did not dissuade potential feuars but, given the resources required, those with the capital to do so tended to be lairds and their sons. Such acquisitions also had the added benefits of extending their territorial influence and of improving their status. Many of the other feuars were probably kinsmen who had little opportunity of acquiring land in their own right except through this means, and hence were prepared to make significant sacrifices to do so (Madden, 1976, 74–80).[54] Meikle (1988, 37) suggests that, in the eastern borders, a proportion of feuars, some of whom would probably have originally been kindly tenants, would have reached lairdly status by this means.

It is therefore suggested that processes which created small landholders, the resources of some would have allowed them to build substantial houses rather than towers, were underway in the early part of the 16th century as more land became available from both crown and church sources. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.2), however this does not mean that customary forms of tenure necessarily limited tenants' ability to build similar structures. Feuing seems to have intensified in the years either side of 1560 and perhaps this was accompanied by the building of new houses on the land parcels. Such new houses may have resembled those laird's houses built one generation later for which we have physical evidence.

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[53] After 1501, a small number of steads were still held under leasehold, at least until 1541. Madden (1976, 72–3 & 79).

[54] Meikle (1988, 219) also describes how such leases or feus in the forest advanced families such as the Kers of Linton, Primsideloch and Yair, the Lords Home and the Pringles of Galashiels.

5.2.4 The Marian Civil War, Regent Morton and James VI (1567–1625)

Unrest affected the border region again during the Marian Civil War (1567–73). In the two subsequent decades Regent Morton and James VI targeted the more troublesome borderers with judicial raids. However, such strikes were intermittent and did not affect all areas or all families equally and so it would be misleading to see the architectural development of the laird's house in the Borders as being more defensive or distinct than in their neighbouring regions.

The establishment of the Lords of the Congregation, Mary Stewart's first marriage in April 1558, followed by the accession of Elizabeth I in England and John Knox's return from exile in May 1559, led to sustained conflict between the Protestant party and French forces in Scotland. The French had established garrisons in 1555–7, including a new fort at Eyemouth. It was eventually decommissioned under the terms of the 'Treaty of Chateau Cambrèsis' in 1559, while the 'Treaty of Edinburgh', signed in June 1560 by France and England, resulted in the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Scotland.

Tensions with England resurfaced when Mary married Lord Darnley in a Roman Catholic ceremony in 1565. This was followed by a sequence of events which led ultimately to Mary's abdication in July 1567 in favour of her one-year-old son, James VI. Mary was able to rally some support for her restoration but was thwarted at Langside by her son's supporters led by Regent Moray. Mary's flight to England was followed by Moray's assassination in January 1570. Allegiances were volatile: on the border for example, Alexander, 5th Lord Home, a Catholic, supported Mary until her marriage to the Earl of Bothwell in a Protestant ceremony in May 1567, but returned to her camp in November 1569 following a disagreement with Moray. Meikle (2004, 68) explains Home's decision to fight against the queen at Langside, with 600 kinsmen and allies, in terms of his territorial rivalry with Bothwell, whilst his re-alliance was perhaps linked to his support of the "ostensibly Catholic rebellion by the English earls of Northumberland and Westmorland that was then breaking out".

Limited support for Mary's restoration continued until 1573 when the main Marian protagonists signed the 'pacification of Perth'. James Douglas, Earl of Morton was confirmed as regent and two of his main aims were to maintain Anglo-Scottish relations and to keep order on the frontier, both of which Rae (1966, 195) describes as having been "embittered by allegiances to the greater political feud". He suggests that "the lack of any effective form of administration for the previous four years had resulted in the outbreak of turbulence by the border thieves". Morton's policies included using the forfeited estates of Lord Home and Sir Thomas Ker of Fernihirst in the Merse to grant lands and positions to his allies and kinsmen as well as to Home's and Ker's long-standing rivals. He conducted numerous judicial raids on the borders, albeit concentrating on the more troubled Middle and West Marches, which were supported by minor raids led by the Liddlesdale keeper and West March warden. Rae (*ibid*, 198) goes on to describe Morton's regency with regard to border administration as "on the whole… both successful and equitable". However, his inability to persuade Elizabeth to form a Protestant League with Scotland, and the mounting rebellion of the Earls of Atholl and Argyll against him, inevitably had some bearing on his failure to co-ordinate regular cross-border meetings of commissioners.

After Morton's downfall in 1580, power shifted in various ways until James VI reached his majority in 1585. With the League of 1586, under which James's succession to the English throne was virtually assured, the potential for Anglo-Scots war was greatly reduced. Subsequently, many of the complaints of English wardens went without redress—but rather than a reflection of an increase in cross-border raiding, this was largely because the two governments were simply less concerned with border transgressions (Rae, 1966, 213 & 219–20; Watts, 1975, 17; Mitchison, 1982, 150 & 158). As James became more concerned with his succession he insisted that officials attended days of truce more diligently in order to improve frontier negotiations. James sought to lessen the threats posed to him from the established nobility and the Presbyterian party within the church by favouring local lairds, granting them representation in the Parliament of 1587. He also extended this policy

by using grants of the temporalities of the old church to maintain his influence. Nevertheless, border feuds continued to be animated by national rivalries, such as the Lord Chancellor, Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane's pursuit of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, who was accused of conspiring with witches against James VI in 1591. Bothwell held extensive lands in the borders, but Maitland, who had close links with Ker of Cessford, was successful in eroding Bothwell's influence. Feuding was, therefore, not altogether eliminated, though the reign of James VI of Scotland, and I of England, did represent a new and prolonged period of relative national and international stability.

During James's reign, several border men rose through his favour, much to the disgust of some of the more established families. Locally, as well as the offices of sheriff, steward and bailie in the sheriff court, the number of offices available in the Borders compared favourably with other lowland districts given the number of burghs and hence burgh court officials. As mentioned in the last section, lay positions within the monastic establishments had become increasingly achievable and could lead to securing prized leases or feus; and, until they too were alienated, positions were available as bailies and currors of baronial and royal forests. Of particular significance within the borders were the wardens and deputies of the marches, whilst the proximity of central government for some borderers also provided access to court land grants and pensions. Together, these opportunities and those of the more normal processes of land acquisition contributed considerably to the exercise of local power, wealth and status of existing magnates, who often held the positions of sheriff and warden because of their influence. These opportunities might also have enhanced the status of the 'rising gentry' who benefited from the Feuing Movement and James VI's policies (Meikle, 1988, 35–6, 39, 130 & 294; McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 219).

Next, it will be helpful to look at some examples of the residences of greater and lesser lairds in the Borders over the 16th century – the tower-house and the hall of the castle complex – which may have influenced the form and function of lesser laird's houses.

5.3 Castles and tower-houses

5.3.1 Cessford and Cowdenknowes and the greater lairds

> Castles were the symbols of this society, but during the sixteenth century they were used only in emergencies. The Maxwells and Homes [*sic.*] generally resided in Edinburgh, and even Ker of Cessford had forsaken his border fortress for the comforts of his house at Holydean [*sic.*], on the lower slopes of the Eildon hills. Although military necessity ruled many aspects of life, it was not the main feature of border society.

Thomas Rae. *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier: 1513–1603*. 1966, p.5

In the modern border landscape, among the most enigmatic survivals of the late-medieval era are 'tower-houses'. It has been long acknowledged that tower-houses did not stand alone as self-contained houses, and the term itself is a modern one that would not have been recognised by their builders. They were, however, the most prominent part of a castle complex and gave emphasis to the principal lodging of their owners. As has been discussed above, there were more opportunities for acquiring land – and hence increased security, wealth and status – throughout the 16th century than had previously been the case. Few of the dwellings of the new feuars of the earlier part of that era survive, and it may be that it was left to later generations to build ambitious houses once the family's hold on land had been consolidated. It is also possible that some dwellings would have been rebuilt or incorporated into later residences if the family succeeded. References to 'fortalices, manors or towers' and 'stronghouses' offer a tantalising glimpse of what was being built, and the latter are discussed in reference to pele-houses and bastles below. Of the substantial houses that do survive, the more complete examples tend to be those now classed as tower-houses.

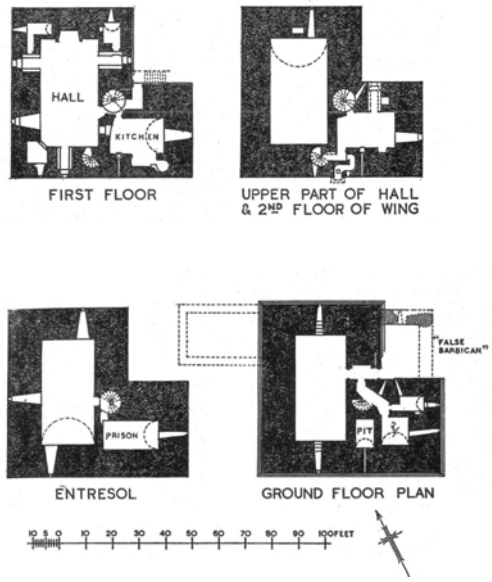

Figure 5.2: Cessford Castle from the north-east. Photograph by A. Rutherford, 2005. Plans. RCAHMS, 1956, I, p.129, © RCAHMS.

Some, such as Cessford Castle, the "border fortress" mentioned by Rae above (Figure 5.2), date to the late 14th century (R. Fawcett *pers. comm.*). Lord Maxwell, Lord Home and Ker of Cessford were the heads of the most powerful families in the borders, dominating the West, East and Middle Marches respectively and wielding considerable influence nationally and internationally as wardens. What was the 'comfortable house' at Holydean to which Ker retired like? What were the main features of 16th-century border society beyond military necessity? Cessford and Holydean provide a useful introduction to the houses of the greater lairds, but as little of Holydean survives the more complete Cowdenknowes is discussed instead (Figure 5.3). Smailholm Tower will be discussed as an example of a lesser laird's house in the next section.

The Earl of Surrey mounted a siege on Cessford Castle in May 1523, which he regarded as the third strongest place in Scotland, at a time of all-out hostility between Regent Albany and Henry VIII. Surrey reported that it was "vaw-mewred [fore-walled] with earth of the best sort that I had seen", with a barbican and another "false barbican" (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, III, pt. 2, no. 3039) to defend the entrance to the tower-

house.[55] Cessford was deemed to be almost impenetrable and its defenders held off the sustained attack until Sir Andrew Ker, Warden of the Middle March, returned and surrendered it. Ker recaptured it the following year. The L-plan tower-house at the centre of the castle has massively thick 3.9 m-wide walls. The main block comprised a vaulted basement with entresol floor and a vaulted hall 12.2 by 6.6 m with a separate entrance. Its builders may have intended further chambers above but evidence to prove that they were ever realised is lacking.[56] Four floors of the wing survive, the chamber next to the hall being the kitchen. A turnpike stair housed within the wall thickness at the re-entrant angle may have been intended to provide access to a wall-walk. The tower dates predominantly from the late 14th century, though there were several building campaigns. The first was by Ker of Altonburn, the progenitor of the Kers of Cessford. It is prominently situated atop a summit overlooking the Kale Water and Cheviot Hills, 12 km from the English border. Its outer defences consisted of a large enclosure, surrounded by a bank and ditch, with a 'barbican' (defensive gateway). Sometime before Surrey's attack the 'false barbican' had been built, a feature interpreted as the remains of a screen wall in front of the tower's entrances (in the right foreground of Figure 5.2). These had a corbelled bretasche above them, outer doors secured with draw bars, and inner doors (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 159–63; RCAHMS, 1956, I, 128–31).

Despite the obvious defensible capabilities of the site, the outer defences and the tower itself, Cessford primarily functioned as a house and a prestigious seat in the Kers' principal territory of East Teviotdale. The hall rose to the crown of its vault, 6.1 m above the floor, it had a large canopied fireplace centred at its north end and three of its four large windows were furnished with stone-built seats. It was reached

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[55] Most of the castles on the border were baronial rather than royal. In emergencies they could be strengthened at Crown expense and so the cost of the 'false barbican' may have been defrayed. *ADCP*, 589–91.

[56] It appears that the main block was built in several stages, part of its east wall being completed to full-height to form the west side of the wing. Though the upper floors of the wing were extensively remodelled in *c.* 1600, this stretch of wall does not preserve any evidence of scarcements, joist holes or raggles that would suggest that a floor above the main hall was ever realised. The wallheads of the remaining three sides are also well-finished, perhaps when building had reached this level rather than after upper floors were dismantled to this height. The wing, rather than the main block, may have been provided with a wall-walk. R. Fawcett *pers. comm*.

via its own forestair, which was probably timber. The well-appointed chamber in the wing, which may have functioned as the lord's chamber when in residence and the keeper's when not, could be reached from a separate stair at the south end of the hall. The remains of a two-storey late 16th- or early 17th-century building at the north side of the barmkin survive; elsewhere there are turf-covered footings showing that there were extensive ranges of buildings within the courtyard.

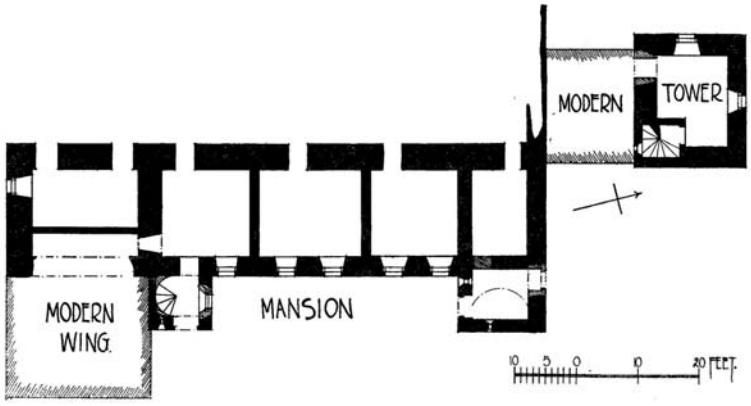

Figure 5.3: Cowdenknowes, from the east. © RCAHMS. Ground-floor plans. RCAHMS, 1915, fig. 67, p.70, © RCAHMS.

By the time of Surrey's siege, however, Sir Andrew Ker (†1526) seemed to have had made Holydean, 22 km further from the border in Tweeddale, his main residence; it is first recorded as the tower of 'Halydene' in 1524 (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 162 & 383). It is described in *The Old Statistical Account* (1795, 240–1) as having been once:

> a strong fortification… The court-yard, containing about ¼ of an acre was surrounded by strong stone and lime walls, 4 feet [1.2m] thick, and 16 feet [4.9m] high, with… [gunholes] about 30 feet [9.1m] from each other…. Upon an arched gateway in the front there was a strong iron gate. Within the court stood two strong towers, the one of 3, the other of 5 stories, consisting of 8 or 10 lodgeable rooms, besides porters lodges, servants hall, vaulted cellars, bakehouses, etc.[57]

The two towers of Holydean and its large barmkin would have compared well with Cowdenknowes which is only 8 km distant, but in the East March. Here, before 1574, the 'fortalice and manor of Coldaneknollis' (as it was described in 1506) consisted of, on the north side of the barmkin, a two-and-a-half storey hall range abutting a four-storey tower of around 1554, a residential west range, and a rectangular tower of about 1500 further downhill to the south-east. Part of the west range seems to have been incorporated into a mansion built in 1574 and the north range was demolished at the end of the 19th century. Both towers survive to differing degrees.[58] Figure 5.3 shows the mansion with the *c.* 1554 tower to its left with the roof raggle of the hall range visible (note that the upperworks of the tower were reconstructed *c.* 1800).

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[57] The description of the parish of Bowden is compiled by 'a friend to statistical inquiries' principally from materials collated by Andrew Blaikie, tenant in Holydean from 1760. At 1795 some of the vaults survived as storerooms and *c.* 160 ft (50 m) of the courtyard wall was still entire.

[58] RCAHMS, 1915, 69 & 71; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 194–6. The description of Cowdenknowes in the latter source simplifies the, roughly, NE–SW alignment of the main block to E–W (J. Dunbar, *pers. comm.*). The plan at Figure 5.3 is taken from the RCAHMS (1915, 70) Inventory which shows the main block running NNE–SSW and so, for the purposes of describing Cowdenknowes in this chapter, a roughly N–S alignment is adopted.

Figure 5.4: Branthwaite Hall from the east, photographed in 1986. © Peter Nicholson & Peter Armstrong, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Access into and between the ground and first floors of the north-east tower seems to have been from the north range only, the tower's upper floors being reached from a turnpike stair. The north range was two-and-a-half stories in height and probably housed a large first-floor hall. It seems reasonable to assume that the most prestigious accommodation for the owner and his family was housed in the upper floors of this tower. There may have been a kitchen at the south end of the west range, superseded by the 1574 mansion. The hall–tower juxtaposition, discussed at length in Section 4.3.1.1, has precedents both in Scotland and south of the border. 'Solar towers' first emerged in the mid-14th century, probably as the owner's private lodgings, were often erected next to a pre-existing hall block. In some instances tower and hall might have formed part of a unified building operation. The façade of the example shown above, Branthwaite Hall in Cumberland, was remodelled in the 1670s but the hall and the tower may originally date to the late 14th century (Ryder, 1992b, 62; Perriam & Robinson, 1998, 89).

The south-east tower at Cowdenknowes has three chambers at entrance level; two at least are vaulted. The floor of the south-west chamber has a hatch which provides access to a larger chamber beneath it. The RCAHMS (1915, 72) visited in 1912 and

was told that "beneath the level of this lower chamber there is said to be yet another dungeon with a similar means of access from above". The main tower recorded at Holydean in 1524 may well have had similar secure accommodation in its lower floors, but at Cowdenknowes it was the lie of the land that facilitated a 'double-basement' arrangement. Presumably the upper floors contained lodgings.

At both Holydean and Cowdenknowes, therefore, what existed was a large enclosure with two towers and other ranges. Accommodation on such a scale would suggest a large retinue, room for entertaining, storing victuals, accommodating prisoners and holding baron courts. The castles would also have provided centres from which hunting expeditions (for fugitives and game) were conducted. Both houses would have been defensible,[59] within secure barmkins,[60] and their strategically-placed towers would have enabled retainers to see danger coming from these elevated positions. Over the course of the 16th century the military role of the wardens lessened as defences against England came to be co-ordinated centrally, and more emphasis was placed on their maintaining good order internally and on settling cross-border disputes (Rae, 1966, 45–7). The tower-house no doubt still functioned as a potent symbol of power, status and military prowess, but it was only one symbol of 16th-century border society. The seat of the Pringles of Smailholm will be now be discussed as an example of the residence of a lesser laird. It was probably similar to those early 16th-century towers that existed at Holydean and Cowdenknowes before Ker of Cessford acquired the former and before the Homes of the latter started their social ascent.

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[59] A strong English force failed to destroy Cowdenknowes in an attack in 1546, towards the end of the first phase of the Rough Wooing. Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 194.

[60] Part of the west wall of the barmkin at Cowdenknowes survives, having been used as an outer wall of the 1574 mansion; it is 4 ft (1.2 m) thick.

5.3.2 Smailholm and the lesser lairds

Figure 5.5: Aerial view of Smailholm Tower from the west before the barmkin was excavated in 1979–81. © Historic Scotland.

Like Cessford, Smailholm lies close to the English border, which is some 16 km distant, but it is in Tweeddale and in the same vicinity as Holydean and Cowdenknowes. It also has an elevated site, the barmkin moulding itself to the contours of an exposed rocky crag (Figure 5.5). The Hoppringles (later 'Pringles') may have been tenants of William, Earl of Douglas, who held the barony of Smailholm until his forfeiture in 1455. They did not suffer by their association, however, and George Hoppringle, a squire of Lord Douglas, was appointed master curror (ranger) of Tweed Ward in the, now, crown lands of Ettrick Forest (*ER*, IV, 225; RCAHMS, 1957, 10; Madden, 1976, 71). George (†1459) was also confirmed in the 'West Mains of Smailholm' or 'Smailholm-craig'. Stylistically, none of the surviving features can be dated earlier than the beginning of the 16th century and no evidence came to light during the 1979–81 excavations to support an earlier foundation (RCAHMS, 1956, II, 416; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 690; Good & Tabraham, 1988, 260). The 1979–81 excavations were confined to the barmkin which revealed the extent of the ancillary accommodation. The clay-bonded block to

the west of the tower was interpreted as having contained a hall and chamber (north range) and that across the barmkin, the south range, probably housed a kitchen (*see* Figure 5.6).

Well aware of Henry VIII's Scottish ambitions, in 1535, James V passed an Act "For Bigging of Strenthis on the Bordouris" (*APS*, II, 346). It read:

> Item It is Statut and ordanit for saiffing of men thare guidis and gere vpoun the bordouris in tyme of were and all vther trublous tyme That every landit man duelland in the Inland or vpon the bordouris havand thare ane hundreth pund land of new extent Sall big ane sufficient barmkyn apoun his heretage and landis In place maist conuenient of Stane and lyme contenand thre score futis of the square [60 ft^2/18.3 m^2] ane Eln [3 ft 1 ins/0.9 m] thick and vj Elnyns [18 ft 6 ins/5.6 m] heicht for the Ressett and defens of him his tennentis and thare gudis in trublous tyme with ane touer in the samin for him self gif he thinkis It expedient And that all vther landit men of smallar Rent and Reuenew big pelis and gret strenthis as thai plese for saifing of thare selfis men tennentis and gudis an that all the saidis strenthis barmkynnis and pelis be biggit and completit within twa yeris vnder the pane.[61]

It is highly unlikely, however, that all landed men with rentals worth more than £100 Scots of new extent did indeed build barmkins of stone-and-lime, with a tower if 'he thinks it expedient', or that lesser landholders built 'peels [in this context, probably earth, clay and timber enclosures (Neilson, 1894, 21 & 23)] and great strengths [*viz.* strong barmkins] as they please' within two years of 1535, but it may have encouraged established families and crown tenants, like the Pringles, to do so

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[61] Translation: *Item. It is statue and ordained for saving of men their goods and gear* [possessions] *upon the borders in time of war and all other troubled times, that every landed man dwelling inland or upon the borders having there £100 Scots of new extent shall build a sufficient barmkin upon his heritage and lands* [heritable lands] *in place most convenient of stone and lime containing* [comprising] *three score* [20] *feet square, one ell thick and six ells high for the reset* [harbouring/safe-keeping] *and defence of him, his tenants, and their goods in troubled times with a tower in the same for himself, if he thinks it expedient. And that all other landed men of smaller rent and revenue build peels and great strengths* [*viz.* strong barmkins] *as they please for saving of themselves, men, tenants, and goods, and that all the said strong barmkins and peels be built and completed within two years under the pain* [penalty].

(Dunbar, 2006, 45 & 48; Dixon, 1976, 166). It should be noted that Smailholm Tower is first recorded in 1536, only one year after the statue was issued (*ER*, XV, 607).

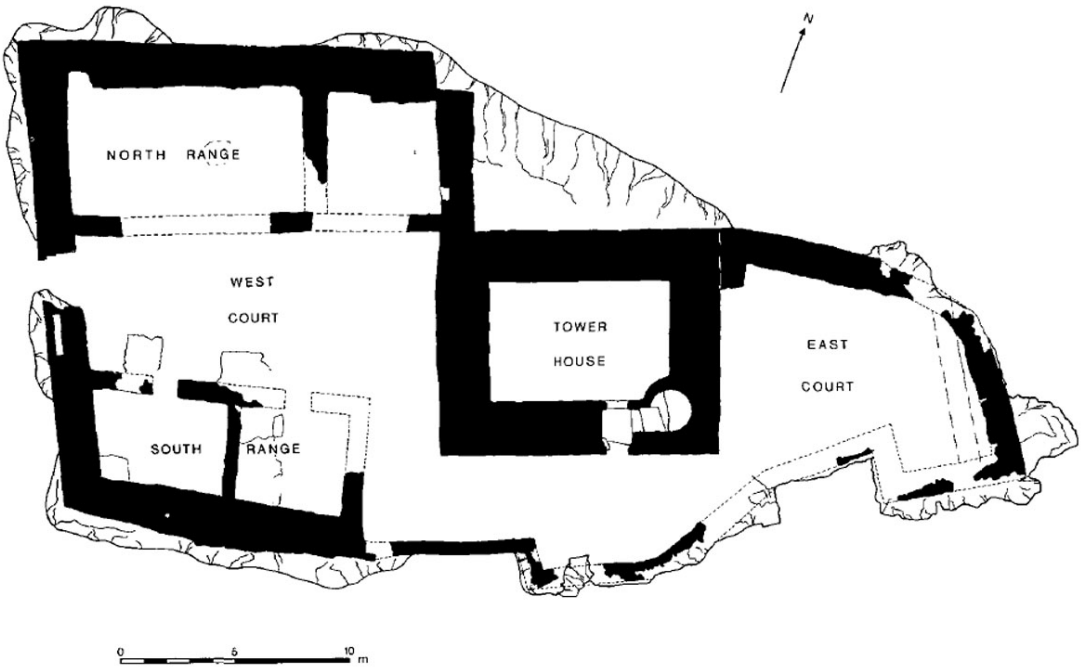

Figure 5.6: Smailholm Tower, plan of Phase I. Good & Tabraham, 1988, illus. 17, p.261, © Historic Scotland and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The extent of accommodation possible within the barmkin would, of course, have been considerably less than at the Home residence, but indications of a significant number of ancillary buildings were plotted in its immediate environs. Some have been interpreted as stables, servants' houses, a kailyard and there was also a large, 50 m-wide enclosure to the north of the crag. In the publication of the excavation and survey, Good and Tabraham (1988, 235) surmise that the latter may have featured in the raid conducted by the garrison of Wark Castle under Sir John Ellerker in June 1546, when they reportedly stole sixty cattle from Smailholm-craig (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, XXI, pt. 1, no. 1279). It seems unlikely that more than a few milk-cows and calves and the best horses were routinely kept inside the barmkin and so the enclosure may have offered some protection to Pringle's herd when under threat. As Tabraham (1987, 228) writes: "the laird… was not building to withstand a large

investment: he was simply concerned to give a modest amount of security sufficient to deter undesirable and uninvited intruders".

The barmkin was entered through a round-arched gateway, secured by a draw-bar, and apparently surmounted with a corbelled wall-walk. To the left of the gateway lay a hall range, probably serviced by the kitchen opposite. Unlike Cowdenknowes, there was no direct communication between the tower and hall building. The entrance to the tower was reached by crossing the courtyard between these two ranges and skirting round to the front of the tower. A timber door permitted entry to a small vestibule contained within the 2.1 m-thick south wall. Ahead was an iron yett and barrel-vaulted basement with entresol floor. To the right a single turnpike stair rises to the first-floor hall, which was presumably the most accessible part of the laird's residence, and which has three large windows, a fireplace and a latrine closet. There is a similar arrangement on the floor above, this single space probably serving as the laird's sleeping chamber. The third floor was significantly remodelled in the later 16th century, but part of the west wall appears to be original and a wall-walk would perhaps have extended around all four sides (RCAHMS, 1956, II, 417; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 691–2).

So, at Smailholm, the three upper levels of one-room chambers within the tower were probably for the laird and his family, above secure storage, with a detached hall and kitchen in the courtyard as the more 'public' part of the residence. As discussed in Section 4.3.1.1, hall ranges could well have provided a model for laird's houses, whether over basements as at Cowdenknowes or on the ground-floor at Smailholm. The courtyard itself was protected by 1.7 m-thick barmkin walls. Naturally, the laird would not always have been in residence, but his household within and around the crag could have mustered a defence of the laird's cattle and other possessions when necessary. Siege would have been rare, the main threat coming from lightly-armed, swift-moving raiding parties.[62] In feud, 'homesucken' – killing a man in his own

[62] During the second phase of the Rough Wooing, such raiding would probably have been frequent, especially given Smailholm's location. Edward Seymour was well-aware of the value of establishing garrisons along the border and along the east coast of Scotland to where raiding

home – was not deemed to be 'acceptable' (Brown, 2003, 22). Therefore, it seems, defence of one's residence was generally related more to the defence of one's possessions than personal safety.

The Pringles of Smailholm rose quickly to become one of the most important families in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire, but, if only the wealthiest 10% of border landholders could afford to build towers (Dixon, 1976, 213–4); what of the rest? These houses, of the "other landed men of smaller rent and revenue", will be discussed next.

5.4 The early laird's houses of the Scottish Borders

5.4.1 Bastles and pele-houses

5.4.1.1 Terminology

Few near-complete examples of 'stonehouses', contemporary with Smailholm Tower and its kind, survive in the Borders. However, there are documentary and cartographic references, and also some fragments incorporated into later structures. Much energy has been devoted to their identification and classification. Dixon (1976, 200–2) has defined three types of 'bastle' and four types of 'pele-house' along both sides of the border; the former "lying at the periphery of the uplands" and the latter "mostly within the dales". He follows the RCAHMS's general definitions, expressed succinctly by Dunbar (2006, 46) as 1) bastles: "large houses built with lime mortar and usually with vaulted ground floors" and 2) peles: "small, barn-like, stone buildings built with clay mortar and usually un-vaulted". To expand on this, 'peles' have been subdivided further into 2a) 'pele-houses' and 2b) 'pele-towers' (RCAHMS, 1994, 10–11). The distinction between a pele-house and pele-tower cannot often be made with certainty unless the ruins rise above first-floor height. By contrast, the RCHME's (1970, xiv) terminology does not distinguish between methods of construction. Instead, a 'bastle' is a "small fortified farmhouse, with accommodation for human beings on the upper floor and for livestock below",

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parties could return nightly, creating an 'English pale'. For a graphic representation of its extent see Merriman (2000, Fig. 10.7, 260).

whereas a 'pele' is synonymous with a tower and is often used in the late-medieval period "to describe almost any defensible construction". However, Neilson's study of contemporary accounts for *Peel: Its meaning and derivation* (1893, 25) shows that "a true peel in the middle of the 16th century was certainly not a stone house or stone tower". Instead it was an enclosure, like a barmkin, but built using timber, earth and clay, for the safekeeping of corn and cattle, which could well have been associated with a similarly constructed house (which may have been subsumed by the term 'peel') or a stone-house (*ibid*, 25–9).

The earliest documentary references to 'bastles' (from the French *bastille*: an isolated house built beyond the walls of a town (Bates, 1891, 65)) in Scotland are from English sources, which list their destruction of 'bastiles' in Muckle Swinton, Little Swinton and Mordington in the East March in 1482 (RCAHMS, 1980, nos. 507, 517 & 539). The term was often interchangeable with 'tower' and 'peel' and so it difficult to determine their form from such references. For example, the "bastell house at Smellam Mlyne" (Smailholm Mill) was raided in 1544 (Armstrong, 1883, App. xxxvi). Three years later, the 'peill' of Smailholm and two husbandlands were granted to John Cairncross of Colmslie in 1547 within the 'town and lands of Smailholm', which had formerly been occupied by John Brown and John Richardson (*Prot. Bk. Corbet*, 58, no. 34). A millpond is included in the survey of the environs of Smailholm Tower and perhaps this 'bastle' and the enclosure indicated by the term 'pele', stood in its vicinity and the latter may, or may not, have been associated with the mill. Cadwallader Bates (1891, 50) suggests that the English texts use of 'bastle' indicated stone-built houses which resembled those elongated ranges associated with towers (*i.e.* like the hall range at Branthwaite; Figure 5.4). Hebburn in Northumberland was described as a 'bastle' in Bowes and Ellerker's 1541 survey[63]

[63] Sir Robert Bowes & Sir Ralph Ellerker, 'A vewe and Surveye of the Castles, Towers, Barmekyns, and Fortresses of the Frontier of the Easte and Mydle Marches of England for anenst Scotland', 2 December 1541, B. M. Cotton M.S., Caligula, B. vii, ff. 61–91 cited in Bates, 1891, 29–49, 42.

but in the will of Thomas Hebburn of Hebburn of 1574 it was straightforwardly described as "my Mansion-house of Hebburn".[64]

Ward (1998, 24–5) follows the RCHME as he finds the Scottish differentiation based on building technique counter-productive. He describes the characteristic bastle as "a defensive stone house,… normally built with a single storey over a basement which is… a byre or storage area. Mostly the two levels have separate doorways…. [They] were mostly rural farm houses but urban examples are known." The use of clay-mortar might reveal something about the wealth of the builder, but the masonry could have been lime-pointed on top of the clay[65] and was presumably always waterproofed using lime-harl. From the outside, the use of different construction techniques would not have had aesthetic merit. Instead, its size, location, approach and its provisions in terms of housing man, beast and victuals would surely have been greater indicators of status. It is relevant to note, as has been discussed by many such as Joachim Zeune (1992, 95–107, 157, 172 & 193) and Ward (1998, 24–5), that, at the time, all manner of terms were used to describe the stone-built houses of lords, lairds and tenants. These ranged from castle, manor or fortalice, to house, tower or bastle, as well as 'stonehouse' or 'stronghouse', and were often used to describe the same structure. What seems to have been significant to the late medieval/early modern writers is that their masonry construction was sufficient to set 'stonehouses' apart from other residences in the vicinity.

5.4.1.2 'Stronghouses'

Using modern definitions in an attempt to construct some sort of useful typology, the earliest references to 'stonehouses' or 'stronghouses', other than those which we can be assured were 'tower-houses', will be discussed below and seem, for the most part, to have been built by the lairdly class. 'Pele-houses', which is the term used today to indicate smaller houses built using clay-mortar, will be discussed in the next section

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64 Will of Thomas Hebburn of Hebburn, 18 April 1574, reproduced in *Wills and Inventories illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, &c., of the northern counties of England*, Durham: Surtees Society, 1835–1929, pt. 2, I, 401 cited in Bates, 1891, 303.

65 Traces of lime-mortar have been noted in the north-east wall of the otherwise clay-mortared Kilnsike pele-house. Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 468.

and houses described by others as 'bastles', and built in the later 16th century, will be treated separately.

By 1525 there was a Marcus Ker 'of Litil Dene' (*RMS*, *1513–46*, no. 342) on record. In 1544 an English party razed the hall and stables there except "the stone house which they could not get at it was so mured with earth" (Morton, 1832, 100). This has been interpreted as the house itself having been covered or embanked with earth. It is worth noting here that the hall and stone house are described as separate entities and so a similar relationship as the tower and hall range at Smailholm might have existed. As we have already seen, the term 'vaw-mewred', is used to describe Cessford's defences where the stone walls of its tower were already massively thick, hence the term is thought to refer to the earthen outer enclosure.

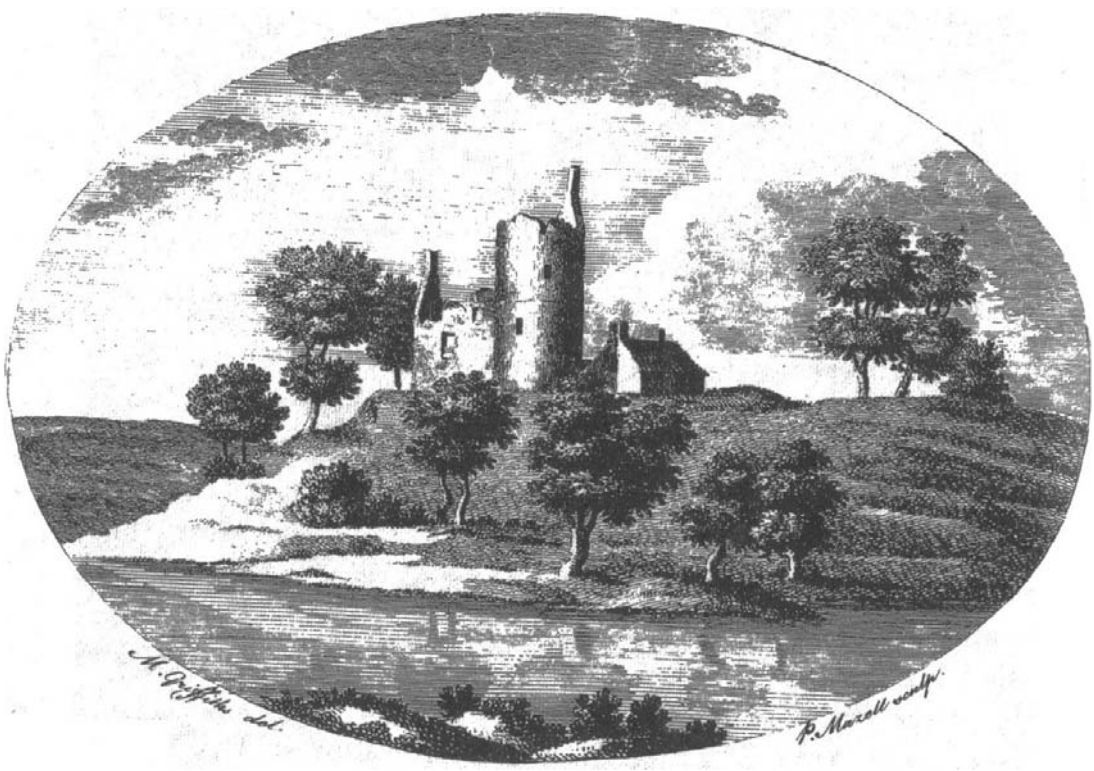

Figure 5.7: 'Little-Den', by Moses Griffiths. Pennant, 1772, pl. 27, p.618.

Griffiths's representation of 'Little-Den' shows a bank and ditch to the right and a corresponding bank to the left with the River Tweed in the foreground (Figure 5.7). The D-shaped tower seen here was added later in the 16th century. Little survives

today but the part of the ruins which may well pre-date 1544 measures about 13–14 m in length and 8 m wide with a blocked-up entrance on its south side; the walls are 1.1 m thick, the ground floor was vaulted and there were probably two floors above (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 504–5; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 261–2 & 483; Zeune, 1992, 191). On the basis of these dimensions, the Kers would seem to have commanded considerable resources to build this residence. It is reasonable to suggest that the earthen bank may have kept the English at bay, as it seems unlikely that a house of this height could have been 'covered' with earth. The roof may have been thatched with turves which would have been much more difficult to set alight than straw. The hall and stables referred to could have been within the enclosure, and were perhaps set alight by bowmen, though, by analogy with Smailholm, there may have been ancillary buildings outwith the enclosure.

Other than Littledean, there are few examples of substantial 'stronghouses' or 'bastles' for which evidence survives north of the border. The east wing of Fairnington House might incorporate the vaulted lower storey of the "bastell hous" attacked by the Wark garrison in November 1544 (*RMS*, *1513–46*, no. 2962). It measures 9.1 by 7 m with some of its original slit windows surviving (Zeune, 1992, 173–5; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 275; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 411–2). We do not know how many upper floors it originally had. Littledean has been compared with English 'stronghouses' such as Akeld, built in the early 16th century and situated at the foot of the Cheviots in the East March, which was *c.* 19 m long and built with a vaulted basement (Pevsner *et al.*, 1992, 125).

Also south of the border, the houses of prominent Tynedalers are described in 1541 by Sir Ralph Ellerker and Sir Robert Bowes (cf. note 63, 49) as:

> very stronge houses whereof for the most p[ar]te the utter sydes or walles be made of greatt sware [square] oke trees strongly bounde & Joyned together w[i]th great tenons of the same so thycke mortressed that yt wylbe very harde w[i]thoute greatt force & laboure to breake or caste downe any of the said houses the tymber as well of the said walles as rooffes be so greatt &

> cov[er]ed most p[ar]te w[i]th turves & earthe that they wyll not easyly burne or be sett on fyere.

This describes timber-built stronghouses whose walls were 'mured' to a battered profile with clay and turf and the roofs thatched with the same, thus fire-proofing the oaken walls (Neilson, 1893, 28–9). The "strong pele of Ill Will Armistraunges" in the West March is described in 1528 as having been "byilded after siche maner that it couth not be brynt ne distroyed unto it was cut down with axes" (cited in Armstrong, 1883, 15), which also implies a timber building. Where access to timber was sufficient there may once have been many more of this type of stronghouse, but, given the ephemeral nature of the material, evidence is scant.

5.4.1.3 'Pele-houses'

Tower-houses were built throughout the 16th century and into the 17th century, and the non-towers thus far described date to the earlier part of that period. The surviving examples of another, less-substantial, type of 'stonehouse', to which the term 'pele-house' has been applied by modern scholars, are found mainly in the later part of that date range. The period at which they first emerged on the Scottish side of the border, and who built them, have been the subject of much debate.

Philip Dixon (1976) has shown that the builders of the more numerous English 'pele-houses' were usually manorial tenants of greater than average wealth with modest-sized tenements and, initially at least, often the headsmen of their 'surname'. He supposes that men of similar wealth were responsible for those few that are known across the border, *i.e.* sons of lairds or new feuars. Piers Dixon has looked closely at Southdean parish in Roxburghshire (RCAHMS, 1994, 9 & 13) and considerably increased the density of 'peles' identified in the survey area (15 km^2). He surmises, therefore, that these were built by the kindly tenants there. Philip Dixon (1976, 181–3 & 215) and Joachim Zeune (1992, 158, 161, 164, 166 & 169) suggest that pele-building began following the widespread destruction by English forces before and during the Rough Wooing (1543–51). However, Piers Dixon (1994, 9) suggests that there could have been earlier defensible structures built in Southdean, but footings

provide insufficient evidence to determine whether they were originally 'houses' or 'towers'. He also suggests: 1) that the 1513 reference to the destruction of a 'tower' at Hindhaughhead (*OPS*, I, 365) may correspond with footings he identified there; and 2) that the pele-house at Slacks Tower may have borrowed its name from its predecessor which, by inference, may have been a 'tower' at Slacks, its site possibly that of a nearby earthwork (labelled 'pele' in Figure 5.8 below) (Piers Dixon, *pers. comm.*). First, English pele-houses are considered below, before considering the Southdean examples.

The numbers of pele-houses thus-far identified north of the border are nowhere near the quantity found to its south (*see* Dixon & Dunbar, 1996, 433). The general date for the emergence of English pele-houses is obscure, but it is presumed that most strong houses in the uplands were constructed of timber around and before 1541 (the date of Bowes and Ellerker's survey of the East and Middle Marches). In the late 16th century, however, much of the northern counties were in crown hands and favourable rents may have been a stimulus to stone house-building. Nevertheless, most men were customary tenants and records do not survive to show their relative wealth. In the mid-16th century, the English uplands were over-populated meaning that there were manpower reserves. It would be reasonable to assume, therefore, that the impetus for building in stone stemmed from the activities of the northern reiving communities at this time and was intended to enable defence from retaliatory raids and help to secure plundered items. In the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion (1569) the manorial system broke down. Without the protection of powerful Marcher lords the surnames would have been forced to protect themselves and were vulnerable to Scottish raiding led by lairds such as Ferniehirst, Buccleuch and those of Liddesdale. The surnames had also already lost their value to the English military which now favoured light cavalry and foreign mercenaries (Dixon, 1976, 216–7; Ryder, 1992b, 64; Dixon, 1972, 255–6; Dixon, 1993, 23; RCHME, 1970, 68; Robson, 1989, 206 & 221–2; Watts, 1975, 28).

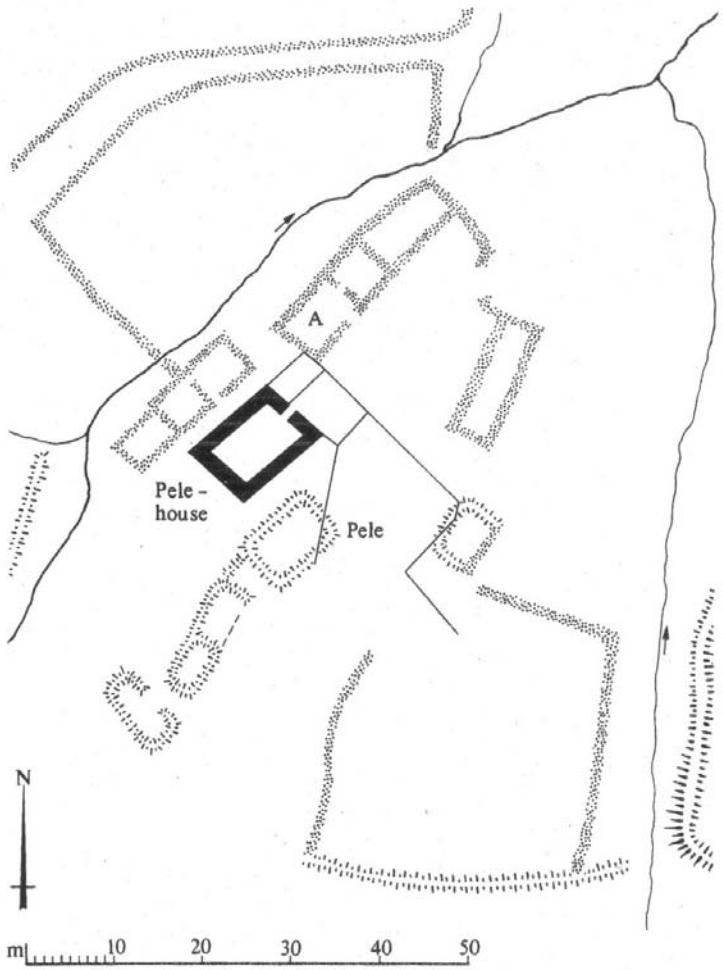

Figure 5.8: Slacks Tower, survey. RCAHMS, 1994, fig 9, p.11, © RCAHMS.

Looking now at Southdean, it is located in an upland district immediately adjacent to the border, and was part of the Forest of Jedburgh, a baronial forest which briefly passed to the Crown in 1540, but which then passed back to the Earl of Angus shortly after James V died (RCAHMS, 1994, 9, 11 & 13). The sequence of settlement appears to have begun with individual farmsteads, each enclosed by a head-dyke, bank and ditch. These are taken to be assarts (land cleared and improved for cultivation), perhaps first created before 1320 when 'Jedforest' was a royal forest. Some seem to have been superseded by peles, such as Northbank Tower and Hilly Linn, which Piers Dixon (RCAHMS, 1994, 11) writes should, "in this context,… be seen as defensible structures used by the farming community". Correlation between documentary sources and field remains has led Piers Dixon to surmise that the peles

here were built by relatively small farmers of average wealth for men of their class. For example, in 1541 'Slakkis' stead was leased by Thomas and John Oliver for 22 shillings and by Charles Oliver for 11 shillings (*ER*, XVII, 702–4). Other farmsteads, perhaps those of cottars, labourers or herdsmen were probably occupied contemporaneously with peles (RCAHMS, 1994, 9 & 11).

So, why did "tenants of average wealth" in Southdean or "manorial tenants or headsmen" build pele-houses? Philip Dixon's (1979, fig. 3, 248 & 249) analysis of the surviving bills of cross-border complaints shows that the principal reivers, in the later 16th century, were the Grahams (English West March) and the lairds of Liddlesdale, where we find towers. The main losses were those suffered by the inhabitants of North Tynedale, Redesdale and Bewcastle, where pele-houses predominate. The men of these areas were also reivers, however, as were the men of east Teviotdale and Jedforest—including the Olivers. Ralph Robson (1989, 181) writes that in the 1520s "the English asserted for enemy Borderers within reach that nothing remained but the walls of their houses, the ultimate raid being by Tynedale and Gilsland on what even Sir William Eure dubbed the poor men of Jedforest." According to Piers Dixon, these poor men were responsible for building the Southdean peles. Here, reiving must have been integral to the local economy and, given expectations of retaliation, it seems sensible to assume it would have given rise to the building of strong houses. The spoils of raiding could have occasioned surplus wealth, and losses suffered in retribution might have been offset by manpower reserves of the populous uplands. However, these unsettled conditions could have limited upward mobility for some tenants (RCAHMS, 1956, I, 45; Brown, 2003, 30–2; Dodgshon, 1983a, 51). Since the better-preserved pele-houses date to no earlier than the end of the 16th century, it is impossible to know how closely these examples followed the architectural lead of their predecessors. While raiding continued into the 1590s it seems to have been more one-sided, *i.e.* from or within Scotland. Perhaps defence from retaliation was not the primary concern of the later Scottish examples of pele-houses, though some means of security might have still have been a factor given that malefactors were targeted in state-sanctioned raids.

In the West March, Maxwell-Irving (2000, 173 & 216, fn 14) has suggested that the ruins at Raecleugh and Kinnelhead in Upper Annandale were bastles (or pele-houses) built by Johnston tenants. The layout of Kinnelhead is the clearer of the two. David Johnston, farmer and merchant, and his nephew Andrew are recorded as tenants in Easter Kinnelhead in 1608 when John Charteris of Amisfield's tried to evict them. This attempt was unsuccessful as David's son Samuel succeeded him in 1612 and then the lands pass to the Johnstons of Bearholm in *c.* 1630 (*ibid*, 172–3). The complex at Kinnelhead consisted of a house, outbuilding and courtyard. The rectangular-plan house measures 15.1 by 7.0 m (49 ft 5 ins by 23 ft) and is unusual in that the ground floor was cut into a rocky outcrop, which was probably originally accessed through a doorway in the missing gable, while a door on the north-west side gave access to an entresol floor. Both floors were contained within a single barrel vault. Kinnelhead could well have had a function related to the need for concealment, "indeed the site was so well camouflaged by the surrounding rocky eminences and hillside that a low profile [*i.e.* not a tower] could have been a distinct advantage" (*ibid*, 173).

Figure 5.9: Slacks Tower, from the south. © Peter Ryder, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

At Southdean, the best preserved example of a pele-house by far is Slacks Tower (Figure 5.9), situated at 200 m OD on a tributary of the Jed Water. It measures 11.8 by 7.45 m over walls 1.4–1.5 m thick and is categorised as a pele-house as its original height is clearly discernible. Wall thickness is important as it indicates

sufficient depth to build to two storeys (Piers Dixon, *pers. comm.*). Slacks was constructed using clay-mortar and its ground floor was un-vaulted, with the upper timber floor supported on a scarcement. Based on its quirked-roll mouldings it is dated to the later 16th century. The ground-floor entrance is 0.8 m wide and survives in the centre of the north-east gable wall; it would have had an outer door and an inner door, the latter secured by a draw-bar. It is highly likely that there was a separate entrance to the upper floor, possibly on the south-east side, reached by an external timber stair or ladder. The first floor has several aumbries. Two small windows survive and a clay-canopied fireplace may have been situated against the south-west gable. The garret, too, was doubtless reached by a ladder. Turves were the most likely roof-covering. The grass-covered footings to the south-east have been interpreted by Piers Dixon as a pele (*see* Figure 5.8), preceding Slacks Tower itself. In all probability the other footings represent ancillary buildings associated with either pele (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 687–9; Zeune, 1992, 157–8; Ward, 1998, 30; RCAHMS, 1994, 11 & 13). Some definitions, especially that of the RCHME (*see* Section 5.4.1.1), suggest the function of the ground floor was that of a byre. Was this the case at Slacks? To attempt to answer this question, a variety of evidence from excavated examples outwith the region, from towers, and from documentary references to lost examples will be considered next.

5.4.1.4 Byre Function?

There is now no trace of William Douglas of Bonjedward's house at Cunzeirton in the Cheviot Hills,[66] but of its razing and the theft of his cattle in 1540 (cited in Armstrong, 1883, LI, App. XXXIV) we have the following record:

> Thai come apon the XXI day of November last bypast, to his house of Cunzertoun, with ledderis, spadis, schobs, gavelockis and axis, cruellie assegit, brak and undirmyndit the said place, to have wynnyn the samyn, and

[66] Note: Zeune mistakenly ascribes Cunzeirton to Dumfriesshire with the suffix 'DF' each time it is mentioned, however, the grid reference provided in the index (NT 741 180) is correct and the house would have been up in the Cheviots with a direct route from Douglas's seat in Bonjedward (near Jedburgh) along Dere Street.

> tuik his cornis, and caist to the yettis, and brynt thairin VIIJ ky and oxin, and spulyeit and tuik away with thaime XXVJ ky and oxin, an horss…[67]

Zeune (1992, 168) supposes that Cunzeirton must have been a pele-house or bastle with livestock kept in the ground floor otherwise eight cattle and oxen 'therein' would not have been lost. In general, however, the livestock may have been kept on the property or 'place' rather than in the house itself. Given that this record is an official complaint lodged by Douglas against English reivers, it may have been exaggerated in the hope of compensation for 34 animals rather than the 26 that may be recovered.

The RCHME (1970, 66) cite two documentary references to support the theory that livestock were housed within the main body of the house. Firstly, the author of 'A Survey of the Possessions of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland…', 1570, who stated that lodging of livestock at night is the usual practice – this general observation need not relate to, or only to, the ground floor of stone-built two-storey houses. Secondly, a reference to the losses sustained by one John Sparman, Rothbury, who, in 1586, was said to have had "his house burnt and one hundred sheep in it". The average space available in the basement of surviving English bastles is 42.6 m^2 (*ibid*, 61); it is conceivable that this number of sheep could be housed inside but it seems more likely that additional accommodation would have been required to house a flock of that size on a nightly basis and, as it is, most English bastles do have associated outbuildings. However, the first secure references to livestock being housed on the ground floor of stone-built houses in Rothbury (Northumberland) and in north-east Cumberland date to the 19th century; therefore the architecture of 16th century examples confirms only that "the lower floor was never intended as living quarters… [and] could be interpreted, like medieval town cellars, as a storehouse" (*ibid*, 66).

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[67] Translation: *They come upon the 21st day of November last bypast* [past/gone by], *to his house of Cunzeirton, with ladders, spades, schobs* [?stobs: forked thatching rods], *gavelocks* [crowbars or heavy hammers] *and axes, cruelly assieged* [besieged], *broke and undermined the said place, to have wynnyn* [won] *the same, and took his corns, and cast to* [threw down] *the yetts* [gates], *and burnt therein eight cattle and oxen, and spulyied* [spoiled/plundered] *and took away with them 26 cattle and oxen, one horse…*

Slacks has the largest floor plan of the surviving Scottish pele-houses, but its survey shows a considerable number of ancillary buildings including one which could also be secured with a draw-bar (building A in Figure 5.8). It is likely that the Olivers would have needed secure accommodation, but unlikely that all of their livestock, and that of others that they may have surreptitiously acquired, could have been housed solely within the 36.5 m^2 ground-floor of the pele-house. And so, instead, most of the herd could have been driven into an enclosure (such as that to the south-east in Figure 5.8), perhaps nightly or when danger threatened, rather than into the pele-house itself.

As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.1.1), thirteen 'bastles' in Upper Clydesdale have been identified by Tam Ward between 1981 and 1998. Of these he has excavated or partially-excavated seven examples. Most date to the 17th century with around 1600 the earliest date. It is, therefore, difficult to make direct comparisons between the motivations of the builders of these houses and those of earlier examples in the marches. Trends in northern England had also shifted as the threat of raiding subsided after 1590. At the same time the population was decreasing and so the pattern of landholding changed with larger tenements held by fewer individuals, which allowed them to accumulate the necessary resources to build in stone (Dixon, 1979, 250; Robson, 1989, 222 & 224). Ward's classification is based upon comparison with the gazetteer of English bastles (RCHME, 1970); in particular their elongated plan (though Ward has 'short' and 'long' subgroups), their non-domestic ground floor and their separate upper entrances. However, at this date (as has been shown in Chapter 4) there are many Scottish examples of this arrangement and so, in general, 'laird's house' rather than 'bastle' might be a more appropriate generic term.

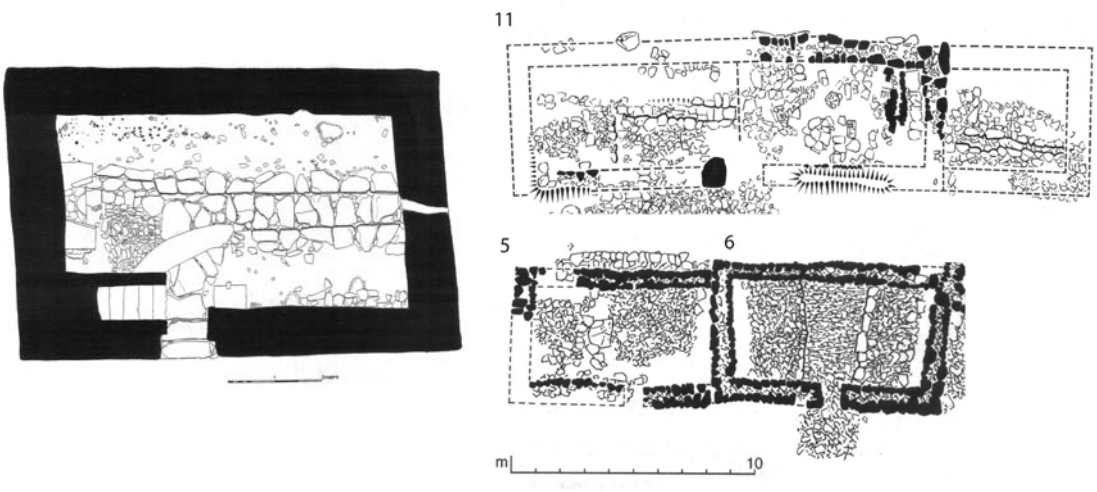

Figure 5.10: Left: Glenochar 'bastle', plan. Right: Glenochar: buildings 5, 6 and 11. (John Borland, 1997). Ward, 1998, figs. 7, 9 & 23, p.14, p.16 & p.27. © Biggar Museum Trust & Lanark and District Archaeological Society.

For the purposes of this discussion on the function of pele-houses or bastles, the ground floor of the lime-mortared Glenochar in Upper Clydesdale (left, Figure 5.10), built in *c.* 1605, is useful as it has a 0.7 m-wide central channel with a discharge through the south gable which has led Ward to classify its lower storey as a byre (Ward, 1998, 9–10, 12, 18, 26–30; 'The Elusive Scottish Bastle', 1994, 8). The available floor space is almost exactly the same as at Slacks. There was an intramural stair to the left of the entrance but due to the condition of the remains it is not possible to determine whether there was a separate external entrance to the upper floor.[68] It sits in the middle of a settlement of which several sets of footings have been excavated and where linear open drains (all but one are much narrower than that of the two-storey house) have been taken to indicate byre-dwellings. There was also a complex of open and covered drains in the cobbled courtyard outside it. However, the small chamber at the 'house-end' of building 11 (top right, Figure 5.10) had a drain covered with slates whose "function is unknown, although it was evidently intended to be a dry area and could have been used for storage" (Ward, 1998, 14). Not far from the main house is building 6 (bottom right, Figure 5.10) which has a broad *c.* 2 m central channel which runs, unusually, parallel with the end rather than the side walls and discharges through the door. Ward (1998, 17) suggests

[68] Two examples of intramural stairs were found during the RCHME's survey of *Shielings and Bastles* (1970, 88 & 62), including Crag, Northumberland.

that this building "may have been reserved for special, or perhaps larger, animals than most on the farm" stalled at either side of the channel. The doorway is no larger than those of the other Glenochar buildings thus far excavated, however.

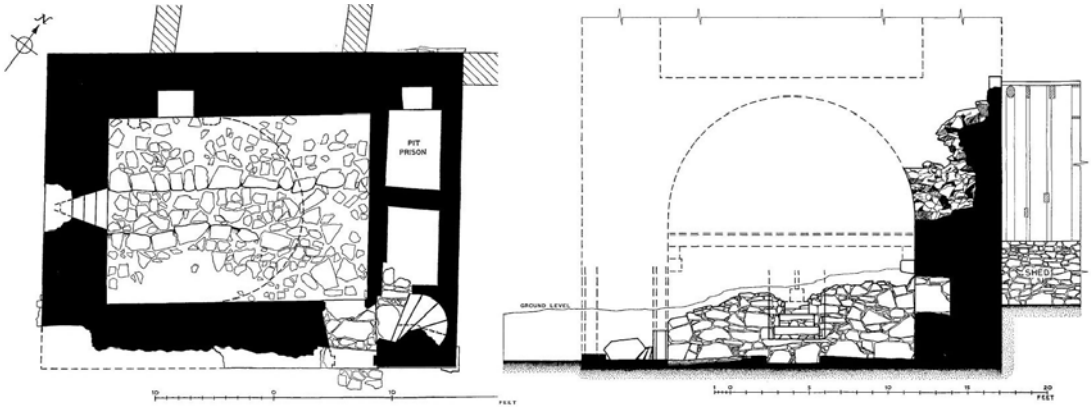

Figure 5.11: Cramalt South Tower plan and section looking west. Maxwell-Irving, 1981, figs. 5 & 6, p.414 & p.417, © A. Maxwell-Irving and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The ground floor of Cramalt South Tower, situated in an upland district of Ettrick Forest, also has a broad 1.0 m-wide central channel. The ground floor was crowned by a barrel vault and contained an entresol floor. Zeune dates it to the later 16th century, based on the architectural details.[69] It was probably occupied by tenants of the Hays of Yester at this date. A discharge could not be detected out of the south-west gable, while the base of the channel was virtually level and the floor did not seem to slope from the long sides into it (*see* cross-section in Figure 5.11 above). It also turns and peters out at the door in the east corner. It seems unlikely, therefore, to have functioned as a drain. The excavator, Maxwell-Irving (1981, 404–5 & 416), suggests that there may have been some correlation between the channel 'leading to' the slit window in the south-west gable – the main building at Glenochar also has a slit window in the middle of its south gable – but its function is still only guesswork. RCAHMS (1956, I, 45) suggests that the small, unlit basement of Mervinslaw pele-

[69] Zeune (1992, 223–4) disagrees with Maxwell-Irving's (1981, 420–2) dating of both Cramalt South and, 22 m away, Cramalt North Tower. Maxwell-Irving places the South Tower in the third quarter of the 15th century and dates the North Tower to *c.* 1490. The North Tower has no distinguishing features, but the slight chamfering or rounding of the door and window arrises of the South Tower led Zeune to suggest a much later date (late 16th century in the main text; the early 16th-century date in the caption of Fig. 142 is probably erroneous), preceded by the North Tower in *c.* 1500. A house at Cramalt is first recorded in 1530 (*ADCP*, 329).

house (7.8 by 6.4 m), a well-preserved example situated less than 4 km from Slacks Tower, "probably served on occasion for 'resetting' sacks of corn, an odd horse or two, and perhaps some sheep". No evidence for byre-drains were found during the Southdean survey (Piers Dixon, *pers. comm.*). It would, therefore, be misleading to suggest that the primary function of lower floors of such buildings was as a byre on the basis of the presence of channels in some examples. And so, given the lack of features that would suggest a domestic function, storage seems the most likely purpose of these ground floors.

Though 'strong houses' would naturally include tower-houses, houses like Littledean and Fairnington seem to have been built by lairds of some means in the first half of the 16th century. These could represent the antecedents of the early laird's house whose less-substantial cousin may have been the pele-house. In the Borders, early laird's houses have been otherwise termed by some archaeologists and architectural historians as 'late bastles'.

5.5 'Late bastles' and early mansions

5.5.1 'Late bastles': some rural examples

In John Dunbar and Philip Dixon's (1997, 433) contribution to the *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 'bastles' are described as "the homes of richer men who lived in towns or other places where defence could be subordinated to convenience of living, and the later bastle houses resemble the seventeenth century unfortified house of the southern lowlands." Before discussing Old Gala House, which has traditionally been categorised as a 'late bastle', examples which demonstrate greater architectural sophistication than pele-houses, and hence fulfil the RCAHMS's 'bastle' definition, will be looked at in this section.

As mentioned previously, the RCAHMS distinguishes a 'bastle' from a 'pele-house' by construction techniques—the presence of a barrel vault and the use of lime mortar. Only two rural examples of this form have thus far been identified in the Borders: Overton and Windydoors. Fisher's Tower (*c.* 1570), built by a substantial tenant, John Fisher, on coveted former abbey lands in Darnick village, a very small

settlement in the later 16th century, has also been described as a bastle. However, it may have been originally a full three storeys in height and its elongated plan (12.1 by 6.8 m) might have resulted from some rebuilding; therefore, it perhaps relates more to tower-houses (McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 455; Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 169; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 298; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 49 & 206). Old Gala House, which is enveloped by the town of Galashiels, was built in 1583 within large grounds close to what was then a small village which had not quite achieved burgh status. It has been classed by others as an urban 'bastle': this designation will be looked at carefully in this section. Other 'urban' towers and 'bastles' will be discussed more fully later in relation to town houses.

Figure 5.12: Overton. © Peter Ryder, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 5.13: Windydoors. © Scottish Borders Council Archaeology & Countryside Department, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The ruin of Overton (Figure 5.12) lies within the Upper Jed group of pele-houses discussed earlier, but is described by Zeune (1992, 169) as "typologically… halfway between [*sic.*] pele house and tower house". It has roughly the same dimensions as Slacks (10.6 by 7.4 m) but was un-vaulted, was two-and-a-half stories in height, had separate entrances to the ground and first floors, and was built using lime-mortar. It has fireplaces in the west gable on both the ground and first floors. It is ascribed to the last quarter of the 16th century and to Robert Fraser (RCAHMS, 1956, II, 221; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 603). If the fireplaces on the lower floor are part of the original build then they would set Overton apart from the surviving pele-houses in the area as it implies that living accommodation was provided on the ground floor.

This will be discussed further in relation to Harden House later. The different construction techniques are less important in the English definition of bastles, as, of around 240 'bastles' or 'bastle-derivative houses' identified in Northumberland, only about twelve have vaulted basements and these are limited to the headwaters of the Rede and Coquet (Ryder, 1992a, 353 & 375). Ground-floor living quarters are, however, rare. One parallel may be Highshaw Pele (9.1 by 4.3 m) in Redesdale, where the recess in the west gable of the vaulted basement was thought by A. Graham (1947, 40) to be a fireplace; the RCHME (1970, 88), however, doubts that it is original and is not convinced that it ever functioned as such. In discussing 'bastle-derivative houses' in Allendale, Peter Ryder (1992a, 357 & 372) suggests that their principal characteristic, the lack of living rooms in the basement, derived from their 17th-century predecessors.

Windydoors (Figure 5.13) is another upland example which has been classed as a 'bastle'. It was the 'middlestead' of three 'Windydoors' in Ettrick Forest, north-west of Galashiels, and was probably built in the late 16th century by a tenant of the Kers of Cessford. It has a vaulted non-domestic basement and separate lower and upper entrances. Based on its two mural fireplaces, one in each gable on the first floor, two chambers here are likely. Its classification as a bastle can be attributed to its barrel vault, elongated plan (14.8 by 7.5 m), and roll-moulded door surround (perhaps originally belonging to the upper floor), which suggest greater architectural sophistication than would normally be possessed by 'pele-houses' (RCAHMS, 1957, 37; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 49 & 762–3; Zeune, 1992, 179). Both Overton and Windydoors represent the more substantial houses of tenants and incorporate certain details which indicate a certain status. In this, they may be considered part of the 'laird's house' category.

Perhaps of greater influence on the design of Old Gala House, built in 1583 for Andrew Pringle of Smailholm and Galashiels, a man "who clearly held greater laird status within… [his community] with large holdings" (Meikle, 2004, 19),[70] are other

[70] Meikle (2004, 144) also uses tochers as one indicator of wealth, for example, the 1200 merks of Margaret Pringle of Galashiels in 1563.

structures associated with towers which were built by men of similar standing around the same time, for example the mansion at Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall.

5.5.2 Early mansions

Many of the residences of the border nobility at this period seem to be looking to Edinburgh and the Lothians when Renaissance mansions, such as Cowdenknowes, are first built. These forms inevitably provide another source of influence on the lesser laird's house. Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall are two of the earliest and best-preserved houses of greater lairds that survive in the Borders. They were effectively 'trend-setters' and their characteristics will be discussed in this section before determining whether such trends are also represented in Old Gala House.

James Home of Sunlaws, knighted in 1565, became Warden of the East March in 1573, the year in which he was granted the forfeited Hume Castle by Regent Morton. In 1574 he built a U-shaped mansion (Figure 5.3, p.193) to the south of the *c.* 1554 tower at Cowdenknowes, replacing an earlier range (Rae, 1966, 238; Meikle, 2004, 61, 67, & 70). Though Lord Home was eventually restored to his estate, the initial grants to James and his position as warden must have provided both sufficient status and access to finance to embark on his modernisation of Cowdenknowes. The three-storey main block (26.5 by 6.5 m) is oriented SSE–NNW, the barmkin wall forming its west side. Its lower floor was divided into three vaulted cellars. The south wing is the larger (7.3 by 6.1 m), its lower floor being perhaps the kitchen. In the re-entrant angle is a square-plan stairtower with an elaborate doorway bearing a 1574 date and the initials of Sir James and his wife Katherine Home. This provided separate access to the upper floors which was composed of a hall, outer-chamber and inner-chamber at first-floor level. The north wing is smaller (4.3 by 2.7 m) and had an independent stair to the hall. Its lintel has a monogram of Sir John Home and Margaret Ker, above which is a pious inscription. The east hall–tower range evidently remained in use even after the south-east tower was allowed to decay (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 194–7; RCAHMS, 1915, 69–72). John Dunbar (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 194–5) describes the mansion as possessing a "notably innovative design, incorporating a near-symmetrical front and an eye-catching array of… detail… a

mixture of revived Romanesque…, French Renaissance… and Scottish Renaissance". Here, the principal apartments on the first-floor read as a Renaissance *piano nobile*, rather than, as is often said, a defensive device to limit ground-floor openings.

Figure 5.14: Hutton Hall, from the south, photographed in 1880. © RCAHMS.

Hutton Hall (Figure 5.14) also belongs to the East March, but is situated in the heart of the Merse, on a raised site overlooking the Whiteadder Water. The heraldic panel above the entrance to the L-plan mansion read 'A H' and 'E H' with the date '1573' and this is taken to be the date of building. 'A H' is for Alexander Home of Huttonhall (†1594) and 'E H' for his wife Elizabeth (or Isobel) Home. In 1585 it is described as "that maist godlie and comfortable house to all the servants of God" (*Melville Diary*, 219) when Alexander was Deputy Warden in the East March (1582–94) to the 6th Lord Home (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 392–6; MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, IV, 193–9; Rae, 1966, 240).[71] As at Cowdenknowes, the new house did not communicate directly with the earlier tower. Again, the main entrance was provided at the base of a stairtower at the re-entrant between the main block (15.8 by

[71] The north-east range was heightened in 1896–8 and the north-west wing virtually rebuilt in 1926 as part of a rather brutal renovation as a repository of William Burrell's art collection. Figure 5.14 dates to 1880, since when the tower has been rebuilt.

6.7 m) and the north-west range (13.4 by 7.0 m). A broad turnpike stair led up to, on the north-west, the hall, which had an extruded chimneystack carried on corbels at the midpoint along the side wall; and, on the north-east, a single large chamber with a fireplace against which was the outer south-east gable. Between the two was a third, smaller room: the 'outer chamber' perhaps. Upper floors were reached by a stair turret and the second floor level delineated by a stepped stringcourse above the windows of the *piano nobile*. The north-west end of the ground floor of the main block was vaulted and had a large kitchen fireplace. The other end was originally only one storey in height and ceiled using timber beams on corbels (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 394–5; RCAHMS, 1915, 98; MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, IV, p194 & 196).

The work of the 1570s at Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall are fairly complete examples of a small group of mansions that were built in the borders before 1603, amongst which were a number of newly built tower-houses. These two were built by men who had either benefited from the forfeiture of their lord, as at Cowdenknowes, or who had, by remaining Lord Home's ally, received land grants and favours from him rather than directly from the crown, as in the case of Huttonhall. They both belong to the less turbulent East March and, though built on sites that had defensive capabilities, had very few defensive features, the gunloops therein being best described as decorative indicators of status.

5.5.3 'Late Bastle' or 'Early Laird's House'?: Old Gala House

The house built by a contemporary of the Homes, Andrew Pringle of Smailholm and Galashiels, has been described by archaeologists and architectural historians as a 'bastle'. It is of a smaller scale than the two mansions just described; a single block 13.4 by 5.6 m, though it may have stood for a time with an older house or tower and outbuildings. In this section it will be compared with the mansions abovementioned as well as with contemporaneous laird's houses outwith the region, some of which have been explored more fully elsewhere in this thesis. Certain characteristics or themes will be highlighted, such as the long rectangular plan, separate upper entrance, the function and status of the first floor hall, and the primary function of the

ground floor. These comparisons would appear to cast doubt on exactly how valid the term 'bastle' for Old Gala House is, and for the Border area in general particularly bearing in mind that it was first applied by English reporters who were perhaps more familiar with the traditions of northern England.

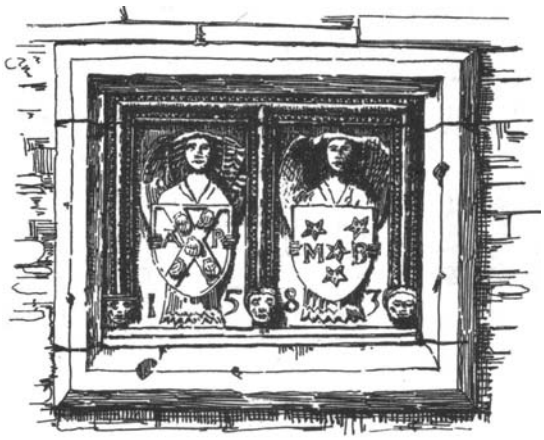

Figure 5.15: Carved panel from Old Gala House. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, V (1892), fig. 1390, p. 278.

Figure 5.16: Old Gala House, north-east wing from the west. RCAHMS, 1957, pl. XIX, fig. 56, © RCAHMS.

The date of this two-storey-and-garret house comes from a carved panel (Figure 5.15) which was first removed to a gate lodge of its successor, New Gala House, after 1880 and is now at Hollybush Farm. This elaborate panel had been built into one of the walls of the oldest part of the house. It bears the arms of Andrew Pringle and of his wife Mariota Borthwick, daughter of John, 5th Lord of Borthwick, and their initials, together with the date, 1583 (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, V (1892), 278–9; RCAHMS, 1957, 67–8; NAS Scott of Gala papers GD 237/119/2; Pringle, 1933, 98; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 304). The stead of Galashiels was part of the royal forest of Ettrick and was held by the Pringles under traditional leasehold from the mid-15th century, if not before, under the Lord Douglases. David Pringle of Smailholm and Galashiels (†1535) was curror of Tweed Ward and was succeeded by his grandson John († *c.* 1566). A house at Galashiels existed by 1544 (*RSS*, III, no. 886),[72] but the RCAHMS (1957) investigators were unable to detect the remains of a

[72] Hall (1898, 9) refers to an inscribed stone "ELSPETH DISHINGTON BUILTED ME/IN SYN LYE NOT/THE THINGS THOU CAN'ST NOT GET/DESYRE NOT" with the date 1457 built into the wall of the 1876 Masonic Lodge on St John Street which was "formally over the doorway" at Old Gala House.

tower. The steads of Galashiels and Mossilee were held under kindly tenure by the Pringles until at least 1541, but in 1566 they were granted in heritable feu to John's son Andrew (†1585). He had moved his seat from Smailholm to Galashiels by 1578, when he tried to evict John Pringle of Wrangholm from Smailholm Tower. The 1583 panel commemorates the erection of Andrew's fine new house (*RMS*, V, no. 916; RCAHMS, 1957, 10 & 41; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 304; Madden, 1976, 73; Pringle, 1933, 107 & 110; Meikle, 2004, 131).

Elizabeth Dishington was the wife of Robert Hoppringle of Smailholm. This may have been Andrew's, or his son, Sir John's, homage as the family's charters would have shown Robert to have leased the stead of Galashiels from the crown after the Douglas' forfeiture in 1455. A comparable example is the '1370' heraldic panel at Balthayock Castle, Perthshire.

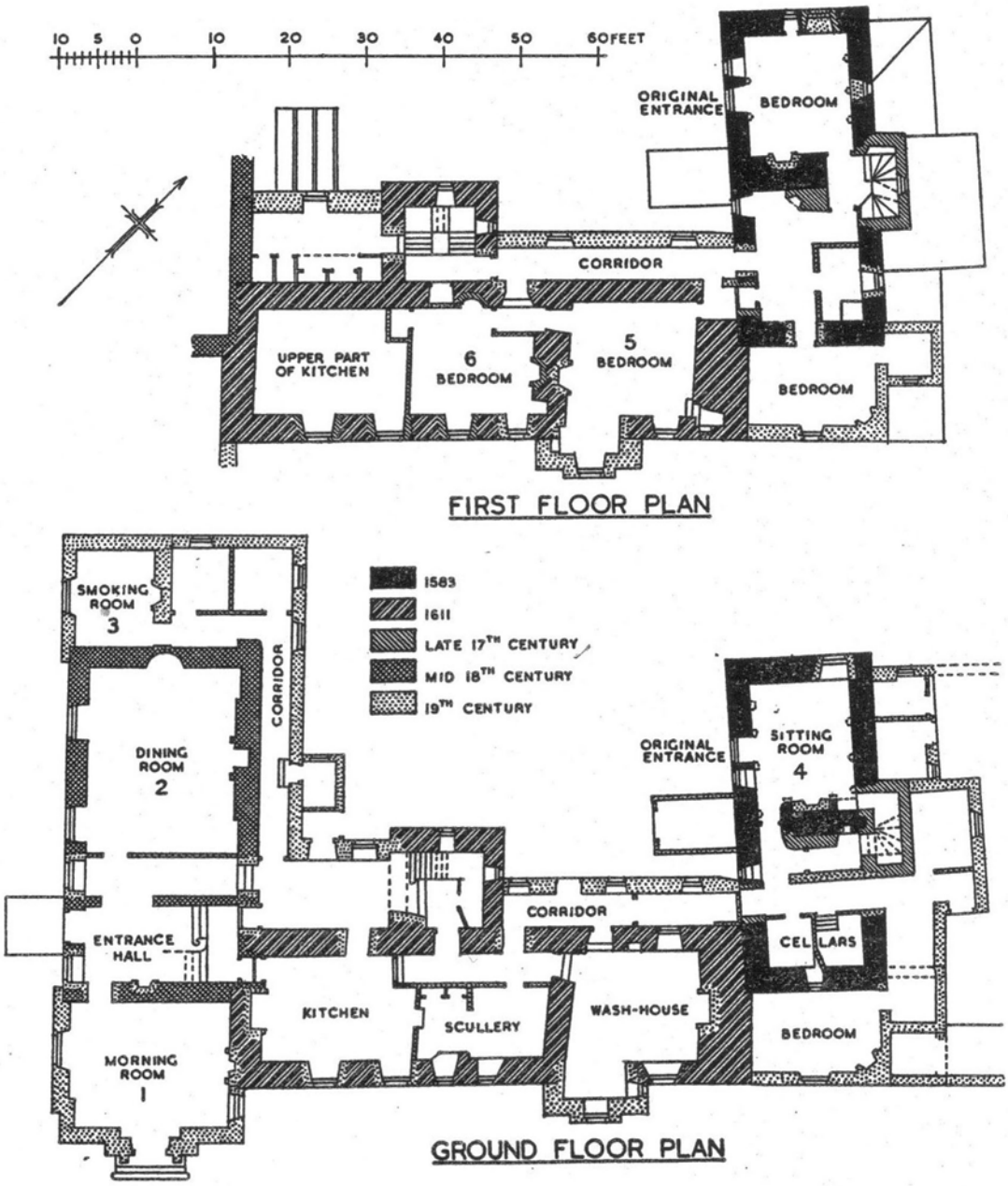

Figure 5.17: Old Gala House, ground- and first-floor plans. RCAHMS, 1957, fig.10, p.42. © RCAHMS.

Is Old Gala House best described as a bastle? Does it conform with any current definition of a bastle and, if not, what are its parallels? The house, now the north-east wing of a much larger U-plan mansion, evidently had separate ground- and first-floor entrances with quirked-edge-rolled mouldings on its south-west side (*see* Figure 5.16). Two small ground-floor windows and one larger window on the upper floor share the same mouldings. Both floors were divided into two roughly-equal

chambers by a mid-gable. There were flat timber ceilings carried on corbels. The mid-gable is an unusual feature of English 'bastles'; it has only been identified in some 17th-century 'extended bastles' which either functioned as one larger bastle or two or more bastles, but which had no ground-floor fireplace (Ryder, 1992a, 374). However, mid-gables are found in a range of early laird's houses discussed in Chapter 4 (*e.g.* Garleton, Skelbo, Pitcastle and Balsarroch). It is likely that canopied chimneys rose against these masonry walls. There was probably originally a garret floor or lofts at Old Gala House, but it has been raised in the later 19th century and the stair-tower on the north-east side is an addition (RCAHMS, 1957, 41 & 43; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 305). Without evidence to suggest that there were any large windows on the ground floor, the substantial fireplace in the north-west chamber may well have served a kitchen rather than a hall. Parallels for un-vaulted kitchens can be found elsewhere, for example Uttershill in Midlothian (*see* Figure 4.16). A hall-and-chamber arrangement is likely on the upper floor at Gala House which, presumably, was reached by a forestair.

The identification of this house as a bastle can be reduced to only a few factors: 1) that it had separate ground- and first-floor entrances; 2) that it has an elongated plan; and 3) that it is in the border area where the term, 'bastle' is found in contemporary records. There is no suggestion that livestock were kept on the ground floor and the fireplace, which appears to be original, precludes the use of the north-west end as storage. The arrangement has greater affinities with the south wing of Cowdenknowes or the north-east range at Hutton Hall. Instead of a forestair, the separate entrances to access their upper stories are contained within stair towers (and in the north wing at Cowdenknowes). The lower service storeys are accessed independently. With reference to Dixon and Dunbar's definition quoted at the beginning of Section 5.5.1 (p.216), a pertinent extract is that "the later bastle houses *resemble* [itals. mine] the seventeenth century unfortified house of the southern lowlands." The characteristics of lowland houses of younger sons or merchants of the *later sixteenth century* have been discussed in Chapter 4, as well as those of new or rebuilt ranges of existing dwellings that parallel Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall,

and these resemble closely the contemporary border 'bastle'. For example, Bay House in Dysart, Fife, built in 1583 (Figure 4.21, p.129). As discussed earlier (Section 4.4.2.1), the ground floor contained the kitchen and two stores whilst the upper floor was reached by a forestair. It was divided into a central hall (with an extruded fireplace similar to that at Hutton Hall) with two chambers at either side and there is a garret above (Gifford, 1992a, 288 & 290). This form continues into the early 17th century, as with the Upper Clydesdale examples, the period discussed towards the end of that chapter.

