To Travel by Older Ways:
A Historical-Cultural Geography
of Droving in Scotland

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2014

Abstract

Taking critical inspiration from A.R.B. Haldane's pioneering work on *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, this thesis explores the routes, movement and lively cultural geographies of Scotland's droving trade.[1] Tracing the journey of a typical drove from the Scottish Highlands, over dangerous river and sea crossings, to the great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff, this thesis examines the embodied intimacies, situated knowledges and mutual understandings developed between herdsmen and their cattle *en route*. In an effort to augment and enliven a longstanding, but frequently overlooked, 'shire' tradition of local landscape research, this thesis places specific emphasis on the personal encounters, skilled practices and cultural exchange which took place between herdsmen and other mobile social groups at key strategic sites such as drovers' inns, cattle stances and markets. Furthermore, I examine how agrarian 'improvement', the introduction of tolls and turnpikes, and the enclosure of drove routes and stance sites, confined and restricted the drovers' movement, transforming them from valued components of the Scottish economy into mobile 'outsiders' whose practices, customary privileges and association with animals rendered them increasingly 'out of place' in Scotland's 'modern' commercial landscape.

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[1] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.

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[1] All of the maps in this thesis are oriented north and each square covers an area of one kilometre by one kilometre. Drove routes are marked in blue.

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

<u>Declaration of Originality</u>

I declare that, except where indicated by referencing, this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature   …………………………………………………

Printed Name   …………………………………………………

Chapter One: Introduction

Little more than two hundred years ago, great herds of cattle, some stretching to over a mile in length, slowly meandered their way through the Scottish Highlands to livestock markets located in the centre and south of the country. These herds were accompanied by groups of men known as drovers, on to whom fell the day-to-day dangers, hardships and responsibilities of moving and tending to the cattle on their journeys.[1] While the roots of Scotland's cattle trade lie deep in the nation's history, it was not until the early-eighteenth century, following the political and economic integration of England and Scotland, that the large-scale movement of cattle along recognised routes to established markets (known as 'trysts') started to occur.[2] The basic logistics of this geography of transport require initial description. Reared for sale, these animals spent the first three or four years of their lives on small hill-farms in regions such as the Western Isles, Skye, Sutherland, Caithness, Ross-shire, Inverness-shire and Argyll, before being entrusted to, or purchased (on credit) by, drovers.[3] Once acquired, these cattle were driven, in daily stages of ten to twelve miles, along gravelled roads and cross-country hill tracks, to the central markets (known as 'trysts') at Crieff and Falkirk and numerous smaller markets throughout Scotland.[4] During long journeys, drovers faced numerous obstacles, including dangerous river and sea crossings, unpredictable weather conditions and the constant threat posed by cattle thieves – logistical challenges that could severely hinder the herd's progress. At the end of each day's journeying, the drove rested at nightly grazing sites known as 'stances', the selection of which was dictated by the availability of pasture and water, and by the limited daily distance which the cattle could reasonably cover without losing too much weight.[5] In addition to these stances, herdsmen also rested at drovers' inns, wayside hostelries where drovers encountered and interacted with a range of travellers including horsemen, carriers and tourists.

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[1] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, p.22.

[2] Ibid., p.3

[3] In his account of cattle fattening in Norfolk, Marshall [Marshall, W. (1787) *The Rural Economy of Norfolk: Comprising the Management of Landed Estates, and the Present Practice of Husbandry in that County*, Vol. I. London: T. Cadell, p.326] describes how beasts were often herded from the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles to the fertile grazing grounds of East Anglia at three or four years of age.

[4] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.36.

[5] Ibid.

For most Scottish herdsmen, the great trysts, held annually during the week of the Michaelmas Fair in early October, were the final destinations on their long journeys south.[6] Up until the 1770s, the primary cattle market in Scotland was held at Crieff. However, due to increasing costs of pasturage and growing demand from England, this market was gradually replaced by an alternative tryst at Falkirk.[7] Strategically positioned at the entrance to the Highlands and the intersection of drove routes from the Islands, Western Scotland, Sutherland and the Grampians, these markets were important sites of convergence, association and social interaction – carnivalesque occasions where Scottish drovers came into contact with dealers from the south and a broad assemblage of other mobile groups, including gypsies, itinerant entertainers, beggars and traders. After being sold at Falkirk and Crieff, most of the cattle were then herded or, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, transported by train to English markets such as Smithfield (in London), St Faith's (near Norwich), Newcastle and Carlisle, often changing hands several times along the way.[8] At its peak during the late 1820s, over one hundred and fifty thousand cattle were sold annually at the Falkirk Tryst, generating upwards of half a million pounds (the equivalent of over thirty million pounds in today's money).[9] Consequently, droving was a significant and highly valued component of the Scottish economy. However, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the arrival of the railways in Scotland led to a gradual decline in the volume of livestock sales at Falkirk, a trend which continued until the trade's eventual demise around the turn of the twentieth century.

These worlds of commodity and exchange, transport and travel, investment and return, loyalty and trust, may well seem very distant ones. Yet that judgement of distance would mistakenly push a commercial trade towards the economic and social margins when in fact it was pivotal to Scotland's rural and agricultural geographies, and the social lives within. Motivated by a desire to shed some light on this significant

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[6] Stirling, R. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Crieff, Vol. IX, pp. 583-602, p.596.

[7] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., 138-139.

[8] Ibid., p.168-186. Prior to arriving at these markets, many Scottish cattle were taken to fertile grazing grounds in Cumberland, Yorkshire and Norfolk to be fattened before sale [Gilpin, W. (1809) *Observations on Several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, p.84; Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.178].

[9] Bank of England Website – Inflation Calculator: http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/pages/inflation/calculator/flash/default.aspx, no date last modified, accessed on 20/10/13; Graham, P. (1812) *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire*. Edinburgh: G. and W. Nicol, p.334; *Stirling Journal*, 13th September 1827 and 11th October 1827.

chapter in Scotland's economic and social history, in 1952, the Scottish lawyer and author A.R.B. Haldane published what proved to be the authoritative book on the topic, *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, a detailed account of the routes, economics and logistical operation of Scotland's droving trade from its emergence in the sixteenth and seventeenth century through to its decline in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[10] Meticulous in his historical approach, Haldane provides a wealth of contextual, locational and statistical information, gathered from a range of primary sources, including court records, published tours, newspaper articles, specialist historical texts and statistical accounts. Accepting for its impressive scope, Haldane's study pays relatively little attention to the daily encounters, knowledges and experiences of the Scottish herdsmen, nor to the ordinary interactions that took place between drovers and their animals. Consequently, this thesis aims to provide textured insights into these overlooked aspects of the cattle trade in Scotland, always alert to the broader political and socio-economic climate in which it operated, building critically but appreciatively upon the pioneering work of Haldane, whose significance for this thesis spirals beyond being merely another scholar in the field. To engage with Haldane's scholarship is, by one measure, to 'stand on the shoulders of a giant'. All the same, it can be augmented and extended. By considering the liveliness of lives lived in this most geographical of trades, the thesis is an effort to compile a deepened understanding of four key aspects of Scottish droving.

Thesis Aims

The first aim of this thesis is to examine the embodied interaction and co-operative relationships forged between drovers and their animals, mutual 'understandings' that were essential to ensuring the drove's steady progress. Drawing on a collection of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century travellers' accounts and recorded interviews, I explore how close observation and embodied contact with animals allowed herdsmen to develop an intimate attunement to herd behaviour and detailed appreciation of the physical capabilities of individual beasts. In so doing, I argue that the ability to see and comprehend the world *through* the senses of their animals played a vital role in route planning, the negotiation of river and sea crossings and the development of

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[10] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

effective herding strategies. Furthermore, and taking heed of Chris Bear's recent call for geographers to pay greater attention to the agency and personalities of *individual* animals, this thesis also examines how cattle 'acted back', or against, their herding masters through activities such as straying and stampeding.[11]

The second aim of this thesis is to examine the social interactions which took place between herdsmen and other mobile groups on the drove. Here, I draw on several nineteenth-century travellers' accounts, newspaper articles and agricultural magazines to examine the vibrant social geographies of drovers' inns and cattle markets – important sites of convergence, consumption and cultural exchange where news, gossip and breeding knowledges could be shared and debated. Based on the recorded recollections of elderly drovers, this thesis also examines the skilled practices of bartering and livestock showing, activities which required manipulation, careful choreography and detailed understandings of bovine aesthetics and physiognomy. Furthermore, by examining the songs and poems of the great trysts, including the work of the drover bard Robert Mackay (commonly known as Robert Donn), I describe how cattle markets were important sites for the production and dissemination of droving folklore – stories, songs and poems which helped to influence and reinforce cultural understandings of the drovers and the markets that they attended.[12]

The third aim of this thesis is to explore and critique the contrasting ways in which drovers were socially constructed and represented by travellers and chroniclers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the one hand, I describe how writers such as Walter Scott and Robert Cunninghame-Graham often portrayed the drovers in romantic terms as 'hardy', honest and resourceful figures who epitomised "the virtues of a simple, healthy, active life in harmony with nature".[13] I argue here that these romantic representations helped to implicate the drovers in the positive self-definition

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[11] Bear, C. (2011) 'Being Angelica? Exploring Individual Animal Geographies', *Area*, 43, pp. 297-304, p.297.

[12] 'Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language, by Robert Mackay, the Celebrated bard of Lord Reay's Country; With a Memoir of the Author', *The Quarterly Review* (July 1831), 45, p.371-372.

[13] This quote was taken from Sarah Holloway's paper on Gypsy-Travellers [Holloway, S.L. (2003) 'Outsiders in Rural Society? Constructions of Rurality and Nature- Society Relations in the Racialisation of English Gypsy-Travellers, 1869- 1934', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp. 695-715, p.702]. Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth; Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable; Scott, W. (1827) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co.

of the nation, heralding them as embodiments of Scotland's resilience at a time of rapid social and economic change. Despite these positive associations, this thesis also examines how drovers were simultaneously commonly stigmatised as 'uncivilised' individuals whose 'rough' habits, 'immoral' behaviour and interaction with animals rendered them increasingly 'out of place' in Scotland's modern industrial economy.

The fourth and final aim of this thesis is to examine the socio-economic and technological processes that contributed to the demise of droving. Firstly, I describe how agricultural 'improvement' led to the enclosure of common land and drove routes, factors that constricted the drovers' movement and deprived them of their traditional rights to wayside pasture. Secondly, by examining court documents relating to road and stance closures, including a long-running legal dispute between groups of drovers and the Marquis of Breadalbane, I describe how changing legal attitudes towards private property rights, alongside a growing desire among proprietors and landowners to protect their estates for personal and commercial sporting interests, led to the drovers becoming increasingly restricted in their choice of routes and nightly grazing sites.[14] Thirdly, drawing on the published minutes of several protest meetings between groups of breeders, dealers and herdsmen, this thesis examines how the introduction and subsequent expansion of Scotland's toll road network (known as 'turnpikes') from the early-nineteenth century onwards impacted upon the route choices and finances of the Scottish drovers.[15] Fourthly, I consider the ways in which herd movement was increasingly hindered by Scotland's early road-building programme, entailing infrastructural 'improvements' which damaged the hooves of younger cattle, forcing the drovers onto softer cross-country routes. Furthermore, by allowing dealers to buy cattle directly from breeders in the Highlands, I describe how developments in Scotland's rail network (particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century) effectively removed the requirement for large-scale droving on foot – a significant factor in the trade's demise at the turn of the twentieth century.

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[14] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4). Papers in Action over Drove Stances at Inverouran and Suie (1843-1862), *The House of Lords Case of John Marquess of Breadalbane*.
[15] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 242-244.

Thesis Frames

In order to frame this thesis more conceptually, I draw on four identifiable bodies of academic literature. Firstly, I take inspiration from a rich tradition of local, site-based landscape scholarship. Arguably, this tradition is epitomised by the 'Shire Archaeology' book series, a collection of illustrated publications providing 'potted summaries' of overlooked landscape features and specialist historical topics such as dry-stone walls, hedgerows, bridle paths and forgotten villages. In particular, I draw on the work of Brian Hindle and Richard Muir, geographers who have published several books on the topic of ancient tracks over the past thirty years.[16] By bringing this research into critical dialogue with anthropologist Tim Ingold's recent work on weather and lines, which explores the embodied and sensual dimensions of landscape encounter, this thesis seeks to enliven and revitalise the 'shire' tradition.[17] Indeed, I wish to propose a genre of study that might be termed a revitalised 'shire cultures' approach, and to demonstrate the potentials of such an approach through the pages that follow in this thesis.

Secondly, this thesis is informed by recent geographical and anthropological research on human-animal interaction and 'hybridity'. Engagement with Chris Philo's work on nineteenth-century slaughterhouses and Sarah Whatmore's research on 'hybrid geographies' provides this thesis with an insight into the 'modern' impulse to separate human and non-human worlds – a desire to exclude animals from human spaces that underpinned some of the infrastructural 'improvements' and negative portrayals of drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[18] Furthermore, Whatmore's notion of 'nature-culture hybrids' serves as a useful theoretical perspective from which to examine and conceptualise the drove as a complex entanglement of human and animal lives which moved through and engaged with the Scottish landscape as a singular cohesive unit.[19] In an effort to examine the interaction and embodied intimacies between herdsmen and their beasts, this thesis draws on the herding

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[16] Hindle, B.P. (1982) *Medieval Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Muir, R. (2000) *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

[17] Ingold, T. (2005) 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather', *Visual Studies*, 20, pp. 97-104; Ingold, T. (2007) *Lines: A Brief History*. London: Routledge.

[18] Philo, C. (1995) 'Animals, Geography and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, pp. 655-681; Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

research of Pernille Gooch and Hayden Lorimer, work which considers the important role that herd animals play as "co-constituents in place-making and spatial formations".[20] Engagement with other assorted anthropological and geographical research on cattle breeding and shows also provides me with detailed insights into cultural understandings of the 'ideal beast' and the practical knowledges and skills required for successful stocksmanship, considerations vital to apprehending the working practices of Scottish drovers.[21]

Thirdly, this thesis draws on a growing body of literature on 'mobilities' that seeks to question bounded notions of identity and culture, foregrounding instead the "mobility (of people, of ideas, of things) as a geographical fact that lies at the centre of … the microgeographies of everyday life".[22] Of notable interest here is Tim Cresswell's research on tramps and Sarah Holloway's research on Gypsy-Travellers.[23] By examining the 'sedentarist' discourses, stereotypes and socio-economic processes which contributed to the exclusion of these mobile social groups, this research provides an insight into the contrasting portrayals and infrastructural improvements which started to affect the drovers from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Additionally, geographical scholarship on rhythm and routine, including David Seamon's humanistic work on 'body-ballets' and 'time-space routines', provides this thesis with useful conceptual insights into the sites, interaction and patterns of movement associated with the drove.[24] Moreover, this thesis is informed by recent

[19] Whatmore, S. (2002) op. cit.

[20] Gooch, P. (2008) 'Feet Following Hooves', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 67-80; Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 497-518; Sellick, J. and Yarwood, R. (2013) 'Placing Livestock in Landscape Studies: Pastures New or Out to Graze?', *Landscape Research*, 38, pp. 404-420, p.414.

[21] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) 'Livestock and Landscape' *Landscape Research*, 20, pp. 141-146; Grasseni, C. (2004) 'Skilled Vision: An Apprenticeship in Breeding Aesthetics', *Social Anthropology*, 12, pp. 41-55; Holloway, L. (2005) 'Aesthetics, Genetics, and Evaluating Animal Bodies: Locating and Displacing Cattle on Show and in Figures', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, pp. 883-902; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (1998) 'New Places for 'Old Spots': The Changing Geographies of Domestic Livestock Animals' *Society and Animals*, 6, pp. 137-165; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (2000) 'Taking Stock of Farm Animals and Rurality', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds.) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-114.

[22] Cresswell, T. (2011) 'Mobilities I: Catching Up', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, pp. 550-558, p.551.

[23] Cresswell, T. (2001) *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion; Holloway, S. (2003) op. cit.

[24] Edensor, T. (ed.) (2010) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Farnham: Ashgate; Mels, T. (2004) *Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms*. Aldershot: Ashgate; Seamon, D. (1979) *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter*. New York: St Martin's

work on the regulation and governance of mobility, ranging from inquiries into Norwegian tourist roads to studies of scenic highways in interwar Germany, all of which resonates with, and gives insight into, the legislative efforts of landowners and politicians (through the passing of numerous Acts of Parliament) to restrict and channel the movement of Scottish herdsmen.[25]

Fourthly, this thesis extends the work of geographers and legal scholars on enclosure. In particular, it draws on the historical snapshots and deeper scholarship of Michael Watts and Andy Wightman, respectively, both of whom highlight how the legal division and enclosure of common land (from the late-seventeenth century onwards) by landowners and proprietors led to the gradual erosion of drovers' customary rights to passage and pasturage.[26] Moreover, by examining the increasing trend towards commons enclosure and land privatisation, both authors provide an insight into the wider processes of capitalistic restructuring which transformed Scotland's agricultural economy from a collective system of land tenure wherein drovers enjoyed unrestricted access to wayside grazing, into a 'modern' system of commercial landownership in which nightly grazing and prescriptive rights of passage were increasingly regarded as privileges to be purchased – changes which removed droving practices from the realm of local custom "and embedded them [within] … the commodity economy".[27] Considering Don Mitchell's research on the ideology and socio-economic implications of anti-homeless legislation in U.S. cities illuminates the legislative efforts of governments and law-makers to exclude and restrict the movement of certain social groups, observations particularly relevant to the Scottish

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Press; Seamon, D. (1980) 'Body-Subject, Time-Space Routines, and Place-Ballets', in Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 148-165.

[25] Elvebakk, B. (2011) 'Roadside Aesthetics: Guidelines from the Norwegian Public Roads Administration', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 201-212; Larsen, J.K. (2011) 'Curating Views: The Norwegian Tourist Route Project', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 179-190; Zeller, T. (2011) 'Staging the Driving Experience: Parkways in Germany and the United States', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 125-138.

[26] Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64; Wightman, A. (2011) *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who Owns Scotland (And How They Got It)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

[27] Watts, M.J. (2004) op. cit., p.51.

drovers whose prescriptive rights of access were often obstructed by the restrictive actions of Highland landowners.[28]

Thesis Structure

In what follows, Chapter Two places droving within the aforementioned wider spheres of scholarly enquiry. Firstly, it brings the work of local historians and landscape scholars into critical correspondence with recent theoretical perspectives on the embodied and sensual dimensions of landscape encounter, heading towards claims about an enlivened 'shire cultures' approach to the likes of droving. Secondly, in an effort to gain insights into the movement, interaction and representation of herdsmen and their cattle, this chapter draws together disparate bodies of literature on animal geographies, hybrids, herding, breeding and livestock shows, before moving on to consider recent geographical work on mobilities and rhythm. Finally, in order to examine socio-economic processes which marginalised and restricted the movement of drovers, the chapter concludes with a discussion of scholarly work on enclosure and legal geographies.

Chapter Three outlines the numerous methods, sources and materials employed in this thesis. Firstly, it discusses the key methodological challenges of this thesis and different geographical traditions of archival scholarship that have informed my research. Secondly, it describes and explains the archives and collections that were consulted, including the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland and the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive – sources which provided details about the lives, routes and spatial practices of the drovers. Thirdly, it considers the range of official and published eyewitness accounts that were examined, materials that afforded new insights into the breeding practices, social interaction and wider socio-political environment in which droving operated. Fourthly, the chapter describes the utilisation of creative and non-textual sources, including maps, novels, guidebooks, songs, poems and a collection of droving-related images, as a means for examining the representation and experiences of Scottish herdsmen.

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[28] Mitchell, D. (1997) 'The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States', *Antipode*, 29, pp. 303-335.

Chapter Four provides 'geo-biographical' context to the study of droving by examining the life and work of A.R.B. Haldane, that Scottish lawyer, historian and landowner whose pioneering work on the Scottish droving trade was a key inspiration for this thesis.[29] Through a geographical biography, this chapter critically examines how aspects of Haldane's personal and professional life both enabled and impacted upon his droving research, before then considering the broader methodological and conceptual implications of Haldane's work for this thesis. One way of characterising this thesis, indeed, is as an effort to combine Haldane's characteristically 'dry' economic-historical reconstructions with the enlivened 'shire cultures' approach. Chapters Five through to Eight comprise the substantive body of the thesis, and in part are structured in an instructively 'geographical' manner, tracing the journey of a typical drove along traditional routes, across dangerous crossings, resting at stances and inns, and then arriving at the trysts and markets well to the south of the drove's Highland origins.

Chapter Five focuses on the wider structure of the droving trade, anatomising the routes, practices and movement of Scottish herdsmen. Drawing on tour diaries, recorded interviews, official records and photographic material, this chapter examines the routines, interactions and logistical operation of the drove and the illicit practice of cattle reiving – an activity that was carried out by drovers and 'cattle protectors' throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The chapter also explores how processes of infrastructural and capitalistic restructuring, including road 'improvements' and the introduction of turnpikes and tolls, impacted upon the drovers' customary rights to passage and wayside grazing.

Chapter Six examines the network of river and sea crossings that were negotiated by droves on their journeys through Scotland. Utilising evidence from a range of sources, including published eyewitness accounts, historical texts, magazines and droving photographs, this chapter explores the embodied practices of swimming, ferrying, fording and walking cattle over various bodies of water – activities which provide an insight into the skills and knowledges of the drovers and the working relationships forged between herdsmen and their animals. Furthermore, the chapter also assesses

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[29] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

the impact of infrastructural improvements to crossings for herd progress and route-making decisions.

Chapter Seven explores the social and strategic significance of drover's inns and cattle stances. Drawing on the oral testimony of drovers and the published accounts of writers such as Walter Scott and Robert Cunninghame-Graham, this chapter examines the cultural representations of Scottish herdsmen and the interaction that took place between drovers, their animals and other travelling groups at these nightly stop-offs.[30] Using the example of the Breadalbane Court Case, this chapter also examines how land enclosure, the growth of private property rights and the increasing tendency of Highland proprietors to protect their estates for hunting all restricted the availability of grazing sites and undermined the commercial viability of droving.

Chapter Eight follows the drovers to the great trysts and smaller cattle markets that marked the end-point of their journeying. Utilising a range of published travel narratives, official sources, songs, poems and newspaper articles, this chapter examines these markets as important sites of convergence, social interaction and cultural exchange that played a vital role in influencing and reinforcing popular understandings of the drovers. Additionally, drawing on agricultural magazines, breeding guidebooks and recorded interviews, this chapter examines the embodied practices of breeding and livestock showing as activities which required careful choreography and a detailed knowledge of bovine aesthetics and physiognomy.

The concluding chapter rehearses upon the findings and conceptual contributions of this thesis, and also reflects upon the 'afterlives' of droving. In so doing, I argue that the drovers were a marginal social group whose routes, prescriptive grazing rights and spaces of operation came under increasing threat from processes of agricultural and technological change, before offering some thoughts upon the broader theoretical contributions of this thesis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the lasting material and cultural influence of droving, noting ways in which the trade has been deployed by local communities and educational organisations as a valuable cultural asset.

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[30] Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) op. cit.; Scott, W. (1817) op. cit.; Scott, W. (1827) op. cit.

Chapter Two: A Drove Through Readings, Themes and Concepts

Droving was a complex, lively and highly embodied activity which depended on close working relationships between drovers and their cattle, and the utilisation of customary grazing and stance rights. However, as discussed in Chapter Four, there has been relatively little research into these integral aspects of the trade.[1] Most of the published material on droving is dry and dispassionate in tone, focussing primarily on the routes, sites and commercial operation of the trade. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the lifeworlds, practices and situated experiences of drovers, and the political and commercial landscape in which droving operated, this thesis takes critical inspiration from several spheres of geographical, anthropological and historical scholarship. By engaging with a rich tradition of site-based landscape research – an approach which is typified by the 'shire archaeology' book series – and enlivening it through a critical dialogue with Tim Ingold's work on landscape encounter and dwelling, the first section of this chapter creates a master narrative for the overall thesis, allowing me to account for, and gain deeper insights into, the sedimented traces, practices and situated experiences of Scottish herdsmen. In what follows, I examine how geographical and anthropological work on animals and nature-culture relations – research which asks questions about the moral status of animals and the modernist urge to separate human and non-human worlds – can be used to explore, and conceptually frame, the embodied and sensual interaction between drovers and their cattle. In the next section, I assess the growing body of scholarship on mobility – literature which focuses on the movement and representation of bodies and things across space – and its practical and theoretical implications for studying the lives, spatial practices and social constructions of Scottish drovers. The chapter concludes with an appraisal of how recent legal and critical geographical work on enclosure and 'common rights' can be brought to bear on the processes of socio-economic change and capitalist restructuring which confined and restricted the movement of drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[1] This chapter focuses primarily on situating droving within wider spheres of academic literature, some of which (particularly in the discussion on landscape) makes explicit reference to droving. In a later

Shire Cultures, Old and New

Landscape is a central concept of cultural geography, and the past ninety years have seen a number of different readings and trends. Prior to the mid-1970s, the field of Anglophone 'landscape studies' can be understood as one dominated by two figures.[2] The first, Carl Sauer, was a highly influential American geographer, credited by many as the founder of modern-day cultural geography. In his landmark paper, 'The Morphology of Landscape', Sauer describes landscape as a cultural entity – the "outcome of interactions between cultural and natural forces".[3] In so doing, he argues that 'cultural landscapes' are best studied through active fieldwork, examining the material shape, form and structure of a given landscape in order to reveal something of the human cultures that inhabited and created it.[4] The second figure, W.G. Hoskins, is well-known for detailed and wide-ranging contributions to local landscape history and fieldwork practice.[5] Like Sauer, Hoskins was a masterful interpreter of landscape, well respected for his ability to decipher "trace elements such as ancient roadways … remnant woodlands and water-meadows, the kind of physical evidence necessary to interpret and understand the formation of places in the past".[6] Central to Hoskins's research was the belief that 'active' fieldwork combined with meticulous archival scholarship were often the most effective tools in reconstructing narratives of and from the past – an approach which has inspired numerous local historians and landscape scholars over the past fifty years.

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chapter exploring the life and work of AR.B. Haldane, I examine the relatively limited range of published literature on droving.

[2] Aside from Sauer and Hoskins, geographers such as J.B. Jackson [Jackson, J.B. (1997 [1960]) *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press] and the historian-cum-archaeologist, Maurice Beresford [Beresford, M.W. (1954) *The Lost Villages of England*. London: Lutterworth Press; Beresford, M.W. (1967) *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*. London: Lutterworth Press; Beresford, M.W. (1971) *History on the Ground: Six Studies in Maps and Landscapes*. London: Methuen] made significant contributions to the field of landscape studies during the 1950s, 1960s and early-1970s.

[3] Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape*. London: Routledge, p.20. Sauer, C.O. (1925) 'The Morphology of Landscape', *University of California Publications in Geography*, 2, pp. 19-53.

[4] Wylie, J. (2007) op. cit., p.23.

[5] Hoskins, W.G. (1946) *The Heritage of Leicestershire*. Leicester: City of Leicester Publicist Department; Hoskins, W.G. (1949) *Midland England*. London: Batsford; Hoskins, W.G. (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*. London: Hodder and Stoughton; Hoskins, W.G. (1967) *Fieldwork in Local History*. London: Faber; Hoskins, W.G. (1973) *English Landscapes*. London: BBC.

[6] Lorimer, H. (2010a) 'Caught in the Nick of Time: Archives and Fieldwork', in DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M. and McDowell, L. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 248-273, p.262

Between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, a 'cultural turn' in Anglo-American human geography gave rise to a variety of innovative approaches to landscape scholarship.[7] Drawing on the conceptual work of post-colonial, post-structural and Marxist theorists, geographers began to conceptualise landscape "less as an external, physical object, or as a mixture of 'natural' and 'cultural' elements, and more as a particular, culturally specific way of seeing or representing the world".[8] The cultural turn also saw the introduction of varied forms of feminist thought and critique into landscape research. During this period, geographers such as Gillian Rose and Catherine Nash argued that we need to think more critically about the term 'landscape' and its symbolic and material gendering.[9] However, while it is important to acknowledge these diverse approaches, this thesis seeks to reinvigorate an earlier tradition of landscape scholarship, one that is largely disconnected from later theoretical developments in academic geography.

Amidst the tradition of English local landscape history inspired by landscape scholars such as Hoskins can be positioned the 'Shire Archaeology' book series, a collection of short publications providing 'potted summaries' of specialist historical topics and overlooked landscape features such as dry-stone walls, hedgerows, bridle paths and Medieval fields. Bringing together a diverse range of academics, local historians, archaeologists and other landscape enthusiasts, the 'Shire' series is driven by a desire to widen the scope of landscape research by 'filling in' "the gaps in published material, providing … paperbacks that reflect the interests and passions of ordinary people everywhere".[10] This popular, educational approach to exploring things-in-places and their associated histories cuts across several disciplinary boundaries,

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[7] For example, see: Cosgrove, D. (1984) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. London: Croom Helm; Cosgrove, D. (1985) 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10, pp. 45-62; Cosgrove, D. (1993) *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Leicester: Leicester University Press; Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (1988) 'Introduction: Iconography and Landscape', in Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-8; Daniels, S. (1989) 'Marxism, Culture and the Duplicity of Landscape', in Peet, R. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *New Models in Geography: The Political-Economy Perspective*, Vol. 2. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 196-220; Duncan, J. (1990) *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Duncan, J. and Duncan, N. (1988) '(Re)reading the Landscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6, pp. 117-126.
[8] Wylie, J. (2007) op. cit., p.13.
[9] Nash, C. (1996) 'Reclaiming Vision: Looking at Landscape and the Body', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 3, pp. 149-169; Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

resonating strongly with aspects of archaeology, history and geography.[11] Furthermore, the 'shire' approach has been remarkably resilient in its appeal, continuing, largely disconnected from prevailing trends in academic theory, for over fifty years.[12] This concern for local landscapes and neglected sites has been described by David Matless as a 'branch-line history', operating back and forth locally, resiliently maintaining its characteristics in spite of wider theoretical developments in academia.[13]

In keeping with this rural, site-based mode of landscape scholarship, the geographer Brian Hindle has written extensively about the topic of paths and ancient tracks.[14] Borne out of a personal interest in fell-running and an academic interest in old maps and Medieval history, Hindle's work offers a valuable contribution to the small, but growing, body of literature on historical roadways – lines of passage which have been "taken for granted … in virtually every historical study of Britain".[15] Motivated by a desire to share the riches of landscape research, Hindle's texts are often educational in form, providing a range of contextual information (including photographs, locational details and short histories) on each of his routes before advising the reader on how best to identify and interpret material remains 'on the ground'.[16] Of notable interest is his exploratory work on the *Roads and Tracks of the Lake District* in which he pays

[10] Shire Publications Website: http://www.shirebooks.co.uk/articles/about/, no date last modified. Accessed on 02/05/10.

[11] Aston, M. (1985) *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Local History*. London: B.T. Batsford; Beresford, M.W. (1954) op. cit.; Beresford, M.W. (1967) op. cit.; Crawford, O.G.S. (1928) *Air Survey and Archaeology*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Crawford, O.G.S. (1929) *Air Photography for Archaeologists*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Hindle, B.P. (1982) *Medieval Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Muir, R. (2000) *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

[12] According to the 'Shire Publications' website, the series was originally founded in 1962.

[13] Matless, D. (1993) 'One Man's England; W.G. Hoskins and the English Culture of Landscape', *Rural History*, 4, pp. 187-207, p.195.

[14] The topic of ancient tracks has also been the subject of several recreational guidebooks [Gray Kyd, J. (1958) *The Drove Roads and Bridle Paths Around Braemar*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Moir, D.G. (1947) *Scottish Hill Tracks: Old Highways and Drove Roads*, Vol. 2 (Northern Scotland). Edinburgh: Albyn; Smith, W.A. (1937) *Hill Paths in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace]. Hindle, B.P. (1976) 'The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, pp. 207-221; Hindle, B.P. (1978) 'Seasonal Variations in Travel in Medieval England', *Journal of Transport History*, 4, pp. 170-178; Hindle, B.P. (1982) op. cit.; Hindle, B.P. (1993) *Roads, Tracks and their Interpretation*. London: B.T. Batsford; Hindle, B.P. (1998) *Roads and Tracks of the Lake District*. Milnthorpe: Cicerone; Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (2011) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate.

[15] Hindle, B.P. (1998) op. cit., p.8.

[16] Hindle (ibid.) also notes that landscape research should not be "an elitist occupation undertaken by pedagogues in ivory towers".

specific attention to the droving trade.[17] Within this book, Hindle includes tips on how to trace old drove roads and identify strategic sites (including markets, inns and sea crossings). In so doing, he provides an insight into the physical characteristics of these routes and the numerous logistical factors which influenced the drovers' direction of travel. For example, he notes that, due to topographical constraints, many drove roads in the Lake District follow the line of pre-existing Roman and packhorse routes. Such information illustrates that, far from existing in isolation, drove roads were part of a wider network of historical routes and tracks meandering their way through the British landscape.

Hindle also makes special note of the logistical challenges faced by the drovers on their journeys through the Lake District, challenges that were also encountered by Scottish herdsmen. Considering the drove route between Ambleside and Appleby, he quotes an eighteenth-century petition complaining about the lack of bridges over the River Sprint:

> there is a water or rivulet … which by the violent and sudden rain there is often raised and overflows its banks so that no passenger dare venture to cross the same and many times the travellers are forced to stay two or three days before they dare venture to cross and are often in danger with their cattle being lost in the crossing.[18]

This account offers a powerful illustration of the dangers faced by drovers and their vulnerability to changing weather conditions, issues explored in greater detail in the later chapters of this thesis. In an effort to avoid these narrow crossings, Hindle suggests that drovers often diverted their routes to intersect with wider, less turbulent rivers where their cattle could be swum or waded – an activity which required herding skill and a detailed knowledge of their surrounding landscape (and its associated lines of passage). Later in the chapter, Hindle describes the practice of herding beasts across Morecambe Bay, an activity that also took place during the droving era in Scotland.[19] The inclusion of this information illustrates that, in addition to their

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[17] Hindle, B.P. (1998) op. cit.

[18] Ibid., p.114.

[19] Morecambe Bay is a four-mile wide tidal crossing located at the mouth of the River Kent, in southern Cumbria [Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Scale Landranger Map (2011) *Kendal and Morecambe: Windermere and Lancaster* (Sheet 97). Southampton: Ordnance Survey]. In the Outer Hebrides, the practice of herding cattle between the islands of Benbecula and North Uist continued until the middle of the twentieth century.

knowledge of terrestrial landscapes, drovers also required an understanding of tides and currents, and the ability to navigate without the aid of tracks.[20]

Aside from descriptions of drove routes, Hindle provides the reader with information on drovers' inns and cattle stances. In so doing, he draws on place names gathered from maps and local directories to establish the location of these overnight stop-offs.[21] In relation to this thesis, analysis of Gaelic place names provided me with vital clues about the routes travelled by drovers and the location of river and sea crossings, evidence which is often hard to obtain from more 'traditional' sources. Furthermore, Hindle devotes considerable attention to the identification and analysis of cattle markets, advising the reader on what to 'look out' for in the landscape surrounding these sites.[22] Consequently, by combining unorthodox sources such as telephone directories, with evidence from site-based research and local maps, Hindle's research techniques – much like my own – could be conceptualised as a 'make-do' methodology – the piecing together of diverse (and often partial) materials as a means for gaining insight into the routes and sites of travellers past.[23]

Elsewhere in the 'Shire' series, the amateur archaeologist Richard Bagshawe has written on *Roman Roads*. As with Hindle's research on Medieval and drove roads, Bagshawe's text is educational in approach, providing a wealth of information on topics such as road construction methods, archival and material evidence, and recommended sites for discovery.[24] Much of the book takes the form of an instruction manual, advising the reader on how best to trace and record the remains of Roman roads and identify the 'tell-tale' signs of previous Roman occupation. In so doing, he suggests that researchers should begin their research by scrutinising historical maps

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[20] These knowledges are the subject of Tristan Gooley's recent book [Gooley, T. (2010) *The Natural Navigator*. London: Virgin].

[21] Hindle [Hindle, B.P. (1998) op. cit.] suggests that pub names such as 'Black Bull', 'Caledonian', 'Highland Laddie', 'Tam O' Shanter' (a bonnet worn by drovers) and, unsurprisingly, 'The Drover's Rest' are good indicators of a former drovers' inn. With regards to cattle stances, he notes that names such as 'broad field' signify the existence of large areas of open pasturage, while other names such as 'half penny field' are a reference to the charge levied for grazing.

[22] Describing the remaining physical evidence of cattle fairs, Hindle [Hindle, B.P. (1998) op. cit., p.108] notes that: "The approach roads still have wide grassy verges".

[23] Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 497-518.

[24] Bagshawe's research on Roman roads was inspired by the earlier work of I.D. Margary [Margary, I.D. (1955) *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: John Baker]. Bagshawe, R.W. (1979) *Roman Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications.

'square by square', underlining names or markings that might be indicative of Roman settlement, before heading out 'into the field' to measure, photograph and excavate sections of road.[25] Methodologically, Bagshawe's archaeological materialist approach to landscape scholarship provides a useful illustration of how excavational evidence can be applied to a study of drove roads – an approach which is rarely discussed by historical geographers.[26]

Richard Muir, a political and landscape geographer whose work has 'spanned the gap' between academic and 'popular' geography, has written extensively about aspects of rural landscape history, including ancient roads. Muir's interests in routes and settlements stem from a desire for cultural stability at a time when "globalisation, the tyranny of economics over higher values and the phenomenon described by one geographer as 'time-space compression' magnify a longing for identity and roots".[27] Indeed, such yearnings for more settled pre-modern worlds can also be seen in the earlier work of geographers such as Paul Vidal De La Blache, Carl Sauer and W.G. Hoskins – a hankering for seemingly 'simpler', less turbulent times which characterises much of the literature on ancient tracks.[28]

Across his research career, Muir has published widely on topics such as fieldwork practice, regional landscape history, rural sites and landmarks and aerial photography.[29] His recent book, *Reading the Landscape*, is notable for devoting a

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[25] In particular, Bagshaw [Bagshawe, R.W. (1979) op. cit.] notes that names such as 'street', 'Coldharbour', 'Caldecot', 'Chester', 'Folly', 'ridgeway' and 'causeway' are often associated with Roman roads.

[26] The recent research of Donald Adamson (archaeology PhD student at Glasgow University) on cattle droving serves as a good example of how site visits and excavation evidence can be combined to provide useful insights into the practices and routes of Scottish herdsmen.

[27] Muir, R. (2000) op. cit., p.XIII.

[28] Writing in the early-1900s, Vidal de La Blache [Vidal de La Blache, P. (1903) *Tableau de la Géographie de la France*. Paris: Hachette] observed that "close study of what is fixed and permanent in the geographical conditions of France ought to be or to become more than ever our guide". Sauer, C.O. (1952) *Seeds, Spades, Hearths and Herds: The Domestication of Animals and Foodstuffs*. New York: American Geographical Society.

[29] Muir, R. (1980) *The English Village*. New York: Thames and Hudson; Muir, R. (1983) *History from the Air*. London: Michael Joseph; Muir, R. (1985) *Shell Guide to Reading the Celtic Landscapes*. London: Michael Joseph; Muir, R. (1986) *The Stones of Britain*. London: Michael Joseph; Muir, R. (1987) *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*. London: Joseph; Muir, R. (1990) *Castles and Strongholds*. London: Macmillan; Muir, R. (1991) *The Dales of Yorkshire: A Portrait*. London: Macmillan; Muir, R. (1992) *The Coastlines of Britain*. London: Macmillan; Muir, R. (1997) *The Yorkshire Countryside: A Landscape History*. Edinburgh: Keele University Press; Muir, R. (1999) *Approaches to Landscape*. London: Macmillan; Muir, R. (2000) op. cit.; Muir, R. (2001) *Landscape Detective: Discovering a Countryside*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press; Muir, R. (2007)

sizeable section to ancient 'Routeways'.[30] His rationale for including a chapter on ancient routes is clear: landscapes and settlements can only be understood by examining their associated lines of contact and relationship with other settlements. In an effort to shed some light on these routes, Muir provides a comprehensive history of British road travel, taking the Neolithic period as its starting point before moving onto 'Bronze-Age routes', 'Roman roads', 'Royal itineraries', 'Pilgrimages', 'Packhorse routes', 'Coffin roads', 'Drove roads' and nineteenth-century Turnpikes. His decision to do so serves as a useful reminder that the drovers were part of a broader assemblage of historical travellers whose lines of movement were imprinted in the British landscape – a point which is illustrated by the social interaction that took place between drovers and other groups of travellers at inns and markets (discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight of this thesis) throughout the droving period.[31] By way of summary, the 'shire' tradition of closely-read landscapes places greatest value on sedimented evidence, material and cartographic, that enables the patient observer to access the past.

In an effort to enliven this 'shire cultures' tradition of landscape research, this thesis takes critical inspiration from Tim Ingold's dwelling-based work on lines and weather, research which provides a deeper understanding of the embodied and sensual dimensions of landscape encounter. Drawing on the earlier scholarship of James Gibson, Ingold contends that life cannot be reduced to a collection of things that simply *occupy* the world.[32] The configuring of life in such a way creates an abstract and disembodied version of the world in which life is constrained to the Earth's surface. In contrast, Ingold suggests that "to inhabit the world is to live life in the open" – a world that is woven from the strands of things continually 'coming-into-

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How to Read a Village. London: Ebury; Muir, R. (2008) *Woods, Hedgerows and Leafy Lanes*. Stroud: Tempus; Muir, R. and Muir, N. (1986) *Rivers of Britain*. Exeter: Webb and Bower; Muir, R. and Muir, N. (1987) *Hedgerows*. London: Michael Joseph; Muir, R. and Muir, N. (1989) *Fields*. London: Macmillan.
[30] Muir, R. (2000) op. cit.
[31] As discussed in Chapter Seven, the interaction between groups of drovers and other travellers such as tourists, carriers and horsemen at drovers' inns and cattle markets was documented by writers such as Dorothy Wordsworth [Wordsworth, D. (1897) *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, Vol. II. London: Macmillan, pp. 65-67].
[32] Gibson, J.J. (1979) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. London: Houghton Mifflin; Ingold, T. (2008) 'Bindings Against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A*, 40, pp. 1796-1810.

being'.[33] Consequently, landscape is much more than the surface on which life happens. Instead, it should be imagined as a 'volatile medium' – something in which life exists, finds its purpose and, to an extent, creates its environments. Conceptualising the landscape in this way raises two important points with regards to Scottish drove roads. First, the fact that many drove routes are still visible confirms Ingold's contention that the movement of herdsmen and their cattle did not simply take place *on* or *across* the landscape surface, it was inscribed *into* it too.[34] Second, the continued presence of these incised routes illustrates that landscape surfaces are always changing – constantly being eroded by hooves and feet to form new surfaces.[35]

Exploring the link between mobility and landscape further, Ingold's recent work *Lines* provides a useful theoretical perspective from which to interpret the remaining traces of droving.[36] Ingold argues that lines in the landscape (such as drove routes) are essential to understanding how "living beings, both human and non-human inhabit the earth".[37] Furthermore, the fact that "the movement of social life is itself a movement *in* (not *on*) a landscape, and its fixed reference points are physically marked localities or 'sites'", demonstrates that, by considering the manner in which these routes and sites were inscribed (through an engagement with their material remains), it is possible to gain an insight into the lives and practices of the travellers who created them.[38] Ingold's is an appeal for a kinetic, animate understanding of landscape, an approach which resonates with recent phenomenological work in archaeology and has implications for the interpretation of droving relics in this thesis.[39] For example, a

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[33] Ingold, T. (2008) op. cit., p.1797.

[34] Remarking on the remaining traces of Scottish drove roads, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, p.32] noted that: "the characteristic marks of a drove road are very similar to those left by the passage of a stream, alternately flowing in broad shallows or narrow deeps and rapids".

[35] The concept of route making has also been explored by the artist Richard Long in his influential work *A Line Made by Walking* [Long, R. (1967) *A Line Made by Walking*] – a black and white photograph of a flattened strip of grass, formed by his continual movement back and forth across a field in Wiltshire. Long's artwork has also been examined by cultural geographers such as Tim Edensor [Edensor, T. (2000) 'Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape', *Body and Society*, 6, pp. 81-106 – particularly pp. 102-105] and Denis Cosgrove [Cosgrove, D. (1984) op. cit.].

[36] Ingold, T. (2007b) *Lines: A Brief History*. London: Routledge.

[37] Ibid., p.81.

[38] Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge, p.54.

[39] Tilley, C. (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg Publishers; Tilley, C (2004) *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*. Oxford: Berg Publishers; Tilley, C., Hamilton, S., Harrison, S. and Anderson, E. (2000) 'Nature, Culture, Clitter: Distinguishing Between Cultural and Geomorphological Landscapes; The Case of

stone, located at the crossing point between Skye and mainland Scotland (discussed in Chapter Six), is inscribed with the names of several herdsmen. By examining these carvings and the motivations of the drovers who chose to etch them, it is possible to gain an insight into the symbolic and strategic significance that they ascribed to this crossing.

Aside from physical remains, Ingold's remarks about lines and sites can also inflect interpretations of the cartographic evidence of droving. Throughout Scotland, in the landscape surrounding these drove routes, place names signpost the previous activities of the drovers. For example, 'Bannockburn' refers to the small stream where drovers halted to make their 'bannocks'. Elsewhere, Gaelic names such as 'Sgeir nan Laogh' (which translates into English as 'calf rock') refer to the practice of swimming cattle across the Kyle Rhea, between Skye and Kintail.[40] The continued existence of these place names serves as a powerful illustration of the ways in which the memory of "human activities become [etymologically] inscribed within a landscape".[41]

Ingold has also written influentially about the ways in which landscape and its associated weather conditions can influence our experiences of travel. Due to the amount of time spent out of doors, such considerations are particularly relevant to the Scottish drovers.[42] By way of illustration, Ingold includes the following description of a walk along the Aberdeen coast:

> I could … hear … the crashing waves … [and] felt the cold blast on my face, and – albeit without thinking about it – adjusted my posture and balance to counteract the force of the wind on my body.[43]

Hilltop Tors in South-West England', *Journal of Material Culture*, 5, pp. 197-224; Pearson, M. and Shanks, M. (2001) *Theatre/Archaeology*. London: Routledge; Bender, B., Hamilton, S., and Tilley, C. (2007) *Stone Worlds: Narrative and Reflexivity in Landscape Archaeology.* Walnut Creek: Left Coast.
[40] Maceachen, E (1922) *Maceachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary* (4th ed.). Inverness: The Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, p.263 and p.370.
[41] The use of place name evidence to study ancient roads (and their associated sites) has a long history in disciplines such as archaeology [Bagshawe, R.W. (1979) op. cit.], history [Crofton, J. and Ayto, I. (2005) *Brewer's Britain & Ireland: The History, Culture, Folklore and Etymology of 7500 Places in These Islands*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson] and geography [Darby, H.C. (1936) *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press]. Pearson, M. and Shanks, M. (2001) op. cit., p.138.
[42] Ingold, T. (2005) 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather', *Visual Studies*, 20, pp. 97-104; Ingold, T. (2007a) 'Earth, sky, wind, and weather', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13, pp. 19-38.
[43] Ingold, T. (2005) op. cit., p.103.

These observations highlight that movement through landscape necessarily involves a negotiation with the weather which, in turn, heavily influences our experience of that landscape.[44] Furthermore, as Ingold also notes, the "weather is dynamic, always unfolding, ever changing in its moods, currents, qualities of light and shade, and colours, alternately damp or dry, warm or cold".[45] As such, aside from the bodily sensations that weather can induce, weather is also responsible for changing the visual appearance of landscape. With this in mind, it is more appropriate to view mobility and landscape in tandem as 'mobile landscapes' where, instead of merely being the material backdrop for human and non-human interaction, landscape and its associated weather conditions become part of the actual experience of 'mobility'. Accepting for the limited archival and documentary evidence relating to the sensory and embodied aspects of droving life, these remarks still provide insights into how Scottish drovers experienced (and related to) their surrounding environment.[46] On a practical level, the dangers posed by swollen river crossings and exposed passes highlight that drovers were particularly vulnerable to changing weather conditions which could halt their progress and inform their route-making decisions. Consequently, drovers had to be sensitive to the 'weather world' and the ways in which it configured the Scottish landscape. When combined with the site-based research of 'shire' scholars such as Hindle and Muir, this work on embodiment and dwelling provides textured insights into the practices, experiences, memories, meanings and human-animal interaction attached to particular droving sites.

Animal and Hybrid Geographies

Since the mid-1990s renewed efforts have been made by geographers to 'bring the animals back in' to our understanding of place and space.[47] In 1995, *Environment and*

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[44] Geographers such as John Wylie [Wylie, J. (2002) 'An Essay on Ascending Glastonbury Tor', *Geoforum*, 33, pp. 441-454; Wylie, J. (2005) 'A Single Day's Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30, pp. 234-247; Wylie, J. (2006) 'Cultural Geographies in Practice: Smoothlands: Fragments/Landscapes/Fragments', *Cultural Geographies*, 13, pp. 458-465] and Hayden Lorimer [Lorimer, H., and Wylie, J. (2010) 'LOOP (a geography)', *Performance Research*, 15, pp. 4-11] have also explored the embodied and sensual dimensions of walking.

[45] Ingold, T. (2005) op. cit., p.103.

[46] In speculating about the embodied dimensions of travel, one has to be wary of the dangers of being overly-impressionistic. In so doing, it is important to recognise that the appearance, lines of sight and cultural perceptions of the Scottish landscape have changed considerably since the droving era.

[47] As argued by Philo [Philo, C. (1995) 'Animals, Geography and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, pp. 655-681] and Anderson [Anderson, K. (1997) 'A Walk on the Wild Side: A Critical Geography of Domestication', *Progress in*

Planning D published an influential theme issue on 'The World of Animals'. Criticising human geography for its 'anthropocentrism' and 'deafening silence' with regards to nonhuman animals, the guest editors argued for a 'new animal geography' that went "beyond taking animals as merely 'signifiers' of human endeavour and meaning".[48] In an effort to address this 'human chauvinism', Philo argued that animals should be configured as 'a marginal social group', enrolled in 'complex power relations' with their human counterparts.[49] To substantiate this argument empirically, specific attention is paid to moral debates surrounding the expansion of meat markets and slaughterhouses in Chicago and London during the nineteenth century. Here, the 'volatile mixing' of cattle and people led to a growing belief that "there was something deeply wrong, both distasteful and ludicrous, in allowing livestock animals to violate human space".[50] Making telling use of archival sources (including Acts of Parliament and official reports), Philo describes how the presence of Smithfield market in central London was often blamed for contributing to the locality's 'degeneracy'. By coming into contact with livestock animals, it was claimed that people living and working near Smithfield had become "debased, bestial in their habits, and strangely similar in disposition to the animals with which they shared their spaces" – concerns about the corrupting influence of human-animal cohabitation that can be detected in some of the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century travellers' accounts of droving.[51]

Human Geography, 21, pp. 463-485], the consideration of animals by geographers has a long history, particularly in the sub-fields of biogeography and domestication studies. Jones, O. (2000) '(Un)Ethical Geographies of Human-Non-Human Relations: Encounters, Collectives and Spaces', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 268-291; Matless, D. (2000) 'Version of Animal-Human: Broadland, c.1945-1970', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds.) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 115-140; Philo, C. (1995) op. cit.; Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (2000) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge; Philo, C. and Wolch, J. (1998) 'Through the Geographical Looking Glass: Space, Place, and Society-Animal Relations', *Society and Animals*, 6, pp. 103-118; Wolch, J. and Emel, J. (1998) *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*. London: Verso.

[48] Buller, H. (in press) 'Animal Geographies I', *Progress in Human Geography*, pp. 1-11, p.1. Wolch, J. and Emel, J. (1995) 'Bringing the Animals Back in', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, pp. 632-636, p.632.

[49] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit.; Philo, C. (1998) 'Animals, Geography and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions', in Wolch, J. and Emel, J. (eds.) *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*. London: Verso, pp. 51-71.

[50] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.667.

[51] For example, see Mitchell's [Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, pp. 219-220] account of the Sligachan market, discussed in Chapter Eight. Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.669.

Moral concerns about humans and animals occupying the same space can also be seen in medical and sanitary debates surrounding slaughterhouses in nineteenth-century British, European and North American cities.[52] In relation to England, Felix Driver describes how the growth of sanitary science and an awareness of public health issues from the 1820s onwards played an important role in shaping ideas about the relationship between urban structure and the incidence of disease.[53] Drawing on the 'miasmic' theory of disease diffusion (a belief that clouds of invisible atmospheric particles generated from the putrefaction of organic matter and human bodies were responsible for the spread of disease), early sanitary scientists argued that high population densities and 'noxious businesses' such as slaughterhouses were the principal cause of ill health in nineteenth-century English cities.[54] However, the sanitary movement was more than just a medical enterprise. For example, Philo notes that medical objections to city slaughterhouses often "spiralled beyond the sanitary discourse … to include aspects best described as moral".[55] As such, sanitary debates often focussed on 'moral miasmas' – the 'nuisance', 'public discomfort' and 'offence to the senses' that people residing near to the slaughterhouses were routinely subjected to.[56] Consequently, the conjoining of sanitary and moral complaints provided city reformers with a moral legitimacy for removing slaughterhouses from the city and limiting contact between humans and animals. In cities such as Paris and

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[52] For example, see: Brantz, D. (2008) 'Animal Bodies, Human Health, and the Reform of Slaughterhouses in Nineteenth-Century Berlin', in Lee, P.Y. (ed.) *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse*. Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, pp. 71-88; Corbin, A. (1986) *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination*. Leamington Spa: Berg; La Berge, A.F. (1992) *Mission and Method: The Early-nineteenth Century French Public Health Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Meyer, W.B. and Brown, M. (1989) 'Locational Conflict in a Nineteenth-Century City', *Political Geography Quarterly*, 8, pp. 107-122; Perren, R. (1975) 'The Meat and Livestock Trade in Britain, 1850-1870', *Economic History Review*, 28, pp. 385-400; Perren, R. (1978) *The Meat Trade in Britain, 1840-1914*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Perren, R. (2008) 'Filth and Profit, Disease and Health: Public and Private Impediments to Slaughterhouse Reform in Victorian Britain', in Lee, P.Y. (ed.) *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse*. Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, pp. 127-152; Wade, I.C. (1987) *Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown and Environs in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press; Walsh, M. (1982) *The Rise of the Midwestern Meat Packing Industry*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
[53] Driver, F. (1988) 'Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13, pp. 275-287, p.278.
[54] Ibid. Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.673.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Driver, F. (1988) op. cit., p.279. For further information about the moral and medical discourses associated with livestock animals in nineteenth-century European cities see: Atkins, P.J. (2012) 'Animal Wastes and Nuisances in Nineteenth-Century London', in Atkins, P.J. (ed.) *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 19-52; Barles, S. (2012) 'Undesirable Nature: Animals, Resources and Urban Nuisance in Nineteenth-Century Paris', in Atkins, P.J. (ed.) *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 173-188; Laxton, P. (2012) 'This Nefarious

London, human-animal separation was eventually achieved through the introduction of railways, the construction of which ensured that roads and highways could be reserved for human traffic.[57]

Influenced by prevailing moral and medical discourses about the supposed 'inconvenience' and sanitary dangers of allowing livestock animals to occupy (and travel through) city spaces, the practical measure of transporting cattle by rail would have a devastating impact on the droving trade. By allowing English dealers to purchase and transport cattle directly from the Highlands, the growth of Britain's rail network (particularly in Scotland) removed the requirement for droving on foot, contributing to the eventual demise of droving around the turn of the twentieth century.