The term 'bastle' is usually taken to denote a defensible farmhouse. As at Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall, neither entrance at Old Gala House preserves evidence of draw-bar slots. It also has no evidence of gunloops. It is not possible to ascertain whether it sat within a walled enclosure which could have provided it with some protection, but if protection had been Andrew's primary concern why move from the loftly Smailholm to Galashiels? In 1583, although the threat from international war had long vanished, feuding remained, and lightly-armed parties raided intermittently. Pringle is unlikely to have been targeted by regents or monarchs on their judicial raids. The barn and barnyard of 'Gallashields' is mentioned in his 1586/7 inventory along with 10 oxen, one bull, 12 young cows, 10 young bullocks, one horse and 360 sheep.[73]

The 'old town' of Galashiels seems to have developed on a ridge on the south-west side of the steep-sided Gala Water valley. 'Hunter's Ha' (demolished 1815), which may been built by the Lords Douglas, was a royal hunting seat at the northern extremity of Ettrick Forest and a settlement seems to have grown up around it. Hall (1898, 62–3) refers to two other "peels", one "of ruder construction and used by retainers of royalty", nearby and a third "stood at the head of Cuddy Green" closer to the river bank. The parish church was at Lindean, but, as the population of both settlements grew, Boleside (1586) was also used. It is possible that there was also a

[73] NAS Edinburgh Commissary Court: Testaments CC8/8/16, 24 Jan 1586/87, transcribed in Dixon, 1976, Inventory App. I/viii, 214.

chapel at Galashiels,[74] which was rebuilt as the parish church in 1617 (demolished 1960). The three waulk mills mentioned in the early 17th century may have been in existence earlier, Andrew having infefted his wife Mariota in the lands and mills of Galashiels in the year of his death, 1585 (*RMS*, V, no. 916), and one of the mills was possibly also a corn mill. His testament shows that he had assets worth £1,816 Scots (c/f note 73). Perhaps Andrew had the foresight to invest in the property which, in 1599, became a burgh of the barony under his son, Sir James (Pryde, 1965, 63). Lairds' involvement in burghs will be explored more fully in the next section.

To refer back again to Dixon and Dunbar's definition of bastles, Old Gala House was certainly the home of a rich man who lived close to 'town'. However Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall, which are not described as bastles, were also built "where defence could be subordinated to convenience of living"; rather, built *in a time* when defence was less of a consideration. In the Borders a lowland–upland divide does not seem to have existed for the lairdly class. Perhaps such a division did exist for the Jedforest tenants and those 'uplanders' of comparable tenural and economic status. In his thesis, Dixon (1976, II, Gazetteer IV/2 & I, 180) classifies Old Gala House as a 'Type 1' bastle, which he defines as the simplest form of large stone house which first appeared at the end of the 15th or early 16th century (such as Baal Hill, County Durham and Hebburn mentioned above), and goes on to compare it to the 'stronghouses' of Littledean and Fairington discussed earlier. These latter were certainly built by men of substance, so they are relevant. However, certainly in the case of Littledean, they had been built to withstand a concerted attack.

Dixon's 'Type 1' and 'Type 2' bastles are termed 'stronghouses' by the RCHME, and are defined as "in plan a more elongated rectangle than most towers, three stories high and often with a small gabled stair wing either housing or flanking the entrance door" (Ryder 1992b, 64). The term 'bastle' is reserved for the houses of the smaller farmers, surviving examples of which were built *c.* 1570–1620 (RCHME, 1970, 66–

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[74] William Ker of Linton was a priest at Galashiels, Andrew Pringle's father John was Catholic but converted before his death. William became a reader at Lindean but, with Robert Carr of Henton, smuggled Jesuit priests into Scotland in 1586. Meikle (2004, 213 & 218).

7; Dixon, 1993, 23). Stone houses built by landowners or the nobility in the later 16th century have also been classed as 'stronghouses' (Dixon's 'Type 2') if they are neither tower nor manor house. The ground-floor kitchen at Doddington (1584), built by Lord Grey, is worth noting. Because of its T-plan, it is discussed in relation to Queen Mary's House in Jedburgh, discussed in Section 5.6.3 below (Pevsner *et al.*, 1992, 254).

To sum up the main points concerning the classification of Old Gala House: 1) its elongated plan and separate entrances do not make it a bastle by comparison with examples of other Scottish laird's houses; 2) there is no evidence to suggest that it was defensible; 3) it does not have a vaulted ground floor, which, though not precluding it from the English definition of a 'bastle', makes it an awkward fit into the Scottish definition; 4) it does have greater architectural sophistication than 'pele-houses' including the use of lime mortar, an aspect consistent with Andrew Pringle's status; and 5) it shares characteristics with early mansions, both those built by Andrew's peers in the borders and further north and with late English 'stronghouses'. The question could be rephrased, therefore, as: is Old Gala House an early mansion or an early laird's house? No other Border example of that date survives with 'house' rather than 'mansion' proportions, although Old Gala House was extended within a generation. As Andrew Pringle continued to hold, though seemingly not to occupy, Smailholm, Old Gala House could be identified as a his main residence. As explained in the methodology (Chapter 3) multiple residences, such as the three houses in Shetland occupied by William Bruce discussed in the next chapter, together with the town houses of such men are valid inclusions in a thesis on 'laird's houses'. As Keith M. Brown (1987, 103) puts it, in the 16th century "in Scotland [excepting Edinburgh] town and country were very much part of the same landscape."

5.6 Burghs and town houses

5.6.1 Lairds and their town houses

> Given the town and country interests of most of their builders, it is not surprising that the late medieval and early modern tower houses of the urban aristocracy and gentry show only a few variations in design from their rural counterparts, and many made virtually no concession to the restrictions of an urban environment…
>
> Geoffrey Stell. "Urban Buildings", in *The Scottish Medieval Town*, 1988, p.70

As well as tower-houses, there are examples of houses that are less tower-like in form in the Border burghs. There are references to several towers having existed in Jedburgh and Melrose by the early 16th century, most probably associated with the abbeys there – since destroyed – but the 15th-century tower-house built by the Douglases of Drumlanrig in Hawick is still extant. It is interesting in that this tower could also be described as the Hawick 'town house' of the Dumfriesshire family and fulfilled the same function for the Scotts of Buccleuch in the later 16th century. A rare survival of a town house built in the late 16th century is 'Queen Mary's House' in Jedburgh, which may be representative of other, now lost, town houses of that date. As mentioned previously, it has often been classed as a 'bastle' and there have also been many documentary references to 'bastles' in border villages and burghs. The 'Old Manor-house' at Cockburnspath has been described as a house of an Edinburgh mercantile family, but evidently originated as two separate houses. These houses will be compared to examples north and south of the border to determine whether or not 'bastle' is an appropriate descriptive term. Since antiquarians have made reference to the existence of 'pended houses' in Hawick, which they described variously as town houses or 'defensible buildings' with livestock housed on the ground floor (for example Jeffrey, 1864, V, 283 and Vernon, 1900, 10), evidence for their form and function will also be investigated. Reference should also be made to the Commendator's House in Melrose which was built in 1590 reusing stones from the abbey's buildings and which is a rare survival. It was later remodelled as the

house known as 'The Priory' before being restored to its presumed original form in the 1930s. It was probably an influential non-tower-like secular dwelling which had a similar disposition of accommodation as 'Queen Mary's House', the Old Manor-house and Old Gala House.

Melrose is first mentioned as a burgh of barony in 1605 though a settlement had grown up around the abbey precincts long before then (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 270–1). Lauder, on the other hand, had been elevated to a royal burgh in the early 14th-century, but remained very small, being dependant on agriculture and hostelry rather than trade (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 483 & 533; Pryde, 1965, 20–1, 43 & 64). In the late medieval Borders, the most substantial settlements are likely to have been Hawick, Jedburgh and Peebles. Excavations in 1985–7 on the north side of Bridgegate in Peebles uncovered a stone-built merchant's house, possibly dating to the late 14th century, which had stood on a prominent site next to the tolbooth and close by the principal gate to the town. There may have been workshops on the ground floor, with a passage leading to stores at the rear of the property, and living accommodation above. It continued to be occupied in some form until the mid-16th century (Dixon *et al.*, 2002, 52 & 73). Evidence of similar medieval masonry buildings in 'urban' contexts is rare: in the 16th century most buildings were likely to have been constructed of more ephemeral materials such as timber and clay and raised only to one storey.

Lairds were inevitably intimately involved with such settlements, in some cases having instigated the creation of burghs of barony. In the Borders, the earliest examples of these are associated with the earls of Douglas. Later, the Homes had Earlston and Duns in their dominion, while Hawick was erected a burgh of barony under the Douglases of Drumlanrig in 1511 (Pryde, 1965, 33–5, 53 & 56). Peter Symms (1986, 44) writes of a general "drift of many burghs into the patronage networks of nobles or lairds" from the 1450s. Links between Edinburgh merchants and border burghs were also emerging at that time. Symms goes on to show that, in the case of Selkirk, a number of local lairds were admitted to burgess-ship "no doubt with the intention of securing support in both local and national disputes." There was

also conflict over rights to the burgh's extensive common lands from neighbouring lairds: conflict which could be explosive, as with the murders of the burgh's provost and bailie by Ker of Greenhead's retainers in 1541. As well as burgess-ships some local lairds also held positions such as alderman or bailie of the burgh court (Symms, 1986, 45, 64, 66 & 87; Goodman, 1987, 26; Meikle, 1988, 214; Meikle, 1993, 14).

5.6.2 Towers

Many of the first references to towers and bastles in urban settlements come from English reports of damage by English forces during the early part of the 16th century. Jedburgh, with its abbey, was repeatedly attacked, and in 1523 Surrey reported that it had had "six good towers therin, which towne and toweris be clenely destroyed, brent and throwne downe" (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, III, pt. 2, no. 3360). These towers may have been built in the 15th century, after the castle had been demolished to prevent English occupation, but, despite reports, they do not seem to have been totally destroyed either by Surrey in 1523, or by Hertford's mob in 1544. For example, St Ninian's Tower is mentioned as the residence of the chaplain of the altar of St Ninian in 1551, while Dabie's Tower was only demolished in the mid-17th century. Given the locations of the towers adjacent to town ports, Lewis and Ewart (1995, 10) suggest that, rather than private residences, their primary role was defensive or, at least, they controlled entry to the abbey precinct. Where emerging burghs could utilise existing castle or monastic outer defences, as at Jedburgh or Selkirk, these seem to have been augmented by the heidrooms (rear walls) of burgage plots. Heidrooms were repaired in times of threat and reinforced at the town ports but, in general, the delineation of boundaries seems to have related more to the physical demarcation of legal and commercial limits. Only in Peebles in the Borders were town walls built, though even there only after 1570 (Symms, 1986, 138–9; Creighton & Higham, 2005, 75–6; Gournlay & Turner, 1977, 4).

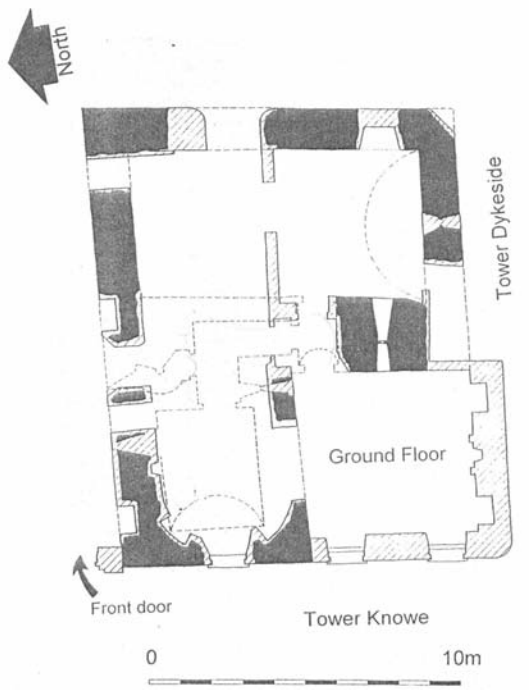

Figure 5.18: Drumlanrig Tower, ground-floor plan. Dent, 1994, p.33.

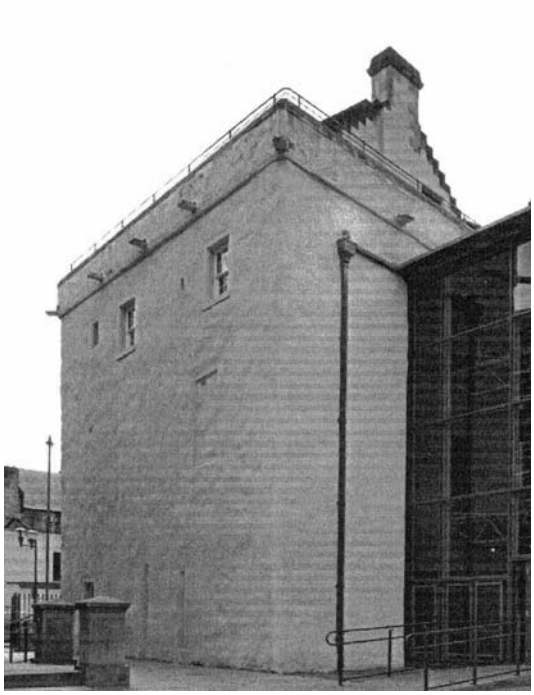

Figure 5.19: Drumlanrig Tower, from the south-east. © RCAHMS.

Fewer towers are mentioned elsewhere, for example in 1547/48 "the towne of Hawick was also burned by the foot-men,… save only the towars which they colde not gett…. They burned in Hawick a house of the Lorde of Bucloughss…. They burned in Hawick iii. towers of stone" (*Cal. Border Papers*, I, 74, no. 151). The location of the town house of the Lord of Buccleuch is unknown but may well have been one of the stone towers, while 'Milnport Tower', close to the bank of the Teviot and swept away in the flood of 1767, could also have been one of the three towers mentioned.[75] One of them is most probably the "castle called Davlamoryke" (*CSP Scot.,* III, 197, no. 270) which survived an attack on the town in 1570 and is attributed to the Douglases of Drumlanrig. This three-storey-and-garret L-plan tower-house (Figure 5.19) has been extensively remodelled. The fabric pre-dating *c.* 1800 is shown solid on the 1993–4 survey plan above. The core of the tower may

[75] 'App XII: Description of Hawick flood, 1767, by John Gladstains, Conjunct Town-Clerk of Hawick, and eye witness. Transcribed form original draft amongst the burgh archives' in Wilson, 1858, 143. Wilson supposed that the Milnport Tower may have been the 'Lieutenant's Tower' or 'Peill' that is referred to in 1656.

well date to the 15th century given the 2.4 m-thick west wall of the main block, intramural turnpike stair (since removed) and wall-walk arrangement (however, Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 356–7 suggest a date in the third quarter of the 16th century). The Scotts of Buccleuch, who evidently had already built up significant interests in Hawick, ousted the Douglases from the superiority of the barony in the later 16th century and took possession of the tower-house (RCAHMS, 1957, I, 135–6; Dent, 1994, 32–3; Strang, 1994, 139; Dixon, 1990, 16). This form of house can be found as burghal residences elsewhere, as at MacLellan's Castle in Kirkcudbright (1582). However, some moved away from this model, as will be discussed below.

5.6.3 'Pended houses' and 'Queen Mary's House'

Figure 5.20: 'Haïck' and 'Horsleyhill', Timothy Pont, c. 1590. Pont 35(2) part of Teviotdale © NLS.

Robert Wilson (1825, 57), writing about Hawick in 1825, refers to:

> a number of the old houses of the town whose second floors were formed by arches, or pends, have been taken down within the last fifty years. Several of

> them, however, still remain. Nearly one half of the ground on which these houses stand is occupied by the walls that measure from four to seven feet in thickness.

One of these houses might have been the town house of the Scotts of Horseleyhill, which stood at the head of Walter's Wynd (formerly 'Horseleyhill's Wynd') close to the town's North Port. The vaulted basement at No. 51 High Street is thought to be a remnant of that house (Scott, 1970, 22; Robson, 1947, 73). The Scotts' main seat lay close to the burgh (see extract from Pont's map, *c.* 1590, Figure 5.20). Another wynd, also on the north-west side of the High Street, is Round Close, within which, W. S. Robson (1947, 60) writes, was "a pended stronghold, with its back wing believed to have been designed to protect the entrance to the close which in earlier times was closed with a gate" incorporating a datestone '1600 J.S.M.D. Feare Gode' until the east side of the close was rebuilt in 1871. Antiquarian interpretations of Hawick's 'pended houses' seem to emphasize their vaulted basements, a common feature of stone buildings with more than one storey in the 16th century. However, the term may have originally described houses that could only be accessed by first passing under a pend or transe. A surviving parallel for these houses might be 'Queen Mary's House' in Jedburgh, discussed below.

Figure 5.21: 'Queen Mary's House' from the south-east, photograph by S Strachan, 2007.

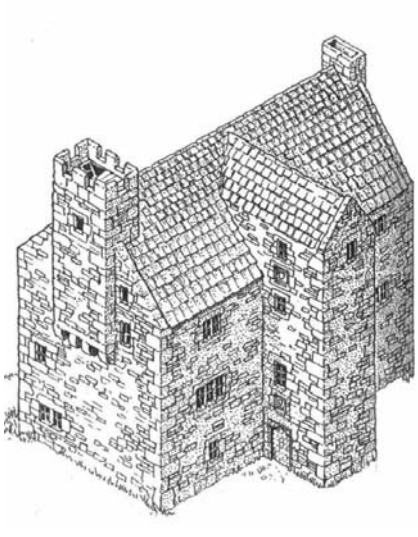

Figure 5.22: A 'stronghouse' reconstruction. Ryder, 1992b, p.64.

It has been acknowledged recently that "although often classified as a bastle, ['Queen Mary's House']… is more appropriately described as a town house, since it has few, if any, defensible features and cannot be identified with any of the towers that are known to have existed in Jedburgh in the 16th century" (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 424). Its traditional association as the lodging-place of Mary in 1566 rescued it from demolition in 'improving' periods, though it was probably built very late in the 16th century. The main block (16 by 6.8 m) is two-and-a-half storeys in height and its steeply-pitched roof suggests that it was originally thatched. The entrance was at the rear of the building, accessed via an un-vaulted transe from the street (*see* Figure 5.21 & Figure 5.23). The three-storey square-plan wing contains a broad stair to the principal rooms on the first floor where the hall is equipped with a large corbelled-out fireplace at its mid-point on the east wall (like Hutton Hall) and there is a chamber at the south end. Two blocked doorways in the north gable suggest that there was access to a tenement on that side (now demolished) whilst a single-storey outshot on the south gable is now represented by a scar and a blocked doorway. The 17th-century armorial panel over the transe has been interpreted as the arms of Wigmar and Scott, but it is difficult to confirm this as it has been recut (Cruft,

Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 425–7; MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, IV, 112–6; RCAHMS, 1956, I, 212–3).

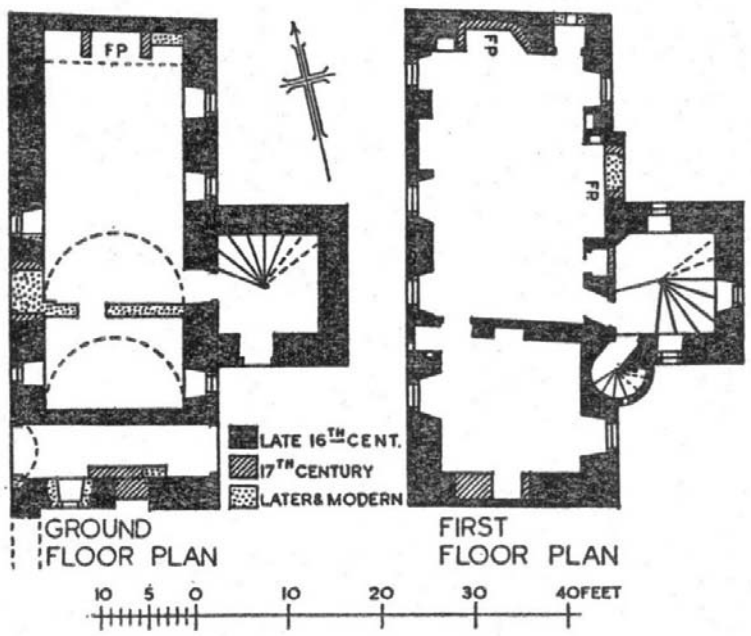

Figure 5.23: 'Queen Mary's House', plans. RCAHMS, 1956, I, p.212. © RCAHMS.

Dixon (1976, 167, 180 & 200) classes 'Queen Mary's House' as a bastle by relating it to the late 16th-century English 'stronghouses' which have similar stair wings, such as the parapetted Doddington (1584) and Whitton Shields (1608). Doddington is now in a ruinous condition and the upper storey of Whitton Shields was removed in *c.* 1914, so a reconstruction drawing based on the latter is inserted at Figure 5.22 for comparison. There are Scottish parallels for this arrangement, however, such as Grange House, West Lothian, whose core may date from 1564 (*see* Figure 4.22, p.130). Border lairds such as Sir Robert Ker of Cowdenknowes, were firm favourites of James VI, while sons of lairds such as Pringle of Smailholm and Galashiels were boarded and schooled in Edinburgh and the capital's merchants were building up their holdings of provincial burgages and rural estates (Meikle, 1998, 279; Meikle, 2004, 80). Monastic lands, titles and pensions were dispensed by James VI from the north and no doubt the architecture of the principal burghs, particularly Edinburgh and Stirling, were influential.

A common perception has been that towers and bastles in burghs and villages functioned as places of refuge when a sudden raid threatened, their density offering mutual aid (RCAHMS, 1956, I, 44). There is, however, no firm evidence to show that townsfolk flocked to towers such as the six in Jedburgh, the three of Hawick or the one in Selkirk. One tactic of Jedburgh inhabitants to reduce the damage that could be done by Surrey's raiding party was recorded in 1523: they "unthatched their houses and laid it on the streets and set fire on the same so that the smoke was very noisome" (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, III, pt. 2, no. 3098).

Figure 5.24: Mid Row, Hawick, 1884. © RCAHMS & Hawick Museum.

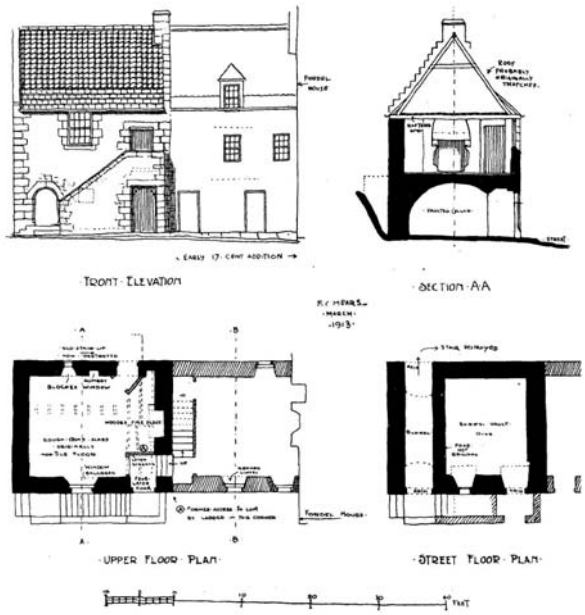

Figure 5.25: House in Inverkeithing, surveyed by F. C. Mears. Mears, 1913, figs 3 & 4. © The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

An 1884 photograph taken during the demolition of Mid Row is often used to illustrate Hawick's 'pended houses' as its barrel-vaulted ground-floor is clearly shown (Figure 5.24). The upper storeys of the terraced dwellings were accessed by forestairs until *c.* 1815. This combination of separate access and vaulted basement led to the suggestion that the lower floor of the photographed example was intended to provide secure accommodation for livestock against reiving parties (Jeffrey, 1864, V, 283). But, since Mid Row did not have yards or backlands, hemmed in as it was on both sides by streets, it seems an unlikely candidate for ground-floor byres. In

1570 it was recorded that the men of the villages of Bywell barony in Northumberland would bring "all their cattell and shepe into the strete in the night season and watch both end of the strete and when thenemy approchith to raise hue and cry whereupon al the town preparith" (Public Record Office E. 164/137, f. 379v, cited in RCHME, 1970, 69–70); this tactic was favoured over locking livestock indoors.

The earliest mention of Mid Row dates to 1656 and the presence of a vaulted basement suggests an earlier date (Simpson & Stevenson, 1980a, 13; Robson, 1947, 52). Geoffrey Stell (1988, 73) refers to the two-storey 'flatted' or 'stacked' cottages that were characteristic of Fife villages and which were built in the last quarter of the 16th century, if not before, and by the early 18th century similar types were noted in Northumberland. The ground floor was often a separate dwelling, but Stell (*ibid*), also recognises that "the existence of a forestair can point to any of several functional variations on the same basic building design; surviving examples include an inn, and a house over a shop." F. C. Mears (1913, 343) recorded a house in Inverkeithing, Fife (Figure 5.25) "built at the close of the middle ages" which might provide a parallel for Mid Row. The vaulted ground floor was entered by an arched doorway; the later forestair in front of it creating a porch area. An arched pend to the right leads to a back yard where the original forestair was sited giving access to the first-floor entrance. The first floor consisted of a single room 5.5 by 4.6 m (18 by 15 ft) paved with stone slabs with a hooded fireplace against one gable and the framing of a ladder opening to the loft survives in one corner. The roof was probably originally thatched (*ibid*, 343 & 347). Vaulted basements and pends or trances were probably once common features of the earliest stone-built terraced houses in small burghs, whether close to the Anglo-Scottish border or elsewhere. And so Mid Row, or grander town houses like Queen Mary's House, should not be seen as exceptional, particularly defensive, or associated with ground-floor byres.

5.6.4 'Urban bastles'?

Were there any town or village dwellings which could be termed 'bastles' or 'pele-houses' in the Borders, if not the town houses or 'pended houses' described above?

Often quoted, is the English report of '16 strong bastell houses' having been burned in Lessudden in November 1544 (1544 source quoted in Armstrong, 1883, lv–lxx). Rather than a single settlement (the modern St Boswells) this reference to Lessudden could relate to the former lordship lands that had recently been feued to Arthur Sinclair by the Melrose monks. It had long-established agricultural tenants who had pasturage on the Eildon hills. The pattern of individual holdings is likely to have been of a greater density than, say, Jedforest. It has been noted that, in Melroseland (Melrose, Darnick and Lessudden), tower-houses were inevitably close to one another (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 212–3 & p.269; Dunbar, 2006, 46). Dixon (1972, 252) suggests that any building less substantial than a tower-house could have been referred to as a bastle and one can only assume that stone houses rather than 'timber stronghouses' are inferred in Lessudden. Unfortunately, the pele-houses of the Upper Jed cannot provide a direct parallel as the surviving examples there date to the late 16th century.

Figure 5.26: 'Old Manor-house', Cocksburnspath, from the east. © RCAHMS.

Figure 5.27: 'Old Manor-house', Cocksburnspath, from the south-west. © RCAHMS.

It has been suggested that the 'Old Manor-house' (illustrated above) in Cocksburnspath originated as two 'bastles' in the mid- to late 16th century and has been compared with English bastles, such as Wooley, where two ranges may represent two distinct dwellings (Tranter, 1935, 32; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 174; Ryder, 1992a, 363–5). The two ranges at Cocksburnspath, which are probably of different dates, both had their principal rooms on the upper floors. However, it should be said that internal access between all the ranges of a single complex was not a necessity (*e.g.* Cowdenknowes) and so it cannot be ruled out that the ranges were part of a single dwelling even before the connecting stair-tower (shown in Figure 5.27) was added. The three corbels on the west wall of the smaller block (right in Figure 5.27) may have supported a latrine or, possibly, a box-machicolation (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 174). It would be difficult to describe the dwelling as a town house in the context of Cocksburnspath, however, since it was a very small settlement in the 16th century, located near the east coast and on the Lothian boundary. However, it is quite a substantial house, probably built or remodelled by the Arnots before the village was erected into a burgh of the barony in their name in 1612, and evidence of painted ceilings was uncovered in 1987 which dates from around this time (Pryde, 1965, 65; Bath, 2003, 228). The family originated as merchants in Edinburgh and had built up significant property interests in this area, so

Cocksburnpath may have been chosen simply as a convenient location for a residence.

Figure 5.28: Commendator's House, Melrose from the east. © Historic Scotland.

The other most complete example of a domestic building which may have influenced the 'early laird's house' in a Borders village or town is the Commendator's House, in Melrose (Figure 5.28). James Douglas was appointed commendator in 1569; his father, William Douglas of Lochleven, administered on his behalf during his minority. Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme, bailie of the abbey, aggrieved by the Douglas appointment, set about removing salvageable material from the abbey. Scott was warded for this misdemeanour in 1572. Commendatorships were positions vied for by landed men as they earned significant portions of the abbeys' or priories' considerable revenues, whether feu-duties or teinds. The Douglas appointment was secured when James's grandfather became Regent Morton. James married first Mary Ker, daughter of the Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, in *c.* 1587 and second Helen Scott, the daughter of another local laird, William Scott of Abbotshall, in *c.* 1598. James remained commendator until 1606. An abbot's hall had existed from the 13th century, but Douglas chose to build a new house further west. Whilst the

Commendator's House incorporates salvaged masonry, there is no evidence to indicate that it has an earlier core, as was suggested by James Richardson (R. Fawcett, *pers. comm.*). The date 1590 on an inscribed lintel, accompanied by the initials of James and his first wife, Mary is almost certainly the date of its construction.[76]

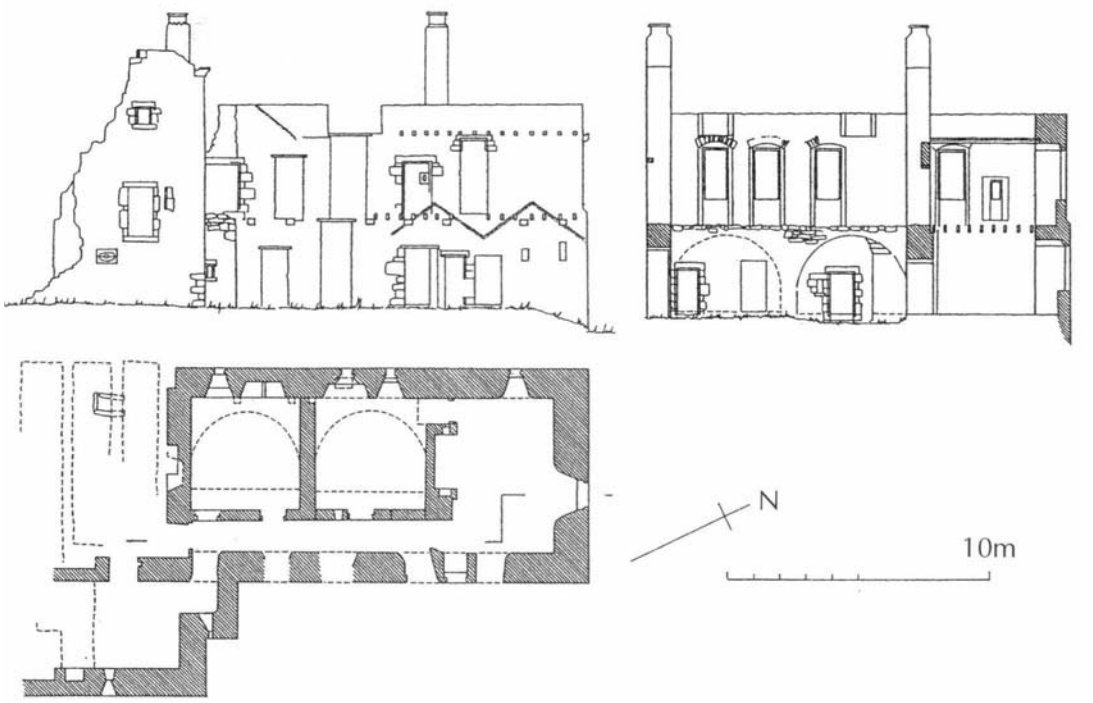

Figure 5.29: Commendator's House, Melrose, ground-floor plan and sections. Fawcett & Oram, 2004, fig.92, p.200, © S. Stevenson and Historic Scotland.

The house was in a ruinous condition by the time it was given to the state in 1932, and a heavy-handed restoration followed. The southern extent of the house could not be determined so its reconstructed form was based on guesswork. The main block now measures *c.* 22 by 8 m with a wing at the south end of the east wall creating an L-plan. The two mid-gables prompted the hipped reconstruction of the roof. As has been seen, Old Gala House also has a flue-bearing mid-gable, and so the 19th-century roof at Old Gala, which has one hipped end, may have mirrored the original

[76] 'AM' is also inscribed on this lintel, most probably added when the property came into state care (*i.e.* 'Ancient Monument') and this window lintel was reused over a door. The suggestion that it signifies the mason, Andrew Mein, who later worked at Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, seems less likely.

arrangement. At Melrose, the lower floor contained a kitchen with a timber ceiling at the north end and vaulted stores accessed via a corridor (*see* plan, Figure 5.29). The east wing has two wide-mouthed gunloops. The usual position of an entrance to the first floor hall-chamber would be in the re-entrant angle but no evidence of a ground-floor entrance or a stair in the east wing was found. Put-log holes along the eastern façade of the main block were presumably for a timber gallery, while the angled pockets at the re-entrant suggest support for a forestair, which was possibly a later modification (Fawcett & Oram, 2004, 66–7, 199–202 & 271; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 288; Meikle, 2004, 237).

It would be difficult to describe James Douglas's house at Melrose and, in its present form, the Old Manor-house, Cocksburnspath as 'laird's houses' because of their large scale. 'Queen Mary's House' is perhaps better described as a town house built in a tower-house form. However, Old Gala House could represent the most complete early laird's houses in the Borders. The core of the Old Manor-house may yet prove to have been similar to Old Gala. In all four houses, primary living accommodation was on the first floor and the ground floor consisted of independently-accessed offices including the kitchen. They do not appear to have been designed with significantly prominent 'defensive' capabilities, as has sometimes been suggested for Old Gala House, and the location of the principal rooms on the first floor was at the same time traditional and reflected the Renaissance influences of the *piano nobile*. As Stell (1988, 70) points out, many towers or town houses "made virtually no concession to the restrictions of an urban environment". This is certainly true of these examples with the exception of the transe at 'Queen Mary's House' which must have been necessitated by the urban location. Both this house and the Old Manor-house at Cocksburnspath have been classified as 'bastles' by some writers. However, there are Scottish parallels for their form, such as the T-plan of 'Queen Mary's House', which render comparison with English stronghouses less valid though, at least, stronghouses are built by men of considerable standing and have domestic ground-floors. The basic characteristics of the earliest laird's houses continued into the early 17th century in the Borders and remained dominant.

5.7 Border laird's houses of the early 17th century

The perceived superiority of the first floor for principal rooms seems to have been a consistent factor in the houses of both greater and lesser lairds in the Borders for much of the 17th century. However, it should be said that the few early 17th-century houses in the area that have survived are much-altered and many are in a ruinous condition and, therefore, inevitably, their internal arrangements are largely a matter of conjecture. Laird's houses with ground-floor halls should be expected given the national picture outlined in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.2.2) and, in a small number of cases, however, the evidence does not rule out this possibility. A reasonable hypothesis for such an arrangement can be made for Harden House, built in *c.* 1600, and here comparisons will be made with Overton, a house discussed earlier as part of the Upper Jed group of pele-houses. Other than physical similarities, the two were probably built by men who were lesser kin of rising 'feuar-lairds' or significant tenants of lairds.

Even more compelling than Harden and Overton is the evidence of examples of ground-floor living rooms which date to the mid-17th century such as at Smailholm Tower, where Sir William Scott of Harden installed a kinsman after his acquisition of the property in 1645. It has been suggested that the hall range on the north side of the barmkin was remodelled at this time as a two-storey house which included a ground-floor hall in addition to another heated chamber, the tower becoming subordinate to this accommodation. There are insufficient remains to determine whether or not this was an open hall. At around the same time, Harden House was extended with the provision of a (new) ceiled ground-floor hall. The architectural sophistication that survives here implies that the house was improved by a man of certain status, Sir William's second son, who was the progenitor of the Highchester (in Coldingham parish) cadet branch (Good & Tabraham, 1988, 238, 262 & 264; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 343; Tranter, 1935, 160). Possible parallels for the planning of this development at Harden are probably to be sought in northern England.

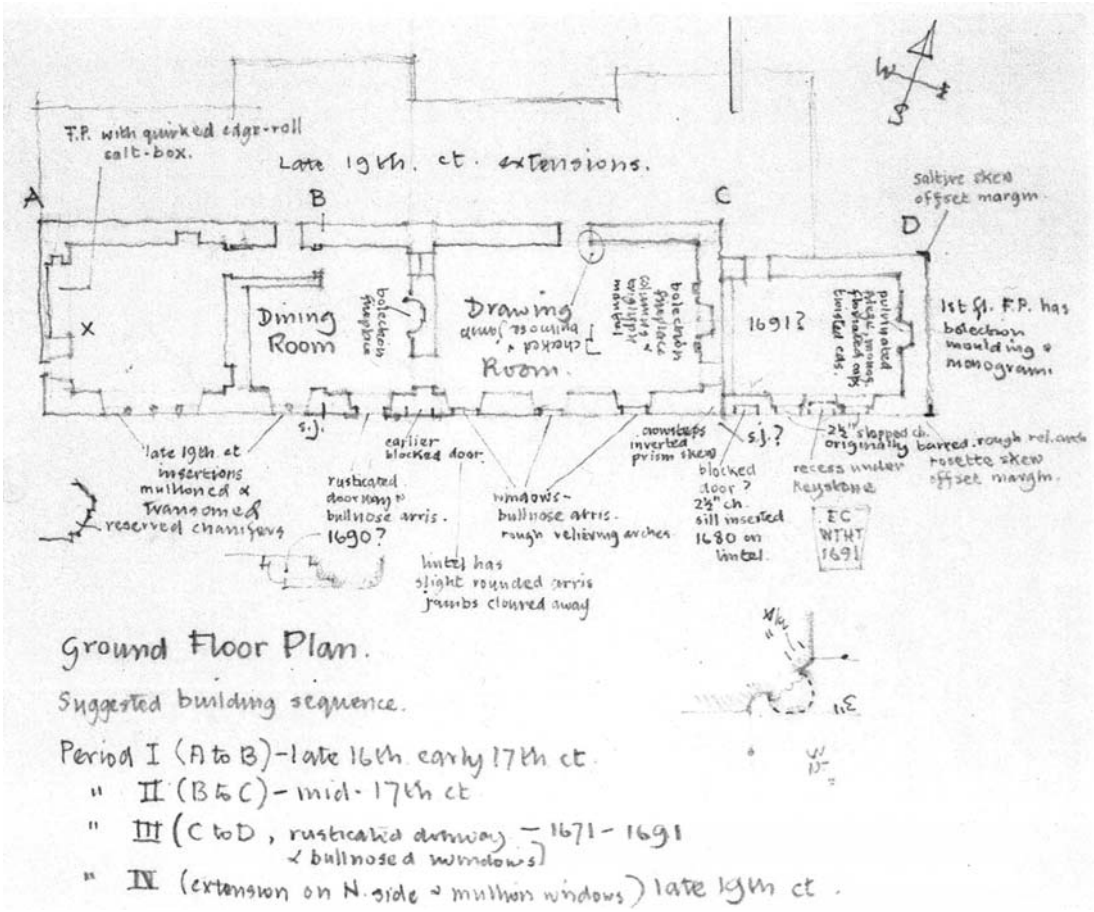

Figure 5.30: Harden House, ground-floor plan by G. D. Hay, 1969. © RCAHMS.

At Harden House, we have a relatively clear idea of the layout of rooms before Walter Scott, 1st Earl of Tarras, commenced his rebuilding programme in 1671.[77] The original house, which dates to *c.* 1600, was sited on the edge of a steep-sided ravine close to the south-east boundary of Ettrick Forest. It replaced a house (probably a tower) which James VI had destroyed in 1592 because of Walter Scott of Harden's (†1629) part in the Raid of Falkland. It is not clear who was responsible for its rebuilding. It may have been where Scott, or 'Auld Wat' as he was known, retired after a life spent reiving, or it may have functioned as a 'second house' like the Pringles' Smailholm Tower–Galashiels stead relationship, or perhaps as a house occupied by close kin. It now forms the central portion of the south range at Harden House (B to C in Figure 5.30). The *c.* 1600 two-storey-and-attic house measured *c.*

[77] The interpretation of the building sequence at Harden in this thesis follows Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett (2006, 342–4) rather than the "suggested building sequence" shown in Figure 5.30.

13.3 by 5.6 m and the entrance was at the mid-point on the south wall (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 342–4; Tranter, 1935, 159–60; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 389). However, due to extensive remodelling in the 17th and 19th centuries, the original arrangement of rooms is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that it related to late 16th-century houses like Overton (11.1 by 7.2 m) and Windydoors (14.8 by 7.5 m) (*see* Figure 5.12 & Figure 5.13, p.217). Overton is also un-vaulted and was built shortly before 1596 (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 603). Unlike at Harden, evidence of separate lower and upper floor entrances survive, but its fireplaces may well have been inserted into a non-domestic ground-floor at a later date. The proportions of Harden create a more elongated plan, with a width:length ratio of 1:2.3 compared to Overton's 1:1.5, similar to Pitcastle, Perthshire (Figure 4.24, p.133) for example.

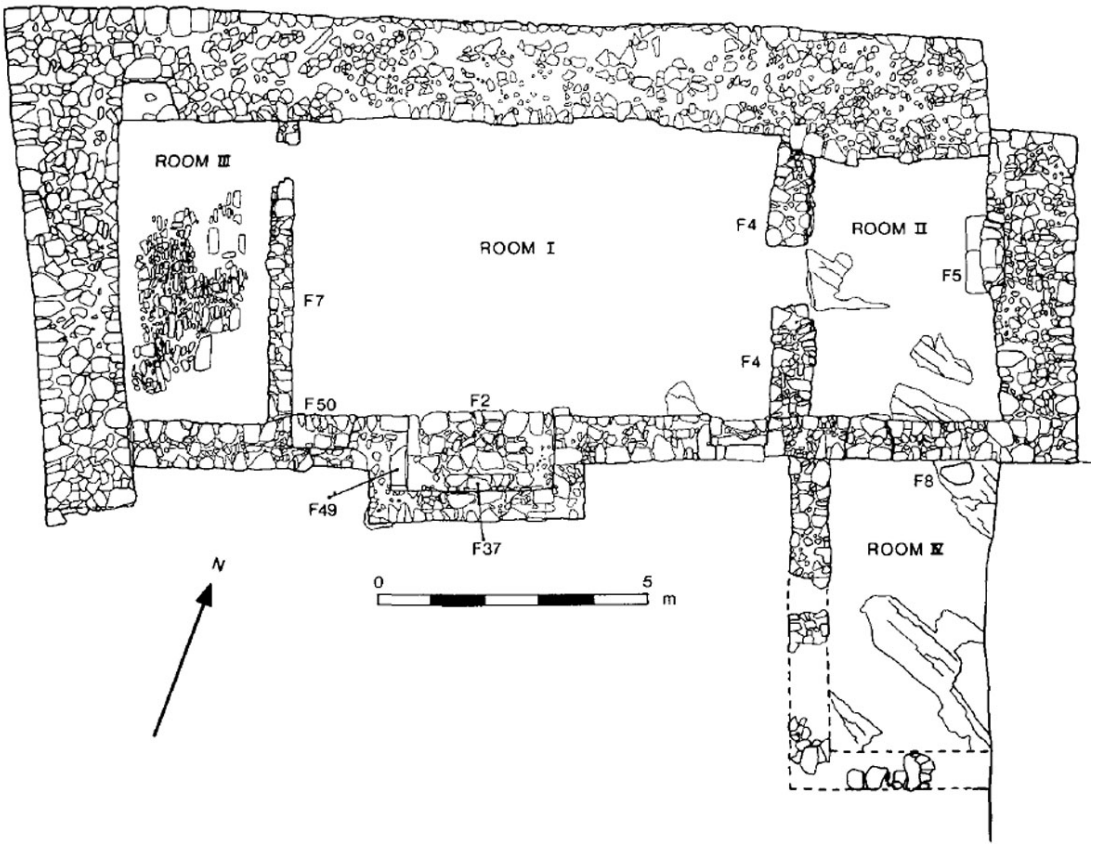

Figure 5.31: Smailholm Tower, north range, Phase II plan. Good & Tabraham, 1988, illus. 9, p.246. © Historic Scotland and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Moving on a generation, Auld Wat's son, Sir William Scott of Harden who was Sheriff of Selkirk, acquired Smailholm in 1645. James Pringle had been compelled to

resign the barony of Galashiels in 1632 and retired to Smailholm Tower. The lands were also resigned after his death as his estate had been burdened with considerable debt. Sir William (†1655) leased Smailholm to his kinsman Robert Scott (RCAHMS, 1956, I, 10; Good & Tabraham, 1988, 238). The 1979–81 excavations revealed two principal phases of occupation. The first is described earlier in this chapter in relation to tower-houses and their ancillary buildings. The second seems to have constituted remodelling of the hall block (or north range). The raggle on the west side of the tower 6 m above ground level suggests that the north range reached two storeys at one time.

In the course of the work, the partition separating the original hall and chamber was dismantled and two new cross-walls were inserted to create a 9 m-long central room with two narrower rooms at either side. The entrance from the courtyard was into the larger room, next to which an extruded fireplace was added. There was no evidence either of a separate external stair in the courtyard or of a stone internal stair. Good and Tabraham (1988, 24–8 & 262–4) suggest that the north range became a self-contained house, with a central 'hall–kitchen', 'parlour', at its east end (Room II) with a recessed fireplace and a timber stair in the narrow Room I (2.8 m wide) providing access to bedrooms and a garret above. It is impossible to confirm whether Room II was in fact a 'parlour' in 1645. Room IV could be accessed directly from Room II (and possibly also from the courtyard) and a coal store is suggested, with a similar arrangement on the first floor. Room V in the former kitchen block (or south range) retained a fireplace, but it is suggested that it became a brewhouse, the hall in the new house also functioning as a kitchen. In the process the tower-house was rendered ancillary. This scenario is reconstructed in the illustration below.

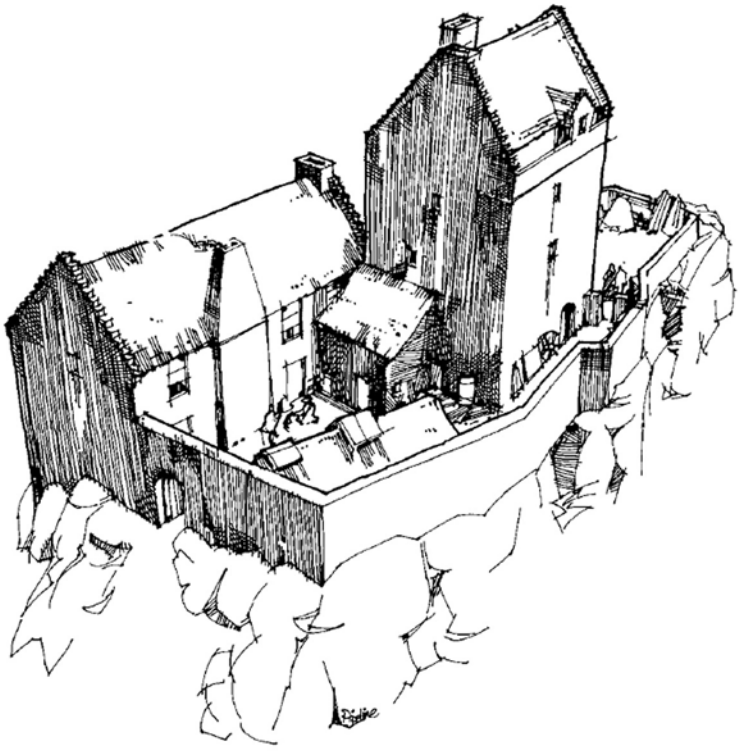

Figure 5.32: Smailholm Tower, Phase II reconstruction (Dave Pollock), Good & Tabraham, 1988, illus. 20, 263. © Historic Scotland and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The internal arrangement could have been similar to the more complete example of Pitcastle, with an open, centrally-placed hall, laird's chamber at the east end and a room at the west end of a hall with a masonry rather than timber partition. The heated east room need not, therefore, have functioned as a parlour particularly as firm evidence of their adoption at this date in laird's houses is lacking (*see* Section 4.5.2). At a later date, the hall at Pitcastle was ceiled and perhaps the function of this room became closer to the 'parlour.' Another parallel might be the *c.* 1650 Pitcairn House in Glenrothes, Fife. Pitcairn is now ruinous but enough evidence survives to ascertain its original two-storey-and-garret, and its ground floor, excavated in 1980, is divided into three rooms. It shares the same ground-floor layout at Smailholm, as it too was divided into three compartments. The external door led into the central room, interpreted as a 'hall–kitchen', which had a large fireplace in a masonry cross-wall similar in size to the extruded fireplace at Smailholm. The smaller end rooms were accessed from the central room and the west room, like Room II at Smailholm, had a small recessed fireplace (Reid, 1981). Together, Smailholm, Pitcastle, and Pitcairn

provide some insight into the layout of the houses of lairds and greater tenants of the mid-17th century. The extent of above-ground remains at Pitcairn and Smailholm make it difficult to be certain whether the central ground-floor rooms were open halls or kitchens. Where the house reached two-and-a-half stories is seems more likely, however, that an open hall would be placed on the first-floor (such as at the earlier example of Bay House, Fife of 1583 (Figure 4.21, p.129), over a kitchen on the ground floor. Evidence of ground-floor halls tends to be limited to one-and-a-half or two-storey examples (as at Pitcastle and Balsarroch, Galloway (Figure 4.25, p.135)).

At Smailholm, it is possible that the tower could have retained a principal function, with the central room of the north range serving it as a kitchen with an improved fireplace. However, the ongoing maintenance of the tower might have been quite simply beyond Robert Scott's means and certainly there are other examples of houses built reusing offices within the barmkins of tower-houses, such as the 1631 house at Sauchie Tower, Clackmannanshire (Figure 4.18, p.124). This house had first-floor principal apartments reached by a forestair, however, rather than ground-floor lodgings (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887, I, 265 & 268–70). The north range at Jarlshof, Shetland (*c.* 1589) has also been interpreted as having had a dual hall–kitchen function, being demoted solely to a kitchen when the south range was built (Chapter 6, Sections 6.5.2 & 6.5.3). Unfortunately, the ruins of Jarlshof were not excavated to modern standards and, as at Smailholm, the walls do not survive above *c.* 1 m in height. Both the north ranges of Jarlshof and Smailholm could still have provided relatively prestigious accommodation.

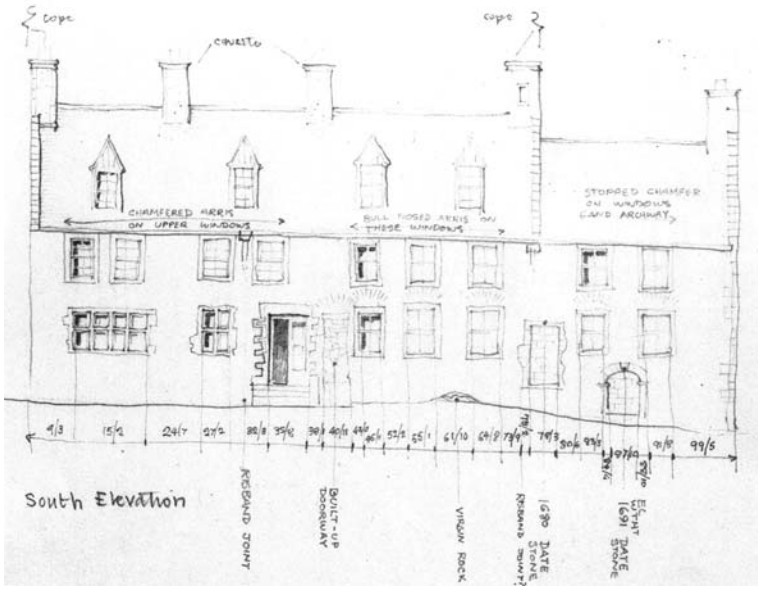

Figure 5.33: Harden House, south elevation by G. D. Hay, 1969. © RCAHMS.

Returning to Harden, the house appears to have been extended west by *c.* 9.5 m before 1650 (A to B in Figure 5.30), perhaps around the time that Sir William's second son, Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Preston, in *c.* 1643. The two ground-floor windows of the extension are mullioned and transomed (left in Figure 5.33); two others, which probably originally belonged to the north side, were rebuilt into the 1864 north-east wing. This type of window, which has closer parallels in Cumbria, is consistent with a date in the second quarter of the 17th century. Behind these windows, when Sir Gideon's son, Lord Tarras, took possession in 1671, was a hall heated by a large quirked-edge-rolled fireplace in the west gable, above which was the laird's chamber. The original entrance in the south wall was retained and led into the middle of three rooms, with the new hall added to its west and, presumably, the kitchen to the east. The jamb of a round-arrised doorway in the partition between the middle and east rooms has been interpreted as the entrance to a stair to the upper rooms (Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 342–4; Tranter, 1935, 160; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 389). This arrangement of single-height hall on the ground-floor at one end of the house with an indirect access is rare in surviving houses of the mid-17th century in Scotland. The English antecedents of low halls and parlours have been discussed at length in Chapter 4 (Section 4.5) and, therefore, it would seem that Gideon and

Margaret's connections, and perhaps even their masons, resulted in a remodelled Harden which had its origins south of the border.

Laird's houses with the more familiar kitchen–parlour arrangement on the ground floor will be explored more fully in Chapter 7 given that most of the surviving houses in Skye and the Hebrides date to the 18th century. Despite the suggested layout of Smailholm in 1645 and Harden of the 1640s, the majority of surviving examples of Border laird's houses built before the 1670s have first-floor rather than ground-floor principal accommodation. This helps to demonstrate that the lack of ground-floor living quarters is not necessarily related to a defensive function, normally associated with 'bastles' or pele-houses and when there was a greater incidence of raiding. Critically, this comparison helps to support the main argument of this chapter, that the late 16th-century 'bastles' of the Borders are Type I 'laird's houses' and owe more to their lowland Scottish cousins than their northern English contemporaries where ground-floor byres predominated in 'bastle-derivative' houses of the 17th and 18th centuries.

5.8 Conclusion

Looking for the earliest border laird's houses has resulted in a re-evaluation of 16th-century houses and ruins which have been classified by others as 'bastles' as some of them are comparable to examples of laird's houses which survive elsewhere in Scotland. Through a discussion of large tower-houses at Cessford and Cowdenknowes it is difficult to imagine laird's houses as being derivative – *i.e.* that the first laird's houses were a squat form of the tower-house. However, domestic ranges at Cowdenknowes and 'stronghouses' like Littledean demonstrate that the tower-house was not the only form of high-status dwelling being built in the 16th-century borderland. Cowdenknowes and Hutton Hall are also examples of the tower-house–hall range traditional. Early 'mansions' evolved from domestic ranges of these and other castles during the 1570s, and which also absorbed Renaissance influences from court.

It is suggested here, therefore, that the masonry laird's house originated around the middle of the 16th century, when feuing intensified and was perhaps accompanied by the building of new, more substantial buildings houses by them and by relatively secure kindly tenants. There is, however, no reason to suggest that the laird's house developed as a cut-down version of the tower-house. The earliest laird's houses seems to have been defined by its open hall, whether on the ground or first floor. In general, a first-floor hall was probably regarded as more prestigious by inference from the houses built one generation or so later. In this, they would have shared an hierarchical language with the tower-house. In the Borders, the unsettled conditions for certain tenants around the Upper Jed, and perhaps other uplanders, seems to have given rise to substantial masonry buildings, 'peles', some reaching tower-height but with small floor areas. The more sizeable and architecturally-sophisticated of these might have housed feuar-lairds like the Scotts of Harden. Old Gala House, built in 1583, is more substantial still, and could perhaps be one of the earliest surviving (dateable) 'laird's houses' in the Borders. Its general plan form has a close relationship to other lowland examples of laird's houses, such as Bay House, Fife.

Much of this chapter has been devoted to an analysis of the characteristics of Old Gala and similar border houses, particularly in the burghs, which focuses on whether, in fact, the term 'bastle' is an appropriate form. The use of the term to describe some Scottish border houses in contemporary English sources and its subsequent application to house types on both sides of the border might suggest that there is an Anglo-Scottish context for the late 16th-century laird's houses. However, this chapter has challenged the validity of such a context (excepting, perhaps, for pele-houses). Closer parallels can be found elsewhere in lowland Scotland rather than looking exclusively to the defensible houses of northern England. The emphasis on border reiving by some writers has also added to the polarisation of the Borders from the rest of Scotland, and so the 16th-century historical background and review of literature has set out to clarify the pan-Scottish nature of feuding and state-sanctioned raiding, as well as the economic context of reiving in the northern and southern marches. First-floor principal apartments predominated well into the 17th century, a

preference found throughout Scotland *as well as* in the border country. This feature should therefore not be regarded as defensive. The development of this earliest identifiable type of laird's house, the Type I, forms the focus of the next chapter set at the opposite end of the country, Shetland.

Chapter 6 Shetland: The development of the Type I laird's house, 1589–1730

6.1 Introduction

At the northern tip of Scotland, Shetland, in contrast to the Borders, does not have a tower-house tradition. It provides us with a very different setting for a discussion on the early laird's houses and for the development of the Type I laird's house. Laird's house-building continued in Shetland for a protracted period, but in this chapter we shall focus on the 17th century, prefaced with a search for the first laird's houses in these islands, and ending with a brief look at the early decades of the 18th century. Shetland is unusual as it had very few resident proprietors in the medieval period; it was a land dominated by the tenants of absentee landlords. The landscape began to change during the second half of the 16th century, however, as landholdings were consolidated by resident lairds, some of whom acquired more than one sizeable estate and were thus responsible for building more than one laird's house. This general pattern, despite the fluctuating fortunes of individual families, prevailed for the next two centuries. The historical backdrop did change, however, in terms of the landholding system (from odal to feudal tenure), jurisdiction, and, most significantly, trade.

Taking its land mass and population into consideration, Shetland has a high proportion of surviving laird's houses compared with other areas (*see* Appendices A–C). In the Shetland volume of the Exploring Scotland's Heritage series, Anna Ritchie (1997, 19) writes: "in terms of the surviving architecture, one of Shetland's strong points is the number of laird's houses built in the 17th and 18th centuries which still exist." In general, the form of Shetland laird's houses mirrors that of east-central Scotland and thus provides us with an interesting microcosm within which their development may be charted.

Following discussion of previous studies on the Shetland laird's house, the location of Shetland and its history in relation to Norway, Scotland and trade, the few high

status medieval and early modern secular buildings known to survive in the Northern Isles will be considered, though these seem to have had little bearing on the emergence of the earliest laird's houses in Shetland. The first 'laird's houses' in Shetland were probably built around the mid-16th century (the same time as suggested for the Borders) but as the residences of substantial 'odallers' (proprietors of odal land). We cannot be sure to what extent they followed the Type I model described in Chapters 3 and 4. The hypothesis set out in this chapter is that the laird's house form was introduced to Shetland by Scottish adventurers– the sons of lairds, ministers of the reformed church, and those connected with the Stewart earls (1568–1615) and Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie (1571–1617) – during the second half of the 16th century. Documentary sources for the earliest laird's houses will be discussed, together with the earliest datable surviving example in Shetland, 'Jarlshof' of *c.* 1589. Orcadian counterparts will also be considered.

Moving into the 17th century, the development of the laird's house on mainland Scotland, as described in Chapter 4, is closely paralleled in Shetland. Several of the 'laird's houses' included in the gazetteer were in fact merchant's houses and, whilst many were built with mercantile fortunes, many more were built or improved as the merchants became lairds in their own right. Several lairds, particularly in the 18th century, also became merchants. In this study, therefore, the houses of laird and merchant will be examined together. As with mainland Scotland, ground-floor entrances are the norm from the second half of the 17th century, but a first-floor location for the principal accommodation remained popular, particularly for houses which were also merchants' 'böds' in which secure storage was needed on the ground floor. These lairds and merchants often also had town houses in Lerwick, a settlement that developed on the east side of the Shetland mainland during the 17th century, superseding Scalloway on the west. The town houses differed little from their rural cousins, and this is consistent with the general pattern described in the Overview (Chapter 4). At the end of this chapter there will be a discussion on the relatively seamless transition from the Type I to the Type II laird's house in Shetland, and of the longevity of some Type I characteristics. From the second

quarter of the 18th century, however, these northern lairds became more keenly aware of architectural fashions on the mainland and the late Type II house spread rapidly to all corners of Scotland, even to the 'isolated' Shetland Islands.

6.2 The study of Shetland laird's houses

Few scholars have studied the laird's houses of Shetland as a group, the exceptions being the architect Mike Finnie (1996a; 1996b[78]) and his student Adrian Wishart (1999). They specifically use the Shetland term 'Haa', which derived in turn from lowland Scots 'Ha' and English 'Hall', simply indicating the house of a landed proprietor, a laird (*ibid*, 10). By the early 19th century the 'haa' name may have extended to the houses of the diminishing numbers of small odal proprietors and so it is difficult to firmly ascribe 'laird's house' to all 'haa' placenames.

Finnie (1996a, 39) has developed a very specific definition for the "true Haa", which he describes as "a house which displays the typical characteristics of the building form—tall, narrow, gabled buildings often with pronounced garrets". He excludes town houses from this definition though they are "built in similar styles often by the owner of a rural Haa" and acknowledges that "there is much overlap between the Böd and the Haa" (*ibid*). However, the Old Haa of Scalloway, built in the town of that name, is described in his article 'Introduction to the Haa Houses of Shetland' as being "one of Shetland's most impressive Haas, almost identical to the contemporary Haa of Sand" (*ibid*, 45). Both town houses and böds will be discussed here in the context of Shetland laird's houses in Sections 6.6 and 6.7. With the emphasis on the 'height' of the Shetland laird's house, Finnie suggests that "it is possible that these incomers brought with them the tall laird's towerhouse tradition of mainland Scotland." Section 6.3.3 will look at the pattern of immigration of Scots to Shetland. However, as has been suggested in the preceding chapters, it is difficult to see the

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[78] As discussed earlier in this thesis (p.33), Finnie (1996) 'A list of Haas, former Haas or the locations of Haas in Shetland' has since been posted on the internet along with a text-only version of Finnie's *Vernacular Building* article (1996a) at www.houss.co.uk. However, as there are only very minor differences between the printed list which appears in Wishart (1999) and the web version, and it is unclear from the latter when the list was last updated, all references to Finnie's list in this thesis are to the printed copy.

early laird's house as a cut-down version of the tower-house. Similarly, the examples of the tall 'true Haa' cited by Finnie date to the mid-18th century and so they are unlikely to have been influenced by the tower-house.

In Finnie's 'list of Haas, former Haas or the locations of Haas in Shetland' (1996b), the south range of Jarlshof (dated by the RCAHMS (1946, III, 20) to 1604/05, but a *c.* 1609 date is suggested here, *see* Section 6.5.3), is described as a possible "early Haa form". The 17th-century examples discussed in Finnie's article 'An introduction to the Haa houses of Shetland' in *Vernacular Building* include the Old Haa of Brough, *c.* 1669–72, in Yell (1996a, 39–40). These two are not regarded as 'true Haas' but are instead described as "buildings which possess enough of these characteristics to be considered Haas" (*ibid*, 39). These examples will be considered below. Whilst regional variations are to be expected, the present author would consider all known Shetland laird's houses to fall within the national Type I or Type II definitions presented here (*see* Table 3.6, p.83). Some of the laird's houses from Finnie's 'true Haa' grouping will be discussed in the penultimate section, 6.8.4.

The next section will provide the necessary socioeconomic and historical background within which to consider the development of the laird's house in Shetland. Shetland is distinctive first because of the odal tenure system of landholding, thereby the existence of a late medieval/early modern 'odaller's house' is implied, and second because of its dependency on the fish trade, which makes the böd and merchant's house important factors when considering the Shetland laird's house.

6.3 Lairds, landholding and trade in Shetland

6.3.1 The geography and medieval history of Shetland (1195–1472)

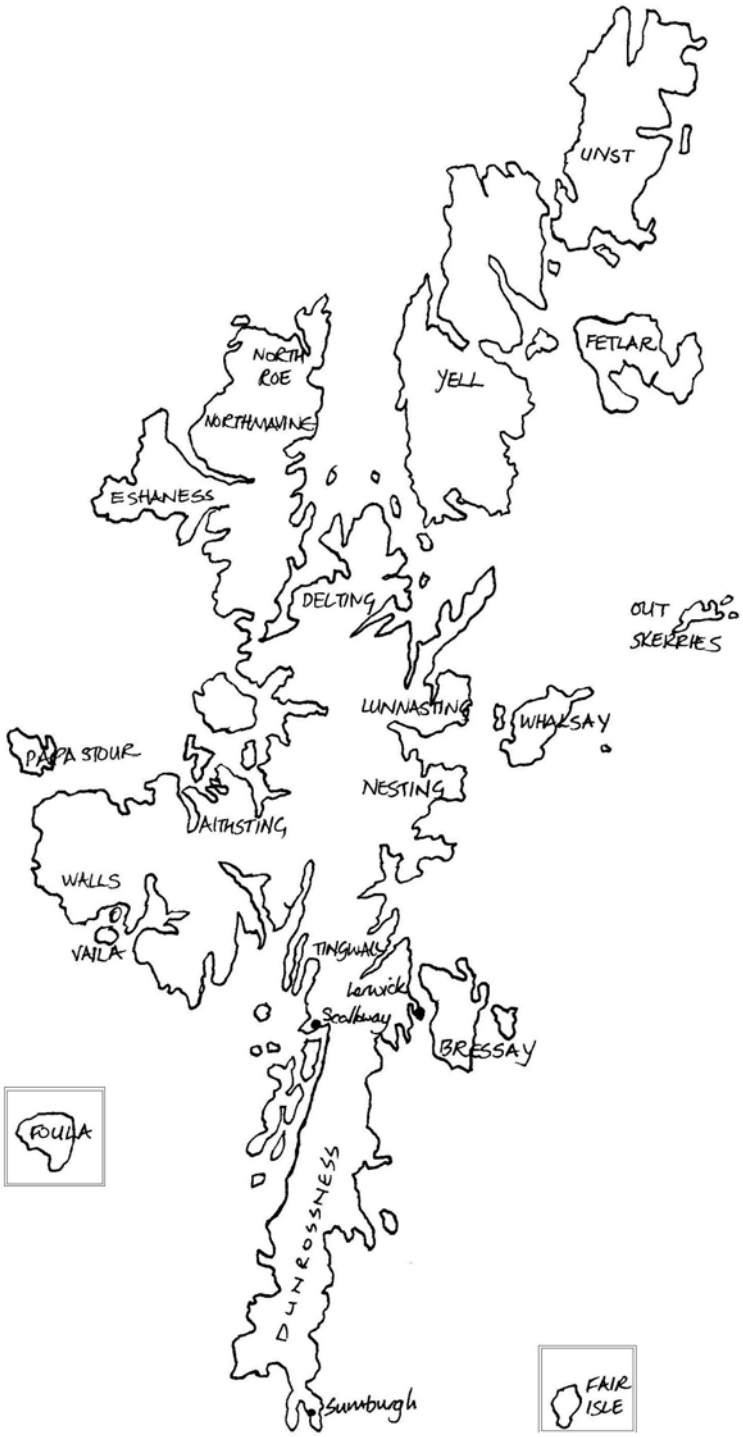

Figure 6.1: Map of Shetland.

Shetland is an archipelago of over 100 islands (Figure 6.1), which together have a total land mass of 1426 km^2, situated about 165 km from the north-east tip of the Scottish mainland and 200 km from Bergen. The number of inhabited islands has reduced over the course of the last century, but for the late medieval–early modern period a figure in the region of 20 would seem likely. In the 16th century, the population was around 10–12,000 (Manson, 1983, 200 & 204) and it peaked at 31,670 in 1861. The islands are arranged along a north–south axis, with the mainland by far the largest island at 97 km^2. The two large islands of Yell and Unst are its northernmost extent, with Out Skerries to the east, Foula 23 km to the west and Fair Isle 39 km to the south-west, halfway between Shetland and Orkney.

Shetland is very different geologically from Orkney which, though also relatively treeless, has flatter areas of land with superior soils more suited to grain crops and intensive husbandry. Shetland has large areas of peat, which provided adequate fuel and rough grazing; but settlement required some cultivable soil which tended to be strung out along its extensive coastline. Submerged valleys, 'voes', particularly on its east side, provide sheltered anchorages and the Shetland diet was supplemented by fish, shellfish, seabirds and eggs. The thin soils, peatlands and rocky outcrops are more suitable for pastoral than arable farming, the most fertile parish being Dunrossness at the southern end of the mainland.

In the early medieval period, Shetland was part of the Norse earldom of Orkney. The islanders, under the 12th-century Earl Harald Maddadsson, fought in the Norwegian civil wars – but on the wrong side. Harald submitted to King Sverre to avoid violent retribution, and the monarch annexed Shetland in 1195, as a result of which it was administered directly from Norway by a Crown-appointed governor. The history of Shetland and Orkney diverged somewhat from that point. From 1231 the earldom, albeit still under the Norwegian rather than Scottish Crown, was effectively in Scottish hands. The terms agreed by Christian I of Denmark and Norway in 1468 for his daughter's marriage to James III of Scotland was to write off the 'Annual' arrears and any further claim to it (a sum owed to the Norwegian Crown since 1266, arrears having accumulated since 1292) and 60,000 Renish florins. The lands of Orkney

were pledged for 50,000 florins and Shetland for 8,000, with the right of redemption retained, which gives an idea of their relative value in 1468–9. In 1470 the incumbent earl, William Sinclair, then exchanged the earldom of Orkney (which did not amount to *all* the lands in the islands of Orkney and Shetland) with James III for lands at Ravenscraig in Fife and a pension. Two years later parliament agreed that the earldom (hereafter divided into the earldom of Orkney and lordship of Shetland) should be granted to legitimate sons of the Scottish royal family. From then on the circumstances of Orkney and Shetland began to dovetail again though Orkney, as the seat of the earldom and bishopric, with more productive arable lands and closer to the Scottish mainland, remained a more attractive prospect to Scottish immigrants (Connor & Simpson, 2004, 682–5; Crawford, 1983, 32–3, 37, 43 & 46–7; Small, 1983, 28–9).

6.3.2 Odal tenure (1469–1633)

It is important to understand how land was managed and by whom in medieval Shetland to gain a clearer picture of the islands in terms of landholding – and hence the distribution of the first laird's houses – towards the end of the 16th century. This section deals firstly with odal law as it pertained to land, followed by a description of who possessed land in Shetland in terms of both large and small landowners, and finally, the composition of the lordship lands of Shetland as feued to Robert Stewart by his half-sister, Mary Queen of Scots, in 1565.

In both Orkney and Shetland land was held under odal law: this continued after the annexation and in both 1567 and 1633 parliament confirmed that 'Danish' rather than Scots law prevailed (*APS*, III, 41 Act 48; *APS*, V, 55, Act 42). 'Skat', an annual tribute which came to be regarded as a property tax, was owed to the state; but the odaller did not hold the land from a superior. Within this system an initial entry fine was not required and skat was not required if the land was uncultivated, moor or wasteland. It was the odaller (rather than the Crown under Scots law) who had rights to the foreshore and salvage. Proof of ownership was usually though occupation, but sometimes a written schound or skin bill was passed on to heirs. This model of land tenure often led to fragmentation of estates by the late medieval period because of

entitlement to portions by all heirs (both male and female). Some consolidation took place within families, however, and an offer from a neighbour or stranger could be accepted where relatives declined to purchase the land and approved its sale. The proprietor could also rent his land to others, in return for which they would owe him 'landmail', as well as skat to the state (Anderson, 1992, 32; Connor & Simpson, 2004, 687, 692 & 704; Manson, 1983, 203).

By the mid-16th century, the largest landowners in Shetland were the prelates (including the bishops of Orkney, the canons of Kirkwall Cathedral and the archdeacon of Shetland), the 'Lords of Norway' (noble Scandinavian families), and the king of Scotland (by virtue of his lordship of Shetland). In general, these estates were managed by their respective representatives and, particularly as currency became more widespread, rents were often farmed out to local factors (*ibid*, 203 & 209; Sharples, 1998, 203; Smith, 1999c, 19). Proportionately, the church lands were much smaller in extent in Shetland than in Orkney; nevertheless, they were spread throughout every parish to support the vicar, cathedral canons and clergy as well as prebendaries of the collegiate churches in Shetland. The canons appear to have begun to rent out their Shetland lands early in the 15th century (Goudie, 1904, 152–4; Donaldson, 1984, 145–6). The archdeacon, effectively the bishop's deputy in Shetland, had acquired a very large estate by about 1500 (*see* discussion about Kebister, p.273), which the Cheynes were able to retain despite secularisation after the Reformation (*ibid*, 144; Smith, 1999c, 19; *Shet. Docs. 2*, xvi–ii). Some Norwegian church land, that of clergy such as the Provost of the Dom Kirk, Bergen or church bodies like the Monastery of St Michael's, was also to be found in this outpost (Goudie, 1904, 154).

It has been mentioned previously that large estates held by odal tenure, divided as they were amongst all heirs, tended to disintegrate. The system also encouraged small odallers to sell out to larger landowners. As a result, although there were still sizeable estates in Shetland they were often owned by absentee Scandinavian nobles. Those nobles complained in 1485 that Scots were usurping estates in Shetland (see next section). Nevertheless, they managed to retain a foothold there into the 16th

century (*ibid*, 89; *Shet. Docs. 2*, xvi). By 1565 the lordship of Shetland was composed of kingsland (the Norwegian royal estates pledged to the Scottish Crown in 1469), earldom estates (exchanged by William Sinclair in 1470), and conquest lands (probably originally odal land acquired through purchase, donation or excambion by Sinclair earls, much of which had become Crown property after 1529) (*ibid*, xv; Crawford, 1985, 240). These included about a quarter of the total valuations of Tingwall, Weisdale, Northmavine, Dunrossness and Delting parishes and nearly a quarter of Unst (Anderson 1992, 30).

The majority of Shetlanders were tenants of greater or smaller proprietors. In general it would have been the smaller odallers who were the *resident* proprietors though there are a few examples of resident 'Shetland aristocrats' (Smith, 1995) who will be considered later. Perhaps, in terms of disposable wealth, the small odaller might have been the equivalent of the greater tenant or small laird on the Scottish mainland. However, outwith the group of large landowners just described (with the possible exception of the archdeacon of Shetland) were the men who served an administrative role. Imsen (1999, 53) writes that "the pledging of the islands to the Scottish Crown in 1468 and 1469 did not affect the old order of society [in Orkney and Shetland] seriously, at least not until about 1540." What happened then was the substitution of the 'lawthing' (representative assembly) with a sheriff court presided over by a sheriff appointed by the king rather than the 'lawman' (provincial representative) elected by the 'lawrightmen' (the people's delegates to the lawthing).

Though the function of the lawthing survived until the 1570s, with the sheriff choosing assistants ('underfouds') from local men, the introduction of the sheriff court marked a considerable shift from the Norwegian principles of communal self-rule which had developed fairly independently since the 1360s and '70s (*ibid*, 57, 59 & 65; Anderson, 1992, 159; Goudie, 1878, 482; Manson, 1983, 205 & 209). Until lawmen were phased out after 1548 they had been drawn from the upper echelons of Shetland society; the lawrightmen originally had similar status but the post became less exclusive during the 15th century (*ibid*, 203; *Shet. Docs. 1*, 306–7; Imsen, 1999, 59, 61–3). The lawmen and lawrightmen are described by Imsen (*ibid*, 64) as a

"provincial aristocracy of big farmers and royal hirdmen [lawrightmen]… what we could call a provincial gentry." From the early 15th century the Danish concept of the 'head foud' was introduced to the provinces. These royal appointees were often the countrymen of governors from Denmark or the Duchies (Schleswig and Holstein), and they were sometimes accused of lording over the lawmen. By the mid-16th century, therefore, the main odal proprietors *resident* in Shetland would have been the head foud, the lawrightmen, the underfouds and the family of the lawman (*ibid*, 63; Owen & Lowe, 1999, 297; Smith, 1990, 28).

6.3.3 Scottish Immigration (1469–1615)

Returning to the concept of the Scottish 'laird', the earliest Scottish landholders in Shetland seem to have been subsumed into the prevailing odal system. Some were absentee, but others settled in Shetland having travelled there as professionals, such as lawyers, or adventurers; and some acquired land by marriage. The argument presented in Chapters 4 and 5 is that the first 'laird's houses' in Scotland were built in the mid-16th century. In Shetland, as discussed above, there are likely to have existed relatively prestigious dwellings occupied by substantial resident odal proprietors. Unfortunately, we have few clues as to the form of their houses. Finnie (1996a, 39) refers to the abolition of the 'Danish laws' and Earl Patrick's demise in 1611 as a watershed for Scottish immigration to Shetland and thus the introduction of 'Haas' to Shetland. However, other scholars, such as Goudie (1890, 63), Donaldson (1983, 9–10) and Smith (1995, 101; 1990, 29), have shown that a significant wave of Scots immigration followed Robert Stewart's grant of the sheriffdom of Shetland in 1565. Therefore, the crucial influx to Shetland in terms of the possible introduction of the lowland laird's house took place soon after 1565. The first dateable example of a substantial house in Shetland was built by a Fife immigrant in *c.* 1589. The concept of 'feudalism' was limited to 'feudal tenure' and really only becomes apparent with Robert's appearance in Shetland. It does not seem to have had a significant bearing on the role or functions of the 'laird'. Nevertheless, the Stewarts, Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie and other major families, such as the descendants of Archdeacon

Jerome Cheyne, expended great effort in acquiring land – by whatever means – which resulted in ever diminishing numbers of odallers.

After the annexation of the Northern Isles, Scots looked to Shetland with interest. Most considered it as an investment rather than a place of residence, but some travelled north and made advantageous marriages. Others meantime settled as professional administrators and lawyers (*ibid*, 29; Smith, 1995, 101). As early as 1485, the lords of Norway complained to the Scottish Crown that their position was being threatened by Scottish acquisitions (Goudie 1904, 89). Though James III only transferred the bishopric of Orkney from the archdiocese of Trondheim to that of St Andrews at the time of the annexation, its bishops had in fact been Scots from about 1400. It follows that many of the offices and vicarages were granted to the bishops' friends and relatives, some perhaps first settling in Orkney before they, or members of their family, took up positions further north. There were already families of Scottish descent in Shetland: the family of the Sinclair earls (1379–1470) and, presumably, their followers. Though William Sinclair had made over the earldom to the king in 1470, his heirs continued to hold 'conquest lands' primarily made up of estates acceded through Scandic connections in *c.* 1391 and consolidated in 1412 and 1418 (Crawford, 1983, 38). The Crown acquired much of this land after 1529 and in 1757 Robert Stewart escheated or apprised land which had originally belonged to William's son, Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh, from his heirs. However, the Sinclair dynasty was sufficiently robust that their various septs retained considerable estates (Anderson, 1982, 161; Crawford, 1978, 10; Crawford, 1985, 243).

A greater number of Scots settled in Shetland from 1565 – as connections and assistants of Robert Stewart and his son, Patrick, and of Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie – and built up sizeable holdings. Robert Stewart was an illegitimate son of James V who was granted the sheriffdom and foudry (essentially the same thing) of "all and haill the landis of Orkney and Zetland, with all sindrie yles pertaining thairto" by heritable infeftment in 1565 (*APS*, III, 539). Despite the explicit terms laid down in 1472, that the earldom and lordship could only be granted to legitimate royalty, he was created earl of Orkney and lord of Shetland in 1581, and the feu was

confirmed by parliament that same year (*RMS*, V, no. 263; *APS*, III, 254–6; *REO*, no. 56). Laurence Bruce hailed from Perthshire and was Robert's half brother. Robert granted the feu of the lordship lands and foudry of Shetland to Laurence before April 1573 (Anderson, 1982, 167). Besides having ousted the incumbent foud, Laurence's policies were abhorred by the Shetlanders, in particular the changes to the weights and measures which led to his being placed in ward in 1574/5–1576/7. Robert was also warded around this time to answer accusations made by both the Orcadians and Shetlanders. The downfall of Regent Morton and the favour of Robert's young nephew, James VI, turned around their fortunes (Anderson, 1982, 82–3). However, whilst Robert lost his titles only between 1587 and 1591, Laurence never regained his 1588/9 tack of the foudry because of Patrick Stewart's own ambitions. Patrick had assumed his father's role in the Northern Isles in 1591 though it took until 1600, seven years after Robert's death, for James VI to acknowledge his inheritance (Laing, 1857, 386). Like Robert and Laurence before him, Patrick installed his followers as office-bearers, undertook extensive building programmes, and added to his Shetland estates. However the fragmentary nature of landholding in Shetland was in marked contrast to the pattern in 16th-century Orkney, and this hampered the possibility of making significant gains. By the early 17th century the Stewart estate did not amount to more than 10% of land in Shetland (Smith, 1999, 10).

The new men who travelled north with the Stewarts and Bruce also employed questionable methods of land acquisition. Smith (1979, 12) points to examples of odal estates having been leased from the lords of Norway, but unlawfully appropriated in the later 16th century. Similarly, Donaldson (1984, 144) describes Robert's hand in the appointments of post-Reformation ministers and readers after 1568, many of whom were unqualified. "Over-all, the result was the possession of some Shetland vicarages by inactive titulars or non-residents, some of whom were in time deprived" (*ibid*, 145). So far as Shetland was concerned, the first feus were by Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, who alienated over 50% of the bishopric lands in Orkney and Shetland before 1568, though very little of this was in Shetland (Anderson, 1992, 30 & 32). Robert Stewart himself set up commissions to raise

revenues (particularly entry fines) by feuing parcels of lordship lands from 1589 (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 132; Crawford, 1999, 21–2). However, odal land was seen as easier prey – ley (unlaboured) odal land being particularly attractive – since it was less costly than obtaining a feu charter (Smith, 1979, 12).

The next real change was the wardship of Patrick Stewart in 1611 and the abolition of the 'Danish laws' by the Scottish Privy Council (*RPC*, ix, 181–2). Patrick was executed for treason in 1615 and the Sinclairs, Mouats, Cheynes and Bruces were appointed Justices of the Peace. The post-1611 system was, therefore, in the hands of landed men (Smith, 1979, 11–12). We can be fairly certain that, whilst land was held in both feudal and odal tenure in Shetland despite the 1611 ruling, it was still a land of lairds and tenants and the Scottish 'laird's house' would have been a firmly established type by that date. It is notable that more than 30% of those registered in the 1600–48 Record of Testaments had Scottish surnames (Donaldson 1983, 13 & 15). As Manson (1983, 207–8) points out, however, with aspects of the 'Danish laws' were preserved the Shetland variant of the Norse language. It was probably used for everyday speech, with Scots English mainly for written documents. Shetland no doubt remained bilingual well into the 17th century, with the tradition strongest in the outlying islands.

As important as the organisation of administration and landholding, and similarly distinct from the Scottish mainland, is the trade system which is the subject of the next section.

6.3.4 16th- and 17th-century trade

As stated previously, the study of the laird's house in Shetland must embrace the merchant's house because they were closely linked in form, and merchants often had, or acquired, landed interests. The nature of trade in Shetland is also important for understanding the economic basis of the laird and the creation of the town of Lerwick. Changes in legislation relating to trade, rather than administration or landholding, had the greatest impact on the Shetlanders' ways of life. This took hold at the turn of the 18th century and will be touched on both in this section and at the

end of this chapter. The abundance of fish brought German, Dutch, English and Scottish merchants to Shetland, some of whom over-wintered and chose to build semi-permanent residences. It has been suggested that Busta House may date to either 1588 (Finnie 1990, 64) or *c.* 1600,[79] as the house of a Hanseatic merchant. However, the Giffords, who had acquired the lands of Busta by 1604, were descendants of a Scottish minister who was first appointed reader in Northmavine in 1567 (*Shet. Docs. 1*, 278; *Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 377), and so any early fabric in the house may be theirs (*see* Section 6.6.3). Since some erstwhile itinerant merchants may have settled permanently in Shetland, the booth built on the shoreside of Busta Voe, below Busta House, might have had associations with the Hansa.

In the course of the 17th century some families, such as the Mouats and Tyries, produced their own fish-ware and traded directly with the merchants; the resultant cash returns enabled them to build up estates. Other landlords accumulated not insignificant annual rents from the booths, or 'böds', on the shoreline, and the foreign merchants were their chief outlet for the skat, landmail or duties which were invariably paid in kind in cloth, butter and oil. Tenants could also exchange fish in return for luxury goods and cash.

The Hanseatic League was a trading body of German merchants and shipowners, centred on Lübeck and operating from Russia to Portugal, whose influence had peaked in the 14th century. The merchants first traded with Shetland by way of the League's 'kontor' (trading station) in Bergen, then directly with Hamburg and Bremen, with the first documentary evidence of Shetland trading dating to 1415. Stockfish (dried and salted cod and ling) was exported and luxury goods imported, credit being extended into the subsequent season (Crawford, 1999, 18). From the late 15th century Dutch merchants and itinerant fleets also traded with the Northern Isles; a transaction of 1452 records the sale of one merk of land together with the trading booth associated with it in Papa Westray, Orkney to "Gottorme Georgeson and

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[79] Information supplied to the RCAHMS Investigator by the then owner of Busta House, Major Sir Basil Neven-Spence. RCAHMS visit notes of 03-06-68, HU36NW 9.00, Canmore database, www.rcahms.gov.uk.

William Georgeson 'Holland'" (*O. & S. Deeds*, no. v). In Shetland, imported goods such as 16th- and 17th-century German or North Holland pottery and Dutch coinage have been found in stratified layers at Scalloway and Kebister (Sharples, 1998, 202; Owen & Lowe, 1999, 304). Smith (2000, 69, fn. 297) has pointed out that the dominance of the Hansa, and the Shetlanders' reliance on them, resulted in the islanders' failure "to create their own commercial economy, or even a town".

The böd and merchant's house will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. For now it is important to understand the crucial role that merchants played in the Shetland economy and that of the Dutch fisheries in the development of the town of Lerwick. Bressay Sound provided ideal shelter for the 1,200–1,500 Dutch vessels involved in the summer herring fisheries. Böds duly sprung up on both sides of the sound (strait), thereby creating the core of the embryonic Lerwick on its west side. Despite post-1603 Union edicts that they be torn down, primarily to safeguard the commercial interests of Scalloway on the west side of Shetland, the trade with 'foirenneris' remained buoyant (Wills, 1968, 28; Barclay, 1967, 65; Smith, 1984, 26–7). The situation changed radically with the Anglo-Dutch wars of 1652, 1665 and 1673; Fort Charlotte and several of Lerwick's most prestigious houses were razed by the Dutch in 1673 (Shaw, 1980, 176; Flinn, 1989, 21–4). The French conflict with Holland was also partly played out in Shetland waters, and in 1703 the latter suffered the loss of 100–150 vessels in Bressay Sound, "since which time" wrote Thomas Gifford (1786, 6) in 1733 "there was never above 3 or 400 of them in at once".

The famine years of the 1690s, severe throughout Scotland, were acutely felt at 60º latitude north, in Shetland. It followed that if the stricken tenants could not eke a living from the land, landlords had no source of income. "As farm after farm in Shetland became ley and untenanted, the Bruces of Muness, the Cheynes of Vaila, the Sinclairs of Brough, and all, became bankrupt and destitute" (Smith, 1979, 13). More significant for the general picture of landholding, however, was the fate of the German merchants who acted as the lairds' and tenants' cash converters. Their numbers had diminished since being harried by the French, but they disappeared altogether in the wake of post-1707 Union policies, particularly the 1712 salt tax. A

number of minor landowners had supplemented their income by acting as merchants or administrators and so there were some men in Shetland who were practised in trade and had sufficient resources to buy up the bankrupt estates. It had been thought that the fish tenure system – whereby tenants were bound to supply fish *only* to the laird or his nominated factor under threat of eviction – was first resorted to by these 'new' men in the 1690s and became commonplace in the years that followed the Union (Smith, 1999b, 12; Smith, 1978, 13–5; Smith, 1984, 40 & 61–3; Goodlad, 1983, 109). However, Brian Smith (2000, 70, fn. 301) has more recently speculated whether in fact such arrangements are already implied in a contract of 1657 between a Fife skipper and a Shetland laird. Hence, it cannot be ruled out that there might have been similar contracts with German merchants. Price-fixed returns were inevitably poor for the tenant, who was forced to spend more time fishing and less time farming; this system of debt-bondage persisted for almost two centuries.

6.4 Castles, tower-houses and palaces

From the surviving evidence, Shetland and Orkney do not seem to have developed a strong tradition of castellated architecture. However, there survive a few physical remains of high status medieval and early modern secular building, in the Northern Isles. In Shetland a 12th-century timber hall and an early 16th-century teind barn have been excavated, as have a lesser status 13th- to 14th-century farmhouse at Sumburgh (Hamilton, 1956, 190–3). The 14th- to 15th-century castle of the Sinclair earls of Kirkwall has been thoroughly demolished, but there remain the ruins of a small number of tower-houses in the Northern Isles. Whilst we do not have the evidence to support the RCAHMS's (1946, I, 53) supposition that the 17th-century laird's houses of Orkney "reproduced in stone Medieval wooden manor-farms of Norway", we must ask if Scandinavian traditions could have had any influence on the houses of Shetland's aristocracy. And, finally, contemporary with the late 16th- and early 17th-century laird's houses in Shetland, was the architecture of the Stewart earls themselves which provided the most visible and relevant high status architecture in the Northern Isles during that period.

As we have seen, Shetland was administered from Norway as one of its provinces until 1469. Excavations from 1977–90 and 2003 at The Biggings on Papa Stour uncovered a 12th-century Norwegian *stofa*, in this case the provincial home of Duke Hakon, a lord of Norway, though probably more usually occupied by his representative. A rare early medieval document which relates to a land transaction shows that it was still occupied in 1299. A *stofa* is a timber-built hall-dwelling of considerable prestige accompanied by an *eldhus* (fire-house). The Biggings *stofa* may have been preceded by a *skáli* (hall) with a *dyngja* (a bathhouse or a weaving house) and an *eldhus* in the 11th century (Crawford & Ballin Smith, 1999, 65–7, 77, 80–1 & 207). To date, The Biggings represents the only direct evidence for a high status building in medieval Shetland which followed a Norwegian model. 12th- or 13th-century dates have been suggested for the remains of 'Cubbie Roo's' Castle, on Wyre in Orkney (Figure 6.2), and Castle of Strom in Shetland, built on an island in the Loch of Strom (RCAHMS, 1946, I, 235–9; III, 118; Ritchie, 1997, 85). However, Fawcett (1994b, 242), in discussing a chronology of tower-houses, points out that the few examples in the north and west highlands and islands all have simple rectangular plans and few features and it is this that has led some to suggest an early medieval date for their building. Certain features are perhaps more reminiscent of late medieval tower-houses further south and, therefore, their simple form could relate more to "the varying depth of patrons' purses, and regional variations which resulted from a variety of economic, geological and social factors that are still only partly understood" (*ibid*). Whether early or late medieval in date, Cubbie Roo's and Strom are the only examples of simple tower-houses in these islands and, therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions from them about the likely form of the residences of other odallers in Shetland during the period. Kirkwall Castle was of an altogether different scale and was built in the era of the Sinclair earls of Orkney (1379–1470). Sadly, the last vestiges of its massive inner curtain wall were dismantled in 1865, the great edifice having been progressively quarried away since the 17th century. Mural towers were spaced out along the curtain wall which surrounded a large 14th-century four- or five-storey tower (Anderson, 1992, 163–6 & Crawford, 1983, 38 & 46).

Figure 6.2: 'Cubbie Roo's' Castle, Rousay, Orkney, aerial photograph by Richard Welsby. © Orkney Islands Council, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Figure 6.3: The Bishop's Palace, Kirkwall, Bishop Robert Reid's tower, 1541–8. Photograph by S. Strachan, 2007.

Other than the lords of Norway, or their representatives, prestigious houses would have been within the reach of lawmen and lawrightmen and, from the early 15th century, the representatives of the Danish governors in the provinces, the Great Fouds. A document survives from 1418/19 to show that John Sinclair was appointed headfoud or 'lenslord' in Shetland at that time (Imsen, 1999, 63 fn. 41). Sir David Sinclair, illegitimate son of the last Sinclair earl of Orkney, is designated 'redare of Svinaborgh' (knight of Sumburgh) in a 1491 purchase of odal lands in Unst (*O. & S. Recs.*, I, no. 35). He was simultaneously governor of the castle of Bergen under King Hans and the Great Foud of Shetland, as appointed by James IV in 1488, and had inherited the lands of Sumburgh from his father in 1470 (Crawford, 1978, 3 & 5; Crawford, 1983, 40–1). The 1491 document is signed at "Brogh" which is translated by Stefánsson as 'Svinaborgh'. What were John Sinclair's or Sir David's houses in Shetland like? The Sinclairs would have been equally comfortable with Scandinavian and Scottish models of high status architecture: perhaps their homes were manor houses built with timber shipped from Norway or perhaps they utilised the local

stone. A candidate for Sir David's house in Sumburgh has not yet been found, however.

Moving into the 16th century, the teind barn at Kebister, which was excavated in 1985–6, is a near contemporary of Sir David's abode. Its likely patron was Henry Phankouth (probably of German birth), who was archdeacon of Shetland between 1501 and 1529 and who may have been related to another Sinclair, Edward (later of Strom), since Phankouth named him as his heir. The large barn, 17 by 7.2 m over walls 1 m thick and probably two storeys high, with its fine armorial panel, would have been an extremely impressive building. Kebister was centrally located in the archdeaconry lands spread across the parishes of Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale (Owen & Lowe, 83, 215–20 & 298). Though mainly based in Orkney, the archdeacon would no doubt have required an impressive manse in Shetland. The chantor's manse in Elgin (*see* Figure 4.8, p.112) is the best-preserved medieval canon's manse in Scotland, probably dating to the second quarter of the 16th century and extended in 1557. It is possible that Phankouth's abodes may have been similar in terms of scale.

The basement of the 'Bishop's Palace' in Kirkwall dates to the 12th to 13th century and the upperwork was extensively remodelled by Bishop Reid in 1541–8 when he also added a round corner tower (*see* Figure 6.3). It was certainly a large and impressive abode, built on a much grander scale than would have been appropriate or feasible for Phankouth. The cathedral of the bishopric was originally at Birsay and the bishop's residence was also there; known as 'Mons Bellus', it was probably quarried by Robert Stewart from 1569 for his own palace. The only other pre-Stewart masonry edifice known is the unfinished Noltland Castle in Orkney, a large Z-plan tower-house built after 1560 by Gilbert Balfour, master of the royal household to Queen Mary (Simpson, 1983). It seems unlikely that these castellated examples, together with the episcopal palaces, would have had much direct influence on the late medieval houses of large proprietors in either group of islands.

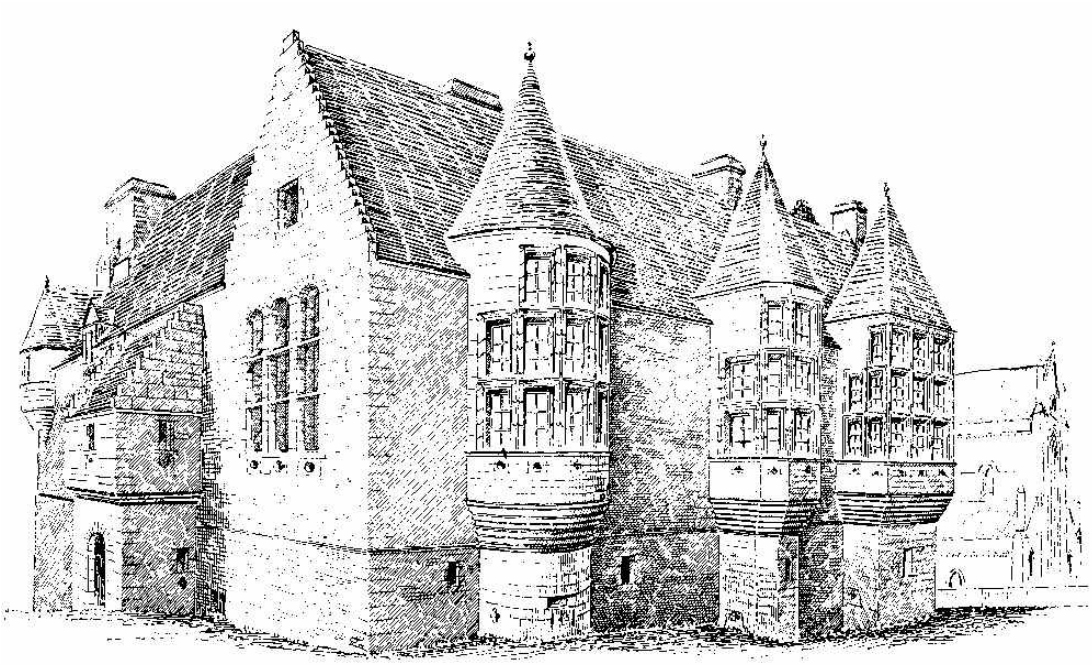

Figure 6.4: The 'New Wark' or Earl's Palace, Kirkwall, *c.* 1601–07, reconstruction drawing from the south-east. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), fig. 791, p.342.

Robert Stewart's palace at Birsay (*c.* 1569–74) was an exceptionally grand quadrangular palace and an exemplar of Renaissance architecture in Scotland, though again its great scale means that it would have been an unlikely model for laird's houses in the isles. Patrick Stewart began extending the Bishop's Palace in Kirkwall with his 'New Wark' in *c.* 1601 and this took six years to complete. The houses at both Birsay and Kirkwall were arranged around large courtyards, with prestigious lodgings around three or four sides. Patrick moved the Renaissance vocabulary forward in a particularly impressive way with an arrangement of oriel windows lighting the main hall that are without parallel (Figure 6.4). Andrew Crawford, Patrick's Master of Works, directed the building of this house and, in Shetland, Muness Castle and Scalloway Castle (Anderson, 1992, 158; Pringle, 1999, 33; Simpson, 1991, 14 & 29). Muness Castle, which was completed in 1598, was built for Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie in Unst on a rectangular-plan with opposing round towers (Figure 6.5, left). Built in 1599–1602 on a larger scale still was Patrick's Scalloway Castle (Figure 6.5, right), a four-storey L-plan tower-house. The entrance, which has a much-worn tiered heraldic panel over it, opened directly on to

a scale-and-platt stair up to the first-floor hall which was lit by nine windows. Like Noltland, however, the form and scale of Muness and Scalloway are unlikely to have had a significant influence on the style of houses built by lairds in Shetland around this time.

Figure 6.5: Left: 'Muness Castle in Shetland, 1792… From Capt. Columbine's Portfolio 12 Feb. 1802', right: 'Scalloway Castle in Shetland From a sketch made by Capt. Columbine 1792', ***c.*** **1802. George Henry Hutton Collection, © NLS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.**

Unfortunately, other than Cubbie Roo's Castle and the Castle of Strom, whose dates are elusive and it is questionable how common their forms were in the Northern Isles, the archaeological and documentary record sheds little light on the form of the odaller's house during the medieval period. Most enlightening would be if we had a clearer idea of the form of the 16th-century residences in Shetland, such as those alluded to of Henry Phankouth and Sir David Sinclair. We know much more about the architecture of the Stewart earls. However, it would be difficult to see Birsay, the New Wark, and Scalloway as being real models for the distillation of ideas into the houses of the odaller or laird. In the case of the late 16th- and early 17th-century laird's house in the Northern Isles, we have sufficient examples to be able to show that they shared the courtyard layout, use of heraldry, and the function of the hall. It does not, however, follow that the laird's house necessarily developed *from* such high status architecture, only that they shared some principles of planning and

architectural vocabulary. The earliest surviving laird's houses in Shetland are the subject of the next section.

6.5 The first 'laird's houses' in Shetland

The hypothesis presented here is that the first Scottish laird's houses in Shetland were probably built after 1568 by the followers of Robert Stewart and Laurence Bruce, who were variously ministers or readers in the church or relatives, servants, and the younger sons of lairds seeking opportunities in 'new' territories. Following on from the discussion about the little we can tell about the form of odaller's houses of the 16th century, can we say that the 'laird's house' was a distinctive new form in the islands? The first dateable laird's house that has survived was built in *c.* 1589, by William Bruce, a follower (and likely relative) of Laurence Bruce and probably the younger son of a Fife laird.[80] 'Jarlshof', as it is now known, is discussed more fully in this section, along with earlier parallels for it that have survived in Orkney and the Scottish mainland.

6.5.1 The odaller's house

One of the major estates in 16th-century Shetland was that of Margaret Reid of Brough, in the parish of Nesting (†1582 or 1583). In 1577 Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie was accused of using her 'manor house' at Brough as a base for foraging the parish (Balfour, 1859, 42–3). Margaret came from third-generation Scottish stock and she, like her contemporaries, followed odal law. Margaret had disponed half of her Brough lands to Hew Sinclair of Strom. The remainder would also go to Sinclair after the death of Margaret's estranged husband, Gilbert Cant (Smith, 1995, 97–9 & 101). Despite desperate measures by the Stewarts and Bruce, the Sinclairs held on to these lands for some time, but now nothing is left of either Margaret's manor house or that of the Brough Sinclairs (*see* B.17). There are references to the houses of late 16th-century odallers in the records, often as the

[80] William Bruce may have originated from the parish of Crail, where he later retired. According to a 1619 sasine, his brother was Andrew Bruce, and Beveridge (1893, 179) suggests that he may be identified with the laird of Balfarg (near Glenrothes).

location where documents have been signed or from where goods are said to have been stolen, but, unfortunately, none is explicit about their architectural form.

Of course, first-generation Scots who were familiar with the laird's house form – which this writer considers probably appeared in mainland Scotland in the mid-16th century – could well have travelled to Shetland in the decades immediately before 1568. Whether these men had sufficient time to build up landed interests which would have prompted the building of new 'laird's houses', or whether their numbers were sufficient to suggest that any such 'new houses' might have had widespread influence are open questions. However, what is distinctive about Shetland is that substantial, independent, landed proprietors lived there before the 16th-century influx of Scottish lairds (or, perhaps more likely, their younger sons) to Shetland. We do not know what form the odallers' 'manor houses' took other than to suggest that the tower-house would be an unlikely model for Shetland. Close contact existed with Norway well into the 16th century and so perhaps there may have been similarities between the high status residences of both areas. Records show that timber, kit boats and, occasionally, kit houses ('stockstores') were supplied from Norway (Smith, 1990, 31 & 34). Even so, what if the early laird's house was *not* dissimilar from the 16th-century house of the larger Shetland odal proprietor? Unfortunately, we simply do not have the benefit of surviving detail in document form or in the archaeological record to test this.

One tantalising reference to a 'mansion house' built in 1575 concerns Francis Bothwell, the minister of Unst who had feued 12 merks land of the vicarage lands to Bartholomew Strang, following which Strang built a "mast coistlie and sumpteous bigging upoun the said landis of Voisgearth… exceiding the doubill availl of the haill landis conteinit in his ineftment" (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 20). This 'mansion house' is again referred to in 1581 when Bothwell's successor, James Hay, who had previously pursued Strang for the return of the lands, issued a confirmation because of Strang's considerable investment. As part of the deal, Strang agreed to supply materials for the repair of the manse at St Olaf's at Lunda Wick, but, unfortunately no trace of the manse or the house at Voisgarth survives. Jarlshof therefore

represents the most substantial survival of late 16th- and early 17th-century laird's houses in Shetland.

6.5.2 Jarlshof, Phase I, *c.* 1589–*c.* 1609

Figure 6.6: Aerial view of 'Jarlshof' from the south. © Historic Scotland.

'Jarlshof', so named by Sir Walter Scott (1871, 10) in 1821, is a ruinous laird's house in Sumburgh, at the southern tip of the Shetland mainland (Figure 6.6). Its interior was cleared of wind-blown sand and debris as an early phase of the 1897–1905 excavations whose aim was to expose the Iron Age material beneath.[81] The analysis of the house was brief in the paper which discussed the investigations (Bruce, 1906, 12–15), but was subsequently dealt with more fully by both the RCAHMS (1946, III, 16–20) and John Hamilton (1956, 194–7). The present writer has re-evaluated the documentary sources and relevant comparative material, initially in the course of the research carried out for this thesis and then expanded as papers

[81] The courtyard became 'overgrown' again and was cleared once more in 1932 at which time features came to light that had not been formerly noted, *e.g.* the draw-bar slot of the east door into the south range. The kiln at the south-east corner of the east range was first excavated that year. NAS SC 21871/2A 'Report of 24 Nov 1931' and 'Excerpt from Foreman's Report No. 15 for fortnight ending 25/3/32', Ministry of Works records.

for publication.[82] The level of detail offered in those papers is not crucial to a discussion on the development of laird's houses in Shetland to 1730 and in this section only the first phase of Jarlshof will be discussed, together with the evidence for its dating and builder.

By the time William Bruce occupied lands in Sumburgh and Scatness, that is by 1592, he was designated 'of Symbister' (in Whalsay), which related to the 32 merks land which he had leased from Laurence Bruce since 1585 (*Shet. Docs. 2*, nos. 75 & 197; Grant, 1907, 20–1). Laurence himself seems to have forcibly acquired Symbister from Colbein or Culben Ormeson, a former lawrightman, in portions from 1581. Ormeson finally quit the remaining 16 of the 32 merks land in 1587 (Anderson, 1992, 33; Goudie, 1904, 149–50; *Shet. Docs. 2*, nos. 30, 47 & 104). William had married Margaret Stewart, an illegitimate niece of Lord Robert and widow of William Sinclair of Uyea/Underhoull (in Unst), by August 1589 (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 148). It seems likely that 40 merks 'kingsland' of Sumburgh and Scatness were feued to William by Robert Stewart around the time of his marriage[83] and this, by March 1592, included 4 merks land "liand in rig and randell" (jointly occupied but not contiguous) in Sumburgh from the Provost of the Dom Kirk (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 197).

The 1592 feu charter of Lord Patrick to William refers to "the house and fortalice lately established on the grounds of the said lands of Swounburgh on the south side of the Newhall" (*ibid*). Contrary to previous interpretations, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that 'Newhall', the Stewarts' house in Sumburgh, is distinct from the house occupied by William – this is discussed in more detail on p.284 below. The ruins at Jarlshof most likely represent the first house to have been built by the Bruces

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82 Strachan, 'Lords or Lairds? A reinterpretation of 'Jarlshof', Shetland, *c.* 1589–1609', in preparation; Strachan, 'A Fifer in the North: William Bruce and the Laird's Houses of Early Modern Shetland', forthcoming.

83 We know that Robert helped to find suitable spouses for his own illegitimate daughters and those of his brother (Gilbert Goudie, 'Introduction' in *Mill Diary*, xcii). He also deliberately excluded the 40 merks kingsland, together with other lands in Dunrossness, Whitness and Tingwall, from a commission to his factor to feu the Shetland kingslands in January 1588/9 to be used by himself or to be disponed of himself (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no 132). He may have chosen to grant some of these lands to William and Margaret.

of Symbister and Sumburgh at the south end of Shetland rather than having been the house of either earl. It is likely that William's house was established on this prime site around the time of his marriage in *c.* 1589 and that it quickly superseded Symbister as his main seat. At least the first phase of Jarlshof may be attributed to William Bruce.

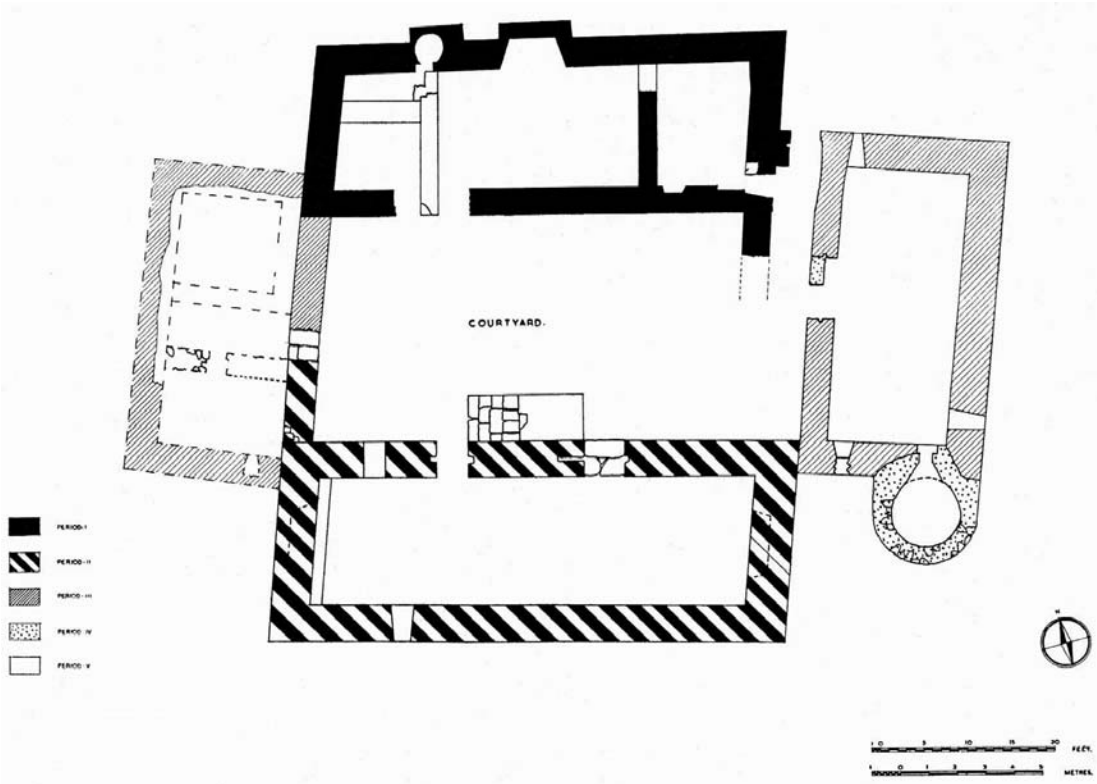

Figure 6.7: Jarlshof, plan. © Historic Scotland.

In its final state Jarlshof consisted of four ranges around a courtyard until 1951, when the west wing was demolished (Figure 6.7). It is clear that the north range was built before the east and west ranges, as the adjoining walls of the west range were not bonded with it. The short stretch of walling at its south-east corner is, however, bonded to it which suggests that there was a contemporary building or enclosure on this side before the present east range was built. The floor level of the north range is 0.4 m lower than that of the courtyard and south range and it has been suggested that this indicates that the north range must be the earliest of the four ranges (RCAHMS, 1946, III, 18–19; Hamilton, 1953, 35).

The end date for the occupation of Jarlshof is uncertain but it may have been occupied, and altered, by William's descendants throughout the next century, perhaps at least until *c.* 1682–8 (Kay, 1711, 35). It is possible that the south range dates from the late 16th century on the basis of comparison with mainland examples such as Bay House in Fife (Figure 4.21, p.129), or it could be attributable to William's heirs – for example, a sheriff court was held in the "new house at Sumburgh" in 1617 (*Shet. Ct. Bk. 2*, 52). What is suggested here is one of two options: either a) that the present south range replaced an earlier building on this site which did not extend so far east, since otherwise it would probably have interfered with the presumed extent of an earlier east range or enclosure; or b) that the south side of the courtyard was first closed off by a screen wall and in order to provide sufficient accommodation, there would have been a range here rather than just an enclosure wall to the east.

Of the suggested Phase I sequence, only the north range is now extant and its walls survive to no more than 1.5 m in height. It measures 6.4 by 16.2 m overall, with lime-mortared rubble walls *c.* 1 m thick. The two projections on the north side have been interpreted as a fireplace and a close garderobe by the RCAHMS (1946, III, 19). The entrance was towards the west end of the south elevation and a recess at the east end may indicate the position of a window embrasure. A blocked recess in the west gable may indicate the former presence of an opening or an aumbry in this location. Hamilton (1953, 35) suggests that the north range originally functioned as a single-room dwelling-house, which was subdivided by a masonry partition to create a smaller east room at an early date, but later converted into the kitchen when the south wing had been completed. We should not, however, rule out the possibility that the masonry partition may have replaced a timber one. Though the burnt and cracked stones on the inner face of the east gable could suggest post-abandonment camp fires, it may mark the position of a hearth with a 'hinging lum' canopy (RCAHMS, 1946, III, 19). If either scenario A or B described above does in fact represent the earliest arrangement at Jarlshof, then the present north range may always have had an ancillary function to an earlier east or south range. Alternatively, if the north range

was the first laird's house on this site then parallels can be found in the houses with ground-floor halls described in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.2.2), and the remodelled hall range at Smailholm (Section 5.7).

Figure 6.8: House of Meil, later 'Graemeshall', from the south-east, photographed shortly before it was demolished in 1874. © Orkney Library & Archives.

Another parallel can be found closer to home, the one-and-a-half storey south range of the House of Meil (Figure 6.8; later renamed Graemeshall), which was built on the East Mainland of Orkney by Bishop George Graham in *c.* 1615 (Statutory List description, HB NUM: 12726). As it was demolished in 1874, however, it is now difficult to ascertain if it had been built as the main house or as a kitchen range. Though the original height of the north range at Jarlshof is not known, it has been reconstructed to one-and-a-half stories in the sketch in Figure 6.11 on p.287 (right) mirroring this example. Samuel Hibbert (1822, 545) describes staying in a, possibly single-storey, landowner's house in Burrafirth, Shetland in 1817–18:

> …at the head of Burrafiord [Burrafirth]…. The smoke rose from a low house, built of unhewn stones, after the most ancient fashion of the country;– it was the *Head Buil* or Manor-house of a small landed possessor of Aithsting,

> named the Laird of Fogrigate. On opening the door, I passed through a double range of servants of both sexes, who occupied forms disposed along each side of the room, and made suitable abeisance to the *hoy saedat* or high seat of the house, filled by the laird himself,…. The room to which I was shewn for repose, served the double purpose of being a dormitory for the opgester, and a granary for the family. A quantity of straw was strewn on the floor, and upon this was laid a sufficient number of *kiverins* and blankets, with clean white sheets.

Though this example has not been identified, a possible parallel which survives intact is the farmhouse built by the Garth Estate on the island of Noss in the 1670s or ’80s (Butler, 1982, 10). The original house, to the right in Figure 6.9, is constructed using Bressay flagstones and has massively-thick chimneystacks. Odallers, though in ever-diminishing numbers and with small landholdings, still existed in Shetland into the 19th century and so it is possible that Hibbert’s description was of one such proprietor. Another parallel for Burrafirth may be single-storey farmhouses in Orkney, such as Nether Benzieclett, West Mainland. It is unusual as it dates to the first half of the 18th century, which makes it amongst the earliest surviving single-storey rural houses in Scotland (RCAHMS, 1946, II, 250 & pl. 66; RCAHMS Record Sheet, NY22SE 55, ORR/8/1, 20/10/68). It may be that it was associated with the holdings of small odaller.

Figure 6.9: Gungstie or Hametoon, Noss, *c.* 1670s–80s. Butler, 1982, p.11, © D. Butler.

Concurrent with the first phase of Jarlshof, and its close neighbour, was the house built by Earl Robert (*infra*) and probably augmented by Earl Patrick in Sumburgh. We know very little about this house which was apparently referred to by Robert as 'My Palace of Dunrossness' in deeds cited by Bruce (1906, 13). It may be the same house occupied by Patrick that was called 'Newhall' and which had a "yard adjacent thereto, 60 feet broad and wide at the south-east gable", according to the 1592 feu charter (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 197). One interpretation of the *c.* 1682–8 'Description of Dunrosenes' by the Reverend James Kay (1711, 35) is that the houses of the Bruces and the Stewarts in Sumburgh were only "a Bow-draught" (*c.* 200 yds or 183 m) apart, with that "Built by Patrick Earl of Orkney" on the SSE side of West Voe. Newhall is again mentioned in the 1605 annulment of an exchange of lands forcibly entered into with William the previous year (*Shet. Docs. 2*, nos. 391 & 411). In a 1609 decreet of spulzie, Patrick and his followers were found guilty of having stolen large quantities of goods from William's property and of appropriating three Scots acres (1.54 ha) of green corn "adjacent to the said Erle his castell in the toun of Sownburgh callit the New Hall" (*ibid*, no. 473). Later that year Patrick "consents that the hous biggit by his lordship on the schoir of Vigmavo [West Voe] besyde the said William his baikhous be ather dimolishit and castin down be the said William or utherwyis brukit and josit [enjoyed and possessed] as he pleissis to his awin use and behuife" in exchange for being discharged of his part in the 1608 crime (*ibid*, no.

480).[84] The house appears to have been ruinous by the 1680s and has now disappeared from sight, probably as a result of quarrying and coastal erosion. But it has also almost disappeared from the record because Jarlshof and Newhall have been mistakenly conflated into a single entity since the late 19th century (Armstrong, 1882, 7; G. Goudie, in *Mill Diary*, xci).

Whilst early examples of laird's houses are rare in Shetland, there are more survivals in Orkney. It seems likely that the 16th-century influx of lowland Scots to the Northern Isles would have started a few years earlier in Orkney than in Shetland, where Adam Bothwell feued around 50% of the bishopric lands in 1560–8 (Anderson, 1992, 30). One of the earliest 'laird's houses' surviving anywhere in Scotland is the manse built by the archdeacon of Orkney, Gilbert Fulzie (or Foulsie) who was also minister of Birsay and Harray after the Reformation. His manse in Kirkwall survives as part of what became Tankerness House and a datestone of 1574 has been preserved. In 1568 Fulzie had been appointed by the General Assembly as one of two commissioners to superintend the reformed churches in Shetland (Cowan, 1967, 18; Donaldson, 1984, 144). Tankerness is discussed more fully in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.3), but it should be said here that, though both a 'manse' and a 'town house,' it was probably close in form to the early work at Jarlshof and to other Shetland laird's houses of which only tantalizing references survive.

6.5.3 'Jarlshof' Phase II, *c.* 1609–*c.* 1636 and Phase III, *c.* 1636–*c.* 1690s

Of extant examples, the earliest 17th-century laird's house in Shetland appears to be the south range of Jarlshof. As the present writer considers that the period over which Jarlshof was occupied as a laird's house may stretch into the final decades of the 17th century, it is not possible to say when the east and west ranges were built other than that they post-date the south range. On that basis they are illustrated in Figure 6.12

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[84] Patrick's house at Sumburgh is mentioned on three other occasions: once in 1603 when the parish of Dunrossness was ordained to deliver 24 Shetland fathoms of peat (about 3045 m^3) to "my lordis hous in Soundbrughe" (*Shet. Ct. Bk. 1*, 82), and twice in a tax and rental account for 1604–7 which includes payment "for wark wrocht by him [Oliver Nicolson] at the hous of Sowmeburghe in anno 1607" and an undated entry for two stock locks "on the doris of Sowmeburgh" (NAS, Smyth of Methven Manuscripts, GD.190, box 21).

and this phase is tentatively given the nominal date range of 1636 (the year Robert Bruce died, to the 1690s) after the date Kay's diary was written. A few other Shetland laird's houses have been dated more generally to the 17th century by others. However, on the basis of the architectural evidence this writer would not date their form earlier than *c.* 1650 and thus they will be considered in a subsequent section.

Figure 6.10: Jarlshof, the south range from the north-west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

The south range of Jarlshof measures 18.0 by 6.9 m overall with walls 1.2–1.5 m thick (*see* plan at Figure 6.7). The gable walls survive almost entire and these show that it was once two-and-a-half storeys in height, though unfortunately the long walls do not survive above first-floor level (Figure 6.10). The south-east corner sits directly on the massively-thick broch wall, which was evidently levelled to provide material for the laird's house. It is possible that a structure on this site existed prior to the building of the present south range. The west gable of the present south range is thicker at the base which could indicate there had been a scarcement for a timber floor or that the upperwork was built on top of earlier foundations. It is suggested here that Phase II consisted of the dwelling-house on the south side of a small courtyard, 7.8 m wide, opposite a kitchen range, with a screen wall on the west

side.[85] At Skaill House, West Mainland, Orkney the north range there was built before 1628 for Bishop George Graham from Dunblane, Perthshire and described as 'the Hall' in deeds of that year. It was extensively rebuilt or enlarged in 1676 and in 1790 it was described as the "Old Hall presently used as a kitchen to that House [the Mansion House of Skaill]" (RCAHMS, 1946, II, 251). Although the north range is now two-and-a-half stories high, it may have been similar to the House of Meil when first built and was probably demoted to a kitchen later in the 17th century. We cannot be sure of the arrangement on the east side of the courtyard at Jarlshof other than that the Phase I building or enclosure would have been compromised by the new south range. Though a modified range or yard may have existed in Phase II, the reconstruction drawing in Figure 6.11 shows another screen wall on the east.

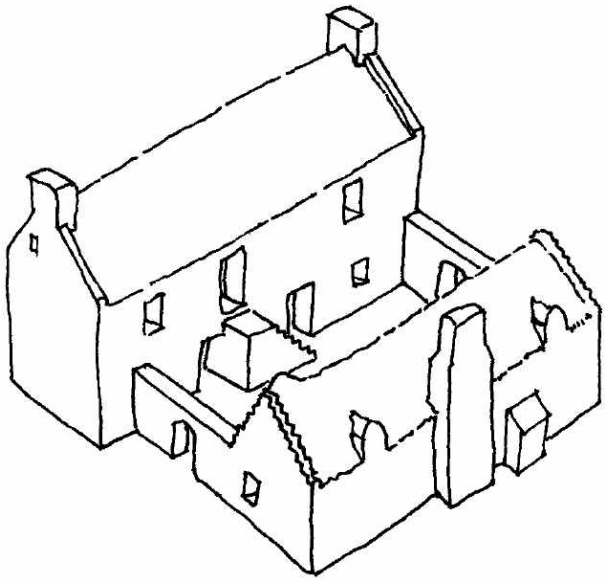

Figure 6.11: Jarlshof, Phase II, conjectural reconstruction. Drawing by S. Strachan.

The ground floor originally consisted of two rooms, with separate entrances from the courtyard. The western room was lit by two small square windows[86] and, as

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[85] The north jamb of the doorway to the west range appears to have been rebuilt and the south end is bonded into the south range. It might formerly have functioned as a screen wall with a grander entrance therefore, built at the same time as the south range (RCAHMS, 1946, III, 18).

[86] RCAHMS (1946, III, 18) suggests that the door to the western room was in fact a window opening. The investigators visited in 1935, only two years after the courtyard was re-excavated and may have misinterpreted the evidence. Hamilton (1953, 36–7; 1956, 197) states *both* that the western room had its own doorway and that it was lit by three windows. Here Hamilton seems to

mentioned previously, a scarcement against the west gable suggests that there may have been a timber floor or platform. The eastern room was unlit and its door could be secured by a draw-bar; therefore, it seems likely that the more valuable commodities were stored therein. The interior has been excavated and the ground made up on several occasions and thus evidence for the position of a partition (or a dwarf wall or sleeper beam to take the east end of a floor/platform) is not now discernible. The first floor was reached via a masonry forestair, the lower steps of which still survive. A fireplace survives at either end in the gables. A single room is possible, but two or three rooms are more likely, the principal room being the hall. If there had been a central room then it may have been heated by a lateral fireplace in the manner of Bay House (Figure 4.21, p.129). The garret was probably accessed by a steep timber stair or ladder and evidence for a small window survives in each gable. The gables are not crowstepped or topped with skews but are "finished on either side of central chimney 'stalks', with a heavy tabling set out on rough corbelling from the wallheads" (Hamilton, 1956, 197). The house was probably roofed with either thatch or stone flags.

The Phase II arrangement may be attributed to William Bruce or, perhaps, his eldest son Robert. The earliest likely date for the building of the large south wing is 1605, when William regained Sumburgh after an absence of 15 months (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 411). More likely, however, would be a date after 1609 at which time he was restored to the property after having been ejected the previous year, gained possession of Patrick Stewart's house next door and had recently married for the second time (*ibid*, nos. 473 & 480; Grant 1907, 20–2; Beveridge 1893, 178). It is possible that the "new house at Sumburgh", in which a court was held in 1617 (*Shet. Ct. Bk. 2*, 52), may refer to the south range of Jarlshof. In that same year an inventory of William's son Robert was drawn up and his estate was valued at £32,126 Scots; he was immensely wealthy by the standards of the day (Donaldson 1958, 81–3). William conveyed his Shetland estates to Robert in 1621 and Bruce senior last appears on record in Shetland in 1622 (*ibid*, 94–95; Beveridge 1893, 179). Robert

have conflated the RCAHMS Inventory entry and his own observations. Independent entrances to ground-floor stores can be found in other Type Is such as Skelbo Castle (Figure 4.19, p.125).

was probably around 25 in 1617 and may have married his first wife, Margaret Cheyne, by that date (Grant, 1907, 22). He seems to have made a career as a merchant; amongst his possessions was a ship called *The Swanne* valued at £2,000 Scots as well as several fishing boats and in 1627 he is recorded as having translated German bonds for a decreet relating to the High Court Admiralty (Donaldson, 1958, 81; Young, 1983, 125). It is possible that Robert already occupied the house at Sumburgh before his father retired to Crail – perhaps with William dividing his time between Fife and Symbister – and he could have been responsible for the building of the south range before he died in 1636 (Grant, 1907, 22).

The 1609 decreet lists the spoiled or stolen goods from the "town and lands of Sowmburgh", "on divers days in June and July 1608" which were valued at £8,346 Scots (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 473). William's house at Sumburgh was ransacked on 2 July (NAS, DI.3/33, ff.57–9 cited in *ibid*) and stolen items included ten 'feather beds'[87] with "bousteris", kitchenware like brass and iron pots, and Rochell and Scots salt. It also includes more personal items – two bibles, chronicles and history of Scotland and Denmark, the Acts of Parliament, and a world atlas – indicating William and Robert's interest in learning. We do not know if these items were stolen from the Phase I or Phase II Jarlshof, but it was evidently a substantial house by 1608. In the wider estate a "great barn" is mentioned in 1608, which was probably the same barn referred to in Margaret Stewart's testament of the same year (she died in 1607) and in the 1609 charter a bakehouse close to Newhall is mentioned (*ibid*, nos. 461, 473 & 480). The south range at Jarlshof was probably similar in form to the north range of the House of Meil (Figure 6.8 above) which was completed in 1626.[88] It seems likely that houses like this, built by Scots in Orkney, together with the laird's houses on the Scottish mainland familiar to William and his well-travelled son, would have been similar to Jarlshof's south range.

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[87] 'Feather beds' in this context implies 'mattresses'. In this period it was not uncommon to have more than one on each bed and so it is difficult to ascertain how large the household was or the guest provision (R. Fawcett, *pers. comm.*).

[88] A red sandstone panel from Meil inscribed '1626 PATEAS AMICIS' was rebuilt into the north range of the present kitchen courtyard (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 12726).

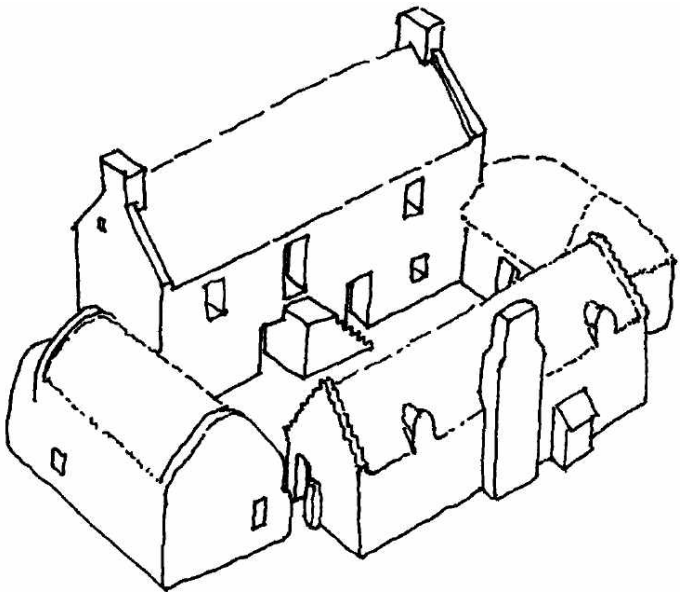

Figure 6.12: Jarlshof, Phase III, conjectural reconstruction. Drawing by S. Strachan.

It is difficult to date the building of the east and west ranges at Jarlshof as the tight courtyard form prevailed in Shetland throughout the 17th century. If, however, Jarlshof was still entire and habitable in the 1680s (Kay, 1711, 35) it is possible that these ranges could have been built at a late stage during the period in which Jarlshof was occupied. The former screen wall, an element that features prominently in Orcadian examples, was superseded by a range on the west, while the wall, building or yard on the east side was replaced by a range which butted against the east gable of the south range. The east range was positioned so that the resultant gap between it and the north range served as the entrance to the courtyard. It is suggested that the east range was built first so that while the west range was being constructed there was still a serviceable way into the courtyard. Part of the east wall survives to 3.7 m in height which suggests a two-storey building (RCAHMS, 1946, III, 18). The ground floor was lit by two or possibly three narrow unglazed windows, and a corn-drying kiln was added to the south-west corner at a later date. It probably served as a barn with a loft above. The walls of the west block survived to a maximum height of 2.1 m and were apparently bonded in clay rather than lime-mortar, unlike the other three ranges (*ibid*, 17–18). A byre function seems likely and the range is reconstructed as a single-storey outbuilding in Figure 6.12.

Jarlshof, therefore, represents the earliest surviving laird's house on Shetland and, if at least part of it was built in *c.* 1589, it is one of the earliest examples in Scotland. The south range is more complete and has been tentatively dated here to *c.* 1609. It follows the Type I model with a first-floor hall reached by a forestair, with independently accessed stores on the ground floor. William Bruce and his son Robert were amongst the wealthiest men living in Shetland in the early decades of the 17th century. Whilst it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions about the forms of the houses of their contemporaries in Shetland, on the basis of comparisons to surviving laird's houses in Orkney and the Scottish mainland, it is likely that they conformed to the Type I form. It is more difficult to make suggestions about the likely form of the late 16th-century 'manor houses' of Margaret Reid and Bartholomew Strang. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence is clear that there were high status landowners' houses in Shetland in the 1570s and, from the discussions on odal tenure and Scottish immigration in Sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, in seems likely that such houses were being built in Shetland in the preceding decades.

6.6 Laird's houses, merchant's houses and 'böds'

After Jarlshof, the earliest surviving 'laird's houses' in Shetland would seem to be those built by merchants. Whilst some foreign merchants may have over-wintered in Shetland and thus required more permanent residences, there were also a few 'home-grown' merchants based in the islands. In some cases they were the sons of administrators or ministers who may have originally come from mainland Scotland, but in many cases they were native Shetlanders, some of whom still had odal possessions (Smith, 1979, 14). It was towards the end of the 17th century, when many lairds were bankrupted as a result of the famine years (1693–6), when these same men invested in the newly available, cut-price, estates. 17th-century Shetland merchants might have sufficient land either in odal tenure or leasehold to warrant comparison with small lairds on the Scottish mainland. Following a general discussion on the classification of laird's houses, merchant's houses and 'böds', specific examples will be discussed below.

6.6.1 Terminology

'Böd' or 'bød', is the Shetland Norse-derived word for a booth, a shop from which trade is conducted. To fulfil this function, the böd of the fish-merchant needed to contain a reasonably-sized storeroom, sited conveniently for receipt of his principal commodity and next to somewhere suitable to dry the fish. Therefore, böds were located close to the inshore fishing grounds for the seven to nine week cod, ling and tusk season, the 'haaf', and near an appropriate shingle beach (or one that could be improved by labour), an 'ayre', where the catch would be dried (Shaw, 1980, 174; RCAHMS, 1946, I, 56–7). The böds of the Hansa were usually rented from landowners where the merchants exchanged lines, hooks, tobacco and alcohol for the tenants' produce, that is fish, skins, butter and oil (Goodlad, 1983, 109). Those that over-wintered might have had böds which also served as dwellings, otherwise the latter might be more conveniently located further inland (Smith, 1984, 14–15).

In some instances böds were the venue for the signing of contracts. In 1567 at 'The Buythis in Dunrosnes' William, Benedict and James Erlingson sold 3 merks land of Burraland in Tronda to Olave Sinclair of Brew (/Havera), at that time the Great Foud of Shetland (*Shet. Docs. 1*, no. 162 & 309; Grant, 1907, 270). Patrick Stewart, lord of Shetland, was not slow to realise the potential of the fish trade and of rentals from böds. In 1594 he entered into a contract with the "commissioners for the fishers, doggers [a dogger is a type of fishing vessel] and inhabitants of the burghs of Craille, Anstruter Easter, Anstruther Wester and Pittinweme respectively, who shall fish within the bounds of Orkney and Shetland" (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 226).[89] A record of about April 1604 shows what duties were owed to William Bruce for "dogaris… [and] merchants ludgis" and by the "broustaris" (brewers) who operated at the Ness and that there were 18 "bottis at Sondbruch the present yeir" (*ibid*, no. 381). Patrick was keen to acquire these annual duties for himself and this provided the impetus for an exchange of lands enforced only four months later (*ibid*, no. 391). When William

[89] And so, on Patrick's behalf, Captain Thomas Knightson, feuar of Aith in Bressay, entered into an exchange of herring with John Wilson, burgess of Pittenweem (from whence Knightson came) "for £666 13s. 4d. payable on behalf of Thomas to Patrick, earl of Orknay" in 1596 (*Shet. Docs. 2*, nos. 247 & 249; Anderson, 1982, 179).

regained his lands in 1605, an extra clause stated that fishermen from Orkney and Caithness would have the right to build summer lodgings in Sumburgh and Scatness but that "Patrik shall have full rights to receive and uplift the whole profits and commodities" (*ibid*, no. 411).

The Dutchmen who fished for herring in Shetland waters were also indirectly responsible for böds – at first probably simple huts used in the summer only – built on either side of Bressay Sound by traders who bartered eggs, chickens and woollens with the Dutch, thereby establishing the fledgling town of Lerwick (Nicolson, 1987, 2–3). With the emergence of the fish tenure system and the fishing stations of the 18th century came 'truck shops', also known as böds, where tenants bought fishing equipment, food, clothes and 'luxuries' like tobacco, which often negated any profit from the fixed price they received for their fish (Smith, 1979, 15).

Within the period covered by this chapter there are two principal types of böd. The first are those böds which served only as stores and shops and did not contain any living accommodation. The second are those which combine house and store and this could be over one storey or two. Two-storey versions of this latter type, such as Greenwell's Booth, Unst, will be discussed in Section 6.6.2 as, with a forestair to the living accommodation on the first floor over storage, they perpetuated one form of the early Type I laird's house. Lodgings may also have been contained within one end of a single-storey building, as is implied by the blocked-up fireplace in the 17th-century böd at Eastshore, Dunrossness (N. Melton *pers. comm.*), but these examples are distinct enough from the laird's house form not to warrant further discussion here. Alternatively, the lodging might remain separate, as at the Old Haa of Brough, Yell, and thus the house would have differed little from the houses of those lairds who were not also merchants. Therefore, these merchant's houses are included in a discussion of laird's houses of the mid-17th century in Section 6.6.3.

6.6.2 An overview of böds

Scottish or English merchants were less common in Shetland than Hanseatic merchants such as 'Garth Hemein' or Geert Hemelingk from Bremen, recorded in

1602, who appears to have had a böd, perhaps incorporating a residence, in Dunrossness (Goudie, 904, 208 & 210). As Smith (1979, 13) points out, both laird and tenant were, in general, dependent on the Hansa because they paid in advance, and this meant that a local merchant class did not flourish. However, we know there were some first-generation Scots immigrants who were familiar with trade, such as William Bruce, and some second-generation Scots who trained as merchants, such as William's son, Robert, and Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie's son, Andrew (Young, 1983, 125). As we move towards the mid-17th century, there are more examples of böds which incorporated residences which may provide a parallel for the laird's and merchant's houses of the period. Greenwell's Booth, Unst, is probably the earliest surviving böd in Shetland, built after 1646, and will be compared with Gardiestaing and Voesgrind to assist in their dating below.

Figure 6.13: Greenwell's Booth, Yell from the east, photographed in the 1920s. © Shetland Museum & Archives.

Greenwell's Booth at Uyeasound in Unst has lost its roof, rear wall and front gablet but in the 1920s it was still entire (Figure 6.13). The böd and two yards, which are first recorded in 1705 when Laurence Bruce of Sumburgh sold them to James Scott of Voesgarth, were formerly possessed by the deceased William Bruce, merchant at Uyeasound. A land transaction of 1646 shows that Laurence's grandfather, William, sold a tenement of land at the south side of Uyeasound "on the west part of the Quoy [enclosure], commonly called the Dutch Quoy of Sound, separated by a dyke from the lands of Ronan, Gardie and Umboth" to his illegitimate brother, another

William.[90] It is likely therefore that the latter William, who had died by 1705, built a böd here at Uyeasound, a popular trading post with the Hansa, shortly after his acquisition. It came to be known as Greenwell's Booth by the mid-18th century when it was owned by Andrew Scott of Grenwell. It is not certain whether the present ruin was built as early as *c.* 1650, but there is no reason to suggest that it could not be essentially mid-17th century in date. It was two-storeys and three-bays with the shop or store on the ground floor entered through a door in the south-east (seaward) gable. A forestair on the north-east long elevation provided access to the main accommodation on the first floor. There may have been loft space above. The structure on the south-west wall has been described as a "massive boulder buttress" (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 17475), but it may represent the remains of a building on this side.

It is possible that Gardiestaing in Mid Yell (*see* B.10) was built shortly after David Spence inherited the estate of Gardie from his father, William Spence of Houlland, in 1645/6. From comparison with Greenwell's Booth, it looks as though the roof may have been raised to provide a more comfortable third floor. Alternatively, its three broad bays compare favourably with, for example, Linkshouse, which was built in *c.* 1770 (*see* B.38), and thus Gardiestaing might represent a thorough rebuilding on an older site, particularly given its droved ashlar window margins. In the 19th century, the Rev James Barclay; inherited the house, but as he occupied the manse further uphill, Lussetter House, he let the property to the proprietors of a nearby fishing station. In *c.* 1896 an extension on the west side of the yard was built and served as a shop. The ground floor was reclaimed for living accommodation and the first-floor door on the south side was converted into a window (HB NUM: 45321; Old Haa Museum notes[91]).

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[90] RCAHMS visit notes of 11-08-2006, HP50SE 40, Canmore database, www.rcahms.gov.uk; Grant, 1907, 22–3.

[91] The Old Haa of Brough, Yell is run as a museum by the Old Haa Trust. All references to 'Old Haa Museum notes' are to display material and files associated with its 2004 exhibition about Yell laird's houses and consulted by the present author in 2006.

The 'South Booth' at Voesgrind, Unst, (*see* B.64) is a more recent discovery, having been included in the Shetland Community Archaeological Project survey area in 2003 (Lelong & Shearer, 2004, 18 & 20). Subsequent documentary work by Ingrid Shearer and Tom Dawson (*pers. comm.*) has shown that the present ruin may have been built by Andrew Fordyce in the *c.* 1670s, incorporating material from the already ruinous böd built by John Edie, a Scottish merchant, in the first half of the 17th century.

From the mid-17th century, there are more examples of houses that stood apart from their associated böd or böds and these will be discussed next.

6.6.3 Laird's houses of the mid-17th century

The house which now forms the south wing of Busta House may have been built around 1650 when Robert Gifford was granted a charter of 12 merks land of Busta,[92] and so is discussed here. Moving into the 1660s and '70s, the Old Haa of Brough in Yell, built by the proprietor and merchant Robert Tyrie, is still entire and its armorial panel provides us with a firm completion date of 1672. Here the entrance is centrally-placed on the ground floor with irregularly disposed windows on the main front. This accords well with the post-1650 development of the Type I found on the Scottish mainland (*see* Section 4.5.2). On the basis of the architectural evidence, a few houses may be grouped with it as probably being of a similar date, in particular Tangwick Haa. This group of mid-17th century houses can be associated with proprietors who were merchants, many of whom had built up landed interests.

[92] Shetland Family History database, person ID: I17144, bayanne.info/Shetland.

Figure 6.14: Busta House, south wing from west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

The crowstepped 17th-century house at Busta[93] (Figure 6.14) originally seems to have had an irregular frontage which overlooked Busta Voe to its east. A oblique view of the east side dating to 1915–17 shows that the entrance was centrally-placed on the ground floor with irregularly-disposed windows, two to the left and perhaps one to the right, and three windows to the first floor (*see* Figure 6.24, p.311). The lintel stones of the upper windows sit immediately under the eaves and this arrangement would support an early date. Shortly after 1915–17, perhaps when the east porch was added to the 1714 house, the door was blocked up and the ground-floor fenestration altered to its present form of two double windows on both the east and west elevations. Such alterations make it difficult to ascertain the internal arrangement of rooms. The Giffords of Busta were a junior branch of the Giffords of Weathersta, who had acquired Busta by 1604. Before John Gifford inherited Weathersta in 1620 he was referred to as "John Giffert in Busta" (*Shet. Docs. 2*, no.

[93] Finnie (1990, 64) and Ritchie (1997, 65) both date this house to the 16th century. However the Statutory List Description (HB NUM: 5887) and Gifford (1992, 473) describe it as an 18th-century addition, though the former acknowledges that the 1714 house might incorporate earlier work.

377). It is possible that this house was remodelled, rather than rebuilt, by John's grandson, Robert before he died in 1678. He is first referred to as 'of Busta' in 1650. We have no direct evidence to suggest that the 17th-century house at Busta sat within a courtyard, but ancillary buildings were, of course, likely.

Looking at mainland examples, pre-1650 laird's houses might be expected to have either an external stair, like Jarlshof, or a stairtower: the lack of freestone may have discouraged Shetland lairds from attempting to build the turnpike steps usually associated with stairtowers, however. Other than Tankerness in Orkney, we have little evidence for forestairs being utilised in the late 16th- and 17th-century laird's houses of Shetland's neighbour. However, examples like Greenwell's Booth show that forestairs were effective in providing separate access to the main living rooms in merchant's houses-cum-shops. The general trend around the mid- to late 17th century in Scotland appears to be somewhat mixed, with the concept of the English 'parlour' making its first inroads, ground-floor open halls being ceiled, but also public rooms raised above ground level to form a *piano nobile* being fashionable. The east range at Langskaill, on Gairsay, Orkney seems to have been remodelled in 1676 by Sir William Craigie of Gairsay (†1712). It had three independently accessed ground-floor rooms. The central narrow one contained a straight stair. Inventories of 1707 and 1711 describe the east range as containing a hall, kitchen, blue room, yellow room, a 'scole chamber' and the 'scholl' closet. The RCAHMS (1946, II, 88) suggest that the hall and kitchen were on the ground floor, the blue and yellow rooms above them accessed from the stair, and attic above one of them. The range has since been reduced to one-and-a-half stories in height. The entrance to the stair has a highly decorative moulded door surround which had a monogram of Sir William and his first wife, Margaret Honeyman. It seems likely that the yellow and blue rooms served a public function. This arrangement is reminiscent of what we have seen at the Dower House, Stobhall in Perthshire (Section 4.5.2). The two-and-a-half storey west wing at Langskaill also dates from this time and probably contained more private accommodation. Given the extent of remodelling at laird's houses like Busta, it is therefore not clear whether ground-floor entrances can always be taken as an

indication that the principal domestic accommodation was on the ground floor as it could have been spread over both, such as at Langskaill, or located over stores, as at Jarlshof.

Figure 6.15: Old Haa of Brough, Yell from the south, c. 1900. © Old Haa Museum, Yell.

Thanks to an armorial panel dated '1672' built into the southern archway of the courtyard, the year in which the Old Haa of Brough at Burravoe in Yell was completed is more certain. It can be ascribed, on the basis of the initials 'R. T.', to Robert Tyrie (Figure 6.15). Robert's grandfather was probably William Tyrie of Busbie who may have travelled to Shetland as an assistant to Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie. Robert's father, Laurence Tyrie of Swarrister, accumulated lands in Yell. Laurence's son, Andrew, inherited Gudon and Otterswick and Robert, named as a merchant in Burravoe, inherited Gossabrough and Houlland. Robert went on to acquire the Brough estate (Brough and Utra Brough) in 1664 and continued to add to his portfolio whilst work began on his haa at Brough in *c.* 1669 (Old Haa Museum notes). We know that Robert Tyrie had a böd at Burravoe by 1684 when he had to mortgage it to John Leask, an Aberdeen merchant. There were a number of böds located by the shore and at least one was remodelled into the 'Tower Store', but it probably does not retain any 17th-century work (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 45312). The house subsequently passed through various owners and occupiers and was subdivided in the 19th century. It seems to have consisted of a main two-

storey-and-attic house on the east and a single-storey outbuilding on the west side of a narrow courtyard with two screen walls, through which a track passed which led to the böds to its south-west. Both ranges were extended to the north, the east one serving as a smithy. Parallel with the west range was another building (far left, Figure 6.15) which might have been part of the laird's house complex. The main façade of the house faced the courtyard and had a centrally-placed entrance which opened onto a stair. The present stair is scale-and-platt; if the stair is original, or replaced a stair of a similar form, it would be an early appearance of this type when compared to mainland examples of the laird's house where it gained popularity only after about 1700 (*see* Chapter 4, p.165). Later alterations include structural work in the form of two buttresses, a timber porch, and an upper floor to the smithy. In the course of road-widening, the west range was demolished and, in 1990, the south arch was rebuilt.

Figure 6.16: Tangwick Haa, from the north-east. Photograph by S. Strachan, 2004.

Returning to the Shetland mainland, Tangwick Haa in Eshaness has many similarities with the haa at Brough, though Tangwick was in a state of dereliction

before it was restored in 1987 and 1998. The main house is to the west (right in Figure 6.16) and has small irregularly-disposed windows, thick walls and thick chimneystacks. Like Brough it was built close to an 'ayre' suitable for drying fish. The Cheyne family owned land throughout Shetland including Tangwick and it is likely that they were responsible for its building (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 18690; Tangwick Haa Museum notes[94]). Ritchie (1997, 69) suggests that the eastern extension may have served as a böd with a separate entrance on the ground floor on the north side. The south side of the original house has also been buttressed and it is possible that it faced a yard in the manner of Brough. It originally had two storeys and an attic and probably had a centrally-placed stair. Brough and Tangwick compare favourably with mainland examples of post-1650 Type I Scottish laird's houses (*see* Section 4.5.2) in terms of form and date, with their symmetrical planning (if not façades), internalised stairs and small windows which were probably half-shuttered. The form of Shetland laird's houses begins to change towards the end of the 17th century with more symmetrical façades coming into favour, as at Buness and Lunna. However, some traditional forms persisted. Both trends are discussed below.

6.7 'Transitional' laird's houses: Type I to Type II

From around 1680 in lowland Scotland, agricultural improvements generated cash surplus and, around the same time, Scottish classicism began to influence the design of the laird's house, resulting in a preference for symmetrical façades and forecourts (*see* Section 4.6). In Shetland, two late 17th-century laird's houses, at Buness and Lunna, seem to display more regular fenestration over their three bays than the Old Haa of Brough, Yell, and Tangwick, for example. However, the famine years of the 1690s were to be disastrous for many families and some (along with their houses) disappeared. The main beneficiaries of the land grab in the 1690s, which resulted from the bankruptcy of several lairds, were men who were "small in possessions" and supplemented their income as merchants in Scalloway, Lerwick or in the

[94] Tangwick Haa is run as a museum by the Northmavine History Group and the Tangwick Haa Museum Trust. All references to 'Tangwick Haa Museum notes' are from display material and files assembled by the group on the building history and consulted by the present author in 2004.

northern isles of Yell or Unst (Smith, 1979, 14). The new proprietors may have been more influenced by mainland architectural trends than by the architecture of their predecessors. It is difficult to find examples of the early five-bay Type IIs in Shetland which are found elsewhere in Scotland between the *c.* 1680s and the 1730s (*see* Section 6.8.1). More common, and the subject of this section, are those houses which conform more closely to the regular three-bay Type II. However, unlike the mainland examples, these probable Type II houses are set within tight courtyards – as at the Old Haa of Vaila (1696) – and the earliest surviving houses in Lerwick, rather than having open aspects. This 'transitional' period is discussed below.

Figure 6.17: Buness House, Unst, from the south-west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

Like Brough, Buness was built close to a Hanseatic trading post, Baltasound in Unst, and its associated böd was immediately next to the shore and separate from the house. The eastern three bays of the present south elevation (right in Figure 6.17) represent the original, late 17th-century, house. It was doubled in size sometime in the 18th century, and the full six bays became a service range when a new house was built onto the east gable in 1828 (demolished 1950). Later in the 19th century the wallheads of what had become the service range were raised. The windows were enlarged to their present form and the crowsteps added in 1950 (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 17478). It is difficult to ascertain the locations of the original

ancillary buildings, and thus whether or not the late 17th-century house was approached through a courtyard in the manner of Brough or whether Buness represents an early example of a Type II house with regular fenestration and an axial approach; this last theme is developed in Section 6.8.3 below.

Figure 6.18: Lunna House, from the south-west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

Another candidate for an early Type II in Shetland might be Lunna House, which was built by Robert Hunter, Chamberlain of the Lordship of Zetland from 1660 (†1695). The oldest part of the house now forms the south-east wing of the enlarged house (right in Figure 6.18) and it faces south-west to enjoy commanding views towards both West Lunna Voe and East Lunna Voe. Later alterations make it difficult to be sure of the original arrangement of the frontage; if the size and alignment of the remaining east-most bay (far right in Figure 6.18) has remained unchanged, then three bays with a centrally-placed entrance would seem the most likely arrangement. The crowstepped skews and chimneystacks seem to have been altered, along with those of the 1707 wing, in the early 20th century when the north-west wing and a two-storey octagonal entrance porch were added. It is possible, therefore, that the pitch or height of the gables of the original house were raised at

the same time to create a larger, dormered, attic (HB NUM: 18591; Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, 2003, 169 & 171).

Figure 6.19: Old Haa of Vaila, from the north-east. Photograph by H. F. Anderton before 1895, © Shetland Museum & Archives.

On the other hand, the arrangement of the Old Haa of Vaila (Figure 6.19), built by James Mitchell of Girlsta in 1696, had little to distinguish it from the tight courtyard formation of earlier Type Is such as Brough or Jarlshof. The Cheynes maintained a house on Vaila throughout the 17th century and, whilst we cannot be certain of the form of Robert Cheyne's post-1576 "hous and fortrice" (*Shet. Docs. 1*, no. 221), Mitchell's house was probably a rebuilding of it. The courtyard was approached by first ascending a short flight of steps, then going through a round arch in the west screen wall which was surmounted by a stepped triangular pediment in the manner of Orcadian houses such as Carrick House (1662) and Langskaill House (1676). On the north side of the courtyard was a single-storey range like that at Brough. The screen wall and north range were demolished and the original house remodelled by E. P. Peterson for Herbert Anderton in 1895–1900 (Gifford, 1992b, 513; RCAHMS, 1946, III, 157). Mitchell's house had straight skews and small windows arranged symmetrically in three bays. It could, therefore, be described as an early Type II house. However, it is only a short step from the three-bay *slightly less regular*

frontages of Brough and Tangwick to Vaila. Perhaps, therefore, it is better described as a late Type I. This ambiguity has resulted in its description as a 'Type I/II' in the gazetteer (*see* B.62).

During the Second Anglo-Dutch war in 1665, Lord Montagu described Lerwick as having "about 80 very poor houses but the cottages most miserable" and the "principal town", Scalloway, had "about 100 poor houses" (Flinn, 1989, 25). It was at this time that work began on a fortification at the north end of Lerwick. In 1667 that fortification, Fort Charlotte, was described by a local man to one of the Dutch fleet as containing 370 English soldiers and 400 able-bodied Shetland men (log book of the *Prins Hendrick Casimir*, 1 Jul 1667, Flinn, 1989, 27). By the time it was burned by the Dutch in the last Anglo-Dutch war of 1673 the garrison had long been disbanded and it was not until 1783 that it was reconstructed. Of the original fort buildings, which were designed by John Mylne, the king's Master Mason, we know very little. The depiction of four parallel blocks by William Aberdeen in 1766 (bottom right in Figure 6.20) may give a clue as to the structures within the fort at that date, but cannot be taken as a reliable guide to their form before 1673. With reference to the discussion on the influence of Cromwellian forts on p.146 of Chapter 4, it would also be difficult to argue that, in Shetland, the short-lived garrison buildings had any direct influence on the architecture of Shetland's better houses in town or country.

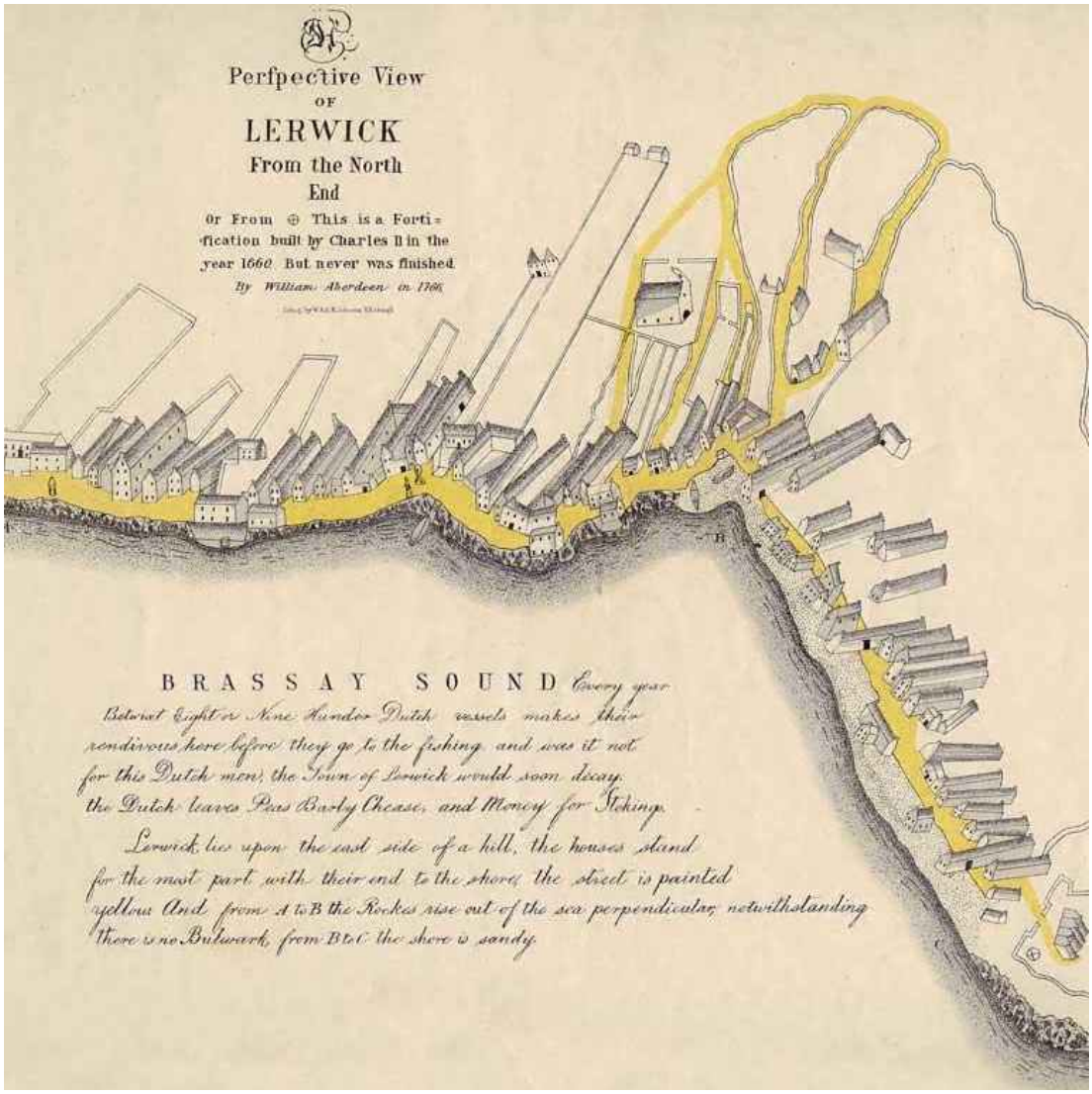

Figure 6.20: 'Perspective View of Lerwick', William Aberdeen, 1766. © Shetland Museum & Archives, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

After the 1673 war, Lerwick quickly surpassed Scalloway (Nicolson, 1987, 3). In 1700, Reverend Brand described Lerwick thus: "many of the Houses are very commodious to dwell in, most of them being two stories high, and well furnished within, their inhabitants consist of merchants, tradesmen and fishers" (Flinn, 1989, 132–3). Sandison (1934, 72–3) suggests that, at first, the böds in Lerwick were built facing the shoreline, but once space was at a premium they were built gable to gable. By the date of Aberdeen's perspective view, the street frontages of several of the most prestigious town dwellings occupied the equivalent of two plots (*see* Figure 6.20). A wall screening a private yard afforded more status than an entrance directly

into the gable or from a narrow lane. Many of the merchant's houses shown in Aberdeen's view, including Patrick Torrie's House with its near-symmetrical street frontage built in *c.* 1730 (Figure 6.21), differ little from that of the Old Haa of Brough, built by another merchant in Yell sixty years earlier and, for that matter, the Böd of Gremista built fifty years after Torrie's house.

Figure 6.21: Patrick Torrie's House, No. 10 Commercial Street, Lerwick, *c.* 1730, from the west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

The tight courtyard form which occupied more street frontage continued to be a sign of a wealth in 18th-century Lerwick; but otherwise Lunna and Buness might be the first signs of this being regarded as old-fashioned in the country. The original forms of Buness and Lunna, together with their approaches and ancillary buildings, are conjectural; so it is difficult to draw clear conclusions as to whether they represent late Type I or early Type II laird's houses. However, the 1707 phase at Lunna marks a clear demarcation between the two types and this, along with other key examples, will be discussed below.

6.8 The Type II laird's house in Shetland

If Shetland followed the generic model suggested in Chapter 4 for the development of the Type II laird's house, *i.e.* from five-bay to three-bay frontages (Section 4.6), one would expect to find some evidence of examples of five-bay houses in Shetland in the first decades either side of 1700. Pictorial evidence for two late 17th-century houses at Sumburgh and in Lerwick suggests that these houses might have been built as five-bays and altered to their present three bays later. 17th-century laird's houses in Shetland tended to adhere to the rectangular plan rather than the L- or T- plans that were a common variation on the Scottish mainland. It was not until the early years of the 18th century that modifications at Lunna and Busta created what were probably the first large T-planned houses in the islands. These examples thus depart from the tight courtyard form often associated with the rectangular-planned house in Shetland. The ruins of Swarrister Haa in the parish of Delting and the Haa of Cruister on Bressay may have been built as four- or five-bay laird's houses around the same time and might, therefore, support the case for similar houses having been built in Sumburgh and in Lerwick a few years earlier. However, Swarrister and Cruister also provide examples which might illustrate the axial approach as a distinct move away from the tight courtyard arrangement. A clear transition from the Type I laird's house can, therefore, be detected in Shetland in the years on either side of the Union and this shows that architectural trends from the Scottish mainland were influential. This is nowhere more visible than at Gardie House, built just 0.5 km to the south of Cruister in 1724. It is best described as a small classical mansion rather than a Type II laird's house but it too was influential.

6.8.1 Five-bay Type II laird's houses

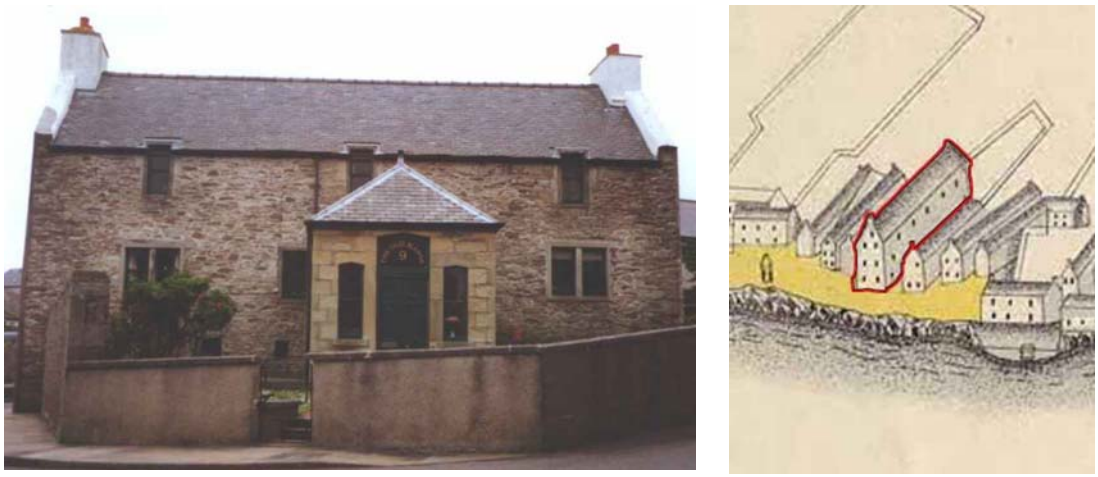

Figure 6.22: Left: The Old Manse, 9 Commercial Street, Lerwick, c. 1685, from the north-east. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999. Right: Detail from 'Perspective View of Lerwick', William Aberdeen, 1766 with The Old Manse outlined in red. © Shetland Museum & Archives, licensor www.scran.ac.uk; outline added by S. Strachan.

Lerwick's earliest surviving house dates to *c.* 1685 and was built for Captain Andrew Dick of Fracafield, Steward Principal and Chamberlain of Orkney and Zetland (Figure 6.22, left). It is now known as 'The Old Manse' as it was bought for this purpose after 1701 when Lerwick became disjoined from Tingwall parish (Sandison, 1934, 13). It was built with its gable fronting the shore (facing south-east) and its principal façade facing north-east. It has two storeys, an attic, and a basement. Intriguingly, it is shown on William Aberdeen's view has having five bays (as outlined in red on Figure 6.22, right) compared to its present three. The Old Manse has certainly been remodelled and perhaps it mirrors the Old Mains of Rattray in Perthshire which was remodelled from five to three bays around 1800 (p.153). In the 19th century the frontage of the Old Manse was altered, with paired windows at the outer bays of the principal floor and the windows of the upper floor heightened to break through the eaves line.

Figure 6.23: Left: Sumburgh Farmhouse, from the north-east. © Shetland Museum & Archives. Right: Detail from 'Ruins of Jarlshof', first published 1870s. *Hand-book to Shetland*, **1973, 84.**

Another house which may have been built around the same time as Lunna and Buness is the east range of the present Sumburgh Farmhouse (Figure 6.23, left). If Jarlshof was that described as "the House of Sumburgh" by Kay (1711, 35) sometime between 1682 and 1688, then the earliest date for the new house of the Bruces on the hill to the east of Jarlshof might be *c.* 1690. This might also relate to a time when the nearby estates of Quendale and Brow were inundated with windblown sand; this and the famine of the 1690s led to the bankruptcy of both families (Bigelow, Brown & Proctor, 2004, 2). The Bruces may have had sufficient land elsewhere in Shetland that they did not suffer as badly, but the move from Jarlshof to a new house high on the hillside to the east may have been a judicious one. The most likely patron is Laurence Bruce of Sumburgh who inherited his brother's estate in 1690. If Lunna and Sumburgh Farmhouse were built on new sites then their lofty positions link them and one wonders if Robert Hunter and Laurence Bruce shared an awareness of the importance of the enhanced approach, reflecting a new architectural aesthetic apparent in contemporary laird's houses on the Scottish mainland. An illustration of Jarlshof published in the 1870s shows the farmhouse in the background and indicates that it had a western frontage of five bays (Figure 6.23, right). The present three-bay range which was added across this façade now makes it difficult to ascertain whether this depiction was accurate, however. This illustration, together with that of 'The Old Manse', Lerwick drawn in 1766 (Figure 6.22, right),

suggest that these houses could be early Shetland examples of the five-bay Type II house. Two further four- or five- bay examples from the early 17th century are discussed in Section 6.8.3 below.