Underpinning many of the moral and sanitary arguments for excluding animals from public spaces was a modernist desire to cleave the world apart into neat categories of human/non-human, nature/culture.[58] However, as Bruno Latour argues in his landmark text *We Have Never Been Modern*, the modernist project has consistently failed in its efforts to disentangle the hybrid networks of nature and culture which occupied pre-modern thought and, in practice, has arguably intensified and multiplied these 'hybrids'.[59] When viewed from this perspective, the mixing of humans and animals (particularly in public spaces) was regarded by many as an 'unnatural' and 'deeply distasteful' spectacle – a pre-modern intrusion which threatened to destabilise the modernist ideal of nature-culture separation. The urge to separate human and non-human worlds can certainly be detected in the arguments made by sanitary scientists and urban reformers to move slaughterhouses to 'isolated' locations on the city outskirts.[60] Consequently, by removing them from sites of human activity and returning them to the 'natural' environment in which they supposedly belonged, the

Traffic: Livestock and Public Health in Mid-Victorian Edinburgh', in Atkins, P.J. (ed.) *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 107-172. Driver, F. (1988) op. cit., p.279.

[57] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.669 and 673.

[58] Haraway, D. (1985) 'Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s', *Socialist Review*, 80, pp. 65-108; Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association; Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf; Philo, C. (2005) 'Spacing Lives and Lively Spaces: Partial Remarks on Sarah Whatmore's Hybrid Geographies', *Antipode*, 37, pp. 824-833; Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

[59] Latour, B. (1993) op. cit., pp. 10-12.

[60] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.673.

relocation of city abattoirs served to 'remoralise' livestock animals and their associated spaces of slaughter.[61]

The modernist desire to separate 'natural' and 'cultural' worlds also had implications for the Scottish drovers, particularly those who herded their cattle to urban markets in cities such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Newcastle and London.[62] In their respective discussions of cattle markets in London and Chicago, Scaggs, and Philo, describe how drovers were typically blamed for 'debased behaviour', overcrowding city streets and causing 'great inconvenience' to local residents and business owners.[63] In an effort to address these complaints, proposals were made by the London Metropolitan Police to restrict the driving of cattle through city streets to the hours between 7pm and 10am.[64] The restrictive action taken by London police, combined with the objections of local residents about moral and 'public inconvenience', serve as a useful illustration of how drovers were demonised and excluded from entering urban spaces. Furthermore, in his examination of evidence given to the *Select Committee on Smithfield Market*, Philo highlights the testimony of a Mrs Sinclair who "described a form of "pickaxe" which some drovers used "to keep [the animals] quiet in the market", and, she [also] stated there to be more cruelty associated with the city market than ever occurred at a country fair".[65] The modernist implication of this statement is clear – the herding and tending of cattle in urban locations, rather than the rural setting of the 'country fair', left the drovers labelled as 'morally corrupt' and 'bestial' in their habits.

The 'modern' obsession with categorical 'purification', as described by Latour, and the construction of artificial boundaries between humans and non-humans has been differently explored by Sarah Whatmore.[66] In her work on *Hybrid Geographies*, Whatmore argues that, despite the "conceptual orderings that humans place over the

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[61] Ibid., p.675.
[62] While the majority of Scottish drovers sold their cattle at Falkirk and Crieff, a small number of drovers herded their cattle directly to Smithfield in London.
[63] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., particularly pp. 670-671; Scaggs, J.M. (1986) *Prime Cut: Livestock Raising and Meatpacking in the United States, 1607-1983*. Texas: A and M University Press, pp. 45-46.
[64] Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.669.
[65] Ibid., p.670. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons Appointed to Inquire into the Necessity of the Removal of Smithfield Market* (1849), XIX [242]. Parliamentary Papers, p.277.
[66] Latour, B. (1993) op. cit., pp. 10-11. Whatmore, S. (1998) 'Wild(er)ness: Reconfiguring the Geographies of Wildlife', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23, pp. 435-454; Whatmore, S. (2002) op. cit.; Whatmore, S. (2005) 'Hybrid Geographies: Author's Responses and Reflections', *Antipode*, 37, pp. 842-845.

'chaos' of the world", 'things' will always 'kick back' or "as Latour puts it … object to their social enrolments".[67] In so doing, Whatmore appeals for a move beyond simplistic binary understandings of nature-culture relations to consider the myriad scramblings that comprise hybrid geographies. In Philo's words, this conceptual project is further unpacked: "networks of nature and culture, economics and politics, text and context, discourse, documents and devices, [that are] all so closely spun together".[68] The concept of 'hybrid geographies' provides a useful theoretical perspective from which to examine the Scottish droving trade and the embodied interaction which took place between drovers and their cattle. Indeed, the drove itself can be conceived as a 'nature-culture hybrid', a complex 'assemblage' of herdsmen, cows, dogs and ponies which moved through (and engaged with) the Scottish landscape as a cohesive unit.[69]

Drawing on the earlier work of Latour and Whatmore, geographer Ken Olwig describes how early strands of geographical thought helped to generate "a characteristically 'modern' dichotomy between society and its natural surroundings".[70] In so doing, he argues that Renaissance interpretations of *chorography* (a subdiscipline originating with the writings of Ptolemy the second-century Greek astronomer, mathematician and geographer), played an important role in both the development of landscape as a form of 'spatial representation' and the reconfiguration of Platonic binaries between 'celestial and terrestrial nature'.[71] However, despite these 'modern' Renaissance interpretations of chorographic

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[67] Philo, C. (2005) op. cit., p.825. Whatmore, S. (2002) op. cit., p.5. See also: Barad, K. (1998) 'Getting Real: Technoscientific Practices and the Materialization of Reality', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 10, pp. 87-128; Latour, B. (2000) 'When Things Strike Back', *British Journal of Sociology*, 51, pp. 107-123.
[68] Philo, C. (2005) op. cit., p.826.
[69] In their recent paper, Anderson and McFarlane [Anderson, B. and McFarlane, C. (2011) 'Assemblage and Geography', *Area*, 43, pp. 124-127] provide a detailed summary of 'assemblage', its multiple theoretical traditions and the various ways in which 'assemblage' is being used in contemporary geographical research. DeLanda, M. (2006) *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*. New York: Continuum; Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1986) *Kafka. Toward a Minor Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Latour, B. (1993) op. cit.; Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[70] Olwig, K. (2008a) 'Has 'Geography' Always been Modern?: *Choros*, (Non)Representation, Performance, and the Landscape', *Environment and Planning A*, 40, pp. 1843-1861, p.1843. See: Latour, B. (1993) op. cit.; Olwig, K. (2011) 'Choros, Chora and the Question of Landscape', in Daniels, S., Richardson, D., DeLyser, D. and Ketchum, J. (eds.) *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities*. London: Routledge, pp. 44-54; Whatmore, S. (2002) op. cit.
[71] Olwig, K. (2008a) op. cit., p.1843.

thought, Olwig asserts that geography has several "subaltern, 'nonmodern' chorographic strands that run counter to the … representation of geography as cosmography".[72]

Elaborating on this historical contention, he notes that the word 'chorography' derives from the Greek word *choros* or *chora*; a term which Derrida described as a 'political or invested place' closely linked with *agora*, the site where ancient Greeks gathered for markets and political exchange.[73] Continuing this line of etymological analysis, Olwig observes that 'agora' is closely associated to *aggregate*, where *ag* derives from *ageirein*, meaning 'to assemble', and *gregate* stems from the Greek word *greg*, meaning 'sheep'. Consequently, "Sheep, and related grazing animals, along with the herders who tend them, provided a natural social ideal in ancient Greek and Roman culture".[74] Elsewhere, Olwig describes how sheep and shepherds occupy a prominent position in the Old and New Testaments, as illustrated by the casting of Jesus as a 'shepherd of men' and the designation of priests as 'pastors' (a Latin word meaning to 'pasture' or 'graze').[75] Olwig argues that this 'pastoral' notion of nature where the "landscape [is] made beautiful, and natural, through the intervention of moving flocks of tame sheep", played an important role in shaping our understanding of landscape and nature prior to the industrial revolution.[76] Indeed, such notions stand in stark contrast to popular configurations of nature as a 'dehumanised wilderness', devoid of cultural influence.[77] This pre-industrial notion of a 'living landscape' has real ramifications for how one can conceptualise the cultural figure of the drover. As with the shepherds during Greek and Roman times, the daily practices of drovers and their cattle (particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth century) were responsible for animating and giving meaning to the 'natural' landscape. When viewed from this perspective, the pastoral landscape was a classic non-modern hybrid consisting of human (drovers and shepherds) and non-human (sheep and cattle) actors.

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Derrida, J. (1997) 'Chora', in Lesser, T. and Kipnis, J. (eds.) *Chora L Works*. New York: Monacelli Press, pp. 14-31, p.23.
[74] Olwig, K. (2008a) op. cit., p.1851.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] The conceptualisation of nature as 'wilderness' can be seen in recent debates surrounding 'natural heritage' [Hall, C.M. (1992) *Wasteland to World Heritage: Preserving Australia's Wilderness*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press].

Aside from research on chorography, Olwig has also explored the historical relationship between herding and landscape attachment. Drawing from John Gray's ethnographic research on Scottish hill farms, Olwig describes the process whereby sheep, in their cyclical course from meadow to meadow, gradually become attached to particular grazing spots and to each other – a form of acclimatisation commonly referred to as *hefting*.[78] Through the course of time, the concept of *hefting* was gradually transferred to humans to signify their sense of belonging or attachment to a particular place. Consequently, the spatial practices of sheep are integral to some cultural understandings of landscape and 'dwelling'.[79] As with the *hefting* of sheep, the historical movement of cattle has also been figuratively inscribed within rural landscapes – a point which I examine further in the empirical chapters of this thesis. By way of summary, this work on the moral status of animals, hybridity and nature-culture relations provides an insight into the 'modern' desire to separate human and animal worlds, and the ways in which animal movement has informed cultural understandings of landscape – ideas that are key to exploring the interaction, symbolic significance and popular representation of droving.

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[78] Gray, J. (1999) 'Open Spaces and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders', *American Ethnologist*, 26, pp. 440-460; Olwig, K. (2008b) 'Performing on the Landscape versus Doing Landscape: Perambulatory Practice, Sight and the Sense of Belonging', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 81-92.

[79] Not all historical societies were sheep herders, so the cultural associations between sheep herding and landscape attachment cannot be universalised. Drawing on the phenomenological philosophy of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty [Heidegger, M. (1971) 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking', in Heidegger, M. *Poetry, Language, Thought*. London: Harper and Row, pp. 141-160; Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) *The Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul], the 'dwelling perspective' was developed by Ingold in a series of publications throughout the 1990s and early 2000s [Ingold, T. (1993) 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology*, 25, pp. 152-174; Ingold, T. (2000) op. cit.] as "a way to overcome the entrenched division between the 'two worlds' of nature and society, and to re-embed human being and becoming within the continuum of the lifeworld" [Ingold, T. (2011) *Being Alive. Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Routledge, p.4]. Based on the understanding that "It is [only] through being inhabited that the world becomes a meaningful environment" [Ingold, T. (2000) op. cit., p.173], Ingold describes 'dwelling' as a practical activity, the ongoing process by which humans and animals engage with their material environment. The concept of 'dwelling' has also been explored by geographers such as Edward Relph [Relph, E. (1985) 'Geographical Experiences and Being-in-the-World: The Phenomenological Origins of Geography', in Seamon, D. and Mugerauer, R. (eds.) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Lancaster: Marinus Nijhoff, pp. 15-32] and David Seamon [Seamon, D. and Mugerauer, R. (1985) *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Lancaster: Marinus Nijhoff].

Herding Cultures

The interaction between humans and animals has also been explored in recent anthropological work on herding cultures.[80] Based on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken with Van Gujjar buffalo herders in the Himalayas, Gooch provides a detailed account of herd movement.[81] In so doing, she observes that the progress of the herd is generally 'slow and steady', with buffalo walking 'at their own pace', occasionally stopping to consume the foliage nearby. These remarks can also be applied to cattle during the droving era, illustrating that they were active (and semi-independent) agents in the drove that could not be rushed. Furthermore, Gooch describes how herders need to 'think like their animals' in order to identify suitable fodder and areas of forest for their buffalo to eat. Such considerations were equally relevant for the drovers who had to ensure that their beasts passed along routes with regular wayside grazing – considerations which enabled them to attain "a shared world-view, whereby the world … [could begin to be] perceived through the senses of the animals".[82] Consequently, the lives and daily experiences of the drovers were largely governed by (and organised around) the requirements of their cattle, something that clearly influenced how they understood and related to the Scottish landscape.

The embodied and sensual dimensions of animal herding have also been examined by geographers. Hayden Lorimer focuses on the 'entwined biographies' of a herd of reindeer, exploring their situated understandings of and interactions with landscape, fellow herd members and human mentors following a project of reintroduction to the Cairngorm mountains in 1952.[83] He describes how, through careful studied observation, herders were able to produce pictorial representations of individual animals to enable their identification at a distance, something that could only be achieved through a detailed appreciation of their form and characteristic styles of

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[80] Gooch, P. (1998) *At the Tail of the Buffalo: Van Gujjar Pastoralists Between the Forest and the World Arena*. Lund: Lund Monographs in Social Anthropology; Gooch, P. (2004) 'Van Gujjars: The Persistent Forest Pastoralists', *Nomadic Peoples*, 8, pp. 125-135; Gooch, P. (2008) 'Feet Following Hooves', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 67-80.
[81] Gooch, P. (2008) op. cit.
[82] Gooch, P. (2008) op. cit., p.73.
[83] Lorimer, H. (2006) op. cit.

movement.[84] Indeed, the skills of visual recognition displayed by these herders would have also been possessed by the drovers – an ability to differentiate between individual members of a herd that could only be obtained through sustained daily contact and co-presence. Combined with this 'eye for an animal', 'picking out' individual animals from a distance also required 'an eye for the ground' to distinguish between physical features in the landscape and the physical outline of a herd member.[85] These skills were relevant for the drover, whose daily progress and choice of routes was influenced by a knowledge of the terrain and the condition of their animals – information that could only be gathered through detailed visual assessment.[86] In addition to the visual relationship between herder and animal, Lorimer also describes the various ways in which the reindeers interacted with one another. Particular attention is given to the role ascribed to charismatic animals, noting how the responsibility for leading the herd often fell to the ox reindeer.[87] Such considerations were similarly important for the drovers, whose progress would have been dependent upon the strength and authority of the lead animals.

Beyond interactions between humans and fellow herd members, Lorimer also explores the ways in which reindeer interacted with their surrounding landscape, describing how the animals are able to 'root out' areas of edible vegetation among the rough terrain such that patterns of movement were governed "by the growth of woody plants, grasses, and sedges".[88] Such perceptive environmental skills were comparably important for the Scottish cattle, that had to identify patches of grass and shrubbery on the side of the drove road to sustain themselves *en route*, the existence of which influenced their decision to stray and wander from the herd.[89] Lorimer also reveals that herd animals' engagement with their surroundings can be understood through an appreciation of the physical traces that they leave behind, where regular passage creates "narrow paths, like terraces, [which] can be seen on the steeper slopes that

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[84] Ibid., p.505.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Such skills would have also been useful for identifying straying beasts.
[87] Lorimer, H. (2006) op. cit., p.498.
[88] It is important to acknowledge that, unlike the reindeer in Lorimer's study, the Scottish cattle would not have possessed any prior knowledge of the landscape through which they were herded. Indeed, it is unlikely that many would have travelled far from the area in which they were reared. Lorimer, H. (2006) op. cit., p.498.
[89] Due to the poor soils which characterise much of the Highlands (the region where most droving cattle were reared), the cows would have been well-accustomed to identifying patches of edible vegetation among the scrub and heather.

lead to the grazing grounds".[90] As such, it is clear that such material traces, just like the marks left by Scottish cattle, can be regarded as behavioural artefacts – physical memories of 'route-making' that provide valuable clues about the rationale behind particular patterns of movement. By closely examining these characteristic marks, Lorimer observes that it is possible to "see how the animal next in line always tries to use the same compressed imprint to conserve energy or as an aid to steady passage".[91] This much is true for cattle, whose remaining tracks often appear as a series of 'narrow grooves' caused by animals following the line of previous droves.[92] Focussing primarily on the embodied and sensual dimensions of herding practice, this work provides textured insights into the close relationships and mutual understandings forged between herders and their animals.

Breeding and Showing

Within the literature on human-animal interaction and 'animal geographies', is a small body of work focusing specifically on breeding and livestock showing, skills that would have essential to the Scottish drovers. Geographers such as Lewis Holloway have discussed the relationships formed between herders and their animals on farms.[93] In research examining practices of hobby-farming, he observes that owner-farmers commonly ascribe livestock with an individual agency, an ability to 'act-back' against their human masters. For example, one hobby-farmer recounts "how her goats would refuse to get up to be milked if she came into the barn earlier than usual ('they look at me to say 'we ain't getting up at this time in the morning …')".[94] The individual character displayed by these goats can also be read across to cattle during the droving era, an expression of animal agency that was often articulated through straying.[95] These remarks correspond with Chris Bear's call for geographers to move away from

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[90] Lorimer, H. (2006) op. cit., p.499.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.32.
[93] Holloway, L. (2001) 'Pets and Protein: Placing Domestic Livestock Animals on Hobby-Farms in England and Wales', *Journal of Rural Studies*,17, pp. 293-307; Holloway, L. (2002) 'Smallholding, Hobby-Farming, and Commercial Farming: Ethical Identities and the Production of Farming Spaces', *Environment and Planning A*, 34, pp. 2055-2070.
[94] Holloway, L. (2001) op. cit., p.300.
[95] Writers such as Rosamund Young [Young, R. (2003) *The Secret Life of Cows*. Preston: Farming Books and Videos] and Temple Grandin [Grandin, T. (1995) *Thinking in Pictures: And Other Reports from My Life with Autism*. New York: Doubleday, particularly pp. 167-183] have written about cow

collective understandings of animals as 'herds' and 'species' and pay greater attention to the lived experiences of individual animals.[96]

In addition to matters of animal agency, Holloway discusses the emotional connections felt *between* farmers and their livestock.[97] He describes how some interviewees would name and form friendships with particular animals, often allowing them to participate in human activities such as 'going for a walk.[98] Comparably, it is also possible to infer that drovers became emotionally attached to their cattle on their long journeys through Scotland – feelings of companionship and affection rarely mentioned (but occasionally implied) in documentary and oral accounts of the droving trade. However, as Holloway warns:

> While … an animal can be represented as a friend, this is clearly a human interpretation of the relationship … such relations are constructed through practice and discourse in which animals are very much unequal partners, being owned … and managed by humans.[99]

Consequently, despite any bonds of association or attachment formed on the drove, it is important to acknowledge that this interaction took place in a regulated and commercial space where the herders wielded significant control over their bovine charges – a point that was also emphasised by Yi Fu Tuan in his critical work on pets.[100] Furthermore, in exploring the death and consumption of livestock animals, Holloway observes that, while the bodies of dead animals were often objectified as 'economic products', some of his informants expressed feelings of sadness and unease about their slaughter. Such comments can also be applied to the drovers who, after spending several weeks herding and tending to their animals, were at the same time fully aware of the fact that they were marching the cattle to their death; a realisation

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behaviour and the ways in which individual animals relate to one another and their surrounding environment.

[96] This corresponds with Owain Jones's [Jones, O. (2009) 'Close to: on the Embodied, Emplaced (and thus) Geographical Becomings of Animals', unpublished paper, p.11] contention that, geographers have to be open to the "possibility of thinking of them [animals] not as a unit of species, but rather as unique individuals in particular". Bear, C. (2011) 'Being Angelica? Exploring Individual Animal Geographies', *Area*, 43, pp. 297-304, p.297.

[97] Hollway, L. (2001) op. cit.

[98] Ibid., p.300.

[99] Ibid., p.305.

[100] Tuan, Y-F. (1984) *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets*. Newhaven, CA: Yale University Press.

that was likely unsettling (and perhaps even upsetting) for some of the more emotionally literate herdsmen.[101]

As well as the scholarship on herding and tending, geographers have examined the cultural importance and symbolic status afforded to particular breeds of animal.[102] Richard Yarwood and Nick Evans describe how livestock breeds are often strongly associated with particular places, and that animals are bred "as the best available compromise between the economic and environmental demands of specific regions".[103] This was particularly true of droving animals such as the Kyloe and West Highland breeds that were bred so as to withstand the harsh climate and poor feeding conditions of north-west Scotland, characteristics which also made them well-suited for herding.[104] With the passage of time, the continued growth of the droving trade led to an increased prevalence of Kyloe and West Highland breeds in parts of northern Scotland, resulting in their eventual association with this region. Consequently, "these cattle, like field boundaries, settlement morphology, and defences are a significant aspect of the Celtic landscape" – living expressions of regional environmental difference and local herding histories.[105]

Yarwood and Evans also describe how, throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European colonists exported large numbers of livestock animals (including Scottish cattle) to regions such as Australia, South America and the United States.[106] As such, aside from their original regional associations, the spatial

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[101] Unlike Holloway's 'hobby-farmers', the Scottish drovers were rarely, if ever, involved with the slaughtering of their cattle. In most cases, these cattle were sold to dealers in Falkirk and Crieff before being transported to England.
[102] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) 'Livestock and Landscape' *Landscape Research*, 20, pp. 141-146; Yarwood, R. (1999) 'The Changing Geography of Rare Livestock Breeds in Britain' *Geography*, 84, pp. 80-87; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (1998) 'New Places for 'Old Spots': The Changing Geographies of Domestic Livestock Animals' *Society and Animals*, 6, pp. 137-165; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (2000) 'Taking Stock of Farm Animals and Rurality', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds.) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-114; Yarwood, R., Evans, N. and Higginbottom, J. (1997) 'The Contemporary Geography of Indigenous Irish Livestock' *Irish Geography*, 30, pp. 17-30; Yarwood, R., Tonts, M. and Jones, R. (2010) 'The Historical Geographies of Showing Livestock: A Case Study of the Perth Royal Show, Western Australia' *Geographical Research*, 48, pp. 235-248.
[103] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) op. cit., p.141.
[104] These observations correspond with Yarwood and Evans's [Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (1998) op. cit., p.146] later contention that "Explanations for the location of livestock animals have traditionally centred around a breed's ability to thrive in local climatic conditions".
[105] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) op. cit., p.142.
[106] Ibid.

distribution of these animals serves as an illustration of European cultural hegemony and the agri-cultural influence of colonialism.[107] Furthermore, while colonialism and agricultural improvement often created and extended associations between particular places and livestock breeds, the growth of selective breeding during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was also responsible for destroying them.[108] In relation to droving, the preference for hardy breeds of cattle that could be easily fattened, over larger, less profitable beasts, likely led to a reduction in the diversity of breeds in parts of the Highlands.

Beyond geographical research, work by anthropologists such as Christina Grasseni provides insights into the interaction between breeders and their animals.[109] Borne out of ethnographic fieldwork with dairy farmers in northern Italy, Grasseni explains how the practice of displaying and breeding requires 'an apprenticeship of skilled vision' where specific ideas about 'animal beauty' are learned and reinforced through tending to one's animals and participating in social gatherings such as cattle fairs. Drawing on the earlier work of Ingold, Grasseni outlines the various modes of 'enskilment' by which herders learn to identify favourable bovine characteristics.[110] In so doing, she notes that an 'apprenticeship of the eye' takes place from a young age where "breeder's children indulge in games such as that of cow spotting … recognising cows and calling them each by their name".[111] Consequently, visual assessment is a life-learned skill of animal husbandry that can only be obtained through prolonged contact with the animals. Grasseni's observations are also relevant to the Scottish context where drovers were often accompanied by young boys on their journeys through Scotland. Furthermore, Grasseni contends that visual recognition is a mutual

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[107] The link between colonialism and animals was also hinted at by Donkin during the mid-1980s. In his work on the peccary, he described how "Pigs … possessed pioneer qualities admirably suited to an age of exploration and colonization" because they "were omnivorous and, like the *conquistadors* themselves, hardy, mobile and physically adaptable" [Donkin, R.A. (1985) *The Peccary: With Observations on the Introduction of pigs to the New World*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, p.41]. Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) op. cit., p.142.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Grasseni, C. (2003) 'Packaging Skills: Calibrating Italian Cheese to the Global Market', in Strasser, S. (ed.) *Commodifying Everything. Consumption and Capitalist Enterprise*. London: Routledge, pp. 341-381; Grasseni, C. (2004a) 'Skilled Vision: An Apprenticeship in Breeding Aesthetics', *Social Anthropology*, 12, pp. 41-55; Grasseni, C. (2004b) 'Video and Ethnographic Knowledge: Skilled Vision in the Practice of Breeding', in Pink, S., Kurti, L. and Alfonso, A.I. (eds) *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*. London: Routledge, pp. 12-27; Grasseni, C. (2005) 'Designer Cows: The Practice of Cattle Breeding Between Skill and Standardization', *Society and Animals*, 13, pp. 33-49.
[110] Ingold, T. (1993) op. cit.

process where cattle will also acknowledge the presence of the breeder. These observations correspond with the earlier findings of geographers such as Bennett, Cansdale and Donkin who contend that early domestication was a two-way process, dependent upon the co-operation and "psycho-biological make-up of the animal species in question".[112] This recognition of animal agency was particularly important for the drovers whose progress was predicated upon the willingness of their beasts to co-operate.

Grasseni also argues that particular ideas about the 'perfect beast' are constructed and formalised through practitioner communities, and will often vary depending on the locality, social context and the intended use of the cattle. For example, she describes how, in traditional mountain farming communities, dairy cows were often used as 'all-round farm animals' rather than 'milk-machines'.[113] Consequently, the 'lean lowland Friesians' with large udders and brittle bones would "not be suited to climbing up mountain paths, let alone carrying or towing loads".[114] As such, it is clear that local understandings of the 'ideal animal' are heavily informed by the surrounding landscape and the suitability of animals to carry out particular tasks. In much the same way, the choice of breed favoured by Scottish herdsmen was influenced by the animal's ability to traverse mountainous terrain without losing too much weight.

In addition to work on breeding, research by geographers and anthropologists shares an interest in the importance of 'skilled vision' at cattle shows.[115] Outlining the craft

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[111] Grasseni, C. (2004a) op. cit., p.42.

[112] The acknowledgement that domestication was more closely related to the 'psychological fitness' of particular species of animals contrasts sharply with the earlier view of geographers such as Anderson [Anderson, M.S. (1951) *Geography of Living Things*. London: English Universities Press] and Sauer [Sauer, C.O. (1952) op. cit.] that domestication was mainly determined by the socio-economic demands of humans. For further information, see: Bennett, C.F. (1960) 'Cultural Animal Geography: An Inviting field of Research', *Professional Geographer*, 12, pp. 12-14; Cansdale, G.S. (1951a) 'Animals and Man II: Domestication – providers of food and Clothing', *Geographical Magazine*, 23, pp. 390-399; Cansdale, G.S. (1951b) 'Animals and Man III: Domestication – Transport Animals, Pets and Allies', *Geographical Magazine*, 23, pp. 524-534; Donkin, R.A. (1985) op. cit.; Donkin, R.A. (1989) *The Muscovy Duck, Cairina Moschata Domestica: Origins, Dispersal and Associated Aspects of the Geography of Domestication*. Rotterdam: A.A. Balkema; Donkin, R.A. (1991) *Meleagrides: An Historical and Ethnogeographical Study of the Guinea Fowl*. London: Ethnographical Ltd. Donkin, R.A. (1989) op. cit., p.16.

[113] Grasseni, C. (2004a) op. cit., p.45.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Anderson, K. (2003) 'White Natures: Sydney's Royal Agricultural Show in Post-Humanist Perspective', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, pp. 422-441; Holloway, L.

of preparing animals for show, Grasseni describes how "cows are paraded freshly washed, shaven and hair-dried … Breeders crop the cow's hair along the spine so that her straight back will show from afar".[116] Consequently, cattle showing is a skilled activity which requires an aesthetic understanding of wider perceptions of bovine 'beauty' and an ability to manipulate the gaze of prospective buyers – skills that were similarly essential for drovers attending the great markets at Falkirk and Crieff. However, as Holloway also observes, visual assessment is about more than surface aesthetics – successful herders need to look beyond the animal's pampered exterior "to see what is under the skin … [in order to determine] the difference between real quality and show condition", and identify beasts with a high concentration of fleshing in those body parts with the greatest economic value.[117] Consequently, as with contemporary cattle breeders, it is clear that the Scottish drovers would have possessed a strong sense of their animals' 'interior geographies' and the various physiological qualities of flesh, fat, muscle, and taste that were most valued by dealers.[118] Furthermore, as Ufkes observes in his work on post-1976 U.S. meat consumption, the task of supplying beasts for market requires an understanding of changing consumer tastes, a factor which also had to be taken into account by the drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[119] In summary, this work on breeding and livestock handling places greatest emphasis on the embodied skills and knowledges of herdsmen, and the aesthetic principles of livestock evaluation –

(2004) 'Showing and Telling Farming: Agricultural Shows and Re-imaging British Agriculture', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, pp. 319-330; Holloway, L. (2005) 'Aesthetics, Genetics, and Evaluating Animal Bodies: Locating and Displacing Cattle on Show and in Figures', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, pp. 883-902; Yarwood, Tonts and Jones (2010) op. cit.

[116] Grasseni, C. (2004a) op. cit., p.50.

[117] In her recent book, Catherine Johns [Johns, C. (2011) *Cattle: History, Myth, Art*. London: British Museum] provides a fascinating history of the cultural status, representation and aesthetic appeal of cattle in art, mythology and religion – cultural discourses that both informed and reflected popular notions of 'animal beauty' and desirable bovine characteristics. As Ritvo [Ritvo, H. (1987) *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press] and Walton [Walton, J. (1986) 'Pedigree and the National Cattle Herd Circa 1750-1950', *Agricultural History Review*, 34, pp. 149-170] observe, notions of breed, pedigree and aesthetics played a vital role in animal evaluation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – factors that were used as indicators of the value and status of individual beasts. Holloway, L. (2005) op. cit., p.889.

[118] Grosz [Grosz, E. (1993) 'Bodies and Knowledges: Feminism and the Crisis of Reason', in Alcoff, L. and Potter, E. (eds.) *Feminist Epistomologies*. London: Routledge, pp. 187-215] and Longhurst [Longhurst, R. (2001) *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries*. London: Routledge] argue that considerations of bodies "should include their messy interior corporeality" [Holloway, L. (2005) op. cit., p.884] as well as their surfaces. Ufkes, F.M. (1998) 'Building a Better Pig: Fat Profits in Lean Meat', in Wolch, J. and Emel, J. (eds.) *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*. London: Verso, pp. 241-255, p.241.

[119] Ufkes, F.M. (1998) op. cit., p.249.

considerations that are vital to understanding how the drovers interacted with and presented their cattle.

Mobilities

Aside from the literature on landscapes and animals, attention also has to be paid to the movement and social status of the drovers. Over the past twenty years, geographers and other social scientists have shown a growing interest in mobility – the movement, representations and practices of people and things across space.[120] This has led some academics to stake claims for a 'new mobilities paradigm' or 'mobility turn' within the social sciences.[121] Questioning the perceived prioritisation of static and bounded notions of place and identity, geographers and social theorists have argued for "ways of thinking and theorizing that foreground mobility (of people, of ideas, of things) as a geographical fact that lies at the centre of constellations of power, the creation of identities and the microgeographies of everyday life".[122] While much of the recent work on mobilities focuses on contemporary modes of travel and transportation, attempts have also been made to consider the 'changing constellations' of movement through history.[123]

Of particular note in this regard is Tim Cresswell's work on the social construction of 'tramps' between the late-1860s and the onset of World War Two.[124] Drawing on the

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[120] Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. London: Routledge, p.2. Cresswell, T. (2011a) 'Towards a Politics of Mobility', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 163-177, p.164.

[121] As Cresswell [Cresswell, T. (2011b) 'Mobilities I: Catching Up', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, pp. 550-558, p.551] observes, moving, journeying and travelling have long been a part of geographical research, particularly within the subdisciplines of transport geography [Lowe, J. and Moryadas, S. (1975) *The Geography of Movement*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin] and migration studies. Mobilities research has also taken theoretical inspiration from the earlier work of sociologists [Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell; Frisby, D. and Featherstone, M. (1997) (eds.) *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*. London: Sage], feminist scholars [Kaplan, C. (1996) *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press], anthropologists [Auge, M. (1995) *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso] and historians [Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Later Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press]. The 'mobilities turn' gained greater traction following the publication of Urry's key sociological text [Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century*. London: Routledge]. For further information, see: Hannam, K., Sheller, M., and Urry, J. (2006) 'Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings', *Mobilities*, 1, pp. 1-22; Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, 38, pp. 207-226.

[122] Cresswell, T. (2011b) op. cit., p.551.

[123] Cresswell, T. (2011a) op. cit., p.172.

[124] Cresswell, T. (2001) *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion.

earlier work of sociologists such as Robert Park and Nels Anderson, Cresswell considers how popular understandings of tramps were often informed by a 'morally coded set of suppositions' about mobility.[125] In so doing, he argues that the tramp's mobility was often regarded as a threat to 'respectable society'. Such ideas, he suggests, were founded on conceptions of culture and identity that are fixed and rooted in sedentary notions of 'place' and 'home'.[126] These ways of thinking are also prevalent in the reactions of regulatory authority to other mobile social groups such as Gypsy-Travellers, nomads, migrants and refugees. Elsewhere, David Sibley describes how travelling communities have often been regarded with suspicion and animosity as a consequence of their perceived rootlessness.[127] This hostility towards 'people without place' is reflected in the numerous 'dwelling' laws that were passed between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century – legal measures which prohibited Gypsies from travelling with tents and carts and forbade them from camping at the side of public roads.[128]

While it is true that mobility was commonly associated with rootlessness and deviance, the movement of Gypsies could also be seen in more positive terms. Indeed, as Holloway observes, Gypsies were often portrayed in late-nineteenth-century British literature and science as a mysterious and romantic race living in harmony with nature – a cultural representation which inspired many British 'gypsiologists' to document and defend their 'nomad lifestyle'.[129] The contrasting portrayal of Gypsies, reinforces Cresswell's observation that mobile bodies have been inscribed with a range of different (and often contradictory) meanings and identities through history.[130] This

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[125] Ibid., p.14. Anderson, N. (1923) *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Park, R. (1925) 'The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections upon the Relation Between Mentality and Locomotion', in Park, R. and Burgess, E. (eds.) *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 156-160.
[126] Cresswell, T. (2006) op. cit., p.27. Malkki, L. (1992) 'National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees', *Cultural Anthropology*, 7, pp. 24-44.
[127] Sibley, D. (1981) *Outsiders in Urban Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell; Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.
[128] Similar arguments are made by Shubin and Swanson [Shubin, S. and Swanson, K. (2010) ''I'm an Imaginary Figure': Unravelling the Mobility and Marginalisation of Scottish Gypsy Travellers', *Geoforum*, 41, pp. 919-929] who describe the punitive attempts by local councils in Scotland to settle Gypsy Travellers. Cresswell, T. (2006) op. cit., p.42. Holloway, S.L. (2003) 'Outsiders in Rural Society? Constructions of Rurality and Nature-Society Relations in the Racialisation of English Gypsy-Travellers, 1869- 1934', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp. 695-715, p.703.
[129] Ibid., p.702.
[130] Cresswell, T. (2001) op. cit., p.20.

much is certainly true of the drovers, who were represented in a variety of different, sometimes conflicting, ways by writers and reformers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the one hand, the movement of drovers and their cattle was often regarded as both a 'nuisance' and a serious threat to moral behaviour.[131] On the other, however, herdsmen were also portrayed as resilient, honest and resourceful figures, 'naturally' at home in the rugged terrain of Highland Scotland.[132] As with the nostalgic representations of Gypsy-Travellers during the nineteenth century, the drovers often "symbolised the virtues of a simple, healthy, active life in harmony with nature rather than one shaped by the needs of industrialisation, urbanisation, and Victorian social mores".[133] Furthermore, the romanticised image of 'hardy Highlanders' engaging in picturesque rural trades enrolled the drovers in the positive self-definition of the nation – a symbol of Scotland's resilience at a time of rapid social and economic change.[134]

In parallel with recent scholarship on the meanings attached to mobile populations, efforts have also been made to examine the physical dynamics and experienced practices of movement, considerations that are key to understanding the mobile geographies of the drover and the political environment in which the droving trade operated. In the social sciences there has been a growing interest in 'velocity' and the numerous political, social and economic factors that both facilitate and 'quicken up' the movement of people.[135] In his recent work on airport mobilities, Cresswell describes how airport terminals produce complex 'kinetic hierarchies'.[136] In so doing, he describes how 'business passengers' "are able to pass smoothly through the airport to the car that has been parked in a special lot close to the terminal" and take the fast lane through immigration – privileges that promote the movement of 'elite travellers'

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[131] For example, see Bonar's [Bonar, J. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Larbert, Vol. VIII, pp. 340-379, pp. 377-378] disparaging account of the Falkirk Tryst, discussed in Chapter Eight.

[132] As discussed in Chapter Seven, romantic depictions of drovers can be seen in the published work of writers such as Robert Cunninghame-Graham [Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth, pp. 218-222] and Walter Scott [Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, pp. 39-40].

[133] Holloway, S. (2003) op. cit., p.702.

[134] Despite these positive portrayals, Isobel MacPhail, in her work on the post-colonial geographies of the Highlands, notes that Highlanders could also be positioned as uncultured, ignorant '*teuchters*' [MacPhail, I. (2002) *Land, Crofting and The Assynt Crofters Trust: A Post-Colonial Geography*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Wales, Lampeter, pp. 123-124].

[135] Tomlinson, J. (1986) *The Culture of Speed: The Coming of Immediacy*. Los Angeles: Sage, Virilio, P. (1986) *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology*. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).

[136] Cresswell, T. (2006) op. cit., p.223.

over that of 'regular' passengers.[137] The concept of 'mobile hierarchies' can also be retrospectively employed to road travellers in sixteenth-and seventeenth-century England. Considering post-horse routes and royal progresses during the reign of James I, Harrison and Brayshay describe how, in an effort to hasten the transit of the royal party, neighbouring towns and parishes were often ordered to carry out repair work on 'decayed highways'.[138] These repairs allowed the king to move considerably quicker than the average traveller who had to 'make do' with the existing network of "laborious, rough, and … uneven" roads that were often rendered completely impassable at certain times of the year.[139] In ways akin to contemporary business passengers and seventeenth-century royalty, Scottish drovers were also afforded various privileges which facilitated (and eased) their movement.[140] One such privilege was the right to carry firearms, an entitlement of personal security which allowed drovers to protect themselves from cattle thieves on their journeys through the Highlands.[141] In addition to this, the mobility of Scottish herdsmen was aided by their ancient rights to passage and nightly grazing, customary privileges which helped to ensure the economic viability and steady movement of the drove prior to the era of agrarian 'improvement'.

A further area of mobilities literature with relevance to the study of movement among Scottish drovers concerns matters of rhythm and routine. Drawing on the ideas of Henri Lefebvre, Cresswell observes that rhythms are composed of repeated patterns of movement and rest, the interpretation of which can provide important insights into the production of everyday life.[142] Similarly, the humanistic geographer David Seamon used the term 'body-ballet' to describe the habitual bodily movements that enable

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[137] Similar observations are made by Adey [Adey, P. (2007) ''May I have your Attention': Airport Geographies of Spectatorship, Position, and (Im)mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25, pp. 515-536] in his research on airport spectatorship. Cresswell, T. (2010) 'Towards a Politics of Mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28, pp. 17-31, p.23.

[138] Harrison, P. and Brayshay, M. (1997) 'Post-Horse Routes, Royal Progresses and Government Communications in the Reign of James I', *Journal of Transport History*, 18, pp. 116-133, p.125.

[139] Risdon, T. (1811) *The Chorographical Description or Survey or Survey of the County of Devon*. London: Rees and Curtis, p.4.

[140] While there are certainly similarities between the concessions afforded to drovers and those enjoyed by business passengers and royalty, it would be inaccurate to describe the drovers as 'elite travellers'.

[141] The right to carry weapons also provided drovers with the confidence to travel through known reiving 'blackspots' – regions that would have been too dangerous to enter without firearms. Allardyce, J. (1896) *The New Spalding Club: Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750*, Vol. I. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, p.161.

[142] Cresswell, T. (2011a) op. cit., pp. 168-169. Lefebvre, H. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum.

humans to carry out particular tasks such as walking, driving or cooking.[143] When these 'habitual bodily actions' are extended through a considerable portion of time, they produce what Seamon refers to as 'time-space routines' – a concept which resonates with Torsten Hagerstrand's earlier work on 'time geography'.[144] Furthermore, when individual time-space routines converge and interact with one another, they form a 'place-ballet' – a commingling of "body routines rooted in space, which becomes an important place of interpersonal and communal exchanges, actions, and meanings".[145] Inspired by these ideas, the last decade has witnessed a growing body of geographical scholarship on 'rhythm', a concept with numerous implications for the drovers.[146]

First, examining the rhythm of the drove provides insights into the interaction and working relationships forged between drovers and their cattle, factors that helped to determine the herd's pace and progress. Furthermore, the herd's rhythm was also influenced by key logistical sites such as river crossings, cattle stances and drovers' inns, strategic nodes that both punctuated and interrupted the flow of men and beasts. Second, consideration of the herd's rhythm is crucial to understanding how the drovers experienced and related to their journeys to market – trips that, at times, must have been regarded as 'mundane' and monotonous.[147] Aside from the rhythms produced by the drove, the concept of rhythm can also be applied to the external 'forces of nature' that impacted upon the herd's progress.[148] In particular, the drove's

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[143] In his later work, Seamon [Seamon, D. (2007) 'Interconnections, Relationships, and Environmental Wholes: A Phenomenological Ecology of Natural and Built Worlds', in Martino, D. (ed.) *To Renew the Face of the Earth: Phenomenology and Ecology*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, pp. 53-86] has referred to the 'body-ballet' as a 'body-routine'. Seamon, D. (1979) *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter*. New York: St Martin's Press; Seamon, D. (1980) 'Body-Subject, Time-Space Routines, and Place-Ballets', in Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 148-165; Seamon, D. (2006) '*A Geography of Lifeworld* in Retrospect: A Response to Shaun Moores', *Particip@tions*, 3 [Online]. Available at: http://www.participations.org/volume%203/issue%202%20-%20special/3_02_seamon.htm. Accessed on 25/08/13.
[144] Cresswell, T. (2009) 'Place', in Do Carmo, R. and Simoes, J. (eds.) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Vol. 8, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 169-177, p.175. Hagerstrand, T. (1970) 'What about People in Regional Science?', *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, 24, pp. 6-21.
[145] Seamon, D. (2006) op. cit.
[146] Edensor, T. (ed.) (2010) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Farnham: Ashgate; Mels, T. (2004) *Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
[147] Edensor, T. (2007) 'Mundane Mobilities, Performances and Spaces of Tourism', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8, pp. 199-215.
[148] Lorimer, H. (2010b) 'Forces of Nature, Forms of Life: Calibrating Ethology and Phenomenology', in Anderson, B. and Harrison, P. (eds.) *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 55-78.

movement was heavily influenced by the changing 'rhythm of the seasons' and its associated patterns of weather, meteorological conditions that could wash away tracks and bridges and prevent the herd from crossing high mountain passes.[149] Furthermore, for drovers travelling from Skye and the Outer Hebrides, attention also had to be paid to the 'rhythm of the tides'.[150] This was especially important for herdsmen attempting to swim their cattle across the Kyle Rhea (the narrow stretch of sea between Skye and mainland Scotland) – a volatile channel which could only be crossed at high water, when the currents were less violent.[151] Finally, the concept of 'place-ballets' serves as a useful conceptual device for interpreting drovers' inns and cattle markets – sites of activity and exchange where the 'time-space routines' of numerous social groups converged and interacted with one another.[152]

In addition to the work on rhythm and routine, attention has also been given to how mobility is regulated and 'channelled' into acceptable conduits.[153] In their recent research on Norwegian tourist roads, Elvebakk and Larsen describe how careful route planning and landscape engineering are used to manipulate the gaze of passing motorists and to harmonise roads with the surrounding landscape.[154] Similarly, Thomas Zeller, in his work on scenic highways in interwar Germany, describes the routing strategies and 'variegated patterns of concealment' employed by state planners and road engineers to showcase areas of natural beauty and reaffirm motorists' sense of belonging to an "ethnically understood collective whose cultural values were expressed in its landscapes".[155] Not unlike road planners of Norway and Germany, efforts were also made to channel the movement of Scottish drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Throughout this period, the passing of

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[149] Ingold, T. (2005) op. cit.; Ingold, T. (2007a) op. cit.

[150] Jones, O. (2010) ''The Breath of the Moon': The Rhythmic and Affective Time-Spaces of UK Tides', in Edensor, T. (ed.) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Farnham: Ashgate pp. 189-204; Lorimer, H. (2010b) op. cit.

[151] Barron, J. (1903) *The Northern Highlands in the Nineteenth Century. Newspaper Index and Annals*, Vol. I. Inverness: Robert Carruthees and Sons, pp. 28-29.

[152] Seamon, D. (1979) op. cit.; Seamon, D. (1980) op. cit.

[153] Cresswell, T. (2011a) op. cit., p.170.

[154] Elvebakk, B. (2011) 'Roadside Aesthetics: Guidelines from the Norwegian Public Roads Administration', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 201-212; Larsen, J.K. (2011) 'Curating Views: The Norwegian Tourist Route Project', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 179-190.

[155] Zeller, T. (2011) 'Staging the Driving Experience: Parkways in Germany and the United States', in Hvattum, M., Brenna, B., Elvebakk, B. and Larsen, J.K. (eds.) *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 125-138, p.133.

numerous Acts of Parliament led to many drove routes being enclosed by dykes and turf walls, constructions that channelled and constricted the movement of drovers and beasts.[156] Furthermore, the growing trend towards land privatisation resulted in the closure and re-routing of many byways and cross-country routes, forcing drovers onto the newly-constructed roads through the glens.[157] Consequently, by focussing on the movement and representation of mobile social groups, recent work on mobilities provides valuable insights into the routes, spatial practices and marginalisation of Scottish herdsmen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Landscapes of Enclosure and Legal Geographies

Extending on the 'mobilities' theme, this section examines a significant body of scholarship on enclosure and legal geographies, work which casts critical perspectives on the socio-economic processes and legal strategies employed by governments and landowners to restrict the movement and undermine the customary rights of local populations. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, the droving trade was greatly assisted by the existence and availability of common land. In his discussion of the English Parliamentary enclosures, Michael Watts notes that, before 1700, a significant proportion of England's rural population were engaged in 'commoning economies'.[158] Within these 'commoning' communities, residents had common access to pasture and to other village lands through "customary (and *de facto* legal) forms of usufructory right", affording the 'commoner' a degree of independence from the cash economy.[159] In Scotland, the availability of common land was aided by the clan system of land tenure in which tenants living on a chief's land had collective rights to the adjoining pasture, land that was often used by drovers for the early rearing of stock.[160] In

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[156] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 208-209.

[157] These newly-made roads were often constructed with cuttings and embankments, preventing the drovers from grazing their cattle in the surrounding fields or wandering onto adjoining paths [ibid., p.209]. Ibid., pp. 208-214.

[158] Clark and Clark [Clark, G. and Clark, A. (2001) 'Common Rights to Land in England, 1475-1839', *Journal of Economic History*, 61, pp. 1009-1036, p.1009] estimate that around twenty-seven per cent of England's land was designated as 'common' in 1600. For further information, see: Neeson, J.M. (1993) *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure, and Social Change in England, 1700-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64, p.50.

[159] Watts, M.J. (2004) op. cit., p.50.

[160] Of particular note is Bob Dodgshon's [Dodgshon, R.A. (1998) *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493-1820*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh

addition to this, the existence of large tracts of common land (particularly in the Highlands and upland areas of Scotland) provided herdsmen with free and unchallenged access to nightly grazing, without which the herding of cattle through the Highlands would not have been possible.[161]

However, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the customary rights of the drovers came under increasing threat from agrarian 'improvement' – a process of rapid agricultural change, heralding a switch from collective land tenure "to individualism with … private rights of property and … individual freedom of action".[162] In a bid to 'improve' agricultural productivity, most of the smallholdings and communal plots were removed and consolidated into larger holdings, the ownership of which was then transferred to a single farmer.[163] As a result of these changes, rents were increased and large numbers of tenants were evicted from their plots to make way for sheep and crops, changes which forced many Highlanders to move onto newly planned crofting settlements or emigrate to North America, Australia and New Zealand.[164] Furthermore, as Wightman, Callander and Boyd observe, the passing of several Acts of Parliament during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries allowed for the division, appropriation and enclosure, by landed interests, of a large proportion of Scotland's common land.[165] In his discussion of agricultural change in England, Watts describes enclosure as a process of 'confinement', which 'restricted people's movement' and 'altered their experience of the landscape'.[166] These observations certainly resonate with the drovers whose routes were increasingly enclosed by dykes and turf walls during Scotland's agricultural revolution – developments that must have led to feelings of containment *and*

University Press] work on the historical geography of clan-ships and settlements in the Highlands. McKerral, A. (1947) 'The Tacksman and his Holding in the South-West Highlands', *Scottish Historical Review*, 26, pp. 10-25, p.14.

[161] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 210] also noted that common land was used for the grazing of cattle from the sheilings in the summer and early autumn. Wightman, Callander and Boyd [Wightman, A., Callander, R. and Boyd, G. (2003) 'Common Land in Scotland: A Brief Overview', *Securing the Commons*, 8, pp. 1-21, p.6] estimate that half of Scotland's land area was common in 1500. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 210-211.

[162] Blum, J. (1978) *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p.263.

[163] Devine, T.M. (1989) 'Social Responses to Agrarian 'Improvement': The Highland and Lowland Clearances in Scotland', in Houston, R.A. and Whyte, I.D. (eds.) *Scottish Society 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 148-168, p.149.

[164] MacPhail, I. (2002) op. cit., pp. 42-44.

[165] Wightman, A., Callander, R. and Boyd, G. (2003) op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[166] Watts, M.J. (2004) op. cit., pp. 50-51.

exclusion.[167] Consequently, it is reasonable to read agrarian 'improvement' as a process transforming drove roads from "pathways along which [a drover's] life … [was] lived into the boundaries within which it … [was] enclosed".[168] Furthermore, as Watts observes, the enclosure of 'open' commons wrought dispossession, replacing the customary rights of local populations with the economic demands of private landowners.[169] This was particularly apparent in Scotland, where the privatisation of common land deprived the drovers of their traditional rights to wayside grazing, forcing them to alter accepted routes.

Aside from the challenges posed by land enclosure and agricultural improvement, the customary rights of drovers were also attacked by the restrictive practices of Highland landowners.[170] During the nineteenth century there was a rapid growth in the leasing and purchase of land for deer forests by the British upper and landed classes.[171] Once acquired, these landowners built boundary fences or walls, implemented new game management techniques and lobbied for various laws designed to protect their sporting property – actions which led to the closure of several drove routes and cattle stances.[172] Furthermore, the passing of numerous Acts of Parliament during the eighteenth and nineteenth century led to the establishment of Turnpike Trusts (the trustees mainly being the larger landowners in the shire), as authorities that were empowered to levy tolls on bridges and sections of road under their jurisdiction.[173] Combined with this, the increasing division and privatisation of common land (facilitated by the 1695 Division of Commonties Act) from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, allowed proprietors, particularly on the approaches to the great

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[167] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.208] noted that drove routes were often enclosed to protect the arable land on either side from being trampled by cattle.

[168] Ingold, T. (2009) 'Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge', in Kirby, P.W. (ed.) *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*. Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 29-44, p.29.

[169] Watts, M.J. (2004) op. cit., p.51.

[170] In his discussion of customary law, Olwig [Olwig, K. (2008b) op. cit., p.87] notes that the prescriptive right to walk along a particular path is maintained through continued usage.

[171] Wightman, Higgins, Jarvie and Nicol [Wightman, A., Higgins, P., Jarvie, G. and Nicol, R. (2002) 'The Cultural Politics of Hunting: Sporting Estates and Recreational Land Use in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland', *Culture, Sport, Society*, 5, pp. 53-70, p.54] note that there were only six or seven deer forests actively managed for hunting in 1811. By 1873, this number had risen to seventy-nine, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and fifty deer forests covering two and a half million acres of Scotland.

[172] Wightman, A. (2011) *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who Owns Scotland (And How They Got It)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, p.165.

[173] Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. (1991) *The Changing Scottish Landscape, 1500-1800*. London: Routledge, p.188.

tryst, to begin charging drovers for nightly grazing.[174] Consequently, it is clear that parliamentary law played a vital role in confining and restructuring droving spaces, locally and nationally.

Since the mid-1990s, geographers and legal scholars have shown a critical interest in the relationship between law and the production of space.[175] In their recent work on 'spaces of enclosure', Vasudevan, McFarlane and Jeffrey argue that "Legal sanctions … [are] one of the key instruments through which enclosures have been legitimised and customary rights criminalised".[176] Echoing this contention, Don Mitchell explores the ideology and socio-economic implications of anti-homeless legislation in U.S. cities.[177] In so doing, he examines how city councils, through the passing of various laws during the 1980s and 1990s, sought to limit the actions and freedoms of homeless people.[178] In their efforts to exclude these individuals from public spaces, local authorities enacted numerous pieces of legislation to criminalise activities such as camping, loitering, sleeping and begging.[179] Consequently, by redefining the bounds of 'acceptable behaviour' in public space, these laws effectively annulled the spaces in which homeless people lived and, by extension, the people living in them.[180]

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[174] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 210-211.