6.8.2 T-plan laird's houses

The house built by Robert Hunter in Lunna was more than doubled in size when his son, Thomas, built a two-storey range against its north-west gable in 1707, effectively creating a T-plan (*see* Figure 6.24 below). Modifications, including a bowed double-height window to the south-west gable, unusual flying buttresses, and the addition of another range to the north-west (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 18591), make it difficult to determine whether Thomas intended to re-orientate the house, with its main front towards the north-west, or whether the entrance was located within the south re-entrant angle as now. It seems highly unlikely that this large house was intended to sit within a small courtyard and this would have differentiated it from the traditional model favoured in Shetland until then. The intended appearance of the new house at Busta built in 1714 is, however, much clearer.

Figure 6.24: Busta House from the south, south wing (left) and west wing (right). Photograph by A. Oldham, 1915–17. © Shetland Museum & Archives.

The 17th-century house of Busta described earlier (Section 6.6.3) was retained by Thomas Gifford in an ancillary capacity when he built a three-storey T-plan house

against its north gable in 1714 (right in Figure 6.24). The landward approach to the house was from the north, but at this date most would still have visited Busta by sea, and the landing place was beneath the house to the east. The east face of Busta was now formed, from left to right, by the long elevation of the old two-storey house, followed by two bays of the southern jamb of the new house, and finally the imposing three-storey gable of the new house topped with scrolled skewputts. The round-arched entrance, with an armorial panel commemorating the marriage of Thomas to Elizabeth Mitchell, is situated just off-centre on the south gable (centre in Figure 6.24), next to the old house, where it opens into a stair with stone balustrade. Perhaps neither Gifford nor Thomas Hunter at Lunna intended that the unencumbered long elevations of their new additions should be regarded as show-fronts. In each case the entrance was still intimately placed at the re-entrant angle between old and new.

Of Busta, the Statutory List Description (HB NUM: 5887) states that "the 18th century core was built in a remarkably traditional style for 1714, when classical architecture was becoming well established in Scotland". That is true for major country houses, but some early Type II laird's houses on the mainland were still either relatively traditional or incorporated Type I features such as armorial panels (*e.g.* Old Auchentroig, 1702, Figure 4.39, p.156) or an L-plan (*e.g.* Smailholm House, Roxburghshire in 1707; *see* A.43). However, neither Busta nor perhaps Lunna could be seen as entirely typical of the Type II houses of the early 18th-century in Scotland. Swarrister and Cruister, discussed below, offer better examples of the type.

6.8.3 The axial approach

Figure 6.25: Swarrister Haa, early 18th century. Photograph by James Spence, ?late 19th century. © Old Haa Museum, Yell.

Swarrister Haa, East Yell, now a ruin, was described as "a large slated house two storeys… the property of Wm. Younson Occupier" in the 1870s (Name Book, No. 13, 333). At that time the house was probably broadly as seen in the photograph taken by James Spence (Figure 6.25). Another James Spence, the third son of John Spence of Gardie, Mid Yell, may have been responsible for its building. His eldest brother David continued the Gardie line and the middle brother, Ninian, became the progenitor of the Spences of Windhouse and was responsible for the building of the 1707 house there (since much-altered and also ruinous, *see* B.66). James married Nelly Scott but they had no children and by the mid-18th century his nephew, also James, resided at Swarrister with his family (Old Haa Museum notes). The main front of Swarrister faces south-east towards the Wick of Gossabrough and had a fairly regular four-bay front, reminiscent of the Old Mains of Rattray in Perthshire (*see* Figure 4.38, p.153). The original arrangement of fenestration on the ground

floor is less certain, though the west-most bay (left in Figure 6.25) is vertically aligned with the window above and the porch (added in the 19th century) is slightly off-centre which probably reflects the original position of the door. Spence's photograph indicates a narrow path between the gate and door and a deep, open forecourt or garden ground which, if a reflection of the arrangement when the house was first built, suggests an axial approach which departs from the typical Type I courtyard plan.

Figure 6.26: The Haa of Cruister, from the north-west, *c.* 1718. Photograph by S. Strachan, 2000.

Figure 6.27: The Haa of Cruister, from the south-west, *c.* 1718 (left) and second half 17th century (right). Photograph by S. Strachan, 2000.

The Haa of Cruister on Bressay is also in a ruinous condition, but was once of two-storeys-and-attic and may have originally resembled Swarrister. The north-west façade is much damaged, with the positions of only three ground-floor openings and two windows on the first floor discernible (Figure 6.26). A paper on the development of the laird's house at Cruister by the author was published in *Vernacular Building* in 2001. The building of the present house probably dates to around 1718, and is thus attributable to the merchant James Bolt whose father, David, seems to have first tenanted Cruister sometime during the second half of the 17th century;[95] it was mortgaged to him in 1699 (sasines of 20 & 30 Jul 1699, Kirkwall. NAS, RS 78/2). The most complete building on the site is a roofed single-storey structure, today used as a byre, which is shown on the right in Figure 6.27, and which has affinities with the buildings that formed part of the complex at the Old Haa of Brough (left, Figure 6.15, p.299). It is likely that David used his four merks land at Cruister as a trading post with the Dutch fishermen who thronged Bressay Sound each summer. This single-storey building, which has a blocked-up fireplace and aumbries in its south-west gable, might have originally functioned as David's house-cum-böd, but the more usual position for a böd would have been directly alongside the shore. If David built a permanent house here then perhaps it stood on the site of James's two-storey house and the extant single-storey building was its kitchen. Footings to the north-east probably indicate an outbuilding that formed the third side of the presumed courtyard. As James developed his business interests following his marriage to Janet Nicolson, daughter and niece of prominent Lerwick merchants, he may have been encouraged to develop Cruister and rebuild his father's house.

By this time, the German merchants had stopped coming to Shetland and men such as Thomas Gifford of Busta and James Bolt were involved in the fish tenure system in which tenants were bonded to deliver fish only to the laird or his nominated merchant (Smith, 1999b, 12–13). Gifford quickly built up his landholdings, whereas Bolt chose to enter into contracts with lairds for their tenants' fish which he cured on

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[95] The first reference to James as David's heir is when Patrick Leslie of Ustaness sold the mortgaged land of Cruister to James in 1718 and this may well have been when James decided to build a new house there (sasine of 28 Feb 1718, Kirkwall. NAS, RS 78/3, f.14r & f.14v).

the beach at Cruister. The southern end of the ground floor of the two-storey house was lit by three small windows (later a larger window was punched through the gable) and may have functioned as the kitchen once the fireplace of the older building was blocked up. There is evidence of much rebuilding at the northern end of the house and this area is now full of collapsed masonry. It is, therefore, unclear as to whether the main entrance was originally on the north-west or south-east elevations. On the first floor, the positions of four windows facing north-west and south-west are still evident at the south end of the house. The size of these windows, together with the external ground levels, suggest that, at least in the case of Cruister, the main rooms continued to be on the first floor. It is not clear if the two outbuildings at the west and east corners of the present enclosure to the north-west at Cruister were there during James's period of occupation.

James may have moved away from the inferred courtyard arrangement of his father's house by creating a circuitous route to the house from the north-west, through a gate aligned with a doorway at the northern end of the house. This would have been somewhat reminiscent of James Spence's view of Swarrister (Figure 6.25). It is, however, possible that the present approach was not part of James's scheme and was only developed later in the 18th century. It might have been more important to the patrons of late 17th- and early 18th-century Shetland for their new dwellings to appear large and impressive on their hillside sites as seen by visitors approaching by boat and that windows were positioned so that the occupants could survey the voes or sounds. Symmetrical entrance or seaward façades may have been less important considerations. This could apply equally at Lunna and Busta.

Cruister's neighbour, Gardie House, which was built by an Aberdeen mason in 1724 for Magnus Henderson (Gifford, 1992b, 471; Finnie, 1990, 83), marks a significant departure from the laird's houses built in Shetland before then. Though Henderson, from an odal family, was rapidly buying up estates and extending his fish-curing business, and could thus claim to be a 'laird', his double-pile, hipped-roofed house should be regarded as a small, essentially classical country mansion rather than a Type II laird's house. Its main façade, facing seaward, was symmetrically arranged

with a 1-5-1 disposition of bays and it was approached through a large forecourt with two arched openings in the boundary wall. Gardie represents the first firm evidence in Shetland of a combination of an axial approach and resolutely symmetrical frontage. Laird's houses that come after it seem to adhere more closely to these principles, and examples of these are discussed briefly in the next section.

6.8.4 'The Haa'

As mentioned previously, 'the haa', the Shetland word for the laird's house, has been used by Mike Finnie (1996, 39) to define a particular kind of laird's house specific to Shetland. But, in fact, the description of the "tall, narrow, gabled buildings often with pronounced garrets" (*ibid*), would apply to few of the laird's houses discussed so far. The three-storey 1714 house at Busta might be regarded as the exception. Finnie (*ibid*, 40) suggests that the 'haa' "reached its apogee around 1730–50" and this period is covered by the next chapter; it is pertinent briefly to discuss here the existing overviews of this particular case-study area, as they are so few. Some of Finnie's examples of the 'true haa' will therefore be reviewed here and placed in the context of Scottish laird's houses as a whole.

Finnie (*ibid*) suggests that the tall nature of the 'haa' may derive from the tower-house tradition as many of the "earliest Haa builders were immigrants from Scotland or their descendants". As discussed earlier in this chapter, there would appear to be no evidence to suggest that the laird's house in Shetland, particularly those of 18th-century, were derived from the tower-house. Next, Finnie suggests that the lack of timber in the islands meant that builders were limited to single spans, hence the predominance of one-room-deep houses. Where greater accommodation was required additional floors were added to create the characteristic height of the 'tall haa'. We have seen, however, that the double-pile plan was equally exceptional on the Scottish mainland (Section 4.6.3) and that in some cases, the double-pile was achieved by adding a parallel range, as at Sumburgh Farmhouse. Beyond that, there are, in fact, few houses in Shetland which reached a full three storeys in height and which could therefore be regarded as being particularly 'tall' compared to other surviving laird's houses in Shetland or on the Scottish mainland. The other suggested

defining features, other than their being 'tall' and 'narrow', are their gabled roofs and 'pronounced' garrets. However, one defining characteristic that has been identified for both Type I and II laird's houses, as set out in Chapter 3, is that they are gabled rather than hipped and in this respect the Shetland laird's houses are no different from any other. In addition, since most laird's houses made use of the space within the roofs for extra accommodation, Shetland houses are not exceptional in having garrets.

Figure 6.28: Old Haa of Scalloway, *c.* 1750, from the west. Photograph by S. Strachan 1999.

Figure 6.29: Quendale House, *c.* 1800, from the north. Photograph by S. Strachan 1999.

Finnie (*ibid*, 41 & 45) goes on to point out that, particularly after Gardie House was built in 1724, several laird's houses, including the Haa of Sand (B.26), Bayhall (B.3), the Old Haa of Scalloway (B.27), North Haa, Yell (B.47), and Smithfield, Fetlar (B.55) (all built between *c.* 1750 and *c.* 1820) display classical influences such as symmetrical façades, small attic-floor windows, Venetian windows and flanking pavilions. It is these examples which might be fairly called 'tall', and yet the three-storey examples, such as the Old Haa of Scalloway (1750; Figure 6.28), do not have 'pronounced' or 'prominent' garrets and instead adhere to the classical language of the basement, *piano nobile* and attic storey. Conversely, many of the two-storey-and-attic houses built after *c.* 1750, such as the *c.* 1800 Quendale House (Figure 6.29), generally have a large area of wall surface between the lintels of the first-floor windows and the eaves, which may account for the 'prominent' garret part of Finnie's definition. The present writer does not believe that this is substantially different from late Type II laird's houses found on the Scottish mainland, however,

where, by this time, the forms of laird's houses were becoming more standardised through the use of pattern books.

From the above discussion it is clear that 18th-century Shetland had a high concentration of laird's and merchant's houses when compared to other regions. We have seen, when looking at the development of the Type I house and the transition from the Type I to the Type II house, that Shetland had its own regional variations of approach. Nonetheless, it is difficult to see the post-1750 development of laird's houses in Shetland as being significantly different from that elsewhere in Scotland, except, perhaps, that laird's houses were being built in Shetland over a longer period. This point will be expanded briefly below.

6.9 Conclusion

The medieval and early modern history of Shetland distinguishes it from much of the rest of Scotland, and thus from the other case-study areas in this thesis. As a different language, laws, and landholding system prevailed, the setting for the emergence of the first laird's houses is distinctive. The evidence for the form of the earliest examples is, unfortunately, scant. Only one early laird's house has been fully excavated in Shetland, 'Jarlshof', and even that not to modern standards, though documentary research has shown that it was probably first built around 1589 by a Fifeshire immigrant. More recently, another site in Dunrossness was tested in 2003 to determine the location of the 17th-century House of Brow, and the archaeologists from the University of Southern Maine, returned for a second season in 2005 ((Turner, 2004; 2005; Bigelow, Brown & Proctor, 2004). The characteristic features apparent in 17th-century laird's houses in Shetland seem to be ground-floor entrances, tight courtyard arrangements, and *near* symmetrical main façades. In this they mirror some of the main characteristics of the late Type I house in mainland Scotland, though the evidence suggests that the courtyard was favoured in Shetland for longer. The characteristics of the Type I house and the fluid transition from the Type I to the Type II laird's house will be summarised below. It must also be said that Type II laird's houses continued to be built in Shetland throughout the 18th and

19th centuries, and the reasons for that compared to what happened in mainland Scotland will be briefly discussed.

Shetland is unusual in that in the early 16th century, its proprietors were probably greater in number and had greater security of tenure under odal law than the first feuars who had acquired land under James IV (*see* Section 5.2.3). On the Scottish mainland, as in Orkney, it was around the middle of the 16th century that there were greater opportunities to acquire land in feu as a result of the secularisation of the kirklands. But, unlike on the Scottish mainland, Orkney and Shetland still had a high proportion of land held under odal rather than feudal tenure. This proportion was particularly great in Shetland. The evidence for any tower-house tradition in the Northern Isles that might parallel what we see at feuar's houses like Hills Tower in Kirkcudbright (Figure 4.1, p.98) is minimal. The hypothesis presented here is that the 'manor houses' referred to in 16th-century documentary sources did not rise to tower height. The houses built in Shetland by odal proprietors were, perhaps, not dissimilar to the houses built by those who travelled north with Robert Stewart and Laurence Bruce after 1568, and thus the arrival of the Scottish laird's house did not mark a significant change of type. What this means is that houses of a status akin to the earliest laird's houses may have been anticipated in Shetland and Orkney because of their unusual freedoms over the holding of land.

Moving on, for the physical evidence of the first Scottish laird's houses in Shetland we must look at the ruined house now known as 'Jarlshof'. Parallels for its form as reconstructed here can be found in William Bruce's home county of Fife and its neighbours, and in Orkney in houses built by Scottish immigrants. It seems likely that the period of high status occupation of Jarlshof was much longer than previously thought (RCAHMS, 1946, III, 19; Hamilton, 1956, 194 & 196), perhaps ranging from *c.* 1589 to the 1680s with implications for the development of its four ranges. The north range, which may have been built with a ground-floor open hall, and the south range, with its forestair and first-floor principal room(s), are, at present, the only examples of early Type I laird's houses that survives in Shetland. It is not clear if the external stair prevailed in Orkney and Shetland during the first half of the 16th

century. In Shetland a mix of ground-floor principal rooms, internalised stairs, and first-floor principal rooms over stores seems likely. Where the house served as both living accommodation and böd, the differing functions might mean that external forestairs were preferred, as at Greenwell's Booth and at Gardiestaing at one time. By the time the Böd of Gremista was built in 1780 the stair had been internalised, though one of the rooms on the ground floor still served as a salt store.

The transition between the Type I laird's house in Shetland and the Type II may have been seamless, but it was not straightforward. Several examples from the late 17th century and the early 18th century have been discussed which display a mixture of Type I and Type II characteristics. In the early Type IIs on the Scottish mainland there is a distinct move away from the courtyard arrangement to symmetrically-planned principal façades and axial approaches towards centrally-placed entrances. It is not clear whether these trends are mirrored by some of the surviving pre-1700 laird's houses in Shetland. The house built by Robert Hunter at Lunna might have demonstrated this, but, alas, this has been masked by later changes. The considerable profits made by the fish exporters in the first decades of the 18th century allowed men such as Thomas Gifford of Busta to make additions to their ancestral seats, resulting in imposing architectural statements, even if there was no wish wholly to conform to the latest lowland fashions. On the other hand, Gardie House in Bressay represents the wholesale importation of the latest style, which in 1724 was that of a classical mansion. It is not a Type II laird's house, but it embodied the key characteristics of an axial approach, forecourt, and symmetrical outward-facing façade. The laird's houses that were built in Shetland afterwards seem to conform more fully to the late Type II house model; they may have been influenced by Gardie in some respects.

Residences of the laird's house type continued to be built in Shetland well into the 19th century as factor's and minister's houses, as well as for lairds, for reasons that were at least partly associated with the unchanged laird–tenant relationship and with the fish-tenure system. Some merchant–laird ventures failed in the late 18th century due to famine, embargoes resulting from alliances during the French Revolutionary

and American War of Independence, and poor returns from the Hamburg and Italian markets in 1781 (Smith, 1999b, 14–16; Smith, 1987, 144 & 146–9). This crisis saw a new generation of merchants coming on to the scene, and though at first the tenants were once again free to sell their fish to whomever they wished, the fish tenure system was reinvigorated around the 1730s with lairds often leasing their estates to merchant firms (Smith, 1979, 15; 1999b, 15–16). Towards the end of the 18th century, profits from the land rather than the sea were sought by clearing tenants for sheep. Some lairds built houses which moved away from the Type II model, such as the baronial Gothic style of the *c.* 1820 Brough Lodge in Fetlar erected for Arthur Nicolson, but, unlike on mainland Scotland, most Shetland lairds did not have the means to build sprawling mansions. The Type II laird's house remained the predominant model, for example Voe House built by the Giffords of Busta for the tenant sheep farmer in *c.* 1800. Meanwhile the fish tenure system continued and was not undone until the Crofters Act of 1886. Parallels for Voe House, and the mid-18th-century Type II examples described earlier, can be found elsewhere in Scotland and the development of the Type II forms the basis of the next chapter, which looks at the Western Isles, Skye, and the Small Isles.

Chapter 7 The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles: The development of the Type II laird's house, 1670–1770

7.1 Introduction

The development of laird's houses in the West Highlands and Islands of Scotland is distinctive when compared to the Scottish Borders and Shetland. Land increasingly became converted to feudal tenure, particularly the kirklands and forests, in the Borders around the mid-16th century and, mainly in the 1570s–90s, odal land was usurped by Scottish immigrants to Shetland. The 'laird's house' developed as a result of these changes. In contrast, a broadening of the land market did not occur in the highlands until the Restoration, when "those of lower rank gained a position in the landholding structure" (Watt, 2006, 43) because of the indebtedness of their chiefs and deflation after the Restoration. The general lack of physical evidence for laird's houses, as well as tower-houses, of the late 16th and early 17th centuries in the case-study area of the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles should not, therefore, be surprising. However, this period is characterised by 'chiefly' additions to the Hebridean castles and we can infer that the close kin of the chief who managed areas of the estate lived in reasonably substantial dwellings.

Towards the latter part of the 17th century there is a smattering of evidence for the form of laird's and tacksmen's houses. An important survival is Unish House which seems to combine characteristics of both the Type I and Type II laird's house with its first-floor main rooms and symmetrical five-bay façade. However, most of the surviving laird's houses in the case-study area date to the 18th century. These include Ormiclate (1701–3), an unusual four-bay T-plan house, Talisker and Raasay (both *c.* 1720) as three-bay forms, and Monkstadt (1732–41) with a five-bay frontage. The development of the Type II in the western seaboard from the late 17th century until the mid-18th century will be the focus of this chapter.

The historical context for this period begins with James VI's policies which were intended to 'civilise' the highlanders and which included the Statutes of Iona (1609) and the (failed) plantation of lowlanders into the region. These will be explored, together with the concept of kinship in the region, that is 'clanship', and its changing face during the course of the century. Dodgshon (1998, 102) has argued that the shift towards commercial landlordism was a gradual process, whereas MacInnes (1998, 163 & 184) sees the transformation of clanship as a series of intermittent events. Watt (2006, 51) has suggested that this was instead concentrated into a single period of transition from *c.* 1650 until the 1680s. These theories will be discussed in more detail below. At first, 'commercial landlordism' concentrated on the cattle trade; it was not until the 1730s that the concept of agricultural improvement really took hold. The involvement of the majority of clan chiefs and their kinsmen in Jacobite campaigns from 1689 to 1746 naturally had a considerable impact on the profitability of the estates affected by reprisals and annexation. However, the dominance of the military profession for one quarter to one third of the highland gentry in the second half of the 18th century increased their exposure to English influences from a young age and as well-travelled adults. Conspicuous consumption was a notable characteristic of returning soldiers, the most conspicuous characteristic being house-building (Nenadic, 2006, 76, 89 & 92).

Of course, such expenditure had been witnessed at the castles of clan chiefs in the preceding century. Examples include: a post-1617 building at Duntulm Castle, which has been interpreted as a hall (Miket & Roberts, 1990, 64); a residential range at Caisteal Camus probably built in the first decades of the 17th century which, significantly, shares many affinities with mainland laird's houses of the period, a new house built at Dunvegan in 1623; and 16th- to 17th-century work at Kisimul Castle which provided a number of independent houses.

An important distinction needs to be made between the tacksmen of the early part of the 17th century and those of the late 17th and 18th centuries. By definition, tacksmen were large tenants who leased sufficient land to sub-let to smaller tenants. However, large tacks were more often than not granted by the chief to close kin or

families who held (or had held) hereditary positions with that particular clan. These men were probably responsible for building 'laird's houses' and the scant evidence for early 17th-century examples will be discussed.

At the same time there would have been smaller tacks held by 'sub-tacksmen' who most probably lived in single-storey houses. However, with increased rents for pasture due to the buoyant trade in black cattle from the mid-17th century and "their more frugal lifestyles" (Macinnes, 1998, 168), lesser tacksmen began to accrue cash surpluses. Their chiefs saw this as a source of credit and land was increasingly wadset (mortgaged) to them: if the chief defaulted, the lesser tacksman secured his first step on the property ladder (*ibid*; Shaw, 1977, 45–6). By 1773, therefore, Samuel Johnson (1775, 83) could comment that "the Tacksmen and the Ministers [of the Hebrides] have commonly houses", meaning "a building with one story over another". Most of the houses which survive in the case-study area and are included in the gazetteer (Appendix C) are of the mid-18th to mid-19th century. This is partly a consequence of irreparable damage caused in areas affected by the 1746 Reprisals following The Forty-Five, but mainly to do with the increased numbers of inhabitants that had control over land and the cash resources to build 'laird's houses'.

A range of the earliest Type II laird's houses in the region will be examined together with references to neighbouring island and mainland provinces, such as the North-West Ross group mentioned in Chapter 4 and Argyll and the Isles, as they were linked to the islands both in terms of accessibility and family connections. Here, theories for the infiltration of ideas into the West Highlands and Islands first raised in the Overview will be examined more closely. These are: the influence of the Hanoverian barracks of Glenelg; the use of lowland masons; and the availability of pattern books and the landed subscribers to them. The influence of emerging 'estate architecture' will also be discussed in this chapter. More particularly, the similarities between Hebridean and lowland laird's houses will reveal the influences or expectations brought back to the islands by highland gentry schooled in the lowlands or at English military academies, or as well-travelled merchants, military officers or lawyers, and their English or lowland wives. These tastes are, of course, reflected in

the planning, décor and functions of rooms of the house, but also in its wider setting amidst gardens, tree-lined avenues and pavilions. Significantly, this study will show that the Hebridian laird's house was not 'out-of-step' with developments in the rest of Scotland and that, in some cases, it preserves evidence of advanced or even unique design. Also, rather than a sudden 'introduction' of a new form of laird's house, this chapter will demonstrate that the Type II laird's house of the mid-18th century owed its generic form to the preceding *c.* 70 years of development from the Type I to the early Type II combined with the availability and affordability of materials such as slate and design guides such as pattern books.

7.2 Chiefs, tacksmen, landholding and Improvement

7.2.1 The geography and medieval history of the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles

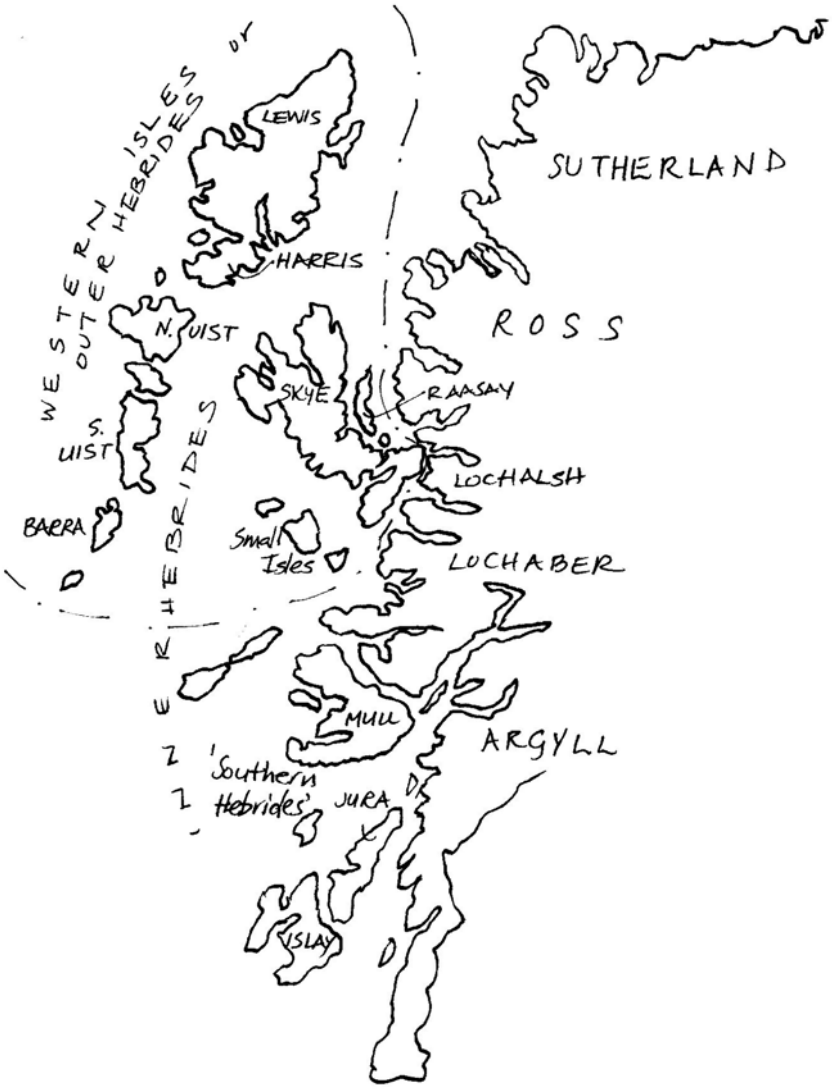

Figure 7.1: Location map of the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles.

The islands that fringe the north-west of Scotland are highly individual. The Western Isles or 'Outer Hebrides' (colloquially, the 'Long Island') has a changeable, windy, though often mild, climate. It is dominated by the expansive island of Lewis and Harris, approaching 2,200 km^2 in area. Lewis is composed almost completely of the hard gneiss visible in outcrops amongst the dense peat and, separating Lewis from Harris, a formidable mountain range. Conversely, the low-lying Atlantic coast of

Harris is enriched by fertile lime-rich sand-blow, the *machair*. The archipelago continues southwards with the low-lying main islands of North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist and Barra, which can be described as being 'split' east/west by rugged inlets and machair. There are also several smaller islands which were inhabited during the main period covered by this chapter, including St Kilda some 64 km to the west of Harris.

Closer to mainland Scotland are the 'Inner Hebrides'; the northern group of these is Skye and the Small Isles. The irregularly-shaped Skye, an island of peninsulas, is about one-third smaller than Lewis and Harris and its fertile U-shaped valleys are wetter than those of its neighbour. The distinctive Cullins reach a height of 993 m OD, while the smaller Red Cullins characterise northern Skye. Small islands, including the narrow Raasay, lie between the east coast of Skye and Wester Ross. To the south of Skye are Canna, Rum, Eigg and Muck, collectively known as the 'Small Isles', four islands that each vary considerably in extent, form and character. West-most is Canna, whose rich soils overlie basalt. Next, the largest of the Small Isles, is the mountainous Rum: fertile Eigg is dominated by the huge crag of An Sgurr and, closest to the mainland, is the small, green, low-lying isle of Muck. Estimates for the total population of the case-study area are in the region of 27,000 around 1750, increasing to around 38,000 at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The above islands were part of the territory of the medieval Lordship of the Isles, as were the Southern Hebrides (the largest islands of which are Mull, Islay, Jura, Tiree, Coll and Colonsay), and much of the western seaboard of Scotland (*see* Figure 7.1). The overlordship of the Hebrides won by the Norwegian Crown in *c.* 1098, came to an end with the Treaty of Perth of 1266. Though the lordship lands were thereafter held from the Scottish Crown, successive monarchs struggled to exert their authority from Edinburgh and so the lordship was forfeited in 1475, briefly restored, and forfeited again in 1493. The former lordship lands were granted to the heads of the various cadet branches of the Clan Donald and other leading families. The 16th century was characterised by territorial conflict and unsuccessful attempts to resurrect the lordship (McNeill & MacQueen eds., 1996, 441–2 & 445; McDonald,

1997, 39). Central government made concerted efforts at control of the region in waves, firstly between 1596 and 1617 under James VI (Lynch, 2000, 211), secondly during the Interregnum, and thirdly with the construction of the Hanoverian barracks and military roads. The reverse trend for highland chiefs and their close kin to travel to lowland areas and further afield increased over the course of the 17th century and became almost second-nature in the 18th century. The modes of highland/lowland interaction will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

7.2.2 Clanship and James VI's Highland policies

> The clans which emerged in Scottish Gaeldom in the course of the late Middle Ages were, like Lowland families, a social amalgam of kinship and local association in terms of land settlement and of feudal conveyancing in terms of landholding…. Clanship still retained martial elements of a frontier society which shaped the way power was exercised by the chiefs and leading clan gentry as the social élite, the *fine*.

Allan I. Macinnes, "Scottish Gaeldom from clanship to commercial landlordism, *c.* 1600–*c.* 1850", 1998, p.163

Macinnes helpfully places Highland clanship in the context of Scottish kinship at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. A similar perspective has been given when discussing the Border 'surnames' in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.1). Though not detailed in Chapter 6, there were certainly bloody feuds in Shetland around the same time, such as those between the Bruces and Sinclairs and within the Sinclair family itself (Anderson, 1999, 47–8; Smith, 1999a, 9–10). Since the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, the relative autonomy of the West Highlands and Islands naturally led to power struggles, both in the succession to the chiefship of a clan and in the territorial advancement of one clan or cadet branch. Their autonomy was seen as a threat to the Crown, as were their familial links with Ulstermen. At the same time the notion that the former lordship lands represented unrealised revenue was being propagated. This led the government of James VI to perceive a 'Highland problem' and to attempt to exert its authority, minimise the risk of uprising, and raise rents. Michael Lynch

(2000, 216) describes the policies put in place to achieve these aims as "a scatter-gun of official projects, some pet theories, private or quasi-official initiatives and *ad hoc* reactions by the royal administration to problems as they arose." These policies did serve to begin a transformation of traditional clanship, however. The concept of clanship around 1580, how it had changed by 1617, and by what means, will be discussed below.

Dodgshon (1989, 173–7) has described three main 'types' of clan which emerged during the 16th century. These are: 1) the large clan, whose progenitor had been granted a substantial territory and for whom rapid expansion through conquest, marriage and Crown favour was made possible by the management of disparate holdings by kin; 2) the lesser clan, who did not benefit from an initial acquisition of sizeable territory and whose expansion was constrained by the limited supply of land; and 3) hereditary clans who held their land rent-free or on special terms from the greater clan chiefs in return for services. The first half of the 16th century was characterised, until the death of Donald Dubh in 1545, by attempts to resurrect the Lordship[96] and thus there was significant turbulence within and between territorial families, "each competing through displays of feuding and feasting, to be at the centre of the next great eruption of power" (*ibid*, 173). Disputes continued into the later decades of the century, primarily in the areas where chiefs had secured title but had not traditionally held sway. There was also a greater concentration of 'caterans', originally a military caste within clanship, who by this time had become less constrained. Those on the western seaboard were billeted in townships as they were more able to find military employment as mercenaries in Ireland (Macinnes, 1998, 163–4; Macinnes, 1988, 70). It was against this backdrop that the government of James VI saw the feuding, fiercely independent clans, with their own highly trained militia, as a threat to royal authority.

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[96] This was accompanied by a late flourishing of the patronage of art in the form of graveslabs, tombs, effigies and free-standing crosses – armoured warriors, warships, castles, hunting scenes – as clans sought to legitimise hierarchy and demonstrate their martial powers (Armit, 1996, 221 & 223–4).

James VI's alliance with Elizabeth I in 1586 focused his attention on Tudor interests, particularly on the border (*see* Chapter 5, Section 5.2.4). The Nine Years War (1594–1603) then escalated fears of collusion, particularly between branches of the same family, across the North Channel. On a different tack, a 1597 statute (*APS*, IV, 138) ordained that chiefs had to prove ownership to the Lords of Exchequer by 15 May 1598. Most could not produce paper titles and this laid a legal basis for future forfeitures. The royal treasury was often stretched, and ignorance gave rise to the notion that the Highlands were harbouring rich but under-exploited natural resources. The first expedition by the Fife Adventurers came at the end of 1598, after they had been granted Lewis and lands in Skye by James VI. Naturally, they received a hostile reception, which was complicated by competing claims to the inheritance of Ruairi MacLeod. The Adventurers were ousted in 1601 and their repeat attempts to establish a colony in 1605–07 and 1609 were equally brief. After 1610, the monarch's plantation policy was more successful in Ulster which had the effect of reducing links with associated clans (Lynch, 2000, 215–8; Roberts, 1999, 138–9).

After the failure of the Lewis plantation, the next step came in the form of the Band and Statutes of Iona in 1609 (*RPC*, ser. 1, IX, 24–30), the impact of which has been downplayed by Goodare (1998). Their consequences have been given more weight by MacGregor (2006). The seven statutes (*ibid*, 138) called for: 1) upholding Protestantism; 2) the establishment of inns to curb the economic burden of free hospitality provided by the tenantry to, among others, the caterans, and the restriction of the chiefly household and retinue; 3) a ban on the purchase by the tenantry of wine and whisky from merchants; 4) Lowland education so as to encourage communication in English; 5) forbidding the carrying of firearms outside the house and shooting game; 6) a further curbing of free hospitality, this time of itinerant entertainers and beggars; and 7) that the signatories vouch for every clansman to uphold the Statutes. Goodare (1998, 46 & 57) sees them as being ineffective and marginalised, and far less significant than the 1616 privy council regulations (*RPC*, ser. 1, X, 773–8). MacGregor (2006, 113, 133 & 158), by contrast, argues that they

did constitute a coherent programme, conceived in part as an extension of existing developments in the isles, which had the full cooperation of the nine signatories.

The education policy had particularly far-reaching implications for the exposure of the highland gentry to Lowland fashions. It has been argued by MacGregor (*ibid*, 121), that the annual appearance of chiefs in Edinburgh before the privy council originated with "the preparations for the expedition which led to the Band and Statutes of Iona", which is later made explicit and regularised by the 1616 regulations. The chiefs were also obliged to pay their taxes in cash, which created a requirement for monetary rents, and trade and commerce thus became a major factor in the isles. Changes in clanship were, therefore, underpinned by these measures which impacted on both society and economy throughout the 17th century (Shaw, 1980, 4–5 & 185; Macinnes, 1998, 163 & 165).

7.2.3 Commercial Landlordism and the Restoration

Scotland joined the 1642–6 English Civil Wars in 1643, with the majority of clans supporting the royalist cause, particularly the Clan Donald who turned out under Montrose against the covenanting army of Argyll. The war effort naturally led to the accumulation of debt and land degradation. Of course, the western islands fared no better during Cromwell's occupation, as garrisons were set up at Aros Castle, Mull, and Stornoway, Lewis, in 1653; defiance led to some estates being declared forfeit (Shaw, 1980, 46; Macinnes, 1996, 210; Mitchison, 1982, 216–7; Dennison & Coleman, 1997, 24). It was following the Restoration in 1660 that loyal supporters were partially compensated by Charles II, though they continued to face economic deflation for the next decade. According to Watt (2006, 28) chiefs responded in one of two ways: either they became "backward looking, insecure, impoverished and melancholic" and lost their estates, or they "responded by raising rents or more intensive engagement with droving, colonisation, extractive industries and merchant networks". In this way, during the second half of the 17th century the island chief came to share a greater affinity with the outlook of the lowland laird as 'landlord'. It was during this period too, from around the 1680s, that lesser tacksmen were able to

become proprietors and around this time when the first built two-storey 'laird's houses' (Shaw, 1980, 48; Macinnes, 1998, 168).

The surviving Argyll papers show that in the Southern Hebrides, chiefs set about changing the way in which they exported meat to raise cash for their crown rents and taxes as early as the 1620s. They did this by encouraging the more profitable trade in live cattle driven to markets in central Scotland, rather than selling ready-cured carcasses to merchants. This trade became more substantial, organised and widespread in the highlands and islands in line with increasing demand for salt beef from the English Navy and the growing city of London and as Irish supplies dried up due to English levies. In some instances the chief provided men to help drive the cattle to market, but in most cases the drove was undertaken at the drover's own risk, and occasionally the drover paid a cash advance on the sum agreed per animal (Macinnes, 1998, 157–8; Shaw, 1980, 155–7). And so, "most of the money in circulation in the Western Isles in the seventeenth century was undoubtedly provided by the cattle trade" (Shaw, 1980, 158).

More particularly, Dodgshon (1998, 108) argues that "once burdened with cash rents, and forced into the market to meet these cash needs, the whole geography of opportunity and cost began a slow but progressive upheaval." Debt accumulation was a long-standing burden for clan chiefs, however, and new 'wants' – brought about by their regular excursions to the capital since *c.* 1609 and the employment of agents and lawyers in Glasgow and Edinburgh – only increased their indebtedness. Watt (2006, 29–30, 34–7 & 40–1) suggests that this was exacerbated by severe deflation in the 1650s and '60s, coupled with exposure to credit through drovers, merchants, and access to the Edinburgh debt market, which fuelled greater commercialisation. It was this acute debt problem which changed the face of clanship and also brought about the tacksmen's rise in status.

Tacksmen began to accumulate cash through their direct participation in the cattle trade which enabled them to lend money to their chiefs in return for a wadset of land. Often they were able to retain the wadset land on a permanent basis as chiefs

defaulted on the repayments of the original loan, concentrating their efforts instead on meeting the demands of larger creditors (*ibid*, 43–4; Macinnes, 1994, 3). This is a very important development for the study of laird's houses in this case-study area; it means that, on the whole, 'small landowners' only appeared in this region in the later 17th century. In Lowland Scotland and in the Scottish Borders, by contrast, the feuing of crown and kirklands around the Reformation provided impetus for the creation of small landowners over one hundred years earlier. Around the same time in Shetland there were already small resident 'odal' proprietors when lowland adventurers accompanied Lord Robert Stewart to the Northern Isles. However, though Hebridean land was in the possession of very few resident chiefs before the Restoration, the sons of these same chiefs were granted tacks, or liferents (redeemable on the death of the chief), of very large portions of the estate. Whereas the chiefs maintained long-standing ancestral seats, that is, castles not laird's houses, during much of the 17th century, the greater 'tacksmen' may well have built and lived in houses during that period which could be described as 'laird's houses'. The next section explores the period in which most of the earliest surviving examples of laird's houses can be found in the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles, the late 17th and early 18th centuries, whether the houses of tacksmen or the first houses that chiefs too began to build as 'laird's houses'.

7.2.4 Jacobitism and Improvement

Whilst Jacobitism, that is the support of the return of James VII and II to the English, Scottish, and Irish thrones from 1689, was a phenomenon found in all three kingdoms, it continued longest in the north-west highlands and islands. Reprisals after each of the Jacobite Risings of 1689, 1708, '15–16, '19 and '45 ranged from attacks on seats, to pillaging, to forfeiture. However, it should be remembered that amongst the greater chiefs, such as MacDonald of Sleat, MacLeod of MacLeod and the Earl of Seaforth, support for the Jacobite cause waned after the '19 (Lenman, 1995, 255; Macinnes, 1996, 210; Lynch, 1992, 318–19). Macinnes (1998, 169) argues that, whether Jacobite sympathisers or Whig supporters, they "shared the ideological commitment of the Anglo-Scottish landed classes to progress through

commercialism, colonialism, and co-partneries in order to exploit market opportunities at home and abroad." And so 'commercial landlordism', as described above, seamlessly developed into Improvement, a term first coined in the Lowlands in the 1720s and '30s. Therefore, Jacobitism and Improvement are treated together in this section to avoid the traditionalist view "that Highland society was monolithic and static prior to the Forty-Five" (Macinnes, 1994, 3).

Macinnes (1998, 170) points to Ormiclate Castle, South Uist, built in *c.* 1701–3 as "signposting the shift from the castle to the mansion-house, a shift that progressively characterised the social aspirations of the clan élite regardless of political allegiance." However, we should not take this to mean that before 1700 island chiefs continued to build 'castle-wise'. What they did was augment existing castle structures to make them more comfortable and fashionable (*see* Section 7.3.1). We should also remember that the means of *most* of the clan gentry around 1700 were closer to that of lowland laird's house builders rather than to those of the patrons of the most eminent gentlemen-architects such as Sir William Bruce. Nevertheless, during lulls between uprisings, island chiefs were certainly influenced by lowland architectural fashions in the building of their new houses. Together with the shared spirit of Improvement in both the highlands and the lowlands, the general pattern of development of laird's houses paid little respect to the highland line.

To put the Jacobite period in context, it was the pro-Catholic policies of James VII of Scotland and II of England that resulted in leading figures in England seeking to depose him by the end of 1688, thus heralding the Glorious Revolution that placed William and Mary on the throne, but followed soon afterwards by the first Jacobite Rising (Harris, 2002, 205–6). The most significant casualty of reprisals against the Jacobites in this case-study area were the MacDonalds of Sleat, whose lands were declared forfeit in 1690 and houses at Armadale were bombarded by two frigates. They took advantage of an amnesty in the following year, however, and regained their estates. Nevertheless, Sir Donald, the 12th chief, remained an ardent supporter of the Jacobite cause during the 2nd (1708) and 3rd (1715–16) Risings, and this led to a further forfeiture in 1716. It was only during the minority of the 15th chief that

several of the cadet branches banded together to buy back part of the estate at auction in 1723; the remainder was bought by the young chief himself, Sir Alexander, in 1726 (Macdonald, 1978, 422, 424 & 426; Munro, 1968, 22–4 & 27; Nicolson, 1994, 105, 138 & 140–1). Like their island contemporaries, they were thus able to maintain or regain their estates whether or not they were Jacobite sympathisers, and so the pattern of landholding in the region was not as unstable as might have been expected given the half-century of political upheaval.

Following the 3rd Rising one initiative was to replace the Independent Highland Companies with government troops, which were to be stationed in four purpose-built garrisons within the existing forts at Inverness and Fort William, and within strategically located castles co-opted for the purpose. New barracks were also built at Inversnaid in Stirlingshire (1718–20), in the Great Glen at Kiliwhimen, Fort Augustus (1718–21), at Ruthven (1719–20), and, closest to Skye, at Bernera in Glenelg (1720–3) (Stell, 1973, 20–1). The barrack blocks at Bernera have been illustrated in Chapter 4 (*see* Figure 4.44, p.163) and discussed in connection with their possible influence on a group of laird's houses in North-West Ross. This theme will be revisited in Section 7.5.2 below. Macinnes (1998, 171) links this penetration into the Highlands, which went hand-in-hand with road- and bridge-building to connect the outposts, as contributing to "the transformation of settlement patterns and the location of mansion-houses…, especially by the development of surveying as a civil profession from the 1740s."

The 1707 Act of Union had strengthened the market for highland beef, a welcome relief after a series of poor harvests of the 1690s, which stimulated the first of several periods of rent-racking. Demographic growth was spurred on by the widespread introduction of the potato from the 1730s and '40s which could be grown on more marginal land than the traditional staple, bere (*ibid*, 170; Dodghson, 1998, 109–11; Macinnes, 1988, 76). Practical experiments in Improvement were spearheaded in the 1720s and '30s on the Lowland estates of Monymusk and Ormiston, based on principles that would "produce a profit and a higher standard of living for all" (Mitchison, 1982, 329). Dodgshon (1998, 117–8) and Tyson (1999, 63) suggest that

Improvement policies in the North-West were geared towards landlords maintaining or increasing their control over production and marketing. For example, from the mid-18th century the introduction of the kelp industry required a large labour force during the summer months. Because of this, landlords encouraged the subdivision of tenants' holdings to stimulate population growth. On the basis of increased profits, rents were increased yet again and between 1755 and 1801 the population of the Western Isles rose by 57% against a mean for Scotland of 27% (*ibid*, 71–2). Of the 41 estates forfeited in the aftermath of The Forty-Five, thirteen were managed by the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates between 1752 and 1784. They too tried to encourage rapid economic growth but although each industry, like kelp, was short-lived their attempts were mirrored on neighbouring estates, particularly as the Entail Act of 1770 enabled landowners to defer up to two-thirds of the costs of estate improvement onto their unfortunate heirs (Macinnes, 1994, 7).

Stana Nenadic (2001; 2006) has discussed how Highland life changed during the 18th century, looking particularly at the experiences of Highland gentlewomen and that of returning soldiers and sailors, with specific reference to the Campbells of Barcaldine in Argyll. She has shown that by the end of the 18th century most gentlewomen were raised in the Lowlands, were widely-travelled in Britain and sometimes abroad, spoke little Gaelic, and their visits to the Highlands were often limited to summer holidays. At the same time, a military career was seen to be 'respectable', and a welcome and popular career for younger sons; indeed, between 1756 and 1815 more than 48,300 men were recruited from Scottish Gaeldom to serve in the British armed forces and up to one-third of officers were drawn from the highland gentry (*ibid*, 76; Macinnes, 1988, 83). However, the officers' education in military schools and service in foreign campaigns did not prepare them for productive farm management on their father's or elder brother's estate, or to be successors to the main holding. Instead, there was a significant rise in conspicuous consumption to address the aspirations of both the military men and their wives; none more expensive than building programmes (Nenadic, 2001, 202; 2006, 85 & 89). In response to the different experiences and aspirations of the gentry by, say,

1780 compared to *c.* 1700, existing accommodation at home was deemed inadequate and so seats were extended, or built anew, along grander 'country house' lines. This can be seen, for example, on Raasay where a new classical seven-bay front block was built for Lieutenant-Colonel James MacLeod and his bride-to-be in 1790.

The 18th century saw the aspirations of the highland laird increasingly fall into step with those of their lowland counterparts. The greater chiefs commissioned Type II laird's houses like Monkstadt in the 1730s and mansions such as Armadale in the 1790s, with lesser gentry being responsible for more modest laird's houses. Market crashes that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 often resulted in bankruptcy. At this time, several lairds or new landlords cleared tenants in order to increase rents by creating larger holdings (Lynch, 1992, 362–71; Devine, 1989, 109 & 117–18). Another wave of clearances followed during the second half of the 19th century due to the profitability of sheep farming (Hunter, 1972–3, 200–1). At the same time the 'laird's house' form, crystallised in the mid-18th century, influenced the design of farmhouses and manses. To begin with, however, we will return to the 17th century to assess whether parallels for the Type I laird's house can be found in the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles.

7.3 The evidence for early 17th-century laird's houses

Within this case-study area, very few castles survive (RCAHMS, 1928, xlv) and, given the nature of landholding in the region from the mid-16th century until the 1680s – *i.e.* a small number of proprietors each holding a large territory – castles were probably always few in number and widely dispersed. The trend in the region seems to have been for chiefs to maintain their existing ancestral seats throughout the 17th century. This does not necessarily differ from the practices of Lowland nobility, many of whom transformed their castles into large Renaissance mansions or country houses. In the Lowlands and Northern Isles, however, there was a greater diversity of proprietor at a much earlier date, and it tended to be small- to medium-sized lairds or substantial tenants who built 'laird's houses' as their main residence with greater lairds building them as secondary dwellings. In the Hebrides many chiefs augmented their castles during the 17th century and physical evidence survives at four sites in

this case-study area. Meanwhile, their close kin were made greater tacksmen and probably built reasonably substantial houses. The less tangible evidence for this will also be discussed in this section. First, we will look specifically at the 17th-century residential ranges at Caisteal Camus and Dunvegan, a possible hall building at Duntulm, and houses at Kisimul Castle, and use these examples to draw wider conclusions on the nature of chiefly residences of the period.

7.3.1 Hebridean castles

7.3.1.1 An early 17th-century laird's house? Caisteal Camus

The surviving castles on Skye, Caisteal Camus, Dunvegan and Duntulm, all preserve evidence of 17th-century work. The most significant of these in terms of searching for early parallels for laird's houses in the isles may be Caisteal Camus. It is located on the east side of the Sleat peninsula and is situated on a small promontory on Knock Bay. It was originally a MacLeod stronghold, first recorded around 1402. Hugh MacDonald, the progenitor of the MacDonalds of Sleat, took up residence at Dun Sgathaich (on the west side of the peninsula) in 1469 and probably took possession of Caisteal Camus. Despite forfeiture due to non-payment of teinds in 1581,[97] James MacDonald, the captain of the MacDonalds of Sleat during the minority of Donald Gorm Mor, was re-granted the lands in 1596. This new charter, reaffirmed to the MacDonalds in 1614 and 1618, included the explicit proviso that James VI/I and his successors could reside at Caisteal Camus at will. However, this castle was never the main residence of the MacDonald chief and neither was it ever a lodging of the king. Miket and Roberts (1990, 27) suggest that the reservation specified in the charters might "mark an attempt by the King to secure a royal residence on the Island". What seems more likely is that the forfeiture, grant and confirmations were part of the Stuart government's policies for keeping this clan 'in check', not least because they had gone to the aid of their Ulster cousins in 1594. James and his advisors were not averse to using the long-standing rivalry between

[97] Extract of letter to John, Bishop of the Isles, 26 July 1581 with reference to "James McDonald Gromiche of Castell Camus". Microfilm of some of the Papers of the family of Macdonald of Sleat, Skye, 1596–20C. (GD221), RH4 90, NAS.

the MacDonalds and the MacLeods to their advantage. In fact, the MacDonald lands were granted to Sir Rory Mór MacLeod in 1613 and it took nearly two years for Donald Gorm Og to regain them. Some security of possession thereafter may have encouraged Donald, who was knighted in 1617 and granted a baronetcy of Nova Scotia in 1625, to extend Caisteal Camus, sometime before it last appeared on record in 1632 (Miket & Roberts, 1990, 25, 27 & 29–31; MacIntyre, 1938, 23–4; Macdonald, 1978, 406 & 408–11).

Figure 7.2: 'Knock Castle and the Sound of Sleat', watercolour, Horatio McCulloch, 1854. McManus Art Galleries & Museum.

Sir Donald's addition consisted of a rectangular building of 17 by 7.5 m, now much reduced but which survives to 5.75 m above ground level on its south-west side; this façade is shown in McCulloch's rendering of 1854 in Figure 7.2. It was two stories high, its roof-space probably contained a garret, and the slit windows on the ground floor indicate a service basement which seems to have been divided into two unequal rooms. There were three large south-west-facing (seaward) windows on the first floor and two in the north-west gable. The first floor was also divided into two unequal rooms. The larger one to the east probably functioned as the hall and the west room as the laird's chamber. Part of a hearth and the flue of a lateral fireplace survive between the two seaward windows of the hall: this device has been

highlighted at a number of examples in Chapter 4 such as at Bay House, Fife, built in 1583 (Figure 4.21, p.129). David L. Robert's conjectural reconstruction of the castle in the 1630s (Miket & Roberts, 1990, 31) suggests that the garret storey was lit by dormers. It is possible that the new block superseded the adjacent tower-house at Caisteal Camus (to the right in Figure 7.2) as the main residence. An example of the demotion of the tower-house in favour of an adjacent new house at a similar date can be found at Smailholm Tower in the Borders. In the case of Hills Tower, Kirkcudbright, principal rooms were retained in the tower-house when the adjoining house was built in 1721.

A typical laird's house built between 1617 and 1632 would have been arranged around a tight courtyard, with an open hall located on the ground floor, or on the first floor over offices which may have included the kitchen. Caisteal Camus was approached through a courtyard which was screened by a wall on the north-east side. The overall dimensions of the new house are similar to the contemporary south block of Jarlshof in Shetland (6.9 by 18.1 m). As the walls between the house and tower-house no longer survive it is not now possible to ascertain whether the two ranges were connected internally, as at Hills Tower. Around 1618 the MacDonalds' primary seat was transferred from Dun Sgathaich in Sleat, at the southern tip of Skye, to Duntulm at the northern extremity of their Trotternish lands. Thus Caisteal Camus was regarded as a secondary residence, probably mainly occupied by a kinsman, and the new house was adequate for such reduced needs. The castle as a whole was ruinous by the 1680s. The present writer is confident that the remains of the south block at Caisteal Camus may be considered as an example of a Type I laird's house. The significance of this identification in a Hebridean context will be discussed more fully in the next section.

7.3.1.2 A late 'hall' building at Duntulm?

Turning now to Duntulm, Donald Monro (320), writing in 1549, refers to the "Castell of Duntvillmen perteining to Donald Gormesoun". It became ruinous by the last quarter of the 16th century, when the MacDonalds' primary seat was Dun Sgathaich. In the year he was knighted, 1617, Sir Donald Gorm Og was obliged by

the Privy Council to "mak his residence and duelling at Duntillum, and, yf he has not a sufficient comelie house ansuerable to his estate alreddy thair that he sall with all convenient diligence prepair materiallis and caus build ane civile and comelie house, and yf his house be decayit, that he sall repair and mend the same". Within the curtain wall of the castle, bounded by cliffs on three sides, was a large four-storey tower-house at the south corner which, around the early 16th century, was extended into an L-plan. Another range on the north-east side of the tower may have been added in the later 16th century ("The MacDonalds of Sleat", 1976, 160; RCAHMS, 1928, 168; Pennant, 1772, pl. 38, 306; Miket & Roberts, 1990, 55–6). Miket and Roberts (*ibid*, 64) describe the rectangular building to the north-west of the tower as having an indeterminate function, "but it may have been the banqueting hall recalled by an early observer." RCAHMS (1928, 68) on the other hand simply refer to it as a "later house". It is illustrated on the left side of MacGibbon and Ross's view below.

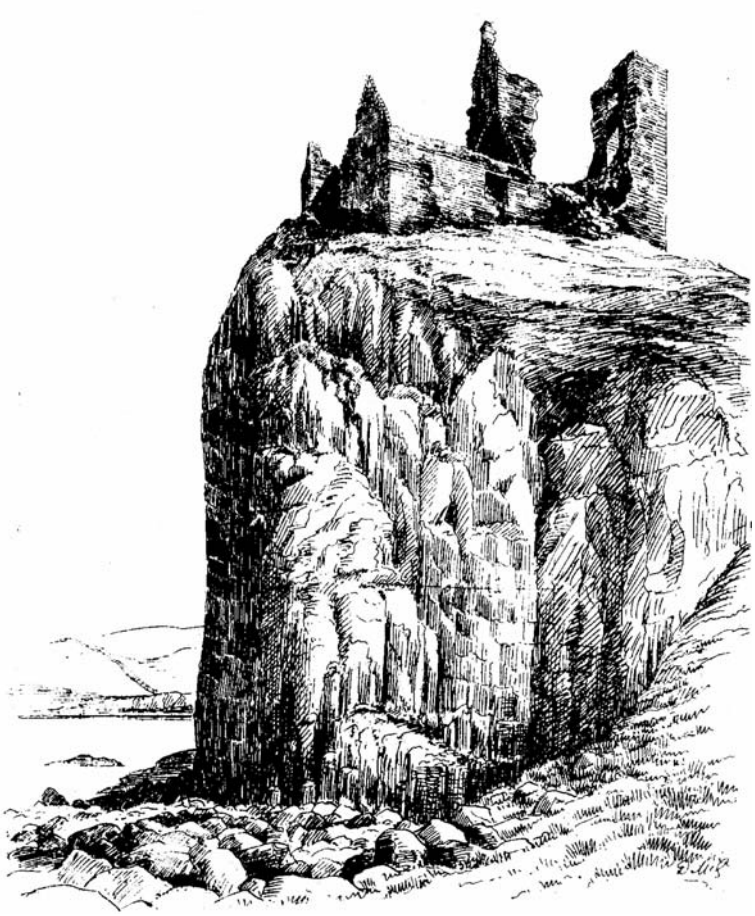

Figure 7.3: Duntulm Castle from west. MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, IV, fig. 884, p.308.

The south-west wall of this building probably utilised remnants of the original curtain wall on this side and there was an entrance here and from the courtyard. It has internal measurements of 10 by 4.5 m. Crowstepped gables are shown in Figure 7.3, and Roberts interprets it as having reached one-and-a-half storeys in his conjectural reconstruction at *c.* 1635 (Miket & Roberts, 1990, 64). MacGibbon and Ross's views (1892, VI, figs. 884 & 886, p.308 & p.310) also shows corbelling at the west corner, which Roberts represents as an angle turret. The inaccuracies in the MacGibbon and Ross plan (*ibid*, fig. 885, p.309) might be reflected in the views, but there is now insufficient evidence to determine its original form and function. There is a long tradition of feasting halls, particularly associated with the Lordship of the Isles, such as that on Eilean Mor, Loch Finlaggan, Islay, and at Tioram Castle in Moidart. As discussed in Section 4.3.1.1, the hall–tower juxtaposition has a long pedigree; the same can be found at Tioram, probably dating to the mid-14th century (Stell, 2006,

51). The hall on Eilean Mor is a detached structure and, as mentioned in Chapter 4 (note 21, p.109), Building C to its immediate south-east might well incorporate the remains of a small medieval tower.

There is also a late structure at Dun Sgathaich, abandoned in 1618, indicated by the turf-covered footings of a rectangular building which measured 11 by 6 m on plan. It is unusual to find feasting halls built in the 17th century, a function suggested by Miket and Roberts (1990, 54), rather it may have been a house more akin to the south block of Caisteal Camus. Donald Gorm Og may have extended Duntulm around the same time as his house (or house for his steward) at Caisteal Camus once he felt more secure of his possessions, had been elevated in status, and once cattle droving was generating hard currency and credit for him. And so, perhaps the later range at Duntulm was built as a house, as suggested by the RCAHMS (1928, 68), and if it only reached one-an-a-half stories, then it may have been similar to Type I laird's houses with ground-floor open halls? Duntulm only periodically occupied until 1720, the chiefs moving back and forth between it and their seat in Sleat (at Armadale from the mid-17th century). Duntulm was eventually completely abandoned after 1727 and quarried for the family's new residence at Monkstadt from 1732 (*see* Section 7.5.2).

7.3.1.3 Dunvegan: post-Restoration architecture

The other pawn in James VI/I's sights was, of course, MacLeod of Dunvegan, whose lands had been declared forfeit in 1598, 1601 and 1605. In 1598 Waternish, Skye, was first granted to the Fife Adventurers, then to Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail, who had acquired the lands of the MacLeods of Lewis. In 1607 the 15th chief of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Rory Mór, harried the Fife settlers and the soldiers in Lewis and commandeered Stornoway Castle. This second attempt at colonisation by the Adventurers was duly aborted. Within two years, the change in Rory Mór's fortunes was dramatic. After signing the band and statutes of Iona in 1609, he received a royal pardon in 1610, followed by a royal charter of returning his forfeited estates in 1611. He was knighted by James VI/I in London in 1613. His last dispute over the title to former MacLeod lands, which had been in MacDonald hands since the mid-15th

century, was settled by a court of arbitration in 1616 (Nicolson, 1994, 69–74; Roberts, 1999, 144–5). Financially, he recognised his significant debts, but he was not willing to cut back on the embellishment of his seats. In 1622 he wrote to the king from Glasgow (where two of his sons were at university) to ask that he be given leave of absence from the annual appearances before the Privy Council for seven years so that "within the quilk tyme I sall be godis grace decoir my housses and plant yairdis and archardis and diffray my debtis and pay my creditouris" (31 Aug 1622, NLS, MS 2133, fo. 114 cited in Watt, 2006, 31–2).

Figure 7.4: Dunvegan Castle from the east, Francis Grose, 1790. Grose, 1789–91, II (1791), plate facing p.296.

The MacLeods' principal seat had been at Dunvegan since the 13th century. Around 1600 Dunvegan consisted of two large towers, the 14th-century tower to the north and the *c*. 1500 Fairy Tower to the south, which were connected by a central block along the east side of the walled enclosure. There may have been a chapel on the west side of the Fairy Tower. The entrance to the castle was from the sea gate on the west side into an inner courtyard. Sir Rory Mór completed the rebuilding of the

central wing as a three-storey residential block next to the Fairy Tower in 1623 and probably abandoned the north tower at this date. Grose's view of 1790 (Figure 7.4) shows the four-storey Fairy Tower on the left and the roofless north tower on the right, with the steeply-pitched roof of the 1623 wing projecting above the curtain wall adorned by a balcony added by Rory Mór's grandson, Iain Breac, in 1664. It is possible that the unusual stepped profile to the wallhead chimney might be part of Iain Breac's scheme.[98] The steps mark a new entrance which superseded the sea gate in 1748.

There were three vaulted cellars on the ground floor, two floors above and a garret in the roof space. It seems likely, given the small one-room-per-floor arrangement of the Fairy Tower, that there were doorways slapped between the range and tower. The original arrangement of the entrance-front facing the courtyard and the layout of the upper floors are more difficult to discern, on account of 19th-century alterations. There was probably an external stair or stair-tower up to the first floor, which is likely to have contained a hall and laird's chamber, perhaps with an anteroom in the Fairy Tower. The curtain wall on the west side was lowered to its present level in 1790 and so, unlike the south-west façade at Caisteal Camus, the rooms of the 1623 addition were not provided with sea views, though this would still have been possible from the upper rooms of the Fairy Tower.[99]

The balcony and turret on top of the west curtain wall, which were added by Donald Ross in 1664 for Iain Breac, have been compared to the later examples by John Mylne Jun. at Panmure, Angus (1666) and Sir William Bruce's Balcaskie, Fife (*c.* 1668–74) (Gifford, 1992b, 530). The scale of debt faced by the chief in the Restoration period was marked: he had to apply for protection from his creditors in 1669 for example (Watt, 2006, 42). Nevertheless, in 1684–90 Iain Breac

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[98] A simpler version of this stack is shown in a view of 1772 by Moses Griffiths (Pennant, 1772, pl. 37, 296). A 17th- rather than 18th-century date for the robust stack seems more likely.

[99] William Daniell's view of Dunvegan from the south-west (*c.* 1814, www.scran.ac.uk) shows two west-facing (courtyard) windows just after the second floor was reworked in 1811–14, but before the third floor was added (and given a crenellated parapet on its east side) and the west elevation refaced in 1840–50 (Gifford, 1992, 529; Simpson, 1960, 8).

commissioned John Ross and John Nicolson to extend Dunvegan by building a two-storey wing on the site of the chapel (RCAHMS, 1928, 152–3 & figs. 217–18; Gifford, 1992b, 528–31).

7.3.1.4 Multiple residences: Kisimul

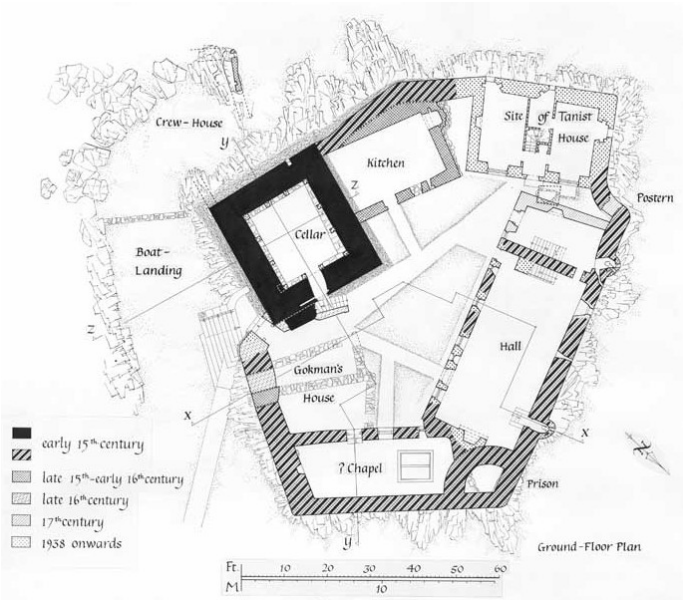
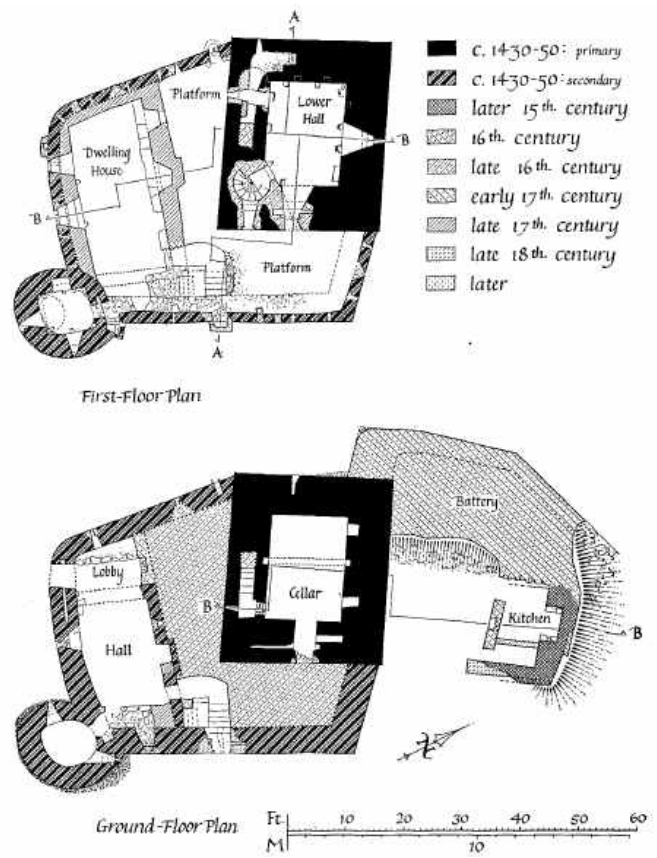


Figure 7.5: Kisimul Castle, Barra. Left: ground-floor plan, 1967, after reconstruction. Right: hall range from the south-east, 1920, before reconstruction. © RCAHMS.

A final example of houses built within an existing castle in the case-study area can be found at the island enclosure castle of Kisimul, the seat of the MacNeills of Barra. Sometime during the 17th century, the 15th-century hall range was extended and an upper floor was added (Figure 7.5). Much of the south-east (courtyard) elevation of this range dates to a reconstruction of 1958–60. RCAHMS (1928, 128) investigators visited Kisimul in 1924 and described the former hall-building as "a two-storeyed house… probably divided by a transverse partition" with a one-bay full-height extension against the south-west gable. Gifford (1992b, 606) suggests that this modification took place "because the [four-storey] C 15 tower house was by then regarded as too uncomfortable for civilized life". The ground floor of the hall range may have continued to function as a hall or it may have been relocated to the first floor. Two other smaller houses dating from the 16th or 17th century were also built within the enclosure. The tanist's (heir's) house is thought to have been built against the south-west curtain wall (the present house on this site dates wholly to the mid-

20th century) and a gockman's (watchman's) house against the north-east wall. The scant remains of a crew-house (Figure 7.5) survives outside the enclosure. After Kisimul was abandoned in the mid-18th century, it was razed in 1795 and used as a quarry for materials in the later 19th century (*ibid*, 605–9; RCAHMS, 1928, 127–8 & Fig.185).



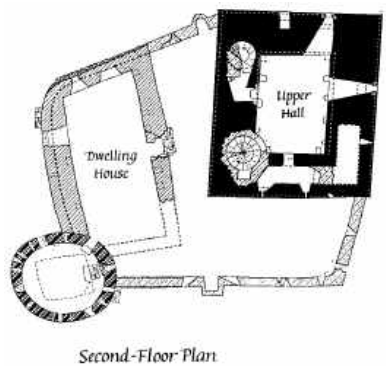


Figure 7.6: Breachacha Castle, Coll. Ground-, first- and second-floor plans. Turner & Dunbar, 1969–70, figs 1–2, 156–7. © RCAHMS and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Stell (2006, 34, 51 & 53) suggests that examples which preserve evidence of tanist's (heir's) houses or accommodation for second households, like Kisimul and Tioram, are representative of the distinctive nature of late medieval kinship in this region. Another parallel for the reworking of the hall at Kisimul can be found at Breachacha or Breacachadh Castle, on Coll; it too has since been restored (Figure 7.6). The two-and-a-half storey house was built for the Macleans of Coll sometime between 1679 and 1689 utilising the ground floor of the former single-storey hall range. The remodelling is credited to Alexander Snodgrass or Stewart, mason in Coll (Maclean-Bristol, 1972, 3). It measured *c.* 8.5 by 3.8–4.1 m internally. The ground floor could

be accessed from doors at either the south-west or north-east corners. The projection from the mid-point of the north wall was thought to be a fireplace recess, however, "excavation showed that occupation-layers ran right into it" (RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), 183). The hearth of the hall may have been centrally placed, therefore, and the ground floor made over to service accommodation when converted into a house. The 'stair-lobby' or 'well-staircase' against the east curtain wall provided access to a door in the east gable of the house and to the east parapet-walk. Another external door on the first floor opened out onto a timber 'bridge' over the stair-lobby to provide access to the courtyard-platforms. The survey and excavation report suggests that the first floor provided a single apartment heated by a lateral stack and that the second floor "was probably entered by means of a doorway and associated forestair at the E end of the N wall…. A staircase or ladder in the SE corner apparently led upwards to the parapet-walk of the adjacent round tower" (Turner & Dunbar, 1969–70, 167–8). It continued in occupation until Breachacha (New) Castle was built in 1750, 140 m to the north-west, but some of the buildings continued to in domestic occupation, including the former kitchen on the north side of the tower-house, into the 18th and 19th centuries (*ibid*, 159; RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), 184 & 228).

Caisteal Camus, Duntulm, Dunvegan, and Kisimul are all examples of enclosure castles in the case-study area which continued to be occupied and modified during the 17th century. Duntulm and Dunvegan were the primary seats of the chiefs of two major clans and as such they reflect a higher level of architectural sophistication, not least in the Restoration era, with Iain Breac's mason anticipating details to be found in the designs of eminent architects such as Bruce and Mylne. Kisimul, though the seat of a smaller clan chief, is a sizeable masonry edifice that took shape over 300 years of continuous occupation. Looking at comparable examples elsewhere, it is reasonable to suggest that the 17th-century modifications there represent the displacement of the tower-house as the main accommodation. Around 1623 Rory Mór also abandoned the 14th-century tower at Dunvegan which was only re-roofed in 1790. The 17th-century building programmes at Caisteal Camus, Kisimul, and Dunvegan were concerned with providing new, modern, two- to three-storey houses.

Meanwhile, for lesser kin, who did not live within a castle or tower-house complex, was the 'Type I' laird's house the preferred form? This question is explored below.

7.3.2 Tackman's houses of the early 17th century

Apart from the south-west range of Caisteal Camus and the remodelled hall range at Kisimul in particular, the other possible example of an early 17th-century laird's house in the case-study area is a roofed structure on the island of Berneray, now known locally as 'The Gunnery'. There are varying views as to whether The Gunnery was the birthplace of Sir Norman MacLeod in *c.* 1609, whether it was built for him as an adult, or whether the present remains represent an outbuilding associated with the 17th-century house. These options will be explored below in the light of the physical evidence. Sir Norman was the third son of the 15th chief of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Sir Rory Mór. Several of that chief's younger sons survived into adulthood and were the progenitors of cadet branches, such as those of Talisker and Hamera. The proposal offered here is that there must have been other early to mid-17th-century 'laird's houses', that were built on land possessed by the chief but leased by tack or liferent to principal clan members in the isles, about which we can only conjecture.

Figure 7.7: 'The Gunnery', Berneray, Sound of Harris, from the north-east. Photograph by H. Morrison, 2007.

In describing The Gunnery, the RCAHMS Inventory (1928, 37) states that, though the plaque which records that this was the birthplace of Norman MacLeod is fixed to the barn (the building to the left in Figure 7.7), the house was actually situated 20 yards (18.3 m) to the north.[100] Others have suggested that, rather than being born there, Norman built a house on Berneray which he was granted in liferent by his father, Sir Rory Mór, whose addition to Dunvegan Castle has been described above (Haswell-Smith, 1998, 213; Morrison, 1954, 135–6; MacKinnon & Morrison, 1964, II, 27). Traditionally, the building was known as a 'Teampull' (church) (RCAHMS, 1928, 37): more recently it has been described as either a 16th-century "fortified block of two storeys" (Berneray Development Group, www.isleofberneray.com/history), or an 18th-century barn (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 46108).

The Gunnery survives to 2.8 m at ridge height, and it presently has a gently-pitched corrugated iron roof. It has a rectangular plan of 8 by 5 m with its long axis aligned NW–SE. There is a single-storey outshot on its north-west gable, and the remains of another at one end of its north-east front. The ground floor is entered on the north-east side and the only other ground-floor openings are four ventilation slits and a crude late opening on the south-west elevation. There are three roughly square windows on the first floor on the north-east side. A single-storey thatched building sits at an angle to its immediate north. Alexander Morrison (1954, 135) states that Norman's house was demolished in the mid-19th century with the exception of a small building used as the Female Industrial School. If The Gunnery was used as a school, the ground floor could only have been suitable for storage and so perhaps the second floor was added at that time with its more generous windows. The association between the school and The Gunnery is not certain however as it is based on an 1865 account that the school was housed in the "oldest dwelling in the Long Island, at one time inhabited by persons of distinction". This has only later been interpreted as The Gunnery (Haswell-Smith, 1998, 213).

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[100] The Ordnance Survey investigator who visited in 1965 stated that the present occupant of Risgary Farm told him that it was the neighbouring byre (right in Figure 7.7) in which Norman was born (NMRS Canmore, NF98SW 3).

Norman MacLeod was educated at Glasgow University and may either have established a house on Berneray around 1630 or occupied and developed an existing MacLeod residence. He was an ardent Royalist and led 300 Harris men to the battle of Worcester in 1651; following the Parliamentarian victory he was imprisoned for 18 months. He went on to serve in various European embassies during the Commonwealth era and was knighted by Charles II after the Restoration. He lived until 1705 and was a generous patron of the arts, most notably supporting the bardess Mary MacLeod (Nicolson, 1994, 74, 95–6 & 124). It is possible that The Gunnery represents his house, having offices on the ground floor, principal accommodation on the first floor, and sleeping chambers in a – now lost – garret. However, the present author is not aware of any parallels in surviving 17th-century laird's houses elsewhere in Scotland for the four slit windows.[101] Plan dimensions of 8 by 5 m also seem very mean compared to, for example, the south-west range of Caisteal Camus which is 17 by 7.5 m. If the RCAHMS and Morrison's accounts are reliable, then The Gunnery may have served as no more than an outbuilding to Norman's house, which perhaps once stood nearby. Given his standing, it seems reasonable to suggest that his house would have reached two storeys.

Returning to Skye, it seems likely that Rory Mór's second son, Roderick, who received the lands of Talisker in tack in 1626, would not have been the first MacLeod occupant of these lands. Ruairidh MacLeod (1979a, 103–4) suggests Donald of Minginish gained possession after the MacAskills were dispossessed at the end of the 15th century. David Roberts (1979a, 157) argues that one gable of an "almost certainly single storey" 17th-century house survives as the north end of the east face of the present Talisker House. However, it is only possible to say that this portion predates the rest of the present house, as the latter was built against the former. There is no reason to suggest that Roderick – who was also a graduate of Glasgow University, was knighted before the Royalist defeat at Worcester; and was captain of the senior line of the family between 1649 and 1656 during the minority of

[101] David Roberts' reconstruction drawing of Caisteal Camus in *c.* 1630s (Miket & Roberts (1996, 31) shows three slit windows on the ground floor of the south-west range. Neither the upstanding remains or McCulloch's watercolour (Figure 7.2) necessarily support this interpretation, however.

the 17th chief (Nicolson, 1994, 95 & 98) – would not have had a more substantial house on this site or in the vicinity.

Unfortunately the evidence for early 17th-century laird's houses in the case-study area is extremely limited. We cannot be certain that the masonry of The Gunnery does in fact date to the early part of the 17th century or that it was part of the main house. Apart from Norman and Roderick, two of Rory Mór's other sons were also granted sizeable holdings and founded septs, and so in the 1630s and '40s there may well have been 'laird's houses' at Hamera and Greshornish on Skye. Presumably other great families would have managed their lands in a similar manner. It was not until the later 17th century that minor clansmen were able to acquire sufficient tacks and wadsets to build up reasonably sized landholdings from which to draw adequate revenues to sustain more substantial houses. In the next two sections, one surviving example of a laird's house is identified in Waternish, Skye, and two long-since demolished examples of tacksman's houses are discussed using evidence from estate maps.

7.4 The evidence for late 17th-century laird's houses

7.4.1 Unish House

Unish House, a gaunt ruin which lies at the tip of the Waternish peninsula in Skye, is an unusual survival both within the context of the laird's houses of the Hebrides and the laird's houses of Scotland as a whole. Firstly, it preserves rows of projecting stones near the top of the wallheads which would have been used to bind ropes to secure thatch, and secondly, the entrance is contained within the base of an extruded chimneystack. The present writer is not aware of the survival of the former device at any other laird's house and, whilst there are a few with extruded chimneystacks, none has an entrance cut into its base. A third point of interest is that Unish also preserves evidence of conversion into a three-bay house, when the south face was remodelled, and this will be discussed in Section 7.5.3. With its symmetrical north façade Unish represents a late Type I laird's house which anticipates some of the key features of the Type II. To date, two theories have been put forward for its dating.

David Roberts (1981b, 306) and Ruairidh MacLeod (1981b, 308 & 310) suggest that the house was built by a Fife Adventurer sometime between 1598 and 1609. Alternatively, the RCAHMS (1993, 5 & 11), who surveyed Waternish in 1990, has suggested that Donald Roy MacLeod may have built the house in *c.* 1708. A third option – developed by comparing laird's houses with principal accommodation on the first floor, lateral stacks, and regular façades – is that the house could have been built in the last decades of the 17th century.

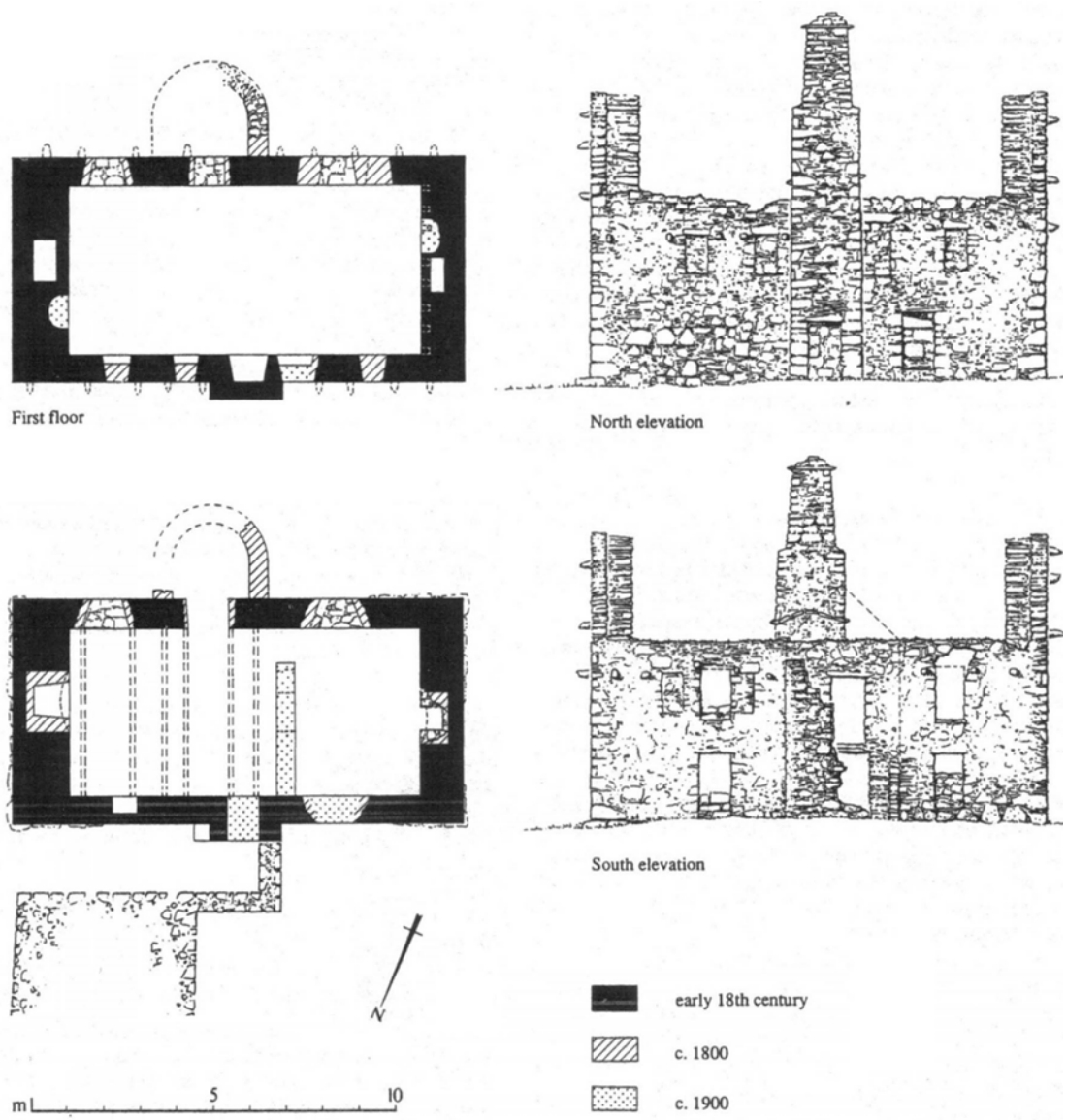

Figure 7.8: Unish House, north and south elevations, and ground- and first-floor plans, 1990. RCAHMS, 1993, fig. 4, p.11. © RCAHMS.