[175] For example, see: Blomley, N.K. (1994a) *Law, Space, and the Geographies of Power*. London: Guildford Press; Blomley, N.K. (2003) 'Law, Property and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93, pp. 121-141; Blomley, N.K. (2007) 'Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges', *Rural History*, 18, pp. 1-21; Blomley, N.K. (2008) 'Enclosure, Common Right, and the Property of the Poor', *Social and Legal Studies*, 17, pp. 311-331; Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Ford, R.T. (2001) *The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, Power and Place*. Oxford: Blackwell; Braverman, I. (2009) *Planted Flags: Trees, Land and Law in Israel/Palestine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Cooper, D. (1998) *Governing Out of Order: Space, Law and the Politics of Belonging*. London: Rivers Oram Press; Delaney, D. (1998) *Race, Place and the Law: 1836-1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press; Delaney, D. (2001) 'Running with the Land: Legal-Historical Imagination and the Spaces of Modernity', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, pp. 493-506; Delaney, D. (2003) *Law and Nature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Delaney, D. (2010) *The Spatial, the Legal and the Pragmatics of World-Making: Nomospheric Investigations*. London: Routledge; Forman, G. (2006) 'Law and the Historical Geography of the Galilee: Israel's Litigatory Advantages during the Special Operation of Land Settlement', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32, pp. 796-817; Holder, J. and Harrison, C. (2002) (eds.) *Law and Geography: Current Legal Issues, Volume 5*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Mitchell, D. (1997) 'The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States', *Antipode*, 29, pp. 303-335; Mitchell, D. (2003) *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guildford Press.

[176] Vasudevan, A., McFarlane, C. and Jeffrey, A. (2008) 'Spaces of Enclosure', *Geoforum*, 39, pp. 1641-1646, p.1643.

[177] Mitchell, D. (1997) op. cit.

[178] Ibid., p.305.

[179] The criminalisation of homelessness is explored in greater detail by Amster [Amster, R. (2008) *Lost in Space: The Criminalization, globalization, and Urban Ecology of Homelessness*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing].

[180] Mitchell, D. (1997) op. cit., p.305.

Drawing on earlier work by Richard Sennett, Mitchell argues that the introduction of anti-homeless laws in U.S. cities was also intended to reinforce an 'ideology of comfort', enabling members of the public to pass through public spaces without having to encounter the disconcerting presence and 'anti-social' activities of homeless people.[181] Consequently, 'the right to pass freely' without obstruction or 'personal resistance' can only be achieved by 'denying others the same right'.[182] Comparable observations can be made about the Scottish drovers whose rights to unrestricted movement were increasingly obstructed by Highland landowners (through the implementation and enforcement of enclosure and private property laws) seeking to protect estates for game shooting and stalking – activities that would have been threatened by the unregulated movement through of herdsmen and their cattle.

The introduction of anti-homeless laws was also driven by the fear that the 'intimidating' and 'unattractive' sight of people sitting, lying or begging on the streets might deter residents and visitors from shopping at adjacent businesses, costing the city investment, jobs and tax revenue.[183] Consequently, the portrayal of homeless people as impediments to consumption and economic growth allowed law-makers to legitimise their exclusion from public space. Similarly, the enclosure of Scottish drove routes during the eighteenth and nineteenth century was often justified on the grounds that the unrestricted movement of drovers and beasts might damage crops, undermining the progress of agricultural improvement. Furthermore, the implication that commercially viable spaces should be reserved exclusively for profit generating activities, and that access should only be granted to those who partake in these activities, correlates strongly with the mindset of Scottish landowners, politicians and agronomists, after the high point of the droving era. Throughout this period, the

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[181] Legal scholars and geographers such as Blomley [Blomley, N.K. (2012) 'Begging to Differ: Panhandling, Public Space and Municipal Property', in Tucker, E., Muir J. and Ziff, B. (eds.) *Property on Trial: Canadian Cases in Context*. Toronto: Irwin Law, pp. 393-424], Ellickson [Ellickson, R.C. (1996) 'Controlling Chronic Misconduct in City Spaces: Of Panhandlers, Skid Rows, and Public-Space Zoning', *Yale Law Journal*, 105, pp. 1165-1248] and Gordon [Gordon, T. (2006) *Cops, Crime and Capitalism: The Law-and-Order Agenda in Canada*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing] have also examined the efforts of U.S. and Canadian legislators to 'crack down' on 'aggravated nuisances' such as begging and overnight sleeping in parks. Mitchell, D. (1997) op. cit., p.325. Sennett, R. (1994) *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: W.W. Norton.

[182] For further information about rights to movement see: Blomley, N.K. (1994a) op. cit.; Blomley, N.K. (1994b) 'Mobility, Empowerment, and the Rights Revolution', *Political Geography*, 13, pp. 407-422; Blomley, N.K. (2010) 'The Right to Pass Freely: Circulation, Begging, and The Bounded Self', *Social and Legal Studies*, 19, pp. 331-350. Mitchell, D. (1997) op. cit., p.326. Sennett, R. (1994) op. cit., p.310.

introduction of turnpikes, combined with the privatisation of common land, led to a system of commercial landownership in which nightly grazing and prescriptive rights of passage were increasingly regarded as privileges that had to be paid for – a system founded on the belief that droving practices should be removed from the realm of local custom "and embedded [within] … the commodity economy".[184]

In response to these significant encroachments on historical rights to grazing and passage, several attempts were made by drovers to resist the actions of landowners and lawmakers. In 1844, a group of drovers from the Highlands, Western Isles, Sutherland and Northern England initiated a lengthy legal battle against the Marquis of Breadalbane over the closure of a cattle stance at Inveroran.[185] In recent work examining the protection of common rights in sixteenth-century England, Briony McDonagh notes that litigation was a common tactic employed by local communities to resist the enclosure of grazing land.[186] She describes how 'commoners' seeking redress for enclosures would often pursue landowners through civil courts such as the Star Chamber. At this time, the right to graze cattle on certain sections of land was usually based on custom, a legal privilege which rested jointly on antiquity and continued usage.[187] Consequently, the ability to prove that grazing rights had been exercised since time immemorial, provided litigants with a legal basis from which to challenge the enclosure of common land. Similar arguments were also employed by the Scottish drovers in their legal action against the Marquis of Breadalbane and by the Association for the Protection of Public Rights of Roadway in their efforts to resist the closure of the 'Jock's Road' through Glen Doll.[188] In both cases, the rights of the complainants were upheld on the grounds of 'continual unchallenged use'.[189]

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[183] Mitchell, D. (1997) op. cit., p.309.
[184] Watts, M.J. (2004) op. cit., p.51.
[185] Inveroran was a popular grazing site located on the drove route between Glen Coe and Tyndrum.
[186] McDonagh, B. (in press) 'Making and Breaking Property: Negotiating Enclosure and Common Rights in Sixteenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal*, pp. 1-25.
[187] McDonagh, B. (in press) op. cit., p.8.
[188] In their case to reopen the Jock's Road, several herdsmen were called upon to provide evidence of the route's historical use as a drove road. The history, legal defence and management of Britain's rights-of-way is discussed in considerable detail by Watkins [Watkins, C. (ed.) (1996) *Rights of Way: Policy, Culture and Management*. London: Pinter]. National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4). Papers in Action over Drove Stances at Inverouran and Suie (1843-1862), *The House of Lords Case of John Marquess of Breadalbane*; National Archives of Scotland (References: GD335/8/1, GD335/8/2, GD335/8/3), Letters and Papers Relating to the Glen Doll Rights of Way Case (Records of the Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society).
[189] Despite the drovers' initial success, the decision to uphold their customary grazing rights was later overturned by the House of Lords.

Consequently, while the law was often used as a tool by landowners and legislators to attack customary rights to grazing and passage (through enclosure and turnpike acts), the successful action of these drovers illustrates that the law could also be used to protect specialist rights.

Aside from litigation, enclosure of common land was also resisted through various forms of direct action.[190] In protest at the 'unprecedented assault' on their common rights, residents in large parts of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century England engaged in a disciplined campaign of 'hedge-breaking'.[191] For those involved in the uprisings, the hedge was a powerful symbol of dispossession, an "illegitimate divider …[which] materialised the private property owner's right to exclude".[192] Consequently, the act of removing these artificial barriers, and then re-populating the fields with cattle, allowed commoners symbolically to reassert their claim to common grazing lands. While there is little evidence of drovers engaging in direct action, the numerous protests that took place throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries serve as a powerful illustration of the anger and exclusion felt by victims of enclosure, emotions that were certainly shared by the Scottish herdsmen.[193]

In addition to conflicts over grazing rights, there are several examples of groups taking direct action against landowners who attempted to restrict and charge people for access through their land. Between 1839 and 1843, south-west Wales saw widespread rioting by farmers, labourers and artisans who were angered at the rising costs of turnpike tolls, poor rates and rents.[194] Throughout this period, groups of men (sometimes disguised in women's clothing) destroyed toll gates and damaged

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[190] Historical geographers such as Carl Griffin have written extensively about popular protest and public opposition to the enclosure and privatisation of common land. For example, see: Griffin, C.J. (2008) 'Affecting Violence: Language, Gesture, and Performance in Early Nineteenth-Century English Popular Protest', *Historical Geography*, 36, pp. 139-162; Griffin, C.J. (2010) 'Becoming Private Property: Custom, Law, and the Geographies of 'Ownership' in 18th-and 19th-Century England', *Environment and Planning A*, 42, pp. 747-762; Griffin, C.J. (2012) *The Rural War: Captain Swing and the Politics of Protest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Griffin, C.J. (2014) *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
[191] Blomley, N.K. (2007) op. cit., pp. 13-14.
[192] Ibid., p.15.
[193] The anger and frustration felt by many Scottish herdsmen is illustrated by their efforts to oppose the introduction of turnpikes and the associated enclosure of drove routes – collective action that is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis.
[194] Howell, D. (1988) 'The Rebecca Riots', in Herbert, T. and Jones, G.E. (eds.) *People and Protest: Wales 1815-1880*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 113-138, p.114. Rees, L.A. (2011)

landowners' property in an effort to resist the growing financial burdens being placed upon them.[195] Similar grievances were expressed by the Scottish drovers who regarded the turnpikes as an unwarranted encroachment on their ancient rights of passage. During the 1820s and 1830s several meetings were held between groups of breeders, dealers and drovers to campaign against the establishment of tolls along popular drove routes.[196] When viewed alongside the protests in Wales, it is clear that the Scottish herdsmen were part of a wider network of rural resistance – engaging in collective action which challenged the power and discriminatory practices of landowners and lawmakers.[197] Consequently, this work on legal geographies provides a detailed insight into the ways in which parliamentary law has been used to defend elite interests and annihilate the customary rights of local populations – processes which have been resisted through various forms of protest and direct action.

Conclusions

Tracing droving and 'droverly' concerns through geographical and other scholarly engagements with landscape, animals, hybridity, mobilities and enclosure, this chapter attempts to configure and conceptually frame a lively geography of droving. By engaging with a rich tradition of site-based landscape research (an approach which is typified by the 'shire archaeology' book series) and enlivening it through a dialogue with Ingold's work on landscape encounter and dwelling, this chapter creates a master narrative for the overall thesis, allowing me to account for and gain deeper insights

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Paternalism and Rural Protest: 'The Rebecca Riots and the Landed Interests of South-West Wales', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, pp. 36-60, p.43.

[195] Similar protests took place in Scotland during the eighteenth century, the most well-documented of which was the 'Levellers Revolt' in Galloway during the 1720s [Devine, T.M. (1989) op. cit., p.155; Leopold, J. (1980) 'The Levellers' Revolt in Galloway in 1724', *Scottish Labour History*, 14, pp. 4-29]. In response to agricultural improvement and the division of common land, episodes of active and passive resistance also took place at Smailholm, West Roxburghshire in the 1730s, Aberlady in East Lothian in 1786, and numerous other locations throughout Scotland [Campbell, R.H. (1977) 'The Scottish Improvers and the Course of Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century', in Cullen, L.M. and Smout, T.C. (eds.) *Comparative Aspects of Irish and Scottish Economic and Social Development, 1600-1900*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, pp. 204-215; Devine, T.M. (1989) op. cit., p.155; Mitchison, R.M. (1981) 'The Highland Clearances', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 1, pp. 4-21, pp. 8-9].

[196] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 242-244.

[197] In his work on the 'Whiteboys', Dave Featherstone [Featherstone, D. (2007) 'Skills for Heterogeneous Associations: The Whiteboys, Collective Experimentation, and Subaltern Political Ecologies', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25, pp. 284-306] provides a detailed account of the solidarities and collective action taken by different subaltern groups during mercantile labour disputes in eighteenth-century London – a network of resistance which resonates with the collective action taken by drovers during the early-nineteenth century.

into the routes, experiences and habituated activities of Scottish herdsmen. By drawing on geographical work relating to animals and hybrids, it is possible to gain a richer understanding of the embodied intimacies forged between drovers and their cattle, and the situated skills and knowledges possessed by Scottish herdsmen. Furthermore, evaluation of recent geographical literature on mobility, gives an insight into the social status, daily routines and patterns of movement associated with the drovers – considerations that are vital to understanding the complex spatialities of droving. Finally, work on enclosure and legal geographies provides valuable critical perspectives on the wider cultural and political landscape in which droving operated and the various processes of technological and socio-economic change which impressed upon the routes, movement and customary rights of drovers from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

Chapter Three: A Drove Through Methods and Sources

> A mountaineer will travel from fair to fair for some 30 miles round with no other food than an oaten cake which he carries with him, and what requires neither fire, table, knife, nor instrument to use. He will lay out the whole, or perhaps treble of all he is worth … in the purchase of 30 or 100 head of cattle, with which, when collected, he sets out for England, a country with the roads, manners and inhabitants of which he is totally unacquainted. In this journey, he scarcely ever goes into a house, sleeps but little, and then generally in the open air … If he fail of disposing of his cattle … he is probably ruined, and has to begin the world, as he terms it, over again. If he succeeds, he returns home only to commence a new wandering and a new labour, and is ready in about a month perhaps to set out again for England.[1]

The key methodological challenge of this thesis is to reconstruct something of the economic and cultural geography of the Scottish droving trade – a network of routes and commerce which connected together many disparate locations, spanning three hundred years of activity. While much of this geography is somewhat obscure, A.R.B. Haldane's pioneering work on *The Drove Roads of Scotland* provides a detailed economic and material-artefactual account of the routes, sites and commercial operation of the Scottish droving trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. However, despite Haldane's scholarly endeavours, information about the situated knowledges and experiences of Scottish drovers, their interaction with animals, and the processes which led to social construction remains relatively scarce. Consequently, by critically engaging with Haldane's work and revisiting many of his historical sources (in addition to numerous documentary, photographic and oral records of the droving trade), this thesis aims to 'squeeze out' some of the more sensual and embodied aspects of droving - while providing insights into the broader socio-economic landscape in which the trade operated.

The following chapter details the sources and methods utilised in this research. The chapter commences with a discussion of different geographical traditions of archival scholarship and how these traditions can be brought to bear on my own research practice. Following this, I provide a summary of the archives that were visited, including the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland and the

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[1] Youatt, W. (1834) *Cattle; Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases*. London: Baldwin and Cradock, p.163.

School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive – collections which included a wide range of biographical, legal and oral accounts of the droving trade. In the next section, I discuss eighteenth-and nineteenth-century travellers' accounts and the insights that they provided into the herding practices and social interaction that took place on the drove. After this, I explore the historical texts and agricultural guides drawn upon throughout my research, materials which provided details about the cultural and political environment in which droving operated and the importance of breeding and animal husbandry to the drovers. The following section examines the use of biographies, dictionaries, government reports, statistical accounts, newspapers and magazines as important sources of contextual data, providing information about the behaviour of drovers at the great trysts and the impacts of infrastructural developments on their customary rights of passage. The penultimate section discusses the employment of creative and non-textual sources, including novels, songs, poems, maps, guidebooks and a selection of droving-related images from the Highland Livestock Heritage Society, as a means for studying the routes and experiences of herdsmen. The final section focuses on alternative methods, including exploratory landscape research and an eight-day droving re-enactment, with which I experimented during my research and the insight that they provided into the lives, practices and remaining physical traces of droving.

Archival Traditions

In a sense, my archival research proceeded in the 'classical', if often unexamined, vein of the historian, sifting through an abundance of archival materials in search of relevant fragments of information. While 'traditional' historical scholars have often portrayed the archive as little more than a 'storage space', "a research resource by which to better assemble more accurate and fuller versions of past geographies", over the past twenty-five years, geographers have started to pay greater attention to the practice of archival research and the status and organisation of archives.[2] For example, geographers such as Kenneth Foote and Matthew Kurtz have described the archive as both a problematic site of power and a reflection of social and institutional

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[2] Lorimer, H. (2010a) 'Caught in the Nick of Time: Archives and Fieldwork', in DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M. and McDowell, L. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 248-273, p.252.

authority.[3] However, while it is important to acknowledge the ways in which archives have emerged as powerful sites of state control and knowledge making, one should not lose sight of the fact that they are often disorganised sites, "the result of contingency, of the haphazard accumulation of 'stuff'" rather than straightforward expressions of power.[4] As such, the archive is a complex site, a scrappy collection of situated and partial historical materials.

Since the mid-1980s, the emergence of a 'new cultural geography' informed by theoretical encounters with post-structuralism and post-colonialism, has led to greater efforts by historical geographers to problematise archival practices and 'rehabilitate forgotten voices and marginalised identities'.[5] Furthermore, the development of these more theoretically attuned approaches to archival scholarship has widened the scope of potential source materials by 'quietly legitimising' the greater use of "paintings, photographs, films, documentaries, commercial advertisements, postcards, cartoons, recorded music and sounds, even household objects and personal effects" alongside 'conventional' textual sources.[6] Consequently, expanding the range of 'scholarly accepted' archival materials provides researchers with an enhanced ability to negotiate absences in the archive and gain greater insights into the lives of marginalised or neglected social groups. This 'massing together' of "remainders, redundant objects, fragments and discarded substances dating from the past" has been described by Lorimer as a 'make-do methodology' – an adaptive and experimental mode of enquiry that has produced a wide-variety of creative and innovative research.[7]

Of notable merit is Lorimer's work on the entwined biographies of humans and animals following the reintroduction of reindeer to Scotland in 1952.[8] Drawing on a

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[3] Foote, K. (1990) 'To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory, and Culture', *American Archivist*, 53, pp. 378-392; Kurtz, M. (2001) 'Situating Practices: The Archive and the File Cabinet', *Historical Geography*, 29, pp. 26-37.
[4] Withers, C.W.J. (2002) 'Constructing 'the Geographical Archive'', *Area*, 34, pp. 303-311, p.305.
[5] Lorimer, H. (2010a) op. cit., p.252.
[6] For example, see: Rose, G. (2000) 'Practising Photography: An Archive, a Study, Some Photographs and a Researcher', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26, pp. 555-571; Rose, G. (2001) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage. Lorimer, H. (2010a) op. cit., p.253.
[7] Ibid., p.259.
[8] Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 497-518.

diverse range of sources including photographic portraits, herding diaries, personal correspondences, conversational evidence and ethnographic observations, Lorimer provides a rich and textured account of herd movement and the embodied intimacies forged between herders and their animals. Elsewhere, in their historical research on the Glasgow University Geography Department, Lorimer and Philo combine 'official' archival documents such as University Court Minutes and exam papers with scrappier records such as old issues of the student-led departmental magazine *Drumlin*, expedition reports and fieldclass photographs.[9] In so doing, they give a vivid impression of the changing ways in which geography has been taught, researched and practised in the department over the past century. Furthermore, by focussing on morsels of 'scrappy' evidence from photograph albums and student publications, in addition to 'official bureaucratically-collected sources', the authors provide an insight into the Department's 'many local life-worlds', the 'stories from below' which convey a powerful sense of "the feelings, the joys, the frustrations, the elations, the angers, the senses of accomplishment of loss, the passions of pleasure or despair" that have both characterised and punctuated Glasgow Geography's ongoing existence.[10]

In many ways, my own research practice could be described as a form of 'make-do methodology', a meshing together of diverse materials from a wide range of historical sources. Trawls through the Scottish Rights of Way Society records (housed in the National Archives of Scotland) in Edinburgh unearthed a wide selection of court documents, petitions, letters and newspaper cuttings relating to several legal disputes between groups of drovers, access campaigners and landowners during the nineteenth century. Dry and legalistic in tone, with a primary focus on the complexities of each case, these sources contained little more than the occasional reference to the drovers and their specific grievances about stance closures. Consequently, interpretation of these documents demanded close attention to detail, an ability to 'read between the lines' in order to identify hints and snippets of information about Scotland's changing agrarian landscape and its impact upon the routes, movement and customary privileges of Scottish herdsmen.

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[9] Lorimer, H. and Philo, C. (2009) 'Disorderly Archives and Orderly Accounts: Reflections on the Occasion of Glasgow's Geographical Centenary', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 125, pp. 227-255.
[10] Ibid., p.250.

This research was also conducted with an awareness that personal predilections and beliefs inevitably contributed to my selection and subsequent interpretation of source materials – an understanding that geographical research is always guided by the researcher's "contingent and historical situatedness with respect to a great number of factors about which we have varying degrees of consciousness and knowledge".[11] When viewed from this reflexive perspective, it is clear that the archive is a relational construct forged between material traces from the past and the subjective interpretive strategies deployed by researchers operating in the present.[12] However, it is important to acknowledge that historical research is usually conducted in an environment where researcher and research subject are not equal participants. Given that much historical scholarship concerns individuals, groups and organisations that have long since passed, it is clear that the archival researcher is in a relatively powerful position, one which allows them to dictate the field of enquiry and pass comment on the lives of others without objection or response.[13] Consequently, while such considerations must not immobilise or discourage historical geographers from being critical, they should nevertheless make us more aware of our ethical responsibility to those agents, both human and non-human, that we claim to be representing.

In my efforts to trace and locate published records of droving, Haldane's book served as a valuable source of information, providing me with numerous references to published sources such as newspaper and magazine articles, novels, statistical accounts, official reports, agricultural guides, tour diaries and specialist historical texts.[14] Once obtained, particular attention was paid to passages and quotations that provided insights into the knowledges, practices and experiences of the Scottish drovers and their embodied interaction with animals. Relevant sections were then typed up and categorised according to chapter title – a technique also employed by Haldane in his research on *The Drove Roads of Scotland*.[15]

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[11] Bailey, A.R., Brace, C. and Harvey, D.C. (2008) 'Three Geographers in an Archive: Positions, Predilections and Passing Comment on Transient Lives', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34, pp. 254-269, p.255.

[12] Ibid., p.266.

[13] Despite these observations, it is important to acknowledge that the production of power in the archive is a two-way process. Just as researchers have the power to select and critique historical materials, these same materials also have the power to influence and alter the interpretive framework of the researcher.

[14] These sources often contained references to other historical materials, allowing me to expand my collection of published droving records.

[15] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.

Consultation of these materials was based on an understanding that, despite their descriptive appeal, most published accounts of droving were written from the relatively privileged perspectives of government commissioners, middle class tourists and local clergymen – individuals that knew little about the lives of Scottish herdsmen or the daily challenges of herding cattle through the Highlands. Thus, in an effort to account for and 'give voice' to the personal experiences of drovers, published materials were supplemented with a wide variety of 'scrappier', non-textual sources such as songs, poems, droving photographs and a collection of recorded interviews from the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive. Given the fragmented and partial nature of these materials, the process and possibilities of recovering past experiences of droving demanded a degree of creativity in both thought and interpretation – a willingness to engage in speculation and educated guesswork that would have been frowned upon by Haldane's traditional, fact-driven school of historical scholarship.

Archival Sources

In an effort to explore Haldane's methodological approach and the various factors (personal, academic and professional) which both inspired and informed his interest in Scotland's cattle trade, trips were made to the 'Manuscripts Division' at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. Of particular interest were a collection of five hardback notebooks and various correspondences compiled by the author during his work on the drove roads of Scotland.[16] The notebooks contained numerous observations, summaries and references from a wide variety of published sources, including: breeding guidebooks, court records, specialist historical texts, newspaper articles and statistical accounts. Each set of comments was also numbered and categorised according to theme, a feature which allowed the author to compare and cross-reference his sources more easily.[17] Consequently, examination of Haldane's archival findings provided an insight into his systematic approach to archival scholarship. Furthermore, scrutiny of Haldane's source material and the relationship between his written notes and the completed book revealed a tendency to favour facts and figures over oral accounts of the droving trade.

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[16] These notebooks were donated by Haldane to the National Library of Scotland in the 1970s.
[17] Interpretation of Haldane's notebooks was sometimes hindered by his handwriting.

Figure 1: Haldane's notes from published source materials
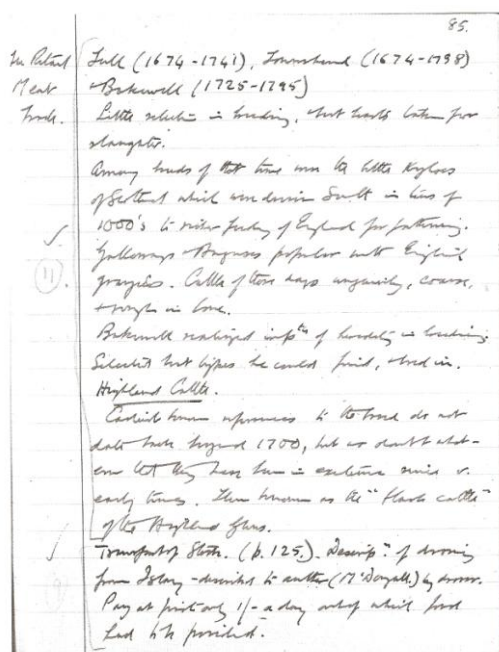
The inclusion of numerous letters and interviews in his notebooks gave a sense of how Haldane was able to acquire and make use of his informants and contacts. Reading through these correspondences, it is clear that regular trips to archives and libraries (particularly the National Library of Scotland) throughout his research, allowed Haldane to build up a network of scholarly connections – academic acquaintances who supplied him with details of and access to documentary sources. Of further interest were several typewritten letters between Haldane and various factors and landowners, individuals often relied upon to gather local information and contact informants, many of which were subsequently visited and interviewed by the author.[18] Conversations with these informants, provided Haldane with insights into the lives, practices and routes of the drovers and the location of key logistical sites such as inns, ferry crossings, cattle stances and markets.

Also included in Haldane's research papers was an unpublished memoir, written in 1975, seven years before his death.[19] Examination of this memoir provided an illustration of how aspects of Haldane's personal and professional life served to influence and enable his droving research. In particular, his childhood recollections of fishing and wandering along old hill tracks on his family's Perthshire estate, revealed an early curiosity in drove roads – a link which he acknowledges in his memoir.

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[18] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17. Letter from Sir George Campbell to A.R.B. Haldane dated 26th October 1946.

During his later life as an Edinburgh-based lawyer, factorial work provided the author with numerous opportunities to visit the Highlands, trips that were often extended to interview old informants and explore local drove routes. Furthermore, subsequent work as the chairman of the Trustee Savings Bank Inspection Committee, allowed Haldane to make regular excursions to archives in London and Edinburgh. Consequently, the details included within this memoir provided an invaluable insight into the life of the author and the mechanics of his research, information which is largely absent in his published work.

Figure 2: Letter from Mr MacGregor to Haldane

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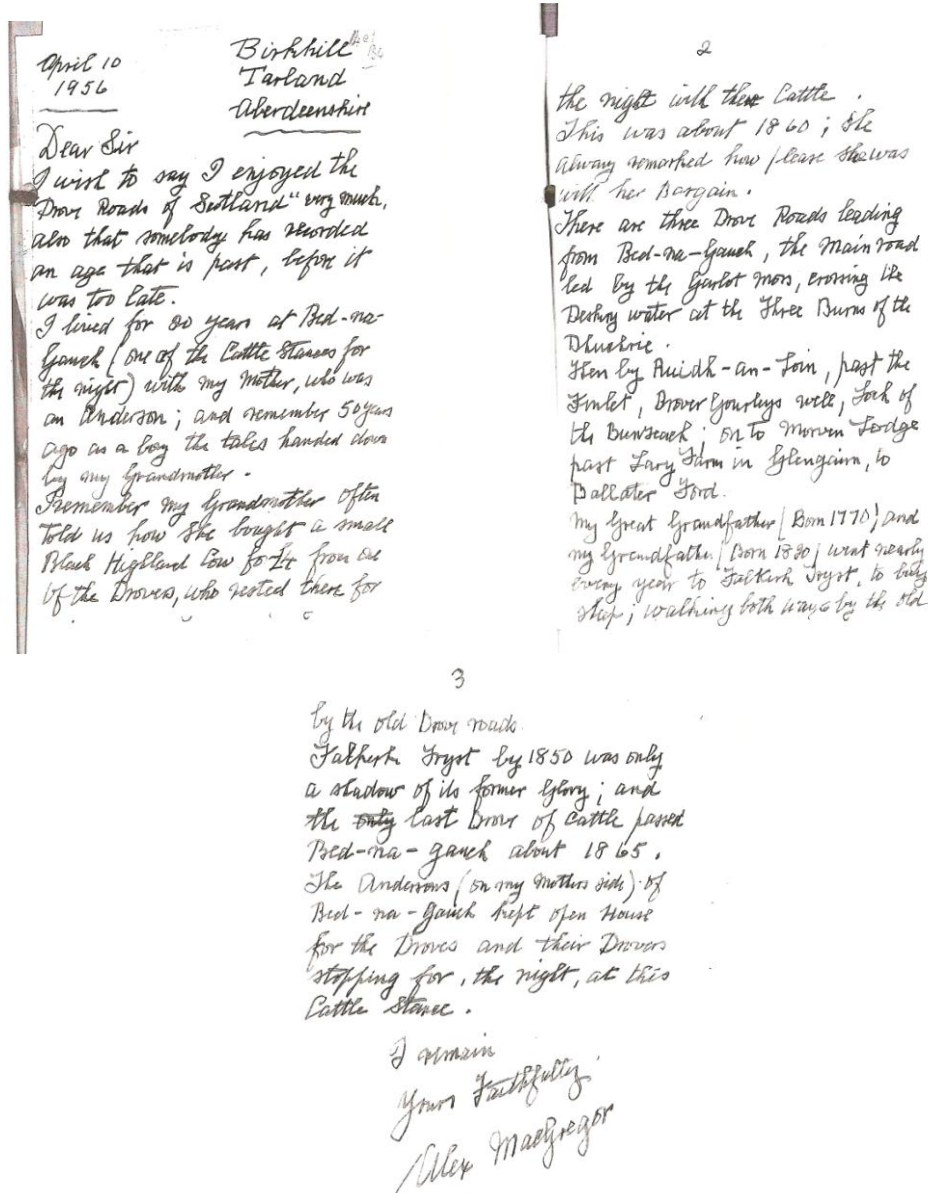
[19] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19. Haldane, A.R.B. (undated) *Typescript of Talk Proposed for St. Andrews University Archaeological Society*.

Figure 3: Haldane's notes from an interview with Mr Mackenzie
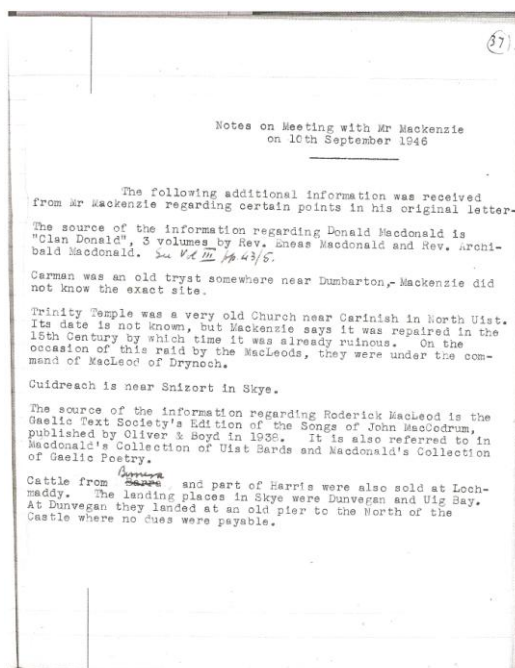
In addition to Haldane's research papers, several visits were made to the Scottish
Rights of Way and Access Society records, held at the National Archives of Scotland
(NAS). Included within these records were a collection of legal documents, letters and
newspaper clippings relating to various conflicts between drovers and landowners.[20]
Of notable interest were several court papers detailing a lengthy dispute between the
Marquis of Breadalbane and a group of herdsmen over the proposed closure of a
drove stance at Inveroran – a case that was originally decided in the Court of Session
in 1846 but subsequently appealed in the House of Lords in 1848.[21] Examination of
these documents, in conjunction with newspaper coverage of the case from the
London Daily News, revealed how the drovers' customary rights to 'stance' their
cattle (a right which had existed since time immemorial) came under increasing threat
from the privatisation and enclosure of common land by Highland proprietors
throughout the nineteenth century.[22]

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[20] In an effort to locate droving-related materials, searches were conducted using the NAS catalogue for
'key terms' such as 'stance' and 'drover'.
[21] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4). Papers in Action over Drove Stances at
Inverouran and Suie (1843-1862).
[22] The *London Daily News Article* was downloaded from the British Library Library's online collection
of nineteenth-century newspapers website. *London Daily News* (Thursday 31st August 1848).

Aside from the numerous documentary sources consulted, regular trips were also made to the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive at Edinburgh University. Originally founded in 1951, with the intention of collecting, archiving and researching "material relating to the cultural life, folklore and traditional arts of Scotland", the archive contains a vast array of digitised sound recordings with content ranging from customs and folk songs to local history and place-names.[23] Of specific interest were several interviews with elderly drovers, mostly recorded in the 1950s and 1960s, recalling their early memories of, and family connections with, the Scottish cattle trade – a trade which continued in many parts of the country until the turn of the twentieth century.[24]

The recordings of these herdsmen vary greatly in quality, length, content and structure, factors which were largely determined by the condition of the tapes and the interests of the interviewer.[25] Despite these constraints, the interviews provided useful information about the lives and daily practices of the Scottish drovers, details which cannot be obtained from most of the published records. In particular, the drovers' accounts of inns and markets provided a vivid impression of the social interaction and selling practices that took place at these locations – sites that were often characterised by riotous drinking, spirited bargaining and storytelling. Furthermore, the recollections of an old Argyllshire drover named Dugald MacDougall illuminated the logistical challenges associated with herding cattle through the Highlands, an activity which required patience, careful observation and an understanding of animal behaviour.[26]

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[23] Categorised note cards containing detailed descriptions of each recording enabled my search for droving-related material. Once identified, the digitised recordings were uploaded onto a computer in the archive search room and listened to with headphones. Relevant sections of each interview were then transcribed onto my laptop. Edinburgh University School of Scottish Studies Website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/sound-archive, no last date modified. Accessed on 01/06/13.

[24] Most of the interviews relate to the droving trade in the late-nineteenth century. Combined with these recordings, Janey Clarke's recent interviews with an elderly Ross-shire drover [which appeared on the Highland Council funded 'Am Baile' website (Am Baile Website – Memories of a Highland Drover: http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item_audio.jsp?item_id=86806, no last date modified. Accessed on 01/06/13)] were also consulted.

[25] Some of the interviews were recorded in Gaelic, preventing their transcription.

Travellers' Accounts, Historical Narratives and Agricultural Guides

To supplement the first-hand accounts of droving included within the School of Scottish Studies, numerous published diaries and touring accounts of Scotland (mainly dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) were also consulted. Typical of most tours during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the journeys were usually undertaken by middle and upper class English gentlemen with the intention of observing and documenting the various customs, cultures and landscapes encountered on their travels. Due to the scale and popularity of cattle droving during this period, encounters between these tourists and groups of drovers, particularly in the summer and early autumn months, were common. For the purposes of this research, these encounters were placed into three categories: meetings *en route*, encounters at inns and stances, and meetings at markets and trysts. With regards to the former, Bishop Forbes's journal contained a lengthy description of a passing encounter with a large drove of cattle during the summer of 1762.[27] In so doing, he offered information about the wider structure of the drove, its daily patterns of movement and the logistical challenges of herding animals through the Highlands.

Other accounts by travellers such as Daniel Defoe (1761), James Hall (1807) and Joseph Mitchell (1883) gave an insight into the practice of swimming and ferrying cattle over river and sea crossings – activities that required careful planning and a detailed knowledge of currents and tides.[28] In relation to inns and stances, the travel narratives of Robert Cunninghame-Graham (1913), William Thomson (1788) and Dorothy Wordsworth (1897) include observations about the conditions endured and social interaction which took place between drovers and other groups of travellers

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[26] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1958/195.

[27] Forbes, R. (1886) *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, M.A., of the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness, and of the Dioceses of Ross and Argyll, 1762 and 1770*. London: Skeffington.

[28] Defoe, D. (1761) *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies* (6th ed.), Vol. IV. London: D. Browne, T. Osborne, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, J. Buckland, J. Rivington, T. Longman, T. Lownds, T. Caslon, and G. Kearsley; Hall, Rev. J. (1807) *Travels in Scotland, by an Unusual Route: With a Trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides*, Vol. II. London: J. Johnson; Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

(including horsemen, carriers and tourists) at these wayside halts.[29] Finally, accounts by writers such as John Macky (1723) and Alexander Smith (1865) animated a sense of the spectacle encountered at Scotland's cattle markets and their economic and cultural significance to the drovers who attended.[30]

Combined with the touring accounts, material was also gathered from numerous historical texts and papers, covering a range of different topics and scales. On a national level, books such as Chambers's (1861) *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, The New Spalding Club's (1896) *Historical Papers*, Logan's (1831) *Scottish Gael*, Chalmers's (1824) *Caledonia* and *The Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland* (1842) contextualised the social and political environment in which droving operated, at a time when much of the Highlands was gripped by Jacobitism and cattle reiving.[31] On a regional level, texts such as Roger's (1854) *Beauties of Upper Strathearn*, Macara's (1881) *Crieff, its Traditions and Characters*, McIan and Logan's (1848) *Highlanders at Home* and Nimmo's (1880) *History of Stirlingshire*, contained helpful details about the history of the Crieff Tryst and the consumption habits of drovers.[32] Finally, a diversity of books and papers, with topics ranging from military roads and railways, to Gaelic bagpiping, banking and Scottish religion, clarified the moral and commercial landscape of Scotland at the time of droving and the infrastructural developments that contributed to the trade's decline.[33]

[29] Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth; Thomson, W. (1788) *A Tour in England and Scotland, in 1785*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson; Wordsworth, D. (1897) *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, Vol. II. London: Macmillan.

[30] Macky, J. (1723) *A Journey Through Scotland*. London: Pemberton and Hooke; Smith, A. (1865) *A Summer in Skye*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

[31] Allardyce, J. (1896) *The New Spalding Club: Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750*, Vol. I and II. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club; Chalmers, G. (1824) *Caledonia: Or, an Account, Historical and Topographic, of North Britain, from the Most Ancient to the Present Times*, Vol. III. Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co.; Chambers, R. (1861) *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745*, Vol. III. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers; Logan, J. (1831) *The Scottish Gael; or, Celtic Manners*. London: Smith, Elder and Co.; The Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland (1842), *Crieff*, Vol I. Glasgow: A. Fullarton.

[32] Macara, D. (1881) *Crieff, its Traditions and Characters, with Anecdotes of Strathearn*. Edinburgh: D. Macara; McIan, R.R. and Logan, J. (1848) *Highlanders at Home*. London: Ackermann and Co.; Nimmo, W. (1880) *The History of Stirlingshire* (3rd ed.), Vol I. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison; Roger, C. (1854) *The Beauties of Upper Strathearn, Described in Six Excursions from the Town of Crieff*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

[33] Acworth, W.M. (1890) *The Railways of Scotland*. London: John Murray; Awdry, C. (1990) *Encyclopaedia of British Railway Companies*. Wellingborough: Stephens; Brown, C.G. (1997) *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Gibson, J.G. (1998) *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Munro, N. (1928) *The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1727-1927*. Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark; Taylor, W. (1976) *The Military Roads in Scotland*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

In addition to these historical texts, numerous eighteenth-and nineteenth-century agricultural guides were consulted. In relation to the practices of cattle breeding and animal husbandry, texts such as the *General Dictionary of Agriculture and Husbandry* (1807), MacDonald's (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides*, Marshall's (1787) *The Rural Economy of Norfolk*, Jardine's (1836) *Naturalist's Library* and Culley's (1807) *Observations on Livestock* provided details about the typical appearance and favourable characteristics of the Kyloe and West Highland breeds of cattle – information which influenced the drovers' choice of beast and allowed prospective buyers to judge and compare their differing aesthetic qualities.[34] Other agricultural manuals such as McCombie's (1867) *Cattle and Cattle Breeders* and Robertson's (1813) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness* yielded descriptions of the shoeing and swimming of cattle as activities that required the co-operation and co-ordination of drovers and their animals.[35] Finally, authors such as Youatt (1834), Colman (1846) and Graham (1812), provided a lens on the economic importance of the Falkirk Tryst and the challenges posed by straying beasts.[36]

Biographies and Reports

Alongside these agricultural texts, a range of official, statistical and biographical sources were analysed. With regards to the former, Thomas Telford's (1803) *Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland* and the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland's *Fifth* (1811) and *Forty-Fifth* (1859) reports revealed the condition and growth of Scotland's road network throughout the nineteenth century – infrastructural 'improvements' that caused many

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[34] Culley, G. (1807) *Observations on Livestock*. London: G.G.J.; Jardine, W. (1836) *The Naturalist's Library*, Vol. IV (Part II). Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars; MacDonald, J. (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Silvester Doig and Andrew Stirling; Marshall, W. (1787) *The Rural Economy of Norfolk: Comprising the Management of Landed Estates, and the Present Practice of Husbandry in that County*, Vol. I. London: T. Cadell; *The Complete Farmer; Or, General Dictionary of Agriculture and Husbandry* (5th ed.) (1807), Vol. I. London: Rider and Weed.

[35] McCombie, W. (1867) *Cattle and Cattle Breeders*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons; Robertson, J. (1813) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness*. Inverness: J. Young and L. Grant and Co.

[36] Colman, H. (1846) *European Agriculture and Rural Economy. From Personal Observation*, Vol. I. London: Wiley and Putnam; Graham, P. (1812) *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire*. Edinburgh: G. and W. Nicol; Youatt, W. (1834) op. cit.

drovers to alter their routes.[37] Furthermore, examination of several Acts of Parliament, including the 'Act for Repairing Highland Roads and Bridges' (1669), the 'Act for upholding and repairing the Bridges and Highways in the county of Edinburgh' (1713) and numerous 'Turnpike Acts' during the second half of the eighteenth century, underscored the use of tolls – a system which impacted on the finances of the drovers by transferring the costs of road and bridge upkeep from landowners to the people who travelled along sections of road under their jurisdiction.[38]

In addition to these official sources, records were gathered from the *Old* (1791-99) and *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1834-45), a series of detailed surveys documenting the geography, population, history and local economy of over nine hundred parishes throughout Scotland.[39] Of particular interest were the *Old Statistical Account* entries for the Parishes of Criech, Crieff, Kirkmichael and Sorbie, and the *New Statistical Account* records for Monzie and Larbert, regions that were heavily influenced by the droving trade.[40] Accounts for the parishes of Monzie, Larbert, Kirkmichael and Crieff contained interesting observations about the behaviour of drovers and the supposedly damaging effects of 'licensed houses' at the great trysts – establishments that were blamed for 'encouraging idleness' and 'degrading moral standards'. Other records for the parishes of Criech and Sorbie provided information on the dangers of cattle swimming, the amount of weight lost by animals on their journeys to market, and grazing costs, factors heavily influencing the profitability of a drover's beasts.

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[37] Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland (1811) *Fifth Report of the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland*. London: House of Commons; Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland (1859) *Forty-fifth Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office; Telford, T. (1803) *Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland; Made in the Autumn of 1802*. London: Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges.

[38] The 1713 Act of Parliament is described in the Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland's *Forty-Fifth Report* [Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland (1859) op. cit., p.xiv]. National Archives of Scotland (Reference: PA2/29). Acts of the Parliaments (19 Oct 1669-Sep 1672), *Act for Repairing Highland Roads and Bridges*.

[39] Withers, C.W.J. 'Scotland Accounted For: An Introduction to the 'Old' (1791-1799) and the New (1834-1845) Statistical Accounts of Scotland', *Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online*: http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/reading/intro.shtml, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/06/13.

[40] Bonar, J. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Larbert, Vol. VIII, pp. 340-379; Davidson, Rev. I. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Sorbie, Vol. I, pp. 242-258; Omond, J.R. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Monzie, Vol. X, pp. 262-280; Rainy, Rev. G. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Criech, Vol. VIII, pp. 262-283; Stewart, Rev. A. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Kirkmichael, Vol. XV, pp. 506-522; Stirling, R. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Crieff, Vol. IX, pp. 583-602.

In an effort to personalise and provide context to documentary and archival sources, material was gathered from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. In particular, the biographies of road engineers (George Wade, Thomas Telford and Joseph Mitchell), authors (Edmund Burt, Robert Cunninghame-Graham, William Youatt), poets (Robert Donn and Allan Ramsay) and landowners (John Drummond and Henry Brougham), provided insights into the cultural and infrastructural landscape of Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the numerous personal, political and economic factors that informed popular representations of the Scottish drovers.[41] Combined with these biographical references, further interpretative and contextual information was gathered from Maceachen's (1922) *Gaelic-English Dictionary* and Brown's (1845) *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* – the consultation of which allowed me to define Scots and Gaelic terms that appeared in my interview and documentary sources.[42]

Newspapers, Magazines and Non-textual Materials

Aside from these official, biographical and referential records, a range of newspapers and magazines from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were also examined.[43] Articles from the *Stirling Journal*, the *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* and the *Glasgow Herald*, provided insights into the scene encountered and the number of cattle purchased annually at the Falkirk Tryst, information that was used to illustrate the decline of droving during the latter half of

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[41] Birse, R.M. and Chrimes, M. (2004) 'Mitchell, Joseph (1803–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Brumwell, S. (2004) 'Wade, George (1673–1748)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Clarke, E. and Hall, Rev., S.A. (2004) 'Youatt, William (1776–1847)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Lobban, M. (2004) 'Brougham, Henry Peter (1778–1868)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Paxton, R. (2004) 'Telford, Thomas (1757–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Pittock, M.G.H. (2004) 'Drummond, John (1714–1747)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Pittock, M. G. H. (2004) 'Ramsay, Allan (1684–1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Stevenson, D. (2004) 'Burt, Edmund (d.1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Thomson, D.S. (2004) 'Mackay, Robert (1714–1778)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Watts, C. (2004) 'Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame (1852–1936)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[42] Brown, T. (1845) *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. Edinburgh: John Johnstone; Maceachen, E (1922) *Maceachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary* (4th ed.). Inverness: The Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company.
[43] Most of these articles were located and downloaded via the British Library's online collection of nineteenth-century newspapers website. Searches for key terms such as 'tryst' and 'drovers' were used to identify relevant articles.

the nineteenth century.[44] Furthermore, two articles from the *Inverness Courier* (one from 17th April 1833 and the other from 17th July 1839) included details about drovers' opposition to customs and tolls, the imposition of which encroached on their customary rights of passage.[45] Combined with this, articles from the *Celtic Magazine* (1883) and the *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (1838), provided additional accounts of the social interaction and business that took place at the Falkirk Tryst and the legal privileges afforded to drovers on their journeys to market – an illustration of the trade's cultural and political influence during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[46]

Further insights into the lives and practices of the drovers were gathered from a variety of novels, songs and poems. With regards to the former, Walter Scott's *The Two Drovers* (1827) and *Rob Roy* (1817), and Robert Louis Stevenson's (1897) *St Ives*, evoked the journeys undertaken by drovers and the various challenges (including malnutrition, dangerous river crossings and harsh weather conditions) faced on the way.[47] Coupled with this, consultation of the index cards in the School of Scottish Studies provided me with several references to songs and poems. Of notable merit was Robert Donn's poetic account of the Crieff Tryst, recounting the emotions experienced by drovers attending these markets – events that were often characterised by feelings of home-sickness and regret.[48] Furthermore, a song describing the Falkirk Tryst in October 1827 provided details about the social interaction and variety of cattle displayed at the market.[49]

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[44] *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 16th October 1880; *Glasgow Herald* 9th October 1900; *Stirling Journal* 13th September and 11th October 1827; *Stirling Journal and Advertiser* 27th September 1844.
[45] *Inverness Courier* 17th April 1833 and 17th July 1839.
[46] MacKenzie, A. (1883) *The Celtic Magazine*, Vol. VIII. Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie; *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (February 1838), Falkirk Trysts, Vol. IV.
[47] Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable; Scott, W. (1827) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co.; Stevenson, R.L. (1897) *St Ives: Being the Adventures of a French Prisoner in England*. London: Heinemann.
[48] My understanding of Robert Donn's poetry was greatly enhanced by a talk given by Caithness poet, George Gunn, at the Drovers' Tryst Walking Festival in Crieff. 'Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language, by Robert Mackay, the Celebrated bard of Lord Reay's Country; With a Memoir of the Author', *The Quarterly Review* (July 1831), 45, pp. 358-374.

Cartographic and Photographic Sources

In order to examine the routes that were used by the drovers, numerous 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 scale Ordnance Survey maps and several guidebooks were consulted.[50] Analysis of these materials, in conjunction with Haldane's (1952) map of Scottish drove roads, allowed me to identify and locate the various sites (such as stances, river and ferry crossings and inns) and routes referred to in my documentary and interview sources.[51] This information was then plotted onto a digital overlay using Ordnance Survey mapping software, enabling me to calculate the daily distances travelled by drovers and the length of delays caused by unplanned diversions – logistical considerations that heavily influenced the drovers' choice of route. Furthermore, combining this cartographic evidence with material gathered from local walking guidebooks made it possible to determine the terrain and underhoof conditions associated with certain drove routes.[52] Finally, the examination (and translation) of Gaelic place names in the regions surrounding each drove route furnished clues about their location and the herding practices (such as cattle swimming and the droving of young calves) of the drovers that once passed along them.

In addition to these cartographic records, photographic materials were gathered from the Highland Livestock Heritage Society (HLHS) archive in Dingwall.[53] Housed within a working cattle mart, the archive includes a wide selection of locally sourced droving and droving-related images and maps.[54] Given that droving is conventionally considered an episode in Scotland's landscape history pre-dating the age of the camera, the HLHS images provided me with a rare opportunity to study and inspect

[49] Wyse, G. (1829) *Original Poems and Songs*. Falkirk: T. Johnston.

[50] The guidebooks consulted included: Ang and Pollard's (1984) *Walking the Scottish Highlands: General Wade's Military Road* [Ang, T. and Pollard, M. (1984) *Walking the Scottish Highlands: General Wade's Military Roads*. London: Andre Deutsch], James Gray Kyd's (1958) *Drove Roads and Bridle Paths around Braemar* [Kyd, J.G. (1958) *The Drove Roads and Bridle Paths Around Braemar* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd] and Smith's (1937) *Hill Paths in Scotland* [Smith, W.A. (1937) *Hill Paths in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace].

[51] A copy of Haldane's colour drove route map (the copies included in most editions of *The Drove Roads of Scotland* are reproduced in black and white) was obtained from Janey Clarke, archivist at the Highland Livestock Heritage Society. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

[52] Details about drove routes were also gathered from the Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society's 'Heritage Paths' website [Heritage Paths Project Website (Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society): http://www.heritagepaths.co.uk/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/06/13].

[53] The archive was compiled by Janey Clarke, a droving enthusiast and local resident of Dingwall. The photographs are arranged into several categories including: markets and fairs, drove stances, toll houses and drovers' inns.

snapshots of droving in action.[55] Of notable interest were two sets of black and white photographs – one depicting a drove of cattle being herded across the narrow tidal channel between Benbecula and North Uist, the other showing herds of beasts being driven to cattle fairs in the Outer Hebrides and Skye. Scrutiny of these images hinted at the arrangement of beasts within the herd, the presence of young boys and elder herdsmen on the drove, and the supportive role played by dogs and ponies – information rarely mentioned in published accounts of the droving trade.

Figure 4: Driving cattle across the North Ford between Benbecula and North Uist	Figure 5: Cattle being driven near Skeabost on the road to Portree
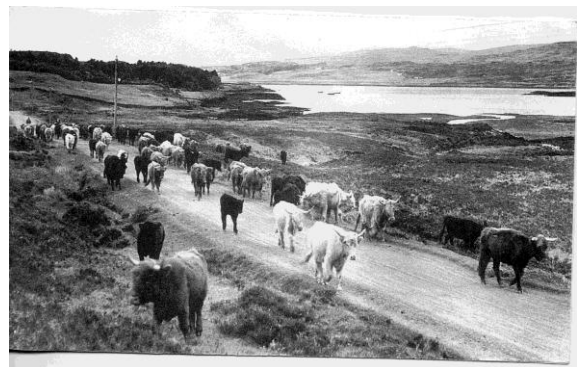
Alternative Methodologies

While the focus of this research was primarily on archival accounts of the droving trade, experiments were also made with other methodological approaches. Firstly, in an effort to engage with the material remains left behind by drovers, several exploratory walks were undertaken along old drove routes. Of particular merit was a fourteen mile excursion along a section of General Wades's Military Road (known locally as the Corrieyairack road) between the village of Fort Augustus and Melgarve, a route which remained in operation until the beginning of the twentieth century.[56] Journeying along this track provided me with an opportunity to visualise and interpret the remaining physical traces of the droving era – remnants which included

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[54] Most of the photographs date from the late-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

[55] Most of the photographs were taken at smaller fairs and markets in the Outer Hebrides and Skye. Due to their distance from road and rail networks, some of these markets continued to operate until the 1950s and 1960s, over fifty years after the demise of the Falkirk Tryst.