Unish House, illustrated above, is two-and-a-half-storeys in height and has a rectangular plan which measures 12.4 by 6.1 m giving a length:width ratio of 2.0:1. As first built, the NNW façade was composed of five bays and had sweeping views across to Harris and North Uist. The central bay was in the form of an extruded chimneystack with an entrance at its foot; the upper part of the stack collapsed in the mid-1990s. On the first floor there were four evenly-spaced windows facing north and at least two facing south. Corbels at the upper reaches of its exterior faces and the thackstanes which survive at the chimneyheads show that Unish was once thatched.[102] A ground- and/or first-floor entrance and forestair could have existed on the south side before the staircase was built. It seems likely that the emphasis given to the north façade would suggest that the principal entrance was on this side.

The east gable is thicker than the west and contains a large fireplace on the ground floor, which was contracted at a later date, and which probably served the kitchen; the latter also had an aumbry in the north wall. The staggered spacing of the joist pockets at this end suggests that the locations of the two openings at the east end of the south side are original. They could have been one window and one door as now, with the door permitting separate access to the kitchen. The west room had a fireplace, which was also altered later, and probably had only one south-facing window. The presence of a fireplace suggests that it functioned as a living room, but it is possible that the largest of the first-floor rooms also had a public function. A timber stair may have risen from the entrance in the base of the chimneystack in a centrally-placed straight flight, or against the inside of the north wall, or it may have been sited across the western ground-floor room. The first floor of Unish has three fireplaces, which implies that there would have been three main rooms. The central room was heated by a lateral fireplace contained within the extruded stack.[103] The

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[102] Similar corbels have been noted at smaller houses, for example in both gables of the 19th-century Sunnybrae Cottage, Pitlochry, Perthshire.

[103] Roberts (1981b, 303) relates this feature to stone-built houses of Franco-Italian cities of the 12th–13th centuries known as 'Jew's houses' occupied by bankers and merchants of the Renaissance. The most complete example in England is the 'Jew's House' in Lincoln, *c.* 1170–80 (Wood, 1994, 3–4). The present author doubts that a building type so far removed in time and space could be seen as a relevant influence (*see* p.7).

likely position of the main partitions would suggest that this was a roughly square room with a span of 4.7 m. Each of the end rooms would only have been about half that width. The roof space contained a garret; the floor was supported on a scarcement ledge to the east and joists to the west, and it was lit by a single window in each gable.

Originally, Waternish was part of the estate of the MacLeods of Lewis before their lands were forfeited in 1598. James VI then entered into a contract with twelve Fife gentlemen to colonise Lewis and they managed to establish a small town at Stornoway around 1600. This, and their subsequent attempts at settlement, did not last long and Mackenzie of Kintail (whose royal grant of the lands in 1607 was cancelled after only 11 months) bought the rights to the forfeited lands from the Adventurers in 1609. Lord Kintail then exchanged Waternish for a portion of Trotternish with Sir Roy Mór the following year (Goodare, 1998, 33; Nicolson, 1994, 72). Rory Mór granted Greshornish, at the south-east end of Waternish, to one of his younger sons, Donald. The first reference to the lands of Unish dates to 1664, by which time Donald had granted it to his son, Roderick MacLeod († *c.* 1709). Roderick moved to Ullinish after 1692 (Mitford, 1943, 279). In 1708 Unish was let in liferent to Donald Roy MacLeod, the fifth son of John MacLeod of Contullich of the Berneray MacLeods. Donald Roy may have been granted the lands as part of his wife's dowry, for in 1708 he married Anne, the only child of the 19th chief Roderick (1693–9). The couple may have first occupied a house at Trumpan, just south of Unish (MacLeod, 1981b, 308).

Figure 7.9: Auchanachie, from the east. Late 16th-century tower-house (right) and *c.* mid-17th-century wing (left). © The Rouke Collection, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Unaware of the 1664 reference, Roberts and MacLeod have compared the surviving ruin to Bay House, built in Fife in 1583, with which it shares certain similarities. As James VI granted Waternish to two different syndicates of the Fife Adventurers, first in 1598 and then in 1607, they suggest that Unish was built by one of their number around that time. However, there is no evidence to suggest that a Fife Adventurer ever took up residence on Skye (Goodare, 1998, 35, note 12) and parallels for Unish can be found in laird's houses of a much later date than Bay House. For example, the general principle of first-floor living accommodation persisted into the second half of the 17th century, and even later in some regions. As the ground-floor room at the west end of Unish has a fireplace, this may also have been a living room, which was probably also the arrangement at Williamstoun, Perthshire remodelled in *c.* 1657. It is possible that access to the first floor was by first crossing the west room to reach the foot of a stair against the south wall or via an earlier stair outshot in the manner of Blairhall, Fife, built in the 1690s. The remodelled north range of Smailholm Tower, Roxburghshire, of *c.* 1645 has a similar tripartite division of space to the first floor of Unish House. One of its end rooms is also very narrow, about 2.8 m wide (*see* Figure 5.31, p.246). Though there is a corbelled-out lateral stack at Bay House, a closer parallel might be the full-height chimneystack at Auchanachie, Aberdeenshire,

which probably dates to the mid-17th century (Figure 7.9). Wallhead lateral stacks can also be found at Williamstoun, Caisteal Camus (*c.* 1620s, Figure 7.2), and at two ranges of Dunvegan Castle (1623 or 1664, Figure 7.4, and 1684–90).

The RCAHMS (1993, 5 & 8) seems to be similarly unaware of the 1664 reference and, as Unish is not mentioned on a 1683 rental, suggests that its building might be linked to Donald Roy's lease of 1708. However, based on its form, it is acknowledged that the house may be late 17th or early 18th century in date (visit notes of 01-11-90, P. Dixon, NMRS Canmore, NG26NW 1.09). It is likely that Unish would have been regarded as a substantial house of some architectural pretension, bearing in mind that even in 1773 many Skye 'gentlemen' still lived in single-storey houses of the type depicted on Stobie's estate maps of 1763–4 (*see* Figure 7.12, p.365). Unish also has a symmetrical façade and an unusual chimneystack-entrance. The evidence ties in with a post-Restoration date of building given the symmetry of the south façade. We have looked briefly at the embellishment by the 18th chief, Iain Breac (1664–93), of Dunvegan Castle in 1664 and 1684–90 in Section 7.3.1.3, and in particular how the balcony arrangement appears to have anticipated some mainland architecture. On this basis, the Ross family of masons may well have developed their own style which could in turn have influenced the masons responsible for the unusual design of Unish.

Unish is an exceptional laird's house both in terms of its survival and the sophistication of its design, and, if indeed built before *c.* 1690, in the way that it anticipates some of the key characteristics of the early Type II laird's houses. Though relatively small when compared to the south range of Caisteal Camus, or to later chiefly mansions such as Ormiclate (Section 7.5.1) and Monkstadt (Section 7.5.2), Unish is well-proportioned and its south façade was carefully composed. Like these other examples, it would have been supported by ancillary structures.

Conjectural evidence for the form of two late 17th-century tacksman's houses is discussed in the next section and for one of them, at Armadale, we also have a three-dimensional view of 1763 to draw on. This has an offset ground-floor entrance with

three windows above, suggesting a lower level of architectural pretension than Unish.

7.4.2 Tackman's houses of the late 17th century

The tacksman's houses at Monkstadt and Armadale were first referred to in 1671 and 1690 respectively and they were subsequently occupied by the chief of the MacDonalds of Sleat. Unfortunately, these two houses did not survive beyond *c.* 1800, though we have some evidence of their form from documentary sources. In particular, Matthew Stobie shows Armadale as a two-storey house on his 1763 estate map. Stobie's maps also include depictions of one-storey houses, one of which had been built as a tacksman's house by the early 18th century. As has been discussed in Section 7.2.3, chronic deflation in the post-Restoration era led to the increased insolvency of highland chiefs. In response, wadsetting relatively small parcels of land to their kinsmen was seen as a safe means of realising value quickly. In many instances, however, the chief defaulted on his repayment terms and so the land was never redeemed. Wadsetters frequently also held some land in 'tack' and so this class of men, often generically referred to as 'tacksmen' but of lesser social status than the higher gentry who held land in tack, were beginning to prosper. As they became increasingly involved in the burgeoning cattle market they were able to extend credit to their superiors (Devine, 1989, 113 & 116–19; Shaw, 1980, 46).

7.4.2.1 The tacksman's house at Monkstadt

The first reference to "Moggstot" is in relation to the 10th MacDonald chief, Sir James Mór (1643–78), who transacted business there in 1671. James's main seat at this time was still Duntulm Castle, but, as noted above, estate deeds were as frequently signed at Armadale. The inferred house at Monkstadt, which is only about 8 km from Duntulm, was probably occupied by close kin, perhaps by one of his sons from his first marriage.[104] In 1678 it became part of the dowerlands of his second wife, Mary: but by 1703 Monkstadt, Roshimir and Cairn in Trotternish had been

[104] MacDonald (1978, 420) states that the families of Glenmore and Monkstadt descended from Hugh of Glenmore, Sir James's second son.

granted in liferent to their son, John of Balconie. These lands later reverted to the chief who then wadset them to John's son, Donald, in 1724. Within ten years the 15th chief, Sir Alexander (1720–46), had paid the redemption fee. By the time Sir Alexander returned from university, Duntulm Castle was in a poor state of repair and so we find him corresponding with his agent in Edinburgh from Monkstadt in 1728 (Macintyre, 1938, 41–3 & 58). There is no doubt that Monkstadt was regarded as one of the most valuable parts of the Dunvegan and Harris estate, demonstrated by it periodically forming part of dowerlands, by Sir Alexander's repossession of it, and from what can be understood from later valuations (Blackadder report, 1799–1800, NAS, GD 362/2, 11v–12v). Whether there was a one- or two-storey house at Monkstadt in 1671 is difficult to determine; but, if indeed occupied by close kin, as it was for probably more than three decades by John of Balconie, then it could well have been a 'good house' of two storeys. A similar argument has been made for the probable scale of the houses of Rory Mór's sons.

Figure 7.10: Mugstot, detail, 'Plan of the Parish of Kilmuir And Uigg in Trotternish lying in the Isle of Sky and County of Inverness. The Property of Sir James Macdonald Baronet. Surveyed by Matthew Stobie 1764.' © Clan Donald Lands Trust.

Sir Alexander set about building a new house at Monkstadt in 1732, but it was not completed until 1741. In the meantime, the existing house was occupied by him, his aunt and his second wife, Lady Margaret. Lady Margaret was probably referring to

the old house in 1740 when she wrote: "The wather Begins to grow bad & I'm sorry to find our Little Unsifficient Hutt in nothing the Better of what has been done to it in the Summer – the Rain comes in at all Corners."[105] Also, mason's accounts of 1749 include a bill of £1.16.8 sterling for "Harling the Old House" as distinct from "Harling the Beg house of Mugstote".[106] Comparing the quantities of lime harl used, the exposed wall surfaces of the old house appear to have been about one-third less than the big house. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine whether the old house still survived in 1764, when the MacDonald lands in Trotternish were surveyed by Stobie. It is possible that the old house is indicated as a rectangular, detached building, set at right-angles to the 1732–41 house in Matthew Stobie's plan of 1764 (Figure 7.10): alternatively, this could have been a detached kitchen block. The three-bay structure on the right side of the five-bay 'big house' in the elevational view might well be the "Little New house" referred to in 1752,[107] rather than the old house. Unfortunately, there are no above-ground remains in front of the present house which would help in its identification.

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[105] Extract from letter from Lady Margaret Montgomerie to her agent in Edinburgh, 13 November 1740, NLS, cited in MacIntyre, 1938, 42.

[106] "Acco.t With Wiliam Munro—Meason at Kinsborow Nov.r 13.d 1749", The Lord Macdonald Papers, GD221/4520/7, The Clan Donald Centre.

[107] "Charge William Munro Mason Ag.t Sir James MacDonald 12 Dec 1752", The Lord Macdonald Papers, GD221/4522/3, The Clan Donald Centre.

7.4.2.2 The House of Armadale

Figure 7.11: Armadale, detail of 'Plan of that part of Slate… Skye and County… the property of Sir James Macdonald… 1763', Matthew Stobie. © Clan Donald Lands Trust.

The illustration of the 'House of Armadale' on Stobie's map of Sleat is, however, clearer (Figure 7.11). In Stobie's illustration of Monkstadt he applied two conventions: 1) the relative positions and scale of buildings are indicated by showing one plain face and the roof; and 2) the main house is also depicted using a large-scale elevational view. The latter is not placed where the house stood, as it is actually aligned north–south rather than east–west as shown. If these same conventions were applied to the Sleat map then the enlarged, three-dimensional view of the House of Armadale need not represent its exact position: instead this may be indicated by the adjacent face-and-roof motif which is aligned NE–SW. The large-scale view is the most revealing. The house is shown as being of two storeys with a pitched roof. The ground floor of the main façade has one off-centre entrance and a window, and there are three windows on the upper floor. Two windows are indicated on one gable; the upper one may have lit a garret. Boswell (1786, 113–14) described Armadale as a "small house built by a tenant at this place", it was "a very good tenant's house,

having two storeys and garrets, but seemed very poor for a chief". James Bailey develops this description slightly in 1787: it "had nothing about it which bespeaks nobility, or even considerable opulence. It is of two storeys, and at the west end, of three" (Miers notes[108]). In this Bailey could have meant that there was habitable attic space, that is garrets, only at the west end of the house. In the third quarter of the 18th century, therefore, the House of Armadale had an asymmetrical entrance front, a ground-floor entrance, and its three upper windows suggest first-floor principal accommodation. On the basis of comparison a date in the second half of the 17th century seems most likely.

Stobie's map also shows plain 'Armadale' as a ruin and small enclosure, close to a quarter garden set within wooded policies (*see* Figure 7.11). The ruin looks to have a roughly square-plan, and survived to one storey, with a single door on one face and a window on the adjacent face. One interpretation of this drawing is that it represents the remains of a tower-house, possibly built in the second half of the 16th century. Two frigates were dispatched to Sleat in June 1690 after the first Jacobite Rising. Captain Pottinger on the HMS Dartmouth reported the incident to Lord Melville on 14 July 1690:

> passing his [Sir Donald's] house I complimented the same with 30 or 40 shot…. I returned taking the slack of the same tide…. I laid up her broad-side to the house playing smartly upon the same for two or three hours with our best guns…; the walls abiding battering; landed our men under protection of my guns, burned both houses…[109]

We know that the then chief, Sir Donald, died at Armadale on 5 February 1695 and so a house there must have been habitable by this date (Macdonald, 1978, 423). The Williamite troops, therefore, may not have succeeded in the total destruction of both

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[108] All references to 'Miers notes' are to a referenced draft by Mary Miers of *The Western Seaboard. An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (forthcoming) loaned to the present author in 2001.

[109] Pottinger's account is quoted in Grant ed., 1914, 72–3. Other accounts suggest that both landing parties were slain by Sir Donald's men at Caisteal Camus and Dun Flo near Tormore (Macdonald, 1978, 422).

houses and perhaps the tower-house was the least desirable to reconstruct.[110] "The house built by a tenant at this place" visited by Johnson and Boswell (1786, 113) in 1773 is probably the 'House of Armadale', repaired and occupied by Sir Donald in the last few years of his life.

On Sir Donald's death, Armadale became part of Dame Margaret's jointure and so was probably occupied by her as a dower house (MacIntyre, 1938, 57). However, their son, also Sir Donald, reportedly was "having a little house built at Armadale for visitors just now" (letter of 29 March 1703, NLS, Clan Donald Centre) in 1703. It is possible that this little house became the 'House of Armadale' shown on Stobie's map. It seems more likely, though, that it was a different building as Dame Margaret would still have been in residence and Johnson and Boswell describe the house they visited, then the Sleat residence of Lord Alexander and Lady Elizabeth, as having been built by a tenant rather than a MacDonald chief. Armadale Mor and Armadale Beg were set in tack to Donald MacDonald of Cudrock in 1738, the first of a succession of tacksmen who occupied the house for much of the 18th century (Nicolson, 1994, 159). It seems to have been demolished after a new house, which became one wing of Armadale Castle, was built in the 1790s as it is not shown on John Blackadder's map of 1811 ('Plan of the Parish of Slate, Armadale', The Clan Donald Centre).

[110] By the date of John Blackadder's survey, 1811 ('Plan of the Parish of Slate, Armadale', The Clan Donald Centre), the ruin seems to have been reduced to a 'mound'.

Figure 7.12: Knock, detail of 'Plan of that part of Slate… Skye and County… the property of Sir James Macdonald… 1763', Matthew Stobie. © Clan Donald Lands Trust.

In general, by around 1700 the men who acquired tacks and wadsets were not necessarily as close to the chief as were Norman of Bernera and John of Balconie. Two-storey houses in the isles were still exceptional and there is evidence of tacksman's houses that were only one-storey, albeit no doubt better built than the average tenant's house. Examples include Knock (Figure 7.12) and Scorrybreck which are depicted on Stobie's estate maps. Knock appears to have been built by the early years of the 18th century, as a number of estate documents were signed there around this time. It is shown as a hipped-roofed single-storey house of three bays with a quarter garden to the rear. Presumably the ruins of the nearby Caisteal Camus were used as a quarry (MacIntyre, 1938, 24). On mainland Argyll, the RCAHMS (1971–92, II (1975), 242–4 & 267; VII (1992), 338 & 340–1) identified three examples of tacksman's houses, built by cadet branches of the Barcaldine Campbells in the first half of the 18th century (Kilbride, Rarey and Achnaba), which seem to have been first built as single-storey houses and were extended upwards at a later date. However, as late as the third quarter of the 18th century, Samuel Johnson (1775, 83) noted that "there are huts, or dwellings, of only one story, inhabited by

gentlemen, which have walls cemented with mortar, glass windows, and boarded floors. Of these all have chimneys, and some chimneys have grates".

The pictorial evidence for Armadale shows that laird's houses which correspond to the Type I model described in this thesis were being built in the Hebrides in the 17th century. This is important as there are only three upstanding remains of laird's houses in the isles which date to this period – the south range of Caisteal Camus, the remodelled hall range at Kisimul and Unish House. It has been suggested above that the houses of upper clan members, such as at Berneray, Talisker and Monkstadt, probably reached two storeys. Both Monkstadt and Armadale periodically formed part of the dowerlands of the MacDonald chiefs' widows, which would suggest that the houses there were probably more prestigious. But towards the later 17th century, lesser clan members were beginning to gain a foothold in the land market for the first time. The land at Armadale was particularly valuable and so perhaps was leased to men of greater means, hence the more substantial house. The kitchen block at Ormiclate purportedly incorporates, or is a rebuilding of, a 17th-century house or an office built for Clanranald in South Uist. The shell to its east is the first example of a laird's house in the case-study area which can be securely dated. As expanded upon below, it is an unusual T-plan house with a mid-gable and 1-2-1 arrangement of bays on its main façade. The later examples of Monkstadt House and Talisker, are closer to the typical Type II model with their regular five- and three-bay frontages and are also discussed in the next section on the Type II house in the Hebrides.

7.5 Type II houses

7.5.1 The four-bay T-plan Ormiclate Castle

Ormiclate survives as a substantial ruin at the south end of South Uist. Allan MacDonald, 14th chief of Clanranald, inherited the chiefship in 1685 but chose to reside in South Uist where he had been raised by his tutor rather than move to the principal seat of Clanranald, Castle Tioram. Tioram was garrisoned by Williamite troops after Allan sought asylum at the exiled court of James VII/II at St Germain in Paris in 1692. On his return in 1704 Ormiclate was habitable and Allan effectively

resigned possession of Tioram (Slade, 1992, 1; Stell, 2006, 46). Much freestone has been robbed from its corners and margins since Ormiclate was devastated by fire in 1715, but it nevertheless survives to wallhead height with all three of its gables intact (*see* Figure 7.13). This single-period laird's house has been much misunderstood and the traditional account of its building by French masons still finds its way into popular guides and websites.[111] Allan's wife, Lady Clanranald was not French and there is no evidence to support the suggestion that Ormiclate was designed by a French mason or that French workmen were brought over to built the house. In a Hebridean context, with its four broad bays and T-plan, it could be regarded as being exceptional. When viewed in a Scottish context, however, it finds parallels in terms of its planning, mid-gable, arrangement of bays, armorial panel and forecourt: significantly, it in no way lags behind any of its mainland contemporaries. One source also describes it as "a massive fortified house built towards the end of the period where fortification was considered necessary… But the detailing makes little concession to defence" (Uist Building Preservation Trust, 2000, 18). A range of examples will therefore be used to demonstrate Ormiclate's place in the overall development of the laird's house in Scotland.

Figure 7.13: Ormiclate Castle, South Uist from the east. Photograph by C. Barrowman, 2003, © Historic Scotland.

[111] For example: Haswell-Smith, 1998, 196; Undiscovered Scotland, www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/southuist/ormacleitcastle; Imaging the Past/Am Baile record, www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item_photograph.jsp?item_id=40982

The gabled T-plan house is two-storeys-and-attic in height. The large main wing is aligned NE–SW and has overall dimensions of 21.0 by 7.3 m (69 by 24 ft) (Slade, 1992, 1).[112] Figure 7.13 clearly shows the full-height south-east wing which has a roughly square-plan; all of the gables have straight skews. The main façade faces north-west and is composed of four vertically-aligned bays arranged 1-2-1.[113] An opening between the two eastern ground-floor bays marks the position of the entrance and a square armorial panel survives above it. There is a mid-gable between the two west-most bays; its chimney would have been visible above the roof of green gneiss slabs (Badock & Symonds, 2000, 99). The attic floor was probably lit by half-dormers (RCAHMS, 1928, 108): Slade's reconstruction (Figure 7.14) shows cat-slide roofs, but, equally, they may have had pedimented dormerheads ('Ormaclett Castle, Conjectural Appearance, Alternative B', Simpson & Brown Architects in Uist Building Preservation Trust, 2000). In 1924 the RCAHMS (1928, 108) noted that the soffits of the first-floor windows were slightly curved. However, as all of the freestone lintels have been robbed, straight lintels cannot be ruled out. These would have been more common at this date.[114] The single-storey kitchen block sits to its right and preserves a large, segmental-headed fireplace in its south-east gable (Slade, 1992, 3): it is now attached to the present farmhouse. It formed the south-west wing of the forecourt and the south-west wall of a stable or byre survives on the opposite side.

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[112] Slade's plan shown at Figure 7.14 has the principal access aligned east–west, however NE–SW is more accurate according to modern OS maps.

[113] Uist Buildings Preservation Trust (2000, 19) writes that "peculiarities include, most notably;… the odd arrangement of the structure whose principal elevation unusually faces north". With reference to the gazetteer (Appendices A–C), a north-facing main façade is not all that unusual.

[114] Occasionally, windows of laird's houses had rear arches, such as at Calda House, Wester Ross (1726). Segmental-headed windows are found in later Highland buildings such as Bernera Barracks (1720–3) and Flowerdale House (1738).

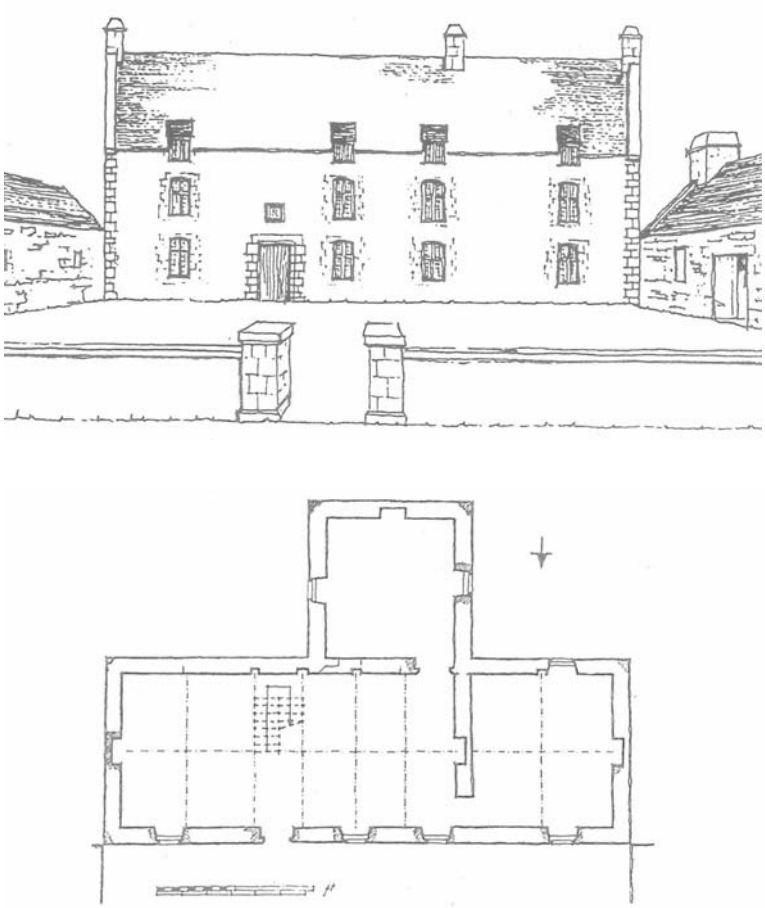

Figure 7.14: Ormiclate Castle, conjectural reconstruction from the north-west and ground-floor plan by H. G. Slade, 1992. Slade, 1992, 2 & 4.

There are several features at Ormiclate which deserve particular attention, and for which there are mainland parallels. First, though less common than five- and three-bay examples, four-bay façades can be found at Bauchop's House in Alloa, a 1695 town house with an entrance between the two central bays (Figure 4.34, p.149). Also of four bays is the later Old Shieldbank, Fife of 1722. Unish House has been described above as having five bays because of its full-height chimneystack. However, the actual rhythm of bays could be said to be closer to four rather than five. Like Ormiclate, Shieldbank has its main entrance between two outer bays of its four-bay front. This comparison will be expanded when discussing planning below. The use of the armorial panel in South Uist in 1701 should not necessarily be seen as old-fashioned as it can be found in many other laird's houses of a similar date across Scotland. Examples include Old Auchentroig, Stirlingshire (completed in 1702;

Figure 4.39, p.156), Busta House, Shetland (1714; Figure 6.24, p.311), and Hills Tower, Kirkcudbrightshire (1721; Figure 4.1, p.98). Ormiclate's forecourt and arrangement of outbuildings is another indication of a Type II laird's house, as distinct from earlier U-plan examples such as Old Hamilton House, East Lothian (1624; Figure 4.28, p.139), and the inward-looking tight courtyard plans of 17th-century Shetland laird's houses. A similar arrangement to Ormiclate is thought likely at Old Auchentroig and a later example is at Udrigle House, Wester Ross, which was remodelled in 1745 (Figure 4.46, p.165).

Ormiclate was laid out on a T-plan from the outset, rather than having been expanded from a rectangular or L-plan, just as at Old Auchentroig. In terms of available floor area Ormiclate is a much grander example, however, as it provided at least twice the living space, notwithstanding the fact that the kitchen was detached. Old Shieldbank has a rectangular plan, 15.1 by 6.25 m, with a small rear stair outshot (Stell, 1981–2b, 29). It is also smaller than Ormiclate and has an integral kitchen. It is, however, a useful comparison because not only does it have a similar façade, it also has a mid-gable though in this case between the two central bays. The mid-gable would have allowed all the central rooms of a three-room planned house to be heated. The alternative, a lateral chimneystack, could not have served the attic rooms. Both Shieldbank (2.4:1) and Ormiclate (2.8:1) retain similar proportions to older laird's houses, which had a hall roughly twice the length of the laird's chamber on their principal floors.

Slade's (1992, 3) analysis of Ormiclate reveals quite advanced planning and awareness of "the fashions of polite architecture further south". The main door opened into a lobby which led to the bottom of a stair serving all three floors and there were rooms to both left and right (*see* Figure 7.14). The latter provided access both to the room beyond the mid-gable and to that in the jamb. It is possible that a corridor ran across the back wall of the middle room of the first floor so that each of the four chambers at this level could be accessed independently. This was not the case at Shieldbank, where access to the eastern room remained dependant on the middle room on both the ground and first floors. A series of vertical slots along the

inside of the long walls of the ground floor at Ormiclate have been interpreted as housings for wall posts to support principal cross beams.[115] Structurally, only two of the six beams would have been necessary to support timber partitions. Slade (*ibid*, 2) suggests that there could have been centrally-placed longitudinal beams, which would have divided the ceilings of each of the three ground-floor rooms into four, six, and four compartments respectively, and a decorative scheme based on these deep, possibly moulded, cross-beams. It would follow, therefore, that the principal rooms could have been on the ground floor and their doors may have been aligned in enfilade.

There was a house at Ormiclate before Allan MacDonald returned to his estates with his wife, perhaps on the site of the present farmhouse and/or kitchen block. The traditional account has it that Penelope was not enamoured of that house – perhaps it was similar to the "Unsifficient Hutt" at Monkstadt which Lady Margaret found so objectionable in 1740. Allan had been educated in Inverness and spent a number of years in France. Penelope was a daughter of Colonel MacKenzie, who had been a governor of Tangier under Charles II. Allan was 31 by the time Ormiclate had been completed in 1704 (*ibid*, 1; Macdonald, 1978, 318–19). Slade (1992, 3) suggests that the house was probably built by a local mason because of "the clumsiness of some of the setting out", but that "he was almost certainly working from a plot prepared by someone knowledgeable in modern, if not fashionable, buildings, and with a strong feeling for proportion". Allan, as an educated and well-travelled gentleman with a fashionable wife, would have been sufficiently knowledgeable to have engaged the services of a skilled mason or perhaps a 'gentleman architect'. In terms of planning, setting, symmetry, proportions, and date, therefore, Ormiclate should be regarded as a good example of a Type II Scottish laird's house.

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[115] On the other hand, Bruce Walker suggests that the slots may represent the position of a timber frame around which the walls were constructed and questions why the slots were "carefully blocked after the fire" when most of the freestone was robbed (Historic Scotland Architect's Advisory Report, 18/02/92, unpublished report). It may be that the prized timbers were carefully removed and filling the resultant slots would have safeguarded the walls for longer so that the old house could be reused. In the event, the freestone could have been robbed over a longer period of time.

7.5.2 The five-bay Monkstadt House

The five-bay principal front of Monkstadt House is shown on Stobie's map of 1764 (Figure 7.10, p.360) and it survives today as a substantial ruin, having last been occupied in 1956 (Figure 7.15). It is two-storey-and-garret in height and, unusually for the laird's houses studied so far in this chapter, it also had a basement. It was built between 1732 and 1741 by Sir Alexander MacDonald, the 15th chief of the MacDonalds of Sleat, as his primary seat in preference to Armadale. During construction, Sir Alexander and his household resided in the old house at Monkstadt (discussed in Section 7.4.2.1), having abandoned Duntulm after 1727. Stell (2006, 41) has noted a trend that virtually all western seaboard castles were replaced by houses, particularly in the 18th century, which were "positioned in such a manner that the earlier castles are either out of sight or at best on the margins of the view of the natural landscape". Sir Alexander was educated in Leith and St Andrews and had a house in the Canongate, Edinburgh (MacIntyre, 1938, 44). Both his first and second wives were from landed families outwith the Highlands and, unlike his forebears, he was a Hanoverian. Monkstadt is probably the earliest house with a regular five-bay frontage and centrally-placed entrance in this case-study area. It will be compared with other five-bay laird's houses, such as Blairhall, Fife (late 17th century). Monkstadt will also be viewed in the context of other regular-fronted buildings closer to home, including the four-bay Ormiclate of *c.* 1701–3 and, on the mainland to the immediate east, the five-bay barrack blocks at Bernera (1720–3), and the six-bay Calda House of 1726.

In 1723, during Sir Alexander's minority, his MacDonald kinsmen bought back most of the estate, forfeited by Sir Donald (1695–1718), from the Commissioners of the Entailed Estates. After his schooling, the young chief returned to Skye where the last ball at Duntulm was held in his honour (Nicolson, 1994, 141; Miket & Roberts, 1990, 60). A letter of 1728 from Sir Alexander to his agent in Edinburgh, John Mackenzie survives. It was written from the old house at "Mogstot" (letter of 28 June 1728, cited in MacIntyre, 1938, 43). Four years later, Sir Alexander instructed the quarrying of masonry and the acquisition of timber from Duntulm and their shipping

to Monkstadt.[116] He first brought his second wife, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of Alexander, 9th Earl of Eglintoun (in North Ayrshire), to Skye in 1739: the new house was not completed until 1741, however (MacIntyre, 1934, 44–5).

Figure 7.15: Monkstadt House from the south. Photograph by I. Murray, 2004.

The 'Beg House' or 'Principall house' at Monkstadt, as referred to in contemporary masons' accounts,[117] has a rectangular plan with overall dimensions of 14.9 by 7.0 m (49 by 23 ft). The west gable has crowstepped skews and MacIntyre (1938, 51) suggests that the stones may have come from Duntulm. Its principal façade faces SSE and is of five bays. The entrance, now hidden by a slightly off-centre later porch, was centrally-placed, whilst the outer bays are paired. It has been suggested that the house may have been thatched until slates were delivered in 1736 (*ibid*, 44–5). As has been stated above, Sir Alexander and his household occupied the existing house at Monkstadt (built before 1670) until the new house was habitable. The old house is last mentioned in a 1749 mason's account (c/f note 106) and so it may have been dismantled by the time of Stobie's survey in 1764. The small building shown in

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[116] "Account of money or casualties paid or delivered by John Ross to servants & workmen about Mougstot & otherways since whit 1732 & to the Crew", "Account of Boles & Kitchen Delivered to the Crew & family about Mougstot 1732", and "Ane account of meal given out by John Ross officer [mason]." 1733. Microfilm of some of the Papers of the family of Macdonald of Sleat, Skye, 1596–20C. (GD221), RH4 90, NAS.

[117] *E.g.* "Acco.t With Wiliam Munro—Meason at Kinsborow Nov.r 13.d 1749", GD221/4520/7, and "Discharge Munro Mason for work at £8.3.8", 18 December 1779 for work in April 1779, GD221/4524/5, The Lord Macdonald Papers, Clan Donald Centre.

front of the new house may have been a detached kitchen block, similar to that at Ormiclate and those described at Raasay and Talisker below, which flanked a forecourt. A summer house with a pavilion roof, built in 1746, is also indicated amongst a row of trees in the front garden (*ibid*, 46–7).

There is no doubt that Sir Alexander would have been familiar with developments in architecture, particularly in terms of the seats of landed gentlemen, in and around Edinburgh and St Andrews. Accounts show that a range of local masons were working on Monkstadt over the nine years of its construction, as well as subsequently on additions and offices. As has been suggested for Ormiclate, local masons could have been working to a draft commissioned from a Lowland mason more familiar with the latest fashions. However, it should be noted that houses with regularly-spaced five-bay frontages were being built as early as *c.* 1733 in the Southern Hebrides, for example the tacksman's house on the island of Cara (RCAHMS, 1971–92, I (1971), 189). Monkstadt shares the motif of paired bays with the five-bay Blairhall (Figure 4.37) and Bernera Barracks (Figure 4.44), for example, and this is also applied in a slightly different manner at the four-bay Ormiclate and the six-bay Calda House (Figure 4.42). Whilst Sir Alexander was not resident in Skye during the construction of Bernera Barracks, he would have become familiar with it on his return in 1727. It is not possible to say whether it had any direct influence on Sir Alexander's ambitions for Monkstadt, however, whereas the link between the former and Calda is a more clear-cut one given their shared M-gables. However, Monkstadt does fit into a coherent pattern of laird's houses of the period.

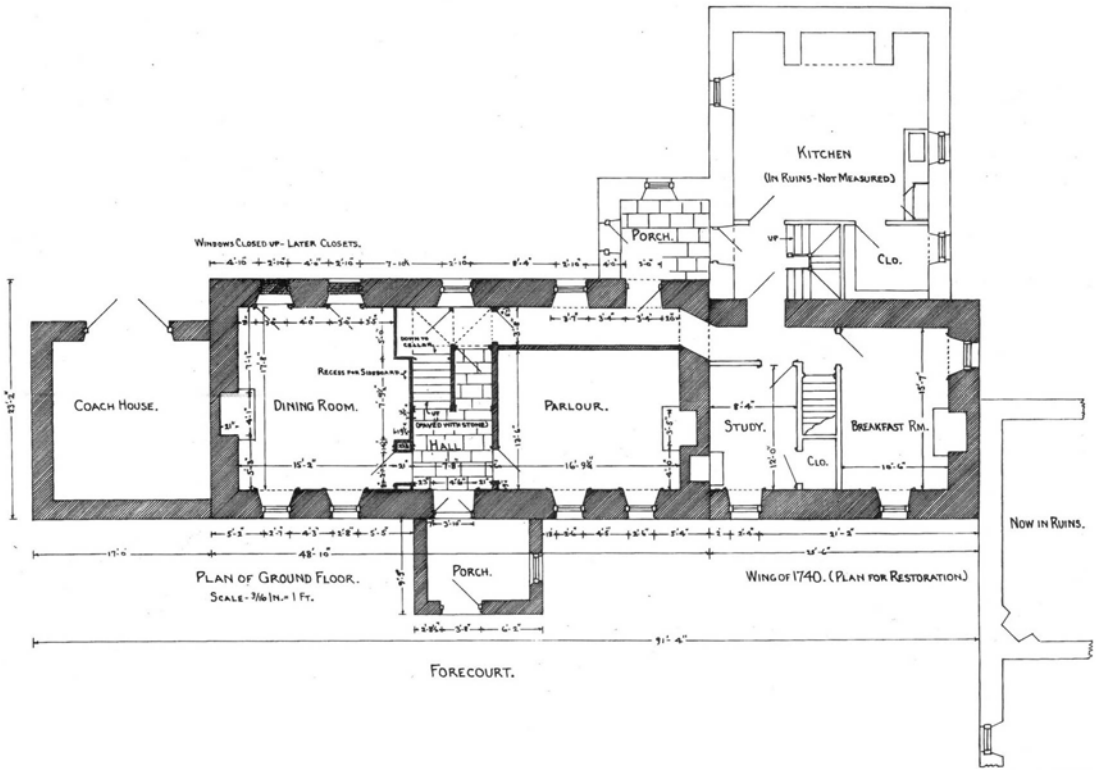

Figure 7.16: Ground-floor plan of Monkstadt House by Donald MacDonald-Millar, 1928 (internal layout of east wing is as proposed). © RCAHMS.

In their proportions, the rectangular plans of Monkstadt (2.1:1), Blairhall (2.3:1) and Talisker (2.2:1) are comparable. The three-bay Talisker, built sometime between *c.* 1717 and 1744, is only just over 1 m shorter in length than Blairhall, built one hundred years earlier as a Type I laird's house. Compared to Talisker (12.1 by 5.6 m), Monkstadt is about 20% longer in each direction on plan, which provided about 50% additional area on each floor. Monkstadt (7.0 m) has a similar span to Ormiclate (7.3 m) and their internal dimensions correspond with the maximum internal span possible using timber joists (about 5 m). Monkstadt's length, 14.9 m, is very close to the length of the main wing of Ormiclate between the north-east gable and mid-gable (14.6 m). It should be borne in mind that these dimensions do not take into account the east wing at Blairhall, the rear wing at Ormiclate, and any detached kitchen blocks. It would have been expensive to ship timber to Skye and South Uist, particularly premium joists of the length required to maximise room sizes within single spans. This observation most likely relates to the superior means of the MacDonalds of Sleat and Clanranald compared to cadet branches such as the

MacLeods of Talisker. The comparisons also show continuity in the length:breadth ratios from Type I laird's houses and demonstrate that there is less variation between early Type II houses with differing numbers of bays than might have been expected. The interior of Monkstadt was gutted in *c.* 1803,[118] and thus the panelling recorded in 1928[119] must date from the James Gillespie (Graham) restoration. It is, therefore, difficult to be sure about the arrangement of rooms in 1741. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the rooms on each floor were arranged around a central dog-leg stair and that one of the ground-floor rooms probably functioned as a parlour (*see* Figure 7.16).

Sir Alexander died in 1746 and Monkstadt was let by tack to John MacDonald in 1748, but Lady Margaret continued to reside there (she died in London in 1799). In 1772 Thomas Pennant (1776, 302) described "Muggastot" as "the principal house of Sir Alexander MacDonald" (1766–95), their second son. A one-and-a-half-storey wing had been added to the east gable, which was probably the "Little New house" known to have been built in 1752 (c/f note 107). A kitchen wing, whose large fireplace is still discernible in its north gable, was added at the back of this extension after 1764 to create an L-plan. It is possible that Martin Martin was referring to new roofing couples required for this eastern arm, rather than the main house, when he wrote to William Morison, mason in Leith, in 1778.[120] The eastern pavilion may have been raised at the same time, giving it its present appearance, to create further servants' accommodation on the upper floors.

Accounts from around this time give us some idea of the accommodation at Monkstadt. It included a Dining-room, Little Dining-room, Library, Study, Letterment Room, White Room, Blue Room, Yellow Room, Grey Room, Nursery, and the Laird of MacLeod's room, in addition to family bedrooms and servants' quarters (MacIntyre, 1938, 46). A 1779 account suggests that the garret was lit by

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[118] Letter from Jas. Gillespie, Achnacarry by Fort William to John Campbell Esq, No 10 James Sq, Edinburgh, 10 Sept 1803. GD221/4542/7, The Lord Macdonald Papers, Clan Donald Centre.

[119] Measured survey drawings by D. M. Millar, 1928, NMRS NG36NE 7.00, IND 9/10–13.

[120] Letter from Martin Martin "To Mr William Morison Mason at the Head of the Horse Wynd, Leith. Lachasay, 4th March 1778", GD221/4524/6, The Lord Macdonald Papers, Clan Donald Centre.

three dormers, though this could refer to the kitchen wing rather than the main part of the house.[121] Two quarter gardens are shown on Stobie's map (Figure 7.10, p.360) and the walls of the larger one to the east still survive, together with the ruins of lean-to buildings which have blocked-up openings and flues suggesting that they functioned as hot houses. Monkstadt remained the MacDonalds' main seat until a new house at Armadale had been completed in around 1798, after which the former was let to Major Alexander MacDonald of Courthill (*ibid*, 51).

Together, Ormiclate, Calda and Monkstadt represent the earliest surviving Type II houses in the north-west highlands and islands. It should be stressed that these are not buildings which represent a slow 'trickle effect' of polite architecture from east to west. Instead, they show considerable affinities with the laird's houses that were being built in other parts of the country in *c*. 1701–03, 1726 and 1732. Having discussed the mobility of highland chiefs and upper gentry from the 17th to early 18th centuries in Sections 7.2.2–7.2.4, it should be clear that the patrons of new works at castles and the first laird's houses in the Hebrides moved in very much the same circles as their lowland counterparts. Though the pattern of landholding was different until after the Restoration, the greater chiefs and the headmen of the principal cadet branches were exposed to external influences either first-hand or through their schooling. The basement at Monkstadt would have been thought of as a particularly modern feature in 1732, being perhaps intended for storage rather than for service rooms due to the lack of windows. Moving on to the development of three-bay laird's houses, there are many more examples of this type in the Hebrides, since it became widespread in the rural landscape for laird's houses, factor's houses, farmhouses and manses. The earliest examples in this area date to around the 1740s though it has been suggested that Talisker House may date to *c.* 1720. A range of early three-bay laird's houses will therefore be discussed below, followed by the later phase of Unish House as a direct parallel for the change from a five- to three-bay frontage seen at the Old Mains of Rattray, Perthshire (1694, Figure 4.38, p.153). It is

[121] "Discharge Munro Mason for work at £8.3.8", 18 December 1779, GD221/4524/5, The Lord Macdonald Papers, Clan Donald Centre.

important, therefore, that these examples are set in a broader Scottish context together with a discussion of why this change in style happened.

7.5.3 Evidence for early three-bay laird's houses

Houses with regular frontages and two rooms on either sides of a centrally-placed dog-leg stair are by far the most common form of dwellings that may be classed as 'laird's houses'. When, then, do they first appear? The development of symmetrical principal elevations has been traced during the second half of the 17th century. Old Auchentroig, with its T-plan, straight-stair and blind bay above the entrance, very nearly represents the common Type II three-bay form. In the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles, the majority of the surviving 18th-century laird's houses conform more closely to the usual three-bay Type II model. Unfortunately, it is difficult to be certain about dating surviving examples back to the early part of the 18th century. It has been suggested that Talisker House, Skye, was built shortly after Donald MacLeod of Talisker married in *c.* 1717. If so, this would make it one of the earliest three-bay laird's houses in the case-study area. To help determine its dating, it will be compared with examples from outwith the region and with laird's houses that can be more firmly dated to the 1740s–60s in Skye, such as the later phase of Unish (mid-18th century), Orbost and Gesto (both *c.* 1760), by way of contrast.

Around the time of his marriage and until the 22nd chief, Norman, had a son in 1725, Donald MacLeod of Talisker was heir presumptive to the chief of Dunvegan and Harris. Donald's wife Christina MacLeod was the daughter of John of Contullich, of the Berneray MacLeods, who was Norman's tutor until 1722 (MacLeod, 1979a, 105). And so, around 1720, a house at Talisker was the home of an influential MacLeod pairing. The earliest part of the present house survives as the north end of the main wing, although its stair and interior date to a remodelling of around 1767 (Roberts, 1979a, 153). This house was essentially a two-storeys-and-attic, single-pile building, with a three-bay main front facing west which was added to an older block to create an L-plan. It measured 12.1 by 5.6 m (40 by 18 ft 6 ins) externally and the main door opened into a lobby with, presumably, a dog-leg stair ahead and a room to

the left and right. There were probably two main bedrooms on the first floor, while the attic rooms were housed wholly within the roof space.

Figure 7.17: Talisker House from the west. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

Only two windows of its principal façade are now visible, and these are to the left of the pavilion-roofed extension of *c.* 1775 shown in Figure 7.17. The single large window on the rear face (Figure 7.18) may date to when the stair was replaced in *c.* 1767. There may have been two vertically-aligned windows previously, such as the pairs found at Monkstadt House (1732–41) and Udrigle (1745). Tall stair windows can also be found at Gesto House (C.12), for example, which was built in the 1760s (Roberts, 1982, 23). The two window openings to the left in Figure 7.18 are part of the 18th-century house, and the three small ground-floor windows to the right mark the position of the west gable of the 17th-century wing, housing the kitchen, which was badly damaged by fire in *c.* 1775 and subsequently dismantled (MacLeod, 1979a, 109). It was here that Johnson and Boswell lodged in 1773; Boswell (1786, 214) mentioned that it had a forecourt which was "most injudiciously paved with the round blueish-grey pebbles which are found upon the sea-shore". No evidence

survives to suggest that this forecourt was bound by outbuildings in the manner of Ormiclate or Udrigle; but, equally, this possibility cannot be ruled out.

Figure 7.18: Talisker House from the north-east. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

The existence of the 17th-century wing would not have permitted the provision of east-facing windows to light the rooms at the north end of the ground floor, but there survives one window in the exposed gable towards the rear of the first floor. This suggests that perhaps there were two rooms on this side of the stairwell on the first floor, each lit by a single window. In addition, there may have been a small room or closet lit by the central window over the main door, as at Udrigle. During Johnson and Boswell's stay with Col. John MacLeod, Donald and Christina's son, Johnson had a room to himself which contained some praiseworthy books, and Boswell had to share a room with the 19-year-old 23rd chief of the MacLeods, Norman (MacLeod, 1979a, 108; Roberts, 1979a, 153). Boswell (1786, 214) describes a comfortable parlour paved with un-squared flagstones and small bedrooms with neat furnishings; but overall, "the house is a very bad one". The house, therefore, contained a parlour and three rooms which served, or could serve, as bedrooms, and

which, in 1773, were used by Col. MacLeod (who had long been a widower and had no living children), Boswell and the young chief, and Johnson. This might suggest that the ground floor consisted of a parlour on one side of the stair and a principal bedroom for Talisker on the other.

If Talisker House was originally slated then it may date to around the time of Col. MacLeod's marriage in 1744 (MacLeod, 1979a, 106), since Monkstadt House, which was completed in 1741, was purportedly the first slated house in Skye (MacIntyre, 1938, 45). Col. MacLeod was given the command of one of his chief's Independent Companies and so his house was left unscathed in the Reprisals that followed The Forty-Five that so devastated Raasay, for example (*see* Section 7.5.4). Evidence found during restoration showed that the tacksman's house at Orbost (C.29), built in *c.* 1755, was originally thatched with reed and straw. It was probably first slated as part of a building programme carried out in the 1790s, when the windows were also enlarged by having their lintels raised slightly (Roberts, 1981a, 263; MacLeod, 1981a, 270). And so it is likely that, whether built before or after *c.* 1740, Talisker was originally thatched. Its windows could also have been raised to take new sashes in a similar manner to Orbost, perhaps in *c.* 1767 when the window frames were renewed (MacLeod, 1979a, 107).

Assuming that Talisker was built as a three-bay house from the outset, and not remodelled in the manner of Unish House (*see* below), are we any closer to determining whether it was built around 1720 or 1744? At this point, it will be useful to look at Grishipoll House on the neighbouring island of Coll, an island with which Col. MacLeod would have been particularly familiar as his wife was its laird's daughter. Johnson and Boswell dined in Grishipoll House during their tour of 1773 and Boswell (1786, 259) described it as "an excellent slated house of two storeys". At that time it was occupied by a MacSween tacksman who had left Skye when Norman MacLeod, the 22nd chief (1706–72) had raised rents there (*ibid*) (presumably referring to the rent hike of 1769) and who had fostered Hugh MacLean, 13th of Coll (†1786). Boswell (*ibid*) writes that "it was built by the present Coll [Hugh MacLean] while his eldest brother was alive [Hector, 11th of Coll, (*c.*

1689–1754)], and just as it was finished he succeeded to the estate". It is not clear when Lauchlan MacLean, who was 12th of Coll, died and thus when Hugh succeeded to the estate.

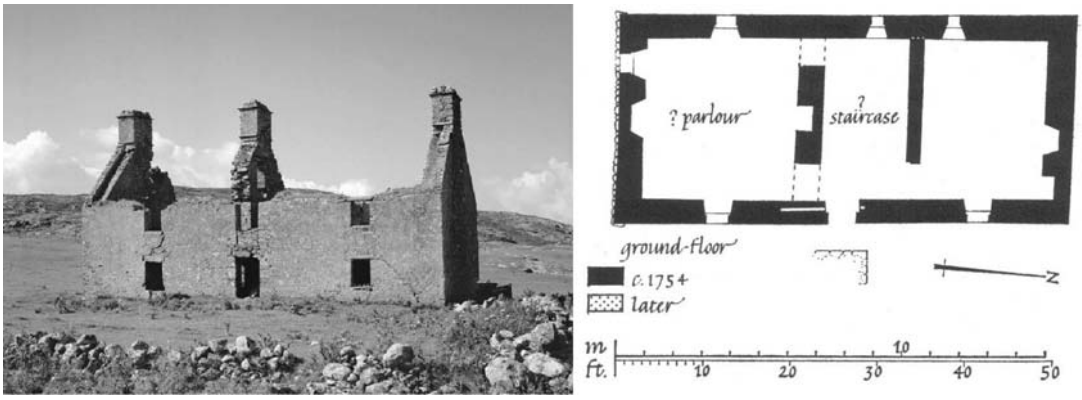

Figure 7.19: Grishipoll House, Coll, view from north-east and ground-floor plan. Left: © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk. Right: RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), fig. 245, p.231, © RCAHMS.

The two-and-a-half storey house measures 15.9 by 7.4 m, a length to width ratio of 2.1:1 which is similar to Talisker (2.2:1), its main façade faces east, and it has three bays with a mid-gable dividing the interior into two roughly equal spaces (Figure 7.19). It was recorded by the RCAHMS in 1973; the present author has not visited the island and therefore the following description is based on the Inventory entry (RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), 231–2) and personal communication with Geoffrey Stell. The centrally-placed entrance on the ground floor could be secured with a draw-bar and there was a separate entrance to the first floor immediately above it, originally reached by a forestair. It is slightly narrower than the ground-floor entrance and the rendering of the plan in the Inventory (*ibid*, fig. 245) shows its jambs to be slightly splayed. However, Geoffrey Stell (*pers. comm.*) suggests that there was sufficient evidence to support the view that either a doorway was intended from the outset (RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), 231), or that a window opening was modified to form a doorway very soon after it was first constructed.

The ground- and first-floor plans are difficult to reconcile. Stell (*pers. comm.*) suggests that the similar arrangement of rooms on both floors and independent entrances could represent provision for two separate households. Two heated rooms

on either side of a central stair – "of conventional layout" – is suggested by the Inventory (RCAHMS, 1972–91, III (1980), 231). However, on the first floor, an internal stair could not have taken up all of the central space as there is a fireplace in the north side of the mid-gable which appears to have been part of the first phase. The upper entrance had been partially blocked to create a window at a later date and thus an internal stair would have become necessary. As we have seen at Breachacha Castle, the remodelled hall range (1680s) was provided with separate access to the ground and first floors and, as at Kisimul, the castle comprised several households. Whether or not Hugh MacLean intended Grishipoll House to function as two households in the mid-18th century, at a time when his brother, Hector, was building Breachacha (New) Castle, is not altogether clear. The New Castle was built as a fashionable hipped, square-plan double-pile house and was described in 1773 as a "neat new-built gentleman's house with four rooms on a floor, three storeys and garrets…. There are two neat pavilions to the house" (Boswell, 1786, 264).

Perhaps Hugh was responsible for making an existing house conform to a more "conventional layout" as befitted laird's houses of the mid-18th century, rather that having built the house with separate lower and upper entrances at that date? Like Grishipoll, the five-bay Erray House on Mull has a regularly disposed frontage and separate lower and upper entrances in its central bay although it is not clear from the Inventory description (RCAHMS, 1972–91, III (1980), 230–1) whether or not the upper entrance is secondary. It is described by Boswell (1786, 301) as "a strange confused house built by Mackinnon the proprietor about sixty years ago", *i.e.* in about 1710. Boswell's (*ibid*) entrance might also be regarded as somewhat 'unconventional' as he and his party "were conducted through a large unfinished cold kitchen [possibly contained in one of two wings depicted in George Langland's plan of Tobermory, 1787] to a narrow timber stair, and then along a passage to a large bedroom with a coach roof". As has been discussed in examples such as Old Shieldbank in Fife (1722), it should not be taken for granted that a symmetrical frontage was always partnered with a symmetrical plan and centrally-placed internal stair. Even into the 1770s, the tacksman's house of Howlin on Eigg was similarly

deceptive. It "appears to the have the standard two storey, three bay format… but the rubble-built house is unusual in incorporating a byre/stable with loft above as its south-east bay" (Douglas, 1997, 41). The House of Armadale, which probably first appears on record in 1690, is depicted on Stobie's plan at Figure 7.11, p.362 has having three windows on the first floor on the entrance front. Grishipoll is rather more symmetrical, however. And so, based on lowland parallels for regular three-bay frontages, a date of building in the early part of the 18th century seems likely.

Returning to Talisker, the present dog-leg stair appears to have been part of a series of improvements carried out by Col. MacLeod following his retirement in 1767 (MacLeod, 1979a, 107). Judging by the available space, its predecessor was probably of the same type. Dunbar (1966, 83) notes an example of the centrally-placed dog-leg stair in the five-bay Borrowmeadow, Stirlingshire: the house was built before 1745 and there is no evidence to suggest that the stair was secondary (Linskaill, 2005, 20; S. Linskaill *pers. comm.*). A design for Island House, Tiree, of *c.* 1745 (Figure 7.26, p.395) shows a dog-leg with treads instead of a half-landing. The arrangement of two ground-floor living rooms on either side of a central (straight) stair is seen as early as 1702 in Old Auchentroig in the same county. If it follows that some of the earliest Type II laird's houses, whether three- or five-bay, retained similar proportions to their Type I predecessors, then one might expect early Type IIs to have length:width ratios in the region of 2:1, like Grishipoll (2.1:1) and Unish (2.0:1). There is sufficient evidence to suggest that there was a trend towards deepening of the plan around the mid-18th century, in which case ratios could be regarded as an indication of date; this idea is expanded in the next section. The plan of Talisker has a length:width ratio of 2.2:1, whereas the plans of Orbost (*c.* 1755) and Raasay (1746) have ratios of 1.7:1 and 1.6:1 respectively. There are, however, exceptions, and therefore it is only possible to say that Talisker is probably no earlier than *c.* 1717 (when Donald MacLeod married) in date but could equally have been built as a laird's house with 2.2:1 proportions in 1744 (when John MacLeod married).

Figure 7.20: Unish House, south elevation. Photograph by S. Strachan, 1999.

Certainly by the 1740s the form found at Talisker would have been considered the norm, and more desirable than houses of the same proportions but with more tightly fenestrated five-bay frontages. This is clearly demonstrated by the remodelling of Unish House, which was probably influenced by the availability and affordability of the larger sash-and-case window and by the standard designs made available to both masons and patrons through pattern books. This phenomenon will be studied more closely in the next section. The last tacksman of Unish was Donald Roy's son, Capt. Norman MacLeod, who held the lands from 1736 to 1781; shortly thereafter it was reduced to use as a shepherd's bothy (MacLeod, 1981b, 309–10). Norman was absent from 1739 to 1745 and then secured the command of the Harris Independent Company during The Forty-Five. He probably commissioned the remodelling within a few years of 1746, when he had accumulated sufficient wealth (or credit) as a cattle breeder (Nicolson, 1994, 141–2).[122] This work consisted of the addition of a semi-

[122] 'MO 1745' is scratched into plaster at Unish. This might be the graffiti of soldiers stationed there during the Rising, or a later spurious date from after the house was abandoned, rather than the date of a major phase of works. Given Norman's duties is seems unlikely he would have commissioned

circular stairtower in the middle of the south elevation, and the opening up or enlarging of two windows on either side to create a three-bay façade (*see* Figure 7.20 and Figure 7.8, p.354). If the principal façade had in fact faced north originally, then the main entrance was now located at the foot of the stairtower and not at the base of the extruded chimneystack (*see* Figure 7.8). In this scenario, the north side would have been demoted to becoming the rear face and so its regularity could be sacrificed to suit the modified internal arrangement. One of the four upper windows was enlarged, but the others appear to have been blocked, and the west ground-floor room was given a north-facing window. The house was probably still thatched at this date. Like the original design of the north elevation of Unish, this 18th-century phase is unusual in having its central bay defined by a stairtower. However, the desire for a plain façade may have been a secondary consideration, as there was probably more to be gained by externalising the stair given the restricted size of Unish.

It seems that regular-fronted, three-bay laird's houses were being built in the case-study area before the middle of the 18th century, though it is difficult to obtain clear dating evidence. In particular, the example of Grishipoll from neighbouring Coll suggests that evenly disposed façades with central doorway(s) may have been adopted for laird's or tacksman's houses early in the 18th century. However, it is difficult to date Grishipoll with accuracy. Comparing three-bay forms like that of Talisker to the more firmly-dated four-bay Ormiclate (*c*. 1701–3), they both have symmetrical frontages, forecourts which suggest an axial approach, and separate kitchen blocks. Talisker differs from Ormiclate, however, in that it was built in a form that persisted for laird's houses (or tacksman's houses, which Talisker was until 1811), factor's houses, manses and farmhouses well into the 19th century. If Talisker was built around 1720, then it may be regarded as one example of the three-bay front built *before* the widespread availability of pattern books. Houses like Talisker could, therefore, demonstrate tailoring of large four- or five-bay houses like Ormiclate and

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any building works over 1745–6 or that local masons would be available in the midst of the upheaval. The RCAHMS (1993, 5 & 11) suggests that Unish was modified in *c.* 1800, but it seems unlikely that this work would have taken place after 1781 when Norman settled in Berneray.

Monkstadt House to the means of the lesser clan gentry, and thus represent a crucial step in the development of the 'typical' (or at least prevalent) Type II laird's house.

7.5.4 The 'double-pile' Raasay House

The oldest part of the present Raasay House, a sprawling mansion on the island of Raasay, is now hidden behind an altered, but essentially Georgian, seven-bay front block. Like Talisker, it had a centrally-placed entrance and stair, with rooms on either side of that axis behind a three-bay front. Unlike Talisker, however, it was two-rooms rather than one-room deep in plan. This house dates from a rebuilding which began in 1747 after the original house was "razed out at the foundation" (*The Lyon in Mourning*, I, 176) in the Reprisals of 1746. A date of building of 1720 is suggested by the present writer for the original house, which was built in the shadow of Kilmoluag tower-house. The rebuilt house is not quite 'double-pile' as it is only about one-third deeper than Talisker, but where houses like Talisker could also have unheated shallow rooms at the rear, Raasay had roughly equally-sized heated rooms. Fully double-pile laird's houses are rare, particularly as early as 1720, though there does seem to be a general deepening of the plan towards the middle of the 18th century. It is therefore suggested here that the front of the 1747 house could have reused the salvaged windows, and that it had a similar frontage as the earlier house, though it need not have been built on exactly the same footprint. The later house will now be compared both with examples of double-pile houses outwith the case-study area and local, single-pile, laird's houses. There will also be a discussion of the influence of pattern books on the design Raasay House in the middle decades of the 18th century.

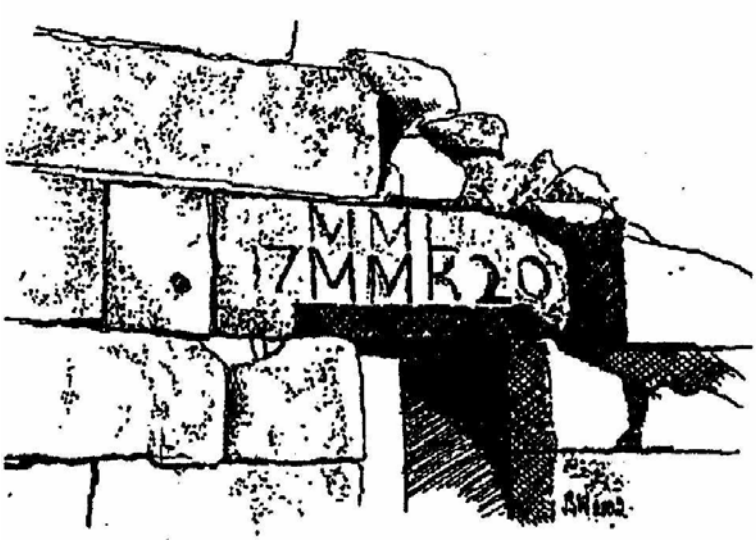

Figure 7.21: The datestone above the window in the south gable of Inverarish Mill (J. Scott Wood). Wood ed., 2002, © Association of Certified Field Archaeologists (Glasgow University).

The circumstantial evidence for the dating of the original Raasay House primarily relates to an ill-fitting marriage lintel above a window opening of the nearby Inverarish Mill (Figure 7.21), which was built in the 1760s. The date of 1720 is commemorated on the stone, together with the initials 'MML' and 'MMK', which most likely refers to Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay and Mary, daughter of Alexander MacKenzie of Applecross, who married in 1713 when Malcolm was about 17 (Morrison, 1974, IV, 40).[123] Malcolm must have felt that his tower-house at Kilmoluag, first recorded by Donald Monro ("Kilmaluok", 322) in 1549, was no longer suitable for his needs. The salvaged marriage stone was perhaps, judiciously, omitted from the rebuilding of Raasay House as Malcolm married a second wife, Janet MacLeod, in May 1748 (Morrison, 1974, IV, 43). A *c.* 1720 account (*MacFarlane's Geog. Colls.*, II, 221), mentions that "here [on the east side of Raasay] is latelie found a huge Mass of lime, whit as snow"; this discovery might be linked with the preparations for the building of Malcolm and Mary's house. What form the first house took is a matter of conjecture, but it may have been similar to

[123] The Association of Certified Field Archaeologists surveyed the mill and read "MML MMK 1720" (Wood ed., 2002) rather than the Statutory List Description (HB NUM: 18448) or the Ordnance Survey notes of 1961 (NMRS Canmore NG53NE 4) which give "MML MMR 1720". *See* Strachan, 2000, 12. It should be noted that MacLeod (1980a, 231) does point out that "Malcolm and Mary… built a more comfortable laird's house *perhaps as early as 1720* [itals. mine] and certainly by about 1740".

Talisker, particularly if the latter was built around 1720 since relatively deep plans are rare at this date. Malcolm would also have been familiar with the laird's houses in Knoydart, having been raised in the household of his stepfather there (MacLeod, 1980, 231). Unfortunately, as the Macdonell lands in Knoydart suffered the same fate as Raasay in 1746, no houses survive from the early part of the 18th century that might allow comparison.[124]

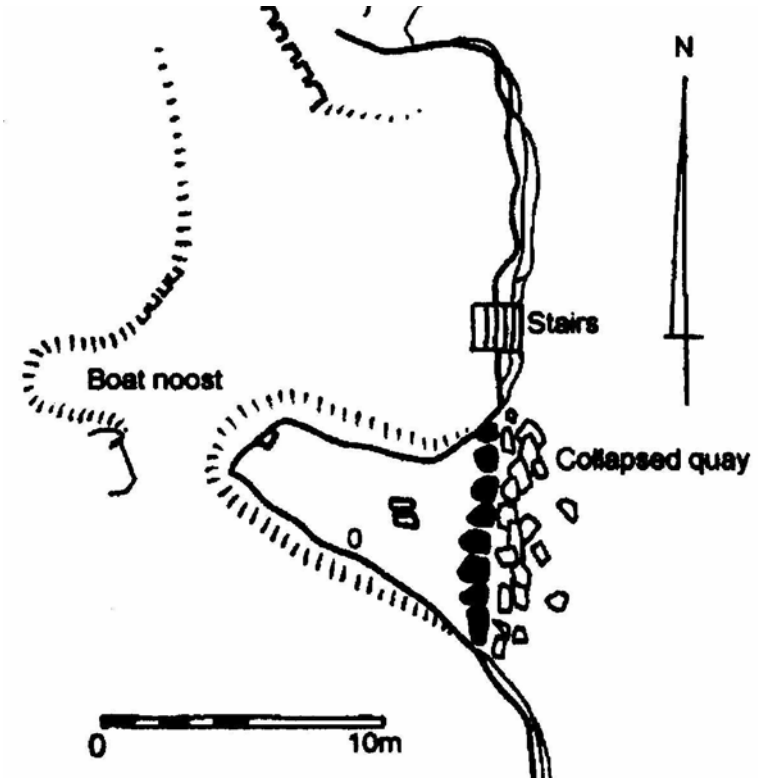

Figure 7.22: Collapsed jetty, boat noost and steps, Churchton, Raasay, surveyed 2003. Birch & Wildgoose, 2003, fig. 2, p.8, © Highland Council.

The principal front of the first Raasay house probably faced NNW, like its 1747 successor, and sat across from Kilmoluag tower-house which was dismantled in 1746, when it presumably provided a convenient quarry for the new house and

[124] The present writer followed Roberts' (1980, 188) interpretation of the original house in Strachan, 2000, *i.e.* the assumption that the walls of the 1720 house had survived. Following consideration of comparative examples, the present writer now believes that the original house would have had a span narrower than 9 m.

walled garden.[125] There was also a detached hipped-roofed kitchen block to the east, which survived until the 19th century (shown to the left of William Daniell's view of 1813, Figure 7.23) and which may have escaped the fire. In general appearance the kitchen block is similar to the structure depicted in front of Monkstadt on Stobie's map (Figure 7.10, p.360). Other fixtures which seem to have survived the Reprisals were the oak-framed crown-glass windows (*The Lyon in Mourning*, I, 177), which may have been reset into the new house. Perhaps these are shown in Daniell's watercolour as the windows to the left and right of the *c.* 1761 stairtower. In its wider setting, the remains of a collapsed quay (which superseded a boat noost), a flight of rock-cut steps, and the possible footings of a boathouse discovered during the recent archaeological survey of Churchton Bay, may be associated with the earliest phase of Raasay House (Figure 7.22) (Birch & Wildgoose, 2003, 5–10 & 20–1).

Figure 7.23: Raasay House from the west, William Daniell, 1813. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The house built from 1747 was of two storeys and a garret, with crowstepped gables, and it measured 14 m long by 9 m wide. It probably incorporated material from the earlier house as well as Kilmoluag Tower. James Boswell (1786, 134), who visited Raasay in 1773 stated that the tower had just been dismantled before the 1746

[125] "The old tower of three stories, mentioned by Martin, was taken down soon after 1746, and a modern house supplies its place" (Boswell, 1786, 255).

Reprisals. The centrally-placed lobby was emphasised internally by being ceiled with a lath-and-plaster parabolic vault. The depth of the house suggests that there could easily have been two rooms on each side of the stair. Though no original transverse partitions survive on the ground floor, MacLeod and Roberts (1980, 227) suggest that there may have been one large room on the east side forming the parlour, closest to the kitchen, and two chambers on the west side. Daniell's view clearly shows the east gable as having one window to the north end of the ground floor, two windows on the first floor, and one small window lighting the garret. The south end of the ground floor is obscured by a link block added in *c.* 1761. If there was a back door, it might have been located behind the dog-leg stair at the rear of the lobby. This same stair seems to have been reused in a new position when the stairtower was added. The present layout of timber partitions on the first floor divide it into three main rooms, the largest being on the east side of the stair where it may have served as the drawing room. The lugged architrave of the doorway of the north-west room is set out from the wall in such a way to suggest that this room, at least, was originally panelled. The rooms on the west side preserve evidence of corner-cant fireplaces (*ibid*, 189 & 226). Presumably, the garret primarily functioned as servants quarters.

The proportions of the plan of Raasay House, 1.6:1, provided more generous rooms on the west side of the stair than it would have had otherwise. That is not to say that two rooms might not have been created within the span of narrower houses, particularly on the first floor, but often the smaller room would have been unheated (Roberts, 1981a, 262–3). One example of this is Udrigle House which was built in 1745, though its narrow proportions might be owed to its predecessor (Wentworth & Sanders, 1996, 19 & 25). Other houses of a similar date seem to follow a general trend of the deepening of plans. An example is Orbost House (C.29), which was probably built by Dr Samuel Campbell shortly after he acquired the tack of Orbost from the MacLeods of Dunvegan in 1754 (MacLeod, 1981a, 270). It has a plan with a length:width ratio of 1.7:1, but, like Udrigle, the smaller rooms were unheated. Much deeper plans can be found as early as 1722 in a house on the Hebridean island of Colonsay: this three-bay house has a flue-bearing spine wall across the middle of

its square-plan (12.4 by 11.5 m) (Figure 7.24) (RCAHMS, 1971–92, V (1984), 288–9). Such a depth is only possible because the spine wall allows for two spans of timber joists, each around the maximum of 5 m (as discussed earlier on p.375). Only two types of roof can be used over such a deep plan: the more conventional is the hipped roof with flat top, as found at Colonsay House; the less widely used alternative is parallel pitched roofs, of the type which created the M-gables found at Calda House, of 1727 (**Figure 4.42**, p.163). Though the square-plan and hipped roof of Colonsay take it outwith the definition of a 'laird's house' offered in this thesis, it does show that highly fashionable architecture was being commissioned and built by island proprietors: just as the building of Gardie House in Shetland in 1724 represents a more northerly illustration of this.

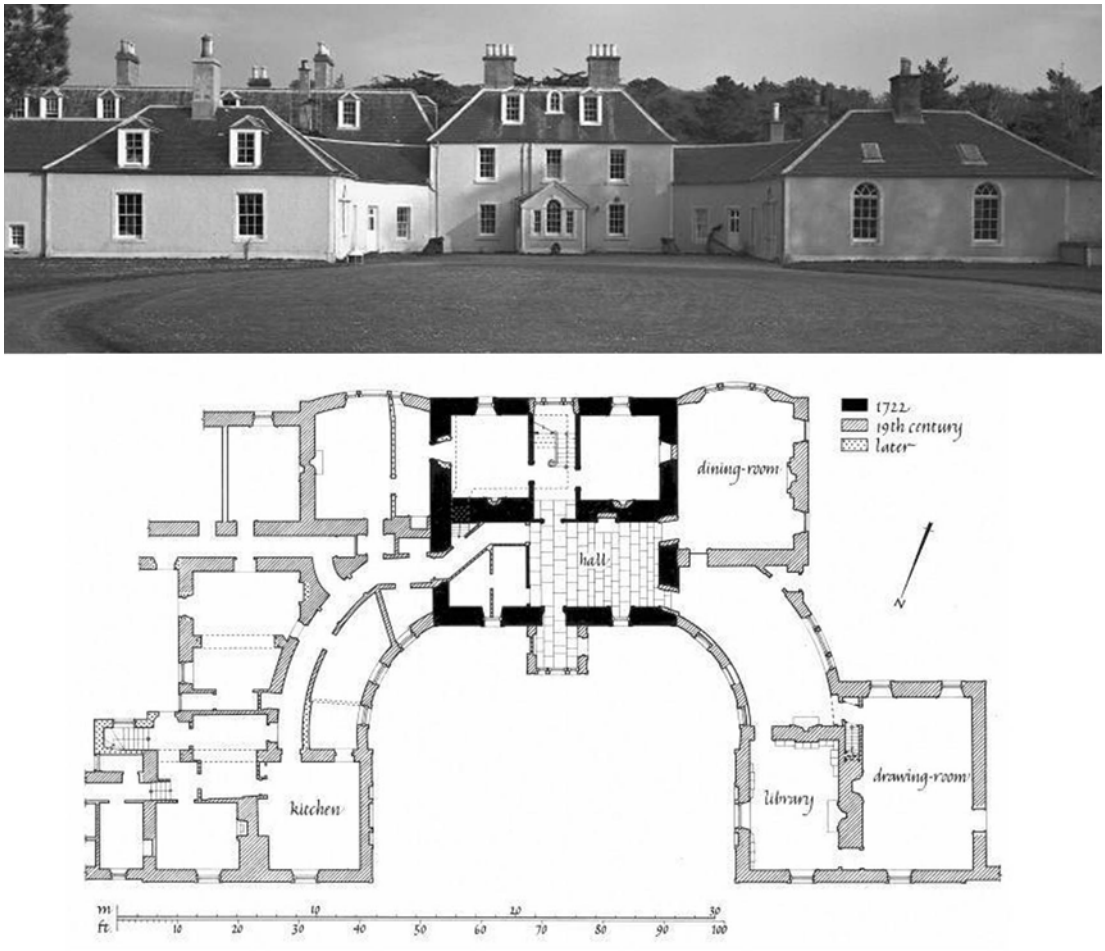

Figure 7.24: Colonsay House from the north and ground-floor plan. © RCAHMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The later alterations at Raasay, which probably began when John MacLeod took over the house after his father's death in 1761, primarily consisted of reorienting the front face of the house towards the spectacular view of four Skye mountains, accentuated by a planting scheme which included flanking plantations and a trapezoidal front lawn (Inventory of Designed Landscapes, [2003], 56–7). The main additions were the building of two hipped end-pavilions which were joined to the house by link blocks. The backs of these are shown in Figure 7.23, and Figure 7.25 shows a conjectural reconstruction from the south. These wings are similar to the western extension to Monkstadt House (Figure 7.15, p.373). Though forecourts could be flanked by low courtyard ranges, as at Ormiclate and Udrigle, side wings, either sharing a gable wall or linked by low arms as at Raasay, had become fashionable.

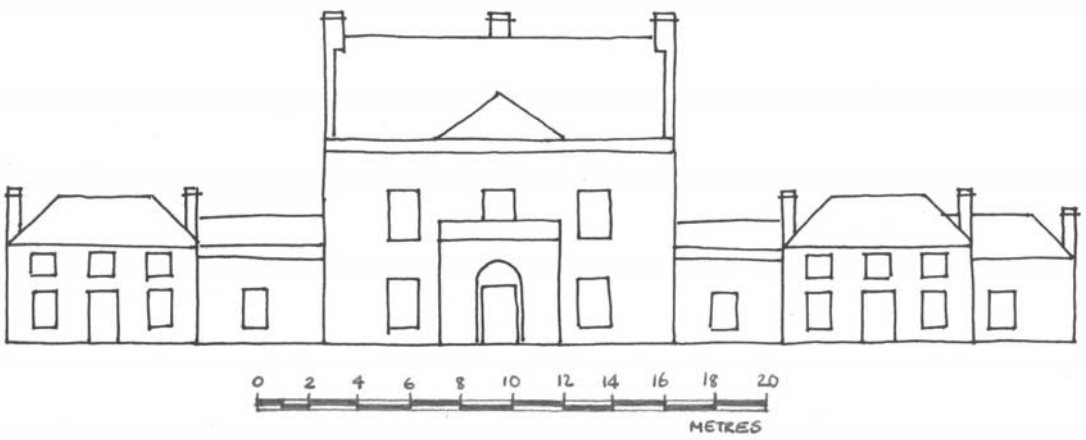

Figure 7.25: Raasay House, south elevation, conjectural reconstruction at *c.* 1761. Drawing by S. Strachan after D. L. Roberts in Roberts, 1980, 228.

Whether or not the architects and patrons of either the *c.* 1747 Raasay House, with its corner-cant fireplaces and parabolic plaster vault, or those of the *c.* 1761 additions had first-hand familiarity with possible antecedents is not important. By this time, pattern books were in wide circulation. There was, for example, the influential collection put together by Colen Campbell (1676–1729) of the Cawdor Campbells as the three-volume *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which was published in 1715–25 and which included examples by his presumed master, James Smith (*c.* 1645–1713) (Colvin, 1978, 182 & 756). Shortly thereafter came the Aberdeen-born James Gibbs's (1682–1754) *A Book of Architecture*, first published in 1728. It contained only his own

designs, and several plates were devoted to details which made it "a general architectural pattern-book of high quality… and the source of several stock features of Georgian vernacular architecture" throughout the 18th century (*ibid*, 338). Both *Vitruvius Britannicus* and *A Book of Architecture* have lengthy subscription lists and a high proportion were Scottish peers (Archer, 1985, 246–7, fn. 11). One of Gibbs's designs for a modest three-bay, double-pile house is illustrated in **Figure 4.41**, p.159.

Another influence is likely to have been 'estate architecture', which was also now beginning to be built in the islands, for example the single-storey factor's house at Dunvegan Castle built in 1734 and, on Tiree, the two-storey Island House built for the Duke of Argyll's factor in 1748 (Figure 7.26) (Statutory List Description, HB NUM: 503; RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), 233).

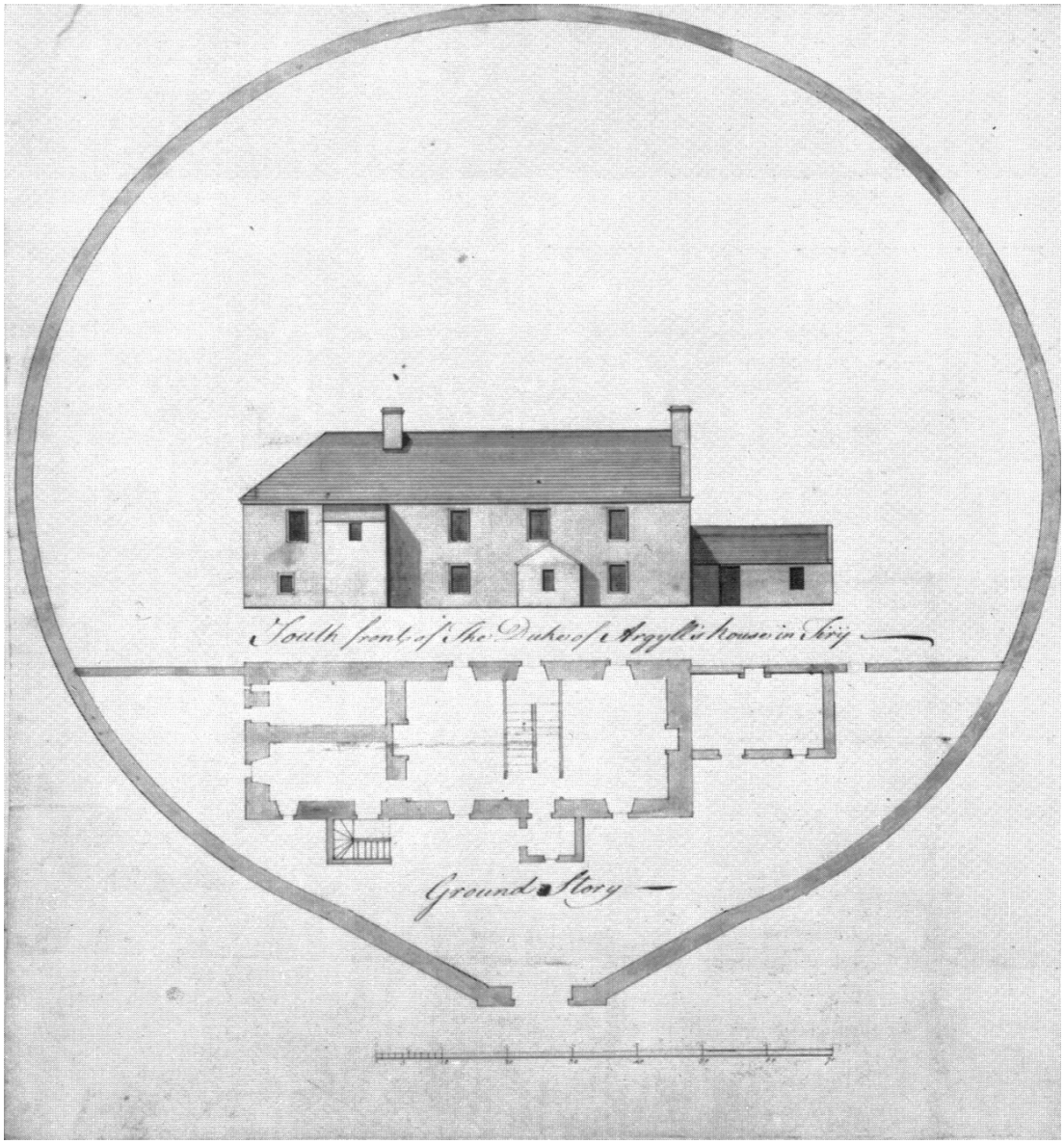

Figure 7.26: Island House, Tiree, design of c. 1745. RCAHMS, 1971–92, III (1980), pl. 83, fig. B. Argyll Estate papers, © RCAHMS.