[56] Fort Augustus is located mid-way between Fort William and Inverness. Melgarve is a small settlement located in the upper reaches of the Spey valley, eleven miles west of Laggan [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2010) *Loch Laggan and Craig Meagaidh* (Sheet 401). Southampton: Ordnance Survey]. Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.221] noted that the Corrieyairack road remained in use by drovers until 1906.

containment dykes, ruined stances and narrow depressions left by successive droves of cattle.
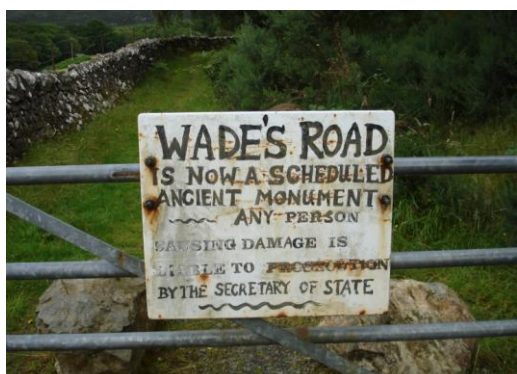
Figure 6: General Wade's Military Road near Fort Augustus	**Figure 7: Descending General Wade's Military Road into Melgarve**

Aside from the Corrieyairack walk, I took part in an eight-day droving re-enactment (organised by 'SpeyGrian', a Scottish-based educational trust) between the villages of Newtonmore and Kirkmichael.[57] Participation in this journey, which I discuss in greater detail in my concluding chapter, afforded me an insight into the lifeworld of the Scottish drovers and the daily challenges of herding animals through the Highlands. Furthermore, the experience of interacting and sharing stories with the other group members provided me with a richer understanding of the social dimensions of droving life, an awareness informing my later interpretation of documentary and interview sources.

Another methodological approach that could have been adopted is that of landscape archaeology. In this regard, the droving-related research of Donald Adamson, a fellow PhD student based in the archaeology department at Glasgow University, provided a useful illustration of how documentary and cartographic sources could be effectively combined with material evidence gathered from local excavations. In an effort to engage with Donald's archaeological approach, several joint trips were made to the National Library of Scotland and the School of Scottish Studies. Furthermore, regular email contact and occasional meetings with Donald allowed for the mutual exchange

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[57] Newtonmore is located in the Spey valley about fifteen miles south-west of Aviemore [Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Scale Landranger Map (2012) *Kingussie and Monadhliath Mountains* (Sheet 35). Southampton: Ordnance Survey]. Kirkmichael is located twelve miles east of Pitlochry on the banks of the River Ardle [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Glen Shee and Braemar* (Sheet

of specialist academic literature and source material – information which broadened

my understanding of the droving trade and the wider commercial landscape in which

it operated.[58]

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387). Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2011)
Pitlochry and Loch Tummel (Sheet 386). Southampton: Ordnance Survey].

[58] Donald's research is primarily concerned with the identification of drove routes and their associated
structures (including stances, inns and enclosures) as evidence of Scotland's commercial development
in the years prior to 1745 – a fact-driven approach, not dissimilar to that of Haldane's sixty years
earlier. As such, Donald draws extensively on a range of economic, political and statistical sources
(including official manuscripts, estate papers and cartographic records) that were initially overlooked
by myself.

Chapter Four: A Droving Mentor

> During the autumn of 1942 I had occasion, in the course of certain work on which I was then engaged, to call to mind an old road which crosses the Ochils immediately behind my home near Auchterarder in Perthshire ... Little used as it is now, the grassy road retains the clear marks of extensive use by the traffic of former days, and it occurred to me that it would be of interest to try to trace something of its history.[1]

This chapter explores the life and research of A.R.B. Haldane – a Scottish lawyer, historian and landowner whose pioneering work on the Scottish droving trade serves as a useful critical vehicle for progressing broader arguments and concerns of this thesis.[2] Drawing on his original research notebooks, his unpublished memoir and his seminal text on Scottish droving, this chapter critically examines Haldane's work in order to gain a deeper understanding of how droving might be studied. The chapter commences with a consideration of Haldane's early life and the various factors – his love of fishing, his interest in transport and his work as a lawyer specialising in factorial work – which both enabled his research to happen and informed aspects of its content. In what follows, I situate the author's work within broader traditions of Scottish landscape scholarship, comparing Haldane's research undertakings to that of other landed enthusiasts such as Sir Hugh Munro. Attention is then paid to Haldane's research methodology (based around the collection of archival evidence, interview material and walking along drove routes) and his evolutionist, site-based interpretation of the droving landscape – an approach which has several implications for the structure and content of this thesis. Once critiqued, the focus shifts to Haldane's utilisation of touring accounts and his perspective on agrarian improvement. In this section, I describe how Haldane's elite position as a factor, landowner and sporting gentleman helped to influence his modernist-progressivist representation of enclosure and land privatisation – processes which ultimately brought droving to its demise – as part of a wider, and ultimately necessary, project of agricultural advancement.

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[1] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, p.1.
[2] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

Situating Haldane

Originally published in 1952, A.R.B. Haldane's book on *The Drove Roads of Scotland* is a classic work of Scottish history, providing a detailed account of the routes, sites and commercial operation of Scotland's droving trade from its reiving roots in the sixteenth and seventeenth century through to its eventual decline in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[3] Haldane's text comprises of twelve chapters. Chapters one, two and three examine the early history, commercial development and economic structure of the droving trade, and the life, work, practices and characteristics of the men responsible for herding cattle from the Highlands to the great markets in central Scotland. Chapters four to seven are structured in a simple 'geographical' manner, tracing the journey and published records of droving through several geographical regions, including Skye and the Western Isles, Argyll, Northern Scotland, Morayshire, Aberdeenshire and Angus. In chapter eight, Haldane examines the social interaction and commercial exchange which took place at the great trysts of Falkirk and Crieff, before moving on, in chapters nine and ten, to describe the steady flow of cattle south to markets and grazing areas in southern England. Finally, chapters eleven and twelve discuss the various socio-economic and technological factors which contributed to the decline of droving in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In many ways, Haldane's book could be characterised as a work of 'dry' economic history, drawing on a range of official and published records such as court documents, government reports, eighteenth-and nineteenth-century tour diaries and statistical accounts in order to gain insights into the commercial operation of Scotland's droving trade. Adopting a dispassionate and impersonal approach, Haldane rarely engaged with the situated knowledges, oral testimony or daily experiences of drovers – aspects of the trade that were often overlooked in favour of verifiable details about the line of old drove routes or the location of key strategic sites such as cattle stances and drovers' inns. Furthermore, in his representation of the trade, Haldane situates droving as an important phase in the commercial development of Scotland – a curious modernism running the length and breadth of his book.

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[3] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

Since the publication of Haldane's text, several books, magazine and journal articles have been written about cattle droving in Britain.[4] With regards to England, K.J. Bonser provides a rich account of the early history of the droving trade and the routes, sites, practices and folklore associated with English herdsmen.[5] Drawing on the earlier historical work of P.G. Hughs and R.J. Colyer, Shirley Toulson's illustrated work on the Welsh cattle trade gives a detailed account of the main drove routes between Wales and western England.[6] Following in the tradition of landscape scholars such as W.G. Hoskins and Brian Hindle (and other writers in the 'Shire Archaeology' book series), Toulson's text is largely educational in tone, containing maps, photographs and numerous tips on how to trace and identify old drove routes and their associated material traces such as hedges, stone walls and inns. In addition to these national studies, droving has been the subject of numerous books, papers and articles in historical and archaeological society journals that are more local or regional in focus.[7] Of notable merit is Eric Cregeen's 'Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover' – a compelling account of the life and work of an Argyllshire cattle drover (named Dugald MacDougall) during the final decades of the nineteenth century.[8] Unlike most

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[4] Most of these publications make reference to Haldane's influential text.

[5] In addition to Bonser's work, English drove roads have also been examined by William Addison in his book *The Old Roads of England* [Addison, W. (1980) *The Old Roads of England*. London: B.T. Batsford]. Bonser, K.J. (1970) *The Drovers: Who They Were and How They Went: An Epic of the English Countryside*. London: Macmillan.

[6] Colyer, R.J. (1976) *The Welsh Cattle Drovers: Agriculture and the Welsh Cattle Trade Before and During the Nineteenth Century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press; Hughes, P.G. (1943) *Wales and the Drovers: The Historic Background of an Epoch*. London: Foyle's Welsh; Toulson, S. (1977) *The Drovers' Roads of Wales*. London: Wildwood House.

[7] For example, see: Arnold, D.V. (1982) *Scottish Cattle Droving and the Hambleton Drove Road*. Osmotherley: D.V. Arnold; Bettey, J.H. (1983) 'Livestock Trade in the West Country during the Seventeenth Century', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 127, pp. 123-128; Fleetwood, D. (2008) 'A Day in the Life of a Drover', *Scotland Magazine*, 38, pp. 58-61; Keay, J. (1984) *Highland Drove*. London: Murray; Kyd, J.G. (1958) *The Drove Roads and Bridle Paths Around Braemar* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; MacDonald, M.A. (1974-76) 'Drovering', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 49, pp. 189-197; MacDonald, M. (1992-94) 'The Droving Trade in the Records of the Commissioners of Supply of Argyllshire', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 58, pp. 1-7; Mitchell, J. (2000) *The Shielings and Drove Ways of Loch Lomondside*. Stirling: J. Mitchell; Prevost, W.A.J. (1953) 'The Drove Road into Annandale', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 31, pp. 121-136; Reid, J. (2005) 'Drove Roads', *Calatria: Journal of the Falkirk Local History Society*, 22; Roberts, I., Carlton, R. and Rushworth, A. (2010) *The Drove Roads of Northumberland*. Stroud: History Press; Smith, W. (2013) *The Drovers' Roads of the Middle Marches*. Herefordshire: Logaston Press; Watts, K.J. (1990) *Droving in Wiltshire*. Trowbridge: Trowbridge Publishing.

[8] Remarking on Haldane's earlier work, Cregeen [Cregeen, E.R. (1959) 'Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover with Historical Notes on the West Highland Cattle Trade', *Scottish Studies*, 3, pp. 143-163, p.159] noted that: "*The Drove Roads of Scotland … is an invaluable guide. The Author met Dugald MacDougall and refers to him briefly in his chapter on the drove roads of Argyll. My own study of a particular drover in a particular droving tradition and locality should be viewed against the great landscape of droving that Haldane has so admirably depicted in this work*".

of the published work on droving, Cregeen's paper is based primarily on oral testimony, providing his research with unique insights into the lives, practices and experiences of Scottish herdsmen – a stark contrast to Haldane's dry, survey-type approach to historical scholarship.[9] However, while it is important to acknowledge the varied contributions of droving scholars over the past sixty years, none of these studies contain the range of source materials or level of detail as Haldane's seminal text – a book which has retailed its singular status as the most authoritative and wide-ranging account of the Scottish droving trade.[10]

As outlined in Chapter Three, this chapter draws on a collection of archival materials from the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. Among these sources are five hardback notebooks containing Haldane's research notes for *The Drove Roads of Scotland*.[11] Ranging from one hundred to three hundred pages in length, these notebooks contain observations, quotations and reference details from a wide variety of published sources, including: newspaper and magazine articles, statistical accounts, breeding manuals, novels, manuscript sources, official publications, legal reports, journal articles, pamphlets, historical maps, specialist historical texts, travellers' accounts, academic papers, local guidebooks and biographies. In addition to these published materials, Haldane's notebooks contain accounts of five exploratory walks undertaken between August 1945 and October 1948, and several interviews with local informants and herdsmen describing their early memories of the droving trade.

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[9] Reflecting on his interview with MacDougall, Cregeen [Cregeen, E.R. (1959) op. cit., p.144] observed that: "The facts of a drover's life are there, probably more fully than in any extant oral source; but the account is more than a piece of informative social history; it acquires from the old man's telling and the artless changes of his mood a compelling and moving quality".

[10] It should also be acknowledged that Haldane's book drew on a small collection of earlier droving studies, the majority of which were either local of regional in focus: Corrie, J.M. (1915) *The 'Droving Days' in the South-Western District of Scotland*. Dumfries: J. Maxwell; Fraser, G.M. (1921) *The Old Deeside Road, Aberdeen to Braemar: Its Course, History and Associations*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press; Henderson, R. (1940) 'A Deal in Cattle 200 Years Ago', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 22, pp. 172-176; Inglis, H.R.G. (1915) 'The Roads that led to Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 50, pp. 18-49; Johnman, W.A.P. (1917) 'Highways and Byways', *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society*, pp. 21-34; Reid, R.C. (1940) 'Some Letters of Thomas Bell, Drover, 1746', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 22, pp. 177-181; Robertson, A.E. (1943) *Old Tracks, Cross-country Routes and 'Coffin Roads' in the North West Highlands*. Edinburgh: Darien Press; Ross, A. (1888) 'Old Highland Roads', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 14, pp. 172-193; Thompson, W. (1932) 'Cattle Droving Between Scotland and England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 87, pp. 172-183.

[11] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/14, Notebook I; National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/15, Notebook II; National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/16,

Furthermore, glued into these notebooks are several typed and hand-written letters between Haldane and his various scholarly acquaintances and informants, each one containing snippets of information about the line of old drove routes, the locations of key logistical sites such as cattle stances, markets and ferry crossing points, the names of notable drovers and details about local history. Also included in this collection is a typescript of a talk proposed for St Andrews University Archaeological Society – an eighteen page typewritten document providing a brief summary of the author's early curiosity and later research into the Scottish droving trade.[12]

Moreover, Haldane's papers hold an unpublished memoir, written by the author in 1975 in the final decade of his life.[13] Ninety-five pages long, this memoir is arranged into twenty-six short chapters. Interspersed with recollections of World War One, early transportation and weekend trips to the family estate, chapters one to eight are devoted to Haldane's early life and education, focussing on his scholarly experiences at Edinburgh Academy, Winchester School and Oxford University, where he studied modern history between 1919 and 1923. Following his graduation, chapters nine to eleven outline Haldane's early professional life as a law apprentice and young Writer to the Signet specialising in factorial work.[14] Chapters twelve to fifteen focus on the author's recreational interest in shooting and hunting, activities that were often carried out on his uncle's estate in Glen Etive. Chapters sixteen to twenty-two tackle several notable figures in Haldane's life including his father William Stowell Haldane, his mother Edith Haldane, his uncles Richard Burdon Haldane and John Scott Haldane, his Aunt Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane, and his cousins John Burdon Sanderson Haldane and Naomi Mitchison.[15] In the final section, Haldane addresses his later life

Notebook III; National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17, Notebook IV; National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/18, Notebook V.

[12] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19. Haldane, A.R.B. (undated) *Typescript of Talk Proposed for St. Andrews University Archaeological Society*.

[13] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320. A.R.B. Haldane's Unpublished Memoir.

[14] A Writer to the Signet is a senior Scottish solicitor authorised to conduct cases in the Court of Session.

[15] Richard Burdon Haldane was the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain from 1912 to 1915, and from January to November 1924 [Matthew, H.C.G. (2004) 'Haldane, Richard Burdon (1856-1928)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press]. John Scott Haldane was a Physiologist and academic who served as the director of Mining Research at Oxford University, Birmingham University and Glasgow University [Sturdy, S. (2004) 'Haldane, John Scott (1860-1936)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press]. Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane was an author, philosopher, suffragist and social welfare worker who became the first female Justice of the Peace in Scotland in 1920 [Ritchie, L.A. (2004) 'Haldane, Elizabeth Sanderson (1862-1937)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press]. John Burdon

and work as a principal in the Ministry of Production during World War Two and a member of the Trustee Savings Bank Inspection Committee – a position which he held for twenty years, until his eventual retirement in 1967. Of notable interest is a short chapter describing his historical research on droving, military roads and the Scottish Postal Service – scholarly endeavours which extended over a twenty-five year period following the end of World War Two.[16]

A Biographical Terrain

Born at 55 Melville Street, Edinburgh, on 18th November 1900, Archibald Richard Burdon Haldane was the youngest of the four children of Sir William Stowell Haldane, lawyer and landowner, and Margaret Edith Stuart Nelson.[17] The Haldanes were a landed and well-respected Scottish family, containing a number of distinguished legal, political, religious and academic figures. As a result, Archibald enjoyed a privileged childhood, spending many of his weekends at the family estate of Foswell near Auchterarder.[18] It was here that he developed what was to become a lifelong interest in trout fishing, upon which he reflects throughout his publishing life in three biographical books: *By Many Waters* (1940), *The Path By the Water* (1944); and the affectionately titled *By River Stream and Loch: Thirty Years with a Trout Rod* (1973).[19] It was during these early fishing trips on the family estate that Haldane first started to acquire an interest in the droving trade, a curiosity borne out of the frequent following of riverside tracks:

> Over 60 years ago when I was a small boy living at my home in the Ochils behind Auchterarder, my great joy in the Summer and Autumn months was to

Sanderson Haldane was a geneticist and evolutionary biologist who worked at Oxford University, Cambridge University, London University and University College London [Quirke, V.M. (2004) 'Haldane, John Burdon (1892-1964)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press]. Naomi Mitchison was a famous novelist, poet and socialist activist [Maslen, E. (2004) 'Mitchison, Naomi Mary Margaret (1897-1999)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press].

[16] Each of these books were the product of about seven or eight years of research [National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., p.79]. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.; Haldane, A.R.B. (1962) *New Ways Through the Glens*. London: Thomas Nelson; Haldane, A.R.B. (1971) *Three Centuries of Scottish Posts: An Historical Survey to 1836*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

[17] Mitchison, R.M. (2004) 'Haldane, Archibald Richard Burdon (1900-1982)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[18] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., pp. 2-7.

[19] Haldane, A.R.B. (1940) *By Many Waters: A record of Fishing and Walking*. London: Thomas Nelson; Haldane, A.R.B. (1944) *The Path by the Water*. London: Thomas Nelson; Haldane, A.R.B. (1973) *By River, Stream and Loch: Thirty Years with a Trout Rod*. London: Newton Abbot.

fish for trout in the small burns which abound in these lovely hills. Often during my fishing expeditions I followed grassy tracks through the hills, not least one which leads directly from behind my home over the hills to Glendevon. As I grew older I began to speculate as to the history of these tracks and the various types of traffic which they must have seen – for it was clear that many of them were of a great age.[20]

Haldane's enthusiasm for the life of the river was further developed in early adulthood where a relocation to Winchester School followed by Oxford to attend University allowed the author to establish himself as a competent oarsman, rowing regularly for his College boat team.[21] Although manifesting itself in slightly different ways, a parallel can be drawn here between Haldane's sporting pursuit of waterways and his later scholarly interest in droveways. Both courses imply movement and circulation allowing for swifter trade and improved communication.

Figure 8: A.R.B. Haldane at
Oxford University in 1921

Furthermore, Haldane's affection for fishing and rowing influenced the content of his droving research, providing him with a range of water-related metaphors. For example, in describing the mechanics of droving in Scotland he noted that:

> The gradual process of the collection of cattle from all parts of the Highlands and the arrival of these beasts at the … Market … can almost be likened to a system of small streams, growing to rivers as the progress South continued. As

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[20] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.1.
[21] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., pp. 30-32.

in a river system the streams of cattle passed through pools or collecting points where other streams came in and where beasts often changed hands.[22]

In addition to its use at the regional and national level, Haldane's metaphorical device of a stream was also deployed at a more local scale, to describe the sinuous and divergent nature of paths worn by cattle:

> Tracks on steep slope down on English side of Windy Gyle exceedingly well marked, looking from below as if caused by stream poured from above. In places dividing and sub-dividing, now parting to each side of rocky knoll, now re-forming. In places where nature of ground has concentrated traffic, track worn very deep.[23]

The geographical analogy of a river system with small tributaries flowing into a main channel serves to remind that, like rivers, drove roads are not simply confined to the landscape surface, they are cutting into it too, inscribing their presence as a lasting imprint, an enduring trace of a forgotten trade awaiting future interpretation by the enquiring researcher.[24] Furthermore, Haldane's fluvial analogy illustrates that drove roads are as much part of a region's 'natural history' as its 'cultural history', an observation which corresponds closely with Carl Sauer's vision of landscape as the outcome of interactions between cultural and natural forces.[25]

Aside from his interests in fishing, as a qualified lawyer based between Edinburgh and Foswell and latterly as the chairman of the Trustee Savings Bank Inspection Committee, Haldane was a frequent traveller on the Caledonian and London North Western railway, journeying regularly between Auchterarder and the two capitals for meetings.[26] Haldane's interest in transport went beyond the purely functional, however, and a particular fondness for travel can be detected in the decision to devote

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[22] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.9.

[23] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17 op. cit., p.113.

[24] Haldane's depiction of a fluvial geography of droving corresponds closely with the work of spatial scientists such as Will Graf [Graf, W.L. (1975) 'A Cumulative Stream-Ordering System', *Geographical Analysis*, 7, pp. 35-40; Graf, W.L. (1976) 'Streams, Slopes, and Suburban Development', *Geographical Analysis*, 8, pp. 153-173; Graf, W.L. (1977) 'The Rate Law in Fluvial Geomorphology', *American Journal of Science*, 277, pp. 178-191] who has explicitly equated road and river systems as obeying similar spatial laws.

[25] Sauer, C.O. (1925) 'The Morphology of Landscape', *University of California Publications in Geography*, 2, pp. 19-53.

[26] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., pp. 11-12.

an entire chapter of his unpublished memoir to describing exploits on cars and trains.[27] Reminiscing about his early experiences of rail travel, Haldane noted that:

> In the days of which I write, long before the railway amalgamations each line seemed to have an individuality of its own. This was I think, partly due to the different colours and designs of the locomotives and even of the carriages, though I think that in at least one case it was due to the sound and rhythm of the train passing over the metals. The Caledonian with which we were most familiar had blue engines, the Highland green and the Glasgow and South Western reddish brown … To-day, while in my view railway travel is a much underrated form of locomotion, much of its charm except perhaps on long journeys has undoubtedly gone. This is, I think, partly due to the standardization – and that at a distinctly lowered level – the increasing absence of the human element and perhaps above all to the closure of so many branch lines each with its individuality.[28]

As a man who both admired and relied on the railways throughout his working life, it is perhaps unsurprising that he acquired a scholarly interest in drove roads as the main routes of transport for thousands of drovers and their cattle throughout the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth centuries. Haldane's enthusiasm for rail travel is nonetheless ironic given that the expansion of Scotland's rail network, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was a major factor in the decline of the droving trade.[29]

Other factors in Haldane's professional life also contributed to and facilitated his interest in droving. In particular, frequent visits to London and Edinburgh provided Haldane with regular opportunities to consult manuscripts and historical papers held at the British Museum, National Archives and National Library of Scotland – often negotiating access to holdings after hours through various academic contacts.[30] As such, Haldane fits the mould of the archetypal gentleman scholar, kept honest and occupied with worthy projects, set within the whole mix of lairdly, professional and personal life that both allowed his research to happen and shaped aspects of its content. Indeed, as a member of the Free Church of Scotland, Haldane's endeavours could be understood as a cultural expression of Presbyterianism as a 'habitus' – a distinctly Scottish input to landscape research based around the leisurely pursuit of

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[27] Ibid., pp. 10-15.
[28] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[29] It is worth noting here that Haldane's nostalgic descriptions of early rail travel stand in relative contrast to his matter-of-fact, progressivist account of droving. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 219-220.
[30] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., pp. 16-17.

useful tasks, of which mountaineers such as Sir Hugh Munro, Reverend A. E. Robertson and William Naismith could be seen as notable contributors.[31]

In seeking to characterise this 'gentlemanly' school of landscape scholarship, one could describe it as broadly empirical in form with an emphasis on the recording and classification of certain aspects of Scotland's varied topography. In order to analyse this approach further, it is useful to compare Haldane's attempts to identify and map the drove roads of Scotland with the efforts of earlier outdoor enthusiasts such as Munro, a nineteenth-century Scottish landowner and mountaineer, best-known for his published list of Scotland's mountains rising to heights of over three thousand feet above sea level.[32] Similarly to Haldane, Munro was born into a privileged Scottish family, a baronet and heir to the estate of Lindertis in Forfarshire. Like Haldane, Munro spent much of his childhood living between the family home in the capital (Haldane's in Edinburgh and Munro's in London) and the ancestral Scottish estate.[33] For both men, childhood weekends spent at their respective country homes proved to be particularly formative, providing each with an interest in Scotland's landscape and an inspiration for the scholarly tasks upon which they would embark in later life.

Commonalties between Haldane and Munro can also be found in their choice of research methodologies. Both landscape enthusiasts chose to adopt a methodical and, at times, empirical approach to their objects of study. For Munro, the task was to measure and locate all of Scotland's three thousand foot mountains, a challenge involving accurate map and compass readings combined with the regular deployment of an aneroid barometer.[34] Albeit in a different physical setting, for Haldane, the objective was to locate and record the routes used by Scottish drovers, something which necessitated frequent recourse to facts, measurements, statistics and maps – an approach which, like Munro's, was bound up with notions of 'verifiability' and 'rigorous scientific method'. Indeed, both authors were influenced by the established

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[31] Munro, H.T. (1891) *Munro's Tables of the 3000-feet Mountains of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Mountaineering Club; Naismith, W. (1892), 'Notes and Queries', *Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal*, 2, p. 133; Robertson, A.E. (1943) *Old Tracks, Cross-country Routes and 'Coffin Roads' in the North West Highlands*. Edinburgh: Darien Press.
[32] These mountains were named 'Munros', after Sir Hugh – a term which remains in use today. Munro, H.T. (1891) op. cit.
[33] Lorimer, H. (2004) 'Munro, Sir Hugh Thomas, of Lindertis, Fourth Baronet (1856–1919)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[34] Lorimer, H. (2004) op. cit.

practices of Victorian field science, an academic tradition of out-of-doors research based on the rigorous recording of field notes and observational evidence, the amassing of which would allow for the accurate characterisation of a region.[35] The decision to employ such meticulous research methods was driven, in both cases, by an enthusiasm for collection and accumulation – Munro with his passion for compiling tables of mountain heights, and Haldane with his appetite for identifying drove routes and their associated sources and statistics.

A Meticulous Approach

Analysis of Haldane's research notebooks reveals him to be a meticulous archival scholar with an eye for detail and an impressive ability for amassing resources which range from court records, statistical accounts and specialist historical texts to published tours and newspaper articles. Once apprehended, each source was subjected to forensic scrutiny – relevant facts and figures dredged out and key passages summarised in notebook form (see figure 9). After copying historical material, each piece of information was numbered according to chapter title before being cross-referenced with other archival accounts to ensure the triangulation of evidence (see figure 10). Such rigorous scholarship was, no doubt, influenced by a desire to avoid suggestions of speculation and conjecture, faulty modes of reasoning that would have been frowned upon in Haldane's traditional and 'gentlemanly' historical circles. As such, Haldane's methodological approach was largely underpinned by an unshakable, foundational belief that, buried within his sources, there were indeed key facts which could be excavated by the discerning researcher and substantiated by the logical mind.

Despite the seriousness with which Haldane conducted and regarded his research, such endeavours did not pass without incident. In his unpublished memoir, Haldane recalls with some humour, how, on a visit to an archive in Stirling, having accidentally dislodged a folio jammed between the top shelf of a bookcase and the ceiling:

> I was appalled by a thunderous crash and when clouds of black dust had gradually settled I found myself gazing, like Stout Cortez, at a huge pile of

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[35] Ibid.

fallen plaster which had no doubt for years enjoyed the support of the folio of which I had just deprived it … It had never occurred to me that historical research might involve risk to life and limb.[36]

As illustrated by his fondly remembered archival adventures, Haldane was clearly a man who enjoyed the scholarly life, taking a 'Calvinist' pleasure in the hardships involved and the tantalising opportunity to interrogate long-forgotten sources.

Figure 9: Haldane's notes from published source materials
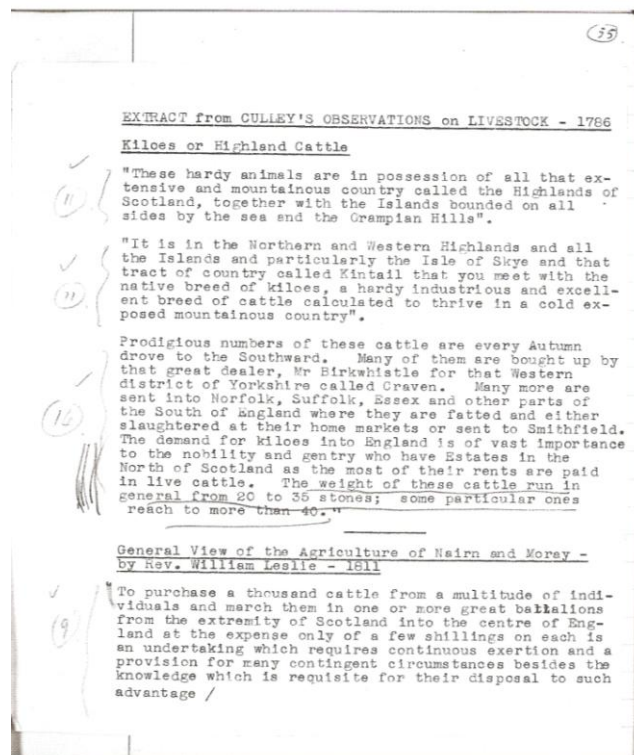
Although there are certainly differences between Haldane's dry, descriptive approach and the more immersed approach adopted in this thesis, his research notebooks and subsequent book were a useful source of information, providing me with numerous references to published source materials. Inspired by Haldane's methodological concern for amassing, categorising and cross-referencing documentary sources, this thesis adopts a similarly thorough approach to identifying and accumulating historical materials – a sort of 'make-do methodology' based on the amalgamation and creative interpretation of diverse and fragmentary sources.[37] Consequently, in addition to being the key researcher of the Scottish droving trade, Haldane was also an important

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[36] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.18.

'actor' in the subject-matter of this thesis – a droving mentor, guiding me through the remaining published traces of droving. However, despite these similarities, Haldane's systematic gathering of materials is somewhat at odds with the more open, opportunist 'make-do' methodology employed in this thesis. While Haldane focuses on official records and published sources (with occasional references to fieldwork and conversational evidence), this thesis pays greater attention to the livelier, more marginal accounts of droving included in the songs, poems, photographs and oral testimony of droving – materials which provide deeper insights into the lifeworlds and embodied practices of Scottish herdsmen than Haldane's dense documentary sources. Furthermore, unlike Haldane, I am willing to engage in creative interpretation and educated guesswork in order to negotiate absences in the source materials and recover past experiences of droving – semi-speculative modes of reasoning that contrast sharply with Haldane's descriptive, fact-driven approach.

Figure 10: Haldane's chapter list

Forgotten Paths

Aside from his extensive use of written and printed materials, Haldane's research methodology was also dependent upon interviews and testimonial evidence provided by old men and women throughout the Highlands who had knowledge of local history and tradition. Remarking on one of these encounters, Haldane noted that:

> Shortly before I had completed my researches, my wife and I spent a fishing holiday at Poolewe in Wester Ross-shire … in the course of our holiday I was able to converse, through his daughter, with a Gaelic-speaking drover who had in his youth brought cattle from Uist as early as 1865.[38] Only a few miles from where he lived I spoke with a still older man who still had memories of the Falkirk Tryst while it was still in active operation. The combined ages of these 2 men at the time I spoke with them was 200 years.[39]

These local 'culture-keepers' afforded Haldane valuable insights into the practices and routes of the Scottish drovers, while providing him with evidence to evaluate the reliability of documentary sources. Consequently, in addition to his scholarly contributions to economic history, Haldane's research on droving can also be regarded as a useful, if somewhat conservative, contribution to the field of oral and folk history in Scotland – a point which is reflected in his motivations for studying the droving trade:[40]

> The knowledge that much of the recollection of these far-off days was about to pass irrevocably from us added a sense of urgency to my quest and made me feel that perhaps the attempt to preserve and record … some account of a past chapter of Scotland's commercial story was not without value.[41]

Despite these contributions, Haldane's use of oral sources exposes certain value judgements. He focused questions (and subsequent notes from interviews) almost exclusively on drovers' recollections of the precise routes followed and the location of key strategic sites such as inns and stances (see figure 11):

Society and Space, 24, pp. 497-518.

[38] The fact that he had to communicate with the drover through his daughter suggests that Haldane was not a Gaelic speaker.

[39] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.18.

[40] The discipline of oral and folk history saw formal recognition with the founding of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1951 [Edinburgh University School of Scottish Studies Website: http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/sound-archive, no last date modified. Accessed on 01/06/13].

[41] Haldane's acknowledgement that his work was 'not without value' is a classic expression of modesty and self-deprecation. National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.18.

Information based on local recollection or tradition indicates that on the drove routes from Skye to Central Perthshire stances which were regularly used included Kyle Rhea, Shiel Bridge, Clunie, Torgyle, Fort Augustus, Meallgarbh, Garvamore, Drumgask, Dalwhinnie, Dalnaspidal, Dalnacardoch and Trinafour.[42]

**Figure 11: Haldane's notes from an
interview with Captain Roderick McErlich**
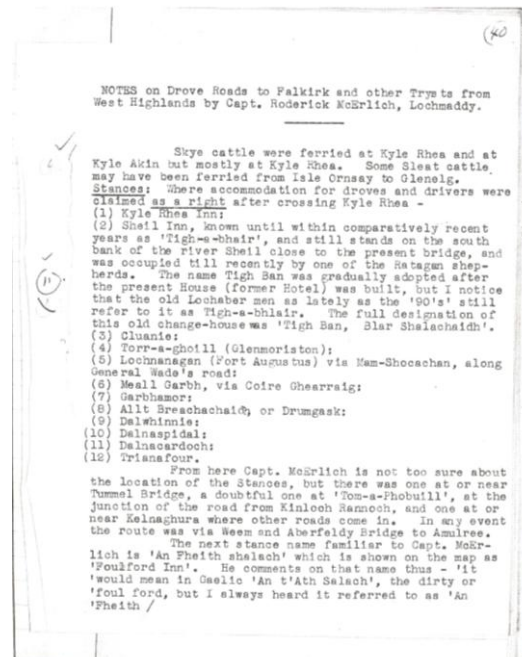
This information was then cross-referenced with, and compared to, written documentary accounts to check for errors or inconsistencies.[43] While it is important to remember the intended economic purpose of Haldane's research, the author did have the opportunity to engage with the more experiential aspects of informants' accounts in a short chapter on 'The Life and Work of a Drover'. However, this chapter only contains four very brief first-hand accounts of droving, mostly relating to the routes, stances and herding techniques used by drovers.

In an effort to gain greater insights into the lifeworlds and situated experiences of Scottish drovers, this thesis draws on a collection of interviews recorded by the

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[42] Ibid., p.38.

[43] An example of Haldane's cross-referencing can be seen in his efforts to trace the main drove route through Selkirkshire: "The doubts thrown by the New Statistical Account on the success of Hawick Tryst lend some support to the view that the route shown on Thomson's map of Selkirkshire (1824) as reaching the Teviot Valley some way to the west of the town, was largely used by the drovers. Local tradition, and the evidence of those still living in the district whose memory reaches back to the last days of droving add confirmation" [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.157].

School of Scottish Studies during the 1950s and 1960s. In a conscious departure from Haldane's dry, economic representation of droving, Chapters Seven and Eight of this thesis explore the vibrant social geographies of inns and cattle markets, focussing on oral accounts of the interaction, selling practices and cultural exchange which took place at these important sites of convergence. Furthermore, by engaging with more marginal, non-textual sources such as songs, poems and photographs – materials that are largely absent from Haldane's book – this thesis considers how the drovers experienced and related to these social gatherings, and how these experiences were memorialised and disseminated through folklore.

On the occasions when Haldane engaged with the stories and personal encounters of informants, this material was often relegated to the status of footnotes to be overlooked by reader as incidental anecdotes or peripheral pieces of information, inessential to understanding the logistical operation and development of the droving trade.[44] Consequently, for the most part, Haldane's engagement with the drovers was limited to a basic appreciation of their skills, practices and knowledges, and the various qualities of reliability, endurance, resourcefulness, enterprise and honesty that were required to complete their journeys successfully from the Highlands to the great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff:[45]

> Knowledge of the country had to be extensive and intimate, while endurance and ability to face great hardships were essential … Resource and enterprise were called for with knowledge of men and tact tempered at times with absence of too fine scruple. Knowledge of cattle was needed and good judgement wherewith to balance the varying factors on which depended the successful completion of the journey to the Lowlands. Finally, honesty and reliability were needed in a drover for the responsible work entrusted to him.[46]

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[44] In one long footnote [Ibid., pp. 26-27], Haldane refers to a conversation with a Miss Stewart Mackenzie who remembered seeing drovers' dogs making their way north unaccompanied. His decision not to 'promote' this intriguing account into the main text is illustrative of his unwillingness to engage with the stories, experiences and encounters of his informants.

[45] Haldane's focus on what could be termed as 'indigenous environmental knowledges' has some parallels with John Briggs and Jo Sharp's work on the Bedouin of Egypt [Briggs, J., Badri, M. and Mekki, A.M. (1999) 'Indigenous Knowledges and Vegetation use among Bedouin in the Eastern Desert of Egypt', *Applied Geography*, 19, pp. 87-103; Briggs, J., Sharp, J., Hamed, N. and Yacoub, H. (2003) 'Changing Women's roles, Changing Environmental Knowledges: Evidence from Upper Egypt', *Geographical Journal*, 169, pp. 313-325; Briggs, J., Sharp, J., Yacoub, H., Hamed, N. and Roe, A. (2007) 'The Nature of Indigenous Environmental Knowledge Production: Evidence from Bedouin Communities in Southern Egypt', *Journal of International Development*, 19, pp. 239-251].

[46] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.23.

While it is certainly true that drovers required a detailed working knowledge of cattle, the Scottish landscape and its associated lines of passage, little consideration is given to how these knowledges were obtained or enacted. In contrast, this thesis adopts a deeper, more immersed approach to examining droving practice, focussing on a collection of recorded interviews and eyewitness accounts describing droving in action. Unlike Haldane, close attention is paid to the embodied intimacies and co-operative relationships forged between drovers and their animals, mutual 'understandings' that were essential to the development and application of successful herding strategies and the steady progress of the drove.

By focussing on the skills and knowledges of the drovers, Haldane often neglects to examine the supportive role played by dogs and ponies, or the interaction that took place *between* herd animals on the drove. In an effort to depart from Haldane's anthropocentric approach, Chapters Five to Eight of this thesis explore the drove as an important space of species co-mingling whose smooth transit and cohesive formation was dependent upon the communication and co-operation of canines and cattle. Additionally, while Haldane tends to refer to animals in a collective sense as 'droves' or 'herds', this thesis pays greater attention to the sensibilities, agency and unique behavioural characteristics of *individual* animals – distinctive personalities that had to be understood by the drovers in order to prevent their cattle from straying or stampeding.

A Scholarly Fraternity

Throughout his research into the drove roads of Scotland, Haldane relied on the knowledge of various 'gatekeepers', including landowners, factors, librarians and academics, each providing him with a means to accessing primary sources of information such as obscure estate papers or local informants. Of particular interest is Haldane's written correspondence with various landowners and factors such as H.H. MacKenzie (factor of the North Uist Estate) and Sir George Campbell (6th Baronet of Succoth), the records of which are glued neatly inside his notebooks (see figure 12). One such letter, written from Campbell to Haldane in October 1946, contains the following:

I have just had an hour's most interesting talk with old Mr MacDougall. You must come yourself and meet him … MacDougall is a really fine old Highlander, he is quite well but would rather talk than write, because his eyes are failing a bit. He talks the most excellent English and has not the slightest difficulty in expressing himself most graphically. You can see the whole thing happening as he speaks.[47]

Figure 12: Letter from Sir George Campbell to Haldane
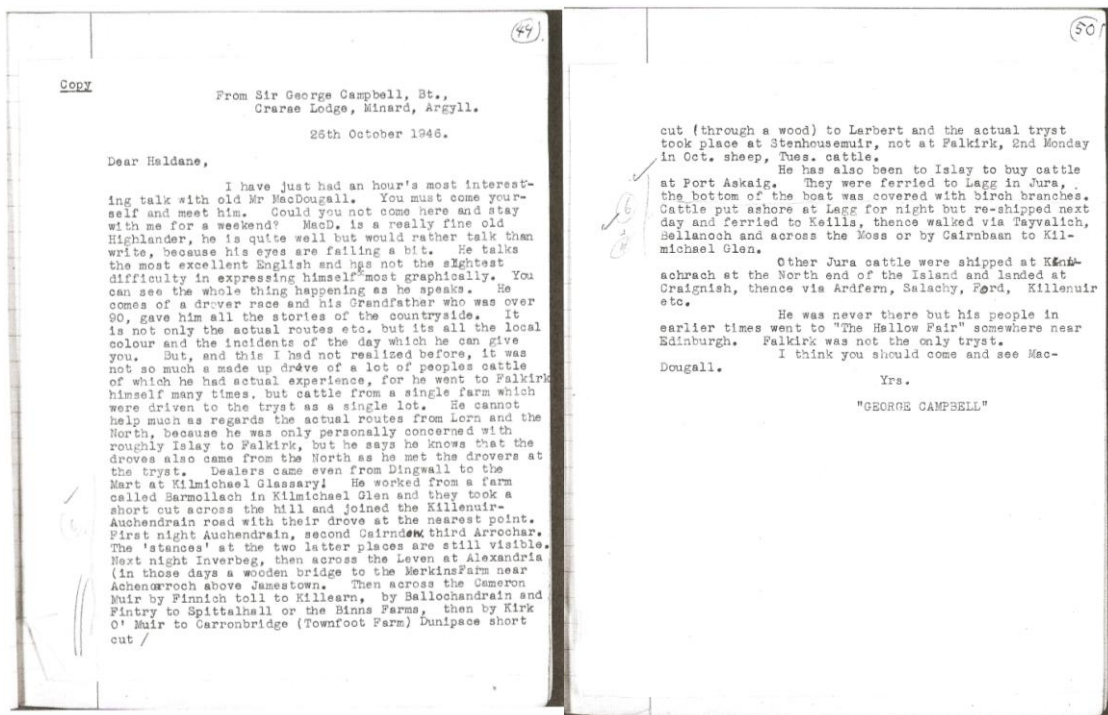
Such correspondences provide a fascinating insight into Haldane's research practice, revealing how the author was able to make use of his various landed acquaintances to gather information on his behalf and to make contact with old men and women of the Highlands who had knowledge and memories of the droving trade, furnishing him with a comprehensive collection of droving narratives from all around Scotland. Consequently, in contrast to popular representations of the 'lone gentleman scholar', it is clear that Haldane's research endeavours were dependent on the generosity, time and effort of helpful companions, who both allowed his research to happen and informed aspects of its content. His contact with these gatekeepers also illustrates that he was part of an elite network of landed scholars, a position which he was able to utilise during his research into the Scottish droving trade. However, it should also be noted that almost all scholarship – however private or solitary – is dependent on

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[47] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17. Letter from Sir George Campbell to A.R.B. Haldane dated 26th October 1946.

graces and favours along the way. Indeed, like Haldane, much of my own research was aided by the advice and guidance of archivists, librarians, academics and fellow researchers, individuals that provided me with access and references to relevant source materials.

In addition to his lairdly contacts, Haldane's research depended on the input and co-operation of various librarians and academics who had access to or knowledge of droving-related resources:

> One of the many people who helped me in hunting out information particularly about the Drove Roads was Dr. Meikle who was at that time Librarian of the National Library of Scotland … Since I was working all day in the office … Dr. Meikle arranged for me to be let into the Library by the night watchman at 8 p.m., the same watchman to let me out again at 10.30 p.m. in the course of his rounds.[48]

Haldane's ability to negotiate access to the archives 'after-hours', illustrates that he was friendly with members of the library's staff – likely a relationship forged through his frequent visits to and regular contact with the National Library of Scotland during his extended period of research into the drove roads of Scotland. As such, Haldane moved in traditional historical circles where conviviality and access to historical materials was gained through an extended period of tenure – a familiarity with the archives and its scholarly inhabitants built up over many years of active service. Indeed, Haldane's affection and fondness for the National Library of Scotland is illustrated by the decision to donate his research notebooks and unpublished memoir to the archive in later life.

Following the Drovers

In addition to his archival work, Haldane's research methods also included walking along drove routes, a mobile and practical form of historical scholarship in which his objects of study could be inspected at first hand.[49] Examination of his research

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[48] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., p.80.

[49] In recent years, walking has reappeared as part of a more performative cultural studies. For example, cultural geographers such as John Wylie [Wylie, J. (2002) 'An Essay on Ascending Glastonbury Tor', *Geoforum*, 33, pp. 441-454; Wylie, J. (2005) 'A Single Day's Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30, pp. 234-247] and Hayden Lorimer [Lorimer, H., and Wylie, J. (2010) 'LOOP (a geography)', *Performance*

notebooks reveals a keen walking habit – venturing out at least five times between 1945 and 1948 along old rights-of-way to scrutinise stretches of country for identifiable traces of droving activity. The first of these journeys was undertaken in August 1945 along a drove route between Broadford and Kylerhea, on the Isle of Skye.[50] Two walks took place in April 1946, one between Mowhaugh and the head of the River Coquet, and another across Commonside Moor, west of Hawick.[51] A fourth walk was undertaken on 27th September 1947 near Kelso, and a final walk was carried out on 3rd October 1948 in the hills south of Teviothead.[52] The consuming demands of legal work, estate management and frequent archival visits influenced Haldane's choice of routes, resulting in an almost exclusive focus on Border drove roads – a decision presumably influenced by their relative ease of access from his professional address in Edinburgh.[53] Given these details, it is clear that Haldane was an enthusiastic researcher, eager to utilise every available 'window' in his busy professional schedule to visit and record existing traces of Scotland's droving heritage.

In hand-written accounts of each walk, Haldane adopted a brief, informal style of writing, focussing primarily on the precise routes followed, often with reference to corresponding Ordnance Survey maps, and the location of particular sites of interest such as overnight stancing grounds and ruined stone dykes (see figure 13):

> Followed drove-road past North side of Branxholme Wester Loch, to North of Chisholme. Very clearly marked tracks, in places having … worn through traces of early earthworks. Large area near loch (probably 100*100 yds) enclosed by turf dykes. Probably [an] old stance … Later, walked more than a mile up a very clearly marked drove-road which reaches Borthwick Valley at Girnwood from Deanburnhough … This road showed all [the] characteristics of a much-used drove road, ranging in breadth according to type of ground. When lie of land narrowed the road, the tracks were very deep.[54]

> The drove road followed from crossing of Hepden Burn North to Border is unusually well defined and must have carried a big traffic. In some places

Research, 15, pp. 4-11] have used walking as a creative vehicle for exploring the embodied and sensual dimensions of landscape encounter.

[50] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/15 op. cit., p.61.

[51] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/16 op. cit., p.80 and pp. 86-87.

[52] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17 op. cit., pp. 113-114. National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/18 op. cit., p.64.

[53] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6320 op. cit., p.81.

[54] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/16 op. cit., pp. 86-87.

broadens out to 15/20 yds with many parallel tracks. Here and elsewhere, noticeable that area covered by tracks is either greener than surrounding ground, or where track runs through heather or dark coarse boggy grass, the grass on the track is healthy, presumably because traffic has worn away peat so that just grows instead of heather and the dark grass which marks the peaty ground.[55]

As the extract reveals, Haldane readily assumed the role of landscape detective, with a knack for sleuthing out and interpreting traces of droving activity – an approach similar to that adopted by W.G. Hoskins.[56] The author's attention to detail can be understood in the context of his professional work as a lawyer, where frequent involvement in complex litigation cases would have required 'an eagle eye', a 'skilled vision' founded on an ability to cross-reference sources and forensically unpick documentary evidence.[57] Consequently, as with his textually-based legal work, the fragmented nature of Scotland's droving landscape provided Haldane with a welcome opportunity to put his well-honed skills of detection and scrutiny to good use.

Figure 13: Haldane's field notes from a walk near Hawick
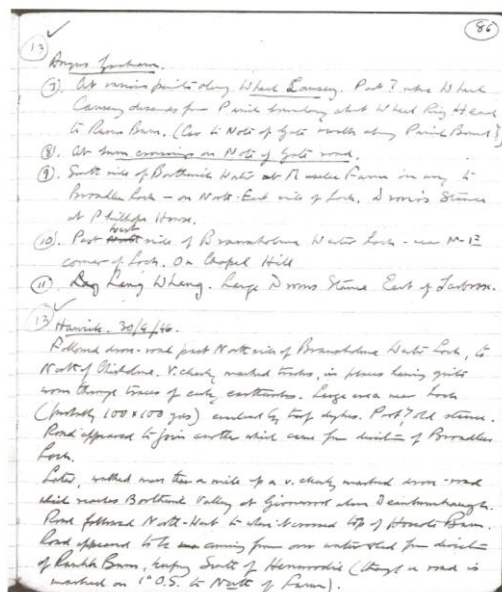
Despite adopting a rather curt and reserved style of note taking, with the primary intention of recording the precise routes followed and the location of key droving

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[55] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17 op. cit., p.113.

[56] Hoskins, W.G. (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*. London: Hodder and Stoughton; Hoskins, W.G. (1967) *Fieldwork in Local History*. London: Faber.

[57] Grasseni, C. (2004a) 'Skilled Vision: An Apprenticeship in Breeding Aesthetics', *Social Anthropology*, 12, pp. 41-55.

sites, Haldane occasionally strayed into describing the more experiential qualities of walking along old drove roads:[58]

> Great day of N.E. wind. Low cloud circling. Golden Plover and Curlew. As afternoon went on, cloud sitting on tops of high ground to South rising beyond the ridge between Borthwick Water and Teviot.[59]

> Road from Broadford east along shore where now white cottages look out over [fields] of hay and oats to low rocky shore where sandy bays [lie next to the] intense blue of an Autumn sea. Ahead, entrances to Loch Carron backed by peaks at head of loch Kishorn behind Achnasheen. Rocky shores of desolate Applecross … Very profitable resting place for cattle. Wonderful view … over Broadford Bay to Red Cuillins with shoulder of Blaven showing beyond and Black Cuillins peeping over nearer skyline. Gars Bheinn, Sgurr Alasdair, Bruach na Frithe, Sgurr nan Gillean, Ben Dearg, Glamaig. Over water shed, road falls steeply to Kyle Rhea and Glenelg Bay. View up Glenelg … to Ben Sgriol.[60]

Although still tending towards terse descriptions of the landscape, weather and wildlife encountered on his walks, Haldane's accounts give a tantalising sense of the animated nature of this remote upland landscape. Such observations resonate with Ingold's contention that the mountain "weather is dynamic, always unfolding, ever changing in its moods, currents, qualities of light and shade, and colours, alternately damp or dry, warm or cold".[61] The 'circling low cloud' encountered by Haldane served to alter the landscape's appearance, obscuring the hilltops and enhancing the atmospheric and spectral qualities of his walk. Consequently, Haldane's walking recollections are a useful reminder that the 'weather world' plays a central role in our practical engagement with and sensual experience of mobility, and would have been absolutely crucial to the experiences and decision-making of the drovers themselves.[62]

Furthermore, the physically engaged act of following these ancient routes served to inspire the author's imagination:

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[58] Unlike other landscape writers such as Alfred Wainwright, Haldane's notebooks contained no field sketches or drawings.

[59] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/16 op. cit., p.87.

[60] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/15 op. cit., p.61.

[61] Ingold, T. (2005) 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather', *Visual Studies*, 20, pp. 97-104, p.103.

[62] Ingold, T. (2005) op. cit.; Ingold, T. (2008) 'Bindings Against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A*, 40, pp. 1796-1810; Ingold, T. (2010) 'Footprints Through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16, pp. 121-139.

> Part of drove road followed around shoulder of hill looking across Borthwick Water to high lonely ground between it and Teviot, with glimpses in distance of higher levels of Cheviots further South on which mist already resting. Easy to imagine drovers urging tired feet across shoulder of hill along Girnwood and on to falling ground ... [to the] woods of Chisholme and friendly haughs of Borthwick Water.[63]

From these descriptions, the demanding task of following in the drovers' footsteps allowed Haldane to empathise with and speculate about the experiences and emotions of the men who travelled these routes in the past.[64] Such accounts represent rare moments of impressionistic thought that seem somewhat at odds with Haldane's otherwise dispassionate and detached narrative. It is also worth noting that these more embodied, first-person accounts of walking are ultimately absent from Haldane's completed book. His decision to exclude these personal narratives betrays an unwillingness to stray too far from a perceived role as the 'objective', fact-based researcher. To do so would be to risk accusations of bias or conjecture – unreliable methods of analysis that were looked upon unfavourably in Haldane's traditional school of historical scholarship. However, given his forensic, legalistic background, it is also likely that it would simply never have occurred to Haldane to include such details in his published work.

Inspired by Haldane's journeys and the performative and practice-based research of landscape scholars such as John Wylie, Chris Tilley and Mike Pearson, I too made several exploratory walks along sections of old drove routes – a method envisaged but only partially carried through in this thesis.[65] However, while Haldane used fieldwork to inspect the remaining material traces of droving and gather evidence which could be used to identify the line of old drove routes, my walks were conducted with the intention of connecting with the experiences, landscapes and livelihoods of Scottish herdsmen. Indeed, this approach is exemplified by my participation in an eight-day droving re-enactment, discussed in greater detail in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

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[63] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/16 op. cit., p.87.

[64] Aside from these examples, references to 'imagination' and personal experiences are rarely included in Haldane's research notebooks or published work.

[65] Pearson, M. (2006) *In Comes I: Performance, Memory and Landscape*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press; Tilley, C. (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg Publishers; Wylie, J. (2002) op. cit.; Wylie, J. (2005) op. cit.

Sites of Interest

Aside from his research methods, it is also worth critically engaging with the content of Haldane's work and its associated conceptual, representational, stylistic and visual characteristics. Opening Haldane's seminal 1952 text, one of the first things that greets the reader's eye is a large annotated map (shown in figure 14) printed across two pages, marking out the network of drove routes from Northern Scotland to the markets of Crieff and Falkirk. The care and attention gone into the map's production, combined with the decision to give it such prominence near the beginning of the text, is particularly telling of Haldane's principal research objective – to trace the routes by which the drovers brought their cattle South.[66] In so doing, Haldane represented the droving landscape as an amalgamation of strategic geographical sites such as overnight stancing grounds, river crossings and markets that could be readily associated with the droving trade.[67] Once identified, known stopping places were then cross-referencing with archival, cartographic and statistical records in order to reconstruct the probable routes followed by Scottish herdsmen during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[68]

Haldane's selection of and emphasis on particular droving sites was based on an assessment of their strategic and economic importance to the trade. For example, the annual markets of Crieff and Falkirk are ascribed the greatest significance, due both to their scale and their geographical status as spaces of convergence lying at the terminus of the drove routes from the islands, the West Coast, Northern Scotland and the Grampians.[69] Indeed, it was only at this point, with the final assembling of drovers and dealers, that the true scale and economic value of the Scottish cattle trade could be fully realised.[70]

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[66] In the acknowledgements to *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Haldane notes that the map was prepared and produced by a Mr N.G. Matthew. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 1-2.

[67] Ibid., pp. 36-43.

[68] In many ways, Haldane could be regarded as a classic historical geographer, proceeding in the H.C. Darby [Darby, H.C. (1973) *A New Historical Geography of England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press] tradition of economic, mapping and land-use focussed historical scholarship.

[69] Ibid., pp. 135-136.

[70] Remarking on the commercial importance of the Crieff Tryst, Haldane [Ibid., p.137] noted that "during the second quarter of the century Crieff came to be regarded as one of the main financial centres of Scotland".

Figure 14: Haldane's drove road map
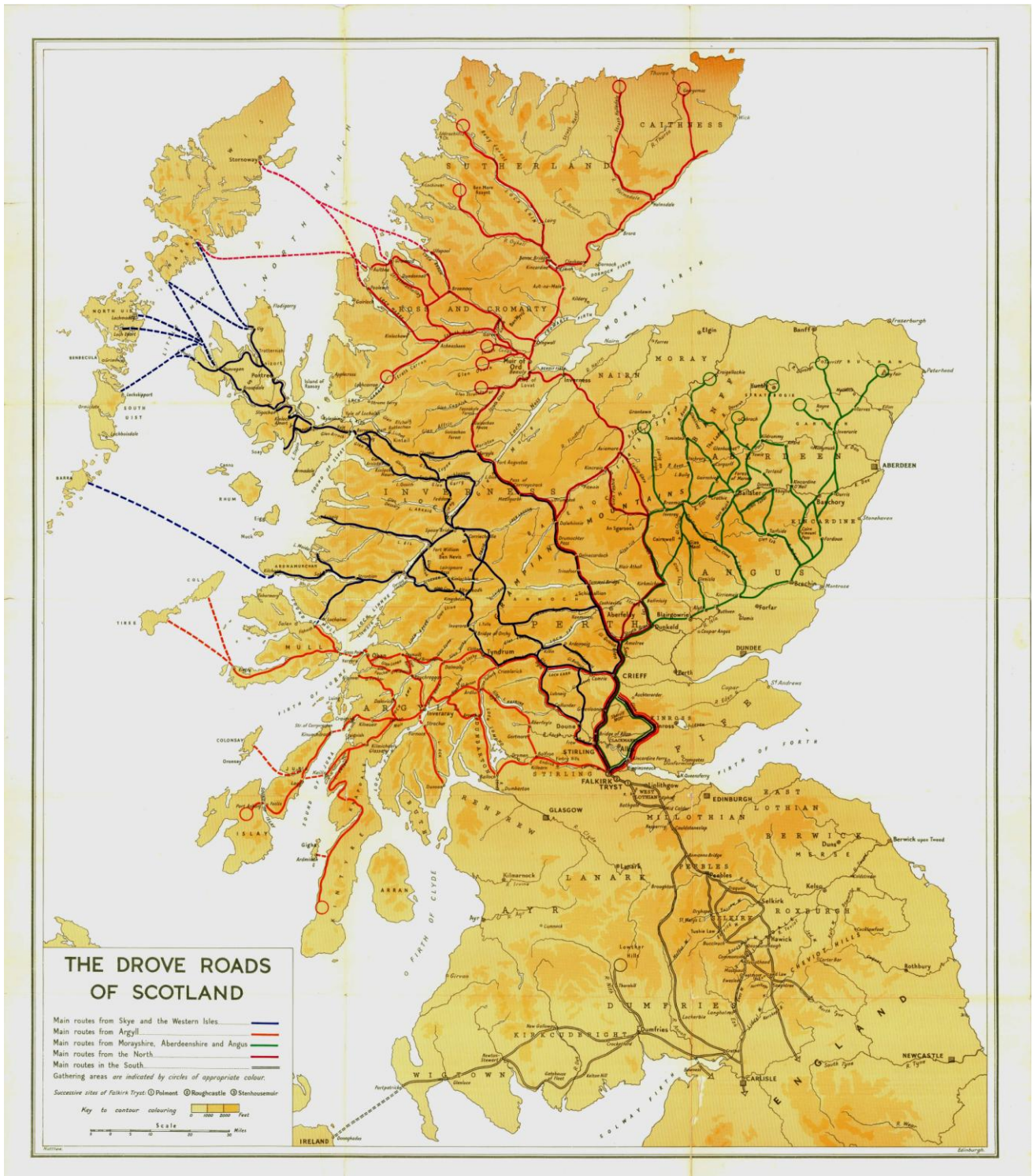
Other strategic nodes examined by the author were those which might broadly be classified as sites of intersection. In particular, Haldane concentrated on especially hazardous spots such as river and sea crossings, which acted as potential barriers to

the smooth transit of stock from the Highlands to the markets of southern Scotland.[71] As such, despite his frequent use of stream-related metaphors, implying a seamless, uninhibited flow of cattle, from the farms of Northern Scotland to the markets of Crieff and Falkirk, the drove roads of Scotland might here be better understood as discontinuous lines of passage, constantly being interrupted, bisected and punctuated by other networks of movement. Furthermore, as illustrated by his published work on the early Scottish Postal Service and the military roads and canals of the early-nineteenth century, Haldane recognised that drove roads were not the only trade routes traversing the Scottish landscape at the time.[72] As such, his scholarly pursuit of droveways was part of a wider interest in the routes that joined-up Scotland and their perceived importance as integral constituents in the commercial development of the country. Indeed, his interest in communications networks resonates strongly with the scholarly fields of 'transport geography' and 'transport history' – areas of study which focus on the movement of people and goods, the relationship between transportation systems and economic development, and how patterns of transport networks and nodes affect ease of movement.[73] Thus, Haldane's interest in flows of people, transport and capital in particular historical eras is illustrative of his broader progressivist understanding of droving as simply another chapter in Scotland's continually evolving economic history.

Haldane's continual focus on 'sites of interest' also resonates with established approaches to landscape scholarship in geography, history and archaeology.[74] The

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[71] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 38-40 and pp. 75-77.

[72] Haldane, A.R.B. (1962) op. cit.; Haldane, A.R.B. (1971) op. cit.

[73] Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M. and Whatmore, S. (2009) (eds.) *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (5th ed.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, p.773.

[74] For example, see: Bagshawe, R.W. (1979) *Roman Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Brayshay, M. (1991) 'Royal Post-horse Routes in England and Wales: The Evolution of the Network in the Later-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17, pp. 373-389; Crawford, O.G.S. (1928) *Air survey and archaeology*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Crawford, O.G.S. (1929) *Air photography for archaeologists*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Darby, H.C. (1936) *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Darby, H.C. (1973) op. cit.; Dyer, J. (1981) *Hillforts of England and Wales*. Aylesbury: Shire Publications; Dyer, J. (1993) *Discovering Prehistoric England*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Hoskins, W.G. (1946) *The Heritage of Leicestershire*. Leicester: City of Leicester Publicist Department; Hoskins, W.G. (1949) *Midland England*. London: Batsford; Hoskins, W.G. (1955) op. cit.; Hoskins, W.G. (1967) op. cit.; Hoskins, W.G. (1973) *English Landscapes*. London: BBC; Margary, I.D. (1955) *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: John Baker; Roberts, B.K. (1977) *The Green Villages of County Durham: A Study in Historical Geography*. Durham: Durham County Council; Roberts, B.K. (1979 [1977]) *Rural Settlements in Britain*. London: Hutchinson; Roberts, B.K. (1987) *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography*. Harlow: Longman Scientific and

author's choice of research topics chimes with a geographical tradition (influenced by the work of landscape historians such as Hoskins) of studying 'things in places' – neglected sites of interest that, when interrogated, can reveal something of a landscape's broader social and economic history.[75] In this regard, Haldane's scholarly endeavours to map and characterise the droving landscape of Scotland can be compared with later research by geographers such as Brian Hindle and Richard Muir who, among their many topics of interests, have written books on the packhorse and drove routes of medieval- and early-modern England.[76] As with Haldane's research, the approaches of Hindle and Muir conceptualise the landscape as a series of logistical and symbolic sites which, once identified, can be used to interpret and 'piece together' the routes and trades of travellers past.[77]

However, despite the similarities between Haldane's research and that of Hindle and other 'shire' writers, it is worth recognising that such 'shire' approaches are often rather local in outlook – motivated by a desire to characterise particular localities through an understanding of their history and associated cultural relics. In contrast, for Haldane, the local was simply regarded as a starting point for his research, a springboard from which local site evidence could be linked with, or provide evidence for, the wider network of tracks which constituted the main routes by which drovers made their way south to Falkirk and Crieff. As such, Haldane's approach to landscape history can be regarded as a macro one, with a focus on what bound the local to the broader economic and political processes of country-building – a curious 'modernism' which contrasts sharply with historical and geographical approaches adopted by the likes of Hoskins that aimed to study the local *per se*. Furthermore, one of the key components of these Hoskinsian-inspired 'shire' approaches to landscape history was

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Technical; Roberts, B.K. (1996) *Landscapes of Settlement: Prehistory to the Present*. London: Routledge; Stenton, F.M. (1936) 'The Road System of Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 7, pp. 1-21; Taylor, C. (1979) *Roads and Tracks of Britain*. London: Orion.

[75] Hoskins, W.G. (1955) op. cit.

[76] These authors are examined in greater detail in Chapter Two. Hindle, B.P. (1976) 'The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, pp. 207-221; Hindle, B.P. (1982) *Medieval Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Hindle, B.P. (1993) *Roads, Tracks and their Interpretation*. London: B.T. Batsford; Hindle, B.P. (1998) *Roads and Tracks of the Lake District*. Milnthorpe: Cicerone; Muir, R. (2000) *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press; Muir, R. (2008) *Woods, Hedgerows and Leafy Lanes*. Stroud: Tempus.

[77] This approach is in-keeping with much of the archaeological and historical scholarship included within the 'Shire Publications' book series – a primary outlet for research into 'sites of interest' from the early-1960s onwards.

a methodological faith in prolonged periods of 'active' fieldwork in combination with documentary research:

> There is no opposition between fieldwork and documents. Both are essential to the good local historian. Behind a good deal of work in the field and in the street are documents that help to throw more light on what is being studied; and behind a good many documents lies much valuable fieldwork if only the unimaginative "researcher" had the wit to see it.[78]

However, for Haldane, despite conducting a number of exploratory walks, the emphasis sat squarely on the archives, only using fieldwork as an occasional means for corroborating or cross-referencing the information extracted from his primary textual material.[79]

Taking critical inspiration from the site-based dimension of Haldane's landscape research, Chapters Six through to Eight of this thesis are structured around key droving sites, tracing the journey of a typical Highland drover along ancient routes, across river and sea crossings, resting at wayside stances and drovers' inns, before finally arriving at the great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff. Despite these similarities though, this thesis seeks to augment and enliven Haldane's approach by bringing it into critical correspondence with theoretical work on embodiment and dwelling.[80] Consequently, while Haldane regarded sites as little more than a source of evidence, allowing him to identify the precise routes followed by drovers and gain insights into the commercial and logistical operation of the droving trade, this thesis adopts a more immersed approach, focussing on the habituated activity, meanings, memories, human-animal interaction and embodied experiences attached to particular droving sites.

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[78] Hoskins, W.G. (1967) op. cit., p.183.

[79] Hindle's site-based approach to landscape scholarship is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two. Haldane's meticulous cross-referencing of fieldwork evidence can be seen in his efforts to trace the main drove routes through the Scottish Borders: "As to the routes which crossed the Cheviots near the head-waters of the Kale and Oxnam Waters the state of the evidence is rather similar. Here, too, occur many tracks still clearly visible on the ground which appear to have been made by animal traffic. The first edition of the 6-in. Ordnance Survey (Sheet XXXV) shows indeed three routes marked specifically as drove roads crossing the Border immediately to the south of Nether Hindhope Farm and in the vicinity of the Roman camp at Chew Green" [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.159].

The Grand Tour

Another notable feature of Haldane's droving-related writing is his frequent reference to published tours made in Scotland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tradition of 'The Tour' is a largely aristocratic one borne out of the latter half of the seventeenth century (regarded by some as an important rite of passage and cultural education), in which landed gentlemen, and sometimes ladies, would undertake an extended trip to unfamiliar regions or countries. Influenced by enlightenment discourses of amassing knowledge and scientific observation, the objective of these tours was often to broaden the mind through a greater understanding of the world, aided by keeping detailed travel journals, describing the various cultures, climates and landscapes encountered *en route*.[81] Taking inspiration from this tradition, Haldane drew on an extensive list of travel narratives, including those by James Boswell (1785), Edward Burt (1754), Daniel Defoe (1762), Bishop Forbes (1886), James Hogg (1888), Samuel Johnson (1775), John Knox (1787), Martin Martin (1703), Thomas Pennant (1771; 1774) and Dorothy Wordsworth (1897), all of whom had written about their journeys through Scotland.[82] When selecting details from these accounts, Haldane typically scoured each one for any mention of the droving trade or cattle sales. In particular, he often used these sources as evidence to illustrate certain aspects of droving culture, including drovers' dress, their methods of herding, the food they ate and their behavioural characteristics.[83] The

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[80] Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge; Ingold, T. (2005) op. cit.; Ingold, T. (2007b) *Lines: A Brief History*. London: Routledge; Ingold, T. (2008) op. cit.

[81] For further information about eighteenth-and nineteenth-century tours, see: Black, J. (1985) *The British and the Grand Tour*. London: Croom Helm; Buzzard, J. (2002) 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)', in Hulme, P. and Youngs, T. (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 37-52.

[82] Boswell, J. (1785) *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*. London Henry Baldwin; Burt, E. (1754) *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*. London: S. Birt; Defoe, D. (1762) *A Journey Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain in 1724*. London: D. Browne; Forbes, R. (1886) *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, M.A., of the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness, and of the Dioceses of Ross and Argyll, 1762 and 1770*. London: Skeffington; Hogg, J. (1888) *A Tour in the Highlands in 1803*. London: Alexander Gardner; Johnson, S. (1775) *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. London: W. Strahan; and T. Cadell; Knox, J. (1787) *A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Islands in 1786*. London: J. Walter; Martin, M. (1703) *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. London: Andrew Bell; Pennant, T. (1771) *A Tour in Scotland. 1769*. Chester: John Monk; Pennant, T. (1774) *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides; 1772*. Chester: John Monk; Wordsworth, D. (1897) *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, Vol. II. London: Macmillan.

[83] This is particularly apparent in his chapter on 'The Life and Work of a Drover' [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 20-44].

utilisation of these materials furnished his research with a range of insights into herding practices and the challenging conditions that drovers faced on their long journeys to market, meaning that he himself did not have to take on the task of 'thick description' or imaginative rendering of the past.[84]

Despite the advantages of drawing on and including these eighteenth-century accounts of Scotland's droving trade, it is again the case that Haldane's use of these sources was curiously passive. When included, such accounts were rarely analysed, contextualised or deconstructed. Instead, they simply appear in the text as unproblematic illustrations of droving life – irrefutable pieces of evidence that should be taken at face-value by the researcher. In contrast, this thesis adopts a more critical, interpretative approach to examining source materials in order to gain insights into how the drovers were represented and socially constructed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

On the one hand, I describe how drovers were often portrayed by romantic writers such as Walter Scott and Robert Cunninghame-Graham as honest and resourceful figures whose physical endurance, freedom of movement and rustic ways of life were deployed to implicate them in the positive self-definition of the nation.[85] On the other, however, this thesis examines how drovers were also represented as wild and uncivilised individuals whose immoral practices, outdated privileges and contact with animals rendered them increasingly out of place in Scotland's progressively commercialised and de-naturalising modern society.[86] Furthermore, in an effort to augment and contextualise these written sources, this thesis draws on biographies and other published works to examine the various personal and historical factors that influenced the writers' interest in and representation of the Scottish drovers – a deeper, more immersed approach to that adopted by Haldane.

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[84] Haldane's book contains numerous droving-related quotes from the published work of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers, some of which are reproduced in Chapters Five to Eight of this thesis. For example, see Forbes, R. (1886) op. cit., pp. 236-237 (discussed in Chapter Five) and Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, pp. 219-220 (examined in Chapter Six).

[85] Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, pp. 39-40. Scott, W. (1827) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., p.139. Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth, pp. 214-222.

[86] Mitchell, J. (1883) op. cit., pp. 219-220.

While it is important not to over-interpret Haldane's representation of source material, it must be kept in mind that the author came from a landed family and, as such, might well have sympathised with and respected (at the cost of being critical) the insights and representations provided by these eighteenth-and nineteenth-century travellers, the majority of whom came from similarly well-heeled backgrounds. The author's great grandfather, James Alexander Haldane, was a well respected travelling preacher and writer who authored, among his many texts, *Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles* (1798), a detailed account of his ecclesiastical missions through Scotland in the late-eighteenth century.[87] Influenced by the work of his travelling predecessors, Haldane's research endeavours had certain similarities with that of the tour, as a process of knowledge gathering which required extended periods of travel to examine archives, meet informants and occasionally walk along old drove routes.

Additionally, Haldane's promotion of these travellers' accounts was often done at the price of engaging more thoroughly with the drovers' own accounts and experiences of herding. As such, these omissions are reflective of a broader politics of knowledge in which 'elite' authors were afforded an air of authority, more grudgingly extended to the spoken words of old Highlanders.[88] These observations correspond with Charles Withers' work on the Ordnance Survey in which he describes how mapping officers were highly selective about credible sources for topographical information, often prioritising the evidence of 'respectable' informants such as landowners and schoolmasters over that of the local Gaelic-speaking population.[89] Similarly, in his work on the production of national identity in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Scotland, Withers argues that early statistical surveys and accounts were often dependent upon questionnaire returns from local nobility and clergy, a practice which illustrates that "Natural knowledge … was, above all, knowledge that preserved a

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[87] James Haldane's book contained no references to droving. Haldane, J.A. (1798) *Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles*. Edinburgh: J. Ritchie.
[88] While it might be tempting to criticise Haldane's prioritisation of eighteenth-century touring accounts over the oral, lyrical and folklore-centric accounts recorded by Scottish drovers, it is important to acknowledge that his academic background and training was one of tradition and historically and culturally conservative.
[89] Withers, C.W.J. (2000) 'Authorizing Landscape: 'Authority', Naming and the Ordnance Survey's Mapping of the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26, pp. 532-554.

natural order … [maintaining] the social orders who were to be the custodians of such knowledge".[90]

A Constrained Landscape

In the final chapter of *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Haldane devoted some time to describing the increasing number of physical barriers to movement that the drovers faced on their journeys to market after the mid-nineteenth century. In particular, the author cited the enclosure of common land and stance sites by landowners and estate staff as key factors, bringing about the eventual demise of the droving trade.[91] Furthermore, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, Haldane described an increasing tendency by Scottish landowners to protect their estates for personal and commercial sporting interests, a factor that led to the closure of many drove routes. In so doing, he charted an increasingly constrained geography in which, over time:

> The drovers were coming to be more narrowly hedged in and deprived increasingly of the wayside grazing which had hitherto been their traditional and unchallenged right.[92]

While recognising the detrimental effects of land privatisation and estate enclosure on the droving trade, Haldane did not criticise or question the wisdom of the large landowners responsible. Instead, he simply stated that:

> The increasing tendency to close to the drovers these cross-country routes was the outcome of a strict view of land ownership at odds with a trend to more liberal thought, a conflict which characterised the latter part of the nineteenth century … The conflict of interest between the proprietor of a Highland deer forest and a drover who sought to cross the hills with his beasts, and in the crossing to graze the corries at any time from June to October, needs little emphasis.[93]

By representing the opposing desires of landowners (who aimed to prevent access through their estates) and drovers (who required the continuation of their prescriptive rights of passage) as a straightforward 'conflict of interest', Haldane failed to consider the uneven power relations that existed between the two social groups. This is

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[90] Withers, C.W.J. (1995) 'How Scotland Came to Know Itself: Geography, National Identity and the Making of a Nation, 1680-1790', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 21, pp. 371-397, p.393.
[91] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 208-214.
[92] Ibid., p.208.

illustrated in a long-running legal dispute (discussed in Chapter Seven of this thesis) between the Marquis of Breadalbane and several groups of drovers over the closure of a drove stance at Inveroran. After the Court of Session initially found in the drovers' favour, Lord Breadalbane was able to use his financial resources and political influence to launch an appeal through the House of Lords, which overturned the decision on the grounds that "the drovers had failed to make out a relevant case and that the stance rights claimed had no legal foundation".[94] As noted by several postcolonial and critical legal scholars, similar claims were repeatedly made by British courts and lawyers during the colonial era in relation to the customary rights and land laws of indigenous populations, an observation that reinforces Isobel MacPhail's call for a postcolonial geography of the Highlands.[95] In her work on Aboriginal land rights, Jane Jacobs describes how the claims of many Aboriginal groups were often ignored because they could not be framed in the language of 'conventional' land law – an argument which certainly corresponds with that made by the House of Lords during the Breadalbane court case.[96] In so doing, she argues that expressions of tribal identity that could not be expressed in terms of fixed and bounded areas, notions that were central to white interpretations of territory, were far less likely to gain legal and political support than those that could.[97] This was also true for the drovers whose 'vague' and 'unspecified' claims to wayside grazing were often at odds with the more rigid and formalised understandings of land rights held by landowners and lawmakers.

Despite Haldane's contention that disputes between landowners and drovers represented a simple 'conflict of opinions', it is clear that the landowners were in a more powerful position to assert their will. Thus, his decision to ignore these power relations is indicative of sympathies and allegiances with the landowning community, and their desire to preserve estates for personal and commercial sporting interests. Given his position as a factor, landowner and sporting gentleman, it is important to

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[93] Ibid., pp. 214-215.
[94] Ibid., p.212.
[95] Blomley, N.K. (2003) 'Law, Property and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93, pp. 121-141; MacPhail, I. (2002) *Land, Crofting and The Assynt Crofters Trust: A Post-Colonial Geography.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Wales, Lampeter.
[96] Jacobs, J.M. (1988) 'Politics and the Cultural Landscape: The Case of Aboriginal Land Rights', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 26, pp. 249-263.
[97] Ibid., pp. 260-261.

recognise that Haldane, like Breadalbane, was an active member of this elite establishment. Consequently, his interest in droving is somewhat ironic considering that he belonged to the same class of men that were largely responsible for the enclosure of common land and the closure of drove routes and stance sites – processes that ultimately brought droving to its demise.[98]

Haldane's elite sympathies also contributed to his understanding and representation of land enclosure. Outlining the 'old' system of land tenure in the Highlands, Haldane described how multiple tenants and sub-tenants enjoyed collective and unchallenged grazing rights, an arrangement which provided the drovers with free access to overnight stancing grounds.[99] Despite its strategic and economic advantages both for the tenants who occupied the land and for passing drovers, Haldane condemned the old system as 'inadequate' and 'unscientific' with "little to commend it, either as a social system or as a method of sound land management".[100] As the eighteenth century progressed, the author noted that increasing commercial opportunities encouraged estate owners to 'turn their land to good account' through the application of 'scientific farming methods', before concluding that:

> The enclosure of land for crop cultivation and the consolidation into economic units of the mosaic of small patches cultivated under the old system, was a necessary outcome of the new agriculture.[101]

Haldane's persistent use of terms such as 'development' and 'scientific' to describe the emerging processes of agricultural change betrays a belief that enclosure and the consolidation of land was part of a wider, and ultimately necessary, project of agricultural advancement – a key phase in the commercial development of Scotland as a nation.[102] This point is further illustrated in his portrayal of those groups who sought to oppose agrarian 'improvement':

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[98] Curiously, this contradiction is never really registered by Haldane.
[99] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.190.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., p.171.
[102] Since the early-1980s, agrarian improvement and the development of agricultural science in Scotland has received considerable scholarly attention. For example, see: Adams, I. (1980) 'The Agents of Agricultural Change', in Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. London: Croom Helm, pp. 155-176; Chitnis, A.C. (1986) 'Agricultural Improvement, Political Management and Civic Virtue in Enlightened Scotland: An Historical Geographical Critique', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 245, pp. 475-488; Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (1980) (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. London: Croom Helm; Turnock, D. (1982) *The Historical Geography of Scotland Since 1707*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (especially pp.

> The enclosing of land in Galloway by stone dykes for the improvement of cattle breeding and the enlargement of farms was to lead to serious disorders. Many small tenants who had hitherto enjoyed grazing rights in common over the ground enclosed were evicted in favour of a single farmer renting the enclosed land at an increased rent. In the spring of 1723, when much enclosing had already been completed, many of the evicted tenants met at the Fair of Kelton Hill and organising themselves into companies of fifty, set to work systematically to overturn the dykes. The movement soon assumed the aspect of a riot, and troops were sent from Dumfries, Ayr and Edinburgh to deal with it. The authorities appear to have acted with moderation, and of 200 'levellers' rounded up and taken to Kirkcudbright, many were allowed to escape and only a few of the ringleaders were imprisoned or sent to the Plantations. The movement … materially retarded the progress of improvement in the south of Scotland, and the factors which gave rise to it are in many ways parallel to those which were to cause distress in the Western Highlands and the Islands half a century later.[103]

Rather than sympathising with their ill-treatment, the protesting tenants were represented as a hindrance, an unnecessary and potentially damaging obstacle to the agricultural development of southern Scotland. Consequently, Haldane regarded the forced eviction of 'unproductive' and 'inefficient' tenants at the hands of an 'enterprising landowning class' as a 'price worth paying', an inevitable and entirely 'natural' consequence of agricultural improvement in Scotland. Furthermore, his support for the privatisation and enclosure of common land – processes which heralded "a new age in which droving would have no place" – serves as a further illustration of his broader 'progressivist' understanding of droving, a 'modernist rationalism' which sets him against the more melancholic, antiquarian sympathies of other landscape scholars such as Hoskins or Hindle.[104]

66-81); Whyte, I.D. (1979) *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*. Edinburgh: J. Donald; Wilmot, S. (1990) *'The Business of Improvement': Agricultural and Scientific Culture in Britain, c. 1700-c. 1870*. Cheltenham: Institute of British Geographers; Withers, C.W.J. (1985) 'A Neglected Scottish Agriculturalist: The 'Georgical Lectures' and Agricultural Writings of the Rev. Dr. John Walker (1731-1803)', *Agricultural History Review*, 33, pp. 132-146; Withers, C.W.J. (1989) 'Improvement and Enlightenment: Agriculture and Natural History in the Work of the Rev. Dr. John Walker (1731-1803)', in Jones, P. (ed.) *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: John Donald, pp. 102-116; Withers, C.W.J. (1989) 'William Cullen's Agricultural Lectures and Writings and the Development of Agricultural Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Agricultural History Review*, 37, pp. 144-156; Withers, C.W.J. (1994) 'On Georgics and Geology: James Hutton's 'Elements of Agriculture' and Agricultural Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Agricultural History Review*, 42, pp. 38-48.

[103] In this final sentence, Haldane is referring to the Highland clearances. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.163.

[104] This quote is taken from Haldane [Ibid., p.217].

In contrast to Haldane's modernist, progress-driven narrative, this thesis adopts a more critical approach to agricultural 'improvement' and land enclosure, examining how these processes impacted upon the routes, practices and customary privileges of Scottish herdsmen. Drawing on recent conceptual work relating to 'enclosure' and 'legal geographies' (outlined in Chapter Three), Chapter Seven of this thesis revisits the Breadalbane Court Case in an effort to gain insights into the wider politics of agrarian change and capitalistic restructuring, and the ways in which these processes were utilised and facilitated by landowners seeking to undermine and restrict the drovers' traditional rights to passage and nightly grazing – privileges that had been exercised for many centuries previous.[105] Extending this theme, Chapters Five and Eight examine how agrarian 'improvement', with its emphasis on individualism, commons enclosure and private rights of property, heralded a shift from collective land tenure – in which drovers enjoyed unrestricted rights to movement and wayside pasture – to a 'modern' territorialising system of commercial landownership, in which Scottish herdsmen found themselves increasingly 'walled' and 'fenced' into a more limited range of spaces and routes, before being forced out of their business, livelihood and lifestyle altogether.

Conclusions

Through a critical engagement with his research notebooks, his memoir and his published work, Haldane is shown to be a devoted scholar whose landmark book on the Scottish droving trade serves as a substantial contribution to Scottish regional/economic history and an important influence on this thesis. Following Haldane's lifepath, it is clear that his interest in, and scholarly representation of, droving was influenced by childhood weekends spent on the family estate engaging in the rural pursuits of fishing and walking, and then by his later professional work as a lawyer specialising in factorial work. In his scholarly undertakings, Haldane is shown to be an enthusiastic researcher with a painstaking approach to landscape history based on the exhaustive collection of interview, archival and physical evidence with

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[105] Blomley, N.K. (2007) 'Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges', *Rural History*, 18, pp. 1-21; Blomley, N.K. (2008) 'Enclosure, Common Right, and the Property of the Poor', *Social and Legal Studies*, 17, pp. 311-331; Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human*

the intention of 'piecing together' the routes and sites of Scottish herdsmen – a methodology which critically informed the content and structure of this thesis. In his representation of the Scottish cattle trade, Haldane adopted a descriptive, progress-driven narrative, drawing on statistical accounts, specialist historical texts and the published works of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century travellers as a means for gaining insights into the commercial development and logistical operation of the Scottish droving trade, a modernist-progressivism that is particularly apparent in his account of agrarian improvement and land enclosure.

Haldane's research serves as a valuable source of information, providing this thesis with numerous references to published records of droving. Taking critical inspiration from the site-based dimensions of Haldane's work and bringing them into correspondence with the work of landscape scholars such as Hindle and Ingold, this thesis adopts an enlivened 'shire cultures' approach, examining the habituated activities, memories, folklore and human-animal interaction associated with key droving sites such as sea crossings, stances and markets. Despite drawing on many of the same sources as Haldane, this thesis addresses them with a different sensibility, one that is more concerned with the place-bound assemblages, affinities, relations, experiences and embodied intimacies of drovers and their animals. Furthermore, in contrast to Haldane's modernist, evolutionist narrative, this thesis adopts a more critical approach, focussing on the politics and broader socio-economic processes of enclosure and rural capitalisation which impressed upon the lives, movement and customary privileges of Scottish herdsmen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – claims that are examined further in the concluding chapter.

Geographies. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64; Wightman, A. (2011) *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who Owns Scotland (And How They Got It)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Chapter Five: Routes and Movement

> To purchase a thousand cattle from a multitude of individuals, and march them, in one or more great battalions, from the extremity of Scotland, into the centre of England, at the expense only of a few shillings on each, is an undertaking, which requires genius, exertion, and a provision for many contingent circumstances, besides the knowledge which is requisite for their disposal to such advantage, as may encourage the continuance of the trade.[1]

This chapter explores the routes, practices and movement of Scottish drovers on their journeys from the Highlands to the central markets at Falkirk and Crieff. The chapter begins with a section summarising the wider geography of Scotland's droving network, examining its structure and the political and economic factors that led to the trade's emergence. The second section considers the logistics and mobile geographies of the herd with specific attention to the personal diaries of Bishop Robert Forbes and the testimony of Dugald MacDougall. Drawing on a range of cartographic evidence, official reports and breeding manuals, the third section discusses the development of Scotland's military roads, their impact on the hooves of the cattle and the measures taken by drovers to protect them. With reference to various historical images and recorded interviews, a fourth section analyses the importance of dogs and ponies on the drove – animals that played a significant role in the planning, organisation and steady progress of the herd. The penultimate section investigates the practice of cattle reiving as an illicit activity carried out by drovers and 'cattle protectors' that was culturally embedded within certain sections of Highland society (particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century).[2] The final section focuses on turnpikes and tolls, and the gradual erosion of drovers' customary rights to passage and pasture – a process that was fiercely resisted by herdsmen during the 1820s and 1830s.

Envisioning the Drove

While the practice of herding cattle through Scotland has seemingly occurred since time immemorial, it was not until 1707 with the Acts of Union that the large scale, commercial movement of cattle along established routes to central markets or 'Trysts'

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[1] Leslie, W. (1813) _General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Nairn and Moray_. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, pp. 303-304.

began to take place.[3] The political and economic integration which followed the Acts of Union provided Scotland with improved access to growing markets in England and the Empire, a significant factor in the development of Scotland's droving trade.[4] Furthermore, external events such as the Napoleonic Wars led to an increased demand for salted beef, much of which was supplied by Scottish drovers.[5] With regards to the structure (and wider mechanics) of the trade, most cattle began their life on small hill farms in the Highlands, a region which, owing to its harsh climate, poor soils and mountainous terrain, was better suited for grazing cattle than growing crops. Combined with this, the clan system of land tenure which existed throughout Highland Scotland provided tenants with collective access to grazing land, allowing them to rear their beasts at little expense.[6] Furthermore, the hardy breeds of cattle which occupied this area, particularly the Kyloe of North West Scotland, were well-accustomed to the challenges of traversing rough terrain, an essential characteristic for drove animals.[7] At the age of three or four, these animals were entrusted to, or purchased on credit by, drovers before being herded to the central markets at Falkirk and Crieff.[8]

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[2] Reiving was an important part of the early history of the Scottish droving trade – a period which marked the transition from lawless cattle thieving to lawful cattle droving. Furthermore, the practice of stealing and illicitly moving cattle required similar skills to those possessed by the drovers.

[3] The great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff are discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

[4] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, pp. 2-3.

[5] Salted beef is meat that has been preserved through salt-curing. Haldane [ibid., p.174] noted that salted beef was among the tradition foods of the Navy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ibid., p.3.

[6] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.20.

[7] As noted by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* [Smith, A. (1776) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II. (Book IV). London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, p.40], the growth of droving in the Highlands was also encouraged by the fact that "Live cattle are, perhaps, the only commodity of which the transportation is more expensive by sea than by land. By land, they carry themselves to market. By sea, not only the cattle, but their food and water too must by carried at no small expense and inconveniency". MacDonald [MacDonald, J. (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Silvester Doig and Andrew Stirling, pp. 425-426] described the Kyloe as an 'active' and 'nimble' breed of cattle, well-suited to the physical demands of droving.

[8] Depending on the length of their journey, most herdsmen would have set off from the Highlands in August and September to reach Falkirk and Crieff in time for the Michaelmas Tryst in early October. Remarking on the practice of fattening Scots cattle in Norfolk, Marshall [Marshall, W. (1787) *The Rural Economy of Norfolk: Comprising the Management of Landed Estates, and the Present Practice of Husbandry in that County*, Vol. I. London: T. Cadell, p.326] noted that: "Once the cattle had reached three or four "a 'Scot' does not fat kindly even at *three* years old; much less at *two*; at which age many hundred head of cattle are annually fatted in this country". Later in the chapter he suggested that: "If they be intended for immediate fatting, four years old is the perfect age. An Isle of Sky [sic.] or Highland Scot at two or three years old will grow, but he will not fat; at five or six he will fat, but he will not grow, while fatting, equal to a four-year-old bullock. At this age the weight of Isle of Sky [sic.] Scots, when *fat*, varies, from twenty to forty stone" [Marshall, W. (1787) op. cit., p.344]. Drovers were often hired by landowners and wealthy dealers, at a nominal daily rate, to herd their cattle to market.

Figure 15: Drove road near Ardgay
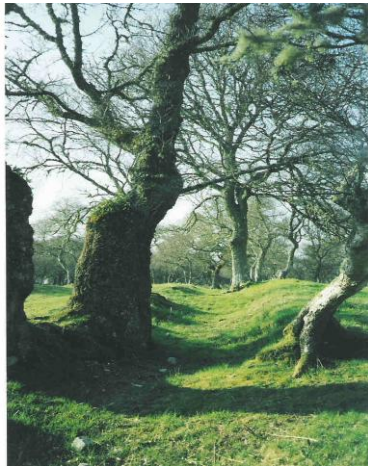
Figure 16: Dry stone dykes north of Kailzie Hill, Peebles

The paths travelled by these drovers varied greatly in appearance and formality, from ill-defined hill-tracks to gravelled military roads, the remains of which are still visible in many parts of Scotland. Describing the characteristic traces of a drove road, Haldane notes that, in remote regions such as the Southern Uplands, Cheviots and parts of the Highlands, the marks of cattle often appear as a series of narrow grooves (an example of which is shown in figure 15) – a product of the animals moving in parallel lines and successive droves skirting around the 'cut and trampled' ground left by previous herds. On areas of open land, these tracks typically cover a breadth of twenty to thirty yards, narrowing and deepening in areas where the topography concentrated the traffic of beasts. Consequently, as Haldane observes, "the characteristic marks of a drove road are very similar to those left by the passage of a stream, alternately flowing in broad shallows or narrow deeps and rapids".[9] In addition to this, the remains of dry-stone dykes (shown in figures 16 and 17), originally constructed to prevent cattle from trampling areas of arable land on either side of the drove route, can still be seen on many hillsides in the Borders and southern Scotland. Furthermore, in places where cattle once grazed, the ground is often appreciably greener (as seen in the stance in figure 18) than that of the surrounding landscape – a lingering fertility, attributed to the regular deposition of dung from generations of wandering beasts.

Writing in the early part of the eighteenth century, John Macky [Macky, J. (1723) *A Journey Through Scotland*. London: Pemberton and Hooke, p.194] described how Scottish drovers "hir'd themselves out for a Shilling a Day, to drive the Cattle to *England*, and to return home at their own Charge".

Figure 17: Dry stone dyke on the Corrieyairack Pass

Figure 18: Drove stance near Melgarve

While it would be impossible to trace every road followed by the Scottish drovers, Haldane's drove road map (shown in figure 14 in Chapter Four) provides the researcher with an impression of the main drove routes between the Highlands and the markets of Falkirk and Crieff.[10] The scale and spatial extent of the country's droving network, with routes crossing almost every region from the Outer Hebrides, Skye and Sutherland to the Cairngorms, Kintyre and the Scottish Borders, is an indication of the trade's economic and cultural significance throughout Scotland. Beginning at large 'gathering areas' where the cattle were bred and raised, the routes meander their way through the Scottish landscape, connecting and diverging with other routes, before finally converging at the central markets of Falkirk and Crieff – a complex assemblage of paths and tracks which can "be likened to a system of small streams, growing to rivers as the progress South continued".[11]

Feet Following Hooves

Despite Haldane's stream analogy, a metaphorical device which configures the drove as a braided flow of men and beasts, the mobile geographies of the herd were often more complex and fragmented – a sporadic form of movement not dissimilar to sediment pulses in a river, typified by irregular progress and frequent breaks. Of the

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[9] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.32.

[10] Commenting on the challenges of tracing Scotland's drove routes, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.4] noted that: "Without a doubt these [routes] changed from time to time according to the political and social conditions of the time, the market requirements, the type of beasts forming the drove, the weather or even the individual tastes, prejudices and idiosyncrasies of the drovers. It can be little, if any, exaggeration to say that there are few glens in the Highlands, even few easy routes leading to the South over moor or upland country, which have not known the tread of driven cattle on the way to the Trysts".

[11] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19. Haldane, A.R.B. (undated) *Typescript of Talk Proposed for St. Andrews University Archaeological Society*, p.9.

few eyewitness accounts of drovers moving through the Highlands with their cattle, the most detailed is included within Bishop Robert Forbes' *Journal of Episcopal Visitations*, a published diary of his travels through Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century. Of particular interest is a short section describing a journey between Ruthven and Moulinearn on 31st August 1762.[12] Within the account, he details several passing encounters with large droves of cattle slowly making their way through the Pass of Drumochter.[13]

> In the Chaise by 5 o'clock, and came to Dalwhinny 10 minutes after eight, where we breakfasted, and near to which, before coming to it, we counted eight Droves of black Cattle moving to Crieff-Fair.[14] There would have been about 1200 of them … He told me they had four or five Horses with Provisions for themselves by the Way, particularly Blankets to wrap themselves in when sleeping in the open Air, as they rest on the bleak Mountains, the heathy Moors, or the verdant Glens, just as it happens towards the Evening; that they tend their Flocks by night, and never move till about 8 in the Morning, and then march the Cattle at Leisure, that they may feed a little as they go along. They rest a while at midday to take some Dinner, and so let the Cattle feed or rest as they please. The proprietor does not travel with the Cattle, but has One for his Deputy to command ye whole, and he comes to the place appointed against ye Day fixed for the Fair. When the Flock is very large, as the present, they divide it, though belonging to one, into several Droves, that they may not hurt one another in narrow Passes, particularly on Bridges, many of which they go along. Each drove has a particular number of men with some Boys to look after the Cattle … On the dusky Muir of Drumochtir we had a full view of all the Cattle, from Rear to Front, which would take up about a Mile in length, and were greatly entertained in driving along through the midst of them, some of them skipping it away before us, like so many Deer. They were sleek, and in good Order, and fit for present Use. This put me in Mind of the Patriarchal way of sojourning.[15] We had now a fine view of Lochgarry, at the mouth of which we saw another Drove of Cattle, about 300, resting, on their way to Crief-Fair, some of them, through the Heat of the Day, wading into the Loch.[16]

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[12] Ruthven is a small settlement located on the banks of the River Spey, a mile south of Kingussie. Moulinearn is situated about three miles south-east of Pitlochry on the River Tummel.

[13] The Pass of Drumochter lies between Glen Spey with Glen Garry, connecting the villages of Newtonmore and Blair Atholl [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2012) *Atholl: Glen Tilt, Beinn Dearg and Carn nan Gabhar* (Sheet 394). Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2012) *Ben Alder, Loch Ericht and Loch Laggan* (Sheet 393). Southampton: Ordnance Survey].

[14] A chaise is described by Cowie [Cowie, L.W. (1996) *The Wordsworth Dictionary of British Social History*. Ware: Wordsworth Reference, p.55] as a light two or four-wheeled horse-drawn carriage.

[15] This term probably refers to the 'Way of the Patriarchs', an ancient north south route linking Hebron to Jerusalem [Shalom Israel Tours Website: http://shalomisraeltours.com/visiting-patriarchs-gush-etzion/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/11/13].

[16] Forbes, R. (1886) *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, M.A., of the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness, and of the Dioceses of Ross and Argyll, 1762 and 1770*. London: Skeffington, pp. 236-237.

Forbes's animated description of a herd of animals 'about a Mile in length' crossing the 'dusky Muir of Drumochter' provides the reader with a wonderful sense of the scale and spectacle of a drove in motion – a sight that would have been common in the Highlands during the summer and autumn months of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Encounters with these vast droves would have been a memorable experience for travellers passing through the Highlands at the time – a visual and culturally significant element of Scotland's itinerant social landscape.[17] Aside from its aesthetic appeals, Forbes's account also gives a sense of the practical and mobile 'micro-geography' of the herd, its spatial organisation and the challenges associated with moving these animals through the Highlands.[18] Expanding on this point, Haldane estimates that larger droves, such as the one witnessed by Forbes, would have had one herdsman supervising every fifty or sixty animals – a spatial arrangement which prevented the herd from becoming too dispersed.[19] The progress and cohesiveness of these large droves would evidently have required co-ordination and constant communication between the different groups of herdsmen.

Forbes's description of young boys accompanying the elder herdsmen highlights that, for many drovers, involvement in the cattle trade would have started at an early age. As Christina Grasseni observes in her research on the breeding habits of dairy farmers in Northern Italy, the practice of viewing and tending to cattle is an 'apprenticeship of skilled vision', where breeder's children are taught, from a young age, how to identify and communicate with cows.[20] Such a concept is equally relevant to the Scottish drovers for whom the skills and knowledge required for droving would have been acquired (through prolonged contact, movement with and visual assessment of animals) from early childhood. Aside from the practical advantages of employing boys to 'help out' on the drove, the decision to do so also reflects a degree of care and responsibility – an opportunity for older drovers to 'pass on' the skills of successful 'stocksmanship' to their younger counterparts.

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[17] Other travelling groups would have included merchants, smugglers, tinkers and tourists.
[18] Little is written about the typical size of the droves or the number of herds that would have been travelling though the Highlands at any one time. However, Haldane [National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19 op. cit., p.5] estimated that the smallest droves would have contained around one hundred and fifty cattle, with larger herds consisting of several thousand beasts.
[19] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.29.
[20] Grasseni, C. (2004a) 'Skilled Vision: An Apprenticeship in Breeding Aesthetics', *Social Anthropology*, 12, pp. 41-55, p.42.

Forbes's account also refers to the daily patterns of movement and spatial routines of the drove. In so doing, he describes how drovers would normally set off at about eight o'clock in the morning, marching their cattle 'at leisure' until midday to 'take some dinner' before continuing with their southward journey in the afternoon. The practice of droving the cattle along at a gentle pace corresponds with later accounts of herd management. In an interview from 1956, an old Argyllshire drover named Dugald MacDougall describes the importance of not pressing the cattle too hard at the beginning of the drove.[21]

> The first day or so until you settled the cattle down on the road were quite difficult. [at the outset] They were in full bloom, and full of flesh and hair. If you sweated them [drove them too hard], the hair drooped down and never got up again in the same [condition] … The great secret was to take them there [the market] as good-looking as they were when they left home. One would think there was nothing but drive and force them on with a stick, but that wasn't allowed at all. They'd go quite nicely when they were left alone.[22]

MacDougall's remarks illustrate that the task of herding cattle, particularly on the first days of the drove, was a delicate business – an activity which required patience and gentle coercion. For the cattle, most of which would have never ventured beyond the confines of their native farm, the experience of being herded through unfamiliar terrain in the company of agitated drovers and their barking dogs was likely both unsettling and disorientating. As such, attentive driving and regular breaks would have been essential to ensuring that the beasts became accustomed to life on the road. Furthermore, MacDougall's observation that the hair of the cattle would start to 'droop' if they were over exerted demonstrates that drovers would have been highly attuned to visible signs of deterioration, an attention to detail that could only be obtained through regular contact with their animals. Indeed, as the informant highlights, such skills were vital to maintaining the good condition of the cattle and thus their potential value at market.

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[21] The interview with MacDougall was recorded in November 1956 (six months before the informant's death at the age of 91) by Eric Cregeen (1921-1983) – a member of staff at the School of Scottish Studies between 1966 and 1983 [Tobar an Dualchais Website – Eric R. Gregeen: http://www.tobaranndualchais.co.uk/en/person/849, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/04/13]. Gregeen's encounter with MacDougall inspired him to write a paper entitled 'Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover' – an account of the informant's life and cattle droving experiences which appeared in the *Scottish Studies* journal in 1959 [Cregeen, E.R. (1959) 'Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover with Historical Notes on the West Highland Cattle Trade', *Scottish Studies*, 3, pp. 143-163].
[22] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1958/195/B5.

Finally, MacDougall's suggestion that the cattle would 'go quite nicely' when they were left alone matches closely with the findings of Pernille Gooch in her ethnographic research on Himalayan buffalo herders.[23] In particular, her observation that the buffaloes "walk at the front and the people follow", illustrates that, like their Scottish counterparts, the cows were active agents in the drove, largely responsible for dictating its pace and daily progress.[24] Gooch also describes how herders need to 'think like their animals' in order to understand the distinctive rhythm of their herd and identify suitable fodder and trees for their buffalo to eat. Such considerations were equally relevant for the drovers who had to ensure that their beasts passed along routes with regular wayside grazing, considerations which enabled them to attain "a shared world-view, whereby the world … [could begin to be] perceived through the senses of the animals in question".[25]

Learning to understand the behaviour of their animals also allowed the drovers to develop effective herding strategies, something that MacDougall discusses in a later section of his interview.

> The man that was in front – they didn't all stay behind – he took maybe twelve or so of the first cattle on, and the rest followed; and if these went into a gap, or found an open gate, and went in, you had only to get twelve out, whereas if you were all behind, you would have the whole sixty or fifty, and that spent time to get them back out again. There was an art in doing it right, properly; even suppose one would think it was a simple thing, there was an art in doing it properly too, to give man and beast a chance.[26]

These comments provide a valuable insight into the logistical challenges associated with herding cattle through the Highlands. The practice of taking groups of cattle out ahead of the herd was clearly effective in allowing the drovers to control the movement of the remaining animals and discourage them from straying. Furthermore, the success and development of this herding strategy required a comprehensive understanding of animal behaviour – an ability to predict the likely pattern of herd movement which could only be achieved through prolonged observation and previous

[23] Gooch, P. (1998) *At the Tail of the Buffalo: Van Gujjar Pastoralists Between the Forest and the World Arena*. Lund: Lund Monographs in Social Anthropology; Gooch, P. (2004) 'Van Gujjars: The Persistent Forest Pastoralists', *Nomadic Peoples*, 8, pp. 125-135; Gooch, P. (2008) 'Feet Following Hooves', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 67-80.
[24] Gooch, P. (2008) op. cit., p.70.
[25] Gooch, P. (2008) op. cit., p.73.

droving experience.[27] Indeed, MacDougall's affirmation that 'there was an art in doing it right' illustrates that cattle coercion was a skilled craft, an essential component of stocksmanship that had to be learned through trial and error and embodied intimacies between human and animal.

Routes and Surfaces

Aside from attempting to control the drove's movement, Forbes's earlier descriptions of herds being divided to prevent the cattle from 'hurting one another in narrow Passes', illustrates that drovers were also concerned about how the topographies encountered could impact upon the welfare and physical wellbeing of their animals – a point highlighted by Walter Scott and James Logan:

> The drover was a man of integrity, for to his care was committed the property of others to a large amount. He conducted the cattle by easy stages across the country in tractways, which, whilst they were less circuitous than public roads, were softer for the feet of the animals.[28]

> They [the drovers] are required to know perfectly the drove roads which lie over the wildest tracts of the country, and to avoid as much as possible the highways which distress the feet of the bullocks.[29]

Both quotes make reference to the terrain and surfaces favoured by drovers, underhoof conditions that played an integral role in their route-making decisions. In order to preserve the feet of their animals, most herdsmen preferred to travel along the softer hill tracks, which tended to be more forgiving than the compacted 'highways'. Consequently, their ability to identify suitable lines of passage demonstrates that herdsmen would have possessed a comprehensive working knowledge of the landscape through which they passed – a detailed mental map of their surrounding topography (and its associated passes, features and paths) acquired from previous

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[26] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1958/195/B5.

[27] The success of herding strategies would have also been dependent upon a drover's ability to select appropriate animals to lead the herd. As noted in Chapter Two, Hayden Lorimer explores the role of 'lead animals' in his work on reindeer herding in the Cairngorms [Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 497-518].

[28] Logan, J. (1831) *The Scottish Gael; or, Celtic Manners*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., p.293.

[29] The bracketed section has been added for clarification and does not appear in the original quote. Scott, W. (1827) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., p.139.

journeys and conversations with other herdsmen.[30] Furthermore, a drover's choice of route would have also been influenced by the age and physical capabilities of his beasts. This was particularly important for herders with younger, softer-hoofed animals, some of which would have particularly suffered on the hard roads through the glens.

Figure 19: Lairig an Laoigh route from Nethy Bridge to Strath Nethy

By way of illustration, the ordnance survey map for Braemar and the Southern Cairngorms (see figures 19-21) includes several references to young cattle. The pass which separates Glen Derry and Glen Avon (on the drove route between Nethy Bridge and Inverey) is marked as 'Lairig an Laoigh' – a Gaelic name which translates

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[30] With regards to the challenges of navigating through the Highlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.30] notes that "Maps were, of course, during the greater part of the droving period, not available, and a drover had to rely on knowledge gained from former journeys or perhaps from other drovers".

into English as 'pass of calves'.[31] Similarly, the tributary which runs alongside the drove road from Derry Lodge to the River Dee is called Lui Water (a name which is also given to the surrounding glen) – 'Lui' being the anglicisation of 'Laoigh', the Gaelic word for 'calf'.[32] Consequently, the continued etymological association of this drove route (and its surrounding terrain) with the young animals that once walked its surface illustrates well how droving practice has been imprinted into the Cairngorm landscape.

Figure 20: Lairig an Laoigh route from Strath Nethy to Glen Derry

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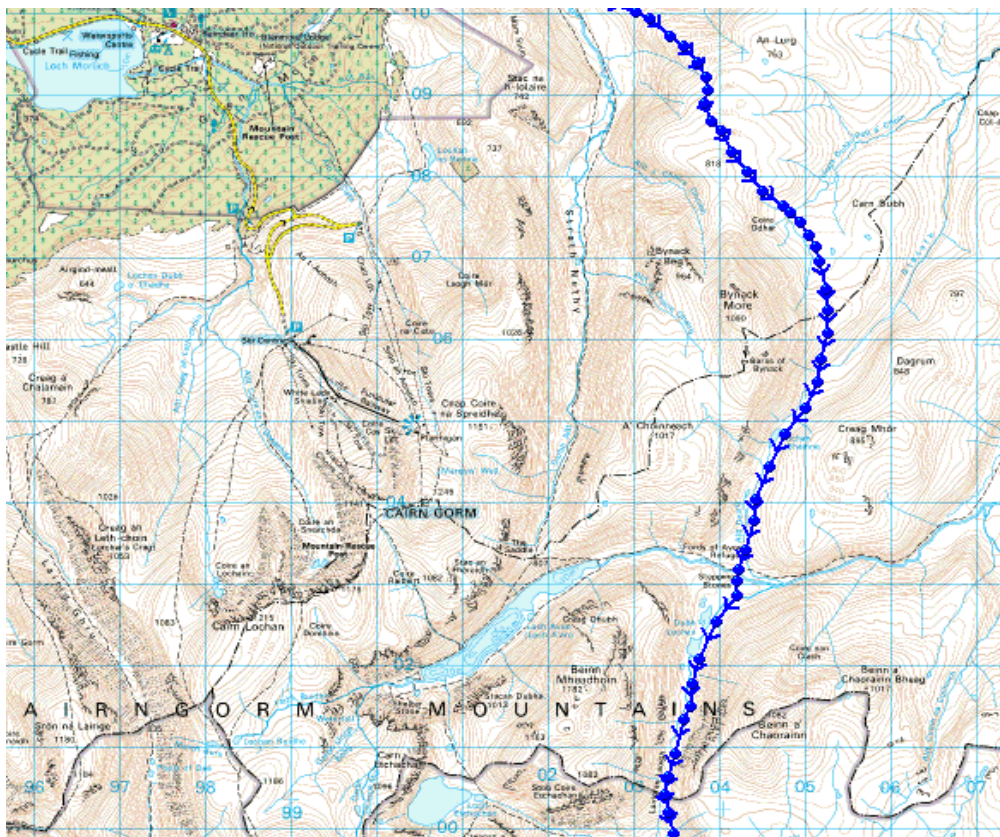
[31] At least three other drove roads bisect the Cairngorm Mountains. The most westerly route crosses from Kincraig (mid-way between Kingussie and Aviemore) to the Linn of Dee (six miles west of Braemar) via Glen Feshie, Glen Geldie and Glen Dee. Another route, known locally as the 'Lairig Ghru', runs between Aviemore and the Linn of Dee by way of the 'Pools of Dee', the source of the River Dee. The final route traverses the eastern Cairngorms between Tomintoul and Braemar via Glen Avon, Loch Builg and the Bealach Dearg before descending to the River Dee at Invercauld. Nethy Bridge is located about one mile south of the River Spey and five miles south of Grantown on Spey. Inverey is situated four miles west of Braemar in Glen Dee. Maceachen [Maceachen, E (1922) *Maceachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary* (4th ed.). Inverness: The Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, p.261 and p.263] notes that the Gaelic word 'Lairig' translates into English as 'a slope or pass between hills', while 'Laoigh' (sometimes written as 'Laogh') refers to 'a calf of a deer or cow'. Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Braemar, Tomintoul and Glen Avon* (Sheet 404). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

Figure 21: Lairig an Laoigh route from Glen Derry to Linn of Dee

Given the etymology of 'Lairig an Laoigh', it is clear that, despite the existence of at least three other drove roads through the Cairngorms, this was the route most favoured by drovers of younger cattle. Their preference for the Lairig an Laoigh was likely influenced by several logistical and topographical factors. Firstly, with its numerous offshoots and adjoining tracks, the Lairig an Laoigh route provided the drovers with a degree of flexibility. Making its way south from Nethy Bridge, the main drove road follows the course of the River Nethy, meandering through the Abernethy Forest, past several small settlements, before reaching the entrance of Strath Nethy. At this point, the drovers had the choice of two routes: one traversing the southern and eastern slopes of Bynack More; and the other following the length of Strath Nethy to Loch Avon, from where they could either veer east to re-join the main route at the Fords of Avon, or head south-west via the Shelter Stone and Loch

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[32] For further information about Gaelic place-names in the Cairnforms see: Gordon, S. (1925) *The Cairngorm Hills of Scotland*. London: Cassell and Company.