The example of Raasay House, together with the preceding discussion on the development of the Type II laird's house in the Hebrides, helps to demonstrate that certain characteristics of late 17th-century and early 18th-century laird's houses endured into the later period, but that these were melded with details that were probably gleaned from sourcebooks. The axial approach, forecourt, symmetrical façade, centrally placed ground-floor entrance and stair can all be found in these early examples. Mid-18th-century laird's houses would not necessarily have looked

very different from them. Slate roofs, which did not require as steep a pitch as thatch, would have become more common over the course of the second half of the 18th century and window openings would have been larger than their early 18th-century predecessors, with sash-and-case windows the norm. Some houses were built using plans that had relatively shorter lengths, but greater breadths, and those second rooms at the rear of the house could benefit from a fireplace. Masons and carpenters were no doubt influenced by details found in pattern books (the most popular of which were reissued on several occasions) for door, window and fireplace surrounds, plasterwork and panelling. The influence of carpenters manuals has also been touched upon in Chapter 4 (p.161). Certain classical ideas caught on, particularly flanking wings and, in some cases, the emphasis on the first floor as a *piano noble* where the principal rooms were located, as at Gesto House (C.12), Skye, which was probably built in the 1760s (Roberts, 1982, 24 & 26). The laird's houses of the mid-18th century in this area should therefore not be regarded as representing an imported style, but instead as having their roots firmly planted in their laird's house predecessors.

7.6 Conclusion

> The contrast between the conservatism and retrospection of the pre-Union laird's house and the advanced standards of design displayed in its Georgian successor is so marked as to be explicable only in terms of a minor revolution in architectural styles.
>
> John Dunbar, *The Historic Architecture of Scotland*, 1966, p.81

We have looked at the pre- and post-Union laird's houses of the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles in this chapter and one of the main objectives has been to establish whether or not the 18th-century version is so different "as to be explicable only in terms of a minor revolution in architectural styles". Looking first at the period around 1600, this area had, of course, a castle-building tradition and those castles were often occupied for longer than their mainland counterparts. Duntulm and Kilmoluag Tower were not abandoned until the first decades of the 18th century, for

example. Evidence for the building of 17th-century residential ranges within castle complexes has been discussed; those at Caisteal Camus and Kisimul provide us with the only extant examples of Type I laird's houses of the first half of the 17th century in the case-study area. However, there is reason to believe that laird's houses were being built here throughout the 17th century. The next earliest surviving laird's house is Unish House, which is important as it is probably best described as a Type I laird's house which has Type II characteristics. It is particularly difficult to date because of its unusual design; but it has a symmetrical five-bay façade and its main living rooms appear to have been on the first floor. On that basis, it probably dates to between *c*. 1660 and *c*. 1690, possibly built for Roderick MacLeod who held the tack of Unish by 1664 until after 1692. The development of the Type II from around 1700 to 1770 was then charted using many more surviving examples from the area and comparative studies. Here we have established that the houses show a great many similarities with Lowland laird's houses and, most importantly, that there was not so much a "revolution of styles" as a steady development of the laird's house influenced by pattern books and the changing availability of materials, as seen in the change from thatch to slate.

Two general misconceptions to be rejected are that: 1) the West Highlands and Islands were significantly more militarised that other areas of Scotland during the 17th century; and 2) Highland culture did not begin to change until after The Forty-Five. The political and economic contexts set out in Sections 7.2.2–7.2.4, demonstrate that territorial disputes were usually being settled without resort to violence from the early 17th century, that island chiefs and their sons were moving in the same circles as their Lowland counterparts, and that Risings did not greatly delay the application of Improvement policies by chiefs and tacksmen during the 18th century.

Though castles and tower-houses were occupied into the 18th century, their occupants would not necessarily have viewed them as 'strongholds'. Those most strongly fortified examples such as Dun Sgathaich and Brochel were abandoned in *c.* 1618 and *c.* 1670 respectively. Already, a more domestic tower-house, Kilmoluag,

had been built as an alternative to Brochel for the Raasay MacLeods, probably in the second quarter of the 16th century. Meanwhile, both Dun Sgathaich and Caisteal Camus were abandoned in favour of a tower-house at Armadale that was probably built in the second half of the 16th century. It is unfortunate that two likely candidates for identification as tower-houses of the 16th century, at Kimolouag and Armadale, have been so thoroughly demolished that nothing certain is known of them. Unlike in the Scottish Borders, for example, it seems that very few truly 'late' tower-houses were built in the Hebrides. In this, the area is more akin to Shetland, where the only late tower-houses that were built are at Muness (completed in 1598) and Scalloway (1599–1602). What the Shetland and Hebridean evidence demonstrates is that in landscapes bereft of the 'late tower-house' the laird's house cannot simply be seen as derivative of them.

At the greater enclosure castles residential ranges were being built in Skye and Barra in the 17th century which seem to have closer ties to contemporary laird's houses elsewhere. Caisteal Camus, abandoned in the 1640s, had been remodelled in the *c.* 1620s as a secondary residence of the MacDonald chief with a new south-west range, which had a hall and laird's chamber on the first floor. Kisimul preserves evidence of a number of houses, the most prestigious being the remodelled hall range of the 17th century. Both Duntulm and, in particular, Dunvegan were improved with new works during the 17th century. It has already been noted that the late 17th-century additions at Dunvegan could rival the latest Lowland architecture.

In this case-study area the builders of laird's houses belonged to three main groups: 1) clan chiefs who were either investing in new ranges at their castles or building second residences; 2) heads of cadet branches who were close relatives of the chiefs; and 3) lesser clan members who had acquired cash surpluses through their involvement in the cattle trade from the later 17th century. In general, only the chiefs were 'landowners'. The majority of greater or lesser men involved in the land market were technically tenants, holding the land in tack, liferent, and sometimes in wadset from their chief. The situation was, therefore, different from the other areas studied in this thesis and from Scotland in general. However, the houses that these larger

tenants built were on a par with the laird's houses found elsewhere. Real changes in landownership only came about when bankruptcy was faced by chiefs and they were forced to sell parts of their estate. For example, the MacLeods of Dunvegan sold Glenelg in 1800 and the MacLeods of Raasay sold the whole island of Raasay in 1843 (Miket, 1998, 16; MacLeod, 1980a, 232).

It has been suggested above that Unish House probably dates to the 1660s–90s. It is thus earlier than the latest date suggested by the RCAHMS, linked to the granting of Unish to Donald Roy MacLeod in 1708, but much later than Roberts and MacLeod's suggestion that it was built by a Fife Adventurer sometime between 1598 and 1609. Unish House is considered here to be a late Type I laird's house with first-floor principal accommodation, but one which also demonstrates several features expected of an early Type II. It is, therefore, an example of the transition from the Type I to the Type II, perhaps being built around the time the first Type IIs were being built in the east-central Lowlands, if not earlier. Ormiclate, in South Uist, the earliest surviving Type II house in the case-study area, was built in *c*. 1701–3. It too has suffered from misinterpretation because of a 'French' connection. It owes its inspiration to Scottish laird's houses rather than to French *manoirs*. But, like Unish, the design of Ormiclate is unusual with its T-plan and broad four-bay front and so there seems to be a freer development of the Type II, as we have also seen with the planning of Blairhall and Old Shieldbank.

Moving into the 1730s, laird's houses like Monkstadt (1732–41) show greater regularity of form with the five-bay front and two main ground-floor rooms arranged on either side of a dog-leg stair. Even though a metalled road to Bernera Barracks was not built until 1771–2, "doubtless a reasonably sturdy trackway to the Barracks had existed since its construction" in 1720–3 (Miket, 1998, 62). By the latter date, it would have been easier to reach Glasgow and Edinburgh overland than by sea if so wished. This is important as, though island chiefs and upper clansmen had been travelling south regularly since the previous century, it may be that lowland masons could reach the islands more easily and undertake commissions there. The building of the barracks also brought its overseer, Sir Patrick Strachan (from Aberdeenshire),

to the area. He is credited with some of the houses in the Kirk Town of Glenelg (*ibid*, 43; Stell, 1973, 21). Also, the draft for Monkstadt could have been produced elsewhere, even though its building was carried out by local masons and craftsmen. The smaller, three-bay Talisker was built around the same time as Monkstadt. We cannot provide an accurate date of building, although there are sufficient parallels for houses of its type throughout Scotland. As John Dunbar (1966, 83) notes, "in general, houses [from *c.* 1730 onwards] varied little in appearance from one part of the country to another". He goes on to make comparisons between Border, Stirlingshire and Highland laird's houses.

In tracing the influences on the second form of Raasay House, as it was built after the Reprisals of 1746, the most significant factor appears to be the increased availability of pattern books. This in itself would have led to a closer correlation between laird's houses built in various corners of Scotland. Pattern books are also likely to have provided the blueprint for estate architecture, with examples at Dunvegan dating to the 1730s, which in turn would have expanded the repertoire of the local masons. In terms of planning, laird's houses still tended to be single-pile, though sometimes there were one or more narrow rooms at the back of the house. Slightly larger rear rooms were possible if the house was built with a deeper overall span. The proportions of the plan altered, as seen in the 1.6:1 of Raasay as compared to the average 2.0:1 of Type I houses or early Type IIs. The pattern books fostered the double-pile or tripartite plan arrangement, although most houses built using these plans were of mansion-house or villa proportions.

In terms of small laird's houses like Raasay and Talisker there is an apparent trend for the preference for three over five bays, as the alterations at Unish House show. One wonders whether this was also the motivation behind the more radical rebuilding of Udrigle House in 1745. In part, these changes may stem from the perceived benefits of sash-and-cash windows over fixed-pane windows, when, to create a symmetrical façade over two storeys, five larger windows would have been more economical than nine smaller ones. Additionally, the classical proportions derived from the three bays may have been more desirable at this date. Nevertheless,

a broadly spaced three-bay façade is suggested at Grishipoll House, Coll, tentatively dated here to the early 18th century.

Hipped-roofed mansions like Seaforth Lodge, at Stornoway, were built towards the closing years of the 18th century, in that case for Lord Seaforth. Around the same time Lord MacDonald began building a new six-bay house at Armadale in the 1790s. James MacLeod added a seven-bay mansion in front of Raasay House in *c.* 1805. Seaforth and MacDonald were also engaged in ambitious schemes for their estates including roads and planned villages. One of Matthew Stobie's duties was to plan a new village at Portree in 1763 and it was ready for feus to be granted in 1796 (Allen, 1989, 48). By this time, therefore, although the major landowners were not commissioning 'laird's houses' as their own homes, they became a convenient model for inns, factor's houses, manses and farmhouses. This is a trend that can be observed across Scotland. The period covered in this chapter takes us to Thomas Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides* in 1772 and Johnson and Boswell's tour in 1773, a time when most of the major changes to the form of the 'laird's house' had taken place. Its general form barely altered after *c.* 1750.

The key points to emerge from this study of Hebridean laird's houses can be summarised in the following way: 1) Type I laird's houses were being built in the area in the 17th century; 2) there is evidence for the development of the Type II *from* the Type I; 3) Type II laird's houses were first built in the western islands at a round the *same* time as in Lowland Scotland; and 4) the mid-18th-century Type II laird's house was not a sudden introduction to the islands. Placing the findings of this regional study in the wider context of this thesis, the crucial conclusion is that the Georgian Type II does not seem to be so dissimilar to the late Type I and early Type II as to render it "a minor revolution in architectural styles" (Dunbar, 1966, 81). From the preceding discussion the later, and more widespread, Type II can be seen as a development of the earlier laird's house, modified to incorporate newly-available materials and in response to details gleaned from the latest pattern books, although always tailored to the purse, or aspirations, of the individual patron.

Part III
Conclusion and Gazetteer

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis has been to provide a new development history of a single building type – the laird's house – forty years on from the publication of the last work on the subject. It has been a difficult task to provide a definition of the 'laird's house' in order to differentiate it from a host of similar building types. The scope of this thesis has been modified a number of times as the class description took shape. It is hoped that the end result has balanced the need to explain the definition in detail with a narrative which has provided numerous examples of the laird's house and placed the building type in both national and regional contexts.

In this final chapter, firstly, the review of literature relating to the laird's house and domestic architecture of the late medieval to early modern periods will be summarised and the main aims of the thesis will be justified. Secondly, two key sections from the Methodology, which sought to define both the 'laird', in terms of who built laird's houses, and the 'laird's house' itself, will be discussed. Thirdly, this will be followed by a synopsis of the general approach of this thesis, *i.e.* the national overview underpinned by regional studies and the gazetteers. Fourthly, the main conclusions of the Overview chapter and the three case-study areas will then be reviewed and the ways in which the regional studies were informed by the national picture, and vice versa, will be emphasised. Finally, areas for future research on laird's houses will be identified including the development of a national survey.

8.2 The study of laird's houses

It would be fair to say that John Dunbar's (1966, 65–92) chapter on laird's houses in *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* was the first time that the laird's house had been considered as a specific architectural class. A few works before then, notably the gazetteers of MacGibbon & Ross (1887–92) and Tranter (1935; 1962), described laird's houses as part of broader surveys, but none defined them as a coherent group. Post-1707 laird's houses were included in RCAHMS Inventories published after

1962 and so more in-depth studies on individual examples were accumulated and something could be said about them as a group in the Inventories, a particular example is the first of these, the two-volume Stirlingshire Inventory (1963). However, the Inventories, books about Scottish architectural history in general, or articles about domestic architecture from the period during which laird's houses were built have not expanded significantly upon the origins, development, and definition provided by Dunbar.

A time lapse of forty years since the last major study of a subject is not, in itself, sufficient justification for undertaking a Ph.D. thesis on that topic. Though Dunbar's chapter was significant, it was aimed at the general reader and only a brief overview of the origins and development of the laird's house was possible in 21 pages. It gave only a very general definition of the laird's house in terms of date-range and builder rather than form. Whilst it set out that there were two types of laird's house and discussed a range of examples, a specific definition of the first type of laird's house (like that provided for the second type) was not given. The origins of the first type were presented as being fairly clear, but only suggestions could be offered for the origins of the later type. There were, therefore, a number of points which could be clarified, expanded, or tested. The second edition of the book, published in 1978, reduced coverage of the laird's house and earlier conclusions were not expanded. As discussed in Chapter 1, the main addition to Dunbar's overview has been Joachim Zeune's (1992, 149) suggestion that there existed another 'semi-defensive' building type, which he describes using the German word *saalgeschosshaus*, related to, but distinct from, laird's houses.

There have been a number of other developments both in related fields, which would warrant a re-evaluation of some of Dunbar's conclusions, and in terms of what is regarded as merit-worthy in terms of recording, meaning that the standard of data available on less-well-known building types such as the laird's house has improved.

Dunbar (1966, 66) wrote that "the laird's house of the seventeenth century evolved directly from the late medieval tower-house". As discussed in Section 1.2.2, our

understanding of the late medieval tower-house has shifted a great deal since Stewart Cruden published *The Scottish Castle* in 1960, particularly in the 1980s. Today, the prevailing view is that their primary function was domestic and that certain castellated features, such as gunloops, together with the tower form were part of the language of status rather than being overtly martial. Nevertheless, the opportunity has not been taken to re-evaluate the origins of the laird's house in the light of the function of the late tower-house. For example, Tom Addyman (pt.1, 2002, 35) described one laird's house completed in 1702 as "an example of almost the last stage in the evolution from the tower house to the purely domestic". Should we still view the laird's house as the domestication of the tower-house? This question has been tackled in this thesis and its conclusions are summarised in Section 8.4.2.1 below.

Other building types have not been considered to a similar degree in terms of their potential for having influenced the laird's house form. Examples include burgh dwellings such as town houses, commendator's houses, manses and mid-16th century mansions (rather than tower-houses). Authors such as Deborah Howard (1992; 1995b), Geoffrey Stell (1988) and Richard Fawcett (1994b; 2001) have moved on our understanding of burgh and ecclesiastical architecture and Aonghus Mackechnie (2005) and Charles McKean (2001) have reconsidered Renaissance mansions and tower-houses. Our understanding of the development of burghs has also improved with the Scottish Burgh Survey series (1977–) and the impetus it has given to urban archaeology in Scotland. The 16th-century tenant's house has also been discussed as an often overlooked group in terms of the early development of the laird's house.

The merit accorded to lower-status buildings such as farmhouses (some of which turn out to have originated as laird's houses) and to those undesignated buildings or sites which will be adversely affected by development means that what we record, to what degree, and the methods we have at our disposal have improved significantly over the last forty years. Most of the laird's houses which have been fully or partially excavated have been investigated since 1980 (*see* note 3, p.5). Others have been the

subjects of non-invasive surveys and Conservation Plans. The impetus for these studies has been varied, ranging from research to threat from development. Of those that have been fully published or archived, the standard of measured survey has generally been high. This, therefore, provides the student of the laird's house with an enhanced dataset. However, these same reports have shown that there exists insufficient detail on the broader context of laird's houses, either at the national or regional level (as acknowledged by James, 2005b, 12 for example), to help frame their findings.

None of the archaeological surveys and excavations has been aimed specifically at finding out more about laird's houses. A relevant programme has, however, been undertaken by the Clydesdale Bastle Project since 1981. This has targeted a single building type, the 'bastle'. Several of those studied by the Project would be regarded as 'laird's houses' by the present author. There have also been a small number of local studies about laird's houses in the field of architectural history, notably on tacksman's houses in Morvern, Argyll (Maudlin, 2003), Shetland 'haas' (Finnie, 1996), Macleod laird's and tacksman's houses primarily on Skye (Roberts 1974, 1979a, 1980, 1981a, 1981b & 1982; MacLeod & Roberts, 1981), and laird's houses in North-West Ross (Beaton, 1994). These studies have been reviewed in Chapter 2 and, whilst each adds to the availability of detailed research about groups of laird's houses, they have not challenged Dunbar's established process of development. The problems of definition will be highlighted next. Differentiation between types is particularly difficult when considering the laird's house.

8.3 The definition of the laird's house

The development of a robust definition of a laird's house, to be able to define the scope of this thesis and to help others identify examples, has been a central aim. A large proportion of the Methodology (Chapter 3) has been devoted to defining 'lairds' in terms of those persons that could have been responsible for building 'laird's houses', discussing building types or terms which could also be 'laird's houses' and which could not, and, finally, providing and explaining definitions of the laird's house and its two main constituent types. 'Laird's house' is a term of modern

invention applied by architectural historians to a specific building class. It is a term that is inherently problematic because of the mixed nomenclature. However, in this thesis it has been distinguished from contemporary architectural and social definitions.

The key factor in determining those persons who could have been responsible for laird's houses is that they all, to varying degrees, controlled land. This definition need not only apply to landowners. In the later 16th century, kindly tenants and feuar lairds could have equal access to resources and were sufficiently secure in their possessions to build laird's houses. As the 17th century progressed, tenants who had sizeable landholdings could have built laird's houses. Members of society close to the principal landowner, such as his younger sons, might only hold their lands in tack or liferent, but, again, one would expect to find such men building laird's houses. Some ministers also had sufficient glebelands or other landed interests for them to fall into this category. Persons who held land only as wadsetters could still have invested in the wadset lands, particularly where the risk of the landowner defaulting on their repayments was high. Dowagers of landed men usually held dowerlands in liferent. Dower houses were often similar in form to laird's houses, having either been commissioned by dowagers' late husbands or sons, or already existing on the estate for another purpose. In some instances the latter could have been built as a laird's house, such as Monkstadt House on Skye (1732–41). Whilst burgesses may have owned or tenanted several tenements of land in burghs, they are not regarded by default as the builders of laird's houses. Moving up the social scale, a single wealthy laird could have built as many as three laird's houses, for example William Bruce in Shetland between the mid-1580s and the 1610s. A lord could build a laird's house as a subsidiary dwelling to his main seat, or a chief could modify his castle with a range reminiscent of a laird's house.

Moving on now to what a 'laird's house' can be, several examples of laird's houses built in towns were discussed in this thesis. It is worth recalling Geoffrey Stell's (1988, 70) point that "given the town and country interests of most of their buildings, it is not surprising that the… tower houses of the urban aristocracy and gentry show

only a few variations in design from their rural counterparts". This could equally apply to the laird's house. Similarly, examples of tenant's houses, tacksman's houses, manses and dower houses can also be described as laird's houses. Two terms explored in full in Chapters 4–6 are the 'bastle' and the 'böd' and these will be reviewed in Sections 8.4.2.1 & 8.4.2.2 below.

The laird's house has been defined in this thesis as a gable-ended house, one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half storeys, three to six bays in width, one-room deep with a rectangular-plan, built from the mid-16th century (*infra*) until *c*. 1800 by proprietors or major tenants in town or country. One defining factor of the laird's house is its size. It is not a tower or a mansion. Exceptionally, some three-storey houses, such as the Old Haa of Scalloway, Shetland, built in *c.* 1750, are regarded here as being laird's houses. Houses built to three storeys with a parapet or built closer to the square- rather than the rectangular-plan are regarded as tower-houses. The definition of a rectangular-plan mansion given here is that it was seven bays or more. The house type which can be confused with the laird's house more than any other is the farmhouse. This can be related to the standardisation of plan types which has been discussed fully in Chapters 4 and 7 and will be summarised in the relevant sections below. The villa can be differentiated from the laird's house more easily as it is often hipped with a basement and double-pile.

As observed by Dunbar, the laird's house can be usefully divided into two subgroups, here referred to as the Type I and Type II. The main distinctions between the two types are that the Type I usually had an open hall on the ground floor or on the first floor, over service accommodation, and the fenestration of the main façade was often irregularly disposed, whereas the Type II usually had living rooms on the ground floor, one of the ground-floor rooms functioning as a 'parlour', an internal stair, and a symmetrical main façade. These definitions focus on the form of the house rather than the occupier as this was found to be the most useful strategy for defining examples of the building type. The main body of the thesis has been concerned with discussing pertinent examples and providing a detailed development

history which, together, make the definitions clearer and provide a contextual framework for other studies.

It is worth revisiting other approaches to classification here in order to assess the value of the general methodology applied in this thesis which was: a) classification based on general form; b) focusing on the houses built by or for persons who controlled land, and; c) sub-classification into only two main types.

In Chapters 3 and 5, the survey by Philip Dixon on the 16th-century 'Fortified Houses on the Anglo-Scottish Border' (1976) has been discussed. Dixon created a detailed typology of the 'towers', 'bastles' and 'pele-houses' of the border region. In this, he followed the approach of many architectural- or archaeological-based studies of the 1970s and '80s. This method was used by the RCAHMW as it developed a table of 26 plans classified by four 'basic plans' with a number of variants and four 'chimney positions' for their survey of *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (Smith, 1988), first published in 1975 (fig. 79, 172). Another, more architectural, approach, adopted by Alan Gailey in *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland* (1984) and Robert J. Naismith in *Buildings of the Scottish Countryside* (1985), was to break the house down into component parts. For example, in Chapters 4 to 7, Gailey looked at wall materials, the roof, hearth and chimney, and floors and piercing. Similarly, in Chapter 5, Naismith looked at 'The elements of building': walls, roofs, chimneyheads and other roof elements, doors and porches, and windows and dormers. Gailey (1984, 141–2) included tables like that shown in Figure 8.1 below in order to subcategorise two main types, the 'direct-entry house' and the 'hearth-lobby house', and also attempted to show the development of each type diagrammatically (*ibid*, 162 & 181). In this, Gailey and Naismith followed the architect, R. W. Brunskill who advocated this method in *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (1970).

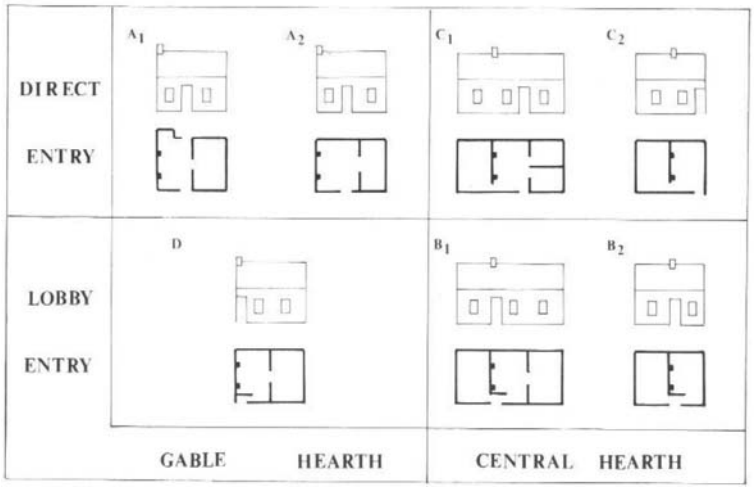

Figure 8.1: Classification of Irish house types by plan form. Gailey, 1984, fig.143, p.141.

Brunskill went on to publish the highly influential *Traditional Buildings of Britain* (1981) which was organised by regional styles. Naismith (1985, 155) referred to the three areas Brunskill noted for Scotland, and then went on to divide them further into twelve mainland 'character zones' together with three groups for the north and west islands. Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker also used the component parts/regional zoning method in *The Rural Architecture of Scotland*, published in 1981. More recent studies have tended to move away from the strict typological approach whilst extolling the virtues of regional studies in order to inform the 'bigger picture'. *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* was put together by the RCHME/English Heritage (Cooper, 1999) over the 1990s, one generation later than the RCAHMW's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (Smith, 1988). They are both extremely in-depth, however, the former is organised much more thematically than the latter with less emphasis on a detailed typology and regional variations. Cooper (1999, x) advocated that the general conclusions presented in the volume would benefit from scrutiny using local studies. RCHME's *English Farmsteads, 1750–1915* (Barnwell & Giles, 1997) is an example of this as farmsteads in five contrasting areas are examined to highlight regional diversity and they are contextualised by being accompanied by a national overview.

In terms of the laird's house, the present author did consider a typological and component-based approach and, at an early stage in the research, even produced a

simple 'development' diagram based on Dunbar's suggested origins.[126] However, it is easy to make the tower-house → laird's house development 'fit' in a visual representation, just as Tam Ward (1998, 19 figs. 15–16) has done with the tower-house and 'bastle'. What has been more productive, was to make careful comparisons between houses of a similar size and appearance; a process which resulted in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 which list other terms that have, or can be, used to describe a 'laird's house' and those that do not. This approach has helped to strip away assumptions in order to reassess the origins of the laird's house and the influences on its development. In this way, it was found that certain other building terms were unhelpful and that the idea that the tower-house was the primary antecedent of the laird's house was misplaced. The use of specific materials and building techniques will often highlight regional variations. General observations in this regard, such as the use of lime- or clay-mortar or prevalence or continuance of certain features, have been made in this thesis. However, a more detailed component-based approach may have undermined the general aim of reassessing the development of the laird's house on a national and, in part, regional basis. Instead, functional and social changes are emphasised as they are seen to be critical in driving the development of the laird's house.

Naturally, it is equally valid to study all the houses of the social group associated with the term 'laird' over a certain period and within an area or areas. However, the interest for this particular researcher lies in trying to place a relatively neglected and misunderstood house form 'on the map'. It is one which has perhaps been generally overlooked because of the romanticism or nationalism associated with the 'castellated' tower-house and because, today, it may be regarded as rather unassuming given the plethora of similar houses that exist. At one time they were the exception, not the rule.

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[126] This diagram, and the general approach, formed the basis of a paper entitled 'The Spatial Evolution of the Laird's House: Reflections of power and rural society' presented at the 'Space, Culture, Power' conference of the University of Aberdeen/University of Cambridge, Aberdeen, April 2001.

The main conclusions relating to the definition of the laird's house are as follows:

- The laird's house is a building type which needs to be broadly defined in terms of its *form* so that it can be differentiated from a range of building types.
- Other 'building terms' cannot also apply to examples of the 'laird's house', such as 'tower-house' and 'bastle', and so examples which have been described as both need to be carefully scrutinised.
- Other 'labels' may apply to examples of laird's houses, such as 'town house', which are not defined by their form.
- Laird's houses were built for people who controlled land; they are not, therefore, limited to the houses of 'lairds'.
- There are, as observed by Dunbar, two main types of laird's house. They are described here as the 'Type I' and the 'Type II'. Each type is described in detail so that they can be differentiated from one another.

8.4 The national overview and case-studies

8.4.1 Methodology

As summarised above, the approach adopted in this thesis, a hierarchy from a national overview and definition of the building type, to regional case-studies, to individual descriptions of the building type arranged in regional gazetteers, follows a model that has been adopted since the 1990s for studies of a similar nature. Having established that a national overview of laird's houses should be supported by regional studies, three were chosen as a best fit to early assertions about the time-span over which laird's houses were built, their main influences, and their main stages of development. It was also desirable that the areas contrasted with one other in terms of the pattern of landholding, survival of laird's houses, and the (built and natural) environment.

Dunbar (1966, 66) entitled his section about the first of two subgroups of laird's houses 'The Legacy of the Tower-house'. The Scottish Borders has traditionally been associated with tower-houses and fortified or semi-fortified building types called 'bastles', 'pele-towers' and 'pele-houses'. In this environment, the question as to whether or not the laird's house was the legacy of the tower-house could be posed. In contrast, the northern and western islands of Scotland do not have a similar tower-house tradition. Laird's houses survive in good numbers in Shetland, in particular, from the second half of the 17th century. This is not the case for the Borders as many were superseded or incorporated into larger houses or their remains swept aside for agricultural improvements. It seems that fewer laird's houses were built in the Hebrides before *c.* 1800 compared to Shetland, however, a good number of 18th-century laird's and tacksman's houses survive. Each case-study focused on specific periods, however, each included an overview of how the laird's house originated in that specific area. In general terms, the origins of the first laird's houses were sought in the Borders, their development over the 17th century was the focus in Shetland, and the development of the later type of laird's house, the Type II, was charted in the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles. It was hoped that by studying two marginal areas in the north of Scotland, evidence to confirm or deny the view that the laird's house originated and developed in the lowlands would be discovered.

The national overview of laird's houses presented in this thesis, each of the case-studies, the examples in the gazetteer, and the definition of the laird's house and its subtypes were each refined as progress was made on any one constituent part. Inevitably, the process of research has been reiterative, given the fundamental aims of trying to devise a detailed definition of a building type, and to reassess its origins, the validity of its subgroups, and its general development. The next section will emphasise those points that emerged from the broad-brush approach and that influenced the regional studies, and those local observations which resulted in a re-assessment of the national picture.

8.4.2 The national overview

The national overview sought to identify and discuss the origins of the laird's house, what form it took, how it changed and developed, and to understand its eventual decline. No extant examples of laird's houses of around 1550, when laird's houses were probably first built, have been identified and so it has been necessary to look to other houses of this period to find possible parallels for their appearance. Principally, the tower-house, mansion, manse and tenant's house have been considered. Moving into the years either side of 1600, surviving examples of the laird's house (Type I) were identified and their characteristics discussed. Certain dwellings termed by others as 'bastles' and '*saalgeschosshauses*' which bore similarities to the laird's house were also examined to determine whether separate categories were appropriate. As the 17th century progressed, some elements of the Type I changed in terms of the vertical alignment of openings and instances of ground-floor living quarters over only one storey. The laird's house of *c.* 1690 onwards is sufficiently different from the characteristic Type I for it to be described as 'Type II'. By the 1730s it seems to have developed on a standard plan. Influences for the Type II were discussed and the main ones appear to be the later development of the Type I, the influence of gentleman architects and masons, Hanoverian architecture, and pattern books. The conclusions that differ from the established model of laird's house development and those that have been influenced by the regional studies will be discussed below.

8.4.2.1 The origins of the laird's house

It has been suggested here that the laird's house derives less from the tower-house than previously thought. The original core of Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen (Figure 4.7, p.110) dates to *c.* 1545 and was built on the rectangular-plan (13.7 by 7.9 m) to three-and-a-half storeys in height. The oldest surviving part of the chantor's house in Elgin is of three storeys, was built before 1557 (far right in Figure 4.8, p.112) and is the earliest surviving manse in Scotland. It is likely that the houses of senior clerics would have been similar to high status secular houses. These urban mansions provide us with examples of residences built at an early date which are not

overtly tower-house-like in form. MacGibbon and Ross (1887–92, V (1892), 52) observed that "most of the town houses of any pretension retain, as we have seen in many instances, the same plans as those detached mansions erected in the country". In the Scottish Borders, Hutton Hall, 1573 (Figure 5.14, p.220), and Cowdenknowes, 1574 (Figure 5.3, p.193), are slightly later in date, but these rural mansions – albeit associated with older tower-houses – provide non-tower-like models for the laird's house. The tenant's house might well provide a more direct antecedent, however, as successful tenants could have modified their existing one- or on-and-a-half-storey dwelling into the first 'laird's houses'. Looking further afield, Gailey (1984, 8) has made the observation that:

> Whenever in northern Ireland larger multi-storeyed vernacular houses are encountered, they almost invariably conform, on their ground floors, to the patterns represented by the smaller dwellings. Many were created by simple enlargement of the older houses, bedrooms being added above. Others were built to this enlarged pattern from the outset, but their design ancestry based on enlarged vernacular single-storeyed houses is unmistakable.

Some of the earliest surviving laird's houses, from the 1580s to the 1620s, share similarities with contemporary tower-houses. In addition to misconceptions about the extent of accommodation available to occupants of tower-houses, this may be one reason why it has been suggested that the laird's house developed from the tower-house. A tower-house and a laird's house from the 1590s were compared in Section 4.3.1.2 (Figure 4.4 & Figure 4.5, p.105). They share certain motifs, such as the form of stairtower and corbelled-out upper stair. However, the same architectural vocabulary could have been applied to different scales of house rather than the smaller house having to be derivative of the larger house. Aesthetically, some laird's houses from this date are not similar to contemporary tower-houses, for example Bay House, Dysart (1583, Figure 4.21, p.129), and Jarlshof, Shetland (*c.* 1589, Figure Figure 6.11, p.287). Examples of simple tower-houses built around 1530, Hills Tower in Kirkcudbrightshire (Figure 4.1, p.98) and Smailholm Tower in Roxburghshire (Figure 5.5, p.197), have been illustrated and described in Chapters 4

and 5. What is apparent from them is that their general arrangement – service basement, principal accommodation on the first floor, and chambers above – can apply equally to the examples of town dwellings described above. The laird's house need not necessarily be seen as a cut-down version of the tower-house: rather, it complied with what would have been expected for houses greater than one storey in height built by aspiring men.

A key influence in the development of the earliest laird's houses appears to have been the hall. The juxtaposition of the tower-house and hall range is a common feature of medieval castles, such as Cowdenknowes mentioned above and at enclosure castles of the western seaboard discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3.1), but there were also more diminutive pairings such as the late 16th-century Murroes House in Perthshire (Figure 4.2, p.101). In larger examples the hall itself could have been placed on the first-floor; in most cases it was positioned on the ground floor. At Murroes, probably in the early 17th century, the tower and hall-range were converted into a homogenous laird's house. The hall ranges at Smailholm Tower, Kisimul Castle on Barra (Figure 7.5, p.347) and Breachacha Castle on Coll (Figure 7.6, p.348) were also converted into laird's houses during the 17th century. It is not always clear in examples like these whether the principal accommodation was placed on the ground or first floor; however, a hall function for the central ground-floor space at Smailholm seems likely and the hall was probably housed within the independently-accessed first floor at Breachacha. A common denominator in all known early laird's houses, whether converted from pre-existing halls or built anew, is the presence of a principal room open to the rafters which functioned as the 'hall'. Its vertical position was usually dictated by the number of available storeys.

Open halls are a feature which is common to a much wider area of medieval Europe. This may be one reason why Joachim Zeune (1992, 149) aligned some Scottish laird's houses with German '*saalgeschosshauses*', defined as medieval high status residences with a first-floor halls. Houses with open halls were widespread throughout medieval England and Wales (Cooper, 1999, 275; Smith, 1988, 155). Peter Smith (*ibid*) writes that "for the great mass of dwellings [in late sixteenth-

century Wales]… the 'horizontal' tradition of the hall-house remained the more important factor" over "the 'vertical' tradition of castle, tower and first-floor hall". Llaneilian-yn-Rhos, Denbighshire, is described as a one-and-a-half-storey 'hall-house' rebuilt in stone with an extruded chimney – and such houses as being "the main ancestors of the sub-medieval storeyed house" (*ibid*, pl. 36).

In summary, the main conclusions in relation to the origins of the Type I laird's house are as follows:

- The laird's house derived from a) the medieval hall-house and hall range and b) the early 16th-century one-and-a-half-storey masonry houses of large tenants or small lairds.
- The defining characteristic of the early laird's house is the *open* hall, whether situated on the ground or first floor.
- The later tower-house and the earliest surviving examples of the laird's house developed simultaneously, some sharing an aesthetic vocabulary.

8.4.2.2 The development of the Type I laird's house

The principal change in the later development of the Type I laird's houses, has been characterised in Chapter 4 as 'the demise of the hall and the rise of the parlour'. A fundamental shift in the function and status associated with the open hall provided opportunities to alter internal planning and rationalise entrance elevations. This paved the way for symmetrical façades, centrally-placed internal stairs, and made room for the 'parlour' on the ground-floor.

The ceiled ground-floor hall was introduced in England and Wales in the 16th century. Nicholas Cooper (1999, 277 & 282) suggests that the prestige attached to the open hall began to wane around 1500 and that, though the preference for the 'low' as opposed to the 'tall' hall took time to spread, external evidence of tall halls was being suppressed from around the 1580s. The general preference for a ceiled hall seems to have been a later phenomenon in Scotland although it is difficult to pinpoint

a firm date for this having become commonplace. Old Hamilton House in Prestonpans (Figure 4.28, p.139) seems to have been built with a ceiled ground-floor hall in 1628. Evidence for the ceiling of existing ground-floor open halls can be found at Ballsarroch, Galloway (Figure 4.25, p.135), and Pitcastle, Perthshire (Figure 4.24, p.133). These changes perhaps took place in the second half of the 17th century with more prestigious houses like the Dower House at Stobhall in Perthshire representing the first instances of this trend in the 1650s (Figure 4.31, p.144).

Around the same time Williamstoun, Perthshire (Figure 4.30, p.142), which had a first-floor hall with lateral stack reached by a stairtower, was remodelled in such a way that might that a ground-floor living room, functioning as the equivalent to the English 'parlour', seems to have been created on one side of a central stair contained within the main body of the house. The other ground-floor room served as a kitchen. It is possible that ideas of English polite society that infiltrated after the Union of the Parliaments were felt more acutely during the Interregnum. These ideas may have translated into some aspects of the form of newly-built houses of the period, particularly in the houses of patrons sympathetic to the new regime and comparatively wealthy. The occupants of Harden House (Figure 5.33, p.250), situated on the border, had direct English links and its remodelling of the 1640s was certainly influenced by English forms, judging by four of the windows and low hall. The vertical alignment of windows can also be seen in some laird's houses of an early date. With two roughly equal storeys, windows could be inserted in a more regular fashion. In examples were ground-floor stores were remodelled into living accommodation, enlarged windows also helped to regularise the appearance of the main elevation.

The change in the function of the 'hall', the introduction of the 'parlour', and the regular façades of the later Type I anticipated some of the main features of the Type II. The Type II is, therefore, *not* seen as a radical departure from what had gone before (Dunbar, 1966, 81).

The main conclusions are summarised below:

- The fundamental change to the laird's house over the course of the 17th century was from the open hall to the ceiled hall or parlour. This development enabled more radical changes to planning and elevations.

- The Type I laird's house developed over the course of *c.* 150 years and changes over the second half of the 17th century, such as ground-floor living rooms, stairs in the main body of the house and regular entrance façades, anticipated many of the main characteristics of the Type II laird's house.

8.4.2.3 The origins and development of the Type II laird's house

Although much of the origin of the Type II laird's house, which first emerged in the 1690s, can be credited to the late developments of the Type I, influences for other characteristics, including the resolutely symmetrical façade and axial approach, can be sought elsewhere. From the 1670s, country house design in Scotland had been advanced by gentleman architects such as Sir William Bruce (1630–1710) and James Smith (*c.* 1645–1731). Dunbar (*ibid*, 82) and Beaton (1997, 65) have hinted at the role their master-builders may have played in the design of the later laird's house. The house of one such mason, Tobias Bauchop, has been discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.6.1, Figure 4.34) and in its four-bay symmetrically-planned frontage it is similar to the Type II laird's house. Moreover, there is a direct link between the symmetrical re-fronting of Blairhall and Sir William Bruce, the house having been remodelled by his lairdly brother around the 1690s. The "'drive' towards symmetry in handling facade elements" is noted in neighbouring countries around the same time as "a more subtle response to ideas coming from the formal into the vernacular sphere" in the north of Ireland, for example (Gailey, 1984, 4).

There is tentative evidence from Shetland (Section 6.8.1) to show that houses similar to the main block at Blairhall, with its five-bay façade, may have been built there before 1700. This would indicate that it took little time for these ideas to spread throughout Scotland. However, Unish House on Skye, possibly built before 1690, is

extremely unusual with its centrally-placed 'entrance' chimneystack (Figure 7.8, p.354). It is possible that the preference for symmetry might have been relayed from patron to local mason and motifs, such as this chimneystack, developed independently. Ormiclate Castle, built on South Uist in *c.* 1701–3, demonstrates local variation of the Type II with its offset entrance, mid-gable and large rear wing (Figure 7.13, p.367). It does, however, preserve evidence of another Type II characteristic, the axial approach and forecourt with flanking offices. A similar arrangement is implied for its much smaller contemporary Old Auchentroig built in Stirlingshire (Figure 4.39, p.156).

In terms of ground- or first-floor principal rooms, the Type II often had one or more public rooms on the first floor. The emphasis of the first floor is indicated by the size of windows compared to those on the ground floor/basement and, in three-storey examples, attic floor. Examples include Borrowmeadow, Stirlingshire (*c.* 1730), and Flowerdale House, Wester Ross (1738; Figure 4.43, p.163). The *piano nobile*, axial approach and flanking pavilions at later houses, such as the Haa of Sand, Shetland (1754; B.26), all derive from the classical ideal. By this time, we know that lowland masons were engaged by lairds to build their houses, such as the mansion-house of Gardie in Shetland (1724) and the south-west wing at Glenure, Argyll (1751) built by masons from Aberdeenshire and Stirling respectively (Scott, 2007, 14; RCAHMS, 1971–92, II (1975), 256).

The axial approach is likely to have encouraged symmetry in both façade and external layout. However, these were not always accompanied by symmetrically-planned houses. This feature became common in later laird's houses, particularly from around the 1730s. The form that has often been associated with laird's houses, presumably because most survivals are from the 18th century, is the symmetrically-planned, three-bay laird's house. This is epitomised by Udrigle House of 1745 (Figure 4.46, p.165). Laird's houses such as this relate to the standardisation of laird's house, manse, factor's house and inn which was accompanied by both the widespread distribution of pattern books, which included designs for 'little' houses, and schemes for estate improvement. Some deepening of the plan can be observed in

laird's houses built around the same time as Udrigle, which allowed for narrow rooms at the back of the house such as Raasay House rebuilt in 1747 (Figure 7.23, p.390). Where houses had equal piles, they would have been roofed either with a hipped roof or parallel pitched roofs. The square-plan hipped-roofed houses which resulted from this are considered to be villas rather than laird's houses. Designs for small houses in pattern books often advocated the double pile, such as Plate LXI (Figure 4.41, p.159) in James Gibbs's (1728, xvi) *A Book of Architecture*, each of the "two Rooms [should be] of 14 feet by 18 ½ and 9 ½ feet in height". When comparing the typical laird's house of the mid-18th century with pre-1690 houses, there are significant differences. However, the process of development in the intervening 60 years or so shows that the initial changes were subtle in nature and a range of influences combined to produce the archetypical form of laird's house.

To summarise, the influences on the origins and the development of the Type II laird's house were:

- The late developments of the Type I laird's house, particularly ground-floor living rooms, is the most significant and, to date, most underplayed factor.
- The translation of classical ideas about the axial approach, centrally-placed entrance, and resolutely symmetrical façade by the masons that were influenced by the most prominent gentlemen architects from the 1670s onwards.
- Standardisation brought about by the designs for small houses in pattern books which became widely available from the 1720s onwards. Three-bay principal fronts and generally deeper widths (compared to the early Type IIs) became the norm.

8.4.3 The regional case-studies

The case-studies have helped to develop certain theories and highlight common threads. They include helping to demonstrate that the first laird's houses probably developed independently throughout Scotland from common antecedents such as the

hall-house, hall ranges, and tenant's houses, rather than having been concentrated in one area and spreading from there. The value of studying the specific areas has included the ability to reassess the typologies normally associated with Anglo-Scottish border strife using the national overview as a framework, it has enabled laird's houses to be 'found' in an area thought to be bereft of such buildings in the 17th century, it has highlighted mainland-island interaction and challenged the orthodox view that ideas were slow to infiltrate into 'remote' areas. In comparing the three areas, particularly to the middle of the 17th century where the Borders chapter 'stopped', it is also evident that differences between the lairds and their houses were less marked than would have been traditionally expected.

Whilst the earliest surviving laird's house in Shetland, Jarlshof (*c.* 1589), was built by a Fifeshire immigrant, there are several references to earlier 'manor houses' and, by inference, high-status dwellings are likely to have been built there by odal proprietors before the main influx of Scottish immigrants in the 1560s. We do not know what form these houses took, but substantial landholders' residences may have existed here before substantial kindly tenants and feuar-lairds built 'laird's houses' elsewhere. The examples of 'pele-houses' identified by the RCAHMS (1994) in the Scottish Borders also show that less substantial tenants were building two-storey masonry houses in the late 16th century. These appear to be outwith the normal building pattern for comparable tenants elsewhere, although further work is needed to support such a supposition. They do help to illustrate how the typical two-storey laird's house could be considered in terms of the simple upwards extension of one-storey houses, however. The pattern of landholding was different again in the Hebrides, and substantial houses seem to have been built there in the 1630s and '40s by sons of chiefs who held land in tack. The only extant example of a laird's house in this case-study area that can be fairly securely dated to that early period is at Caisteal Camus on Skye (Figure 7.2, p.340). The early 17th-century historical context shows that there was a significant amount of highland–lowland interaction and that we should not consider highland chiefs and their sons as being far removed from their lowland counterparts.

Looking specifically at the Scottish Borders, it has been associated with several fortified building types – the tower-house, bastle and pele. In looking for examples of late 16th- and early 17th-century laird's houses in the Borders it seemed that many of them had been classified as 'bastles'. The research undertaken for the national overview revealed that several were indistinguishable from 'laird's houses' further north, an observation which had already been made by John Dunbar and Philip Dixon (1997). Taking this one step further, it seemed illogical for more than one building term to apply to examples which conformed to both the Type I laird's house and the bastle definitions. The term 'bastle' was used in contemporary English reports to identify some houses in the Borders and is used as a specific building term for two-storey houses in northern England which are thought to have been semi-defensive with byres or stores on the ground floor. In studying the Scottish examples, it seemed that an Anglo–Scottish context was not necessarily the most relevant on the basis of comparison with both northern English bastles and laird's houses outwith the Border area. Keith M. Brown (2003) has reassessed the prevalence of violence in late medieval and early modern Scotland and suggests that it was not markedly greater in the Scottish Borders than anywhere else. The need to build defensive residences would seem to have been less acute than previously thought. Therefore, some houses which have been classified as 'bastles' and were built by people who controlled land have been reclassified as 'laird's houses' in this thesis.

Other houses outside the Borders have also been termed 'bastles'. These were considered as part of the national overview. One example was later augmented into a large mansion, Uttershill Castle (Figure 4.16, p.122); it is considered here to be a laird's house, tentatively dating to 1571, which would make it the earliest surviving laird's house in Scotland. This writer would suggest that the term 'bastle' has been all too readily applied to examples of late 16th- and early 17th-century houses which did not have living quarters on the ground floor. The term 'pended house' has also been used by antiquarians to describe certain burgh dwellings in the Borders. These houses have later been described as 'bastles', but some can be reclassified as 'laird's houses' (*see* Section 5.6.3).

The tight courtyard form of the characteristic Type I laird's house have been illustrated by examples such as Jarlshof and Bay House. In some areas, this arrangement lived on for a longer period, such as the courtyard layout which was retained into the 18th century in Shetland. There, the ground floor of many merchant's houses (böds) were, at least in part, still used for storage. Integrated or proximate steadings would have characterised a working laird's establishment. This is self-evident from the landscape survey around Smailholm Tower (p.199) for example, or the documentary references associated with Old Gala House, Galashiels (p.226), or Jarlshof (p.289). Sufficient storage, particularly for grain, was required for payments of rents in-kind, salt fish in Shetland, fodder and secure accommodation of livestock, particularly horses. A stable function for the ground floor at the north-east house at Culross Palace has been suggested, for example (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, II (1887), 435). As the aspect of the laird's house opened up towards the end of the 17th century, some flanking ranges continued to have similar functions, however, more often such buildings were more discreetly positions away from the main approach.

The development of the first examples of the Type II in Shetland and the Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles has been considered in Chapters 6 and 7. The general pattern set out in the national overview, from five-bay houses to three-bay houses, is reflected in these areas with examples like Swarrister (Figure 6.25, p.313) and Ormiclate (Figure 7.14, p.369) to Talisker (Figure 7.17, p.379) and the remodelled Unish in Skye (Figure 7.20, p.385) over the course of about 30 years. Houses that mark a complete departure from the laird's house, such as Colonsay House (1722, Figure 7.24, p.392) Gardie House (1724), show that lairds in the Northern Isles and Hebrides were as aware of the latest fashions as their lowland counterparts.

- There is no evidence to suggest that the first laird's houses were a localised, lowland phenomenon which spread to other parts of the country.

- Small landowners existed in some parts of Scotland before feuar-lairds were created in any number elsewhere around the middle of the 16th century.

- Most early laird's houses which survive have service ground-floors and living quarters above – this arrangement is not evidence of a semi-defensive function.

- The same patterns apparent in the late Type I/early Type II laird's house of east-central Scotland can be found around the same time in areas traditionally regarded as more 'marginal' or 'remote'.

8.5 Areas for further research

This thesis has sought to help other researchers identify examples of the laird's house and review the development of the building type as set out by Dunbar (1966, 65–87). Naturally, following the conclusion of this piece of work, gaps remain. This writer believes that there is a good case for the development of a national gazetteer of the building type and this is explored in the next section. There then follows a brief look at areas for further research.

8.5.1 A national gazetteer

The compilation of gazetteers of certain building types is not a new approach. Several gazetteers or syntheses of poorly-understood building types have been commissioned or grant-aided by Historic Scotland. These include 'A Survey of the 20th Century Defences' (Guy, 1992–2002) which is now being enhanced by the RCAHMS;[127] the Scottish Church Heritage Research's gazetteer (www.scottishchurchheritage.org.uk); and the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust surveys of moated homesteads, monastic granges, medieval hospitals and monastic industrial sites (R. Fawcett, *pers. comm.*). Apart from the simple wish to advance knowledge, one of the reasons for commissioning or grant-aiding such surveys is to permit assessments to be made of the relative value of the recorded sites, and to decide which examples should be statutorily protected as nationally important scheduled monuments or listed buildings of national, regional or local importance.

[127] Information on military remains was pulled together by the Council for British Archaeology in 1995–2001 to create the Defence of Britain database which is available online through the Archaeology Data Service (ads.ahds.ac.uk); this central database will not be updated further.

This data is also useful for grant-aiding bodies in determining the relative merit of applications.

The information required for such decision-making includes: basic descriptive material; an assessment of condition; the extent of any associated remains to help to determine boundaries (scheduling) or curtilage (listing); and, vitally, context. Understanding context helps to assess the rarity of any one example, how typical (representative) or atypical (unusual or possibly unique) it is, and thus its individual significance. This same information can be used as a management tool to encourage good stewardship of a significant, and usually depleting, cultural resource, and as a planning tool by local authorities, where the extent of a given site is particularly important, so that a 'buffer' can be created. The RCAHMS as a recording body undertakes thematic surveys as well as inventorising all types of monuments in a specific local (rather than regional) area. Thematic surveys include the Scottish Farm Buildings Survey (RCAHMS, 1998a; 1998b; 1999b) and an inventory of Scottish collieries (RCAHMS, 1996). Gazetteers also enhance the national record (the RCAHMS) and regional sites and monuments records (SMRs) with new data and newly identified sites.

What is offered here, therefore, is a generalised starting point for a nationwide survey of laird's houses. A national context has been developed in this thesis together with detailed definitions of the Type I and Type II. The starting point would be a desk-based exercise to add to the number of (possible) laird's houses identified in standard records, followed by a period of fieldwork.

To put together a robust nationwide survey would require: 1) a more complete assessment of the national context; 2) a discussion of the rationale behind each grouping ('Region') and the format of the gazetteer; 3) a detailed discussion of each Region; and 4) the gazetteer itself. The tables in Appendix D represent a 'model' form designed to bring together all of the information required to construct a full gazetteer entry, a sample layout based on this level of information, and a page layout. Several national and regional gazetteers have been consulted to help determine the

format and fields of the suggested national gazetteer of laird's houses. The suggested page layout (**Error! Reference source not found.**) is for a printed form, but any gazetteer which needs to be maintained and updated would have to be a computerised database and accessible. If this were possible then a range of enhancements to add value could include a search facility, by fields and interactive map, hyperlinks to other entries and online resources, layering of information such as 'Full Record' and 'Brief Record' options, the ability to view large-scale images, and the option to 'hide' data such as image metadata and full bibliographic references. A range of such databases are hosted by the Archaeology Data Service (ads.ahds.ac.uk), for example, which provides guidance, on database type, format, etc., and technical support. Brunskill offered a method of systematically recording in an appendix to *Illustrated Handbook if Vernacular Architecture* (1970, 194–207). In a sense, the two options he offered, an extensive record and intensive survey, are similar to the different scopes of the full record and brief records. However, Brunskill also provided sample diagrams to create 'coded descriptions' of English vernacular buildings (Figure 8.2). Methods such as this will adequately record the present form of the house. The danger is if the house is then categorised as, say, a Type B.2, when it may have had a different form when first built and has been modified on a number of occasions. This pitfall has been discussed in Section 3.3.3 when justifying the definition of only two broad types of laird's house in this thesis.

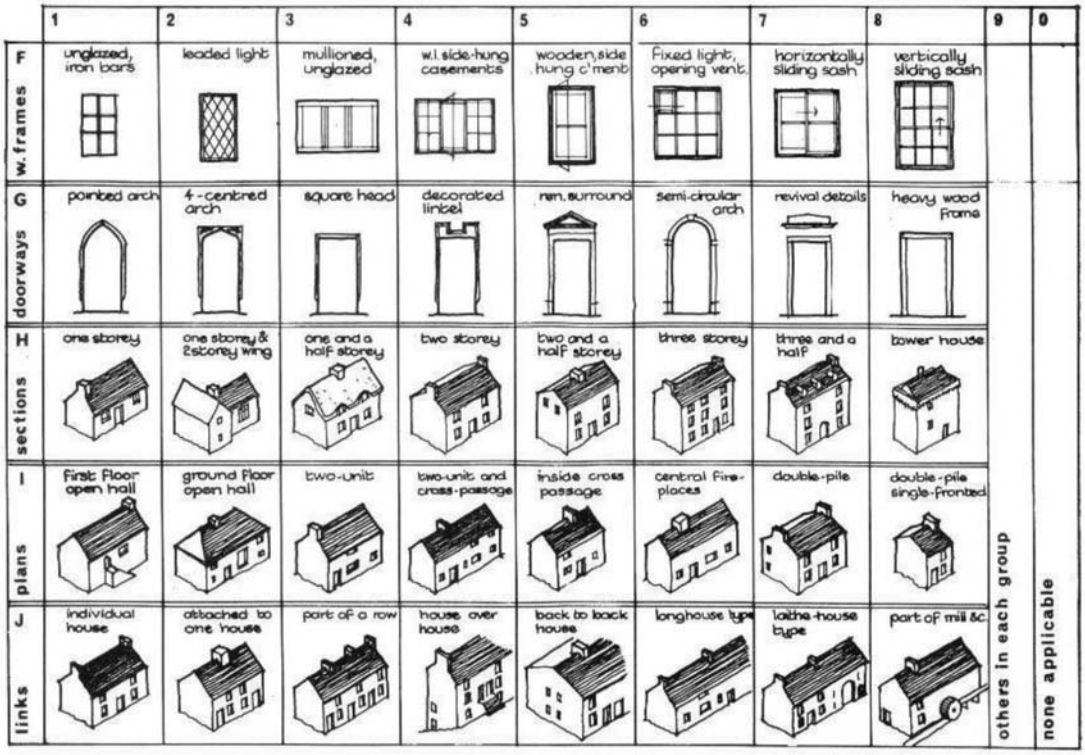

Figure 8.2: Diagram for coded description. Sheet 2. Brunskill, 1970, p.199.

The main difficulty of any national survey is, of course, one of resource. In the case of laird's houses there remains the additional problem of compiling a preliminary gazetteer as not all 'laird's houses' or potential 'laird's houses' can be found through a simple search in the primary records. Therefore, a wider sweep would be required in the first instance to identify as many potential candidates as possible in advance of fieldwork, in particular through the consultation of photographic records. The RCAHMS might be best placed in terms of expertise and remit to undertake a thematic study of this kind designed to enhance the national record. As a thematic study of a poorly-understood and, thereby, potentially-threatened building type it might attract Historic Scotland sponsorship, and such a survey could be undertaken by a commercial unit or university. Any data gathered in this way would be deposited with the RCAHMS, allowing the 'type of building or site' field to be amended in the Canmore entries. The present thesis with its gazetteers will be deposited with the RCAHMS and suggestions for enhancing the RCAHMS

Monument Thesaurus definition of the laird's house is known to be welcome (R. Bailey, *pers. comm.*).

8.5.2 A research agenda

As pointed out in Section 8.3 above, it is not the intention of this study to impede the work of others who may wish to consider the houses of lairds of a given period or area, and so, consider houses other than those defined here as 'laird's houses'. Such a study which considers the relationship between tower-houses and 'laird's houses' might well reveal that a strict modern differentiation between the two building types is unhelpful as it may not reflect contemporary ideas about social standing. However, the laird's house with vertical emphasis, the 'tower-house', is also distinguished primarily for its architectural form. It is more easily identifiable than the 'laird's house' and this it has been the subject of many more studies to the exclusion of the 'laird's house'. A primary aim of this thesis is that it will help redress the balance.

In order to refine the national overview, the development history would be enhanced by the availability of further regional studies. It is hoped that studies of this kind in the future would use this thesis as a starting point and that, potentially, they could challenge or confirm the conclusions presented here. In terms of accumulating data for another regional study, it might be useful if the proforma presented in Appendix D were tested. The present writer chose three case-study areas from the southern, northern and western extremes of Scotland. Many of the examples discussed in Chapter 4 came from east-central Scotland. Case-studies which added to these examples and the development of laird's houses around Edinburgh, Stirling, Dundee and Aberdeen would be a valuable contribution. Testing the situation that developed in the western lowlands such as in the Ayrshires and assessing the influence of the development of Glasgow would also be worth pursuing. Areas where there are good survival rates of laird's houses should not automatically targeted, for example, the search for 17th-century houses in the seemingly 'blank' Hebrides has been revealing.

This thesis has not discussed interiors to any great degree. Decoration and furniture are important in helping to tell us more about how lairds lived and thereby the

function of laird's houses. The evidence of testaments might be one source. The movement of carpenters, as well as the availability of ironmongery and materials such as timber and brick, should be considered in the same way as the influence of masons and pattern books in Chapter 4. The work of David Yeomans (1986) in relation to carpenters' manuals has only been touched upon (p.161). The wider landscape in which the laird's house sat has been discussed in terms of rural–urban, lowland–upland, and proximity to harbours. However, this could be developed much further, for example in terms of the steading, the home farm, and gardens. How the siting of the laird's house related to existing settlements has been indicated in the case of Old Gala House (1583) and Galashiels (p.226). Again, this could be explored further with regard to the proximity and orientation of the laird's house, and whether or not these changed over time. Other building types with which the laird was involved financially and spiritually could be developed, such as the parish church, laird's loft and aisle, memorials and town house.

8.6 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis, to provide a national overview of the development of laird's houses, and the adopted approach, an overview and definition supported by regional studies, have been reviewed above. The definition of the laird's house and its two sub-types and the main conclusions from the overview (Chapter 4) and case-studies (Part II) have been summarised, emphasising how the case-studies and overview informed one another. In terms of a research agenda, a full discussion of a national gazetteer including a suggested format has been provided in Section 8.5.1 and Appendix D. Other suggestions for further research have also been offered. It is hoped that this thesis has achieved what it set out to do, to reassess the origins of the laird's house and its development and provide a robust definition of the building type.

Finally, it is interesting to speculate on the reasons why so little new work on the laird's house has been carried out over the last forty years. One reason may be the ways in which related topics developed. Traditionally, there has always been much interest in the castle, a building type which has a considerably longer history than the

laird's house and greater architectural sophistication. This interest has led to more work on the late medieval and early modern tower-house. Now that it is seen as being less defensive than previously thought, the tower-house is being reconsidered as part of a wider repertoire of the post-Reformation 'Scots House' (Mackechnie, 1995) or 'chateau' (McKean, 2001). As interest in the vernacular has developed, particularly since the 1970s, most articles on a single laird's house or group of laird's houses have found a home in the journal of the SVBWG rather than in books on Scottish architecture.

In the Methodology, the Type I laird's house was characterised as being more 'vernacular' and the Type II more 'polite'. The evidence for the origins of the Type I laird's house tends to be archaeological in nature. In this, as a single building type it almost falls between two academic disciplines. The field of early modern history has been developed greatly by works such as Sanderson (1982; 2002). However, in the case of laird's houses the evidence of the remains can be as, if not more, enlightening than the documentary sources. To fully reassess Dunbar's conclusions, therefore, has required a multi-disciplinary approach and, perhaps, given the new evidence revealed by archaeological survey, historical studies, and, not uncommonly, the misidentification of laird's houses in monument records, it has taken a period of PhD research to attempt this.

Appendix A The Scottish Borders gazetteer

	A.1	**OLD ALTON HOUSE**	**1675**	**NT 5134 1886**	**TYPE ?**
	Ruinous rectangular-plan 2½-storey laird's house, entrance centrally placed on SE side. Plan measures 15.7 NE–SW by 6.2m NW–SE (51' 6" by 20' 3"). Rubble masonry with freestone dressings. Moulded surround of entrance has inscribed lintel with initials 'WS' for Walter Scott of Alton and 'AM' with the date '1675'. Walter Scott had been granted a commission of the office of bailie of the regality of Hawick by James VII in 1686. The 1st-cafloor window to the r. of the door is original, the other 3 surviving windows on the SE side have been enlarged. The NW wall is more ruinous but had contained 3 windows. Each gable had fireplaces but the internal arrangement is uncertain.				
	Fraser, 1878, II, 321; RCAHMS, 1956, 136. RCAHMS no.: NT51NW 4.				
 From SSW, 2003. © RCAHMS.	**A.2**	**ASHIESTIEL HOUSE**	**1660 & LATER**	**NT 4303 3514**	**TYPE I**
	(Alternatively Ashiesteel). Part of the present S wing was built in 1660 and this may have been a rectangular-plan 2½-storey laird's house, measuring 12.8 NW–SE by 7.0 m SE–NW (42' by 23'), 1-room deep. 2 original windows survive together with a roll-and-hollow moulded chimneypiece in W wall. It was enlarged to an L-plan in *c.* 1780, the W wing was extended and the E wing added in 1829–30, thus creating a U-plan. The entrance was moved to the S front when it was remodelled by John & Thomas Smith in 1847. The crowstepped gablets, dormers, porch, screen pierced parapet all probably relate to this phase.				
	Strang, 1994, 221; RCAHMS, 1957, 36–7; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 105–6. RCAHMS no.: NT43NW 6.00; HB NUM: 1902.				
	A.3	**? BARNS HOUSE (SITE OF)**	**MID-C18**	**IN THE VICINITY OF NT 216 392**	**TYPE II**
	Name uncertain. Probably built as a laird's house rather than a farmhouse as Rev Findlater (1804) remarks that improved farmhouses were only being built from *c.* 1770 in Tweeddale. The Burnets moved to a new house in the mid-C18 from the nearby Barns Tower, the latter being made over into accommodation for retired servants and retainers. This house may have been built by 'JAMES BURNET ESQ^{R}'				

	(laird of Barns 1714–71), as indicated on reset datestone of '1764' within the court of offices of the 1773 Georgian mansion. The house may only ever have been intended as a 'stop gap' before the mansion was habitable and was used as the home farmhouse thereafter. Mid-C18 drawings exist.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, 218, 280, 282 & 284; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 113; Findlater, 1804, 39. Barns House (1773) RCAHMS no.: NT23NW 91.00; stables: NT23NW 91.01.				
 From SE, 1975–6. © RCAHMS.	**A.4**	**OLD BELFORD HOUSE**	*C.* **LATE C17 & LATER**	**NT 8132 2089**	**TYPE ?**
	Built as 2-storey laird's house with rectangular plan, 15.9 NE–SW by 7.0m NW–SE (52' 3" by 23'), perhaps in the late C17, entrance on the SE side. Harled rubble masonry. NE gable is crowstepped, steeply pitched roof, formerly slated. The SW ground-floor room functioned as a kitchen with a large fireplace in the gable. The original windows have chamfered or rounded arrises. Vacated once Belford on Bowmont House was built in 1794. An outshot was added on the NW side in the late C18 or early C19, which has its own external doorway, as the new kitchen. Interior has been gutted and adapted as a garage, stable and barn in the farm-steading of Belford. The roof is now covered with corrugated iron.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, 327; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 774; Strang, 1994, 119; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 15231. RCAHMS no.: NT82SW 12; HB NUM: 15231.				
	A.5	**? BROUGHTON HOUSE (SITE OF)**	**BEFORE 1762**	**NT 1169 3723**	**TYPE ?**
	(Formerly Little Hope). The house was destroyed by fire in 1773. The site now houses a 1938 neo-C17 tower-house by Sir Basil Spence which functions as an art gallery.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, 287; Strang, 1994, 252-3; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 142. Present house: RCAHMS no.: NT13NW 15.00.				
	A.6	**? OLD CABERSTON HOUSE (SITE OF)**	**? C18**	**NT 3690 3769**	**TYPE II**
	This house could have been built as a laird's house or a farmhouse. The 2-storey square-plan Caberston Tower was reused as the kitchen of Old Caberston House. Both were demolished in *c.* 1850 except one small building, demolished in the 1960s. A William Stewart of Caberston is on record in 1563.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, 220; Name Book, No. 17, 57; Buchan ed., 1925–7, III,				

426; Canmore, NT33NE 13.

RCAHMS nos.: NT33NE 13; NT33NE 44.

A.7	CARDRONA (SITE OF)	*C.* 1686	IN THE VICINITY OF NT 303 379	TYPE ?

Reset armorial panel dated '1686' in W gable of present Cardrona House built in 1849 belonging to its predecessor.

The lands of Cardrona passed to the Williamsons from the Govans in 1685. A new house was built, probably by James Williamson of Hutcheonfield, and the C16 tower of Cardrona abandoned. The armorial panel is inscribed 'WW' (Walter Williamson) and 'AH' (Alison Williamson) with the date '1719' and inset stone below is initialled 'IW' (James Williamson) with the date '1686'. This house was retained for a time to serve as offices for the 1849 house and was situated in the area that houses the main buildings of the Cardrona Estate. Early or mid-C18 rectangular-plan lectern dovecot survives *c.* 60 yds N of the 1849 house which reuses moulded jambs and a lintel which may have come from the c. 1686 house. For town house *see* A.11.

RCAHMS, 1967, 221 & 287; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 149–50; Strang, 1994, 227; Statutory List description, HB NUMs: 19747 & 15435; Canmore, NT33NW 2 & NT33NW 29; Buchan ed., 1925–7, I, 547–9; Chambers, 1864, 393–6.

Cardrona House RCAHMS no: NT33NE 13; HB NUM: 19747. Dovecot RCAHMS no: NT33NW 29; HB NUM: 15435.

A.8	? CAVERS CARRE	*C.* 1ST ¼ C18	NT 5513 2684	TYPE ?

The foundations of a *c.* early C18 house survives within the main part of the present house; it is unclear what form the original house took.

The old house was partly dismantled in *c.* 1775, a new 2½-storey-and-basemented house was built on top in *c.* 1800, and this in turn was extended and remodelled. 5 early C18 rounded pediments from the old house were reused above the ground-floor windows of the main block. These have various initials and dates of marriages of the Carre or Ker family (1634, 1652, 1679, 1718, 1720) and a carved stone above a lintel in the SW gable, reads '1532'. There is also a late C16 panel inserted immediately below the eaves in the SW wing.

RCAHMS, 1956, I, 68–9; Strang, 1994, 153; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 159.

RCAHMS no.: NT52NE 5.00; HB NUM: 1925.

A.9	? CRINGLETIE HOUSE	*C.* 1666 & C19	NT 2348 4451	TYPE ?

From SW, 1970. © RCAHMS.

A.9	? CRINGLETIE HOUSE	*C.* 1666 & C19	NT 2348 4451	TYPE ?

The 'tower and manor place' was first mentioned in 1633. Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony acquired the landed in 1666 and built or remodelled a house, its form is uncertain.

The late C17 house was extensively enlarged and remodelled in 1861–3 by David Bryce as a baronial mansion. The Murrays sold the lands in 1941. Now a hotel. The walled garden and dovecot may date to the C18.

Strang, 1994, 238; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 202–3; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 2035.

RCAHMS no.: NT24SW 32.00; HB NUM: 2035.

From E, 1955. © RCAHMS.

A.10	OLD CROOKSTON HOUSE	C17 & EARLIER; C19 ADDITIONS	NT 4246 5214	TYPE I

T-plan 2½-storey laird's house with crowstepped gables. May incorporate the remains of a C15 tower-house in its E wing. The C17 house had a staircase tower at the centre of its S side; this was remodelled into a S wing in *c.* 1860 but the C17 entrance at its foot and turnpike stair within still survive. The E ground-floor room of the main block was formerly barrel-vaulted; the original tower-house may have been *c.* 7.8 by 6.8 m in extent. As extended in the C17, the house had 3 main rooms at each level with a kitchen housed in the central room on the ground floor. The windows from this period mainly have chamfered arrises. The W room on the ground floor was refurbished in the early C18 as denoted by the panelling, possibly, as a parlour. The turnpike stair gives access to the principal rooms on the 1st floor. It was succeeded as the main home of the Borthwicks by (new) Crookston House built in 1816–19 in the Jacobean style.

Strang, 1994, 192–3; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 204.

RCAHMS no.: NT45SW 15; HB NUM: 17296.

From W, 2007. Author.

A.11	CROSS KEYS INN, NORTHGATE, PEEBLES	1693, EARLY C18 & LATER	NT 2530 4055	TYPE ?

L-plan 3-storey town house of Williamson of Cardrona. Dated from a triangular dormer pediment carved with a cinquefoil and bearing the date '1693' built into the W wall of the 2-storey outshot at the re-entrant on the W front and a number of moulded jambs on this side. Due to later alterations, particularly its gutting and reconstruction in 1994, it is now difficult to ascertain the late C17 form.

It is now an irregular Z-plan forming 2 sides of a courtyard. A 1st-floor room in the W wing retains a late C17 stone chimneypiece. Faded pattern in the roof slates creates the initials 'WW', first recorded in 1863. These may refer to Walter Williamson of Cardrona who died in 1735.

	Now a hotel. Surveyed by RCAHMS in 1993. For main seat *see* A.7.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 279 & pl. 57D; Strang, 1994, 235; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 623–4; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 39237. RCAHMS nos.: NT24SE 216 & NT24SE 66; HB NUM: 39237.				
	A.12	**? EASTER DEANS**	**C16 OR C17**	**NT 2268 5325**	**TYPE ?**
	The remains of C16 or C17 building at the N end of the existing farmhouse are indicated by the 3' 5" thick wall. It belonged to the Ramsays in the late C16 to C17. 1 slit window has been exposed in N wall of an upper room but not recorded. The original form of the house is not clear but it could have been built as an early 2½-storey laird's house.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 231–2; visited by OS 6-2-70, Canmore, NT25SW 3. RCAHMS no.: NT25SW 3.				
	A.13	**? EDINGTON CASTLE (SITE OF)**	**C16 OR C17**	**NT 8950 5621**	**TYPE ?**
	(Alternatively Edington Manor-house). Scant remains of the building have been used to form parts of a modern dyke, indications of square windows remain (as noted in 1972, Canmore). It is not now possible to determine its original form. It was recorded in 1908 (RCAHMS, 1915) as having 3' thick walls, 86' long on the S side, 10' high, and 24' remaining of the E side. 'Site of Edington Castle' is marked on 1st ed. OS map (1860s). Last occupied in 1708. Nearby dovecot demolished 1973/4.				
	RCAHMS, 1915, 20 & 22; RCAHMS, 1980, 56; Canmore, NT85NE 9.00; Name Book, No. 7, 41. RCAHMS no.: NT85NE 9.00.				
	A.14	**? EDGERSTON HOUSE**	***C.* 1695 & C18**	**NT 6904 1156**	**TYPE ?**
	Basement of present house retains gunloop, possibly relating to a house built by Philip Rutherford of Edgerston in the area by 1596. It is not now possible to determine its original form. A tower existed on or near this site in the 1540s. A new house was built at the end of the C16. This house was remodelled in *c.* 1695 with reference to a semi-circular pediment reset above the entrance to one of the home farm buildings with the initials of Thomas Rutherford (†1720) and Susannah Riddell in monogram and a '1695' date. A similar pediment with their initials, a pair of late C17 gate finials and a C17 armorial panel can be found in the walled garden. The house was extensively rebuilt, probably in *c.* 1720 when John Rutherford succeeded to the estate, the central 7 bays				

	can be ascribed to this period. The outer bays created a 9-bay front and represent the E and W ends of wings added in *c.* 1790.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, I, 223; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 253; *Cal. Border Papers*, II, no. 410; Jeffrey, 1855–64, 304; Statutory List description, HB NUM 13360. RCAHMS no.: NT61SE 31.00; HB NUM: 13360. 1695 datestone in farmhouse RCAHMS no.: NT61SE 31.07; HB NUM: 13363.				
 From E, n.d.. © Historic Scotland.	**A.15**	**? EDRINGTON HOUSE**	**C17, C18 & LATER ADDITIONS**	**NT 9421 5496**	**TYPE ?**
	Possibly C17 in origin. In 1622 Lord Mordington granted a deed to his brother Joseph Douglas comprising "…the lands, crofts and tofts with the house of Edrington". It was enlarged in the C18 to create an L-plan 2-storey house. Further alterations were carried out in the C19, particularly 1849. The house is now 2½-storey with basement and 5-bays. A wing added in 1936 has since been removed. A rectangular-plan sundial adjoining former stable is inscribed 'Joseph Douglas of Edrington 1622'.				
	Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 255; Statutory List description, HB NUM 19739; Strang, 1994, 20. RCAHMS no.: NT95SW 70.00; HB NUM: 19739.				
	A.16	**? OLD ETTRICK HOUSE (SITE)**	**? C17**	**NT 2534 1402**	**TYPE ?**
	"The lands of Ettrickhouse" are on record in 1643 as the property of Robert Scott of Whitslaid. The house there had been demolished by 1833. It is now unclear as to what form it took.				
	RCAHMS, 1957, 67; *NSA*, 1845, III, 76; *OPS*, I, 262. RCAHMS no.: NT21SE 5.				
 From S, Strang, 1995, 159. © C. Strang.	**A.17**	**? FAIRNINGTON HOUSE**	**C16 & LATE C17**	**NT 6461 2805**	**TYPE ?**
	A house, described as a "bastell house" in 1544 was burnt by the Wark garrision. It was acquired by the Rutherfords in *c.* 1647. C16 fragments remain in the NE wing, indicated by slit windows, the SW block dates to the C17, and the NE wing was remodelled, probably in the late C17. In the C16 or early C17 it may have had 'laird's house' rather than 'mansion' proportions. It now comprises a rectangular main (SW) block with a NE wing creating an L-plan and is 3½ storeys. Harled rubble masonry with crowstepped gables. The ground floor of the NE wing was originally vaulted, it was later subdivided into 4 stores. 2 of the original windows, presumably also slits,				

	have been enlarged. All the rectangular windows have chamfered margins and 2 windows have been converted into doorways. The main entrance is in the re-entrant angle and had a moulded cornice and raking pediment which was enlarged in the mid-C20 when a 1-storey entrance block was added. A late C17 scale-and-platt timber stair survives in a lobby area behind the former entrance. There are 2 1-storey outbuildings, the NE one dates to the C17. A 2-storey bowed bay window has been added to cover the 2 eastmost bays of the NE side of the SW wing.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, I, 45; II, 411–12; Strang, 1994, 159; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 275; Armstrong, 1883, App. 37, p.lxx; Canmore, NT62NW 3. RCAHMS no.: NT62NW 3; HB NUM: 19712.				
	A.18	**FENWICK**	**LATE C17**	**NT 4725 1197**	**TYPE ?**
	Rectangular-plan 2-storey house with inscribed lintel over entrance placed centrally in the E façade with date '1687' and initials 'R S' and 'M T' with the arms of Myrton of Cambo, an ancestor of the Kerrs of Cavers. The plan measures 18.2 N–S by 6.7 m E–W (60' by 21'10"). Harled rubble masonry. 'Fenwick' is indicated on Gordon manuscript map (1636–52) which suggests that there was an earlier house nearby or it is incorporated into the present fabric. Wholly modernised internally and, to a lesser extent, externally.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, I, 138. RCAHMS no.: NT41SE 17; HB NUM: 8380.				
	A.19	**? FOULAGE (SITE OF)**	**C16 OR C17**	**NT 2567 4363**	**TYPE ?**
	A building on this site survived as ruins of only *c.* 1m high by mid-C19. It is unclear if there was a tower-house or a house on this site. In the C16 Foulage belonged to the Caverhills. It frequently changed hands and the property was subdivided. The main proprietors in the late C17 and C18 were the Williamsons and the Littles of Winkston.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 289; Canmore, NT24SE 40; Name Book, No.33, 20. RCAHMS no.: NT24SE 40.				
 From SW, n.d.. © Historic Scotland. Licensor	**A.20**	**FOULDEN TITHE BARN**	**C17 & LATER**	**NT 9310 5580**	**TYPE I**
	The present remains represent an extension to an existing house or tower-house which was subsequently demolished in the late C18. The extension was substantially rebuilt in the late C17 or early C18, perhaps as a tithe barn. The upper floors were rebuilt in the late C18 when the barn was converted into a house. The 1st-floor door is reached by a forestair, C19 in				

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date. In the late C19 it was used as a granary for the Foulden estate. It is now rectangular in plan and 2½ storeys with C20 crowsteps, skewputts and roof.

The lower part of the present E wall retains a fragment of barrel vault and 2 aumbries which were part of the original house. The S wall has 3 ground-floor doors, one has been dated to the C17 on account of its roll moulding. The chimney at the E end was inserted in the late C18 when the ground floor of the barn was converted into domestic use, the round-headed window in the W gable and upper floors belong to this phase. There were 2 main rooms on the ground floor, the E one presumably the kitchen. There is an internal timber stair to the loft. In state care since 1947.

Strang, 1994, 37; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 291; Statutory List description, HB NUM 10510; Baldwin, 1997, 87–8.

RCAHMS no.: NT95NW 9; HB NUM: 10510; SAM no.: 90148.

NE wing from W. RCAHMS, 1957, pl. XIX, fig. 56. © RCAHMS.

A.21	OLD GALA HOUSE, GALASHIELS	1583 & LATER	NT 4916 3589	TYPE I

The 2½-storey house built in 1583 survives as part of the present NE wing of a much larger mansion, now situated in the middle of the town of Galashiels.