Etchachan to converge with the principal drove road a mile south of the Lairig an Laoigh.[33]

The existence of these alternative lines of passage, branching off from the central route, allowed the drovers to modify their journeys in response to changing meteorological conditions. This was particularly relevant for herdsmen travelling between Nethy Bridge and Glen Avon where, in times of high winds, many drovers would likely have opted to herd their cattle through Strath Nethy rather than across the exposed route over Bynack More. The opportunity to divert course also allowed drovers to avoid potential reiving 'blackspots' in response to intelligence and information gathered *en route*, something that would have been impossible on more constrained routes such as the Lairig Ghru.[34] Furthermore, the soft, heathery terrain which characterises much of the Lairig an Laoigh made it preferable to the rockier Lairig Ghru, a route scattered with loose stones and boulder fields.[35] Finally, unlike

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[33] The path along Strath Nethy rises to a pass known as 'The Saddle' (at 807 metres above sea level), situated between Cairn Gorm and Bynack More. The eastern route between this pass and the Fords of Avon descends gradually to the head of Loch Avon and along the northern banks of the River Avon for about a mile, before re-joining the Lairig an Laoigh route. The south-western route descends from 'The Saddle' to the western end of Loch Avon before crossing the River Avon a small distance upstream. At this point the path veers south-east past 'The Shelter Stone' and up the steep slopes between Carn Etchachan (a subsidiary summit of Ben Macdui) and Stacan Dubha (a rocky spur at the western end of Beinn Mheadhoin) to Loch Etchachan (927 metres above sea level). From here the track descends along the banks of the Coire Etchachan Burn, past the present-day Hutchinson Memorial Hut (according to the 'Mountain Bothies Association' website [Mountain Bothies Association Website – Hutchinson Memorial Hut: http://www.mountainbothies.org.uk/bothy-details.asp?bothy_id=56, no date last modified. Accessed on 12/04/13], the hut was built in 1954 – over half a century after the last drovers passed through the Cairngorms) before merging with the main drove route at the northern end of Glen Derry. Given its height and steep gradients, it is unlikely that many drovers would have opted to herd their cattle along the Loch Etchachan route.

[34] Enclosed by its steep sides and with a lack of adjoining paths, the Lairig Ghru was a more committing route than the Lairig an Laoigh and would have left the drovers more vulnerable to attacks by cattle thieves.

[35] Recalling his journey through the Lairig Ghru, Smith [Smith, W.A. (1937) *Hill Paths in Scotland.* Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, p.51] noted that "The 'going' for several miles through the pass is very rough, hopping over rocks and stones". Describing the same route, Kyd [Kyd, J.G. (1958) *The Drove Roads and Bridle Paths Around Braemar* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, p.5] observed that "For several miles the route lies over enormous rocks which have fallen from the heights above for ages past". With regards to the Lairig an Laoigh, Kyd [Kyd, J.G. (1958) op. cit., p.7] explains that "The journey is slightly longer than the Larig Ghru but it is an easier expedition. In fact it gets its name as it was used more frequently for driving cattle than its near neighbour the Larig Ghru". Furthermore, a description of the Lairig an Laoigh route on the 'Heritage Paths' website [Heritage Paths Project Website (Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society) – Larig An Laoigh Drove Road: http://www.heritagepaths.co.uk/pathdetails.php?path=43, no date last modified. Accessed on 02/04/13] reveals that remaining boulders were often cleared from the route to aid the passage of beasts: "It may not seem like a very good valley for droving, but that is because until droving died out local people were paid to go into the Cairngorm glens and clear the boulders to the side – clearly a practice no longer followed". In addition to being less rocky than the Lairig Ghru, the Lairig an Laoigh route is also more undulating than its western counterpart, skirting the broad grassy shoulders of Bynack More

the drove roads through Glen Feshie and Glen Avon, the Lairig an Laoigh route is, for most of its length, a rough and relatively remote cross-country hill path. Consequently, the decision to herd their cattle along this route, rather than the hard roads at either end of the Cairngorms, indeed allowed the drovers to preserve the fragile hooves of their younger cattle.

Preserving the Herd

Such concern for the hooves of their animals is also reflected in the drovers' decision to shoe their animals (an example of a typical cattle shoe is shown in figure 22), a common practice that continued throughout the droving period, particularly along the drove roads of Southern Scotland.[36] Despite its prevalence, cattle shoeing (and the location of blacksmiths) is rarely mentioned in published accounts of the droving trade. Consequently, in his efforts to fill this gap in knowledge, Haldane conducted several interviews with old men throughout the Highlands who had knowledge of the shoeing trade.

> Till within recent years there still lived men who could remember the shoeing of cattle at a smiddy at Trinafour on the main drove road to Crieff from the North, and at Tyndrum, and a Ross-shire drover, whose memories of the droving trade go back to 1868, recalls the shoeing of cattle from Wester Ross-shire when they reached hard well-made roads in the neighbourhood of Muir of Ord and Dingwall.[37]

Of particular interest is the informant's observation that the shoeing of cattle was often performed in preparation for their journeys along the harder roads, many of which were constructed by the State in their attempts to improve access and bring order to the Highlands after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. Following the publication

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before crossing over the low pass between Beinn Mheadhoin and Beinn a' Chaorainn. By way of comparison, the Lairig Ghru route is relatively unvaried, rising continuously along a narrow glen from Coylumbridge to the head of the pass at 835 metres (2,740 feet), before descending into Glen Dee in much the same fashion. As such, the rolling terrain of the Lairig an Laoigh would have been kinder on the legs (and muscles) of the young calves than the relentless trudge through the Lairig Ghru.

[36] Commenting on the location of blacksmiths, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.34] noted that "it seems unlikely that shoes would be fitted for the first part of the journey through the Highlands where much of the way lay over mountain tracks and moorland".

[37] Trinafour is a small hamlet located in Glen Errochty on the drove route between Glen Garry and Tummel Bridge, about ten miles west of Blair Atholl. The fact that cattle were only shod when they reached the 'well-made' roads of Dingwall and Muir of Ord, suggests that the practice of shoeing beasts was only partial in extent – confined to regions where routes had been formalised and surfaced. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.34.

of his report on the state of the Highlands in 1724, General George Wade (in his position as Commander of the Forces in North Britain) oversaw the construction of at least two hundred and forty miles of roads and forty bridges between Crieff, Dunkeld, Inverness and Fort William – infrastructural developments which continued until 1767 under his successor, Major William Caulfeild.[38] After a hiatus of nearly forty years, the government re-launched its road-building programme, constructing and upgrading around twelve hundred miles of roads and one thousand one hundred bridges between 1803 and 1821.[39]

Figure 22: Cattle shoe
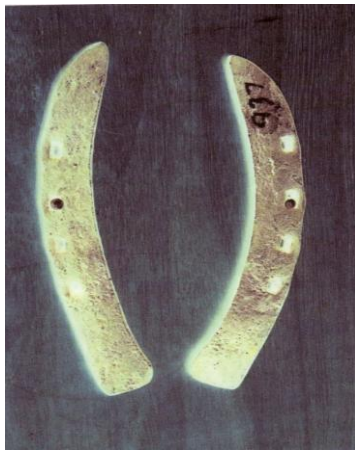
Figure 23: General Wade's Military Road near Fort Augustus

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[38] In their books on military roads, Ang and Pollard [Ang, T. and Pollard, M. (1984) *Walking the Scottish Highlands: General Wade's Military Roads*. London: Andre Deutsch] and Taylor [Taylor, W. (1976) *The Military Roads in Scotland*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, p.57] note that, during the first half of the eighteenth century, General Wade constructed four routes through the Highlands. The first route, from Fort William to Inverness (sixty miles), was built between 1726 and 1727. The second road, from Dunkeld to Inverness (one hundred and two miles), was completed between 1728 and 1730. The next track, connecting Crieff and Dalnacardoch (forty three miles) – a small settlement in Glen Garry located between Dalwhinnie and Blair Atholl – was laid in 1730. The final road, between Dalwhinnie and Fort Augustus (twenty eight miles), was constructed in 1731. After leaving his post as Commander of the Forces in North Britain in 1740, General Wade was replaced by Major William Caulfeild – an experienced successor who had served under Wade as 'Baggage Master and Inspector of Roads' since 1732 [Taylor, W. (1976) op. cit., p.24]. Between 1740 and his death in 1767, Taylor [Taylor, W. (1976) op. cit., p.31] estimates that Caulfeild was responsible for constructing another eight hundred miles of roads throughout Scotland, over three times the distance achieved by his predecessor. Brumwell, S. (2004) 'Wade, George (1673–1748)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[39] Following the publication of Telford's survey, the government passed the 'Scottish Highland Roads and Bridges Act' in 1803 which, according to the UK Parliament website [UK Parliament Website - Scottish Commissioners for Bridges and Highways correspondence: http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/transportcomms/canalsrivers/collections/scottish-commisioners-correspondence/, no date last modified. Accessed on 10/04/13], led to the establishment of a "Commission to supervise the expenditure of moneys on the construction of Highland roads and bridges". Telford himself was appointed as the Commission's chief engineer, responsible for the

The road-building programme was largely influenced by the findings of Thomas Telford's *Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland*, a detailed report on the extent and condition of Scotland's road and bridge network, carried out in the autumn of 1802.[40] In this survey, Telford observed that:

> Previous to the Year 1742, the Roads were merely the Tracks of Black Cattle and Horses, intersected by numerous rapid Streams, which being frequently swoln into Torrents by heavy Rains, rendered them dangerous or impassable. The Military Roads, which were formed about this Time, having been laid out with other Views than promoting Commerce and Industry, are generally in such Directions, and so inconveniently steep, as to be nearly unfit for the Purposes of Civil Life[41]

Telford's contention that military roads ignored the needs of 'civil life' is particularly revealing, as it provides an insight into the conditions encountered by the drovers. Indeed, the gravelled surfaces of Wade's roads (photographs of which are shown in figures 23 and 24) damaged the feet of some of the softer-hoofed animals, sapping their spirits and contributing to their physical deterioration.[42] This point is further illustrated by Haldane who notes that:

> the steady development and improvement of Highland roads … led to increasing complaints from the drovers. The gravel of the new roads, they said, hurt the feet of the cattle while the hard surfaces wore down their hooves.[43]

Furthermore, the rapid expansion of these surfaced tracks, many of which were laid over existing drove roads, would have limited the availability of softer routes – a key requirement for drovers with younger cattle.[44] Consequently, in their strategic desire to improve access (and mobility) through the Highlands, the Government hindered the

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provision and inspection of Scotland's roads and bridges. Paxton, R. (2004) 'Telford, Thomas (1757–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[40] Telford, T. (1803) *Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland; Made in the Autumn of 1802*. London: Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges.

[41] Telford, T. (1803) op. cit., p.4.

[42] With regards to the construction methods employed by General Wade, Taylor [Taylor, W. (1976) op. cit., p.35] notes that: "First the foundations were dug. Then big stones, broken by gunpowder if necessary, were levered into the bottom of the trench. Smaller stones, smashed by sledgehammer, were packed in on top. Finally the 'coup carts' from the nearest hillside tipped on gravel to a depth of at least two feet, to be beaten in with shovels, wheels and human feet".

[43] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 32-33.

[44] For much of its length, General Wade's Military Road followed the existing drove route between Fort Augustus and Crieff.

movement of Scottish herdsmen, forcing them to seek alternative cross-country routes and hill tracks.[45]

**Figure 24: A Wade bridge south of
Fort Augustus**

In addition to the challenges posed by infrastructual 'improvements', the drovers' decision to shoe their cattle was also influenced by Scotland's generally inclement weather, a feature remarked upon by William McCombie in his biographical work on the Scottish cattle trade:

> In bad weather many of the cattle had to be shod, else they never could have performed their journeys. In wet weather their hoofs wore through to the sensitive parts, and they got lame; but when properly shod, they immediately recovered and took the front of the drove … It should, however, be remembered that cattle, after being driven a distance, get more easily handled. Robert Smith, one of the few of the old race of drovers now alive, and who is still in my service, assisted in this great performance. I should explain that, for the sake of the general reader, the inside hoof of the fore-foot is generally the first to wear through. Many of the cattle had only one or two hoofs shod, others perhaps three or four, and an exceptional beast would have every one of the eight done. The shoes were made at the Crossgates of Fife; they were sent by coach to different cattle stations, and the men, by rotation, had to carry a supply upon their backs. It may seem a strange fact that no other blacksmith could make nails equal to those made at the Crossgates. The men would not hear of any others; they said they would not drive.[46]

McCombie's detailed recollections raise several important points. Firstly, his comments describing the impact of wet weather on the hooves of cattle illustrate that prolonged contact with (and movement over) saturated surfaces softened the feet of

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[45] These cross-country routes passed over softer terrain than the consolidated gravel roads through the glens.

[46] McCombie, W. (1867) *Cattle and Cattle Breeders*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, pp. 111-113.

the animals, making them more vulnerable to damage and corrosion.[47] Consequently, aside from their knowledge of routes and terrain, drovers would have also been aware of the location (and availability) of blacksmiths, an essential consideration for herdsmen seeking to preserve the hooves of their cows. Secondly, the number of shoes that drovers provided to their cattle was informed by an understanding of which hooves were most likely to 'wear through', something that could only be achieved through careful observation and regular inspection of the animals. Decisions about cattle shoeing were also based on the perceived qualities of individual cows, a point highlighted by the fact that only 'exceptional beasts' had all of their hooves shod. The herders' desire to protect their profitable beasts is further illustrated by their preference for high calibre shoes and blacksmiths, the most esteemed of which were based in the village of Crossgates, in Fife.[48]

Describing the typical method of shoeing cattle, Haldane stated the following:

> The method of shoeing cattle was rough, for the beasts had to be thrown on their backs, often with serious damage to the horns, the head being held down and the feet tied while the shoeing was being done. The shoes used by the drovers for their cattle were thin metal plates, crescent-shaped and nailed on the outer edge of the two hooves of each foot with fine metal nails the heads of which were formed of cross pieces giving the nail the appearance of a small hammer.[49]

These remarks illustrate that the task of shoeing cows was a highly-skilled and potentially dangerous craft. Indeed, the exercise of tying and turning the beasts, many of which would have been agitated or distressed, carried with it a serious risk of injury. Consequently, the capacity to perform this activity unscathed required

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[47] Unlike the hooves of the cattle that passed along them, the Report of the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland [Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland (1811) *Fifth Report of the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland.* London: House of Commons, pp. 4-5] suggested that Highland roads were relatively resistant to the effects of rain: "This being a great extent of Road through a Country where much Rain falls, and a considerable portion of it having now for Three Years been used by Drovers of Black Cattle and of sheep, by Carts in carrying Timber sold by Glengarry, and for the conveyance of Materials for Bridge-building, it affords a very good specimen of the durability of Highland Roads made according to the Specifications of our Contracts. I saw it after a month of very heavy and constant Rain, and although the Retaining Walls and Side Drains are not quite perfect, yet under all these circumstances the Road has sustained no serious injury, and is a proof that if the Drains on the upper side of the Road are kept carefully cleared (which may always be done at a very trifling expense) the Highland Roads may be easily maintained in a perfect state".
[48] Crossgates is a small village located mid-way between the towns of Dunfermline and Cowdenbeath [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy and Glenrothes South* (Sheet 367). Southampton: Ordnance Survey].

precision and ingenuity, abilities that could only be acquired through regular contact with cattle and a detailed appreciation of their distinctive behavioural characteristics. Relatedly, the delicate business of producing the cattle shoes demanded accuracy and careful craft-work, an attention to detail that must have been highly sought after by the drovers. As such, it is clear that talented blacksmiths were an essential part of the wayside economy, allowing herdsmen to counteract the physical deterioration caused by the expansion of Scotland's gravelled roads.

Droving Companions

Aside from the blacksmiths, drovers were also aided on their journeys by the presence of dogs.[50] Despite the lack of documentary evidence, the use of canines is mentioned in several oral records of the droving trade.[51] One such account is given in a recorded interview (from 1956) with an old farmer from Selkirkshire (see figure 25):

> I was down the Craig Hill end, that's the first heathery hill as you come to down the burn, [and] I met this great drove of … Kylos … there was cattle over the whole of the haugh … not getting on very quickly and there were two men in charge of them. One was a … scruffy looking fellow with a long tailed coat on and not very clean … and the other was quite a respectable man – a drover. He said 'hello!' … come on and give us a … hand up the home with our cattle … our dogs are feeding. So … with Swan [the name of his dog] on the cattle … we got them up in sight of the house [the drovers' inn at East Buccleuch] … [and] he took … [the cattle] out onto the common.[52]

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[49] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.34.

[50] The most popular breed of herding dog was the 'Collie', described by the *Farmer's Encyclopaedia* [Johnson, C.W. (1842) *The Farmer's Encyclopaedia, and Dictionary of Rural Affairs*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, p.339] as "A kind of dog much prized by the Scottish drovers".

[51] Writing about the utilisation of dogs by Scottish drovers, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.26] observed that: "Dogs were used extensively in droving, and although there is curiously little mention of them in contemporary records, their function must have been an important one on routes which crossed long stretches of open country". Elsewhere, Scott [Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, p.47] noted that the drovers "had no good-will to the journey; nevertheless, provided with a little food, and with a dog to help them manage the cattle". The presence of dogs at river and sea crossings, drovers' inns and markets is discussed in later chapters of this thesis.

[52] The bracketed sections of this transcript are based on information gathered from another part of the interview. The interviewee also recalls that the last droves from Falkirk passed through Buccleuch around 1884 or 1885. 'Kyloe' are a breed of cattle from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland. According to the *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* [Brown, T. (1845) *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, p.63], a 'haugh' is an area of "Low-lying flat ground". The informant's use of the phrase 'up the home' probably refers to the road that passes below 'Home Law' (a small hill above Buccleuch) – this route is now followed by the B711 (the road between Glen Ettrick and Hawick). The small Hamlet of Buccleuch is located about thirteen miles west of Hawick, in the Scottish Borders [Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Scale Landranger Map (2012) *Hawick and Eskdale* (Sheet

These remarks indicate the supportive role played by dogs on the drove. The drover's plea for help demonstrates that the herding skills possessed by these animals were well recognised and highly regarded by the drovers. In particular, their ability to coax and cajole the cattle, while also 'rounding up' strays, helped to ensure the steady progress and cohesive formation of the herd. Consequently, it is clear that the droves were genuine spaces of species co-mingling whose smooth transit was dependent upon the communication between dogs and cattle – a co-operative relationship which allowed the drovers to control and regulate the herd's movement. This is further illustrated in figures 26 and 27 where the relatively tight and linear formation of these animals (especially those shown in figure 26) can be attributed to the guiding presence of several spirited Collies.[53]

Figure 25: Buccleuch and surroundings
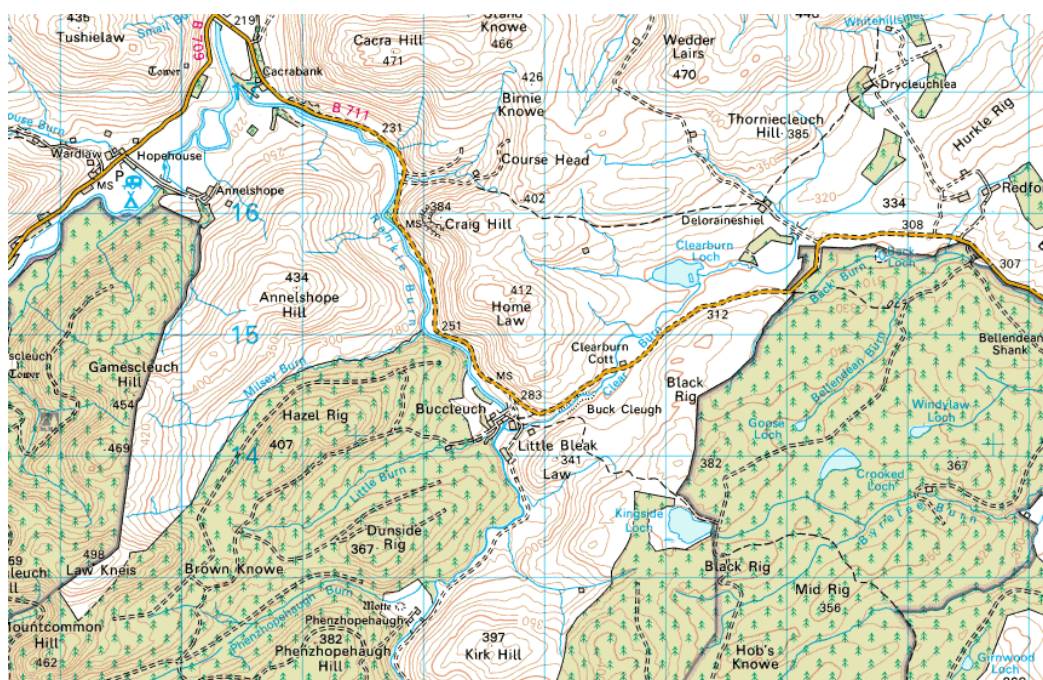
However, despite their unquestionable value, the use of dogs on the drove was not without its problems. In an interview from 1966, an old Highlander recounts his early

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79). Southampton: Ordnance Survey]. School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1956/148/A2.

[53] With regards to figures 26 and 27, Bernisdale is located at the head of Loch Snizort on the Isle Skye, about seven miles north-west of Portree [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Skye – Portree and Bracadale* (Sheet 410). Southampton: Ordnance Survey; Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Skye – Trotternish and The Storr* (Sheet 408). Southampton: Ordnance Survey] and Geirinis is located in the north-western part of Sorth Uist [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Benbecula and South Uist* (Sheet 453). Southampton: Ordnance Survey].

childhood memories of a small cattle fair near Gairloch. In so doing, he describes an encounter with a local cattle drover (named John Aultbea) and his dog:

> [John's dog Baldy was] the nastiest dog that anybody ever set eyes on.[54] When John was tired, he would chuck Baldy a stone and Baldy would carry the stone all day. John would be losing the beasts and then he would be shouting 'Baldy let go that'. He would drop the stone and turn the beast.[55]

The informant's memories of Aultbea using stones to entertain his restless dog provides a useful illustration of the constant attention and stimulation required by these energetic animals, behavioural characteristics that must have been tiresome for the herdsmen. Furthermore, the distractible nature of Aultbea's animal demonstrates that, despite the controlling presence of their masters, drovers' dogs maintained the agency to stray, an unpredictability which could result in a loss of beasts and impair the progress of a drove.

In addition to the Collies, the cattle in figure 26 are also accompanied by two men on horseback. Throughout the droving period the use of horses and ponies by herdsmen was common, particularly on the longer routes. As with the use of dogs, surprisingly little has been written about the presence or function of these animals on the drove. One of the few authors to mention ponies is Joseph Mitchell in his *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, a multi-volume account of his early life and later experiences as an 'Inspector of Highland Roads and Bridges'.[56] In a chapter discussing cattle markets in the Highlands, Mitchell recounts the story of a legendary drover who went by the name of 'Corriechoille':[57]

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[54] The practice of naming dogs was common amongst drovers. In a recording from 1972, two old ladies from Stranraer recalled how they "used to watch them [the drovers] and this man came out with his dog … Sproul was his name [the name of the drover's dog]. A wee man and he could fairly walk and he just had a wee bit stick when he came to take some of the [cattle] … and a good dog of course" (School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1972/154/A10).

[55] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: PN 1966/8.

[56] Joseph Mitchell was a civil engineer who started his career working on the Caledonian Canal under Thomas Telford, before being appointed as a 'General Inspector and Superintendent of the Highland Roads and Bridges – a position he held for almost forty years. Joseph's father (John Mitchell) was a stonemason who also worked for Thomas Telford as a 'Principal Inspector for the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges in Scotland' [Birse, R.M. and Chrimes, M. (2004) 'Mitchell, Joseph (1803–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press].

[57] Corriechoille's real name was John Cameron. His nickname derives from 'Coire Choille' – the large farm on which he resided. Coire Choille is located on the south side of the River Spean between the villages of Spean Bridge and Roybridge, about ten miles east of Fort William [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2009) *Ben Nevis and Fort William* (Sheet 392). Southampton: Ordnance Survey]. Mitchell [Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, p.335] describes Cameron as a prolific herdsman who had "acquired a

> A man [Corriechoille] of great energy … [who] frequently rode night and day on a wiry pony from Falkirk to the Muir of Ord, 120 miles, carrying for himself some bread and cheese in his pocket and giving his pony now and then a bottle of porter.[58]

The vast distances covered by Corriechoille and his 'wiry pony' serve as an effective illustration of the stamina possessed by these animals. Consequently, by reducing the physical strain of walking, the use of ponies enabled the drovers to travel further afield, providing them with greater access to markets and cattle fairs across Scotland. Furthermore, the decision to travel on horseback shortened the duration of return trips from market, allowing drovers to cut their accommodation costs and maximise the time devoted to breeding and stock rearing. In addition to this, Corriechoille's decision to victual his pony with the occasional 'bottle of porter' indicates that he harboured a degree of affection for his animal. Considering the amount of time that drovers spent with their ponies, it is clear that, over the course of the drove, many herdsmen would have developed strong feelings of companionship and attachment towards their equine counterparts.

Figure 26: Driving cattle to Geirinis Fair in the 1930s

Figure 27: Driving cattle along the road to Portree at Bernisdale in 1920

With regards to the daily practice of herding, the use of ponies and horses had several advantages. Firstly, the strength and physical endurance of these animals made them ideal for carrying large volumes of supplies, something that would have been essential

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character for acuteness in the buying and selling of stock, and ultimately became a drover on a large scale". Elsewhere, Cameron [Cameron, D. (1985) *While the Wild Geese Fly: Tales of a Highland Farmer and Auctioneer*. Fort William: Donald Cameron, p.17] recalls how "Corrie used to boast that he was the biggest stock owner, not in Scotland or even in Britain, but in the world".

[58] According to the 'Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA)' website [CAMRA Website – Porter and Stout: http://www.camra.org.uk/page.php?id=231, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/04/13], Porter was a dark brown beer originating in London in the eighteenth century. The beer was made from "a blend of

on the longer journeys. Additionally, the freedom of not having to carry their own provisions allowed drovers to focus on their beasts. Secondly, the elevated perspective of horseback travel enabled drovers to survey the entire length of their herd, allowing them to identify straying or distressed animals that would not have been visible on foot. Thirdly, the relative speed of their horses allowed the drovers to be more responsive to operational challenges such as disruptive cows and sudden changes in pace. Riding on horseback also gave drovers the flexibility to rotate and shift positions, a freedom of movement that was essential to monitoring and assessing the progress of the drove.[59]

Ponies and horses arguably played an integral role in the planning and co-ordination of a drove. In particular, the widespread use of these animals led to the growth of 'topsmen' – men "whose duty it was to go on ahead, usually on horseback, to arrange grazing for the night and generally to plan the route".[60] Thus, the introduction of topsmen helped the drovers to secure regular wayside pasture, ensuring that their cattle remained well fed and adequately rested throughout the drove. The use of topsmen to 'scout out' the road ahead also provided herdsmen with advanced knowledge about tolls, route conditions and impending hazards such as damaged bridges and swollen river crossings, logistical information which likely enabled them to alter their choice of routes and avoid unnecessary delays.[61]

Reiving Landscapes

In addition to the logistical challenges of herd management and route planning, drovers had to contend with the dangers of cattle reivers, armed groups of men who could 'rustle' their animals. While there is little evidence of cattle thieving in the numerous sound recordings of herdsmen (mainly referring to the 1880s and 1890s), published records from the eighteenth century suggest that the nefarious practice was

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brown ale, pale ale and 'stale' or well-matured ale … [and] acquired the name Porter as a result of its popularity among London's street-market workers". Mitchell, J. (1883) op. cit., p.335.
[59] These comments are my own logical deductions based, in part, on my experiences of walking with ponies in an eight-day droving re-enactment (organised by the Scottish-based educational trust, 'SpeyGrian') in July 2012. This re-enactment is examined in greater detail in Chapter Nine.
[60] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 29-30.
[61] National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/15, Notebook II, p.47.

previously widespread in Scotland. Indeed, as Haldane states in the opening pages of *The Drove Roads of Scotland*:

> the early history of the drove roads is to a large extent the story of the gradual transition from lawless cattle driving [by reivers] to lawful cattle droving.[62]

Considering the history of this illegitimate practice and the potential financial ramifications for the drovers affected, it is unsurprising that many herders, on their journeys through known reiving 'blackspots', would agree to pay a small sum to 'cattle protectors' in a bid to prevent their beasts from being stolen. Describing the common and widely-accepted practice of 'black-mail' in the years prior to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Robert Chambers observed the following:

> The practice of stealing cattle in the Highlands has already been several times alluded to, as well as the system of compromise called *black-mail*, by which honest people were enabled in some degree to secure themselves against such losses. Down to 1745, there does not appear to have been any very sensible abatement of this state of things, notwithstanding the keeping up of the armed companies, professedly for the maintenance of law and order. Perhaps the black-mail caused there being less robbery than would otherwise have been the case, and also the occasional restoration of property which had been taken away; but it was of course necessary for the exactors of the mail to allow at least as much despoliation as kept up the occasion for the tax.[63]

Remarking on the activities of these blackmailers, a further manuscript source, which appears in the Appendix of Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, provides the following observation:

> The person chosen to command this watch, as it is called, is commonly one deeply concerned in the thefts himself, or at least that hath been in correspondence with the thieves, and frequently who hath occasioned thefts in order to make this watch, by which he gains considerably, necessary. The people employed travel through the country armed, night and day, under pretence of inquiring after stolen cattle, and by this means know the situation and circumstances of the whole country. And as the people thus employed are the very rogues that do these mischiefs, so one half of them are continued in their former businesses of stealing, that the business of the other half may be necessary in recovering.[64]

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[62] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.2.

[63] Chambers, R. (1861) *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745*, Vol. III. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, p.614.

[64] 'Extracts from an Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate the Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, Written in 1747', in Burt, E. (1822) *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London* (5th ed.), Vol. II. London: Ogle, Duncan and Co., pp. 338-370, p.360.

Judging by the persistence of 'black-mail' as a means for 'securing against' the theft of cattle, it is clear that many drovers would have regarded payments with a degree of acceptance; a necessary cost essential to ensuring their safe passage through certain parts of the Highlands. Considering that most beasts at this time were purchased by the herdsmen 'on credit', the loss or death of animals *en route* could hinder their ability to pay off loans, potentially rendering them bankrupt. Despite these dangers, it is likely that some drovers, due to lack of finance, would have been unable to pay for 'protection' costs, leaving them susceptible to potential attack. Consequently, movement through known reiving 'blackspots' must have been accompanied by feelings of trepidation and apprehension, a constant fear of armed groups of men stealing their cattle. As such, successful passage across these riskier regions would have been dependent upon a drover's ability to remain vigilant – a heightening of the senses which allowed them to 'pick out' unfamiliar sounds and decipher signs of movement.

Of the many regions in Scotland where cattle thieving was prevalent, perhaps the most notorious was the mountainous district of Knoydart, the extensive tract of land lying between Loch Hourn and Loch Nevis. Given its proximity to the main drove road from Skye (which passed through Kinloch Hourn, on the northern edge of Knoydart) and considering its relative isolation (located at least ten miles from the nearest significant settlement), it is easy to appreciate why the area was popular with reivers. One such reiver, infamous for his thieving practices in this region, was Coll MacDonell – often referred to as 'Barrisdale'.[65] The following accounts, one from Chambers, and the other from Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, describe the man's character and the scale and influence of his activities in this district:

> Both Gartmore and Mr Pennant speak of 'Barrisdale' as a person who at this time stood in great notoriety as a levier of black-mail, or, as Barrisdale himself might have called it, a protector of the country. Descended from a branch of the Glengarry family, his father had obtained from the contemporary Glengarry, on wadset, permission to occupy a considerable tract of ground named Barrisdale, on the south side of Loch Hourn, and from this he had hereditarily derived the appellative by which he was most generally known, while his real name was Coll MacDonell, and his actual residence was at

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[65] Barrisdale was both a cattle 'protector' and a reiver.

Inverie, on Loch Nevis. Although the government had kept up a barrack and garrison at Glenelg since 1723, Barrisdale carried on his practice as a cattle-protector undisturbed for a course of years, drawing a revenue of about five hundred [pounds] a year from a large district, in which there were many persons that might have been expected to give him opposition.[66]

He … behaved with genuine honour in restoring, on proper consideration, the stolen cattle of his friends … he was indefatigable in bringing to justice any rogues that interfered with his own. He [Barrisdale] was a man of a polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public, and preserver of general tranquillity.[67]

Of particular interest is Chambers's suggestion that Barrisdale was free to continue with his activities as 'cattle-protector', undisturbed, for a number of years. The lack of meaningful state or military intervention implies that the government was largely indifferent to, or perhaps even supportive of, Barrisdale's illicit practices – no doubt influenced by their positive impact on the number of reported thefts in the area. Barrisdale's freedom to operate in Knoydart, with relative impunity from the state, serves as a useful illustration of how certain parts of the Highlands had become in effect 'spaces of exception' – remote districts where the 'rule of law' was rarely applied (or enforced) and where drovers enjoyed little protection from government. Given these difficulties, and the frequency with which herdsmen had to traverse these 'lawless' northern territories, it is likely that some drovers would have made agreements or had pre-existing friendships with the blackmailers, some of which (like Rob Roy) had started out as drovers.[68] Thus, for herdsmen with friendly connections and social networks, movement through reiving districts must have been a relatively straightforward affair – a point illustrated by Pennant's assertion that Barrisdale behaved with 'genuine honour' in returning the stolen cattle of his friends. As such, in regions characterised by an absence of state-enforced law, the occupants tended to adhere to a more vaguely defined 'moral code', an established mode of behavioural practice, based on locally-constructed notions of 'loyalty', 'honour', 'justice' and 'fairness'. Consequently, in addition to their knowledge of Scotland's physical terrain, the Highland drover also required an awareness of the country's moral landscape,

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[66] Chambers, R. (1861) op. cit., p.616.
[67] Pennant, T. (1774) *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides; 1772*. Chester: John Monk, p.404.
[68] Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

something that would inform his choice of routes and influence his selection of friendships.

As a consequence of this peculiar 'moral code', rather than being regarded as a criminal activity, the absence of state intervention meant that cattle-stealing "came to be considered rather as a gallant military enterprise".[69] Indeed, when viewed alongside Pennant's suggestion that Barrisdale was a 'fine person' of 'polished behaviour' and a 'fine address', it is apparent that certain black-mailers (individuals that were often involved in the thefts) were afforded a degree of respectability – praised as 'benefactors to the public' and 'preservers of tranquillity'. Indeed, Thomas Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, observed that:

> Highlanders at that time esteemed the open theft of cattle, or the making a *spreith* (as they called it) by no means dishonorable; and the young men considered it as a piece of gallantry, by which they recommend themselves to their mistresses.[70]

Given the general acceptance of these corrupt practices and their cultural embeddedness within certain sections of Highland society, it is understandable that many drovers chose to take measures to protect themselves. One such measure was the practice of carrying arms, something that required an official government licence, to be renewed every two years. The granting of these licences is described in two letters; the first written by a Mr. J. Brown, relating to the state of the Highlands in 1727, and the second written by Archibald Campbell, Advocat Sheriff Depute of Argyll, on 11th December 1746:

> I … beg leave to represent to Your Maty: That pursuant to the Instructions I received from Your Royal Father for granting Licences under my Hand and Seal, to Merchants, Drovers, and others permitting them to carry Arms for the security and defence of their Property. I gave out in the year 1725, 230 Licences for the whole of the Highlands which were to remain in force for two years and no longer.[71]

> [I permit] the bearer, James M'Nab, Drover in Craig of Glenorchy, who goes with two servants to purchase and bring black cattle from Kintail and the Isle

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[69] The romanticisation of reivers as 'heroic Highlanders' and 'loveable rogues' is also reflected in popular works of nineteenth-century literature such as Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*. Chambers, R. (1861) op. cit., p.616.

[70] Pennant, T. (1771) *A Tour in Scotland. 1769*. Chester: John Monk, pp. 176-177.

[71] Allardyce, J. (1896) *The New Spalding Club: Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750*, Vol. I. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, p.161.

of Skye, to pass to and from these countrys [sic.], with their arms, alwise [sic.] behaving themselves as Loyall subjects to his Majesty.[72]

At the height of Jacobitism, when the government was doing its utmost to disarm the Highlands, the state's decision to grant drovers licences to carry weapons demonstrates that they must have valued the droving trade.[73] Consequently, it is clear that many herdsmen, by virtue of their involvement in the trade, would have been seen as 'respectable' and 'honourable' figures, trusted by the government to carry out their duties with loyalty to the Crown. Indeed, such impressions stand in stark contrast to the 'barbarous' 'cruel' and 'vengeful' portrayal of Highlanders that appeared in some official publications at the time.[74] Furthermore, their permission to bear arms suggests that, in addition to their understandings of landscape and cattle, the drovers who chose to carry these weapons must have also been skilled in the practice of combat.

Illicit Practices

While it is necessary to acknowledge the activities of thieves and 'cattle protectors', it is important to recognise that the practice of livestock stealing was also carried out by drovers.[75] The following account, extracted from the New Spalding Club's *Historical Papers* – a selection of military reports relating to crimes, complaints and other activities in the Highlands throughout the Jacobite period – describes the regular theft of animals by herders on their way back from the Crieff Tryst. Writing on the 16th

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[72] MacKenzie, A. (1883) *The Celtic Magazine*, Vol. VIII. Inverness: A. and W. MacKenzie, p.586.

[73] In the years following the Acts of Union (in 1707), the droving trade was an integral component of Scotland's economy, essential for strengthening commercial ties with England. Commenting on the potential threat from armed Highlanders, Brown [Allardyce, J. (1896) op. cit., p.160] states that: "it was looked on to be a reproach to a Highlander to be seen without his Musket, Broad Sword, Pistol and Durk … This pernicious Practice of Wearing Arms was attended with many Inconveniences, to themselves, to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Country, and even to the State itself. The Highlanders who are naturally addicted to Revenge, committed frequent Murders, which often exasperated the Clans one against another for many Generations… But in my humble opinion the greatest Inconveniency that attended the frequent use of Arms in the Highlands, was, their being ready and proper Instruments of the Pretender or any foreign power to give Disturbance to the Government".

[74] In a Memorandum from 1746 [National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/1). Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments): Roads and Bridges – General Papers (1733-1746), *Memorandum Concerning the Highlands, Annotated by John, Later 3rd Earl of Breadalbane*], cattle thieving in the Highlands was described as "the principal source of [the Highlanders'] … barbarity, cruelty, cunning and revenge [which] trains them up to the use of arms, love of plunder, thirst for revenge".

[75] The requirement to drive their stolen cattle means that a cattle 'rustler' must also, in effect, be a drover.

October 1750, from his station at Invercomrie, near the head of Loch Rannoch,

Captain Henry Patton noted that:

> As it has been an ordinary practice for the Highland Drovers from their return from Crief [sic.] fare [sic.], to steal Cattle from the Low Country which they were accustomed to drive by the Head of Loch Tay and Lion [sic.], and by the important Pass at Cam, half way between this, and Augh Chalada, a large Village near Dillebegg, I therefore sent a Sergeant's Comand [sic.] who rear'd up a Hut for themselves where they remained three weeks, but never got the least notice of any Thefts committed thereabout, nor have I in any part of my district but, as I apprehended so great a No. of People returning from Crief Fair might steal Cattle somewhere, and being persuaded they would purposely avoid all the Passes, where our Soldiers are station'd I therefore judg'd it expedient to set all the different parties in motion, as the Patroling Parties had certainly the best chance of meeting with them, but to no purpose.[76]

Patton's contention that thieving of cattle from the 'low country' by Highland-bound drovers was an 'ordinary practice' raises several interesting points. Firstly, despite the increasing commercialisation and formalisation of the droving trade (a trend which accelerated following the 1707 Acts of Union), it is obvious that many herdsmen were unwilling to abandon their previous reiving activities. The fact that cattle were often stolen by drovers returning from Crieff suggests that some of the thefts were motivated by poor prices at the market. As such, the practice of stealing beasts could be interpreted as an act of desperation, the means by which herdsmen could recoup some of their losses before travelling back to the Highlands.[77] Considering the poverty and high unemployment experienced by much of the Highlands during the eighteenth century, and the fact that animals were usually purchased on credit, it is clear that most drovers would have lacked the resources to absorb any market misfortune – a financial vulnerability which undoubtedly contributed to the prevalence of cattle thieving on the farms north of Crieff.[78]

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[76] Allardyce, J. (1896) *The New Spalding Club: Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750*, Vol. II. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, pp. 582-583.

[77] There is no mention in any of the historical sources about where these stolen cattle were driven to, but it is probable that many of them would have been herded back to the drovers' native shieling or sold at smaller cattle fairs in the Highlands.

[78] Commenting on the financial state of the Highlands in the mid-eighteenth century, Burt ['Extracts from an Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate the Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, Written in 1747', in Burt, E. (1822) op. cit., p.356-358] noted that "there are … many … vagrant beggars through the Highlands and the borders of it. Many of them live an idle sauntering life among their acquaintance and relations, and are supported by … stealing, robbing, and committing depredations … the poverty of the people principally produces these practices so ruinous to society".

Furthermore, the suggestion that thieving drovers would 'purposefully avoid all the passes' when travelling with their stolen cattle, illustrates that they must have been aware of the likely routes and passes where troops would be stationed – an understanding of the geography of patrolling no doubt informed by frequent passing encounters with, and observation of, soldiers on their journeys to the Crieff Tryst. The herdsmens' ability to avoid detection also demonstrates that they had an intimate working knowledge of the Highland landscape and its less-frequented routes and ways, an alternative network of paths and tracks that would have been unfamiliar to the majority of Highland travellers. The selection of these smuggling routes must have been based on a strategic understanding of roadside topography, ensuring that each route passed through terrain suitable for concealing cattle. Referring to this secretive practice, the following extract describes the challenges of apprehending Highland reivers:

> the nature of the country, which is thinnely [sic.] inhabitate [sic.], by reason of the extensive moors and mountains … is so well fitted for conceallments [sic.] by the many glens, dens and cavitys [sic.] in it … In such a country cattle are privately transported from one place to another, and securely hid, and in such a country it is not easy to get informations, nor to apprehend the criminals. People lye so open to their resentment, either for giving intelligence, or prosecuting them, that they decline either, rather than risk their cattle being stoln, or their houses burnt. And then, in the pursuit of a rogue, though he was almost in hands, the grounds are so hills and unequall [sic.], and so much covered with wood or brush, and so full of dens and hollows, that the sight of him is almost as soon lost as he is discovered.[79]

This detailed account of the 'criminal' activities that took place throughout Scotland during the middle years of the eighteenth century affords the reader with a vivid impression of how thieving drovers must have engaged with and conceived of their surrounding geography. Of particular note are the author's comments on the numerous hideouts and 'cavities' that were utilised by herdsmen to hide their stolen beasts and evade capture. Such remarks provide the researcher with a wonderful illustration of Scotland's hidden reiving landscapes, a concealed network of woods, 'dens' and 'hollows' that would have been well-known to a small collection of drovers and smugglers. Aside from these topographical tactics, the author's contention that local residents were often unwilling to provide information about

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[79] 'Extracts from an Inquiry into the Causes which Facilitate the Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, Written in 1747', in Burt, E. (1822) op. cit., pp. 358-359.

cattle thefts suggests that some Highland inhabitants would have been suspicious of central authorities or felt threatened and intimidated by the perpetrators – armed groups of men who could seek retribution by damaging property or stealing beasts. Consequently, in addition to their thieving activities, the drovers who engaged in this illicit practice also contributed to a culture of silence, an established code of conduct, which discouraged people from sharing intelligence that might incriminate or assist in the capture of reiving herdsmen.[80]

In addition to their cattle thieving activities, another document included within the New Spalding Club's *Historical Papers*, describes the occasional practice of drovers breaking into Highland properties and 'making off' with food and other possessions. One account, dated the 3rd June 1750, relates to a shieling break-in at Indeshadden, near the head of Loch Tummel (see figure 28):[81]

> Six Highlanders Dress'd in kilted Plaids and Fhilebegs ... Compleatly [sic.] Arm'd, with fire lock, sword and pistol each, Broke into a sheiling belonging to Mrs Allan Stewart proprietor of Indeshadden and Carried with them all the Cheese, Butter ... they could find, the party were Immediately Call'd for and were all that night in quest of them and next day as I went my rounds, I heard they had been seen in the wood of Kinnachan, which I search'd well over, but got no further tiding of them.[82] But as it was everybodys [sic.] opinion, they had fallen down upon Stratheasle or the Braes of Mar in Order to steal Cattle, I made the following disposition in order to intercept them, by advice of Mrs Stewart I order'd, the party at Inderchadden to guard the pass of Belanasiobe, which cutt [sic.] off their Communication that way with Glen Lion, and the Head of Rannoch their usual Route, and as I apprehend they would not presume to drive their prey over the Bridge of Kannachan, I order'd that party to Guard the pass on ye North Side of the Challin call'd Lead Nabraylay North of Lochan Dimalag, and a Mile south of the River Tumble, these two passes

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[80] This history of passive resistance and non-compliance in the Highlands has been examined in the work of several Scottish writers. For example, see Iain Fraser Grigor's research on the radical tradition in northern Scotland [Grigor, I.F. (2000) *Highland Resistance: The Radical Tradition in the Scottish North*. Edinburgh: Mainstream] and McIntosh, Wightman and Morgan's work on colonialism in the Highlands [McIntosh, A., Wightman, A. and Morgan, D. (1994) 'The Scottish Highlands in Colonial and Psychodynamic Perspective', *Interculture*, 24, pp. 1-36].

[81] A 'shieling' is a small hut, often used as a temporary summer dwelling by farmers and shepherds.

[82] Maceachen [Maceachen, E (1922) op. cit., p.323] describes the 'Plaid' (or 'Plaide', in Gaelic) as a large blanket which would have been wrapped around a drover's body. Describing the typical dress of a Highland drover during the early years of the eighteenth century, John Macky (1723) [Macky, J. (1723) op. cit., p.194] noted that "The *Highland* Gentlemen were mighty civil, dress'd In their slash'd short Wastcoats, a Trousing, (which is, Breeches and Stockings of one Piece of strip'd Stuff) with a Plaid for a Cloak, and a blue Bonnet … Their Attendance were very numerous, all in belted Plaids, girt like Womens Petticoats down to the Knee; their Thighs and Half of the Leg all bare". The 'Fhilebeg' (or Feile-beag, in Gaelic) is defined by Maceachen [Maceachen, E (1922) op. cit., p.198] as a short knee-length garment, similar to the present-day kilt – 'Feile' (sometimes spelled 'Feileadh' or 'Feileidh') being the Gaelic name for kilt, and 'Beag' meaning little or small.

effectually Commands between the Tay and Tumble, as no Number of Cattle can travel any other Road.[83] … But least they should escape our Vigilance by travelling with their Cattle on the South side of the Challin (or maiden Pape) by the advice of Sir Robt. Menzie I sent four men to Guard the Head of Glen Lion, which is a very remarkable pass to and from the Isle of Skey [sic.], so that I think it's impossible they should escape with any number of Cows.[84]

The fact that these drovers chose to steal such basic items implies a degree of desperation. Given that most herdsmen survived on little more than a few handfuls of oatmeal and two or three onions, the occasional theft of food was clearly necessary to counteract the effects of hunger and malnourishment.[85] However, while it is true that the appropriation of food was sometimes used as a survival tactic, the thieving activities of these drovers were also motivated by revenge – a factor that becomes clear towards the end of Patten's report.

> M's. Allan Stewart, supplys the men at Inderhadden with whatever they want, and looks upon I hope small parties as Blessings to the Country.[86]

These comments suggest that, far from being a random attack, Mrs Stewart was deliberately targeted by the reivers for having the impetuosity to supply Patten's men.[87] At the time of the theft, barely five years after the Jacobite Rebellion, many parts of the Highlands – the region from which most drovers and reivers hailed – were still gripped by violent social unrest and anti-government sentiment, feelings that were particularly strong among members of Clan Stuart. As such, Mrs Stuart's

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[83] This observation provides an important glimpse into local understandings about the drove carrying capacity of different roads.

[84] Analysis of the most recent 1:25,000 scale maps for the area [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2011) *Pitlochry and Loch Tummel* (Sheet 386). Southampton: Ordnance Survey] suggests that most of the Gaelic place names have been anglicised by the author. By way of illustration, Glen Lion now appears as 'Glen Lyon', the Challin refers to a mountain called 'Schiehallion', Lead Nabraylay is now 'Leachd nam Braoileag', the Bridge of Kannachan is now spelled 'Kynachan' and the pass of Belanasiobc is currently named 'Blar na Feadaig'. As Withers [Withers, C.W.J. (2000) Authorizing Landscape: 'Authority', Naming and the Ordnance Survey's Mapping of the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26, pp. 532-554, p.532] observes, the Anglicisation of these place names by the Ordnance Survey is also a reflection of social power – a form of colonialism imposed by English-speaking forces on the local Gaelic-speaking population. Allardyce, J. (1896) op. cit., p.540.

[85] In *The Two Drovers* Walter Scott [Scott, W. (1827) op. cit., p.139] notes that: "a Highland drover was victualled for his long and toilsome journey with a few handfuls of oatmeal and two or three onions, renewed from time to time, and a ram's horn filled with whisky, which he used regularly but sparingly every night and morning". According to the *New Statistical Account* entry for the Parish of Monzie [Omond, J.R. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Monzie, Vol. X, pp. 262-280, p.270], thefts of food items such as potatoes also occurred around the Crieff Tryst.

[86] Allardyce, J. (1896) op. cit., p.540.

[87] A similar point is made by John Gibson [Gibson, J.G. (1998) *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, p.49] in his historical research on Gaelic bagpiping.

decision to provision the government's army would have been regarded by some as an act of treachery, a betrayal of her clan, deemed worthy of retribution. Consequently, the vengeful representation of these herdsmen (each armed with 'fire lock, sword and pistol') as dangerous 'outlaws' corresponds with Cresswell's observation that mobile bodies have historically been inscribed with a 'morally coded set of suppositions' and associations, discourses that were often used to marginalise and demonise mobile social groups.[88]

Figure 28: Droving landscape south of Loch Tummel
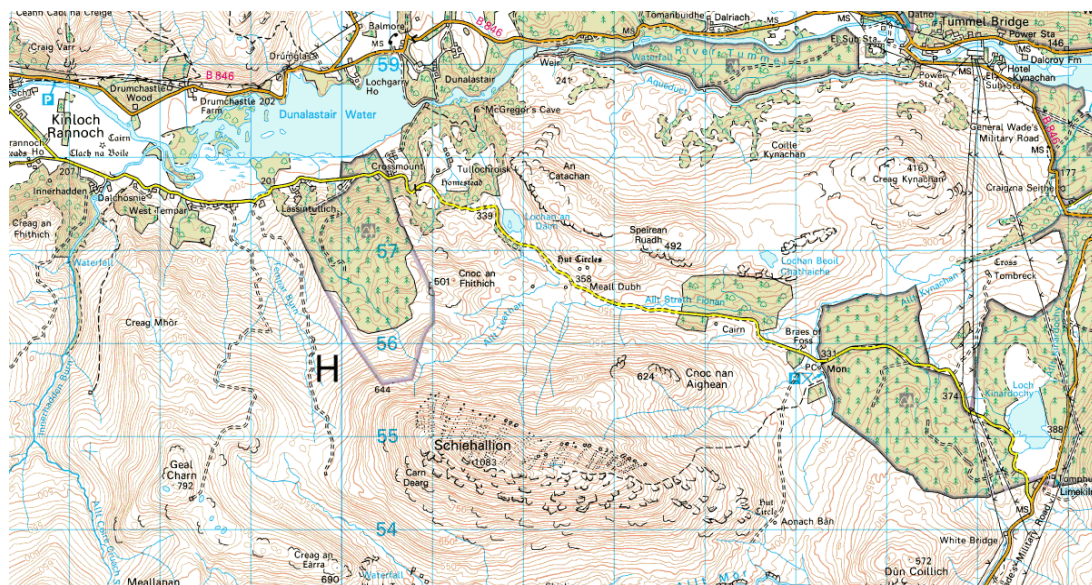
Patten's tactical decision to station troops along every route and pass between Glen Lyon and Loch Rannoch highlights his restless desire to apprehend the drovers, a task which required an awareness of popular smuggling routes and an ability to second-guess the likely movements of the herdsmen. Furthermore, his determination to catch these drovers was clearly motivated by a mixture of pride and legal duty. Their decision to target a key supplier of the government's men would have been considered by Patten as a blatant attack on his authority – an inadmissible act of rebellion that needed to be punished. As such, the army's eagerness to suppress these violent disturbances corresponds with the government's wider efforts to 'domesticate', 'improve' and bring order to the Highlands in the years following the Jacobite Rebellion. Consequently, the actions of Patten's men are part of a larger

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[88] Cresswell, T. (2001) *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion, p.14 and 17.

story of colonialism and resistance in the Highlands which has been examined by critical scholars such as Tom Devine, Michael Hechter and John Leopold.[89]

Turnpikes and Tolls

In addition to the challenges posed by cattle reivers, the drovers also came under increasing pressure from turnpikes and tolls.[90] During the first half of the eighteenth century, the responsibility for maintaining Scotland's military road network was placed on the owners and occupiers of land through which a road passed. By way of payment, these individuals were obliged, by Act of Parliament, to provide around six days' labour for the first three years and four days yearly thereafter.[91] In recognition of the fact that such small amounts of labour would not be sufficient to maintain the roads, the Act also demanded a 'stent' or tax from the landowner for a sum "not exceeding ten shillings Scots upon each Hundred Pounds of Valued Rent in one year".[92] From the middle of the eighteenth century, the maintenance of roads by 'statute labour' was gradually replaced by an alternative system of 'turnpikes'. Within this period, the passing of numerous Acts of Parliament led to a system whereby responsibility for the upkeep of roads and bridges was transferred to various 'Turnpike Trusts'. These trusts were then empowered to levy tolls on people who travelled along sections of road under their jurisdiction.[93]

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[89] Devine, T.M. (1989) 'Social Responses to Agrarian 'Improvement': The Highland and Lowland Clearances in Scotland', in Houston, R.A. and Whyte, I.D. (eds.) *Scottish Society 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 148-168; Hechter, M. (1975) *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Leopold, J. (1980) 'The Levellers' Revolt in Galloway in 1724', *Scottish Labour History*, 14, pp. 4-29.