A tower-house, first recorded in 1544, was located on/near this site. It was originally a stead of Ettrick Forest, leased from the Crown by the Pringles of Smailholm Tower (*see* A.44). The oldest part of the present house was built for Andrew Pringle in 1583, the date on an armorial panel together with his initials and that of his wife, Mariota Borthwick, and their arms (now at Holybush Farm). It consists of an un-vaulted rectangular block, 13.4 by 5.6 m, and is 2½ storeys. It has a mid-gable which contains the flues. The SE wall is presently gabled, the NW end is hipped. Constructed of rubble masonry, red and buff sandstone dressings. The original layout is uncertain, each of lower floors probably had 2 rooms. A large corbel-lintelled fireplace survives on the ground floor; the lintel may originally have been timber. Corbels along the inside walls show that it was meant to be ceiled with beams at 2 levels. The main front faced SW with ground- and 1st-floor entrances with quirk-edge-rolled mouldings (blocked). Similar mouldings can be found at 2 small windows on the ground floor and 1 larger one on the 1st floor. The others are mostly C17 insertions or replacements with round- or chamfer-arrised margins.

Sir James Pringle more than doubled it in size in *c.* 1611 into an L-plan mansion with a 3-storey wing on the SE. This had an elaborately carved fireplace lintel with '1611' date. Hugh Scott & Jean Pringle are commemorated in a tempera-painted ceiling of 1635. Further additions were extensive, particularly the addition of a SW wing in the mid-C18 to create a U-plan. The Scotts of Gala removed to New Gala House, by David Bryce, in 1872 (demolished 1985). After having a variety of uses, Old Gala House was converted into a museum in 1988 and the oldest wing has been converted to form manager's accommodation.

	Strang, 1994, 197; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 303–6; RCAHMS, 1957, 10, 24, 41–3, 67–8; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, V (1892), 279; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 31973. RCAHMS no.: NT43NE 15.00; HB NUM: 31973.				
 From SW, 2002. © RCAHMS.	**A.22**	**OLD GLADSWOOD HOUSE**	**LATE C16 & 1703**	**NT 5857 3449**	**TYPE II**
	(Alternatively Old Gledswood). Present house is a rectangular-plan 5-bay 2½-storey laird's house built in 1703, since used as farm outbuilding. It incorporates the remains of a tower-house. Indications of a *c.* 6.8 m² tower-house which may have had a stair wing at its SE corner, survive at its W end. The W gable has a plinth at its base, a wide-mouthed gunloop on the ground floor and blocked windows survive at 1st- and 2nd-floor levels. The N wall has a smaller gunloop and the remains of a 1st-floor latrine. In 1703 it was extended W to create a 2½-storey crowstepped house with a symmetrical 5-bay S front with centrally-placed entrance. It measures *c.* 15.7 m E–W and *c.* 6.8 m N–S. The entrance has a bolection-moulded architrave and entablature with the initials of Patrick Redpath and his wife Joan Scott, with the date '1703'. The windows have chamfered arrises and the skewputts are cavetto-moulded. The original internal arrangement is unclear. Superseded by the *c.* 1805 Gladswood House built for William Sibbald, an Edinburgh merchant, and subdivided into 2 dwellings. A second doorway was contrived in the S front next to the original entrance. 1-storey office added to the E gable. A new entrance and forestair were added to the N wall, probably in *c.* 1900 when the ground floor was fitted out as a stable and bothy and the 1st floor as a hay loft. Now used as barn.				
	Strang, 1994, 172; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 323–5. RCAHMS no.: NT53SE 186; HB NUM: 15129.				
 From S, Strang, 1995, 51. © C. Strang.	**A.23**	**GORDONBANK**	**EARLY C18 & LATER**	**NT 7247 4351**	**TYPE II**
	The main 5-bay façade of this 2½-storey L-plan house is arranged 1-3-1 and has crowstepped gables. The hipped porch to the centre of the main façade is later. The 2-storey 3-bay block has a large wallhead gable.				
	Strang, 1994, 51. RCAHMS no.: NT74SW 28; HB NUM: 10483.				
 From SE, n.d.. ©	**A.24**	**? HALLYARDS**	**C16/EARLY C17, *C.* MID-C18 & LATER**	**NT 2161 3756**	**TYPE ?**
	C16 or early C17 remains incorporated into main block of present house. It is not clear if it was originally a tower-house or house.				

RCAHMS.	Late C17 or early C18 house at SE corner, at core of which is earlier late C16/early C17 tower-house. 4 bays of the SE front have irregularly placed windows. This may indicate the length of a house, variously dated as late C17/early C18 or mid-C18, which measured 38' by 21'. Lintel over main entrance inscribed '1647' with 'IS' and 'HG' for John Scott of Hundleshope and Helen Geddes who married in 1635. Bowed bay at NE end on SE front marks extension of *c.* 1800. 2 wings added at later date. Later gabled porch on NE front. 1791 stables to N, 1803 sundial in walled garden to W.
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 290 & pl. 67; Strang, 1994, 241; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 341; Chambers, 1864, 407; Canmore, NT23NW 22.00. RCAHMS no.: NT23NW 22.00; HB NUM: 15368.

	A.25	**? HALMYRE**	**C16/EARLY C17 & 1856**	**NT 1745 4963**	**TYPE ?**
	Vaulted undercroft of C16 /early C17 house survive in ground floor of the present house. It is not known if it was originally built as a tower-house, laird's house or mansion. The earliest part measures 60' by 23'6" over walls walls 3'3" thick. It would have been built for the Tweedies of Drumelzier. Mid-C17 inscribed stone with initials 'VI' and 'MI' for Wilkin Johnstone and Margaret Joussie is built into the wall to the SE of the entrance to the rear courtyard. The house was extensively remodelled by Richard Gordon of Halmyre in 1856.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 290–1; Strang, 1994, 256. RCAHMS no.: NT14NE 19.00; HB NUM: 19723.				
 From S, n.d.. © RCAHMS.	**A.26**	**HARDEN**	***C.* 1600, *C.* 1643, *C.* 1671–91 & LATER**	**NT 4493 1488**	**TYPE I**
	c. 1600 rectangular-plan 2½-storey laird's house, extended in *c.* 1643 and *c.* 1671–9. Substantial N extensions date to the C19 and C20. Situated on high ground on the l. bank of Harden Burn overlooking Harden Glen ravine. Robert Scott bought Harden from Lord Home in 1501. An original tower or house on this site was ordered to be demolished in 1592 (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, I, pt. 2, 276, cited in RCAHMS, 1956). Shortly thereafter the Scotts returned to favour. As built in *c.* 1600 the rectangular-plan 2½-storey steep-roofed house measured 13.3 m E–W by 7m N–S. This survives as the central 4 bays of the S block, the windows have been enlarged and some have round arrises; originally they were barred and half-glazed. A ground-floor entrance was located towards the W end of the S front (now blocked). Rubble masonry, harled, with crowstepped E gable. Its steep pitch suggests that it was originally thatched. Its original internal arrangement is not now clear due to extensive remodelling. Extended to W by 9.5 m perhaps around the time of Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, marriage to Margaret, daughter of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Preston, in *c.* 1643. 2 mullioned & transomed windows on the ground floor survive and 2 other windows, probably from the N side, were rebuilt into the 1864 NE wing. These windows suggest a Cumbrian influence or mason. In the late C17 the extension contained a hall on the ground floor with the laird's chamber above. The next phase of work dates to *c.* 1671–91. A new rusticated entrance was created in the centre of the block on the S side which has a 1680 dated lintel and is attributed to James Fall, mason (1671–3). The 1st-floor windows were remodelled at this time with chamfered margins and dormers were added. 2 dormer pediments (one with '1671') survives reset elsewhere. The existing dormers are modern. In 1690–1 the house was				

extended E by 2 bays creating a S front 30.3 m long. This extension by Robert Bunzie, a mason from Newstead, and incorporated slightly earlier work. It has chamfered windows, crowsteps and elaborate skewputts. A keystone of an internal alcove is inscribed with 'E/ W T' and 'C/ H T' for Walter (Scott) Earl of Tarras and his second wife Helen (Hepburn) Countess of Tarras, with a '1691' date. Blocked door at E end of the original block has round arrises and probably led to a staircase removed in/before 1864.

It was used as a farmhouse from the end of the C18. Extensive N additions and restoration date to 1864 with new stairs and linking corridor on N side of house. Further additions date to 1913 when the Scotts returned from Mertoun.

C17 bowling green to W. The C17 sundial in the garden is from Dryburgh House.

RCAHMS, 1956, I, 45; II, 389–90; Strang, 1994, 151; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 342–4; Tranter, 1935, 159–61; Name Book, No.32, 20; Tranter, 1962–70, I, 142; sketch of ground-floor plan and S elevation by G. D. Hay, 1969, RCAHMS, RXD 212/1.

RCAHMS no.: NT41SW 9.00; HB NUM: 15089.

From SE, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

A.27	HAREHOPE	1723	NT 2001 4417	TYPE II

Rectangular-plan 2-storey laird's house dated by inscribed stone 'GB 1723 RS' and built for George Brown, an Edinburgh merchant, and his wife Rachael Selkirk who acquired the lands of Harehope in 1719.

The house measures 44' NE–SW by 19'11" NW–SE over walls 2'6" thick. Harled with yellow sandstone margins. The main entrance is centrally placed on the SE side. The original windows have chamfered arrises. The interior was remodelled in the late C19, but it was probably symmetrically planned with a central staircase. The porch is later. The inscribed stone is a lintel which was probably originally over the entrance, now re-set above the central window on the 1st floor. A late C19 farmhouse was added to its SW gable. Outbuildings have been added to its NW and NW walls. The slate roof is modern.

RCAHMS, 1967, II, 291 & pl. 69D; Strang, 1994, 238.

RCAHMS no.: NT24SW 88; HB NUM: 2039.

A.28	HARTWOODMYRES (SITE OF)	? 1695	IN THE VICINITY OF NT 433 248	TYPE ?

Inscribed lintel with '1695' date is built into the SE front Hartwoodmyres farmhouse, 4 km SSW of Selkirk. It apparently came from a house which stood beside a nearby burn (Craig-Brown, 1886). It has a central monogram of initials of William Ogilvie of Hartwoodmyres and his wife

Elizabeth Turnbull.

The precise location of the site is unknown.

RCAHMS, 1957, 69; Craig-Brown, 1886, II, 315–16; Canmore, NT42SW 7.

Hartwoodmyres farmhouse: RCAHMS no.: NT42SW 7.

A.29	HAUGHHEAD	C17 & C18	NT 7211 2708	TYPE ?

Roofless C18 house with NE kitchen wing, possibly incorporating the vestige of a C17 house in its SW gable.

An incomplete window with chamfered arrises of C17 type survives in SW gable. Traditionally, Haughhead was the home of Henry Hall, a Covenanting laird fatally wounded at Queensferry in 1680. A '1 June 1740' datestone and 'S A H' for Sir Andrew Hall is reset above the kitchen fireplace.

The SE of two buildings at Haughhead is marked 'hall' on the 1st ed. OS map (1858–9) and is not shown on the 1924 OS map. The surviving ruin is the NW building on the 1st ed. map.

RCAHMS, 1956, I, 131; Canmore, NT72NW 22.

RCAHMS no.: NT72NW 22.

From NE, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

A.30	HAYSTOUN	LATE C16/C17, *C.* 1660–73 & LATER	NT 2592 3829	TYPE I

(Formerly Henderstoun). Possibly built as an L-plan tower-house in the late C16 or early C17, subsequently cut down to 2½ storeys in the late C17.

The main wing is aligned E–W and measures 38'5" by 20'6" over walls 3'4". The jamb is on the N side in which part of a barrel vault survives. The original windows are roll-moulded. It was probably built by the Elphinstones who held the property until *c.* 1622. The armorial panel above the door in the E wall of the N wing has the date 1660 and initials of Mr John Hay, 2nd of Haystoun (1656–79) and his first wife Marion Durham. They are credited with alterations which may have included curtailing its height. An armorial panel with a '1676' date, 'MIH' and 'IN' for the same John Hay and his second wife Jean Nicolson (m. 1667) was reset above the door in 1925, having formally been built into the walls of stables. The house was extended to the E in the late C17 or early C18 with a kitchen on the ground floor and its original windows have chamfered arrises. N wing has late C18 stone stair.

It was occupied by a factor when Kingsmeadows was built in 1795. A 9' kitchen fireplace was reset in what became a large ground-floor hall in the orginal house in 1925 with a fireback of unknown origin with '1649' date and 'IM'. The C18 walled garden to E has a 1729 lintel at its NW corner. The 1925 alterations are by Orphoot, Whiting & Bryce.

	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 291–2 & pl. 68; Strang, 1994, 228; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 369; MacGibbon & Ross, 1887–92, III (1889), 555–7; Statutory List description HB NUM: 15217. RCAHMS no.: NT23NE 2.00; HB NUM: 15217.				
	A.31	**OLD HOLYLEE**	**1734 & EARLY C19**	**NT 3915 3774**	**TYPE II**
	Rectangular-plan 3-bay, 1-room deep, 2-storey house, dated 1734. Built for James Ballantyne of Holylee (†1760) who bought the property in 1726 is indicated by 'IB' on the inscribed lintel over the central doorway. It measures 13.6 E–W by 7.0 m N–S (44' 9" by 23' 1") and has a symmetrical S façade. Harled rubble with dressed margins. The original windows have chamfered arrises and 1 stone chimneypiece with bead moulding survives in the W gable at 1st-floor level. It was extended to the E by 2 bays in the early C19 and later porches. The original plan was probably a central stair with 1 room on either side on each floor. Superseded by the Ballantyne's Georgian mansion 0.2 km to the SW.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 292–3 & pl. 69A–C; Name Book, No. 6, 12; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 384; Strang, 1994, 222; Statutory List description HB NUM: 8325. RCAHMS no.: NT33NE 19; HB NUM: 8325.				
	A.32	**? INGRASTON (SITE OF)**	**LATE C16/EARLY C17?**	**NT 1062 4811**	**TYPE ?**
	(Alternatively Garvald House). Architectural fragments of late C16 or early C17 house were re-erected on its site, on the N side of the Garvald Burn *c.* ¼ mile W of Loanhead. The original form of the house is unknown. The house existed at the beginning of the C18 but was unoccupied in 1775 and dismantled in the 2nd ¼ of the C19 to be reused for the nearby farmhouse. Fragments including some voussoirs from an archway, a small oval gunloop and a section of corbelling were assembled to mark its site. These were removed in advance of the building of the Dolphinton-Carstairs railway line and reassembled as part of an archway built at the entrance to the policies of Garvald House, opposite a lodge, in *c.* 1864 (NT 103 485). The stone placed at the apex of the arch was inscribed 'I L 1650'. The arch has since been re-erected in the Biggar Museum.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 293–4, 335; Name Book, No.23, 5; Canmore, NT14NW 6.00; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 317. RCAHMS no.: NT14NW 6.00.				

From S, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

A.33	KAMES	*C.* MID-C17, 1750S & LATER	NT 7826 4546	TYPE I

c. mid-C17 rectangular-plan 2½-storey laird's house, probably built by a cadet branch of the Homes of Cowdenknowes.

There may have been an earlier house on this site owned by the Dicksons. The earliest surviving part is *c.* mid-C17 in date, crowstepped, and aligned E–W. The original entrance is just off-centre on the S façade; the present door surround was recut in *c.* 1913. 2 wings were added to create a U-plan before 1759 with conical-roofed circular towers with large classical shafts on inner angles. All the windows were regularised at this time. 2-storey hipped addition to the E wing is possibly late C18 in date; reconstructed in 1913. The wallhead dormers with curly gablets are *c.* 1913. C20 1-storey crowstepped N addition. C18 U-plan stables.

Strang, 1994, 63; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 435–6; Statutory List description HB NUM: 4115.

RCAHMS no.: NT74NE 9.00; HB NUM: 4115.

From SE, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

From NE, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

A.34	KILBUCHO PLACE	C16, *C.* 1628 & LATER	NT 0940 3515	TYPE I

Rectangular-plan 2½-storey house, perhaps created shortly after 1628, cut-down from 3½ storeys. Alterations and additions C18–C20 created L-plan.

Original house is 3½ storeys, now S wing, cut down to 2½ storeys, probably shortly after John Dickson (later 'Lord Hartree') acquired the lands in 1628. The S wing measures 14.9 E–W by 6.3 m N–S (49' by 20' 8") over walls *c.* 0.9 m (3') thick. Blocked roll-moulded and chamfered openings (both probably C17) were discovered during 1961–3 remodelling and part of a roll-moulded door or window jamb has been incorporated into a dwarf wall to the S of the house. N wing added in 1st ½ C18. Probably at the same time a 3rd storey was added to the main block, together with dormers, crowsteps and carved human-head skewputts. All the windows have been enlarged. C18 gate piers.

Major remodelling dates to the C19 when it was converted into a farmhouse. This included the addition of nepus gable to the S front, removal of dormers, the floor levels being raised to create 2 taller storeys, outshots added to the N and W, and new openings. One of the 4 dormer pediments was reset in the gablet.

As part of Sir Frank Mears & Partners restoration in 1961–3 2 of the other pediments were once again placed above dormers and the 4th was reset in the rebuilt N outshot. At the same time the W outshot was removed and a conical-roofed entrance tower added in the re-entrant.

RCAHMS, 1967, II, 297–9; Strang, 1994, 250; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 468, Tranter, 1935, 138–9.

RCAHMS no.: NT03NE 30.00; HB NUM: 2005. gate piers: RCAHMS no.: NT03NE 30.01; HB NUM: 2006.

From SE, 1963. © RCAHMS.

A.35	LAMANCHA HOUSE	1663	NT 1994 5225	TYPE I

(Formerly Romanno Grange). The vaulted basement of a house, probably built as a 2-storey laird's house in 1663, survives in the much-altered Lamancha House.

Only the vaulted basement of the 'little house' built for Robert Hamilton of Grange in 1663 survived extensive alterations. A *c.* 1700 sundial survives in front of the house. It was extended for Major Thomas Cochrane after 1726 (later Earl of Dundonald) to 10 bays, perhaps in '1736' which is the date on a keystone with the Cochrane family crest over the main entrance. Cochrane changed its name to 'Lamancha'. James Mackintosh acquired the estate in 1832 and the height of the house was increased to 3 storeys above the basement, the SE fenestration was regularised and a rear range was added.

The Mackintoshes sold the estate in 1924. Reduced to 7 bays and 2 storeys with round-arched ground-floor windows and crowstepped wallhead dormers in 1926–7 by J. Drummond Beaton. Remodelled internally. 3-bay 1-storey hipped extension to one side and a conservatory added to one gable.

Strang, 1994, 256–7; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 480; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 15176; RCAHMS, 1967, 299; Buchan, 1925–7, III; Chambers, 1864, 505–6 & fig. 95.

RCAHMS no.: NT15SE 21.00; HB NUM: 15176.

From E, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

From SW, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

From N, n.d.. © RCAHMS.

A.36	? OLD MANOR HOUSE, COCKSBURNPATH	C16, EARLY C17 & LATER	NT 7747 7104	TYPE I

(Alternatively Sparrow Castle). It consists of two ranges, joined at one corner. They may represent 2 distinct dwellings first built in the mid- or late C16. The rectangular-plan N block is of 3 storeys and the square-plan S block is 2 storey but may have been cut down. If built as separate dwellings, the S block would have been closer to a tower-house in form. Despite its 3 storeys, the N block might represent an early laird's house.

The openings of the N block have quarter-round arrises, but some are chamfered. There are 2 barrel-vaulted cellars on the ground floor and there was an external door on the E side – blocked by C18/C19 forestair. The S block has edge-roll moulded S-facing windows and 3 corbels on the W face just below the wallhead which may represent the support for a box-machicolation or a latrine on a, now lost, upper floor. The principal living rooms would have been at 1st-floor level. There is a stairtower in the SW re-entrant between the 2 blocks which may have been added when they became the main house of the Cocksburnpath estate for the Arnotts, Edinburgh merchants, before they were forced to sell the property in 1621.

Cocksburnpath was erected into a burgh of barony in 1612. An early C17 tempera-painted ceiling was discovered in 1987 in a 1st-floor chamber; it is now in the care of Historic Scotland. There are traces of other buildings on the W side. Subdivided since at least 1900.

Strang, 1994, 33; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 174; Tranter, 1935, 32; RCAHMS, 1915, 26.

RCAHMS no.: NT77SE 11.00; HB NUM: 4046.

From S, 1975. © RCAHMS.

A.37	OLD MANOR HOUSE, MAIN STREET, WEST LINTON	*c.* 1600 & C18	NT 1499 5198	TYPE ?

Built as an L-plan house, possibly to 3 storeys but subsequently cut down to 2, probably no earlier than *c.* 1600. Traditional accounts state that it was built by the same masons who built Drochil Castle for the Regent Morton in *c.* 1578 (Buchan, 1925–7).

The main N wing measures 8.0 E–W by 5.8 m N–W (25'10" by 19'4"), the smaller S wing is 3.9 by 3.1 m (12'11" by 10' 4"), over walls 3'6"–5' thick. Rubble masonry with sandstone dressings. The entrance is in the S wall of main block and it originally had an armorial panel over it. A large fireplace in the W wall of ground floor of the main block is concealed by a modern fireplace; it probably served the original kitchen. The original windows have round arrises, later ones are chamfered. The S wing may have contained a turnpike stair originally. The main block was extended to the E in the C18. Occupied by the Melrose family for several generations. Minor alterations in the C19 & C20 include subdivision into 2 flats, the upper one accessed by a forestair on the N side.

Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 753; Buchan, 1925–7, III, 106; RCAHMS, 1967, II, 273–4.

RCAHMS no.: NT15SW 19; HB NUM: 8358.

A.38	OLD HOUSE OF NETHERURD (SITE OF)	C17	IN THE VICINITY OF NT 116 447	TYPE ?

A fragment of a C17 dormer pediment is incorporated into an outbuilding to the E side of the walled garden of the present 1791–4 Netherurd House (renamed New Cairnmuir).

The pediment bears a shield of the Hamiltons and the initials 'M H M', probably for Mark Hamilton (†1646), Macer of the Court of Session, who received a grant of part of the lands of Netherurd in 1625. It is accompanied by a carved human head, probably a skewputt from the old house.

Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 585; Strang, 1994, 255; RCAHMS, 1967, II, 300–2 & pl. 76F.

Netherurd House RCAHMS no.: NT14SW 65.0; HB NUM: 8340; stables

	RCAHMS no.: NT14SW 65.2; HB NUM: 8341.				
 From S, 2001. Author.  From NE, 2001. Author.	**A.39**	**? NORTON**	**? C18**	**NT 5400 4878**	**TYPE II**
	This 2-storey 3-bay house is now a disused corrugated-iron-roofed and bricked-up-windowed barn. It is becoming ruinous. It is not clear whether it was originally built as a laird's house or a farmhouse.				
	Strang, 1994, 191. RCAHMS no.: NT54NW 56; HB NUM: 6716.				
	A.40	**OLD HOUSE OF OLIVER**	**1734**	**NT 0973 2489**	**TYPE II**
	Originally built as a small symmetrically-planned laird's house, dated by its inscribed lintel to '1734'. It is now cut down to 1-storey. The house was built for the Tweedies of Oliver by Alexander Bruntone, wright in Peebles for £1,275 2s. Scots (ref: Tweedie Papers, private collection, cited in RCAHMS, 1967).The Tweedies possessed this property since at least mid-C16 to 1837. The lintel over the entrance has the date '1734' and the initials '[I] T' and 'M E' for James Tweedie and Margaret Ewart. It was superseded by a new house *c.* 46 m to the SE. A heraldic panel, said to have been brought from the old house, is incorporated into the E front of the present house.				
	RCAHMS, 1967, II, 302. RCAHMS no.: NT02SE 47.				
 From SE, n.d.. © Peter Ryder. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.	**A.41**	**OVERTON TOWER**	**LAST ¼ C16**	**NT 6848 1284**	**TYPE I**
	Built as a 2½-storey rectangular-plan house, probably for a large tenant, in an upland district shortly before 1596. Now ruinous. It was first recorded in 1596 and is described as having just been built. It measures 11.1 by 7.2 m and is constructed of rubble laid in lime mortar. It has a ground-floor entrance in the E gable and a separate entrance at 1st-floor level in one long wall. The ground floor is unvaulted and it probably had 1 chamber on each floor with internal communication by way of a timber stair. Fireplaces survive in the W gable on the ground and 1st floors though it is not clear if the ground-floor fireplace is original. Mural aumbries				

survive.

Strang, 1994, 131; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 603; Zeune, 1992, 169; RCAHMS, 1956, I, 221.

RCAHMS no.: NT61SE 9; HB NUM: 13398; SAM no.: 6833.

From E. Strang, 1995, 249. © C. Strang.

A.42	POLMOOD	*C.* 1638 & LATER	NT 1140 2705	TYPE I

The vaulted basement of a *c.* 1638 house survives within a much altered and enlarged mansion, mainly C19.

The C17 house was ruinous by 1864. At that time a '1638' datestone with the initials 'R H' for Robert Hunter of Polmood (†1689) is said to have been visible in the ruin. The Hunters were in possession of the property since at least the 2nd ¼ C15. An earlier reference describes the house as "lately well repaired" in 1715 and this phase may relate to the datestone of '1678' with the initials 'R H' and a heart said to have been visible in the ruin in the mid-C19. The house was rebuilt in *c.* 1887 in the Scots Baronial style. A *c.* C17 rectangular dovecot, remodelled in the C19, survives *c.* 46 m E of the house. *c.* 1887 lodge.

Strang, 1994, 248–9; RCAHMS, 1967, II, 305.

RCAHMS no.: NT12NW 16.00. dovecot RCAHMS no.: NT12NW 16.03.

From SSW, 2002. © RCAHMS.

A.43	SMAILHOLM HOUSE	C16, C17 & 1707	NT 6511 3659	TYPE I

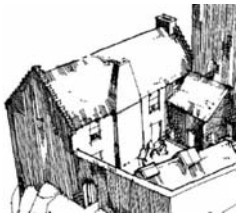
Built as small rectangular-plan tower-house in the C16, extended into an L-plan in the early C17 and remodelled in 1707. Best described as a laird's house rather than a tower-house as extended.

The C16 tower-house was built for Cranston of Smailholm and probably survives as the present N block which has a vaulted cellar. The S block was added in the *c.* early C17 and linked to the N block by a turnpike stair. The L-plan house is constructed of rubble masonry, white-washed (originally harled), with exposed freestone dressings. The main block was extended to the E with a new kitchen and hall, perhaps in 1663 when James Don, clerk of Kelso, was granted a charter to the 20 merk lands of 'Smalhome' formerly belonging to William, Earl of Roxburghe. '1663' is inscribed on a window lintel in the S block with the initials 'J D' and 'E K' for James Don, who became 1st of Smailholm, and his wife. The S block was heightened by James's son, Andrew Don, in 1707 and given sash-and-cash windows. The entrance in the re-entrant has a bolection-moulded lugged architrave and 'A D 1707' on the lintel indicating 'Andrew Don'. Unknown function for small niches either side of door. The entrance opens into a hall with an open-well oak stair of 1707. There are 3 rooms on the 1st floor with bolection-moulded stone fireplaces. The lintel over the rear door is inscribed with 'July 29 AD 1717'. The gables are crowstepped and skewputts have grotesque heads. The chimneystacks have been rebuilt in

brick.

Strang, 1994, 169; RCAHMS, 1956, I, 45, pl. 32, fig. 202 & pl. 60, fig. 317; II, 417–18; *RMS*, 1660–8, No. 486; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 689; Balfour, 1896, 86.

RCAHMS no.: NT63NE 1; HB NUM: 15452.



reconstruction of N range, Phase II (Dave Pollock), Good & Tabraham, 1988, illus. 20, 263. © Historic Scotland and The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

N range, from E, 2007. Author.

A.44	SMAILHOLM TOWER	EARLY C16 & *c.* 1645	NT 6380 3467	TYPE I

Only footings survive. Built as a hall building for the adjacent early C16 tower-house within its barmkin. Converted into a 2- or 2½-storey house in *c.* 1645.

The tower-house at Smailholm was first recorded in 1536. The tower sits within a barmkin and had 2 ranges to its W. The N range touches the tower at its SE corner. By 1578 the Pringles of Smailholm had moved their main seat to Galashiels (*see* A.21) and the tower was tenanted by close kin. However, the Pringles were compelled to return to the tower in 1632 and finally forced to sell it in 1645. It was bought by Sir William Scott of Harden (†1655), Sheriff of Selkirk, who leased Smailholm to his kinsman Robert Scott. The reworking of the N range is attributed to this period. It evidently reached 2 or 2½ storeys at one time because of a surviving roof raggle on the tower. The partition separating the original ground-floor hall and chamber was dismantled and 2 new cross-walls were inserted to create a 9 m-long central room with 2 narrower rooms at either side. The entrance was on the S side into the central room, to the W of which was an extruded fireplace. This central room functioned as the kitchen of the new house or, possibly, a kitchen-cum-hall. The E room had a mural fireplace. No evidence of a forestair survives. Internal communication was probably by way of a timber stair, perhaps in the W room. No evidence survives of the layout of the upper floor(s) but it/they probably contained bed chambers. However it cannot be ruled out that there was a principal room on the 1st floor. A small outshot built in the re-entrant between the N range and the tower-house provided storage. The S range and tower-house may have served some ancillary function.

Now in state care. Excavated 1979–81.

Good & Tabraham, 1988; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 690–2; Tabraham, 1987; RCAHMS, 1956, II, 416–7; Baldwin, 1997, 115–16.

RCAHMS no.: NT63SW 2; SAM no.: 90280; HB NUM: 13885.

A.45	? SYNTON HOUSE (SITE OF)	1570	IN THE VICINITY OF NT 487 223	TYPE ?

Two fragments of inscribed door lintel with 'GEORGE SCOT IN SINTOVN AND MARG/RET EDMESTOVN HIS SP[OVS IN THE]/ZER OF GOD 1570 THE HEAR T[O WALTER SCOT]' had been reset in the *c.* 1777 Synton House from a house, on or near its site. The later Synton House was

	demolished in the 2nd ½ of the C20 and the architectural fragments described in 1953 (RCAHMS, 1957) were not retained. It is not possible to determine the form of the late C16 house.				
	RCAHMS, 1957, 52; Canmore, NT42SE 5. RCAHMS no.: NT42SE 5.				
 From SE, 1975–6. © RCAHMS.	**A.46**	**THORLIESHOPE**	**LATE C17**	**NY 5713 9653**	**TYPE ?**
	Ruinous rectangular-plan 2½-storey house with inscribed lintel dated '1682', only the W end survives partly rebuilt in the C19. It is sited on right bank of Thorlieshope Burn near its junction with Liddel Water. The W gable incorporates 2 skewputts with human heads and a corbel. The inscribed lintel is dated '1682' and has 2 monograms comprising the initials 'D M E' and 'W E A C' inserted above a C19 entrance.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, I, 86; Strang, 1994, 149; Canmore, NY59NE 26. RCAHMS no.: NY59NE 26.				
 From SE, RCAHMS, 1956, I, pl. 17, fig. 69. © RCAHMS.	**A.47**	**WESTGATE HALL, DENHOLM**	**C17**	**NT 5678 1830**	**TYPE I**
	2½-storey rectangular-plan house built in the C17 with later alterations. Measures 16.8 NW–SE by 6.9 m NE–SW (55' 3" by 22' 7"). Built of rubble masonry, formerly harled, with freestone dressings. The entrance is on the NE side and has quirked-edge-roll mouldings and a '1663' dated lintel. The lintel is similar to Old Alton House (*see* A.1). The W skewputt has a Douglas heart, the others scrolled. The interior has been modernised and the floor levels altered. 1 fireplace with a massive lintel, recessed at each end, survives in the NW gable with initials 'S A D' for Sir Archibald Douglas and 'D R S' for Dame Rachael Skene and their armorials. Archibald was the son and heir of Sir William Douglas of Cavers. They had been in possession of properties including the town and lands of "Denum" since they were granted a charter of them by Charles I in 1634. The addition on the SW side and the forestair on the SE gable are modern.				
	RCAHMS, 1956, I, 100; Strang, 1994, 134; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 209; *RMS*, IX, no. 212. RCAHMS no.: NT51NE 15; HB NUM: 2052.				
 From SE, n.d.. © Scottish Borders	**A.48**	**WINDYDOORS TOWER**	**LATE C16**	**NT 4319 3984**	**TYPE I**
	Ruinous rectangular-plan house, originally 2½ storeys, built in the late C16 probably by a greater tenant. Now part of farm steading. A "peilhouse" is recorded associated with the middle stead ("Middlestead")				

Council Archaeology and Countryside Department. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.	of "Windiedoors" in 1667 and 1695 (*Retours*, ii, *Inquistiones Speciales*, Selkirk, Nos. 80 & 107, cited in RCAHMS, 1957). It measures 8.4 N–S by 14.5 m E–W (24' 7" by 47' 6") and has a vaulted ground floor. A ground-floor door survives with a quirked-edge-roll moulding rebated for inner yett and outer wooden door with draw bar. There is a relieving arch above. The ground floor is lit by 2 narrow slits on the N side and 1 on the S side. A hatch in the vault survives. The 1st floor probably had 2 rooms with fireplaces and probably reached by a forestair. An edge-rolled window survives at the E end.
	RCAHMS, 1957, I, 37; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 762–3; Dixon, 1976, II, 95; OS visit notes, 28-11-79, Canmore, NT43NW 2. RCAHMS no.: NT43NW 2; HB NUM: 2052.

From S, n.d.. © Peter Ryder, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

A.49	WINKSTON	1545 & 1734	NT 2450 4307	TYPE II

Built in the mid-C16 as a 3-storey (or more) tower-house, dated by a reused lintel 'ANNO DOM 1545', cut down to 2½ storeys in 1734.

The tower-house was probably built for William Dickson, a Peebles burgess, whose family are recorded at Winkston between 1536 and 1581. A lintel dated '1545' was reused over the entrance of the remodelled house. The rectangular-plan house measures 10.7 m NE–SW by 7.6 m NW–SE (35' by 23'), over walls 1.3 m (4'3") thick. 3 gunloops survive on the ground-floor and have been blocked up. The Littles acquired the property in 1643. The C18 works, including its reduction in height, are credited to John Little of Winkston and his wife who are commemorated on a window lintel on the ground-floor with the date '17 ILG[?S] 34'. A new entrance was created at the centre of SE side, the window openings regularised with chamfered margins, and new chimneystacks built. The original vault was removed. The floor levels may also have been altered. Internally, the NE room on the ground-floor has a wide timber-lintelled fireplace and would have functioned as the kitchen. It was separated from the centrally placed timber staircase by a new partition. The SW room probably functioned as a parlour. The 1st floor rooms retain bead-moulded fireplaces. In *c.* 1850 many openings were blocked up as it was converted into a storehouse for the newly built farmhouse next door. The ground floor was subdivided and a 2nd entrance created from E-most window on SE side.

RCAHMS, 1967, I, 275–6; II, pl. 52B–E; Cruft, Dunbar & Fawcett, 2006, 763; Strang, 1994, 237; OS visit notes, 17-5-62 & 27-9-74, Canmore, NT24SW 35.

RCAHMS no.: NT24SW 35; HB NUM: 15214.

Appendix B Shetland gazetteer

 From N, 1999. Author.  From W, 1999. Author.	**B.1**	**ANNSBRAE HOUSE, HILLHEAD, LERWICK**	**1791**	**HU 4774 4107**	**TYPE II**
	Symmetrical, 2-storey, 3-bay house with ashlar margins and flanking 1-storey hipped wings built on a site originally called 'Hungryhaa' as the townhouse of John Mouat (1752–1824) of Annsbrae (Yell). Flat-roofed ashlar porch at centre of N (principal) elevation. Formal garden and two gabled pavilions to N. Compulsory-purchased from Garth Estate by Town Council in the 1960s. Uninhabited until conversion into flats for psychiatric patients by J. Jessop, SIC Architects, in 1985–7; concrete forestair added to S elevation, new block to S.				
	Finnie, 1990, 25; Gifford, 1992b, 493; Scott, 2007, 45, 51, 65 & 180; SMA Photo Archive photos.shetland-museum.org.uk, Photo No.: SL01187; Canmore, HU44SE 52; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 37257. RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 52; HB NUM: 37257.				
 From SW, 1999. Author.  From W, 1928. L. G. Scott © SMA.	**B.2**	**BARDISTER HAA, OLLABERRY**	**LATE C18/ EARLY C19**	**HU 3596 7745**	**TYPE II**
	2½-storey 3-bay house with symmetrical façade facing N on shore of Gluss Voe. Gabled porch to centre of N elevation. Purple-grey slate roof. 1-storey gabled outbuilding to SW. Walled garden to E. Being restored in 1996.				
	Finnie, 1990, 67; Finnie, 1996b; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44562. RCAHMS no.: HU37NE 11; HB NUM: 44562.				
 From W, 1999. Author.  From NE, 1999. Author.	**B.3**	**BAYHALL, WALLS**	***C.* 1740S**	**HU 2429 4934**	**TYPE II**
	3-storey, 3-bay house built for John Hendry (1709–1751), becoming the seat of the Henrys of Bayhall. Symmetrical front (SW) and rear (NE) façades. Sits close to shore on the harbour in the village of Walls. Large windows lit the 1st-floor principal rooms with smaller windows on 2nd floor. Gabled porch l. of centre on NE elevation. Later gabled-ended 2-storey extension on SE gable. Walled garden to N. Outbuilding and pier to S. 1978 restoration and conversion into flats for SIC by R. Gibson and SIC Architects.				
	Finnie, 1990, 55; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 515; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18609. RCAHMS no.: HU24NW 32; HB NUM: 18609.				
 From SW, 1890s. J. P. Isbister © SMA.	**B.4**	**BIGTON HOUSE**	**1788 & EARLIER?**	**HU 3775 2095**	**TYPE II**
	Harled 3-bay 2½-storey house, possibly built as an extension to an earlier building. Main front faces SSW, centrally-placed entrance with flat entablature, frieze inscribed 'J B S 1788'. Scrolled skewputts and purple-grey slate roofs. Inscription indicates John Bruce, 4th of Symbister who married Clementine Stewart (heiress of Bigton) in 1744. The cill of the central 1st-floor window above the main door sits on top of the entrance, lower than the windows to both sides. 1-storey lean-to outshot,				

originally gabled, at W side. The 2½-storey rear wing with half-dormers creates a L-plan. Early-C19 Georgian porch at junction between the wings. Lean-to 1-storey outshot to N end. Walled garden. Bigton came into the Stewart family in 1634.

Finnie, 1990, 48–9; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 469; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 5416.

RCAHMS no.: HU32SE 8; HB NUM: 5416.

From W, n.d.. © SMA.

From E, 1920s. L. G. Scott © SMA.

B.5	BRAE HOUSE, BRAE	MID-C18	HU 3582 6782	TYPE II

2½-storey 3-bay merchant's house built for the Giffords of Busta (*see* B.8), possibly on the site of an earlier booth. Entrance-front faces W, gabled porch to centre. Broad full-height 1-bay extension with gabled porch. Pier and outbuildings.

Finnie, 1990, 62; Finnie, 1996b.

RCAHMS no.: HU36NE 36.

From SW, 1999. Author.

From ENE, 1887. J. Irvine © SMA.

B.6	BUNESS, UNST	LATE C17 & *C.* 1835	HP 6286 0900	TYPE II

Harled, crowstepped 3-bay 2-storey house was doubled in length (to W) in *c.* 1835 by Thomas Edmondston of Buness. The C15 landholders are recorded as the 'Hendriksons' who were fouds in 1450 whose name was anglicised to 'Henderson'. Buness then passed to the Sandersons then Edmondstons. A 2-storey 3-bay house was added in 1828 to the E end at r.-angles (demolished in 1955) and the older part relegated to a wing. The wallheads of the older part were raised in the later C19, all of its windows have been enlarged, purple-grey slates to roof. The present crowsteps were added in 1950. Later timber porch. Walled garden with 2 gateways to the shore, gatepiers to E, jetty and 3 böds. Now a hotel.

Finnie, 1990, 76–7; Finnie, 1996b; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 17478; Gifford, 1992b, 469; Ritchie, 1997, 42; RCAHMS Record Sheet, Jun 1992, MS 232/SH/UN/2.

RCAHMS no.: HP60NW 12; HB NUM: 17478.

From WSW, 1920s–30s. C. Stout © SMA.

From WNW, 1999. Author.

B.7	BURRASTOW HOUSE	1759	HU 2231 4779	TYPE II

2½-storeys, 3-bays, on raised basement built for the Henrys with stair to gabled entrance porch. Main front looks over Vaila Sound to the S. Böd, walled garden to E, low ranges to rear. 1-storey parallel wing at rear raised to 2 in 2nd ¼ of C20 for Col. Foster (a mill owner from Yorkshire) as his summerhouse. Crenellated parapet to ESE side. Modern lean-to conservatory to New wing added in 1995; now a hotel.

From ESE, 1956. J. Peterson © SMA.

Ritchie, 1997, 66; Finnie, 1996b; Finnie, 1990, 56; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18611.

RCAHMS no.: HU24NW 46.00; HB NUM: 18611.

From NE, 1999. Author.

S wing from W, 1999. Author.

B.8	BUSTA HOUSE	*C.* 1650, 1714 & LATER	HU 3451 6680	TYPE I & II

The earliest part of the house is the 2-storey S wing which might date to *c.* 1650 when Robert Gifford (†1678) was granted a charter of 12 merks land of Busta. It is doubtful that it originated as the house built by a Hanseatic merchant in 1588 (*e.g.* Finnie, 1990) or as a C18 addition (Statutory List description; Gifford, 1992b) but there may have been a house on this site which Robert rebuilt as his grandfather, John Gifford, was referred to as 'in Busta' before 1620. A large 3-storey T-plan house was added to its N gable in 1714. Major C20 additions.

The Giffords had acquired the lands of Busta by 1604 and descended from a Scottish minister who was first appointed reader in Northmavine in 1567. The original 2-storey rectangular-plan house is aligned N–S and its entrance was on the E side high on a hill overlooking Busta Voe. The smaller 1st-floor windows appear to be original, they are irregularly spaced and their lintels form part of the eaves course. Crowstepped gables. Entrance blocked shortly after 1915–17 and the ground-floor windows altered to their present form of 2 double windows on both the E and W elevations.

The arms and initials of Thomas Gifford and Elizabeth Mitchell and date of 1714 adorn a panel above the round-arched roll-moulded entrance in S jamb's gable of the T-plan house that was added to the N gable of the old house. The entrance is thus placed at the re-entrant angle between old and new. It opens into a stair with stone balustrade. The W gable is crowstepped; the E block has scrolled skewputts.

The main, E–W aligned block was extended W in the later C18. In the early C19 Busta had its own 1.5km of paved road. Walled garden, terraced grounds, gatepiers, harbour, slipway and dovecot. Stone gargoyles acquired from the restoration of the House of Commons in gardens. E porch, added after 1915–17. Large N addition and W porch by P. Watts, architect, 1984. Now a hotel.

Gifford, 1992b, 472; Ritchie, 1997, 67; Scott, 1996; Finnie, 1990, 64; Finnie, 1996b; Canmore, HU36NW 9.00; *Shet. Docs. 1*, 278; *Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 377; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 5887.

RCAHMS no.: HU36NW 9.00; HB NUM: 5887; dovecot: RCAHMS no.: HU36NW 9.01.

From SW, 1999. Author.

B.9	10 COMMERCIAL STREET, LERWICK	*C.* 1730	HU 4798 4121	TYPE I

(Alternatively, Torrie's House). 2½-storey 3-bay house built for Patrick Scollay, a merchant. Patrick Torrie later built the adjacent lodberry. It has a slightly off-centre entrance on its S front, one window to the E and three windows on the 1st floor. Stone slabs shed water from above openings and protect the crowsteps. When built it was the only house on the seaward side of Commercial Street and sits right on the shoreside. Long axis to the street rather than end-on which is unusual in Lerwick's C16 and C18 town houses and merchant's houses. Boundary wall. Renovated in 1988 by R. Gibson.

Finnie, 1990, 15; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 493; Statutory List description, HB

NUM: 37239.

RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 25; HB NUM: 37239.

From SW, 1999. Author.

From N, 1999. Author.

B.10	GARDIESTAING, YELL	*C.* 1645	HU 5115 9150	TYPE I

(Alternatively, Gardiesting). 2½-storey, 3 bay house with basement. Much altered, former main entrance to 1st floor on S side now a window. 2-bay E gable, blank ground floor.

In 1645/6 William Spence of Houlland granted land to his son David Spence on the Gardie estate, Mid Yell. David is credited with building the house at Gardiestaing as a 'merchant's house' with shop, salt store and byre on the ground floor and door at the E end. A forestair formerly gave access to the main floor. Let to fishing station manager in late C19. In 1896 the manager, Mr Anderson, built the shop and store onto the W end. The shop was reached via steps at the W end of the house and a new entrance to the house was broken through on the ground floor. The son of the owner, James Spence, and his wife Grace occupied the house from the early 1900s and added the front porch in the 1920s, back door and porch. Range to E bounding yard at rear.

Old Haa Museum notes; Finnie, 1990, 70; Finnie, 1996b; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 45321.

RCAHMS no.: HU59SW 11; HB NUM: 45321.

From S, 1975–6. © RCAHMS.

B.11	GIBBLESTONE HOUSE, MAIN STREET, SCALLOWAY	LATE C18	HU 4027 3947	TYPE II

2½-storey, 3-bay house with small detached symmetrical wings built by the Scotts, named after their ancestral estate Gibliston in Fife, to supersede their Old Haa further E (*see* B.27). Main symmetrical front with ashlar margins faces SSW, axial approach from Main Street. Purple-grey slate roof. Victorian pilastered porch and bay and dormer windows. 1-storey lean-to wings have been demolished. Blank E gable, 2-bay W gable, blind at ground floor, 2-storey lean-to addition at rear. Walled garden. Pier now demolished. Converted into flats by R. Gibson and houses built in gardens, 1989.

Finnie, 1990, 42; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 508; Ritchie, 1997, 61; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18557.

RCAHMS no.: HU43NW 75; HB NUM: 18557.

From SE, 1999. Author.

From NE, 1999. Author.

B.12	GLOUP HAA, YELL	LATE C18	HP 5068 0459	TYPE II

Symmetrical 2½-storey, 3-bay house, entrance-front faces E with 1-storey hipped outshot to N gable. Fishscale tiles to roof. Restored. Walled garden to E. Overlooking the Easter Lee of Gloup.

Finnie, 1990, 71; Finnie, 1996b; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18653.

RCAHMS no.:HP50SW 15; HB NUM: 18653.

B.13	GOSSABROUGH HAA, YELL	C18	HU 5312 2833	TYPE II

Ruinous 2-storey house, faces SE, with shallow pitch (possibly altered), and wing to rear with low-pitched felt roof creates an L-plan. Latterly a shop, remains of

 From E, 2007. © K. Craig, www.geograph.org.uk	partitions created by broken-up wooden boxes. Evidence of drawbar slot. Sits close to pier at banks of Wick of Gossabrough. 1-storey roofless building sits at r.-angles to immediate E. Track passes between ranger and house to pier.				
	Finnie, 1990, 69; Finnie, 1996b.				
 From ESE, n.d. © SMA.	**B.14**	**GREENBANK HOUSE, YELL**	**EARLY C19**	**HP 5387 0405**	**TYPE II**
	Harl-pointed rubble, 2½-storey, 3-bay, former merchant's house. Main elevation faces E, purple-grey slate roof. Late C19 1-storey 2-bay outbuilding to NW. Early C20 L-plan 1-storey shallow-pitched corrugated-iron roofed shop at N gable with tall stepped chimneystack; entrance on E side. Lean-to greenhouse to S gable. 2 1-storey lean-to wings to W elevation. Small walled garden to E.				
	Finnie, 1990, 70; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 18651. RCAHMS no.: HP50SW; HB NUM: 18651.				
 From ESE, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.	**B.15**	**GREENWELL'S BOOTH, UNST**	**2ND ½ C17**	**HP 5920 0108**	**TYPE I**
	Ruinous former 2-storey böd with forestair giving access to 1st-floor accommodation. Probably built by William Bruce, merchant, after 1646 (the date of a land transaction) and his death (before 1705). It came to be known as Greenwell's Booth by the mid-18th century when it was owned by Andrew Scott of Grenwell. It was 2-storeys and 3-bays with the shop or store on the ground floor entered through a door in the SE (seaward) gable. A forestair on the NE long elevation provided access to the main accommodation on the 1st floor, there may have been loft space above. The structure on the SW wall has been described as a "massive boulder buttress" (Statutory List description), but it may represent the remains of a building on this side. Still entire in the 1920s. It has since lost its roof, rear wall and front gablet. Now consolidated ruin.				
	Finnie, 1990, 73; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 17475; Ritchie, 1997, 42 & 52. RCAHMS no.: HP50SE 40; HB NUM: 17475.				
 From NW, 2006. © SCT.	**B.16**	**GROBNESS HAA, VEMENTRY**	**1800**	**HU 3686 6336**	**TYPE II**
	Harl-pointed, 2½-storey, 3-bay laird's house with ashlar dressings built by George Barron, merchant overlooking an ayre. Large segmental-arched kitchen fireplace in the N gable and originally roofed with stone slabs. It sits within a walled enclosure with remains of outbuildings in its NW corner. Barron married a daughter of a successful merchant and built Grobness with her capital; the venture failed and was taken over by Gideon Gifford of Busta shortly after 1815. The house was in multiple-occupancy for a time; now ruinous (roof has collapsed). Böd later converted into a dwelling.				
	Finnie, 1990, 58; Finnie, 1996b; Wishart, 1999; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref No: 1236; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44528. RCAHMS no.: HU36SE 26; HB NUM: 44528.				
	B.17	**THE OLD HAA OF BROUGH, (SITE OF),**	**C17**	**HU 477 543**	**TYPE I**

		NESTING			
	The house was demolished in the 1830s and fragments were reused in the nearby roadside cottage including *c.* late C17 skewputt with a carved head. The 'manor house' of Margaret Reid at Brough was mentioned in 1577 when Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie was accused of using it as a base for foraging the parish. The lands passed to the Sinclairs of Brough.				
	Finnie, 1990, 59; Finnie, 1996b; Balfour, 1859, 42–3; Canmore, HU45SE 73. RCAHMS no.: HU45SE 73.				
 From S, 1999. Author.  From NE, 1999. Author.	**B.18**	**THE OLD HAA OF BROUGH, YELL**	*C.* **1669–72**	**HU 5200 7949**	**TYPE I**
	(Alternatively Old Haa of Burravoe). 2½-storey rectangular-plan house built by Robert Tyrie, merchant, and completed in 1672 as commemorated on an armorial panel with the initials 'R. T.' over the S gateway into the former courtyard. Robert Tyrie acquired the Brough estate (Brough and Utra Brough) in 1664. He was responsible for building a new house near the important trading port of Burravoe. As built it consisted of a main 2½-storey house, 15.4 by 6.6 m, on the E and a 1-storey outbuilding on the W side of a narrow courtyard with 2 screen walls, through which a track passed which led to the böds at the shore to its SW. The ranges may have been thatched originally. Both ranges were later extended to the N, the E one serving as a smithy. Parallel with the W range was another building which might have been part of the laird's house complex. The main façade of the house has irregularly disposed windows with an entrance, roughly at the centre. It faced the courtyard and had a centrally-placed entrance which opened onto a stair. The present stair is scale-and-platt. A 1637 datestone commemorates further work, perhaps when the stepped buttresses were added to the W side. Robert Tyrie transferred his Brough lands to Laurence Stewart in 1679. It changed hands several times thereafter. From the later C19 it was subdivided for multiple occupancy. In the course of road-widening the W range has been demolished and the S arch was rebuilt in 1990. Other alterations include the addition of an upper floor to the smithy, the rectangular gateway in the N courtyard dates from the *c.* C19, the remainder of the courtyard buildings have been demolished, and a C20 wooden porch has been added to the W side. A C18 fireplace survives in the S room of the 1st floor. Restored as museum in 1984. The present roof covering is corrugated sheet cladding. It was originally clad with sandstone flags and these were used to build a forestair on a building at the pier.				
	Finnie, 1990, 68–9; Finnie, 1996b; Old Haa Museum notes; Gifford, 1992b, 472; RCAHMS, 1941, 160, No. 1714; Ritchie, 1997, 69; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18680. RCAHMS no.: HU57NW 1; HB NUM: 18680.				
 From SSE, n.d. © SMA.	**B.19**	**HAA OF DALSETTER, YELL**	**EARLY C19**	**HU 5074 9901**	**TYPE II**
	Harled rubble 2-storey, 3-bay laird's house with droved sandstone ashlar margins. S front has segmental-headed arch containing fanlight, panelled door with narrow lights to l. and r. Windows are 4-pane. Asbestos tiled roof and concrete skew copes. Rear elevation has door to centre of ground floor and window above. The E gable has one window on 1st floor to r. Vacant since *c.* 1970s. Looks out over Basta Voe. Ruinous barn to NW.				
	Statutory List description: HB NUM: 45323. RCAHMS no.: HU59NW 17; HB NUM: 45323.				

From SSW, n.d.. R. Ramsay © SMA.

From NE, n.d.. © SMA.

B.20	THE HAA, FAIR ISLE	EARLY C18	HZ 2031 7007	TYPE II

Crowstepped 2-storey 3-bay house built by the Sinclairs of Quendale who acquired the island in the early C17. They went bankrupt in 1766; it passed to the Stewarts of Brough, Orkney and the Bruces of Sumburgh bought in 1866.

Entrance-front faces S with off-centre porch to r. Lintels of upper windows are at eaves height, roof is tiled with stone slabs. The roof timbers are salvaged from wrecks. Thick chimneystacks, crowstepped gables. Plain N elevation with the exception of a small window on ground floor to r. Lean-to wing to E gable are later additions. Garage to N.

Finnie, 1990, 93; Finnie, 1996b; Ritchie, 1997, 140; Gifford, 1992b, 476; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 5447.

RCAHMS no.: HZ27SW 184; HB NUM: 5447.

From NE, before 1910. © SMA.

B.21	THE HAA, FOULA	LATE C18	HT 9742 3888	TYPE II

1½-storey 3-bay house built by the Scotts of Melby. Entrance-front faces E. The island originally formed part of the large Vaila estates of Mitchell of Girlsta and then the Scotts from 1695. It was sold in 1895 and bought by Prof Ian B. Stoughton after a visit in 1899. Baronial porch added to replace former lean-to in *c.* 1910 by Holbourn, unfinished. 1-storey lean-to addition at rear, gabled half-dormer above. Gabled half-dormer to centre bay of E front. Felted roofs.

Finnie, 1996b; Finnie, 1992b, 91; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 18608.

RCAHMS no.: HT93NE 11; HB NUM: 18608.

From E, 2002. Author.

From S, 2002. Author.

B.22	HAA OF FUNZIE, FETLAR	*C.* 1770S	HU 6655 8973	TYPE II

Ruinous. 2-storey house later reduced in height, lean-to outshot to SE gable. Entrance on SW. It was connected with the haaf fishing station at Funzie. In the mid-C18 the trade of Fetlar was managed by James Smith of Funzie who had married a daughter of Gilbert Garden of Overland and Swinister. He probably came to Fetlar from Deerness, Orkney. Irregularly-placed small windows and it had a slate roof by 1878.

Mack, 1993, 7–8; Finnie, 1996b.

From SW, 2006. © SCT.

From NW, 2000. © SCT.

B.23	HAA OF GARDIE, YELL	MID-C18	HU 5085 9145	TYPE II

(Formerly, Scotts Haa). 2-storey, 3-bay house, now roofed with corrugated iron but unoccupied. Entrance to S elevation in centre with flanking windows. N (rear) elevation has off-centre doorway. E gable is 2 bays. Charles Scott of Reafirth, Yell built a house at Gardie in the mid-C18. Unoccupied since 1936. 1-storey, 2-bay outbuilding to E and 1-storey barn adjoining to NW. Both roofless.

Finnie, 1990, 70; Finnie, 1996b; Old Haa Museum notes; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref no.: 1775; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 45322.

RCAHMS no.: HU59SW 12; HB NUM: 45322.

From W, 1999. Author.

From NE, 1999. Author.

B.24	HAA OF HOUSS, EAST BURRA	EARLY C19	HU 3763 3110	TYPE II

2½-storey, 3-bay house built by William Sinclair. Now ruinous but survives to wallhead height. Resolutely regularly-disposed windows on the main (W) front, substantial sandstone jamb stones. Blank N gable, window dressing survives at 1st floor level on S gable. Rear (E) side has tall stair window at centre with entrance on ground floor to r. Similar to Smithfield, Fetlar, built in 1815 (*see* B.55). Some evidence that attic may have been rebuilt or added (Statutory List description). Unoccupied since *c.* 1900, roofless dismantled around 1938 for roofing a byre. S chimneystack and part of S gable dismantled in 1940s/50s.

1-storey outbuilding to N with its entrance on its S long elevation.

Finnie, 1990, 90; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref No.: 1924; SMA Photo Library, photos.shetland-museum.org.uk, Photo Number: Z00328; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 47291.

RCAHMS no.: HU33SE 140; HB NUM: 47291.

B.25	THE HAA, MOUSA	LATE C18	HU 4586 2358	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay house built by the Pypers. Ruinous by 1882 (OS Name Book). Sits in the middle of a rectangular enclosure. Entrance-front faces N.

Finnie, 1990, 46; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 499; OS Name Book, No. 8, 86.

RCAHMS no.: HU42SE 8.

From ENE, 2007. © shetlopedia.com

B.26	HAA OF SAND	1754	HU 3443 4711	TYPE II

3-storey, 5-bay house built for Sir Andrew Mitchell of Westshore (Scalloway) using Hidlasay granite with sandstone ashlar dressings. Main front (E) has moulded entrance with shouldered architrave and armorial panel over, 2 lean-to wings at either side. It is almost identical to the contemporary Old Haa, Scalloway (*see* B.27). Principal rooms on the 1st floor with bedrooms above demarcated by smaller windows, the rooms are panelled in Norwegian pine with mouldings, cornices and blind arcading. 2 walled gardens flanked by pavilions, 2 doorways from Scalloway Castle lead into the walled policies. Cottage, gatepiers, outbuildings; at shore böd and slipway also survive. The E wing has been rebuilt as a garage and the stables, built into the perimeter wall, have been converted into a dwelling.

Finnie, 1996a; Finnie, 1990, 53–4; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 504–5; Ritchie, 1996, 65; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 18693.

RCAHMS no.: HU34NW 10.00: HB NUM: 18693; böd and slipway RCAHMS no.: HU34NW 14; HB NUM: 44571.

From W, 1999. Author.

From SE, 1999. Author.

B.27	OLD HAA, NEW STREET, SCALLOWAY	*C.* 1750	HU 4037 3936	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Muckle Haa). Harled, 3-storey, 5-bay house built for James Scott, merchant and his landed bride Katherine Sinclair (lands in Scalloway and Burra) shortly before 1750. Their marriage is commemorated in the armorial panel above the main entrance. Only 3 windows on the ground floor with moulded doorway at centre. Bays above are grouped 1/3/1. An Imperial stair eased access to New Street and the modern level of the reclaimed shoreline from the C19. Superseded by Gibblestone (*see* B.11). Similar design to Haa of Sand (B. 26). Purple-grey slate roof. Converted into flats in 2003.

From NW, 2007. © shetlopedia.com

Finnie, 1996a; Finnie, 1990, 42; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 507; Ritchie, 1997, 60–1 & 65; shetlopedia.com/Scalloway_Haa; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18558.

RCAHMS no.: HU43NW 25; HB NUM: 18558.

B.28	THE OLD HAA (OF SYMBISTER) (SITE OF), WHALSAY	C17 & MID-C18	HU 5403 6234	TYPE I & II

Built by the Bruces of Symbister (*see* Old House of Sumburgh, B.36), little remains apart from the walled garden and 1.2m of the moulded doorway which was built into the courtyard wall. A fine armorial panel dated 1750 bears the arms and initials of John Bruce Stewart and Christina Gifford together with those of the sculptor John Forbes built above the gateway to the W of the 1823 house built by Robert Bruce of Symbister (a school since 1940).

Finnie, 1990, 81; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 517; Ritchie, 1997, 66–7; RCAHMS, 1946, III, 88.

RCAHMS no.: HU56SW 6.

From E. Mack, 1993, 3.

B.29	HAA OF URIE, FETLAR	EARLY C18	HU 5929 9383	TYPE ?

The house built by Andrew Bruce of Urie, †1717 only survives to ground floor height. It is located near a former fishing station and booth. The Bruce Fetlar lands were acquired by Arthur Nicolson in 1805 as payment of a debt owed by another Andrew Bruce of Urie, †1803; Nicolson moved to Brough Lodge when completed in *c.* 1820.

Mack, 1993, 3–6.

From E, 1999. Author.

From NW, 1999. Author.

From SW, 1999. Author.

B.30	THE HAA OF CRUISTER, BRESSAY	C17 & *C.* 1718	HU 4824 4238	TYPE II

Now ruinous. Remains of a 2½-storey laird's house built in c. 1718 and earlier roofed range which probably dates to the C17.

David Bolt, probably a trader, tenanted Cruister from the 2nd ½ of the C17 and it was mortgaged to him in 1699. The roofed 1-storey building may be credited to David. It has a blocked-up fireplace and aumbries in its SW gable. It might have originally functioned as David's house-cum-böd or a kitchen for his house. Footings to the NE probably indicate an outbuilding that formed part of the presumed courtyard. Patrick Leslie of Ustaness sold the mortgaged 4 merks land of Cruister to David's son James, a merchant, in 1718. The ruins of a larger 2½-storey house to the NW was probably built by James around that time. The S end of the ground floor of the house was lit by 3 small windows (later a larger window was punched through the gable) and may have functioned as the kitchen once the fireplace of the older building was blocked up. There is evidence of much rebuilding at the N end of the house. It is not clear whether the main entrance was originally on the NW or SE sides. The positions of 4 windows facing NW and SW are still evident on the 1st floor at the S end of the house. The main rooms were probably on the 1st floor. James may have intended that the approach to the new house was from the NW through a gate at the far end of an enclosure. This opening could be later however. There are the remains of 2 outbuildings at the W and E corners of the enclosure, one with a corn-drying kiln.

Bolt's lands were acquired by the Mouats of Garth in the early C19. It was later

	subdivided for poor tenants. The SE building is now used as a byre.				
	Strachan, 2001; sasines of 20 & 30 Jul 1699, Kirkwall. NAS, RS 78/2; sasine of 28 Feb 1718, Kirkwall. NAS, RS 78/3, f.14r & f.14v.				
 From S, 1999. Author.  From NW, 1900. W. Brown © SMA.	**B.31**	**HILLSWICK HOUSE**	**LATE C18 & LATER**	**HU 2821 7704**	**TYPE II**
	Harled, 1½-storey house with basement, possibly built in C19 over C18 foundations, forming NW side of courtyard. Venetian door to middle bay of 3-bay entrance (SE) front. Victorian bargeboarded dormers over 2 outermost bays. N end of SE wing is early C19, S end is low 2-storey building which looks early C18 but may incorporate the *c.* 1684 böd of Adolf Westerman, a Hamburg merchant. The building functioned as a public house until the 1970s. Parallel detached wing to SE. 1-storey wing forming SW side of courtyard, modern opening in SE gable. Purple-grey slated roofs. Courtyard closed off to SE side with low boundary wall.				
	Finnie, 1990, 64–5; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992b, 479; Ritchie, 1997, 56. RCAHMS no.: HU27NE 30.00–03; HB NUM: 18688.				
	B.32	**HOULLAND, YELL**	**1745**	**HP 5310 0440**	**TYPE II**
	3-storey house built by James Spence of Houlland. The roof was replaced in the late C19 with a low hipped version. Outbuildings. T-plan, jamb is at mid-point of E long elevation.				
	Finnie, 1990, 71.				
	B.33	**HOUSE OF BROW (SITE OF)**	**C17**	**HU 3863 1407**	**TYPE I**
	(Alternatively, House of Brew). No remains exist above ground level. Area tested in 2003 to determine the location of the C17 House of Brow. The archaeologists returned for a 2nd season in 2005. The estate of Brow was inundated with windblown sand in the late C17. This coupled with the famine of the 1690s and the Sinclairs of Brow became bankrupt. The house was abandoned at this time.				
	Turner, 2004; 2005; Bigelow, Brown & Proctor, 2004.				
	B.34	**OLD HOUSE OF GARTH, (SITE OF), DELTING**	**C17**	**HU 411 745**	**TYPE I**
	A, possibly medieval house was reported to the Shetland Museum in 1997 "immediately south of the Haa of Garth" and a saddle quern was found "in the rubble of the haa" (*DES*, 1997, 67). However, the RCAHMS (1946), stated that no remains of the haa survived. A '1679' armorial panel with Mowat arms and motto, purportedly from the old house, had been reset above fireplace of hall in Gardie House, Bressay.				
	RCAHMS, 1946, III, 27; Canmore, RCAHMS no.: HU47SW 11; *DES*, 1997, 67.				
 From NE, 1999. Author.	**B.35**	**OLD HOUSE OF LUND, UNST**	**C18**	**HP 5711 0364**	**TYPE II**
	Original 2-storey, 3-bay house is SW range, it has a deep plan and large windows, built for merchant John Ross. Doorway of *c.* 1750 moved to Muness Castle in late C19. Narrower parallel range added to rear, porch is early C19. Roof removed in 1947; now ruinous.				

From NW, 1999. Author.

From S, 1999. Author.

Ritchie, 1997, 42; Finnie, 1992b, 75.

From SE, 1999. Author.

From NE, 1999. Author.

B.36	OLD HOUSE OF SUMBURGH	*C.* 1589 & *C.* 1609–17	HU 3982 0953	TYPE I

(Alternatively, 'Jarlshof'). The oldest part of the house complex is the N range which dates to *c.* 1589 and was built by William Bruce who came to Shetland in the 1580s and built up considerable landholdings including Symbister on Whalsay (*see* B.28). It is now reduced to footings; it may have only reached 1½ storeys in height. It measures 6.4 by 16.2 m overall, with lime-mortared rubble walls *c.* 1 m thick and one of 2 projections on the S wall probably indicate an extruded chimneystack. The entrance was towards the W end of the S side. A short stretch of walling at its SE corner suggests that there was originally a building, enclosure or screen wall on the E side. The S range was probably built no earlier than 1609, a 'new house at Sumburgh' was referred to in 1617, however. Its gables survive to show that it was originally 2½-storeys and the lower steps of a forestair survives. It measures 18.0 by 6.9 m overall with walls 1.2–1.5 m thick. The ground floor originally consisted of 2 rooms, with separate entrances from the courtyard. The W room was lit by 2 small square windows, a scarcement against the W gable suggests that there may have been a timber floor or platform. The E room was unlit and its door could be secured by a draw-bar. A fireplace in each gable survives at both 1st and 2nd floor levels. It was probably roofed with either thatch or stone flags.

These ranges were accompanied by E and W service buildings, the W one was demolished in 1951 and the E one preserves the lower part of a corn-drying kiln at one corner. The house was perhaps occupied until at least *c.* 1682–8 (Kay, 1711) and superseded by Sumburgh Farmhouse (*see* B.57). The ruin was called 'Jarlshof' by Sir Walter Scott (1871). Subject to antiquarian clearance excavations in 1897–1905, later clearance and excavation in 1932. Now a consolidated ruin in state care.

Finnie, 1990, 50–1; Finnie, 1996b; Gifford, 1992, 485; Hamilton, 1953; Hamilton, 1956, 194–7; RCAHMS, 1946, III, 16–20; Beveridge, 1893, 179; Scott, 1871, 10; Bruce, 1906, 12–15; NAS SC 21871/2A 'Report of 24 Nov 1931' and 'Excerpt from Foreman's Report No. 15 for fortnight ending 25/3/32', Ministry of Works records; *Shet. Docs. 2*, no. 148, no. 197; Kay, 1711, 35; *Shet. Ct. Bk. 2*, 52.

RCAHMS no.: HU30NE 1.02; SAM no.: 90174; HB NUM: 5441.

B.37	LAXFIRTH HOUSE	C18, REMODELLED C. 1840S	HU 4364 4709	TYPE II

(Originally Scott's Hall). The C18 house may have been built on the site of or incorporates a C17 booth as the S-facing part of the present house. The C18 house seems to have been remodelled as 2 storeys and 5 bays (grouped 1-3-1) in 1840 with a hipped roofed. Main house is slated with purple-grey slates. Later lean-to porch at centre. 1-storey gabled wing on E side. 2-storey square-plan felt-roofed wing to N. Walled garden to S.

	Finnie, 1990, 38. RCAHMS no.: HU44NW 62.00; HB NUM: 47293; walled garden: RCAHMS no.: HU44NW 62.01.				
 From N, 1999. Author.  From E, 1999. Author.	**B.38**	**LINKSHOUSE, YELL**	**1770**	**HU 5164 9083**	**TYPE I**
	Ruinous harled rubble 2½-storey 3-bay merchant's house, ground-floor probably originally functioned as shop and store. The S elevation was probably the front, the door is offset and flanked by windows. The N elevation has near symmetrical fenestration, door slightly l. of centre flanked by blank bays. 1st-floor windows regularly arranged. 2-bay W gable, windows to 1st floor and attic in l. bay only. Roof badly damaged in 1990 and removed in 1992, subsequent fire and minor stabilisation in the mid-1990s by owners with SIC grant-aid. By 2000 brick inner skin added to E gable and chimney rebuilt.				
	Finnie, 1990, 70; The Scottish Civic Trust, 2002, 98; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref No: 1986; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 18986. RCAHMS no.: HU59SW 13; HB NUM: 18986.				
 (41-43 is in foreground) From E, 1976. © RCAHMS.	**B.39**	**LOCHEND HOUSE, 41–43 COMMERCIAL STREET, LERWICK**	**C. 1760**	**HU 4784 4122**	**TYPE II**
	3½-storey L-plan town house built for William Nicolson of Lochend, North Roe (*see* B.39) with 2½-storey early C19 addition to SW. The NE crowstepped gable is advanced to the street, with shop entrance at ground-floor and irregularly disposed windows above. Entrance to house centrally placed on SE (courtyard) elevation, irregular façade. Grey-purple slate roof, some of the chimneystacks have thackstanes. Courtyard walls have segmental-arched gate to NE side with evidence of filled-in windows. Retaining wall incorporates valued cellars to S and doorpiece with lugged architrave.				
	Finnie, 1990, 14; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 37243. RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 39; HB NUM: 37243.				
 From WNW, 1999, Author.	**B.40**	**LOCHEND HOUSE, NORTH ROE**	**LATE C18**	**HU 3685 8426**	**TYPE II**
	2½-storey house and 3 bays built by the Nicolsons of Lochend; extended by 2 bays to S in mid-C19. Entrance front faces W. Entrance is in centre of 3 original bays, formerly covered by a gabled porch. Later bayed dormers. Situated next to the Ayre of Lochend. Later lean-to addition on E side, projecting beyond S gable by 1 bay. Grey slate roof. Walled garden to N and 1-storey outbuilding to E. For town house of Nicolsons in Lerwick *see* B.39.				
	Finnie, 1990, 67; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44557. RCAHMS no.:HU38SE 11; HB NUM: 44557.				
 From SW, 1999. Author.	**B.41**	**LUNNA HOUSE**	**LATE C17 & LATER**	**HU 4866 6925**	**TYPE II**
	The 2½-storey house was built for Robert Hunter, who was Chamberlain of the Lordship of Zetland from 1660 († 1695). Its entrance was probably in the centre of its SW side, probably originally a 3-bay front overlooking both West Lunna Voe and East Lunna Voe. It may be on the site of an earlier, medieval house of a landowner as it is in close proximity to the site of a monastery enclosed by the remains of a medieval stone and earth rampart and within its bounds are the foundations of a				

From NE, 1999. Author.

building which might be an early parish church. 1707 marriage of Thomas Hunter and Grisella Bruce commemorated in armorial panel in S gable and roughly dates the SW wing which created an L-plan. John Bruce of Sumburgh added a large L-plan W wing in the early C20 and baronial details and porch to its existing form. Period of dereliction post WW2 to 1960s; now sub-divided. Formal designed landscape with garths, walled enclosures, eyecatchers (early C18 folly Hunter's Monument) and ancillary buildings. Early C19 landscape Gothick elements include the West Gates, Gothick Cottage and Folly also harbour, pier, lime kiln and terraced walled garden to SE of house. Mid-C18 T-plan booth and mid-C19 steading to NW.

Finnie, 1990, 59–60; Inventory of Designed Landscapes, 2003, 169 & 171; Gifford, 1992b, 497; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18591; Ritchie, 1997, 46, 77 & 95.

RCAHMS no.: HU46NE 10.00; HB NUM: 18591; walled garden: HU46NE 10.04.

From S, 1999. Author.

From NW, 1999. Author.

B.42	THE OLD MANSE, 9 COMMERCIAL STREET, LERWICK	C. 1685	HU 4801 4118	TYPE II

Built for Captain Andrew Dick of Fracafield, Steward Principal and Chamberlain of Orkney and Zetland. It is now known as 'The Old Manse' as it was bought for this purpose after 1701 when Lerwick became disjoined from Tingwall parish. It was built with its gable fronting the shore (facing SE) and its principal façade facing NE. It is 2½ storeys with a basement. It is shown on William Aberdeen's view (1766) as having 5 bays rather than its present 3 and the house does show signs of significant remodelling. In the C19 the frontage was altered, with bipartite windows at the outer bays of the principal floor, *c.* 1900 porch added to r. of centre. Windows of the upper floor on both long elevations have been heightened to break through the eaves line. Chimneystacks have thackstanes, roof is slated with purple-grey slates. Wash-house and walled garden.

Finnie, 1990, 15; 'Perspective View of Lerwick', William Aberdeen, 1766; Sandison, 1934, 13; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 37265.

RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 153; HB NUM: 37265.

From E, 1999. Author.

B.43	MELBY HOUSE	LATE C18	HU 1864 5783	TYPE II

2½-storey, 3-bay house faces E, built for the Scotts of Melby. Built to supersede North House, Sandness (B.48). Principal front has eaves course, margins and projecting cills. 1-storey M-roofed wing to rear, 1-storey lean-to N side. Grey slate roof. Garden to E, rectangular enclosures flanking to N an S. Seat of the Scotts of Melby until 1895. Its proportions and details like the projecting margins are reminiscent of Burrastow House (B.7).

Finnie, 1990, 57; Gifford, 1992b, 498; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18629.

RCAHMS no.: HU15NE 24; HB NUM: 18629.

From SE, 1999. Author.

B.44	MIDBRAKE, YELL	C. 1735	HP 5271 0470	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay house. Principal front faces SE, with later porch positioned slightly off-centre. 1-storey lean-to at W corner. Roof and windows altered to form agricultural store and workshop, garage door at r. bay.

From NW, 1999. Author.

Finnie, 1990, 71; Ritchie, 1997, 39.

B.45	MOSSBANK HAA	C18	HU 4508 7560	TYPE II

From E, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

From SW, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

(Alternatively, 'Seaview'). 2½-storey, 3-bay house, situated close to pier. Ground-floor openings have been altered. N front has regular fenestration on 1st floor, 2 entrances at outer bays on ground-floor. E gable preserves evidence of former 1-storey outbuilding. W gable has window on r. side of ground floor (possibly formerly a door). Modern grey tiled roof. 1-storey ranges to S; contains Post Office. Boundary wall to W side of rear yard.

Finnie, 1990, 63; shetlopedia.com/Mossbank_Haa; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44531.

RCAHMS no.: HU47NE 40; HB NUM: 44531.

B.46	NORTH HAA, NORTH ROE	EARLY C19	HU 3669 8932	TYPE II

From SSW, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

From N, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

2-storey, 3-bay merchant's house, faces S with 1-storey böd attached to E. Modern porch to central bay, lean-to to r. bay. Lean-to to E gable of böd. A pier formerly stood in front of the house. Restored in 1996.

Finnie, 1990, 67; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44559.

RCAHMS no.: HU38NE 33; HB NUM: 44559.

B.47	NORTH HAA, YELL	C17 & C18	HU 4455 8797	TYPE I & II

From SE, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

(Alternatively West Sandwick House). A S block was added parallel to the C17 house in *c.* 1770 then John Ogilvy of Quarff had the original house rebuilt shortly after his marriage in 1829 to Barbara Grace Robertson, heiress to the estate, and extended it to the E. The original N block is 2 storeys and 3-bays with tall chimneystacks and is linked to the S block by a central 2-storey wing. The 2½-storey, 3-bay S block was rendered and now consists of a 5-bay ground floor with 3 above, the centre round-arched, and a pedimented pilastered porch on the ground floor. Grey slate roofs. The 2 advanced Venetian-windowed pedimented pavilions have modern metal roofs and are connected to the S block by 1-storey 1-bay links. Walled gardens to the N and S. Pier at foot of hill.

Ployen's Reminiscences, 2 Aug 1839, described the North Haa as a "really beautiful mansion, a regular farm-yard with excellent stables and out-houses, large enclosures both under cultivation and as pasture, The commencement of roads; ploughs, harrows, rollers, sowing machines and artificial foddering of cattle in full operation" (Old Haa Museum notes).

Finnie, 1990, 72; Old Haa Museum notes; Gifford, 1992b, 501–2; Ritchie, 1997, 65; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18648.

RCAHMS no.: HU48NW 2.00; HB NUM: 18648.

From E, 1999. Author.

B.48	NORTH HOUSE, SANDNESS	C18 (AFTER 1736)	HU 1864 5789	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay house with moulded skewputts built by the Scotts after 1736. John, second son of John Scott of Gibliston, Fife inherited Melby, Vaila and Foula through his mother Grizel Mitchell in 1736. Door in centre of E elevation, symmetrical fenestration. Purple-grey slate roof. Steading on N gable. It was superseded by Melby House (*see* B.43).

Finnie, 1990, 57; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18630.

RCAHMS no.: HU15NE 36; HB NUM: 18630; pier: HU15NW 2.01.

From E, 2007. © shetlopedia.com.

From NW, 1999. Author.

B.49	OLLABERRY HAA	1789	HU 3656 8053	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay house built for Andrew Gifford. C20 ashlar, parapeted porch at centre of principal (ESE) façade. Gabled 1-storey rear wing. 1-storey outbuilding to NW. Grey slate roof. Scrolled skewputts. Restored 1972 by R. Moira.

Finnie, 1990, 67; Gifford, 1992b, 503; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18691.

RCAHMS no.: HU38SE 6; HB NUM: 18691.

From S, 1999. Author.

From N, 1999. Author.

B.50	QUENDALE HOUSE, DUNROSSNESS	C. 1800	HU 3711 1313	TYPE II

2½-storey, 3-bay house built by the Griersons who succeeded the Sinclairs. Principal front faces S, gabled porch to centre, entrance on E side. Lean-to 1-storey side pavilions, only E one survives. Purple slate roof. Walled garden to S. Now ruinous.

Finnie, 1990, 50; Gifford, 1992, 504; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref No: 2011; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 44546.

RCAHMS no.: HU31SE 101; HB NUM: 44546.

B.51	REAWICK HOUSE	1730	HU 3290 4452	TYPE II

2½-storey, 3-bay house built by the Umphreys. Main façade faces WSW with hipped porch to central bay. Rear early C19 hipped-roof range parallel. 1-storey

From SW, 1999. Author.

From S, 1999. Author.

lean-to on SSE gable. The ground floor windows have been widened, later red-tiled roof.

Early C19 toy fort style castellated-style outbuildings, also steading, watermill and garden walls.

Finnie, 1990, 54; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18695.

RCAHMS no.: HU34SW 6.00; HB NUM: 18695.

From W, 1999. Author.

B.52	SAND LODGE	C18 & MID-C19	HU 4366 2484	TYPE II

2½-storey with basement, 3-bay late C18/early C19 house possibly incorporating earlier work as a 'half-way house' for the Bruces of Sumburgh until *c.* 1770 as it was close to their copper interests at Leebotten.

Main block has cruciform plan as it has an advanced central gabled bay on its principal façade (N) and rear (S) central jamb. The main front has a forestair to the entrance at the base of the advanced bay, its pediment is outlined in brick with brick eaves course; later cat-slide half-dormers. A hopper bears the date 1835 with initials 'JB'. The S jamb was extended with a 2-storey, 2-bay parapetted wing. 1-storey-and-basement drawing room wing of mid-C19 in SW re-entrant with late C19 1-storey smoking room extension. 1-storey wing at SE corner of S extension. Stone slabs to roofs of principal ranges, purple-grey slates otherwise.

The whole is set within a walled garden. Detached range to E, pavilion to N, glasshouses, conservatory to rear, steading, cottage, 1789 sundial, gates, gatepiers, dovecot and garden follies.

Finnie, 1990, 46–7; Gifford, 1992b, 505; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 5444.

RCAHMS no.: HU42SW 9.00; HB NUM: 5444; dovecot: RCAHMS no.: HU42SW 9.11; walled garden: RCAHMS no.: HU42SW 9.01.

(49 is far r.) From E, 1976. © RCAHMS.

B.53	SEAFIELD HOUSE, 49 COMMERCIAL STREET, LERWICK	C18	HU 4784 4124	TYPE II

Rectangular-plan, 2½-storey, 4-bay town house of Ogilvy of Seafield, Yell (*see* B.54). Its NE gable is to the street, with shop at ground-floor. SE elevation faces Chromate Lane, entrance in far r. bay, irregularly disposed windows. NW elevation has a two-leaf timber door at centre bay, window to r., blank bay to l. Purple-grey slate roof.

Finnie, 1990, 14; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 37245.

RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 41; HB NUM: 37245.

From SSW, early 1870s. C. Spence © SMA.

B.54	SEAFIELD HOUSE, YELL	LATE C18/EARLY C19	HU 5110 9228	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay house on Mid Yell Voe for the merchant Ogilvy family. It may have been altered in *c.* 1830 for Angus Ogilvy, owner of the Shetland Banking Company and co-owner of Hay & Ogilvy of Lerwick which collapsed in 1842. Front (SSW) has bowed centrally placed flat-roofed porch, regular fenestration. 2-storey hipped rear wing with large wallhead chimney, 1-storey lean-to in re-entrant. Roof originally stone-slabbed, now corrugated sheet cladding. Walled gardens to S and

N. 6-bay 2-storey early C19 former trading böd and workers' accommodation 'Rooms O' Seafield' to W. For town house *see* B.53.