[90] The introduction of turnpikes and tolls could be conceptualised as another aspect of colonialism which contributed to the marginalisation of Scottish herdsmen.

[91] The system by which roads were maintained through 'personal service or labour' was known as 'Statute Labour'. This system was enforced by an Act of Parliament known as the 'Act for Repairing Highland Roads and Bridges' which was passed in 1669 [National Archives of Scotland (Reference: PA2/29). Acts of the Parliaments (19 Oct 1669-Sep 1672), *Act for Repairing Highland Roads and Bridges*].

[92] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: PA2/29) op. cit.

[93] The first Scottish Turnpike Act entitled 'An Act for upholding and repairing the Bridges and Highways in the county of Edinburgh' was passed in 1713 [Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland. (1859*) Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, p.xiv]. Describing the growth of the turnpike system, the Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland [Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland. (1859*)* op. cit., p.xvi] note that "from 1770 to 1800 … the turnpike system may be said to have come fully into operation. During this period, Acts were passed in rapid succession for all the principal roads and bridges in the kingdom … Between 1750 and 1844, upwards of 350 Road and Bridge Acts appear to have been passed [in Scotland]; and, since the latter date, the same system of

The introduction of tolls along many drove routes would have caused the drovers a great deal of concern. Given the fact that most herdsmen travelled at their own expense, the growing costs of road and bridge tolls must have impacted on their personal finances. Indeed, when combined with other unavoidable costs such as ferries and nightly grazing, the imposition of tolls made droving along some routes completely uneconomical.[94] Consequently, in an attempt to avoid these expensive charges, many herdsmen chose to alter their direction of travel.

One such detour, popular with drovers travelling south from Doune, was the crossing of the Forth near Kippen.[95] In an effort to bypass the long-established toll on Stirling Bridge, some herdsmen opted to wade their cattle across the river at the Fords of Frew (shown in figure 29), eight miles west of Stirling.[96] Remarking on this crossing in *Rob Roy*, Scott noted that:

> We crossed the infant Forth by an old-fashioned stone bridge, very high and very narrow. My conductor, however, informed me, that to get through this deep and important stream, and to clear all its tributary dependencies, the general pass from the Highlands to the southward lay by what was called the Fords of Frew, at all times deep and difficult of passage, and often altogether unfordable. Beneath these fords there was no pass of general resort until so far east as the bridge of Stirling; so that the river of Forth forms a defensible line betwixt the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, from its source nearly to the Firth, or inlet of the ocean, in which it terminates.[97]

Scott's descriptions of this 'deep and difficult' passage illustrate that crossing the Fords of Frew must have been a dangerous undertaking – a passage which could only be attempted during sustained periods of dry weather when river levels were low. Consequently, attempts to bypass the toll at Stirling Bridge required careful planning and a detailed understanding of local meteorological conditions. Furthermore, the 'defensible line' formed by the River Forth meant that a failure to anticipate the water depth at Frew would have led to lengthy diversions, an eight mile detour that would

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special renewals has been in operation, except in cases where the Trustees have allowed their powers to rest upon the Sessional Turnpike Continuance Acts passed by Parliament".

[94] This observation is based on Haldane's [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.178] suggestion that the extent of traffic on drove routes was largely governed by the presence of tolls.

[95] The crossing of rivers is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Six.

[96] The Fords of Frew were located at Fordhead, a few hundred metres to the east of where the present-day B822 crosses the River Forth (see figure 29). Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Stirling and Ochil Hills West: Alloa and Dunblane* (Sheet 366). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

delay the drover's progress by at least half a day.[98] Such delays, particularly in the latter stages of the drove, must have caused the herdsmen a great deal of concern. Indeed, at this point in the journey, less than eighteen miles from Falkirk, drovers had little opportunity to make up for lost time, a factor which could cause them to miss the opening day of the tryst.[99]

Figure 29: The Fords of Frew
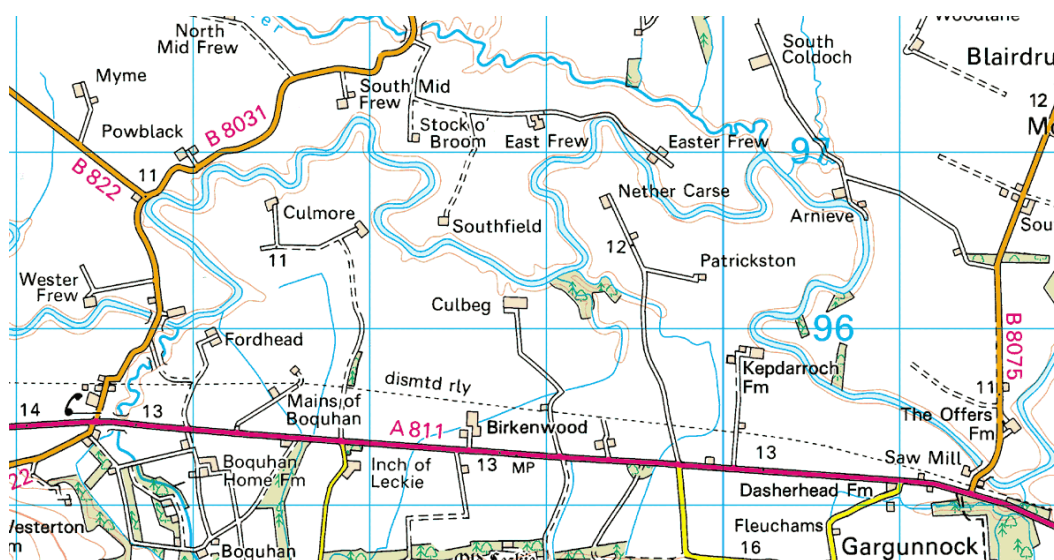
Aside from the avoidance of bridge tolls, drovers also made efforts to bypass the growing network of turnpikes, a practice mentioned by Walter Scott in *The Two Drovers*:

> They are required to know perfectly the drove roads which lie over the wildest tracts of the country, and to avoid as much as possible ... the turnpikes which annoy the spirit of the drover; whereas on the broad green or grey track, which leads across the pathless moor, the herd not only move at ease and without taxation, but, if they mind their business, may pick up a mouthful of food by the way.[100]

In their desire to reduce costs, many drovers chose to herd their beasts along remote hill tracks and lesser-frequented cross-country routes, lines of passage which largely avoided the turnpike roads through the glens. Consequently, their ability to find these alternative routes demonstrates that most herdsmen possessed a detailed

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[97] Scott, W. (1817) op. cit., p.312.

[98] Drovers who failed to ford the Forth at Frew had to follow the river east until they reached Stirling Bridge.

[99] The figure of eighteen miles refers to the distance between the Fords of Frew and the stance ground at Falkirk [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Stirling and Ochil Hills West: Alloa and Dunblane* (Sheet 366) op. cit.]

understanding of the Scottish landscape and the location of tolls *en route*. Furthermore, Scott's remarks about the 'broad green' tracks across the moors illustrate that, aside from the absence of tolls, drovers also favoured these routes due to their width and lack of borders.[101] By way of contrast, the rapid growth of Scotland's turnpike network, particularly during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, led to many low-level drove routes being completely enclosed by dry-stone dykes and turf walls, measures intended to protect the arable land on either side.[102] The fixing of these routes was part of a wider process of agrarian 'improvement' and commons enclosure, which transformed Scottish agriculture from a collective system of land tenure, in which drovers enjoyed unrestricted rights to movement, to a 'modern' territorialising system of commercial landownership.[103] The construction of these barriers served to restrict and constrain the drove's movement, depriving the cattle of valuable wayside grazing and increasing their risk of injury.[104] As such,

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[100] Scott, W. (1827) op. cit., p.139.

[101] Considering their lack of formality, these routes cannot be regarded as roads, even in the loosest sense.

[102] While there is little evidence of drovers protesting against the introduction of dry-stone dykes, the enclosure of land led to significant rioting in parts of southern Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century. Remarking on the Galloway riots of 1724, Chalmers [Chalmers, G. (1824) *Caledonia: Or, an Account, Historical and Topographic, of North Britain, from the Most Ancient to the Present Times*, Vol. III. Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., p.286] noted that: "When inclosing began, in Galloway, the country was much divided into small farms, and there were a vast number of pendicles, which were cultivated by cottagers. Many of the small farmers, and cottagers, were, by the inclosures, deprived of their dwellings and support, and others were greatly restrained in their accustomed range of pasturage. Upwards of five hundred of the distracted people went about the country, destroying the inclosures, till they were suppressed, by force … The destructive insurrection of the *levellers*, which took place in April, and May 1724, was instigated by the inflammatory harangues of a mountain preacher, who perverted the Scriptures to the purpose of mischief; and inveighed, bitterly, against the country gentlemen, for enclosing their lands, and thereby making exclusive property of what should be common to the people. Upwards of five hundred deluded people broke out into insurrection, and went through the country for several weeks, demolishing the fences, and houghing the cattle of the gentlemen, who erected them". Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.208.

[103] As discussed in Chapters Two and Seven of this thesis, the enclosure of common land and the erosion of common rights has received considerable scholarly attention from critical geographers such as Michael Watts [Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64], Don Mitchell [Mitchell, D. (1997) 'The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States', *Antipode*, 29, pp. 303-335] and Nick Blomley [Blomley, N.K. (2008) 'Enclosure, Common Right, and the Property of the Poor', *Social and Legal Studies*, 17, pp. 311-331].

[104] The risk of injury would have been particularly high along narrow sections of road where cattle were closely packed together. Remarking on the changing techniques of road-building, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.209] noted that: "the old roads had followed closely the contours of the ground uphill and down dale, but as the technique of road-making improved, cuttings and embankments came into use, still further restricting the wayside grazing of the travelling beasts". Consequently, it is clear that these older routes were more organically attuned to the embodied movement needs of the cattle than the newly-made roads.

herdsmen were increasingly forced into paying for nightly pasture, reducing the financially viability of driving animals to Falkirk and Crieff.

In their attempts to oppose the establishment of tolls along popular drove routes, at least two meetings were arranged between groups of herdsmen, dealers and breeders to discuss "the great and increasing damage sustained … by reason of the encroachments, which have, of late years, been made on the ancient droveways, leading from the different districts of Scotland, to the Falkirk Trysts, and from thence southward to the English Borders".[105] At the second gathering, which took place at the Red Lion Inn in Falkirk on 11th September 1827, the following points were agreed:

> 1st. That beyond all memory of man, the present Landholders and Farmers of Scotland, and their ancestors, have possessed a right of passage, for the stock bred in the pastoral district, to go to market, and to the feeder and consumer of such stock.
>
> 2nd. That this right of passage existed, for the most part, through sequestered parts of the country, where the stock had sufficient width of passage, and not meeting with the horses, carts, carriages, etc. which obstruct the common highways, the animals reached their destination in good health.
>
> 3rd. That, in the progress of improvement within the last forty years, almost every county in Scotland has obtained its private Act of Parliament, authorising parties interested in each particular district, to make turnpike roads suited to the convenience of that district, to confine all thoroughfares to these turnpikes, and to levy tolls for their maintenance.
>
> 4th. That in virtue of these powers, the ancient drove way was first begun to be encroached upon about twenty years ago, but, in so few instances, that for many years no serious injury was done; and people submitted willingly to an inconvenience which they considered of little importance, compared to the public advantage derived from the turnpikes.
>
> 5th. That, of late years, however, measures have been used, in various places, along the ancient drove-way, to confine the cattle and sheep in their passage entirely to turnpike roads; and the consequences which have already arisen from the exposure, during so long a journey, of animals, of their wild habits, to the concussion of horses, dogs, mail coaches, and carriages of all descriptions, are so serious, that, after impeding, by their numbers, the progress of all other travellers, who use the Turnpikes, they arrive at their destination in a diseased and foundered state, to the great injury of the owner, who is compelled to pay

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[105] 'Encroachments' is an interesting phrase with deeply spatial connotations. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.242.

extravagantly for receiving damage and to the public who consume this diseased stock.

6th. That these effects have already followed from the partial measures which have been used in various places to prevent the stock from passing along its ancient drove-way, and confining them to Turnpikes. But if the measures of the Turnpike makers be completed, and the droves confined to Turnpikes during their whole passage, then, assuredly, it will be impossible for the breeders of cattle and sheep to bring them to market, worth to the purchaser the expense of their travelling, and the valuable supply of animal food now received by the consumer; the profit derived by the farmer and feeder, and the rents paid to the landlord from the above species of stock, must, in a great measure, cease.

7th. That this Meeting feel satisfied that it is only necessary to point out to a British public the injustice and impolicy of the measures complained of, to induce a complete revisal of the various Turnpike Acts threatening so great an evil; and an equitable arrangement calculated to enable the owners of cattle and sheep to bring them to market in a sound and healthy state; they paying a fair remuneration, and no more, for whatever facilities shall be afforded them along their journey.[106]

The adoption of these resolutions is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the complaints about the 'injustice and impolicy' of the turnpikes provide insights into the legalistic and capitalistic restructuring of the Highlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – changes that were founded on a belief that commercially viable spaces should be reserved exclusively for profit generating activities and that movement through these areas was a privilege requiring payment.[107] Consequently, these tolls were regarded by the drovers as unjustifiable 'encroachments' which materially confined and reduced their spaces of operation and undermined their customary rights of passage.[108] Prior to the expansion of the turnpikes, the existence of numerous alternative tracks allowed herdsmen to avoid these costly toll roads, a freedom which was gradually eroded with the continued development of turnpikes throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the inability to

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[106] The proceedings of these meetings (entitled 'Copy Resolutions found among *Sutherland Estate Papers*') are included in 'Appendix G' of *The Drove Roads of Scotland* [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 242-244]. Due to the lack of bibliographic information, the original minutes from these gatherings could not be found.

[107] As discussed in Chapter Two, the use of state legislation to annihilate citizens' common rights has been examined in considerable detail by geographers and critical legal scholars. For example, see: Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Ford, R.T. (2001) *The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, Power and Place*. Oxford: Blackwell; Mitchell, D. (2003) *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guildford Press.

[108] These 'encroachments', which restrict and confine the spaces of droving, are explored in greater detail in my concluding chapter.

bypass tolls must have substantially increased the cost of a drover's journey, reducing the profitability of his animals.

In addition to this, local measures designed to restrict the movement of beasts to turnpikes led to increased contact between the cattle and other animals, causing them to arrive at their destination in a 'diseased and foundered state'. As such, it is clear that the state-sanctioned project of Highland 'improvement' (of which turnpikes formed an integral part) made little effort to consider the impact of these new routes upon the drovers. Indeed, the decision to transfer the cost of road maintenance from the landowner to the drover through tolls, demonstrates that the British Government was more interested in preserving the interests of landed proprietors than conserving the prescriptive rights of herdsmen – a factor which ultimately contributed to the demise of the droving trade.[109]

Conclusions

After exploring a range of textual, photographic and oral materials, it is clear that the drove routes through Scotland were complex sites of movement, interaction and contestation. Consideration of Bishop Forbes's touring diaries and the recorded account of Dugald MacDougall reveals that the task of herding cattle required patience and gentle coercion, an ability to 'think like the animals' that could only be obtained through prolonged observation and previous droving experience. Following this, analysis of numerous maps, parliamentary reports and agricultural guides illustrates that topography and underhoof conditions played an integral role in determining a drover's choice of route, factors which also encouraged herdsmen to shoe their beasts. Furthermore, examination of various images and sound recordings, demonstrates that the planning and co-ordination of the drove was greatly aided by the use of dogs and ponies, allowing herdsmen to control and regulate the movement of their cattle more effectively. In addition, evidence from historical papers and

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[109] Referring to two articles in the *Inverness Courier* (one from 17th April 1833 and the other from 17th July 1839), Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.244] described how the concerns of these herdsmen persisted for several years. In 1833 the "drovers from the North of Scotland, complaining of the effect of customs dues and tolls, particularly in Perthshire and Stirlingshire, on the traffic of cattle and sheep, urged the construction of a general drove road … on which no tolls would be payable. Six years later a movement was on foot for the establishment of trysts at Spean Bridge in September and October. The reasons urged were the tolls on the roads".

travellers' accounts indicates that the practice of cattle thieving was widespread in parts of the Western Highlands and was carried out by both reivers and drovers. Finally, evaluation of several petitions and Acts of Parliament confirms that the introduction of turnpikes and tolls during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, constrained the movement of Scottish drovers, eroding their customary rights of passage and depriving them of essential wayside grazing.

Chapter Six: Crossings

> The shore was covered with cattle; and while some were collected in groups under the trees and rocks, crowding to avoid the hot rays of a July evening, others were wading in the sea to shun the flies, some embarking, and another set swimming on shore from the ferry-boats; while the noise of the drovers and the boatmen, and all the bustle and vociferation which whisky did not tend to diminish, were re-echoed from hill to hill, contrasting strangely with the silence and solitude of the surrounding mountains.[1]

This chapter explores the extensive network of river and sea crossings that had to be negotiated by Scottish drovers on their journeys to the great trysts of Falkirk and Crieff – hazardous sites of passage that could severely impact upon their progress through, and experience of, the Highland landscape. After outlining the basic geography of these crossings, the chapter commences with a discussion of cattle swimming, analysing several published accounts of the activity in an effort to uncover and record the memories, methods and material relics of droving in Scotland.[2] Based on an extensive collection of droving photographs, oral testimony and written records, the section then following focuses on the established practice of ferrying and walking beasts over narrow tidal passages – the successful completion of which was both dependent upon, and reflective of, the skills and knowledges of the herdsmen, and the strong working relationships forged between drovers and their animals. Finally, the chapter concludes with an examination of upland river crossings, critically assessing the motivations behind, and eventual effect of, the Highland 'improvements' – a process of agricultural and infrastructural 'modernisation' that resulted in the construction of numerous bridges along popular drove roads – on Scotland's droving landscape.

Aqueous Landscapes

On their journeys through Scotland, the drovers encountered a wide variety of water crossings, aqueous passages which ranged from shallow river and stream fordings, to narrow tidal straits and long sea voyages. While it would be impossible to identify every crossing, Haldane's drove route map (shown in figure 14 in Chapter Four) and

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[1] MacCulloch, J. (1824) *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, Vol. IV. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, p.420.

later chapters in *The Drove Roads of Scotland* do provide some impression of the main crossing points and shipping routes used by drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] With regards to the longer sea voyages, drovers from the islands of Lewis and Harris usually boated their cattle from piers at Stornoway, Tarbert and Loch Rochadail, across the Minch, to landings in northern Skye and the Ross-shire coast.[4] Further south, ferries from North Uist and South Uist also connected with harbours in northern Skye, with some cattle making the longer crossing to Mull.[5] At the southern end of the Outer Hebrides, cattle from Barra were ferried to landings on northern Skye, the Ardnamurchan peninsula, the northern shore of Loch Sunart and the western end of Loch Shiel.[6]

The boats that transported these cattle varied significantly in size, typically ranging from ten to fifty tons, and were often constructed and captained by ferrymen from Barra, Harris, Berneray, Coll and Tiree.[7] Many of the smaller boats were open from end to end with a small covered section at the stern, while larger vessels were often half-decked with an open hatch-way for loading.[8] The biggest boats could hold up to fifty cattle and were often schooner rigged, and fitted with barriers to prevent the beats from falling into the sea. The method of loading the cattle was often rough and approximate. The animals were herded to a pier or to a convenient rock before being driven aboard the vessel. To reduce the strain on the timbers, many boats were also lined with stones covered in birch branches, heather or bracken – materials which provided the cattle with footholds during long voyages.[9] Prior to landing, cattle were either forced overboard into the water – a practice intended to clean the animals and heal the wounds of beasts gored in transit – or lifted onto the shore by means of slings attached to their horns.[10]

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[2] The Kyle Rhea is a narrow sea crossing between the Isle of Skye and Kintail.
[3] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.
[4] Ibid., pp. 107-108.
[5] Ibid., p.71
[6] In addition to these longer voyages, a small number of cattle were also ferried across the narrow sound between Soay and the west coast of Skye [ibid]. Ibid.
[7] Ibid., p.72.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., pp. 72-73.
[10] Remarking on the practice of throwing cattle overboard, Haldane [ibid., p.95] noted that "In some of the larger boats it seems that a section of the gunwale hinged outwards to help the unloading, but cattle

On the Isle of Skye, most cattle were either swum or ferried to the mainland from landings at Kyleakin and Kylerhea, with a small number of animals crossing the Sound of Sleat from Armadale to Mallaig and Arisaig.[11] Elsewhere in the Inner Hebrides, cattle were transported from the islands of Coll, Tiree and Iona to Kintra on the west coast of Mull.[12] After arriving at Kintra, the beasts were then herded to crossing points on the east coast of Mull, before being ferried to Lochaline, on the Morvern coast, and Kerrera.[13] At the southern end of the Inner Hebrides, cattle from Islay were usually ferried from Port Askaig to Feolin at the southern end of Jura.[14] From here, the animals were herded to ferries at Lagg and Kinuachdrachd, before crossing to the mainland at Keills and Craignish.[15] Finally, around ten miles east of Islay, a small number of cattle made the short ferry crossing between Gigha and Tayinloan on the Kintyre mainland.[16]

Aside from these longer voyages, cattle were regularly ferried or swum across estuaries and sea lochs (see figure 30).[17] On the western coast of Scotland, cattle travelling from Ardnamurchan, Morvern, Sunart and Ardgour were usually ferried across the narrowest point of Loch Linnhe at Corran, before crossing the mouth of Loch Leven at Ballachulish.[18] Further south, drovers from Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Kintyre and Argyll often ferried their beasts across Loch Fyne into Cowall, before herding their animals south to Dunoon and Ardentinny.[19]

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wearied with hours in the boat and smelling the grass on the shore would seldom linger, and once the leader took the plunge the rest would follow easily". Ibid., p.73.

[11] In addition to the main passages between Skye and the mainland, less frequent crossings were also made between the islands of Canna, Rum and Eigg, and landings at Mallaig and Arisaig [ibid., p.71]. Ibid., p.75.

[12] Short crossings were also made from the small islands of Ulva and Gometra to Mull. Further south, cattle were ferried between the islands of Luing and Seil, before crossing the Clachan Sound to the Lorn coast [ibid., p.90]. Ibid., p.86.

[13] After arriving at Kerrera, cattle were usually driven to the eastern end of the island before crossing to the Scottish mainland near Oban [ibid., p.86]. Ibid., p.87.

[14] Ibid., p.93.

[15] Some cattle were also ferried from Colonsay (at Scalasaig) to Loch Tarbert, on the western coast of Jura [ibid., p.93]. Ibid., p.95.

[16] Ibid., p.97.

[17] In addition to these sea lochs, crossings were occasionally made over fresh-water lochs throughout the Highlands. Remarking on the practice, Haldane [ibid., p.79] noted that: "Of the drovers who reached Glen Garry by Glen Shiel and Glen Loyne or by Kinloch Hourn and Glen Quoich, it appears that many continued with their beasts down Glen Garry for only a few miles before turning south at Inchlaggan, a short distance to the west of the head of Loch Garry. Here the cattle forded the river or swam the narrow head of the Loch if the river were in flood". Haldane [ibid., pp. 89-90] also noted that cattle from Coll, Tiree and Mull, were regularly swum over Loch Awe at Dalvich and Taychreggan.

[18] Ibid., p.87.

[19] Ibid., p.98.

Figure 30: Highland cattle swimming across Loch Awe

Highland Cattle Swimming, Loch Awe.

On the east coast of Scotland, two estuaries were regularly crossed by drovers on their way to Falkirk and Crieff. In the north-eastern part of the country, drovers from Caithness and Sutherland usually opted to swim their cattle across the Kyle of Sutherland and the western end of the Dornoch Firth at Culrain, Bonar and Creich, with some drovers ferrying their beasts over the Firth at Meikle, several miles to the east.[20] In the Lowlands, one hundred and twenty miles south, animals were regularly ferried across the western end of the Firth of Forth at Alloa and Kincardine-on-Forth, with a small number of drovers crossing the Firth at Queensferry, eight miles west of Edinburgh.[21]

In addition to the swimming and ferrying of cattle, a small number of sea crossings were made on foot. Between the islands of South Uist and North Uist, lies the low island of Benbecula, separated from North Uist by the North Ford, and South Uist by the South Ford. Until the middle years of the twentieth century, drovers attending the Ormacleit market on South Uist made the eighteen-mile journey across the South Ford to Griminis (on Benbecula). At this point the drovers continued their northward journey to Gramasdale, before crossing the North Ford (which is four miles wide) to

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[20] Rainy, Rev. G. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Criech, Vol. VIII, pp. 362-383, p.372.
[21] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.114. Robertson, A. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Inverkeithing, Vol. X, pp. 501-516, p.506

Carnish and Lochmaddy.[22] The other foot crossing, occasionally made by drovers travelling south to markets in northern England, was the Solway Firth, the shallow estuary that straddles the western border between England and Scotland.[23]

Despite the large number of sea and estuary crossings, rivers and streams constituted the vast majority of crossings made by drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. These crossings took a variety of different forms, ranging from shallow fordings and short bridge crossings, to deep channels over which cattle were usually swum or ferried. While it is difficult to ascertain the precise number of channels that were crossed by the drovers, consultation of Haldane's map (shown in figure 14) provides a reasonable sense of the larger river channels and strategic crossing points that were commonly used by herdsmen during the droving era. In the northern counties of Scotland, drovers travelling south from Sutherland and Caithness normally swam their cattle over the River Conan at Conan Bridge, before crossing the River Beauly at Beauly.[24] In Inverness-shire, crossings of the River Spey existed at Aviemore, Kincraig, Invertruim and Garva Bridge.[25] On the River Dee, crossing points included: Aberdeen, Drum, Banchory, Kincardine O'Neil, Aboyne, Glen Tanar Church, Abergeldie, Crathie, Ballater, Braemar and Inverey.[26] Further south, cattle were usually ferried or swum over the River Tay at Dunkeld, Ballinluig, Pitnacree, Aberfeldy and Dull, near the confluence of the Tay and Lyon.[27] Finally, on the approach to the Falkirk Tryst, drovers often opted to ford their cattle over the River Forth at Frew, eight miles west of Stirling – a deep and dangerous crossing examined in Chapter Five.[28]

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[22] Aside from the popular crossings between North and South Uist, cattle were also known to cross the sands between the Inner Hebridean islands of Oronsay and Colonsay [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.93]. Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[23] Samuel Smiles [Smiles, S. (1878) *George Moore: Merchant and Philanthropist*. London: George Routledge and Sons, p.43] observed that the main crossing point into England was by Gretna. However, when drovers were pressed for time, some opted to ford their cattle across the Solway at Annan. For further information about crossing points over the Solway see: McIntire, M.T. (1939) 'The Fords of the Solway', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 39, pp. 152-170.

[24] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 105-106.

[25] Ibid., pp. 39-40 and pp. 110-111.

[26] Ibid., p.117.

[27] Ibid., p.112.

[28] From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, many of the larger rivers (including the Tay, Dee, Spean, Tummel and Garry), particularly in the more populated regions of Scotland, were bridged under the direction of General George Wade and, in later years, by the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges [ibid., pp. 38-39]. Ibid., p.83.

Of the numerous sea crossings encountered by drovers on their journeys to Falkirk and Crieff, perhaps the most well-documented was the Kyle Rhea – a narrow tidal strait, separating the Isle of Skye from mainland Scotland (see figure 31). In seeking to understand the typical methods of cattle transportation employed by the drovers, the following accounts, one written by James Barron and the other penned by the writer and journalist Daniel Defoe, are instructive:

> The animals were forced to swim. "For this purpose the drovers purchased ropes, which are cut at the length of three feet, having a noose at one end. This noose is put round the under-jaw of every cow, taking care to leave the tongue free. The reason given for leaving the tongue loose is that the animal may be able to keep the salt water from going down its throat in such a quantity as to fill all the cavities in the body, which would prevent the action of the lungs; for every beast is found dead, and said to be drowned at the landing-place, to which this mark of attention has not been paid." Each cow was tied to the tail of the cow before, forming a string of six or eight; and a man in the stern held the rope of the foremost cow. The most favourable passage was at high water, and very few beasts were lost.[29]

> The Current there is so violent, that no Vessel is able to sail against it, though the Wind proves ever so fair; so that the Tide must always be observed. The Way of ferrying Cows in the narrow Ferry, called the *Kyle*, where the Tide is very rapid, is thus: They tie a Withe about the Cow's Lower-jaw, and bind five of them together; after which, a Man in the End of a Boat holds the Withe that ties the foremost, and rows over, carrying, in the Space of a few Hours, at Low-water, 3 or 400 Cows.[30]

In detailing the established practice of tying cattle together in 'strings', before swimming them across the Kyle, both authors give a sense of the skills required by drovers to ensure the safe passage of their beasts, the successful negotiation of which would have been dependent upon the co-operation of cattle and herdsmen. For the drover, such co-operation could only be achieved through an extensive working knowledge of their animals – enabling them to make informed decisions about the arrangement of cattle within each chain and the suitability of certain cows to 'head the

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[29] The quote included within Barron's account is taken from an earlier account of the crossing by James Robertson [Robertson, J. (1813) *General View of the Agriculture of Inverness*. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, p.XXXVIII]. Barron, J. (1903) *The Northern Highlands in the Nineteenth Century. Newspaper Index and Annals*, Vol. I. Inverness: Robert Carruthees and Sons, pp. 28-29.

[30] A 'withe' is a tough supple twig, used for tying things together. Defoe, D. (1761) *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies* (6th ed.), Vol. IV. London: D. Browne,

herd'. Once in the water, a ferryman drover was sent out in front of the cattle to hold the rope of the foremost cow and guide the beasts across the channel. The effective completion of this task required herdsmen to be skilled in the practice of coercion – coaxing and cajoling tentative beasts into the water, before ensuring their safe and steady transit across the channel. Furthermore, as Barron notes, these drovers were also proficient at tying their cows in a way that left their tongue free, reducing the number of deaths induced by salt water inhalation – a problem that would have been particularly acute among weaker or younger beasts.[31] Consequently, practices and knowledges of cattle swimming were far from static – constantly evolving and adapting over time (no doubt aided by the distribution of practical solutions among herdsmen), as drovers became increasingly concerned about the financial ramifications of drowned beasts.

Figure 31: The Kyle Rhea
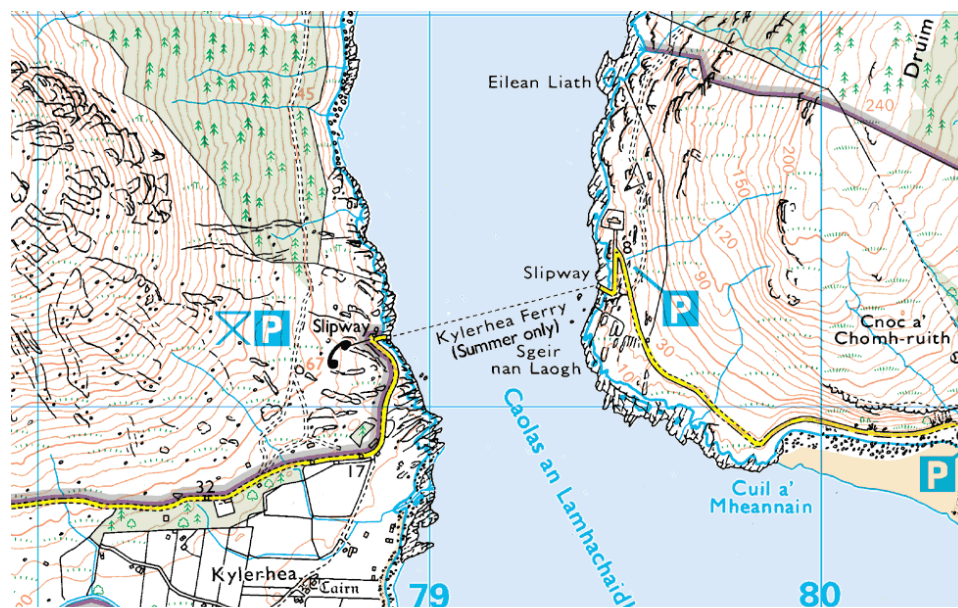
Another factor that had to be taken into consideration by drovers, was the position and strength of the tide. With a constant current ranging from three to eight knotts and with an eddy flowing close to the shore on either side of the channel, in a direction opposite to that of the tide, the crossing of this volatile passage posed a significant

T. Osborne, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, J. Buckland, J. Rivington, T. Longman, T. Lownds, T. Caslon, and G. Kearsley, p.294.
[31] There is no record of the precise number of beasts that drowned crossing the Kyle Rhea but Maciver [Maciver, C. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Glenelg, Vol. XVI, pp. 265-274, p.270] observed that, despite the dangers, very few deaths occurred.

challenge.[32] Such challenges would have been further compounded by the lack of widely available tide tables and nautical charts (particularly during the earlier years of droving in the latter half of the eighteenth century) – meaning that a Skye drover must have required a good working or tacit knowledge of the crossing prior to embarking on his journey. While the origin of this information remains elusive, one can assume that previous experiences of crossing the Kyle, combined with the knowledges gleaned from herdsmen, local residents and other travellers, would have been a drover's primary point of reference. Furthermore, given Barron's assertion that 'the most favourable passage was at high water' at a time when the current was least violent, any crossing of the Kyle would have required careful forward planning to ensure that the arrival of beasts at Kylerhea coincided with the slacker currents of full tide. With these thoughts in mind, it is apparent that the Highland drover was much more than a highly perceptive 'natural navigator' – well acquainted with, but ultimately limited to the realm of terra firma.[33] Indeed, the information and skills required for a successful passage of the Kyle Rhea also reflect a detailed understanding of Scotland's coastal and maritime landscapes, disrupting certain anthropological distinctions between land-based farmers and sea-based fishers and allowing the drover to be conceptualised in more holistic terms as an effective traverser of surfaces.

In addition to the published accounts of passing travellers, further clues about the methods employed to transport cattle across the Kyle Rhea can be found on detailed maps of the area. An examination of the recent 1:25,000 Ordnance Survey map for Knoydart, Loch Hourn and Loch Duich (see figure 31), reveals a small collection of rocks, situated only a few metres from the eastern shore of the channel.[34] The Gaelic name given for these rocky outcrops is Sgeir nan Laogh, which translates into English as 'Calf Rock' – Sgeir being the Gaelic expression for 'a rock in the sea', and Laogh being the Gaelic word for 'a calf of a deer or cow'.[35] While there is no reference to 'calf rock' in any of the published accounts of the Kyle Rhea, there does appear to be

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[32] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.77.

[33] The term 'natural navigator' has been borrowed from the title of Tristan Gooley's recent book [Gooley, T. (2010) *The Natural Navigator*. London: Virgin] – a detailed guide to the ancient art of wayfinding.

[34] Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Knoydart, Loch Hourn and Loch Duich* (Sheet 413). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

an oral record of drovers using the rock to entice their cattle into the water.[36] In so doing, it is suggested that a mainland-bound drover (travelling from west to east) would deliberately separate a young calf from its mother, transporting the animal to the far side of channel, before placing it on top of this prominent rock. Once removed, the frightened calf would start bleating, triggering the 'maternal instincts' of its mother who would swim out into the sea, towards the rock, to rescue her offspring. Consistent with conventional understandings of the 'herd mentality', the sight of this cow leaping into the water to save her calf would then encourage other reluctant animals to follow, until every beast was in the water, swimming purposefully towards the far shore.[37]

Figure 32: Pier at Glenelg   **Figure 33: Pier at Kylerhea**

While the origins and accuracy of this story are difficult to verify, it is quite credible, given the narrowness of the passage, that the distressed calling of a young calf would have been audible on the opposite side of the Kyle.[38] Consequently, the employment of such 'persuasive' techniques should be regarded as an ingenious intervention – easing and quickening the transit of beasts from Skye to the mainland. Furthermore, the conception of such an inspired method of cajoling cattle must have been informed

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[35] Maceachen, E (1922) *Maceachen's Gaelic-English Dictionary* (4th ed.). Inverness: The Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, p.263 and p.370.

[36] This oral record was referred to in a recent BBC documentary on 'Britain's Lost Routes', first broadcast at 20:00 on 14th June 2012.

[37] Despite this 'conventional' characterisation of herd behaviour, it is also worth noting that animals have the propensity to act for the greater good of the herd – an open model of voluntary co-operation which the anarchist geographer Peter Kropotkin referred to as 'mutual aid' [Kropotkin, P.A. (1902) *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. London: Heinemann].

[38] Despite the narrowness of the crossing, the ability of a calf's voice to carry would have been dependent upon the wind conditions. The Kyle Rhea is about half a kilometre wide.

by an embodied understanding of herd dynamics and continual observation of cattle behaviour – skills of perception that would have been conditioned within a successful drover.[39]

In addition to its practical purpose, the continued presence of 'calf rock', and its permeation into local collective memory, imbues the landmark with a degree of symbolic significance – a physical reminder of the region's previous herding heritage.[40] However, while it is important to recognise the cultural legacy that droving has left on the geographical region surrounding this passage, it is also important to acknowledge the practical and psychological significance ascribed to the Kyle by the many drovers who crossed it. One such example, detailed on the 'Forestry Commission Scotland' website under a section headed 'Stories from Kylerhea', describes how Highland herdsmen would commonly refer to their cattle as 'Kyloe' – a reference to the Kyle which the cattle swam across.[41] While recognising the potential for embellishment, and accounting for the fact that the link between 'Kyloe' and Kyle Rhea is not mentioned in any other source, there is still evidence to support the website's claim.[42] Firstly, the Kyle Rhea is one of the few 'kyles' to be encountered (and certainly the only one across which cattle were regularly swum) on the main drove routes.[43] Most of the other crossings are named as 'firths' or 'sounds' on contemporary maps. Secondly, the word 'Kyloe' is described variously by agricultural writers in the nineteenth century as a beast "of the Highlands and the Western Isles of Scotland … reared in the Isle of Skye" and a breed "which we meet with in the more northern and Western Highlands … particularly in the Isle of Sky

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[39] As shown in Chapter Two, the embodied interaction and working relationships forged between animals and herding communities has been examined by anthropologists such as Pernille Gooch [Gooch, P. (1998) *At the Tail of the Buffalo: Van Gujjar Pastoralists Between the Forest and the World Arena*. Lund: Lund Monographs in Social Anthropology; Gooch, P. (2004) 'Van Gujjars: The Persistent Forest Pastoralists', *Nomadic Peoples*, 8, pp. 125-135; Gooch, P. (2008) 'Feet Following Hooves', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 67-80] and geographers such as Hayden Lorimer [Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 497-518].

[40] The name 'Sgeir nan Laogh' has appeared on every new edition of the large-scale Ordnance Survey map since 1876, despite numerous revisions to the surrounding area. The story of 'calf rock' continues to be told – a firm indication of its embeddedness within Highland folklore.

[41] Forestry Commission Scotland Website: http://www.forestry.gov.uk/forestry/INFD-85SM4P, no date last modified. Accessed on 28/09/12.

[42] It is worth acknowledging that The Forestry Commission has a clear interest in marketing the Kyle Rhea as an eventful and historically/culturally appealing destination for tourists.

[43] This information was gained by plotting the drove routes included in Haldane's (1952) book onto the relevant modern-day 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 scale Ordnance Survey sheets using MemoryMap.

[sic.], and that tract of country called Kintail".[44] Given the geographical location of the Kyle Rhea, separating the Isle of Skye from the district of Kintail, and bearing in mind the area's historical association with the 'Kyloe breed', it is quite probable that the word 'Kyloe' is a reference to the Kyle over which these cattle swam. Furthermore, the entry for 'Kyloe' in the *General Dictionary of Agriculture and Husbandry* (1807) states that, while in the Lowlands of Scotland, the Scotch breed of cattle "are frequently termed *kyloes* … probably from a district in Ayrshire called Kyle", it is "not improbable, that there were only two original species of neat-cattle in Scotland, those common to the islands and the mountain country, called kyloes … and the polled-breed, chiefly confined … to the shire of Galloway".[45] Consequently, as demonstrated by the use of 'Kyloe' in Southern Scotland, the practice of naming a breed of cattle after its region of origin was certainly not unusual. Therefore, it is likely that the 'Kyloes' from north-western Scotland were named after the Kyle Rhea – an observation that corresponds with Evans and Yarwood's claim that livestock animals are important cultural symbols, living expressions of regional environmental difference and local herding histories.[46]

Once across the water, these 'Kyloe' were then distributed and sold throughout the country (spreading with them, the stories of the Kyle) – their evocative name serving as a symbolic reminder of the journeys (and landscapes) across which they had travelled. The fact that only 'successful' swimmers were given the title of 'Kyloe' suggests that a crossing of the Kyle was regarded by some as a rite-of-passage – a bovine 'seal of approval', allowing a drover to demonstrate that his cattle had attained a benchmark of 'toughness', 'resilience' and 'strength' – qualities that came to be expected of the Highland breeds and which could be used to market the beasts at Falkirk and Crieff.[47]

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[44] Jardine, W. (1836) *The Naturalist's Library*, Vol. IV (Part II). Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, p.234. *The Complete Farmer; Or, General Dictionary of Agriculture and Husbandry* (5th ed.) (1807), Vol. I. London: Rider and Weed, p.310.

[45] The term 'neat' refers to a domesticated bovine animal. Ekarius [Ekarius, C. (2008) *Storey's Illustrated Breed Guide to Sheep, Goats, Cattle and Pigs: 163 Breeds from Common to Rare*. North Adams, MA: Storey Publishing, p.319] defines polled cattle as cows without horns in species that are usually horned. Breeds can be naturally polled through selective breeding or dehorned by farmers. *The Complete Farmer; Or, General Dictionary of Agriculture and Husbandry* (1803) op. cit., p.310.

[46] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) 'Livestock and Landscape' *Landscape Research*, 20, pp. 141-146, p.142.

[47] Here, the word 'success' simply refers to those cattle that made it to the far side of the channel without drowning. The favourable qualities of Highland breeds are outlined in several nineteenth-

Another relic of the droving trade, which still remains at the site of the Kyle Rhea, is the 'drovers' stone' (pictured in figure 34) – a large rock, situated near the eastern shore of the channel, etched into which are purported to be the names of several drovers. Examining the image closely, it is possible to discern the outline of various faded inscriptions – eroded away by the passage of time and weather. When combined with evidence from published records, the volume of names confirms that this was once a busy route, ascribed with a great deal of strategic and cultural importance by the drovers. Consequently, a herder's decision to carve their name into a rock on the far shore could be interpreted as an expression of relief – a mechanism for recording and commemorating successful passage made.[48] For the researcher in the present day, the continued survival of these carvings, alongside the scoured remains of old drove roads, serves as a useful reminder that, in addition to moving across the surface of the Scottish landscape, the Highland drovers were also inscribing their biographies and presence *into* it – leaving behind a network of incised paths and sculpted material relics, which can now be read as lasting cultural monuments.[49] Indeed, such observations correspond with Tim Ingold's contention that life and movement takes place *in* not *on* a landscape surface, the remaining traces of which are essential to understanding how living beings have inhabited and made sense of their surroundings in the past. When viewed from this perspective, the existence of these carvings provides a tempting proposition for the droving researcher – inviting speculations about the experiences of the drovers who produced them and the meanings and significance attached to specific sites. As such, the discernible outline of 'James Moffat' with its accompanying date of '18 May 1900', carved into a boulder on the roadside above the Kyle Rhea, provides the landscape researcher with a rare opportunity to personalise the life of a named, individual drover, consciously leaving his mark on the Highland landscape.[50]

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century agricultural guides including: Culley, G. (1807) *Observations on Livestock*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson; MacDonald, J. (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Silvester Doig, and Andrew Stirling.

[48] Curiously, there is no record of drovers losing their lives in any of the published accounts of the crossing. However, considering the exposed location, volatile currents and frequency with which crossings were made, it is likely that some deaths would have occurred.

[49] See: Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge – particularly p.54; Ingold, T. (2007b) *Lines: A Brief History*. London: Routledge; Ingold, T. (2008) 'Bindings Against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A*, 40, pp. 1796-1810.

[50] Unfortunately, James Moffat cannot be found in any census of archival records.

However, despite their suggestive appeal, these small residues of the fullness of droving life are just as likely to frustrate. With this in mind, the process and possibilities of recovering past experiences of passage demand a degree of creativity in both thought and interpretation. In so doing, a willingness is needed to depart from the 'fact-driven', 'impersonal' approach adopted by Haldane (discussed in Chapter Four) – a methodological position that tends to dehumanise the Scottish drovers by portraying them as little more than anonymous groups of 'rational economic agents', moving through the Highland terrain to predetermined markets.[51]

Figure 34: Carvings on the eastern shore of Kyle Rhea

Elsewhere in Scotland, the Reverend James Hall, in his 1807 publication *Travels in Scotland*, described the passage of beasts on Barra. In contrast to Barron and Defoe's matter-of-fact descriptions, Hall was more disparaging of this method of transporting animals:

> While here [on Barra], I have witnessed that abominably cruel method of fixing cattle and sheep to one another's tails, and swimming them across a ferry often more than a mile broad. To the disgrace of this part of the country, this method of conveying cattle, sheep, small horses, etc. is not quite abolished, though several of them are often drowned, and their tail pulled

away by it, and the like. But notwithstanding the improvement in the Northern and Western Isles, many of the people are yet indolent; and, as there is less expense and trouble, though not so much humanity, in this method of conveying cattle from one island to another, or from the islands to the continent, yet it is, upon many occasions, still continued.[52]

The tenor of Hall's remarks in relation to the tying together of cattle and sheep is one of outward condemnation, fiercely opposed to what he perceives as an 'abominably cruel' and 'disgraceful' procedure. In articulating his disapproval, the author is particularly scathing of the herdsmen who engaged in these 'barbaric' and 'outdated' practices and expresses a certain amount of incredulity at their continuation in the context of the recent 'improvement in the Northern and Western Isles'. As such, his favourable articulation of the Highland 'improvements', in the same sentence as his disparaging comments towards cattle swimming, is a deliberate attempt to contrast what he perceived as the 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' practices of Hebridean herdsmen with a supposedly more 'enlightened' ethos of 'improvement'.[53] Consequently, the damning tone of Hall's comments are indicative of a more widely-held belief that, if left unchecked, such 'abominably cruel' and 'indolent' practices threatened to corrupt and morally retard the development of the region – undermining the good work of the 'improvers'.[54] Indeed, Hall's beliefs were in keeping with the views of many 'improvers' – supporters of a system of commercial agriculture which deprived the drovers of their traditional rights to wayside grazing (through the privatisation and enclosure of common land) and transformed them from valued components of the Scottish economy into mobile 'outsiders' whose practices, customary privileges and association with animals rendered them increasingly 'out of place' in Scotland's 'modern' agrarian landscape.[55] Furthermore, his remarks correspond with Peter Womack's contention that the Highlands were often configured by eighteenth-and nineteenth-century commentators as a particular kind of social space, existing geographically within but culturally apart from the rest of Britain – a

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[52] Hall, Rev. J. (1807) *Travels in Scotland, by an Unusual Route: With a Trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides*, Vol. II. London: J. Johnson, p.545.

[53] As noted in Chapter Two, the Highland 'improvements' can be described as a process of economic 'modernisation', intended to maximise agricultural productivity in Scotland through enforced displacement and the enclosure of land.

[54] Hall's use of the term 'abominably cruel' could also be interpreted as an expression of concern for the welfare of these helpless cattle. Furthermore, his remarks highlight a difference of expectation between himself as a genteel traveller, and what he saw as wrong and improper in a different mode of travel.

[55] The impact of enclosure and agrarian improvement on the routes and customary privileges of Scottish drovers is examined in greater detail in Chapters Five, Seven and Nine of this thesis.

characterisation that was used to "legitimate the subordination of the region to the logic of British capitalism and British state power".[56]

Tidal Passages

In addition to the practice of swimming their cattle, Scottish drovers would also transport their beasts between coasts on foot. One such example can be found on the small Outer Hebridean islands of Benbecula and North Uist – a region where, owing to its lack of alternative transport networks, the small-scale droving of cattle on foot continued well into the twentieth century (over half a century after its demise on the mainland).[57] The collection of photographs shown in figure 37 originate from a drove in the 1950s across the wide tidal channel that separates the two islands (see figures 35 and 36). The dramatic nature of these images, depicting upwards of fifty beasts paddling over the shallow tidal waters, provides the viewer with a rare insight into the appearance of a drove 'on the move' – something that generally predated the era of mass-photography for much of the Scottish mainland. Of particular interest is the relatively tight and linear formation of the herd, with the bulkier cattle taking the lead, closely followed by the young calves and a second wave of sturdy animals bringing up the rear – an arrangement that appears to be largely self-regulated.[58] These observations correspond with Hayden Lorimer's biographical work on Scottish reindeer herding in which he argues that herd movement and organisation is largely governed by the interaction and working relationships forged *between* herd members – an agency that is rarely acknowledged in published accounts of the droving trade.[59]

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[56] Womack, P. (1984) *Improvement and Romance: The Scottish Highlands in British Writing after the Forty-Five*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of English Literature, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, p.I. For further information about the historical construction of the Scottish Highlands see: Withers, C.W.J. (1992) 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in Donnachie, I. and Whatley, C. (eds.) *The Manufacture of Scottish History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 143-156.

[57] This information was obtained from Janey Clarke, chief archivist at the Highland Livestock Heritage Society in Dingwall.

[58] This observation is based on the fact that there are very few drovers in the image escorting the beasts. Aside from the drovers, close inspection of these images reveals the presence of several dogs, the employment of which (as discussed in Chapter Five) allowed herdsmen to control and regulate the movement of their cattle more effectively.

[59] As discussed in Chapter Four, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.] often portrays the cattle as little more than mindless beasts, trudging to market under the control of their human masters. As noted in footnote 37, the organisation and arrangement of beasts could also be conceptualised as a form of

Another feature that becomes apparent when viewing these pictures is the interaction between drovers. Of notable interest, is the bottom right-hand image in figure 37 – a photograph showing several older-looking gentlemen receiving a 'piggy back' across a shallow tidal channel. On a purely practical level, one could interpret the carrying of drovers as an act of necessity, 'speeding up' the progress of those who might have struggled with the strenuous task of wading. However, aside from its practical advantages, the decision to carry these older drovers is also illustrative of the bonds and caring relationships that were formed between herdsmen on their journeys. Thus, the desire to protect these elder herdsmen from the physical strains of water crossings, suggests that their presence on the drove was highly valued. Indeed, as highlighted in Janey Clarke's recent interview with Ian Munro, an elderly Ross-shore-born drover, it was common practice for droves to be led by more experienced herders "that knew the tides".[60] Consequently, far from being regarded as a dangerous hindrance, the presence of older drovers was highly sought-after – prized for their extensive knowledge of these constantly-shifting coastal landscapes, their associated lines of passage and characteristic tidal conditions.[61]

'mutual aid', a theory of co-operation and shared struggle developed by Kropotkin [Kropotkin, P.A. (1902) op. cit.] to explain how organisms are able to adapt and survive in particular environments.

[60] During the 1950s Munro was involved with the droving of cattle between North Uist and Benbecula. The importance of 'knowing the tides' is illustrated by Smiles' [Smiles, S. (1878) op. cit., pp. 43-44] account of Scottish drovers attempting to herd their cattle across the Solway Firth: "They had proceeded but a short way when they observed that the tide had turned. They pushed the beasts on with as much speed as they could. The sands were becoming softer. They crossed numberless pools of water. Then they saw the sea-waves coming upon them. On, on! It was too late. The waves, which sometimes rush up the Solway three feet abreast, were driving in amongst the cattle. They were carried off their feet, and took to swimming. The horses, upon which George Moore and his companion were mounted, also took to swimming. They found it difficult to keep the cattle together – one at one side, and one at the other. Yet they pushed on as well as they could. It was a swim for life. The cattle became separated, and were seen in the moonlight swimming in all directions. At last they reached firmer ground, pushed on, and landed near Bowness. But many of the cattle had been swept away, and were never afterwards heard of". Am Baile Website – Memories of a Highland Drover: http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/item_audio.jsp?item_id=86806, no last date modified. Accessed on 30/09/12.

[61] Due to their authority and superior knowledge, it is also likely that, in many cases, elder herdsmen would have commanded their younger counterparts to carry them.