Statutory List description, HB NUMs: 45315 & 45316.

RCAHMS no.: HU59SW 8; HB NUM: 45315.

From NW, 2002. Author.

From SE, 2002. Author.

B.55	SMITHFIELD, FETLAR	1815	HU 6610 9145	TYPE II

Ruinous 2½-storey house built by Gilbert Smith at 'Bigtoun'. His father James Smith of Funzie came to Fetlar in *c.* 1770 and acquired the lands of Bigtoun, Fetlar from Gilbert Tait against a debt of £70 in 1774. The design is highly reminiscent of the Haa of Houss, East Burra (B.24) with a tall stair window on the rear (SE) elevation and regularly disposed 3-bay front (NW) with dressed margins.

Logs from the cargo of the wrecked ship, the *Neptune*, were reputedly used at Smithfield (L. G. Johnson, *Laurence Williamson of Mid Yell*, 1971 cited in Mack, 1993, 9). Gilbert Smith was also the factor for the Nicolsons of Brough's estate on the E side of Fetlar. Around the mid-C19 a 1-storey shop was added to the house.

Gilbert's son Andrew predeceased him in 1860 and Gilbert himself died in 1866. The remainder of the family emigrated to Australia. The Smithfield Estate was sold to the Nicolsons in 1874. The roof was removed for use in the refurbishment of Still in 1887 and the stairs were used in the chapel at Brough.

Mack, 1993, 7–9.

From WSW, 1920s. T. Kay © SMA.

B.56	STORE, SANDSOUND, TRESTA	C18	HU 3536 4893	TYPE II

2-storey, 3-bay merchant's house, faces W on shore of Sandsound Voe. Lean-to timber porch at central bay. Purple-grey slat roofs. 1-storey, 3-bay cottage on N gable, 1-storey vertically-boarded fish-house to N probably on site of *c.* 1900 predecessor. 2 piers.

Finne, 1990, 53; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18698.

RCAHMS no.: HU34NE 39.00; HB NUM: 18698; pier: RCAHMS no.: HU34NE 39.01.

From SW, 1972. © RCAHMS.

From NE, n.d.. © SMA.

B.57	SUMBURGH FARMHOUSE	1690s & C19	HU 4031 0937	TYPE II

(Alternatively Sumburgh Home Farm). Built by the Bruces of Sumburgh. Including steading, kiln and boundary walls. The later W range is 2½ storeys and 3 bays. It was added across the front of an older 2½-storey block, probably built in the 1690s, its rear face has irregular fenestration.

The most likely patron of the original house is Laurence Bruce of Sumburgh who inherited his brother's estate in 1690. It is likely to have superseded the Old House of Sumburgh, 'Jarlshof' (*see* B.36) in a lowland location further W. An illustration of Jarlshof published in the 1870s (*Hand-book to Shetland*) shows the house in the background and indicates that it had a W frontage of 5 bays. The present 3-bay range which was added across this façade now makes it difficult to ascertain whether this depiction was accurate. It has a centrally positioned gabled porch and 3 half-dormers. The E elevation of the older block has irregularly disposed windows and 2 half-dormers. Walled garden to W.

The house became a farmhouse after The Hall (now Sumburgh Hotel) was built in 1866–7 and the W range may date from this time. C18 and early C19 barns to N and E. Adjacent steading includes further barns, grieve's house and kiln.

Finnie, 1990, 51; *Hand-book to Shetland*, 1973, 84; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 5412.

	RCAHMS no.: HU40NW 10.01; HB NUM: 5412.				
 From SSE, n.d.. © Old Haa Museum.	**B.58**	**SWARRISTER, YELL**	**EARLY C18**	**HU 5276 8405**	**TYPE II**
	2-storey, 4-bay house, probably built for James Spence, the 3rd son of John Spence of Gardie, Mid Yell. By the mid-18th century his nephew, also James, resided at Swarrister with his family. The main front faces SE towards the Wick of Gossabrough and had a fairly regularly 4-bay front. The original entrance may have been slightly off-centre and was fronted by a C19 porch (since removed). By the late C19 it was axially approached through forecourt or garden ground. Now ruinous.				
	Old Haa Museum notes; Name Book, No. 13, 333.				
 From NW, n.d.. R. Gallagher. © SMA.	**B.59**	**SWINISTER, DELTING**	**C18**	**HU 4496 7259**	**TYPE II**
	2-storey, 3-bay gabled house built inside walled enclosure on North Ayre, Swinister which joins the mainland to the small island of Fora Ness. Its entrance façade faces Swinister Voe to its E. It is called 'Newhall' on the OS map, to the N is the placename 'Oldhall'. In 1761 Gilbert Gauden made over the lands of Swinister and Overland (Everland) in Fetlar to William Mouat.				
	Finnie, 1990, 64; Old Haa Museum notes. RCAHMS no.: HU47SW 40.				
 From NE, 2004. Author.	**B.60**	**TANGWICK HAA**	**2ND ½ C17**	**HU 2324 7768**	**TYPE I**
	2-storey, 4-bay house built by the Cheynes of Tangwick end-on to an ayre, 2-full-height, 3-bay extension possibly built as a böd onto the E side. The main part of the house has small irregularly-disposed windows, thick walls and thick chimneystacks. 2 buttresses were subsequently added on the S side, flanking the entrance, possibly to counteract the slope on which the house was built. The extension has an entrance on the N side and irregular fenestration. Stone-slabbed roofs. Walled garden to S. The last resident laird died in 1840 thereafter it housed a caretaker for the Cheyne visitors until it was becoming dilapidated in early C20. The original house was restored from 1987 by Peter Johnson Partnership and opened as a museum in 1988; the remainder was restored in 1998 and opened in 1999.				
	Finnie, 1990, 65; Gifford, 1992b, 511; Ritchie, 1997, 31, 33, 65 & 69; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18690; Tangwick Haa Museum notes. RCAHMS no.: HU27NW 17.00; HB NUM: 18690; walled garden: RCAHMS no.: HU27NW 17.01.				
 From ENE, 1948. J. D. Ratter © SMA.  From SW, before 1960. J. Angus © SMA.	**B.61**	**TWAGEOS HOUSE (SITE OF), LERWICK**	**C18**	**HU 4813 4078**	**TYPE II**
	3-storey, 3-bay house with full-height 2-bay extension to SE with entrance in penultimate bay from r. on NE side. Arched entrance to walled grounds at front of house on its NW side. Lean-to extension to rear (SW) of extension. Built on sloping ground overlooking Bressay Sound. Once the home of Lord Morton's factor in Shetland and in the C19 it belonged to the Bruces of Sumburgh. Demolished, 1961				
	Finnie, 1990, 31. RCAHMS no.: HU44SE 227.				

From SW, *c.* 1890. © SMA.

B.62	VAILA HALL, VAILA	1696	HU 2262 4690	TYPE I/II

(Formerly Old Haa). 2-storey, 3-bay rectangular-plan house (13.4 by 5.1 m) built for James Mitchell of Girlsta, merchant in Scalloway. It had a courtyard on its the N and an arched W gateway surmounted by a triangular pediment. Its N side with roll-moulded entrance and 1696 armorial panel with Mitchell arms and motto now forms an internal wall. The N side of the courtyard was enclosed by a single-storey kitchen block.

Vaila was granted to Robert Cheyne in 1576 by James VI; a house of that date has not been identified. The 1696 house is now the S wing, the S and W walled gardens date to the early C18. A Scott and Gordon armorial panel with the date 17[?]4 was recorded (RCAHMS, 1946).

Herbert Anderton bought Vaila in 1893 and developed the house as a summer house. The Scottish Jacobean 2-storey N wing by E. P. Peterson, 1895–1900 has imitation pepperpots and corbelling and the 'Great Hall' was built in the former courtyard. Concrete crowsteps were added to the C17 house and dormers added. L-plan 1-storey wing to NE corner. Grey slate roofs. The outlook tower was restored as an observatory and a farm manager's house and boathouse with studio above at the E pier erected. Boathouse now demolished. Conservatory renewed in 1996.

Finnie, 1990, 56–7; Gifford, 1992b, 512–3; Ritchie, 1997, 64 & 66; RCAHMS, 1946, III, 157; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18634; Canmore, HU24NW 20; RCAHMS Record Sheet, Jun 1992, MS 232/SH/MA/4.

RCAHMS no.: HU24NW 20; HB NUM: 18634.

From SE, 1999. Author.

From W, 1890s. A. Abernethy © SMA.

B.63	VOE HOUSE, WALLS	C18	HU 2392 4930	TYPE II

Symmetrical, 2-storey, 3-bay house, faces E on hill above Walls harbour. Entrance centrally placed on E side. 2-storey, 3-bay, ruinous extension to S gable, 1-storey ruinous byre to its S. 1½-storey shop to N gable. Purple-grey slate roofs. Path from house to shore. Roofed portion converted to holiday accommodation.

Finnie, 1990, 55; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18610.

RCAHMS no.: HU24NW 54; HB NUM: 18610.

From E, 2003. A. Rutherford.

From SE, 2003, A. Rutherford.

B.64	VOESGRIND, UNST	C. 1670S	HP 6220 0203	TYPE II

(Alternatively, South Booth). The present ruin may have been built by Andrew Fordyce in the *c.* 1670s, incorporating material from the already ruinous böd built by John Edie, a Scottish merchant, in the 1st ½ 17th century. Entrance on NW side overlooking beach. SW end particularly ruinous. Square enclosure to NW, large rectangular enclosure to E.

Lelong & Shearer, 2004, 18 & 20; Tom Dawson, *pers. comm*.

RCAHMS no.: HP60SW 52.

	B.65	**WESTSHORE (SITE OF), SCALLOWAY**	**C. 1774**	**HU 399 393**	**TYPE II**
	Only fragments of the walled garden remains of the house of the Mitchells of Westshore.				
	Finnie, 1990, 43; Ritchie, 1997, 62.				
 From S, 1999. Author.  From SSW, n.d.. © Old Haa Museum.  From N, 1999. Author.  From W, 1999. Author.	**B.66**	**WINDHOUSE, YELL**	**? C16, 1707 & C. 1880**	**HU 4888 9191**	**TYPE II**
	Around 1580 the resident at Windhouse was John Swaresson. When his grandson James died in 1614, his heir gave Ninian Neven, notary, a charter for the 40 merks of Windhouse; a house is known to have existed on the site at this time. Ninian married Ursula Edmonton and built up landholdings in Fetlar and Yell. An armorial panel over door to Windhouse commemorates the marriage of Charles Neven of Windhouse to Margaret, daughter of John Bruce of Symbister in 1717 (palm-leaf of the Nevens and saltine cross of the Bruces). It is not clear whether they incorporated parts of the existing house. It is situated on top of an exposed hill. The main line left Windhouse around 1800. John Harrison of Lerwick bought the estate in 1878, after which the house was extensively remodelled. The S front is 3 bays and 1½-storey, with 2 broad dormers and a central rendered brick porch. Bipartite windows at outer bays. E an W 1-storey side wings in rendered brick and concrete with crenellated parapets of *c.* 1885. 1-storey rear wing creates T-plan. Lean-tos in re-entrants. Purple-grey slated roofs. Terraced garden to S. The estate was sold to RSPB in 1978. House sold to private owners in 2003. Between 2000 and 2006 a large section of the main roof collapsed and timber lintels are exposed. Lodge at the foot of the hill converted to a camping böd (holiday accommodation).				
	Old Haa Museum notes; Finnie, 1990, 72; Finnie, 1996b; Ritchie, 1997, 64; Buildings at Risk Register, SCT Ref No: 1999; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 45326. RCAHMS no.: HU49SE 21; HB NUM: 45326.				

Appendix C The Western Isles, Skye and the Small Isles gazetteer

	C.1	**ARMADALE CASTLE, SKYE**	**1790S**	**NG 6402 0468**	**TYPE II**
	In the 1790s a 2-storey, 3-bay house was built to supersede the House of Armadale (*see* C.15). Work continued into 1800–01 under J. Gillespie with accounts for floorboards, sarking and garret doors and sash windows. It was extended to the S in 1815–20 by a large castellated gothic house by J. Gillespie Graham when the MacDonalds of Sleat chose Armadale to supersede Monkstadt (*see* C.27) as their main seat. The N kitchen wing dates to the 1820s, as does the stables to the S and ruinous laundry to the W. A fire in 1855 destroyed much of the 1790s work and D. Bryce designed the gothic replacement of 1858. After the MacDonalds had moved to Ostaig in 1925 'Armadale Castle' poorly maintained. In 1975 the N part, which partially dates to 1848 by J. Ross, was restored for the Clan Donald Lands Trust as the Clan Donald Centre. In 1980–1 much of the 1815–20 addition was demolished and the roof of the 1858 infill was removed and its walls consolidated. The stable was converted into a gift shop and restaurant and a purpose-built genealogy centre in the grounds opened in 2002.				
	Miers notes; Macaulay, 1974–5, 1; Ritchie & Harman, 1985, 21; *NSA*, XIV, 318; Gifford, 1992, 52; Nicolson, 1994, 199 & 239; Blackadder report, 11v–r & 49v; 'Accounts of Expenditure in the Entailed Estates of L. McDonald', 1800–03, NAS, SC 29/64/1; MacIntyre, 1938, 69–70; Blackadder, Plan of the Parish of Slate, Armadale', 1811, Clan Donald Centre, Skye; Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, 1993, 13. RCAHMS no.: NG60SW 8.00; HB NUM: 14003.				
 'Knock Castle and the Sound of Sleat' by Horatio McCulloch 1884, © McManus Art Galleries & Museum  Reconstruction drawing by D. L. Roberts. Miket & Roberts, 1990, 31.	**C.2**	**CAISTEAL CAMUS, SKYE**	*C.* **1617–32**	**NG 6714 0871**	**TYPE I**
	(Alternatively, Knock Castle). Caisteal Camus is first recorded around 1402. Despite forfeiture due to non-payment of teinds in 1581, James MacDonald, the captain of the MacDonalds of Sleat during the minority of Donald Gorm Mor, was re-granted the lands in 1596. This new charter, reaffirmed to the MacDonalds in 1614 and 1618, included the explicit proviso that James VI/I and his successors could reside at Caisteal Camus at will. This castle was never the main residence of the MacDonald chief and neither was it ever a lodging of the king. Donald, was knighted in 1617 and granted a baronetcy of Nova Scotia in 1625. He is probably responsible for the rectangular building of 17 by 7.5 m sometime before the castle last appeared on record in 1632. Today it survives to 5.75 m above ground level on its SW side but it is recorded as a more substantial ruin by McCulloch in 1854. The castle as a whole was ruinous by the 1680s. The new block may have superseded the adjacent tower-house at Caisteal Camus as the main residence. It was 2- to 2½-storeys high and it had slit windows on the ground floor which indicate a service basement, formerly divided into 2 unequal rooms. There were 3 large SW-facing (seaward) windows on the 1st floor and 2 in the NW gable. The 1st floor was also divided into 2 unequal rooms. The larger one to the E probably functioned as the hall and the W room as the laird's chamber. Part of a hearth and flue of a lateral fireplace survive between the 2 seaward windows of the hall.				
	Extract of letter to John, Bishop of the Isles, 26 July 1581 with reference to "James McDonald Gromiche of Castell Camus". Microfilm of some of the Papers of the				

	family of Macdonald of Sleat, Skye, 1596–20C. (GD221), RH4 90, NAS; Miers notes; Miket & Roberts, 1990, 25, 27 & 29–31; MacIntyre, 1938, 23–4; Macdonald, 1978, 406 & 408–11; Ritchie & Harman, 1985, 84. RCAHMS no.: NG60NE 4; SAM no.: 8480.				
	C.3	**? No. 15 Camus Croise, Skye**	**before 1763**	**NG 6970 1201**	**Type II?**
	Former tacksman's house. Part of township/village.				
	Miers notes. RCAHMS no.: NG61SE 37.				
 From S, 1994. © RCAHMS.	**C.4**	**Canna House, Canna**	**1781–7**	**NG 2750 0549**	**Type II**
	(Alternatively, 'Coroghon House', now known as 'The Bothy'). Built as "a neat house of four rooms on a floor, two stories high" by tacksman, Hector MacNeill, noted by Lord Mount Stuart in 1788 as having "a miserable interior…roughcast, the room was in addition paved with stone" (cited by M. Miers). "Lately he [Donald MacNeill] improved it considerably, – insomuch, that it is now a large, commodious, and comfortable, habitation" (*NSA*, 1836). Exploratory excavations in its vicinity undertaken in 1998 & 2002 suggested that the house was originally 11.5 by 8.5 m, later a W range was added. Superseded by Canna House in the 1860s to the NNW. The old house was reduced to one storey, now NTS accommodation.				
	NSA, XIV, 152; *OSA*, pl. facing 272; Miers notes; Harden, 2003; Campbell, 2002, 172; Canmore, NG20NE 44. RCAHMS no.: NG20NE 44.				
	C.5	**Castlebay, Barra**	*c.* **1800**	**NL 6576 9817**	**Type II**
	The 2-storey Pierhead Stores was built as a townhouse for two daughters of MacNeill of Vatersay with stones from Kisimul Castle (the latter had a fire in 1795). By 1836 the ground floor was a store and the two lived above it (probably built in this form). Now the Post Office.				
	Miers notes.				
	C.6	**The Cottage, Dunvegan, Skye**	**mid-C19 and earlier**	**NG 2470 4961**	**Type ?**
	2-storey, asymmetrical L-plan, Tudor W front of 3 bays with latticed mullions. Originally a dower house. Thick-walled house evident behind later frontage.				
	Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 464. RCAHMS no.: NG24NW 13; HB NUM: 464.				
	C.7	**? Ensay House, Ensay**	**before 1805 and mid-C19**	**NF 9807 8650**	**Type II**
	(Alternatively, Taigh Easaigh). Built as a tacksman's house for the Campbells of Ensay. Ensay was linked by the ferry service paid for by MacLeod in 1705 with Berneray, Killegray, Pabbay and An t-Obbe (Leverburgh) on Harris. Donald Stewart of Luskentyre, MacLeod of Harris's (Lord Dunmore's) factor bought Ensay from him in 1856 and remodelled the house. Now 2-storey, L-plan. His son was John Stewart of Ensay. Both evicted tenants. Restored in 1991.				
	Miers notes; Canmore, NG24NW 22. RCAHMS no.: NG24NW 22.				

	C.8	**LAIG FARMHOUSE, EIGG**	**LATE C18 & EARLIER**	**NM 4670 8769**	**? TYPE I & II**
	The tacksmen, the Macdonalds of Laig are recorded from early C17. House remodelled by Angus, son of Ranald Macdonald to 3-bay harled and slated house with windows set well in from the sides and smaller above in the late C18. Laig was Eigg's largest farm in C18. Angus entertained Swiss geologist Necker de Saussure in 1807. Later phases include L-plan group of lower wings including bothy and byre added in subsequent phases.				
	Miers notes. RCAHMS no.: NM48NE 33.				
 From W, n.d.. © Highland Council (Am Baile www.ambaile.org.uk/smr).	**C.9**	**GLENBRITTLE HOUSE, SKYE**	**LATE C18 & EARLY C19**	**NG 4115 2141**	**TYPE II**
	2-storey, 3-bay tacksman's house, later fronted by a hipped Georgian farmhouse of pink ashlar of 'Kintail type' with stacks on internal walls (M. Meirs). Part of Rubh' an Dunain farm. Later uses include shooting lodge and climbers' rest.				
 From NE, *c.* 2000. © M. Miers (RCAHMS).	Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 1794. RCAHMS no.: NG42SW 7.00; HB NUM: 1794.				
	C.10	**GALLANACH FARMHOUSE, MUCK**	**MID-C19 & EARLIER**	**NM 4071 8012**	**TYPE II**
	Built as a Maclean dwelling, remodelled in mid-C19 by Capt Swinburne with additional wing. This wing was raised by Thomson in early C20. *c.* 1880 large stone byres built to service the dairy farm, smithy within the yard.				
	Miers notes. RCAHMS no.: NM48SW 4.				
 From SE, 1998. © RCAHMS.	**C.11**	**GALMISDALE FARMHOUSE, EIGG**	*C.* **1805**	**NM 4744 8405**	**TYPE II**
	Tacksman's house, incorporates walls of earlier cottage on one side. Served as post office and inn in later C19, later uses included hunting lodge, factor's house and proprietor's residence. Lean-to porch replaces an earlier, smaller one. Erskine Beveridge photograph of 1890 shows the cottage to the E as being hipped at one side and thatched.				
	Miers notes; E. Beveridge photograph, 1890, RCAHMS archive, IN896. RCAHMS no.: NM48SE 27.				

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3"> 
From SW, 1999. Author.
 
From ENE, 1999. Author.</td><td>C.12</td><td>GESTO HOUSE, SKYE</td><td>C. 1760</td><td>NG 3566 3663</td><td>TYPE II</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Built by the MacLeods of Gesto, principal floor at 1st floor level, dormered garrets. Now ruinous. The principal floor comprised a small room over a ground-floor lobby flanked by drawing room and main bedroom. On skewputts of the central nepus, added early C20, are unusual scroll and palmette motifs. Late-C18 extension for larger kitchen/pantry at rear. 1870s porch. On shores of Loch Harport. There was a formal garden to the rear. The MacLeods of Gesto were the oldest cadet branch of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, settled here since c. 1425, the 2 septs were involved in a long-running dispute and in 1825 the tack was transferred to an incoming sheep farmer. Ruinous by mid-C20.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Miers notes; MacLeod, 1982; Roberts, 1982; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 1792.
RCAHMS no.: NG33NE 7; HB NUM: 1792.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"> 
From S, 1999. Author.</td><td>C.13</td><td>GRESHORNISH HOUSE, SKYE</td><td>C. 1740 & 1840</td><td>NG 3418 5408</td><td>TYPE II</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Amalgamation of 2 3-bay houses of different dates, enlarged for Norman MacLeod in 1840 to create mansion with coved drawing room ceiling. c. 1740 house is on N side. Panelling is made from WWI ammunition boxes. The 2 houses are joined by a mass of later extensions including a S linking wing, c. 1796. A bailiff's house, how disused, is detached from the main house in the steading.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Miers notes; Roberts, 1982, 23; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 469.
RCAHMS no.: NG35SW 68; HB NUM: 469.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"></td><td>C.14</td><td>GRESS LODGE, LEWIS</td><td>LATE C18/EARLY C19</td><td>NB 4937 4189</td><td>TYPE II</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">(Alternatively, Loidse Ghriais). 2-storey, 3-bay house. Built as a tacksman's house, later a shooting lodge. Central nepus gable on S front, T-plan with wing at centre of N side. Modernised and extended. 2-ranges on E gable, one of which has been converted into a separate house. Part of a group of farm buildings overlooking Broad Bay. The rear is illustrated in 'gress and broad bay' in 'Lewsiana or Life in the Outer Hebrides' by W. Anderson Smith, 1875 (Inverness Library, Am Baile, www.ambaile.org.uk)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18674.
RCAHMS no.: NB44SE 57.00; HB NUM: 18674.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td>C.15</td><td>HOUSE OF ARMADALE, SKYE (SITE OF)</td><td>2ND ½ C17</td><td>IN THE VICINITY OF NG 638 048</td><td>TYPE I</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">The house is shown as being of 2 storeys with a pitched roof on Matthew Stobie's map of 1763. The ground floor of the main façade has 1 off-centre entrance and a window, and there are 3 windows on the upper floor. 2 windows are indicated on one gable; the upper one may have lit a garret. This same house may have existed in 1690 when 2 houses at Armadale are mentioned, the other may have been a tower-house. The house, used as an occasional residence by the MacDonalds of Sleat, is described as having been built by a tenant by James Boswell in 1773.
In the C18 Armadale was a dower house then a factor's house while the MacDonald of Sleat's main residence was at Monkstadt (see C. 27). It was demolished after Armadale Castle was completed (see C.1) as it is not shown on John Blackadder's map of 1811.</td></tr>
</table>

Matthew Stobie, 1763, 'Plan of that part of Slate… Skye and County… the property of Sir James Macdonald… 1763', The Clan Donald Centre; John Blackadder, 1811, 'Plan of the Parish of Slate, Armadale', The Clan Donald Centre; MacIntyre, 1938, 57; Nicolson, 1994, 159; Grant ed., 1914, 72–3; Boswell, 1786, 113–14; Macdonald, 1978, 422.

From W, 2007. H. Morrison.

From NE, 2007. H. Morrison.

C.16	HOUSE, BERNERAY (SOUND OF HARRIS)	*C.* MID-C17	NF 9323 8151	TYPE I

(Alternatively, 'The Gunnery'). House of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray incorporated into or near the site of the present building now known as 'The Gunnery'. It is used as a barn.

Norman MacLeod (†1705) was granted the island of Berneray and lands on Harris by his father, Sir Rory Mór, the chief of the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris. He probably took up residence after he returned from Glasgow University in *c.* 1630 and built a new house there or augmented an existing residence. The building now known as 'The Gunnery' has a marble plaque claiming that this was the birthplace of Norman. It survives to 2.8 m at ridge height, and it presently has a gently-pitched corrugated iron roof. It has a rectangular plan of 8 by 5 m with its long axis aligned NW–SE. There is a 1-storey outshot on its NW gable, and the remains of another at one end of its NE front. The ground floor is entered on the NE side and the only other ground-floor openings are 4 ventilation slits and a crude late opening on the SW elevation. There are 3 roughly square windows on the 1st floor on the NE side. The eaves have evidently been raised from 1-storey. A 1-storey thatched building sits at an angle to its immediate N.

Morrison (1954) claims that Norman's house was demolished in the mid-C19 except for a small building used as SSPCK female industrial school. The Gunnery may have served as no more than an outbuilding to Norman's house, which perhaps once stood nearby.

Morrison, 1954, 135–6; Haswell-Smith, 1998, 213; RCAHMS, 1928, 37; Canmore, NF98SW 3; MacKinnon & Morrison, 1964, II, 27; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 46108; Nicolson, 1994, 74, 95–6 & 124.

RCAHMS no.: NF98SW 3; HB NUM: 46108.

C.17	HOUSE, LINISHADER, LEWIS	MID–LATE C18	NB 2108 3193	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Linishader). 2-storey 3-bay tacksman's house with advanced gabled centre and single-storey lean-to wing. Walled garden and generous outbuilding. Vacated in the 1970s.

Miers notes. Statutory List description, HB NUM: 19268.

RCAHMS no.: NB23SW 77; HB NUM: 19268.

C.18	? HOUSE, MONKSTADT, SKYE (SITE OF)	BEFORE 1671	IN THE VICINITY OF NG 379 674	TYPE I

(Alternatively, Mugstead). "Moggstot" is first mentioned in relation to the 10th MacDonald of Sleat chief, Sir James Mór (1643–78), who transacted business there in 1671. No trace of it now remains and it is not clear from the documentary evidence whether it reached 2 storeys in height.

James's main seat at this time was still Duntulm Castle. The inferred house at Monkstadt, which is only about 8 km from Duntulm, was probably occupied by close kin, perhaps by one of his sons from his first marriage. In 1678 it became part of the dowerlands of his second wife, Mary, but by 1703 Monkstadt, Roshimir and Cairn in Trotternish had been granted in liferent to their son, John of Balconie.

These lands later reverted to the chief who then wadset them to John's son, Donald, in 1724. Within 10 years the 15th chief, Sir Alexander (1720–46), had paid the redemption fee. By the time Sir Alexander returned from university, Duntulm Castle was in a poor state of repair and so he seems to have used Monkstadt as a base and set about commissioning a new house there (*see* C.27). Whether there was a 1- or 2-storey house at Monkstadt in 1671 is difficult to determine, but, if indeed occupied by close kin, as it was for probably more than 3 decades by John of Balconie, then it could well have been a 'good house' of 2 storeys.

Macintyre, 1938, 41–3& 58.

RCAHMS no.: NG36NE 7.00.

From SW, Douglas, 1997, 42. © G. Douglas.

C.19	HOWLIN, EIGG	*C.* 1770	NM 4791 8955	TYPE I/II

(Alternatively, 'Hulin'). Built by Lachlan Mackinnon, tacksman, it was one of 8 farms leased by Clanranald to tacksmen. First Eigg house built of "lime and glass". 2-storey, 3-bays, small windows. Thatched until late C19 (tin roof in 1930s, coated corrugated sheeting in 1970s). The internal arrangement of byre-dwelling is discernable with loft floor at r. is a rare survival. Footings of 2 flanking ranges run forward at r.-angles forming U-plan. Used as a retreat for Anglican monks in 1970s when l. partitions removed.

Douglas, 1997; Miers notes.

RCAHMS no.: NM48NE 49.

From NE, n.d.. © Highland Council (Am Baile www.ambaile.org.uk/smr).

C.20	HUSABOST, SKYE	1794 & LATER	NG 2014 5151	TYPE II

Nicolsons' laird's house with tree-lined avenue with walled garden. Enlarged by Dr Nicol Martin *c.* 1840 with large wing out from lochside frontage (SE side) containing new 1st-floor drawing room with coved ceiling. 1908 library wing.

Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 472; SMR NG25SW0011.

RCAHMS no.: NG25SW 31.00; HB NUM: 472. Walled garden: RCAHMS no.: NG25SW 31.01.

C.21	ISAY HOUSE, ISAY, SKYE	? *C.* 1750	NG 2206 5678	TYPE ?

Ruin of 3-bay house on an island in Loch Dunvegan. The house is at the S end of a 'street' of more than 18 cottages. Its W gable has a large 'arched' opening on 1st floor which was accessed from the higher ground on the S via a stone staircase with stone balustrades. The ground floor is divided into 3 rooms and there is an outhouse on the E gable, presumably the kitchen. According to the OS investigator who visited Isay in 1691 (Canmore) he was told by the present laird that the house was built in *c.* 1750 as a summer-house for the MacDonalds of Sleat.

A laird's house existed here in the C16 as it is referred to in *c.* 1569 when Roderick Macleod of Lewis was responsible for the murder of 2 families so that his grandson might inherit Raasay and Gairloch.

Crofters were cleared in 1860.

Haswell-Smith, 1998, 134 & 136; SMR NG25NW0004; Canmore, NG25NW 4; Miers notes; Mitford, 1941, 225.

Isay township: RCAHMS no.: NG25NW 4.

(New) Kingsburgh House, from SW, 2000. © M. Miers (RCAHMS).

C.22	KINGSBURGH, SKYE (SITE OF)	BEFORE 1852	IN THE VICINITY OF NG 3931 5538	TYPE ?

It is not clear whether the present late C18/early C19 hipped roofed house, possibly by J. Gillespie (Graham), is on the site of its predecessor which existed in 1756 as the residence of Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh, or whether the site was somewhere in the vicinity, perhaps to the NW.

Miers notes; OS visit notes, 22-3-61, 3-5-61 & 9-9-63, Canmore, NG35NE 4; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 13967; SMR NG35NE0004.

RCAHMS no.: NG35NE 4. (New) Kingsburgh House: RCAHMS no.: NG35NE 37.00; HB NUM: 13967.

Hall range, 1920. © RCAHMS.

C.23	KISIMUL CASTLE, BARRA	C17	NL 6651 9794	TYPE I

(Alternatively, Kiessimul Castle). Kisimul Castle was built as the seat of the MacNeills of Barra. Sometime during the 17th century, the 15th-century hall was extended and an upper floor was added, though much of the SE (courtyard) elevation of this range dates to a reconstruction of 1958–60. Formerly, it consisted of a 2-storey house which had probably been divided by a transverse partition. At a later date a 1-bay full-height extension was built against the SW gable. The ground floor may have continued to function as a hall with sleeping chambers above, or the hall may have been relocated to the 1st floor. As well as the modified hall range, the buildings at Kisimul included a 4-storey tower, a 2-storey kitchen wing against its W wall, 2 1-storey ranges of early C16 date, and a small, 2-storey boathouse built around the late C16 outside the enclosure. It was abandoned in the mid-C18, the castle was razed in 1795 and later used as a quarry for materials.

Gifford, 1992b, 605–9; RCAHMS, 1928, 127–8; Ritchie & Harman, 1985, 83.

RCAHMS no.: NL69NE 3; SAM no.: 90347; HB NUM: 5901.

From SE, 2000. © M. Miers (RCAHMS).

C.24	KNOCK FARMHOUSE, SKYE	C18 (AFTER 1763)	NG 6702 0900	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Tigh A' Chnuic agus Sabhal A' Chnuic). Replaces earlier 1-storey house, built as tacksman's house with lower flanking offices forming crosswise wings. Formal gardens shown on Stobie map of 1763. Repaired and altered by J. Gillespie in 1802. Later hipped porch.

Miers notes; Matthew Stobie, 1763, 'Plan of that part of Slate… Skye and County… the property of Sir James Macdonald… 1763', The Clan Donald Centre; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 13983; SMR NG60NE0010.

RCAHMS no.: NG60NE 20.00; HB NUM: 13983.

From NE, 1976. © Mary Harman (RCAHMS).

C.25	LEE VIEW, NORTH UIST	*C.* 1800? & 1852	NF 9176 6877	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Taigh Mòr Chlann Mhic Eachainn or Ostrom House). Plain house but of some pretence for this area with own pier and outbuildings to S. May have been built as John MacLean of Boreray's 'town house'. Altered 1852. Later uses include a general store, and a Masonic Lodge upstairs. Restoration as a maritime centre *c.* 2000. dated '1852' over porch, 2-storey. S elevation is 5 bays, 3 1st-floor windows blocked, hipped off-centre porch, irregular rear (N) elevation.

Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 17572.

RCAHMS no.: NF96NW 35; HB NUM: 17572.

From NW, 2000. © M. Miers. (RCAHMS).

C.26	LYNEDALE HOUSE, SKYE	*C.* 1760 & EARLIER	NG 3674 5488	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Lianadal). One wing revealed signs of a much earlier building confirming documentary evidence of an old Lynedale house. It is 2-storeys and 4-bays with a central nepus gable built for Col Alexander Macdonald whose father had bought the estate. Round-arched window and 2 hipped dormers. 1840 kitchen wing. Restored by I. Begg in 1997 when the Victorian dining/drawing room extension to the E. Storm porch and domestic wing of 1870 were removed.

Miers notes; SMR NG35SE0018.

RCAHMS no.: NG35SE 31.00; HB NUM: 13968.

From S, 2004. I. Murray.

From NW, 2004. I. Murray.

From S, post-1900. © RCAHMS.

C.27	MONKSTADT HOUSE	1732–9, MID-C18, & 1803	NG 3797 6748	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Mugstead). Ruinous 2-storey with attic and basement, rectangular-plan, single-pile, 5-bay, crowstepped Type II laird's house with paired outer bays and centrally-placed entrance on S façade. Over all dimensions: 30 m ENE–WSW by 13m NNW–SSE. Rendered random rubble, with chamfered ashlar dressings and formerly slate roof (possibly the 1st house to be slated in Skye). Built in 1732–9 for Sir Alexander Macdonald, 15th chief and 7th baronet of Clan Donald, as 2nd seat using stone and timbers quarried from Duntulm Castle by John Ross, mason. Building accounts in family archives provide date of building. It seems to have eventually superseded an earlier house on this site (*see* C.18). 1-storey wing added at W end in c. 1741, raised to 2 storeys after 1764. Occupied as a dower house 1746–98 then as a tacksman's house. E wing raised to 2 storeys and extended to N after 1764 creating an L-plan. Interior gutted in 1803 and an extensive programme of repair by James Munro, mason, was directed by J. Gillespie including a W extension ('carriage house'). Hipped porch added to S front by 1900. Partly roofless by 1938 but other part still occupied at that date; abandoned 1956. Permission in place for restoration, 2006. Building accounts provide list of rooms and the interior panelling was surveyed in 1928. A centrally-placed dog-leg stair rose from ground-floor to attic. Walled orchard to E appears on 1764 estate plan. The approach shown on 1903 S map through a S garden probably dates to when new road was built in *c.* 1800. 1749 and 1755 accounts list ancillary buildings including kitchen, change house, henhouses, wash house and a well. A court of offices was built to the W (now occupied as dwelling) in 1800–5, supervised by Gillespie.

Buildings at Risk register SCT ref no. 1571; Canmore, NG36NE 7.00; Dean & Miers, 1990, 79; MacCulloch, 1936, 67; Macintyre, 1938, 37–9 & 41–52; Miers notes; Miket, 1999, n.p.; Miket & Roberts, 1990, 60; Nicolson, 1994, 134, 151–3 & 162; Ritchie & Harman, 1996, 50 & 90; 2nd ed. 1 inch: 1 mile OS map, 1903; Statutory List description HB NUM: 7247; Stobie estate plan, 1764; *The Times*, 3-11-86.

Account 1732–3 NAS, RH 4 90 (GD221); account 23-6-1800 NAS, SC 29/64/1 p.113, 180–3; account 1804–5 NAS, SC29/64/2 pp.217–9; account 13-11-1749 CDC, GD221/4520/4; account 26-11-1755 CDC, GD221/3812; letter 10-9-1803 CDC, GD221/4542/7; measured survey and 'restoration' drawings 1928 by D. M. Millar, RCAHMS, IND 9/2–13, MS note, IND 9/1 PO.

RCAHMS no.: NG36NE 7.00; HB NUM: 7247.

From W. © RCAHMS.

From NE. © RCAHMS.

C.28	NUNTON HOUSE, BENBECULA	BEFORE 1715 AND 1815	NF 7644 5352	TYPE II

The L-plan house of the MacDonalds of Clanranald is predominantly of 1815 appearance as its main range was extended W (reminiscent of Monkstadt House, *see* C.27) but may incorporate an earlier building. Became the main seat of the Clanranalds after the fire at Ormiclate Castle (C.31). The stones of an adjacent nunnery, Baile-nan-Cailleach, ruinous by 1680 m\y have been quarried for Nunton House and its outbuildings (*NSA*, 1837). Clanranald estates in North Uist and Benbecula sold to Col. Gordon of Cluny *c.* 1847–41. Now divided into 3 houses. 2 pyramid-roofed pavilions to house dairy and cellar flanking courtyard. Walled garden. U-plan mid-C19 steading nearby.

Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 18758; *NSA*, XIV, 188 & 197.

RCAHMS no.: NF75SE 40.00; HB NUM: 18758.

Orbost House *c.* 1755. MacLeod, 1981a, 270.

From S, 1999. Author.

C.29	ORBOST HOUSE, SKYE	1764–5 & *C.* 1835/40	NG 2574 4306	TYPE II

The house of the tacksmen, MacLeods of Orbost now forms the rear wing of the early C19 mansion probably by James Ferguson of Portree. The C18 house was originally thatched with entrance on the N side. The Regency mansion was built for Dr Samuel Campbell (similar to Corry Lodge, Broadford), this has a 3-bay advanced pedimented centre front. The flanking E wing was replaced turning the principle axis through 90° to face a new carriage drive leading up from Loch Bhacasaig. Various later uses included a shooting lodge and hotel, now private residence, restored by D. L. Roberts, 1975–85. Alexander Smith in the summer of 1864 described it as "too modern, and villa like" ('A Summer in Skye', 1865, Ch 10). *c.* 1835 walled garden, *c.* 1871 farmhouse and *c.* 1835–40 steading square.

Miers notes; MacLeod, 1981a; MacLeod & Roberts, 1981; *NSA*, XIV, 341; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 476.

RCAHMS.: NG24SE 45.00; HB NUM: 476.

From SW, 2000. © M. Miers. (RCAHMS).

C.30	ORD HOUSE, SKYE	*C.* 1750	NG 6175 1340	TYPE II

Thought to have been built by Charles Macdonald, who was 'outed' after the '45. Impressively situated above Loch Eishort with gable end to prevailing wind and the Chullins. To the rear stood the former kitchen whose "walls and rafters were black with peat smoke", floor was flagged and had a "huge fireplace" (Alexander Smith, 'A Summer in Skye', 1865, Ch 5) and which doubled as a ballroom. Walled garden. Later bi-partite windows and porch of *c.* 1860.

Miers notes.

RCAHMS no.: NG61SW 65.

From SE, 2003. © Historic Scotland.

C.31	ORMICLATE CASTLE, SOUTH UIST	*C.* 1701–3	NF 7399 3180	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Ormaclett or Ormacleit Castle). 2½-storey T-plan 4-bay house with 1-storey advanced wings built for MacDonald of Clanranald. The principal NW façade has an armorial panel above the doorway which is situated between the 2 E bays. The 4 bays of windows are vertically aligned and the attic floor was lit by dormers. Forecourt with offices along NE and SW sides. The SW range was originally the kitchen with its large segmental-arched fireplace. Destroyed by fire in 1715, only SW range reoccupied against which a new farmhouse was built. Quadrangular offices and accommodation to the N built in the mid-C19.

Miers notes; Slade, 1992; Uist Building Preservation Trust, 2000; Badcock & Symonds, 2000; RCAHMS, 1928, 107.

RCAHMS no.: NF73SW 1; SAM no.: 8513; HB NUM: 18778.

C.32	PEINDUIN, SKYE	*C.* C18	NG 3863 5764	TYPE II

(Alternatively, Peighinn an Dùine). (No moulding detail makes dating difficult). 1860 inscription (no longer visible) dates later alterations. 3-bay ruin, "marking an interesting stage in the evolution of Skye gentry houses" (M. Miers). Gentrification is suggested by the squared-off corners, and detached, thick-walled ranges extending forwards on each side to form a loose U-plan. It is not clear whether this house was built as a laird's or tacksman's house.

Miers notes; RCAHMS, 1928, 202.

RCAHMS no.: NG35NE 38; township: RCAHMS no.: NG35NE 12.

From W, William Daniell, 1813. © Trustees of British Museum.

C.33	RAASAY HOUSE, RAASAY	1720, *C.* 1747 & LATER	NG 5475 3659	TYPE II

The original MacLeod house was razed in the 1746 uprising but was rebuilt soon afterwards. A 1720 datestone with the initials 'MML' and 'MMK' is rebuilt into the nearby Inverarish Mill. This may refer to Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay and Mary, daughter of Alexander MacKenzie of Applecross, who married in 1713. The house that was built from 1747 was 2½ storeys and 3 bays wide, facing NNW. Malcolm married a second time, to Janet MacLeod, in May 1748. The house was built next to its predecessor, Kilmoluag tower-house, which was dismantled. The *c.* 1747 house is depicted from the rear by William Daniell in 1813, including a detached kitchen wing. The wing, together with 2 pavilions were linked to the main house in 1761 when the house was reoriented to face Skye. A stairtower was added to the centre of the original front. The house measured 14 m long by 9 m wide and had crowstepped gables. 2 rooms were arranged around either side of a parabolic-arched hall; the rear rooms were narrower than the front rooms.

A new 7-bay range and porch was added to the S front in 1790–1805. The pavilions were replaced to create more accommodation in 1843 by George Rainy; his son continued the extensions. Jacobean gables, double-height bay windows and servants' quarters were added by the Woods in 1876–77 by A. Ross and in 1899. C19 steading with 1877 A. Ross Italianate clocktower.

Strachan, 2000; Wright, 2003; Birch & Wildgoose 2003; Morrison, 1974, IV, 40 & 43; *NSA*, XIV, 225; Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes [2003], 55–8.

RCAHMS no.: NG53NW 30.00; HB NUM: 13932.

From the SW, 2007. Author.

C.34	RODEL HOTEL, HARRIS	*C.* 1785	NG 0476 8290	TYPE II

Built as a 2½-storey, 3-bay house for Captain Alexander MacLeod of Berneray, who bought Harris from his cousin, Norman MacLeod of Dunvegan who put the estate up for sale in 1772. The Captain saw Rodel as the centre of his schemes to improve the estate and economy of Harris. William Daniell visited in 1819 and his print shows gardens behind the house.

Later uses include an inn, tacksman's/factor's house, shooting lodge and hotel. Remnants of plantings of its garden survives. Additions from its later uses have been removed as part of 2001 restoration. Now cement-rendered. In use as a hotel.

Miers notes; Bill Lawson, 'A short history of Rodel Hotel', www.rodelhotel.co.uk/history.htm; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 12011.

RCAHMS.: NG08SW 11; HB NUM: 12011.

	C.35	**RUBH' AN DUNAIN, SKYE**	**EARLY–MID C18**	**NG 393 160**	**TYPE ?**
	2-storey chimneyed gable at one end of round-ended tacksman's house, occupied until 1860s amongst township. Built by the MacAskills of Rubh' an Dunain. According to tradition the MacAskills were appointed hereditary keepers of Dunscaith Castle, becoming vassals of the MacLeods. They held these lands in exchange for coast-guarding duties. By early C19 it was part of a large sheepfarm with much of Glen Brittle and the Isle of Soay. Kenneth MacAskill emigrated with his people to America in 1811, his successor Hugh († 1864) farmed Glen Brittle.				
	Miers notes; Canmore, NG31NE 3. Rubh' An Dunain township: RCAHMS no.: NG31NE 3.				
 From S, *c.* 1899, Walter Blaikie © NMS, licensor www.scran.ac.uk.	**C.36**	**SCALPAY HOUSE, SCALPAY [HARRIS] (SITE OF)**	**C18?**	**NG 2139 9663**	**TYPE II**
	(Alternatively, Campbell's House). 2-storey tacksman's house, Donald Campbell occupied the house in 1746. Later altered as a store as depicted in the photograph 'Scalpa House (rebuilt) of Donald Campbell in which Prince Charles stayed' by Walter Blaikie in *c.* 1899. It shows an irregular frontage of four bays and two entrances. Rebuilt as the Free Church manse.				
	Miers notes; Haswell-Smith, 1998, 225.				
	C.37	**SCORRYBRECK, SKYE (SITE OF)**	**EARLY C18**	**NG 4865 4386**	**TYPE II**
	(Alternatively, Scorrybreac). Built as the seat of the Nicolsons of Scorrybreac, one of Skye's earliest illustrated 3-bay houses depicted as 1763 single-storey with garrets with a typical Skye quarter garden to the rear. Abandoned *c.* 1825; now only a few stones remain. The present Scorrybreck is a farmhouse built in *c.* 1830.				
	Miers notes; Matthew Stobie map, 1763; Canmore, NG44SE 66. RCAHMS no.: NG44SE 66.				
 From SE, 2000. © M. Miers (RCAHMS).	**C.38**	**SKIRINISH, SKYE**	***C.* 1840 & EARLIER**	**NG 4141 5095**	**TYPE II**
	(Alternatively, Skerinish House). Macdonald tacksman's house of pre- early C18 rebuilt in *c.* 1840 as a generously proportioned 2-storey, 3-bay house, later alterations and additions. Central porch. 3 later dormers. Mid-C19 cottage and steading built adjacent when Skirinish became a large farm.				
	Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 13975; SMR NG45SW0054. RCAHMS no.: NG45SW 52.00; HB NUM: 13975.				
 From SE, 1975–6. © RCAHMS.	**C.39**	**STRATHAIRD HOUSE, SKYE**	***C.* 1790S & 1820S**	**NG 5506 1800**	**TYPE II**
	Replacing earlier house of the Mackinnons. Unusual composition of 2 houses side by side. The older house had been stripped of harling and described by the geologist J. MacCulloch in 1824 as fair, large, new and clean but inside "the masonry was bad, and therefore [his host] would not allow the house to be finished" (cited by M. Miers). Mackinnon decided to build a new house though the old one was reparable, this being a Georgian box, but, once finished, he preferred to live in the original. Both altered.				
	Miers notes; Statutory List description, HB NUM: 14000; Canmore, NG51NE 82. RCAHMS no.: NG51NE 82; 1820s house: HB NUM: 14000.				

From W, 1999. Author.

From NE, 1999. Author.

C.40	TALISKER HOUSE, SKYE	*C.* 1720 OR *C.* 1744 & LATER	NG 3244 3021	TYPE II

Built by Donald MacLeod of Talisker, possibly around the time of his marriage to Christina MacLeod in *c.* 1717 or by their son Col. John MacLeod around the time of his marriage in 1744.

The earliest part of the present house survives as the N end of the main wing, although its stair and interior date to a remodelling of *c.* 1767. This house was essentially 2½-storey, with a 3-bay main front facing W which was added to an older block to create an L-plan. It measured 12.1 by 5.6 m and the main door opened into a lobby with, presumably, a dog-leg stair ahead and a room to the l. and r.. There were probably 2 main bedrooms on the 1st floor with a garret above. Only 2 windows of its principal façade are now visible on the W front. Pavilion-roofed extension of *c.* 1775 to centre of W front. Single large window on the E face may date to when the stair was replaced in *c.* 1767. 2 window openings to its l. are part of the C18 house, and 3 small windows to the r. mark the position of the W gable of the C17 wing, housing the kitchen, which was badly damaged by fire in *c.* 1775 and subsequently dismantled. In 1773 Boswell (1786) mentioned that Talsiker had a pebbled forecourt, a comfortable parlour paved with un-squared flagstones and small bedrooms with neat furnishings.

The house was extended to the S by 3 bays in *c.* 1865 when dormer windows were added to the original, a bay window to the jamb and a porch. Lying pane sash windows, interior finishes of *c.* 1785, late C18 plasterwork. Early C20 garden to W towards sea succeeded an earlier version.

MacLeod, 1979a; Roberts, 1979a; Boswell, 1786, 214; Miers notes; Statutory List description: HB NUM: 1787;

RCAHMS no.: NG33SW 18; HB NUM: 1787.

C.41	TIGH MOR, VATERSAY	C18	NL 6292 9440	TYPE II

Built as a tacksman's house, for a younger branch of the MacNeills, asymmetrical 3-bay façade. Now shell with various blocked openings. Later occupied by tenant farmer, then as school. Abandoned since 1920.

Miers notes; Canmore, NL69SW 90.

RCAHMS no.: NL69SW 90.

From SW, 2007. © John Allan, www.geograph.org.uk.

C.42	UIGINISH, SKYE	C18	NG 2424 4829	TYPE II

Broad-gabled tacksman's house above Loch Follart. The Tomlies were the tacksmen of Uiginish in the C18. Recently renovated. Rare 1843–5 henhouse/dovecot built by Thomas Clapperton to S opposite square-plan steading.

Miers notes; NAS GD402, NRS 13040 Mackenzie.

RCAHMS no.: NG24NW 49. Henhouse/dovecot: RCAHMS no.: NG24NW 46; HB NUM: 479.

From E, 1999. Author.

C.43	ULLINISH LODGE, SKYE	1757	NG 3245 3772	TYPE II

The original 2-storey 3-bay tacksman's house forms has a dated marriage stone of Alexander and Margaret Macleod over the original front door. A parallel kitchen wing was added to the rear and a hipped C19 wing creates an L-plan overall. Flat-roofed open porch at re-entrant. In the early C19 the original house was extended by 1 bay. There are outbuildings and *c.* 1960s additions at the rear.

Miers notes; Canmore, RCAHMS no.: NG33NW 29.

RCAHMS no.: NG33NW 29.

From S, 1999. Author.

From N, 1999. Author.

C.44	UNISH HOUSE, SKYE	*C.* 1680S & AFTER 1746	NG 2392 6582	TYPE I/II

Unish House, is 2½ storeys, rectangular plan is 12.4 by 6.1 m. As first built, its NNW façade faced with sweeping views across to Harris and North Uist. It was composed of 5 bays. The central bay was in the form of an extruded chimneystack with an entrance at its foot. This might have been the main façade. On the 1st floor there were 4 evenly-spaced windows facing N. Corbels at the upper reaches of its exterior faces and the thackstanes which survive at the chimneyheads show that Unish was once thatched. It was probably built by Roderick MacLeod († *c.* 1709) who had been granted the lands of Unish before 1664 by his father, Donald MacLeod of Greshornish. Roderick moved to Ullinish after 1692. The E room had a large fireplace on the ground floor, contracted at a later date, which probably served the kitchen. The W room had a fireplace, which was also altered later, and probably had only 1 S-facing window. The presence of a fireplace suggests that it functioned as a living room, but it is possible that the largest of the 1st-floor rooms also had a public function. A timber stair may have risen from the entrance in the base of the chimneystack in a centrally-placed straight flight, or against the inside of the N wall, or it may have been sited across the W ground-floor room. The 1st floor of Unish has 3 fireplaces, which suggests 3 main rooms. The central room was heated by a lateral fireplace contained within the extruded stack. The roof space contained a garret lit by a single window in each gable.

In 1708 Unish was let in liferent to Donald Roy MacLeod, the 5th son of John MacLeod of Contullich of the Berneray MacLeods. The last tacksman of Unish was Donald Roy's son, Capt. Norman MacLeod, who held the lands from 1736 to 1781; shortly thereafter it was reduced to use as a shepherd's bothy. Norman was absent from 1739 to 1745 and then secured the command of the Harris Independent Company during the '45 Rebellion. He probably commissioned the remodelling of Unish House within a few years of 1746, when he had accumulated sufficient wealth (or credit) as a cattle breeder. A semi-circular stairtower with an entrance at its base was added in the middle of the S elevation, 2 windows on either side were opened up or enlarged to create a 3-bay façade. One of the 4 upper windows on the N side was enlarged, but the others appear to have been blocked, and the W ground-floor room was given a N-facing window. The house was probably still thatched at this date. Now ruinous. Early C19 courtyard farm and enclosures to E.

RCAHMS, 1993, 5, 8 & 11; Roberts, 1981b; MacLeod, 1981b; Mitford, 1943, 279; Canmore, NG26NW 1.09; Nicolson, 1994, 141–2.

RCAHMS no.: NG26NW 1.09; SAM no.: 5872.

From SW, *c.* 2000. © M. Miers (RCAHMS).

C.45	OLD VALLAY HOUSE, VALLAY	*C.* 1727	NF 7745 7599	TYPE II

Built as tacksman's house for Ewen Macdonald, tacksman of Macdonald of Sleat. Marriage lintel 'EMD & MML, 1742', to Ewen and Mary Maclean (daughter of minister of Coll). By the time of the *OSA*, published in 1794, it was one of few slated buildings in North Uist but "in a ruinous condition" at that time. May have been restored/remodelled by J. Gillespie as chamberlain's house in 1797–9 or the farm manager's house at r.-angles. Formed part of the minister's stipend on the C19. In C20 in use as laundry with a school above reached by a forestair though out of use by 1940. C19 1-storey farm workers' cottages and farm square. The unoccupied Vallay House is nearby, to the W.

Miers notes; *OSA*, XIII, 325; Canmore, NF77NE 43.

RCAHMS no.: NF77NE 43.

Appendix D Model for National Gazetteer

8 IMAGE(S)	1 UID	2 SITE NAME	13 DATE(S)	5 GRID REF	12 TYPE
	3 ALTERNATIVE NAME(S)	7 PARISH		6 LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA	
	10 CONDITION	11 CURRENT USE		9 DESIGNATION(S)	
	14 SHORT DESCRIPTION				
caption	15 FULL DESCRIPTION				
	16 REFERENCES				
caption	17 OTHER UIDS				
	18 FIELDWORK DETAILS		19 ENTRY DETAILS		

Table D.1: Model layout for full record view.

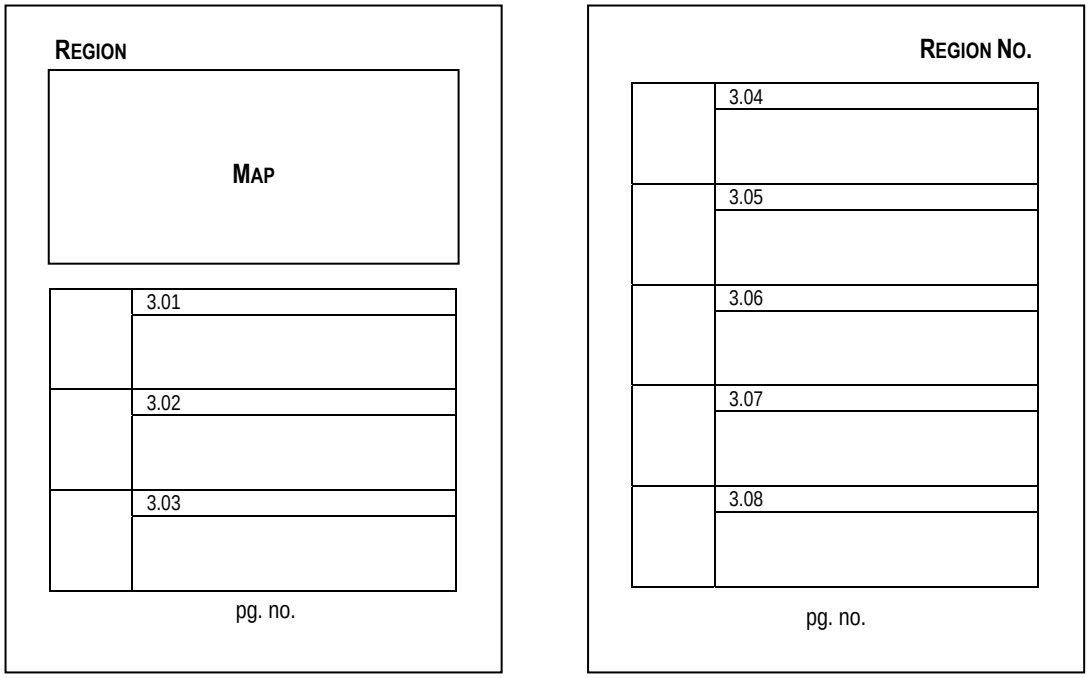


Figure D.1: Page layout model for printed gazetteer.

1	UNIQUE IDENTIFIER	UID of site composed of 'Region' number ID followed by a sequential number; the latter number would appear on the map of the particular 'regional' section of the gazetteer.
2	SITE NAME	Name of house. Further qualification may be required if another house of the same name exists/existed in the 'Region'. If in a town an address might be applicable.
3	ALTERNATIVE NAME(S)	Other name(s) by which the site may be known, including alternative spellings and former names.
4	'REGION'	'Region' relating to the grouping defined by this gazetteer.
5	GRID REFERENCE	8-figure with OS map sheet reference.
6	LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA	Local Authority area, and National Park area if applicable.
7	PARISH	Parish.
8	IMAGE(S)	Each image produced for the gazetteer should have its own unique metadata, including UID, description of view *i.e.* 'house from NE', '1st floor plan', date taken/drawn (date of drawing may be different from visit date so both should be included), and photographer/artist. Any images from another source should be appropriately labelled, referenced and permission to reproduce sought. One image should be a site plan showing the 'extent' of the site.
9	DESIGNATION(S)	Scheduled Monument number; Listed Building number and category; within or associated with any Gardens and Designed Landscapes (including reference number); within any natural heritage designated areas (including reference).
10	CONDITION	Short descriptive term taken from gazetteer convention *e.g.* ruinous, 'site of'.
11	CURRENT USE	Short descriptive term taken from gazetteer convention *e.g.* occupied as dwelling.
12	TYPE	Type I, Type II, both, or unidentified.
13	DATE(S)	Dates or date ranges of main phases.
14	SHORT DESCRIPTION	Very short description of type and size (*e.g.* number of storeys and bays) of laird's house, its main phases or additions, incorporating dates from row 13.
15	FULL DESCRIPTION	a) general condition, type and 'size', plan, number of storeys/bays, position of entrance b) overall plan dimensions of the whole or part of the building which constitutes the 'laird's house' c) building materials d) who or which family the house was built for if known including whether the occupant was a laird, minister, tacksman, tenant, etc. e) mason/architect if known f) the logic behind ascribing a particular date to its origin g) any major alterations and additions (when, for whom, by whom?) h) date of abandonment or demolition if applicable i) any details known about its internal planning, functions of rooms j) decorative details *e.g.* surviving panelling, armorial panels, carved skewputts k) details of its approach *e.g.* through courtyard, axial, tree-lined avenue l) details of ancillary structures e.g. separate kitchen block, offices, walled

		garden m) cross-references to any other linked gazetteer entry e.g. superseded by…
16	**REFERENCES**	References of sources with page numbers including unpublished or on-line sources and personal communications.
17	**OTHER UIDS**	*E.g.* RCAHMS number; SMR number
18	**FIELDWORK DETAILS**	Name of person(s) who visited site, date(s).
19	**ENTRY DETAILS**	Name of person(s) who inputted data into gazetteer, date(s). Name of person(s) who updated gazetteer data, date(s).

Table D.2: Required fields for a full gazetteer entry with explanatory notes.

Notes

The fields in Table D.1, 1–3 and 5–19 correspond with the explanations given in Table 3.5 (p.81). Field 4, 'region', is omitted from the full record view because it forms part of field 1, the 'unique identifier' and would be repeated as a header as shown in Figure D.1, the page layout model.

The 'Full Description' field in Table D.1 should follow the order set out as items a) to m) in row 15 of Table D.2. Standard abbreviations are used in this description, such as numerals and cardinal points, and referencing. This format would provide all of the fields required for a RCAHMS entry.

The maps of each region (indicated on Figure D.1) would indicate the location of each site or building using their reference number (omitting the region prefix). The background mapping would show water, rivers, contours, the 'region' boundaries, main settlements, and national grid lines to help users locate a particular entry easily.

The format and scope presented here for a laird's houses gazetteer is believed to be robust and would be of benefit to various organisations and students of early modern architectural history, archaeology and history.

Glossary

A

Alderman: chief magistrate or provost of a town or one of the ordinary magistrates of bailies.

Apprise (Scots law): to sell for payment of debt.

Arris: a sharp edge produced by the meeting of two surfaces.

Assart: land that has been made fit for cultivation, usually by clearing trees and scrub.

Attic: the upper storey of a house which is lit by half or full dormers. Or, a low upper storey, usually of the classical 'Attic order', which is treated differently from the rest of the main elevation to indicate its lower status relative to principal floor(s). *See* 'garret'.

Aumbry: recess within the thickness of a wall, the opening could have been closed with a timber door or doors.

Ayre: a shingle beach where the catch could be laid out to air-dry (Shetland). Often a natural beach would be improved by the addition of more pebbles. Associated with the 'haaf' fishing, *see* below.

B

Barbican: defensive gateway.

Barmkin: walled courtyard usually associated with a tower-house.

Baron: a person with the right to hold a baron court and who held an estate 'in free barony'. After 1587, the term was often used in legal documents as a substitute for 'laird'.

Bastle: from the French *bastille*: 'a small fortification'. RCAHMS definition: semi-fortified large houses built with lime mortar and usually with vaulted ground floors. RCHME definition: small fortified farmhouse, with accommodation for humans on the upper floor and for livestock below. Alternatively, 'bastle house'.

Bere: form of barley.

Blench-farm: land held on the basis of the payment of a nominal yearly fee.

Böd: Norse-derived word for a 'booth', a shop from which trade is conducted (medieval to 19th-century Shetland). Böds could also include living accommodation for the merchant. Also, alternative name for 18th- and 19th-century 'truck shops', where fishing gear and other goods were bought on credit under the fish tenure system. Alternatively, 'bød'.

Bolection moulding: a moulding around a panel which projects beyond the surface of the frame to cover the joint between the different planes.

Bonnet laird: a small proprietor who worked at least a part of his own land and whose total holdings were on a par with large tenant-farmers.

Box-bed: a built-in bed, enclosed on three sides, the forth side is closed with sliding panels, a hinged door or curtains.

Box-machicolation: a short stretch of projecting parapet with a series of opening between the supporting corbels through which missiles, etc. could be dropped as a form of defence. Sometimes used as a decorative feature in post-medieval buildings.

Bretasche: defensive wooden gallery on a wall.

Broch: Iron Age thick-walled drystone roundhouse. Most examples are found on the Atlantic fringes of Scotland.

Broken man: a man who does not belong to any particular clan or kin group, usually because of some type of infringement. Such men were assimilated into other kin groups or banded together, tending to get by through raiding, mercenary activities or serving kin group leaders.

Bucht: an enclosure, usually for herded cattle or sheep. Alternatively, 'boucht'.

Buffet recess: wall recess sufficient to take a piece of furniture to display china.

Burgh: a town with a corporation and special privileges. Also, royal burgh: a corporate body deriving its existence, constitution and rights from a royal charter, actual or presumed to have existed. Also, burgh of barony: a corporation under a feudal superior or baron. Also, burgh of regality: a burgh of barony enfranchised by crown charter, with real or exclusive criminal jurisdiction within its territory. Also, burgess: a citizen of a burgh who has certain rights and obligations. Also, burgage plot: a division of land in burghs, which tended to vary from burgh to burgh, but was normally long and narrow with one of the short boundaries alongside a street.

Byre-dwelling: single-storey house where humans and livestock live under one roof and any partition between them is insubstantial.

C

Canonry: building in which a canon resides.

Caphouse: pavilion at the top of a turnpike stair, usually at the top of a tower-house, which provides access to the parapet walk. Also, attic storey of a tower-house which is contained within a structure surrounded by the parapet walk.

Cateran: a military caste within clanship whose members, by the mid-16th century in the north and west highlands and islands, had become less constrained and led bandits' lifestyles.

Catslide dormer: a window placed vertically in a sloping roof whose own roof slopes in the same direction; there is therefore no dormerhead or pediment above the window.

Chantor: the leader of the singing of a church choir or congregation. Alternatively, 'precentor'.

Citadel fort: a fortress in or near a city. In Scotland, four were built during the Interregnum (1651–60) in Ayr, Perth, Leith and Inverness.

Clearances, The: Two main periods of clearance in the Highlands and Islands are discernible, 1785–1820 and 1820–50. In these periods many landowners evicted tenants from their land to make way for sheep farms, as a policy to increase the population to fish or produce kelp, and as a consequence of the potato famine of 1846. The evicted tenants either were resettled on inadequate, less-productive land or emigrated.

Commendator: lay receiver of the revenues of an abbey where there is no abbot.

Conservation Plan: A document specific to a particular building or monument which sets out the sequence of steps to be undertaken to conserve that building or monument. It assesses its significance, and, consequently, what policies are appropriate to enable that significance to be retained.

Corbel: a projecting stone or timber which supports a weight. Also, corbelled out: a series of projecting courses of masonry which supports the weight above. Also, corbel-course: continuous projecting course of stones supporting weight on its top surface.

Covenanter: a person who signed or adhered to the *Scottish National Covenant* of 1638.

Crowsteps: squared stones set like steps, often at the top of a gable, hence 'crowstepped gable'. Alternatively, 'corbie steps'.

Cruck: curved timber blade, sometimes jointed from smaller pieces, used in pairs as principal weight-bearing members to support roof timbers.

Curror: ranger of royal or baronial forest.

Customary tenant (Eng): a tenant holding land by custom, with no written proof of entry.

D

Data Structure Report: archaeological analysis report written following the completion of an excavation.

Decreet (Scots law): Decision of court.

Demesne: lands adjacent to the landowner's house which are not let out to tenants.

Dispone (Scots law): to make over to another.

Dogger: type of fishing vessel.

Dog-leg: stair with one or more returns without a stair well. Alternatively, scale-and-platt (Scots).

Dowager: A widow with a dower, or jointure, who has been provided a holding and accommodation on her late husband's land which has now passed to his heir.

Dower house: the house set apart for the widow, usually on her late husband's estate.

Drove: a number of cattle, or other animals, driven or herded together. Also, drover: a person who drives cattle. Also, droving: the occupation of a drover, the act of herding cattle.

E

Enclosure castle: castle defined by a substantial curtain wall; Scottish examples usually date to the 13th and 14th centuries.

Enfilade: a series of rooms with the interconnecting doors aligned creating a continuous passage.

English pale: an area controlled by England in another country. For example, the area ringed by garrisons set up on the Scottish side of the border and on the east coast during the Rough Wooing (1543–51).

Entresol: a low storey between two higher ones, *i.e.* a mezzanine. Some vaulted basements, such as those of some tower-houses, would have been vertically divided with an entresol, the floor of which need not have extended for the full length of the basement.

Escheat: to forfeit land to the feudal lord or state or for lack of an heir.

F

Feather bed: mattress.

Fee: a grant of land for feudal service. Also, fee simple: land held in unconditional inheritance. Also, fee tail: an entailed estate. *See* 'freehold'.

Fermtoun: a collection of buildings associated with an area of common arable land, always including (the) farmhouse(s), usually held by two or more joint tenants. Alternatively, 'township'.

Feu-farm: when land would be granted to a vassal for a return each year of a set sum of cash or its equivalent (in place of military services) for a (semi-) permanent period under 'feudal tenure'. Alternatively, 'feu-ferme'. Also, feuar: someone who held land under feudal tenure. Also, Feuing Movement: usually referred to as the time when kirklands became available around the time of the Scottish Reformation (1560), however its beginnings can be traced earlier in the 16th century with the feuing of crown lands.

Fine (Scots Gaelic): leading clan gentry.

Flying stair: a stair which is cantilevered from the stairwell or external wall.

Forest: a hunting reserve, usually royal or baronial.

Forestair: external stair, of timber or masonry, usually leading to the building's main entrance.

Foud: also, head or great foud: first appeared in Shetland in the 15th century, roughly equated with a sheriff or chamberlain, presided over the lawthing, tax and toll collector, and answerable to the king. Alternatively, 'lenslord' (15th century reference). Also, underfoud: parish official appointed by the foud. Also, foudry or foudrie: the foud's jurisdiction. *See* 'lawthing'.

Freehold: a property held by fee simple, fee tail, or for life. Also, freeholder: a person who possesses a freehold. *See* 'fee'.

G

Gable: the whole end wall of a building with a pitched roof. Also, 'mid-gable': a wall between the two end walls which is carried up to the full height of the roof. Masonry gables are usually flue-bearing.

Gablet: triangular part of a 'gable' (*see* above); also a decorative triangular motif, for example at the top of a buttress or large crowstep.

Garret: a room just under the roof of the house. 'Garret' is used in place of 'attic' to denote a usable floor wholly within the roofspace. *See* 'attic'.

Grey literature: In terms of archaeology and architectural studies, grey literature comprises unpublished written material which might be difficult to access or archived. Examples include Data Structure Reports, pre-publication specialist reports, conservation plans, institutional or internal reports, and government documents.

Guardianship monument: property in state care under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 and its predecessors.

H

Haa: laird's house (Shetland).

Haaf: inshore fishing ground for seven- to nine-week cod, ling and tusk season (medieval to 19th-century Shetland). Alternatively, the 'near haaf'. Also, the 'far haaf': the equivalent deep sea fishing ground.

Hall house: main focus of a castle complex rather than a tower-house, with a hall open to the rafters on the first floor, over an undercroft. Most Scottish examples date to the late 13th and early 14th centuries. The term has also been used to describe two-storey high-status houses with hall and chamber on the first floor that were built in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Hanoverian: supporter of the House of Hanover, the dynasty that came to the English, Irish and Scottish thrones in 1714, and hence opponent of the Jacobites. *See* 'Jacobite'.

Hanseatic League: trading body of German merchants and shipowners centred on Lübeck (operated during medieval and early modern periods).

Head-dyke: drystone or turf wall separating infield (arable) from outfield (grazing).

Headsman: in northern England, the 'head man' who presided over a kin group consisting of relatives and those who owed him allegiance (*see* 'surname').

Heid buil: the principal landholding under 'odal tenure' (*see* below). Also, 'head buil/bull'.

Heidroom: rear wall of burgage plot. *See* 'burgh' for 'burgage plot'.

Heritor: a landholder obliged to contribute to the upkeep of the parish, in particular the church and manse.

Hinging lum: a wide wooden chimney over an open hearth. The structure can be freestanding or with one side against a wall. Also, 'hanging lum'.

Homesucken: killing a man in his own home.

Hôtel: a French town house which is arranged around three sides of a courtyard, enclosed towards the street by a screen wall, or an ancillary range, with a central entranceway into the courtyard. The design was established by Sebastiano Serlio's (1475–1554) Grande Ferrare in Fontainebleau (1544–6).

Husbandland: a small unit of land relating to tenants' holdings, more common in England than Scotland.

I

Imperial stair: straight stair rising to landing, then returning in two flights to next level.

Improvement: term first coined in the Lowlands in the 1720s and '30s, but the process of 'agricultural improvement' can be traced back to the 1680s, for example with liming the soil and the extension of arable.

Independent Highland Company: military unit raised by Duncan Forbes of Culloden (1685–1747), Lord President from 1737, in defence of the Hanoverian regime against the Jacobites. *See* 'Jacobite' and 'Hanoverian'.

Infeft (Scots law): to invest with heritable property.

J

Jacobite: supporter of the restoration of James VII/II (1685–9) to the English, Irish and Scottish thrones and, thereafter, his direct descendants. Also, 'Jacobitism'.

Jamb (Scots): a projecting wing or addition to a building. Also, the side part of a door, window or fireplace.

K

Kelp: an alkali produced by burning seaweed used in the manufacture of soap and glass.

Kindly tenure (Scot): a form of tenancy where the family concerned has held land in succession, from father to son, for several generations.

Kirklands: the estates belonging to bishops, monasteries, collegiate and parish churches. Alternatively, 'church lands'.

Kontor: Hanseatic trading station. *See* 'Hanseatic'.

L

Laigh (Scots): Eng: low.

Landmail: rent owned by tenant of odal land to the odal proprietor (Orkney and Shetland). *See* 'odal tenure'.

Lawman: in the early medieval period a crown-appointed judge and legal advisor in law courts, but by the 16th century an elected provincial representative who presided over the lawthing. Phased out after 1548 (Shetland). *See* 'lawthing'.

Lawrightman: in medieval period, member of assize at court. By the 16th century they had become the people's representative, each usually associated with a parish. Phased out after 1580 (Shetland). Alternatively, 'hirdmen' (Scandinavia).

Lawthing: representative assembly.

Leasehold: land or property held by the occupier under a lease.

Ley land: uncultivated land, usually either not subject to land valuation or subject at a reduced land tax or rental value.

Liferent (Scots law): a right to use for life, usually related to land.

Lodberry: a house built at the edge of the shore incorporating a pier, courtyard and store, 18th-century Orkney and Shetland.

Lugged architrave: the moulded frame surrounding a door or window where the upper corners are extended horizontally to give the appearance that the architrave has 'ears' or is 'lugged'. A 'shouldered architrave' is where the upper corners are extended horizontally and vertically.

M

M-gable: end wall of a building which has two contiguous pitched roofs; the upper part of the gable is reminiscent of a capital 'M', written thus: ΛΛ.

Machair (Scots Gaelic): a fertile low-lying sandy beach or links suitable for arable cultivation or pasturage (Western Isles).

March: a border district. There were three marches on either side of the Anglo-Scottish border in the 14th to 16th centuries.

Merk land: unit of valuation of arable land. Alternatively, 'mark of land'.

Mid-gable: *see* 'gable'.

Moated homestead: a site enclosed within a moat, usually rectangular in plan, thought to be medieval in date. Alternatively, 'moated site'.

N

Nepus gable: A gablet (a decorative gable rather than a pediment), usually at the centre of a wallhead on the main elevation of a building, which is topped by a chimneystack.

New extent: A public land valuation of 1366 used for the assessment of feudal casualties in the 16th century in Scotland.

O

Odal tenure: since the Norse occupation of Orkney and Shetland in the early medieval period, land there could be held by odal law, in which the occupier could pass on the landholding to male and female heirs without written proof, and no service was due to any overlord. The 'odaller' paid 'skat' (*see* below), a form of property tax to the state. Alternatively, 'udal'. Also, odaller: someone who held land under odal tenure.

Old extent: A public land valuation of 1326 used for parliamentary taxation into the 16th century in Scotland.

Outshot: an extension built onto the side of a building. Also, a projecting part of a wall or building.

P

Parapet: a low wall usually at the wallhead of a castle or tower-house behind which is the wall-walk (or 'parapet walk'). Also, a low wall which screens a roof.

Pele: RCAHMS definition: small, barn-like, stone building built with clay mortar and usually unvaulted. RCHME definition: synonymous with a tower. Alternatively, 'peel'. Alternatively, defensive timber enclosure.

Pele-house: subdivision of the RCAHMS definition of a 'pele' (*see* above) where the building did not rise above two-and-a-half storeys.

Pele-tower: subdivision of the RCAHMS definition of a 'pele' (*see* above) where the building rose to three storeys or more and had a parapet.

Pend: a covered passageway, often vaulted (*see* 'transe'). Also, pended, pendit: vaulted.

Pended house: a house with a vaulted ground floor, a term which has been used to describe some houses in Border burghs. Alternatively, 'bastle' (*see* above).

Piano nobile: using the classical language, the principal floor of a house, usually the first floor. It sits over a basement or ground floor and below one or more shallower storeys above.

Pile: the number of rooms in the depth of a building's plan. Single-pile: one-room deep. Double-pile: two-rooms deep. The rooms have to be fairly equal in width for the plan to be described as 'double-pile'.

Portioner: a small proprietor who held a share or was a co-heir of a multiple-tenant township.

Put-log hole: a hole in a wall to receive a 'put-log', a horizontal timber which supports scaffolding boards, which is not always filled in after construction is complete.

Q

Quirk: a sharp V-shaped incision in a moulding and between mouldings.

R

Raggle: groove cut in masonry, usually to take the end of a roof.

Re-entrant angle. Inward-pointing angle, *e.g.* often, L-, T- or U-plan houses would have their entrances or entrance towers located at a re-entrant angle. Opposite: salient angle. More commonly, a feature at an outward-pointing angle of a building would be described as being at a given corner.

Reiving: raiding, a term particularly used to describe raiding on the border of Scotland and England. Also, reiver: someone who partakes in reiving.

S

Saalgeschosshaus: a multi-storey (usually two-and-a-half-storey) masonry house with a large hall on the first floor, built in medieval Germany, often in towns, as a high-status residence. Literally, *saal-geschoss-haus*: hall-projectile/shot-house. Plural: *saalgeschosshauses*.

Scale-and-platt: *see* 'dogleg'.

Scarcement: ledge which usually carries a floor.

Schound bill: written proof of ownership of odal land (Orkney and Shetland). Alternatively, skin bill.

Secular cathedral: the principal church of a diocese whose clergy are not bound by monastic rules. Opposite: 'regular cathedral'.

Skáli: Norwegian medieval hall. Often associated with a *dyngja* (a bathhouse or a weaving house) and an *eldhus* (fire-house). *See* '*stofa*'.

Skat: annual tribute payable to the state for land held in odal tenure (Orkney and Shetland).

Skew: the coping of a gable, usually a 'straight skew' is implied. *See* 'crowsteps'. Also, skewputt: a stone at the foot of a skew which is shaped to support the skew stones above it; can be carved with scrolls, masks, etc.

Soffit: the underside of an arch or lintel.

Solar (Eng): a private chamber on an upper floor of a medieval house, usually adjoining the hall at the high-table (principal) end. The 'lord's' or 'laird's chamber' is the more commonly used term to describe the same function in Scottish medieval houses.

Sound: a strait.

Spulzie (Scots): spoliation or to plunder.

Stead: a tenant's holding. In Scotland, usually only used in relation to a kindly tenant's holding on crown lands.

Stockfish: dried and salted cod and ling.

Stockstore: Norwegian kit house made from timber (recorded in late medieval/early modern Shetland documents).

Stofa: Norwegian timber-built medieval hall-dwelling of considerable prestige. They were often associated with an *eldhus* (fire-house). *See* '*skáli*'.

Stringcourse: a continuous horizontal band, usually moulded, on an exterior wall. The stringcourse can be 'stepped' around features or to form a pattern.

Stronghouse: A three-storey, rectangular plan, masonry house built in northern England in the 16th and early-17th centuries, often with a small gabled stair wing either housing or flanking the entrance door. The term has been documented in the border region of Scotland, but due to the paucity of physical evidence it is difficult to verify if the Scottish 'stronghouses' were similar to English stronghouses.

Surname: a kin group system, the term first recorded in England in 1498 to describe the 'clans' of northern England which began to break up in the later 15th century. The term was applied to kin groups in the border region of Scotland.

T

Tack: when the royal revenues from land would be given for a stated period for a set annual payment (*i.e.* a type of lease). Also, tacksman: a holder of a 'tack'.

Teind (Scots): Eng: tithe.

Tenant-in-chief: a tenant holding lands directly from the sovereign.

Thackstane: a projecting stone on a chimney head which covers the upper edge of the thatch laid on the ledge at the top of a gable wall where it reduces in width and on which the thatch was extended and supported.

Tocher (Scots): Eng: dowry.

Tower-house: a residential 'tower', reaching three or more stories in height usually, but not always, with a parapet at the wallhead.

Town house: town lodgings, usually of a laird, lord or merchant.

Township: *see* 'fermtoun'.

Transe: narrow outside passage between houses, can be covered (*see* 'pend'). Alternatively, 'trance'.

Turnpike: a spiral staircase.

Turret: a small tower, often containing a turnpike stair, attached to a house, usually a tower-house.

V

Voe: a bay (Orkney and Shetland).

W

Wadset: loan of money to landlord as interest owed as rent. Also, wadsetter: creditor holding land as a pledge.

Wall-walk: *see* 'parapet'.

Warden (of the Marches): officers formally appointed to keep order in the 'Marches' (*see* above) along the Anglo-Scottish border (14th–16th centuries).

Whig: a Scottish Presbyterian. Also, short form of 'whiggamore': one of the 7,000 Western Covenanters who marched on Edinburgh in 1648. *See* 'Covenanter'.

Williamite: relating to or supporting the cause of William of Orange (1689–1702) against the Jacobites. *See* 'Jacobite'.

Y

Yett: gate, usually constructed using iron bars to create a grille.

Bibliography

Abbreviations used in the bibliography

CBA	The Council for British Archaeology
DES	*Discovery and Excavation Scotland*
DSR	Data Structure Report
GUARD	Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division
HBNC	*History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JSAH	The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians [of Great Britain]
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMS	National Museums of Scotland
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments (England) (now English Heritage)
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RIAS	Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland
SAIR	Scottish Archaeological Internet Report
Scottish Studies	*Scottish Studies. The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh*
SCT	The Scottish Civic Trust
SHR	*The Scottish Historical Review*
SVBWG	Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group
TDGAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
THAS	*Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions*

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