Figure 35: The North Ford between Benbecula and North Uist (northern end)
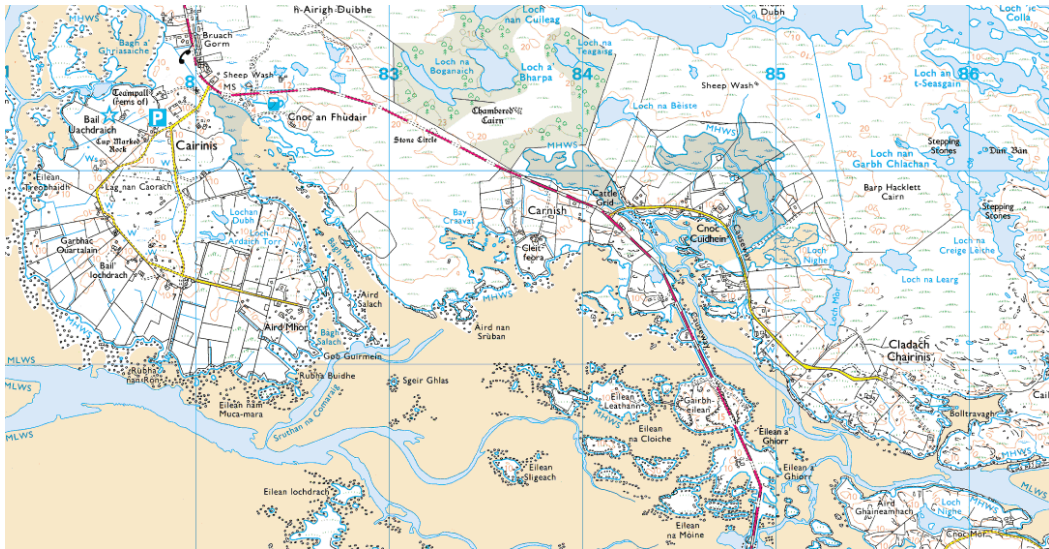
Figure 36: The North Ford between Benbecula and North Uist (southern end)
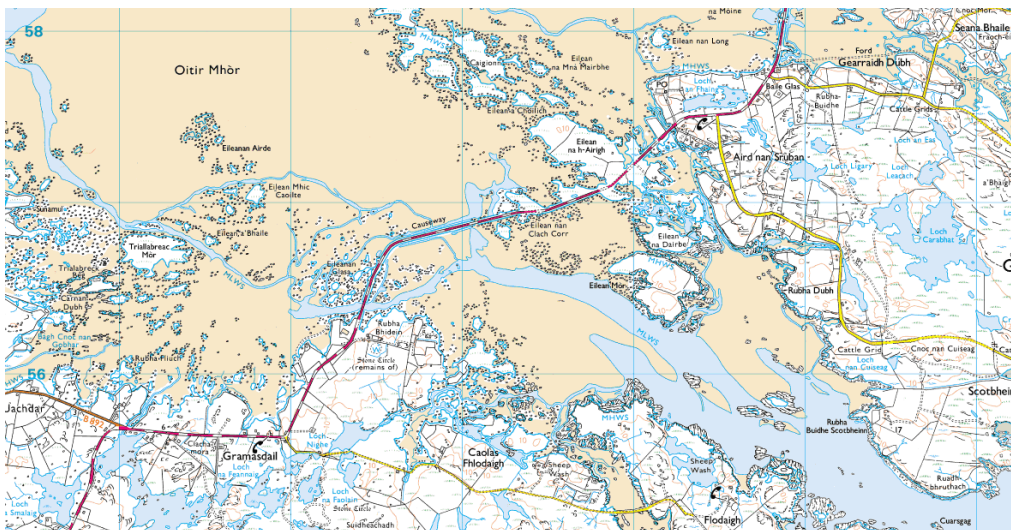
Figure 37: Driving cattle across the North Ford between Benbecula and North Uist

Ferrying Landscapes

While it was common practice for Highland drovers to walk or swim their cattle across narrow tidal channels, in the most part, particularly during the latter years of the droving era, beasts were ferried over the sea in small boats.[62] The following images – one depicting the loading of cattle at Kyle of Lochalsh (figure 38), and the other showing the shipment of beasts at Tarbert (figure 39), provide a useful visual record of this practice.

Figure 38: Cattle in boat at Kyle of Lochalsh

Figure 39: Loading cattle at Tarbert

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[62] Based on conversations with elderly herdsmen recounting their early memories of ferrying cattle between Lagg (on the east coast of Jura) and Keills (situated at the mouth of Loch Sween, in Knapdale), Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.95] noted that: "The boats appear to have been mainly open, not decked or half-decked … single-masted but with heavy oars to help in calm weather. The bottom and sides were thickly lined with birch branches … tied in bundles, the whole being secured by chains".

The image displayed in figure 39 records a chaotic scene of cattle being driven aboard a large sailing boat – a task which evidently required close personal contact between drovers and their animals.[63] Within the harbourside scrum, several men can be seen physically handling and guiding the beasts onto the boat. Judging by the size and potential strength of these shaggy, horned cows, it is clear that their safe entry onto the vessel would have been dependent upon a willingness to co-operate with the drovers. Consequently, herdsmen must have been acutely aware of the behavioural characteristics of individual beasts and the most effective methods of coercing them – knowledges that could only be attained through a period of prolonged and engaged contact.

The other image (figure 38) shows a dense mass of shaggy cattle, crammed inside a small boat. The animals are arranged in a tightly packed formation and tied together with a length of rope – a careful positioning of beasts, no doubt intended to reduce their movement on the crossing. Indeed, as remarked by the Reverend James Hall, with regards to his early-nineteenth-century trip to Skye:

> the boating, or putting on board cattle but half domesticated is sometimes a very troublesome business: and, when they grow restive, before the boat has reached the destined port, they are apt to upset her, and endanger the lives of all on board.[64]

With this in mind, a failure to prevent the excessive movement of distressed animals, could cause the boat to become swamped or capsized – an event which would likely have fatal consequences.[65] Evidently aware of these dangers, a man, presumably a drover or ferry master, is shown standing upright on the left-hand side of the boat, his watchful gaze focused on the cattle below. Consequently, as was the case for most ferry journeys, the drover's constant attention throughout the crossing was essential to identifying individual distressed cows and preventing them from growing restive. Combined with these skills of observation, the stability of the boat was also dependent upon the careful arrangement of beasts to ensure that the weight of cattle was evenly

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[63] There are several coastal villages in Scotland named 'Tarbert' but the caption accompanying this image fails to disclose which one has been photographed here.

[64] Hall, Rev. J. (1807) op. cit., p.545.

[65] Remarking on the dangers of ferrying cattle across the Firth of Forth (between Queensferry and North Queensferry), Robertson [Robertson, A. (1791-99) op. cit., p.506] noted that "There was a large boat overset some years ago, occasioned by a sudden squall, and its being fully loaded with black cattle; the boatmen were lost, and also the passengers".

distributed across the boat. For this, the herdsman would need a good understanding of established loading practices and the effect that such an unusually mobile cargo might have on the buoyancy and manoeuvrability of the vessel.[66]

Once loaded, the cattle could then be ferried to their respective destinations – a task which, in stormy weather conditions, could be fraught with danger. Despite the lack of surviving first-hand written or oral testimony from Scottish drovers, there still exists a number of traveller's accounts, detailing some of the challenges faced by seafaring herders. Of particular interest, is the published biography of Joseph Mitchell, a Scottish engineer who, in his *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, recalls a memorable crossing between the island of Jura and the Argyllshire mainland.[67] On arrival at the ferry station, the author describes, in disparaging terms, his encounter with a small waterside tavern in which every corner was "crowded with drovers who had been detained by the weather for several days, and were passing their time, as was their wont, in riotous and continuous drinking … the very air was impregnated with an odour of whisky".[68] The restless scene witnessed by Mitchell maybe reflected a certain amount of anxiety and frustration on the part of the waiting drovers – a discomforting awareness of the potential financial ramifications for failing to reach Falkirk in time for the Michaelmas Tryst.

Eager to depart from these 'half-intoxicated and noisy people', Mitchell offered a small bribe to the ferry master to take him across – an agreement which provoked an 'excessively angry' response from the stranded drovers who insisted that they took a small cargo of cattle with them. Agreeing to this request, the following account documents the author's harrowing experience of the crossing:

> The boat was of great width of beam, and the cattle were fastened with their heads to rings on the gunwale on each side, We had also the chief drover's pony, which stood in the middle of the boat … How the wind did roar, and

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[66] A failure to account for the movement of cattle *en route* could result in the vessel rocking or capsizing.

[67] Birse, R.M. and Chrimes, Rev. M. (2004) 'Mitchell, Joseph (1803–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[68] Mitchell neglected to mention where the cattle were 'stanced' as the drovers drank in the inn. However, as shown in Chapter Seven, it is likely that these animals would have grazed in the enclosures or common land surrounding the building. Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, p.302.

how the cattle struggled to get their heads free! … The men tried to lower the sail, which, in their agitation, they could not effect, and all looked helpless.

On this the drover seized the helm, and with sharp and decisive words took the command of the boat. By his admirable steering he relieved her a good deal, and enabled the men to lessen sail. Still the boat flew before the wind and rolled heavily; every moment we expected would be our last. I grasped the stirrup of the saddle on the pony, in the hope that if we did go the creature might swim ashore. On we ploughed our way in the midst of this furious storm.

How admirably the drover steered! We had to take the narrow and rocky entrance of Lagg harbour, a most difficult navigation; but the drover's sharp and distinct orders were promptly obeyed, and in no time he landed us in shelter within the little bay … Thank god, we are saved.[69]

While it is likely that aspects of Mitchell's journey have been embellished, his recollection provides a degree of insight into the experiences and challenges faced by seafaring herdsmen. In the first instance, the severe weather conditions encountered on his crossing, and its detrimental impact on the stability and manoeuvrability of the boat, illustrate the dangers associated with nineteenth-century sea crossings – an unfortunate 'fact of life' for many island-based drovers. Furthermore, in the absence of any first-hand accounts of ferry crossings from the drovers themselves, Mitchell's anxiety during his voyage (and clear relief at reaching the mainland alive) hint at the emotions felt by travelling herdsmen, a reminder that the Scottish drover was much more than just a highly-skilled economic agent.[70]

Aside from the emotional strains placed on voyaging drovers, and in keeping with Haldane's skills-based understanding of droving, the testimony provided by Mitchell also highlights the practical difficulties of sailing in challenging weather conditions. In notable contrast to his condemnatory descriptions of the 'riotous' and 'drunken' herders encountered at the inn, Mitchell characterises the ferryman drover in more favourable terms as a 'decisive', 'sharp' and 'admirable' sailor. Consequently, in addition to their navigational skills on land, many seafaring drovers, particularly those who could not afford to pay a ferryman, were also accomplished sailors – a task which required a detailed knowledge of local tidal 'rhythms' and weather

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[69] Ibid, pp. 302-303.
[70] Throughout *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Haldane (1952) tended to favour this detached and impersonal representation of the Scottish drover.

conditions.[71] Once at sea, these considerations had to be combined with a practical understanding of steering and navigation, ensuring the continued stability of the vessel (essential to preventing cattle from becoming distressed) and enabling the drover to negotiate hazardous rocky shorelines. As such, it is clear that the drovers possessed a breadth of knowledge and skills, spanning the mediums of land and sea.

Volatile Crossings

In addition to the many ferry passages encountered by drovers, the lack of bridges in the Highlands (particularly prior to 1803, the year in which Thomas Telford embarked on his Highland road and bridge building campaign), also required them to cross numerous inlets and estuaries.[72] The following quote, taken from the *Old Statistical Account* entry for Creich, attests to the hazardous and unpredictable nature of these crossings:[73]

> It would be of great advantage to the inhabitants of this district in particular, besides the emolument that would accrue to the community at large, if the public road around the ferries were brought this way by a bridge. Such a bridge would be particularly convenient for drovers; all the cattle driven to the south from Sutherland, Caithness, and Lord Reay's country, except the parish of Assint [sic.], having hitherto been obliged to cross the Kyle by swimming; which, when the weather is bad, and the Kyle much swelled by rains, hurts the cattle greatly, especially when the night following proves cold.[74] Sometimes they refuse to swim, in which case they must be ferried over by the cobble.[75] The people pretend to foretell, whether they shall have a good market or not, by their readiness to swim.[76]

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[71] For further information on the rhythmic geographies of tides see: Jones, O. (2010) ''The Breath of the Moon': The Rhythmic and Affective Time-Spaces of UK Tides', in Edensor, T. (ed.) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Farnham: Ashgate pp. 189-204; Lorimer, H. (2010b) 'Forces of Nature, Forms of Life: Calibrating Ethology and Phenomenology', in Anderson, B. and Harrison, P. (eds.) *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 55-78.

[72] Paxton, R. (2004) 'Telford, Thomas (1757–1834)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[73] Creich is a Highland Parish situated on the northern banks of the Dornoch Firth and the Kyle of Sutherland.

[74] According to the *Collins English Dictionary* [Collins English Dictionary Website – Kyle: http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/kyle?showCookiePolicy=true, no date last modified. Accessed on 30/09/12], the word 'Kyle' derives from the Gaelic word *Caol*, which translates into English as a narrow strait or channel.

[75] A 'cobble' (now spelled 'coble') is a small single-masted flat-bottomed fishing boat. [Collins English Dictionary Website – Coble: http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/coble?showCookiePolicy=true, no date last modified. Accessed on 30/09/12].

[76] Rainy, Rev. G. (1791-99) op. cit., p.372.

Prior to the construction of Bonar Bridge, completed by Thomas Telford in 1812, the only options available to drovers wishing to cross the Kyle of Sutherland were to swim their beasts across the Kyle at Culrain, Bonar and Creich, or load them onto the Meikle Ferry – the ruined piers of which are still marked on the most recent maps of the area (see figure 40).[77] Consequently, a sudden rain-induced swelling of the Kyle, preventing the safe passage of beasts, could prove extremely problematic. For a drover travelling from Sutherland, an inability to cross the channel at Bonar, added over thirteen miles to the length of his journey, delaying his progress to market by at least a day.[78] Similar delays were reported by writers in southern Scotland. In a petition sent to the Privy Council in 1680 requesting the construction of a bridge over the River Leven, the magistrates of Dumbarton claimed that:

> the want of a bridge … does very much prejudge the trade of cowes [sic.], which is one of the most considerable commodities of the nation, and which cowes are either stopt [sic.] when the storme [sic.] is great and so starved or in swimming over are extremelie [sic.] weakned [sic.] and oft times drowned or in hazard thereof, nor is there any safety or security for his Majesties subjects themselves in these great stormes, they being very often stopped and too frequently drowned, so that they are forced to goe [sic.] about by the bridge of Striveling [sic.], which is twenty-four myles [sic.] of unsecure and rough gate.[79]

Two centuries later, William McCombie described the dangers of swimming cattle across the River Spey:

> dealers were liable to heavy losses, especially in spring, the cattle being then but skin and bone, and many dying in the transit. My father lost in one night, after swimming the Spey, seventeen old Caithness runts. There were no

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[77] The Meikle Ferry is referred to as the 'cobble' in the *Old Statistical Account* for the Parish of Creich [ibid.]. Bonar (now known as 'Bonar Bridge') is situated at the convergence of the River Carron, the Kyle of Sutherland and the Dornoch Firth (see figure 41). Culrain is located about three miles north-west of Bonar, on the southern bank of the Kyle of Sutherland, and Creich is situated about two miles south-east of Bonar, on the northern side of the Dornoch Firth. The crossing over the Firth was two thirds of a mile wide and situated about one mile west of the current Dornoch Firth Bridge (see figure 40). Am Baile Website – Bonar Bridge:
http://www.ambaile.org/en/item/item_photograph.jsp?item_id=59732, no last date modified. Accessed on 30/09/12. Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Glen Urquhart and Strathglass and Surroundings* (Sheet 431). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.
[78] Poor crossing conditions could severely weaken or even drown the drovers' beasts. The ferry at Meikle is located about eight miles to the east of Bonar. The length of delay is based on an assumption that the typical drover would cover between ten and twelve miles a day – a figure that is repeated in numerous published and oral accounts of the droving trade.
[79] Hume Brown, P. (1914) *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (3rd Series), Vol. VI: 1678-1680. Edinburgh: General Register House, p.498.

bridges in those days. It came on a severe frost after the cattle had swam the river.[80]

As such, it is clear that a drover's successful and timely passage to Falkirk and Crieff was largely dependent upon the weather – the anticipation of which could heavily influence his choice of route prior to reaching the crossing. By way of illustration, a detailed examination of the map for the area (see figures 40 and 41) suggests that a southbound Caithness drover, who was expecting a difficult crossing of the Kyle of Sutherland, had the option of shortening his route by diverting south at Clashmore (located in the top right-hand corner of figure 40) rather than continuing along the north side of the Dornoch Firth to Bonar Bridge.[81] An ability to make these 'last-minute' deviations thus required the herdsmen to have a good working knowledge of the Highland landscape and its available lines of passage.

Figure 40: The Dornoch Firth
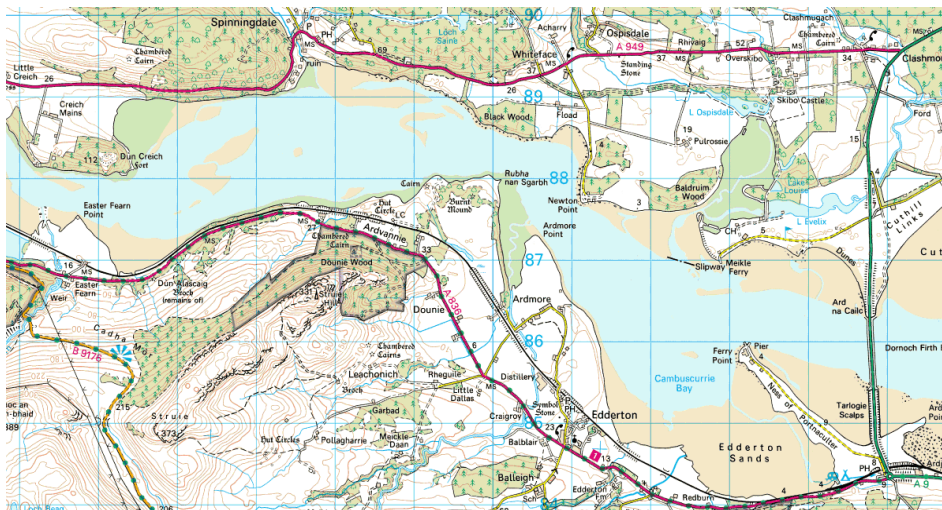
In addition to the practical considerations of crossing the Dornoch Firth, the final sentence of the O.S.A. account, in which it is suggested that drovers could 'foretell' whether or not they would have a good market by their animal's readiness to swim, hints at a more superstitious understanding of the Kyle. The establishment of such beliefs is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it provides a rare indication of the anxiety that was clearly felt by many drovers – a constant overhanging fear of buyer disinterest and low prices at Falkirk and Crieff – factors that could lead to substantial

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[80] McCombie, W. (1867) *Cattle and Cattle Breeders*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, p.100.
[81] See also: Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Glen Urquhart and Strathglass and Surroundings* op. cit.

losses or even bankruptcy for some herders.[82] Secondly, a belief in the predictive powers of cattle implies that some drovers ascribed their animals with a degree of supernatural significance. Consequently, despite Haldane's economic representation of the cow as little more than a 'form of currency' or a 'mobile economic unit' to be bought and sold by enterprising drovers, it is clear that the herders themselves accredited their beasts with a cultural value their went far beyond their monetary worth – attributing them with prophetic capabilities that exceeded human comprehension.[83]

Figure 41: The Kyle of Sutherland
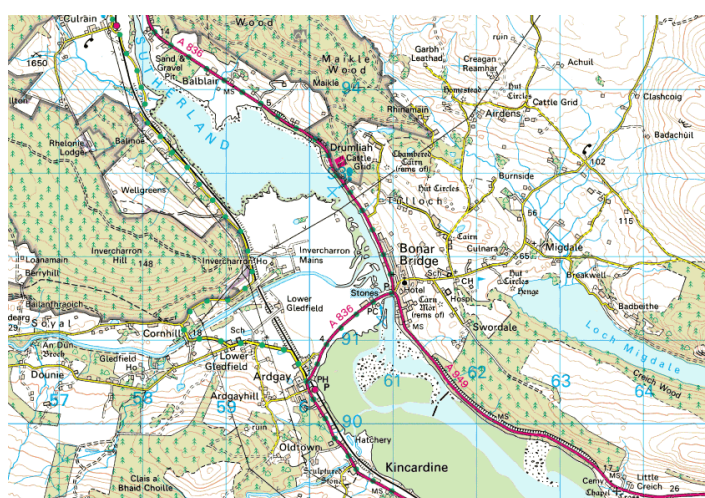
Other accounts of channel crossings focus more on the methods of transportation and the appearance of large numbers of cattle thrashing through the water. The following excerpt has been taken from Edmund Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* – a compilation of the author's extended observations on Highland life during his work as receiver-general and collector of rents on the unsold forfeited estates in Scotland.[84] Within his account, Burt describes a close encounter with a drove of cattle 'by a wide river' following a period of heavy rain:

> there was a boat to ferry over the drovers. The cows were about fifty in number, and took the water like spaniels; and when they were in, their drivers made a hideous cry to urge them forwards: this, they told me, they did to keep the foremost of them from turning about; for, in that case, the rest would do

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[82] Very few documentary or oral accounts discuss the emotions of drovers.

[83] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.

[84] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Stevenson, D. (2004) 'Burt, Edmund (d.1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press], Burt's account was written between 1727 and 1728 and originally published in 1754 as a collection of anonymous letters.

the like, and then they would be in danger, especially the weakest of them, to be driven away and drowned by the torrent. I thought it a very odd sight to see so many noses and eyes just above water, and nothing of them more to be seen.[85]

Although brief in nature, Burt's observations offer a perspective on the appearance and physical dynamics of a drove 'on the move' – a sight that, while hard to comprehend in the present day, must have been relatively common in the Highlands during the summer months of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The scene depicted by Burt is one of the utmost animation, conveying a powerful impression of the communication and co-operation existing between herder and herd. Furthermore, his descriptions of cattle crossing the channel, with only their eyes and noses protruding above the water, serve as an important reminder of the impressive strength and swimming abilities possessed by these animals, skills that are too often overlooked in Haldane's anthropocentric account of the droving trade.[86]

Elsewhere, William Mackintosh provides an account of cattle thieves fording the River Tay near Kenmore, a practice that was also carried out by drovers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:[87]

> Each man takes hold in his one hand of horse, bullock or cow's tail, he drove into the water and extends out his other hand with his fusee and his pistol in his teeth, and so is drawn with his firearms dry to the other side.[88]

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[85] Burt, E. (1818) *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* (5th ed.), Vol. II. London: Rest Fenner, pp. 33-34.

[86] Despite the well-documented swimming abilities of cattle, there has been a surprising lack of scientific or veterinary literature on the topic. For example, see: Tawah, C.L., Rege, J.E.O. and Aboagye, G.S. (1997) 'A Close Look at a Rare African Breed – The Kuri Cattle of Lake Chad Basin: Origin, Distribution, Production and Adaptive Characteristics', *South African Journal of Animal Science*, 27, pp. 31-40. The swimming capabilities of other land mammals such as elephants have been examined by biogeographers such as Donald Johnson [Johnson, D.L. (1980) 'Problems in the Land Vertebrate Zoogeography of Certain Islands and the Swimming Powers of Elephants', *Journal of Biogeography*, 7, pp. 383-398].

[87] While there are no first-hand published accounts of herdsmen fording their cattle across rivers, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.39] noted that many of the techniques employed by cattle thieves would have also been familiar to the drovers.

[88] Fusee is an old word for a 'flintlock rifle'. Mackintosh, W. (1742) *A Short Scheme Whereby is Proposed, by the Help of the Military Road, Made by the Honourable Lieutenant-General Wade, and Now Extended by the Honourable Lieutenant-General Clayton, Effectually to Stop Depredations and Theft, so Frequently Committed in, and so Destructive to the Northern Counties of Scotland: To which is Added by Way of Postscript, a Short Dissertation Upon the Most Valuable Uses Great or Military Roads are of, both to the Prince, and to the Country Through which such Roads are Made*. Edinburgh: W. Mackintosh.

Unlike most deep river and sea crossings where herdsmen kept watch over their cattle in boats, the practice of fording required the drovers to wade through the water with their animals – a dangerous task which demanded close physical contact between herdsmen and beasts. Indeed, Mackintosh's descriptions of drovers entering the water clutching the tails of their cattle – a practice presumably intended to drive the cows through the water while preventing the herdsmen from losing balance and being washed away – provides a valuable insight into the mutual dependence and close working relationships forged between drovers and their animals.

While it is true that the majority of Highland river crossings prior to the nineteenth century would have involved either the fording or swimming of cattle, in the decades that followed, the droving landscape underwent significant infrastructural changes. Following the publication of Thomas Telford's *Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland* in 1803, the Commissioners for Highland Road and Bridges, under the instruction of the government, embarked on an extended campaign of road and bridge building in the Highlands – part of a wider effort to 'join up' Scotland.[89] With regards to their construction, Haldane notes that most of the early bridges were 'narrow wooden structures' that were not popular with the drovers. Elaborating on this point, he states that:

> To cattle being driven for the first time, and unused as many of them were to anything but their native hills, the crossing of a narrow bridge was a terrifying experience, while the unaccustomed sound of their feet on the timbers was liable to make them panic.[90]

Perhaps the most insightful aspect of Haldane's analysis, is his description of the unsettling sounds created by the hooves of cattle impacting against the wooden timbers of the bridge. In so doing, the author gives a rare insight into the thoughts and fears of a cow.[91] As such, the frightened reaction of the animals to the unexpected sound of hoof on wood suggests that, like their human counterparts, the landscape through which they passed was largely understood and 'perceived through their

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[89] Paxton, R. (2004) op. cit. Telford, T. (1803) *A Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges.
[90] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.39.
[91] In her work on autism and animal behaviour [Grandin, T. (1995) *Thinking in Pictures: And Other Reports from My Life with Autism*. New York: Doubleday – particularly pp. 167-183; Grandin, T. (1997) 'Assessment of Stress During Handling and Transport', *Journal of Animal Science*, 75, pp. 249-

feet'.[92] Consequently, a change in the usual underhoof conditions, with its familiar sounds and textures, could be a disorientating and unsettling experience for cattle – causing some beasts to bolt or scatter.[93] Furthermore, the distress caused to animals by these new wooden bridges demonstrates that, like the weather, landscape surface played a key role in the daily locomotion of drovers and their cattle. Far from simply representing a material canvas on which movement took place, the form and texture of the surface, whether it be grass, rock or wood, was central to the physical enactment of droving – responsible for influencing a herd's progress and altering the behaviour of passing cows.[94] Additionally, the feelings of panic exhibited by cattle were likely exacerbated by the narrowness of many Highland bridges – an illustration of how human boundaries impressed upon animal worlds and restricted their spaces of operation.

Given the fearful response of cattle to these narrow timber constructions, it is understandable that many drovers opted to swim or ford their animals instead, particularly for the shallower, less dangerous tributaries. As such, despite the intended purpose of bridge building, as part of a broader project to improve trade and transportation in the Highlands, it is clear that the poorly-designed nature of these structures served to hinder rather than facilitate the movement of drovers and beasts. With this in mind, it is apparent that the government-sanctioned project of Highland 'improvement' was very much a 'top-down' model of infrastructural development, which made little effort to consult, or consider the effect upon, the herders who relied on these routes.

257] Temple Grandin provides an immersive account of how the world is perceived through the senses of animals according to their version of colour, texture, sound and light.

[92] Ingold, T. (2004) 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet', *Journal of Material Culture, 9*, pp. 315-340.

[93] The danger and panic caused by bridge crossings is illustrated in a note published in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* and remarked upon by Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.39]. The note describes an incident on a bridge over the River Eden (near Carlisle) between a large drove of cattle (on its way south from Dumfriesshire) and a mail coach. After encountering the coach, the cattle took fright, resulting in a great rush of beasts which caused the parapet of the bridge to gave way, throwing the drovers and their animals into the River.

Conclusions

After critically analysing a range of written, oral and photographic materials, it is clear that the plethora of river and sea crossings, bisecting Highland drove routes, should be regarded as both strategically and symbolically significant. Examination of several first-hand published accounts of cattle swimming reveals that the task of transporting beasts between the islands and mainland Scotland was one of considerable difficulty, requiring an extensive range of skills and knowledges. Aside from their logistical significance, material relics such as the 'drover's stone' and 'calf rock' serve as a useful illustration of the symbolic importance ascribed by drovers to these turbulent tidal passages. Other methods of cattle transportation included the walking or ferrying of beasts, the latter being the most common means for conveying cattle during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Photographic and oral records of this practice highlight that, in addition to their herding and navigating abilities on land, the drovers were also proficient at loading and ferrying cattle – dangerous tasks that required a detailed understanding of tides, weather and the individual behaviour characteristics of their beasts. Finally, an analysis of published materials relating to various Highland river crossings highlights the strong personal and co-operative relationships that existed between a herdsman and his animals – essential to ensuring the safe and steady passage of the drove. Furthermore, a critical consideration of the Highland 'improvements', and its associated programme of road and bridge building, suggests that, by altering the physical surface of the landscape – a factor which often unsettled cattle – roads and bridges had the potential to impede rather than facilitate the transit of cows.[95]

[94] Similarly, in his work on Scottish reindeer, Lorimer [Lorimer, H. (2006) op. cit., pp. 502-503] argues that a herd's experience of geography is, unquestionably, tactile and influenced by a 'complex circuitry' of material surfaces.

[95] The socio-economic implications of agricultural 'improvement' are addressed in greater detail in Chapters Five and Seven of this thesis.

Chapter Seven: Inns and Stances

> At that time of the evening when, by looking steadily, we could discover a few
> pale stars in the sky, we saw upon an eminence, the bound of our horizon,
> though very near to us, and facing the bright yellow clouds of the west, a
> group of figures that made us feel how much we wanted in not being painters.
> Two herdsmen, with a dog beside them, were sitting on the hill, overlooking a
> herd of cattle scattered over a large meadow by the river-side. Their forms,
> looked at through a fading light, and backed by the bright west, were
> exceedingly distinct, a beautiful picture in the quiet of a Sabbath evening,
> exciting thoughts and images of almost patriarchal simplicity and grace.[1]

This chapter examines the social, symbolic and strategic importance of the numerous
inns and stances that punctuated drovers' journeys to market – overnight stop-offs that
played such an essential role in the rest and recuperation of men and beasts. The piece
begins with a discussion of stances, describing their typical structure and layout,
before scrutinising several published accounts of resting herdsmen from nineteenth-
century writers, Walter Scott and Robert Cunninghame-Graham – romantic
representations that attempted to popularise the drover as a heroic and resourceful
figure, well-accustomed to the hardships of sleeping outside.[2] Drawing on
documentary evidence from the Breadalbane Court Case, the next section analyses the
impact of enclosure and the actions of Scottish landowners on the availability of cattle
stances – that is to say restrictive practices that undermined the drovers' customary
grazing rights. Based on a combination of touring diaries and oral testimonies, the
final section focuses on drover's inns, specifically the King's House and Inveroran
inns, exploring the lives and work of the inn-keepers and the interaction that took
place between the drovers, their dogs and other groups of travellers.

This chapter is also informed by broader conceptual concerns about mobility,
landscape and customary rights. First, it takes critical inspiration from a growing body
of geographical scholarship on mobility, which has provided valuable insights into the
movement, cultures, interaction and contrasting representations of mobile social
groups through history.[3] The chapter is also framed by the work of geographers and

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[1] Wordsworth, D. (1897) *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, Vol. II. London: Macmillan, pp. 74-75.
[2] The representation and popular imagination of drovers is also discussed in Chapters Five, Six and
Eight.
[3] Anderson, N. (1923) *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press; Cresswell, T. (2001) *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion; Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the*

legal scholars on enclosure, agrarian capitalism and the commons, research which provides critical perspectives on the socio-economic processes and legal strategies employed by governments and landowners to restrict the movement and curtail the grazing rights of Scottish herdsmen.[4] Furthermore, drawing on the work of critical historical geographers such as Dave Featherstone and Briony McDonagh, this chapter is concerned with issues of resistance and class-based solidarity, considerations that are vital to understanding the collective strategies employed by Scottish herdsmen to defend their customary rights against the restrictive actions of Highland landowners.[5]

Locating the Stance

Following the completion of each day's journey, the drovers arrived at overnight stopping places known as 'stances' – strategically located grazing sites, situated at the side of each drove road in ten to twelve mile intervals, a distance that was intended to coincide with a drove's typical daily progress.[6] Due to the many and varying routes that connected all parts of Scotland to Falkirk and Crieff, it is difficult to speculate about the precise number of cattle stances scattered throughout the country.[7] However, Haldane's drove road map (shown in Chapter Four in figure 14) does

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Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World. London: Routledge; Cresswell, T. (2010) 'Towards a Politics of Mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28, pp. 17-31; Holloway, S.L. (2003) 'Outsiders in Rural Society? Constructions of Rurality and Nature-Society Relations in the Racialisation of English Gypsy-Travellers, 1869- 1934', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp. 695-715.
[4] Blomley, N.K. (2007) 'Making Private Property: Enclosure, Common Right and the Work of Hedges', *Rural History*, 18, pp. 1-21; Blomley, N.K. (2008) 'Enclosure, Common Right, and the Property of the Poor', *Social and Legal Studies*, 17, pp. 311-331; Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Ford, R.T. (2001) *The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, Power and Place*. Oxford: Blackwell; Dodgshon, R.A. (1998) *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493-1820*. Edinburgh; Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64; Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. (1991) *The Changing Scottish Landscape, 1500-1800*. London: Routledge; Wightman, A. (2011) *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who Owns Scotland (And How They Got It)*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
[5] Featherstone, D. (2007) 'Skills for Heterogeneous Associations: The Whiteboys, Collective Experimentation, and Subaltern Political Ecologies', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25, pp. 284-306; McDonagh, B. (in press) 'Making and Breaking Property: Negotiating Enclosure and Common Rights in Sixteenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal*, pp. 1-25.
[6] Haldane (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, p.36.
[7] Remarking on the difficulties of tracing cattle stances Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.38] observed that "Some of these [stances] are still known by the local people … some are now only fast-fading traditions, while countless others have passed far beyond the limits of memory or tradition. To attempt to enumerate them all, even if it were now possible, would lead to a profitless path of speculation and controversy".

provide some impression of the stances that were regularly used by drovers.[8] On the drove route between Skye and Central Perthshire, the main stance sites were located at: Kyle Rhea, Shiel Bridge, Cluanie, Torgyle, Fort Augustus, Meallgarbh, Garvamore, Drumgask, Dalwhinnie, Dalnaspidal, Dalnacardoch and Trinafour.[9] For drovers travelling down the west coast of Scotland, stances were used at: Loch Loyne, Fedden, Spean Bridge, Blarmachfoldach in Glen Kiachnish, Kinlochleven, Altnafeadh, Inveroran, Bridge of Orchy, Clifton, Luib and Balquhidder.[10]

Until the second half of the eighteenth century, stances were, in most cases, used without payment – a customary (and *de facto* legal) privilege which the drovers had exercised for many centuries previous. In the Highlands, stances often consisted of little more than open patches of ground or grassy hollows located on moors, hillsides, riverbanks and in glens and corries.[11] The physical layout of these sites was largely dictated by topography. In areas of open hillside or flat moorland, the cattle grazed freely with the drovers sleeping in groups among the beasts, taking it in turns to keep watch over the animals through the night.[12] In narrow glens, the cattle grazed in a more linear arrangement, stretching out along the valley floor, and in deep corries and depressions, where the lie of the land enclosed the stance site, the cattle clustered together in a tightly bunched formation.[13]

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, traditional grazing rights, particularly on the approaches to Falkirk and Creiff, came under increasing threat from agrarian 'improvement'. During this period, the appropriation and enclosure of a large

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Only the most popular stances are marked on Haldane's drove road map (shown in figure 14 of Chapter Four). On the eastern route between Skye and Central Perthshire, those stances not marked include: Shiel Bridge, Garvamore and Dalnaspidal. For context, Shiel Bridge is located at the head of Loch Duich, nine miles east of Glenelg, Garvamore is situated in Glen Spey, about four miles east of the stance at Meallgarbh (named Melgarve on current maps) and Dalnaspidal is located near the head of the Drumochter Pass, between Dalwhinnie and Dalnacardoch. On the western route, stances not marked include: Loch Loyne, Blarmachfoldach, Clifton, Luib and Balquhidder. Loch Loyne is located three miles north of Tomdoun. Blarmachfoldach is situated in Glen Kiachnish, three miles south of Fort William. Clifton is located a quarter of a mile north of Tyndrum. The stance at Luib is situated in Glen Dochart, seven miles east of Crianlarich. Balquihidder is located twelve miles north-west of Callander, at the head of Loch Voil.

[10] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.38.

[11] As discussed later in this chapter, a drover's choice of stance was also dictated by the availability of water. As a result, most stances were located close to rivers and streams. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.38.

[12] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.37. Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., p.74.

[13] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.37.

proportion of Scotland's common land had a significant impact on the availability and topology of stance sites. Firstly, in areas of cultivation, stances were increasingly hemmed in by dykes and turf walls – physical barriers which prevented cattle from straying and trampling crops.[14] Many of these stance sites were also adjoined by inns and cottages which provided the drovers with food and shelter as their animals slept in the enclosures.[15] Secondly, the privatisation of common land, combined with the growing demand for grazing, particularly around the great trysts, gave rise to a system of commercial landownership in which the right of stance was increasingly regarded as a privilege that required payment. In an effort to avoid these charges, some of the larger drovers started to rent grazings of their own at strategic points on the main routes to the trysts.[16] However, due to the prohibitive cost, such options would not have been available to the majority of drovers for whom the increasing cost and difficulty of finding stance sites was a growing concern.[17]

Figure 42: Monbuie drove stance north of Bonar Bridge

Figure 43: Dam at Monbuie drove stance

Resting Spaces

The following fictional accounts, one extracted from Walter Scott's *The Two Drovers*, and the other from Scott's earlier novel *Rob Roy*, provide a vivid illustration of the hardships to be encountered by resting drovers:

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[14] The constrained layout of these lowland stance sites stands in stark contrast to the open grazing grounds that drovers were accustomed to in the Highlands.

[15] Due to the fact that most drovers travelled at their own expense, the use of inns must have been a significant financial burden. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.37.

[16] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.210] noted that Cameron of Corriechoillie (a successful drover during the first half of the nineteenth century) was able to pasture his beasts on grazings of his own all the way between Lochaber and Falkirk.

[17] Ibid.

> At night the drovers usually sleep along with their cattle … and many of these hardy men do not once rest under a roof during a journey on foot from Lochaber to Lincolnshire.[18]

> The Highlanders, sheltered by their plaids, lay down on the heath comfortably enough, but the Lowlanders had no protection whatever. Rob Roy observing this, directed one of his followers to afford the old man a portion of his plaid; "keep himself warm, by walking about and watching the cattle." My informant heard this sentence with no small distress; and as the frost wind grew more and more cutting, it seemed to freeze the very blood in his young veins. He had been exposed to weather all his life, he said, but never could forget the cold of that night; in so much that, in the bitterness of his heart, he cursed the bright moon for giving no heat with so much light. At length the sense of cold and weariness became so intolerable, that he resolved to desert his watch to seek some repose and shelter. With that purpose, he couched himself down behind one of the most bulky of the Highlanders, who acted as lieutenant to the party. Not satisfied with having secured the shelter of the man's large person, he coveted a share of his plaid, and by imperceptible degrees drew a corner of it round him. He was now comparatively in paradise, and slept sound till daybreak, when he awoke, and was terribly afraid on observing that his nocturnal operations had altogether uncovered the *dhuiniewassell's* neck and shoulders, which, lacking the plaid which should have protected them, were covered with *cranreuch* (*i.e.* hoar frost).[19] The lad rose in great dread of a beating, at least, when it should be found how luxuriously he had been accommodated at the expense of a principal person of the party. Good Mr. Lieutenant, however, got up and shook himself, rubbing off the hoar frost with his plaid, and muttering something of a *cauld neight*.[20]

In both descriptions, the drover is represented in positive terms as a 'hardy', resilient and resourceful figure, well accustomed to his 'toilsome' journey and the challenges of sleeping without shelter overhead. While it is true that the meagre living conditions described in Scott's stories are representative of those endured by many Highland drovers, there is little doubt that certain details have either been invented or exaggerated for literary effect. As such, Scott's account of the legendary feats of physical endurance achieved by Rob Roy MacGregor and his droving companions are motivated by, and constitutive of, a wider desire to popularise and romanticise MacGregor's life – propelling him into the national consciousness as a heroic Scottish 'outlaw'. Furthermore, given Scott's prominent position as a nationally celebrated and highly influential British author, his romantic portrayal of the indefatigable drover, battling his way through the Highland landscape, was clearly influential in shaping

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[18] Scott, W. (1827) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., p.139.

[19] It is unclear what Scott meant by the term '*dhuiniewassell*'. The word does not appear in any Gaelic or Scots language dictionary.

popular understandings of herdsmen during the nineteenth-and early-twentieth centuries. Consequently, these observations serve as a broader illustration of the ways in which mobile bodies have been understood and socially constructed through history, cultural representations which correspond with the nostalgic portrayal of other mobile social groups such as Gypsy-Travellers and 'tramps'.[21]

Another depiction of stancing drovers can be found in Robert Cunninghame-Graham's *A Hatchment* – a biographical text published almost a century after Scott's *Rob Roy*.[22] In a short chapter on the Falkirk Tryst, the author details his early memories of the great markets and the drovers that travelled and slept along an old drove route near Aberfoyle.[23] In so doing, he provides a valuable insight into the lifeworld of the Scottish drover and his typical daily routines:

> Sometimes … at one of those broad, grassy spaces, which in those days existed at the crossing of four roads, one used to come upon men lying round a fire. Wrapped in their plaids on which the frost showed white, or the dew shone just as it does upon a spider's web, their sticks laid near their hands, they slumbered peacefully. Around them grazed West Highland cattle, black, dun, or chestnut, their peaceful disposition belied by their long, curving horns and shaggy foreheads, and as you passed, one of the men was sure to rise upon his elbow, pull his plaid off his head, and after looking around to see the cattle had not strayed, throw wood upon the fire, and then lie down to sleep again, after muttering a salutation either in Gaelic or in the sing-song English which in those days men of his kidney spoke.
>
> Certain it was that the old Highland drovers would not have changed their mode of life for anything. To wake up on a bright morning in October, and shake the hoar frost from one's clothes, collect the cattle, and having sent the whisky bottle round, once more to find oneself upon the road … To travel round the Highlands … sleeping by the herd, and after perhaps a fortnight arriving at the Tryst
>
> No one now sleeps beside the roads, nor, rising with the dawn, wrings out the dewdrops from his plaid. The life that once was real, now seems fantastic; not half so real as the shadows on the hills, and even they only endure whilst the sun shines, chasing one another up and down till it peeps in again.[24]

As with Scott's earlier descriptions, Cunninghame-Graham's account of resting drovers is unwaveringly romantic in tone – betraying a deep sentimentality for a

[20] Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, pp. 39-40.
[21] Cresswell, T. (2001) op. cit.; Holloway, S. (2003) op. cit.
[22] Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth.
[23] Aberfoyle was the site of Cunninghame-Graham's childhood home.

bygone way of life. Towards the end of the chapter, a strong sense of melancholia can be detected as the author expresses his sincere regret that 'no one now sleeps by the road' or 'wrings out the dewdrops from his plaid' – a stark contrast to the detached approach adopted by Haldane some forty years later.[25]

Prior to his work as an author, Cunninghame-Graham had been a successful cattle rancher in Argentina – travelling to the country as a young man after completing his education in England and Belgium.[26] These early herding experiences clearly influenced his interest in the Scottish drovers – a group with which he obviously felt some affinity. Furthermore, his extensive travels through South America – during which he explored the forests of Paraguay, trekked a wagon train to Mexico City and selected horses for the British Army in Uruguay – provided the author with a deep nostalgia for 'vanished Arcadias', 'exotic' regions that were seemingly untainted by 'progress' and commercialism.[27] Consequently, his desire to memorialise rustic ways of life threatened by economic 'progress', clearly motivated his romantic portrayal of the Scottish drovers – a group of people whose livelihood was being increasingly undermined by processes of agricultural, technological and infrastructural 'modernisation'.[28]

Upon returning to Britain in 1883, Cunninghame-Graham became an active politician, serving as the first-ever Socialist member of parliament and a founding member of the Labour Party, before helping to establish the Scottish National Party in 1928.[29] Given his socialist politics, his strong support for improved worker's rights and his firm belief in Scottish Home Rule, it is clear that these ideological allegiances informed his romantic depiction of the Highland drover as a distinctly Scottish brand of 'working class hero', revelling in their freedom to roam the mountainous landscape and determine their cherished way of life.[30] Consequently, for Cunninghame-Graham, the

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[24] Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) op. cit., pp. 214-222.
[25] Haldane's approach is explored in greater detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.
[26] Watts, C. (2004) 'Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame (1852–1936)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[27] Cunninghame-Graham's nostalgia for 'simpler', less-commercial ways of life is also reflected in his tales and essays. See: Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1901) *A Vanished Arcadia: Being Some Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay, 1607 to 1767*. London: Heinemann. Watts, C. (2004) op. cit.
[28] Watts, C. (2004) op. cit.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Cunninghame-Graham's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Watts, C. (2004) op. cit.] details his support for the 'eight hour day' and the 1889 Docker's Strike.

drovers were a powerful symbol of Scotland's self-determination and resilience at a time of rapid social and economic change. While it is true that the drover had the advantages of being more mobile than the average person in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, his contention that they 'would not have changed their mode of life for anything', is both problematic and overly-simplistic – largely neglecting the hardships associated with an exhausting life spent constantly on the move.[31] His failure to engage with the harsh realities of the cattle trade, with its associated risks and conflicts, serves to reduce the drover to little more than a heroic mythological figure – a picturesque reminder of Scotland's 'glorious' droving past which corresponds with Scott's earlier portrayal.

However, despite these criticisms, Cunninghame-Graham's account does give some insight into the life and work of a herdsman. Of particular interest is his description of a small group of men, huddled round a fire at the grassy intersection of four roads in Perthshire. The position of the stance on a 'broad grassy space', at the crossroads of several routes, suggests that this was a much frequented overnight stop-off – favoured for its plentiful pasture and convenient roadside position. The location of these lush, grassy muirs would have been well known among the small community of drovers and farmers that relied on them. By way of illustration, Thomson writing in 1785 noted that:

> About four miles south of Fort-William is a very good grazing farm, on the Lochiel estate, called Loch-Andrava, of considerable extent, which produces the finest grass I have seen in the Highlands.[32]

Over the course of time, the regular manuring of the stance site by generations of grazing cattle would have improved the fertility of the soil, further aiding the quality and extent of the grass. To this end, one informant in the mid-1950s described how:[33]

> The common ground is close to my farm here … the droves lay on that ground and you can still see the mark of the cattle … you know.[34]

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[31] The relative mobility of Scottish drovers allowed them to visit and experience a wide variety of scenic landscapes, largely inaccessible to most Scottish citizens. Hardships encountered by the drovers included: limited supplies of food, inadequate shelter, restricted access to stance sites, expensive tolls, challenging terrain, severe weather conditions, and the constant threat of bankruptcy and thefts from predatory cattle reivers.

[32] Thomson, W. (1788) *A Tour in England and Scotland, in 1785*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, pp. 134-135.

[33] This was over fifty years after the last droves had grazed next to his farm.

As such, the fact that the stance ground continued to 'bear the mark' of its previous use, by remaining appreciably greener than the surrounding landscape (see figure 44), serves as an illustration that, just as animals are capable of eroding and inscribing their presence into the surface of a landscape, they are also responsible for creating new surfaces by fertilising and regenerating the plant life beneath.

Figure 44: Fertile grass at Monbuie drove stance

Cunninghame-Graham's description of drovers resting at a 'broad, grassy space' also provides some insight into the logistical challenges of reaching these fertile pastures. Firstly, a drover's choice of overnight stop-off would have been largely determined by the limited daily distance that could be covered without tiring his animals. Grazing sites would also need to be located close to water – essential for the rehydration of herder and beasts (see figure 43). As such, the successful arrival of a herd at its scheduled stance site demanded a heightened feel for the Highland landscape, and a detailed understanding of the physical capabilities of individual beasts.[35] Thus, competent herders required an attuned knowledge of the route ahead with its associated terrain, water courses and gradients – physical factors that could hinder a drove's progress and reduce its chance of reaching the desired stance before sunset.[36]

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[34] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1956/137/A1.
[35] Remarking on the origin and inter-generational transfer of these topographical knowledges, Haldane [National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/17, Notebook IV, p.69] observed that: "Knowledge of drove roads passed like ancient lore from Father to son, and drovers had intimate knowledge of [Scotland's] topography".
[36] Curiously, there are no accounts in any of the historical literature or sound archive interviews of drovers failing to reach their anticipated destination before nightfall. However, due to the unpredictability of the Scottish weather and the physical limitations of cattle, it is likely that drovers occasionally had to 'make do' with spontaneously decided upon stance sites.

Combined with an appreciation of the terrain, timely arrival at an overnight stance was also dependent upon a herdsman's ability to assess the condition of his animals – a knowledge that could only be obtained by carefully observing the cows for signs of weakness, injury or fatigue.[37] Furthermore, the drovers had to be sensitive to their surrounding 'weather world' and its potential ramifications for route choice and progress.[38] Indeed, as Haldane helpfully illustrates, "bad weather at an exposed part of the route might mean a forced march to cross a high pass".[39] As such, the prevailing meteorological conditions had to be understood in relation to the surrounding topography, the recognition of which might inspire anxiety, resulting in a quickening of the drove's pace, or a change in its direction of travel. Consequently, rather than simply being the backdrop for human-animal interaction, landscape and its associated weather conditions were an integral part of a drover's daily experience of 'mobility' – an observation that corresponds with Tim Ingold's recent work on embodiment and landscape encounter.[40] However, despite these topographical knowledges, there must have been occasions when deteriorating weather or injured beasts prevented the drovers from arriving at their intended stance before nightfall. As a result, herdsmen also needed to be flexible and innovative in order to 'make do' with unplanned stance sites.

Sustaining the Drover

Notwithstanding the wider considerations of stance location, Cunninghame-Graham's descriptive account also alludes to the characteristic consumptive habits of herdsmen. In so doing, the author outlines the typical morning routine of passing a bottle of whisky around – a custom intended to prepare drovers for the day ahead. The practice is also mentioned by Scott in *The Two Drovers*:

> a Highland drover was victualled for his long and toilsome journey with a few
> handfuls of oatmeal and two or three onions, renewed from time to time, and a

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[37] This would have been essential to ensuring that every animal was physically capable of completing each day's walk.

[38] Ingold, T. (2010) 'Footprints Through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16, pp. 121-139.

[39] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 36-37.

[40] See: Ingold, T. (2005) 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather', *Visual Studies*, 20, pp. 97-104; Ingold, T. (2007a) 'Earth, sky, wind, and weather', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13, pp. 19-38.

ram's horn filled with whisky, which he used regularly but sparingly every night and morning.[41]

Judging by the implied frequency with which whisky was consumed in the mornings and evenings, it is clear that the spirit played an important role in droving life. The social act of sharing a bottle with fellow drovers helped to form and strengthen bonds between the herdsmen – facilitating conversation, while affording the men an opportunity for joint reflection.[42] With this in mind, one can reasonably speculate that drovers would have used this time to plan the route ahead, recount pieces of local folklore, sing songs, tell jokes and share stories about previous exploits – conversations that would have been integral to the droving experience and to the education and training of less experienced herdsmen. Indeed, such observations correspond closely with Nels Anderson's (1923) ethnographic work on hobos in which he examines the songs, ballads and story-sites of American tramps as a means for gaining insights into their habits, cultures and daily experiences.[43]

In addition to the consumption of whisky, Scott's account also describes the typical food that a drover carried on his journey. In so doing, he noted that a Highland herdsman nourished himself on little more than a basic diet of oatmeal and onions. While it is clear that the decision to carry such a small and relatively cheap selection of provisions would have been influenced by a desire to minimise costs and the amount needing to be carried, the relatively meagre and unvaried nature of their rations, suggests that many drovers would have suffered from hunger and malnourishment – a weakening of physical condition that must have been particularly severe in the latter days of the drove.[44] Given the unrelenting mental and physical demands of herding cattle, one can surmise that the additional strains of poor sustenance would have damaged the herdsman's spirit and sapped his motivation – factors that could severely hinder the drove's progress. In order to remedy this nutritional shortfall, Haldane speculates that some drovers would have supplemented

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[41] Scott, W. (1827) op. cit., p.139.

[42] The consumption of whisky would have also warmed the drovers on cold autumnal mornings and evenings.

[43] Anderson, N. (1923) op. cit.

[44] The drovers were not provided with an additional allowance for food and thus had to sustain themselves at their own expense. As discussed in Chapter Five, baggage and provisions were often carried by horses and ponies.

their basic diet with a small amount of blood from the beasts, the mixture of which was used to make black pudding:

> It seems not unlikely that drovers short of food may on rare occasions have bled cattle on the way to the Trysts. The blood, with the oatmeal and onions which they carried, would supply the main ingredients required for the 'black puddings' which were a traditional Scottish food.[45]

Despite the dietary advantages of mixing cattle blood with the other ingredients carried on the drove, the decision to bleed their cattle would not have been taken lightly. Excessive bleeding could potentially weaken or injure the cattle. Furthermore, bleeding in the latter stages of the journey, when the animals were at their weakest, would hasten their physical deterioration and reduce their monetary value, undermining the efforts of the herdsmen.[46]

While it is important to acknowledge the necessary practice of bleeding cattle, most of the sources, written and oral, agree that a drover was primarily sustained on a diet of oatmeal, oaten bread, onions and perhaps one or two mouthfuls of cheese – mainly consumed at the stance site in the mornings and evenings.[47] The following account, detailed by McIan and Logan, refers to a painting by the landscape artist Edwin Landseer (shown in figure 46), depicting two Falkirk-bound drovers standing by a stream, stirring a thick mixture of oats and water in small wooden bowls:

> The print represents drovers in their progress stopping to refresh themselves with a little *bruithiste*, or brose, being a simple mixture of oatmeal and water, which with, perchance, a few onions and a little butter, is their wonted fare. Those of a former day, dispensed with the pot, and were content with cold water, and it is a very probable etymology for Bannockburn, that it was so called from the circumstance of the Highlanders attending the 'tryst' of Falkirk or *Eaglais-breac*, as it is known to them, stopping on the banks of the stream, from which they laved the water for their humble meal.[48]

The most insightful section of McIan and Logan's account is their discussion of the etymology of 'Bannockburn' – the name of a small stream, which crosses the main

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[45] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.27.

[46] Despite the lack of documentary evidence, it is probable that some injured or diseased animals would have been slaughtered and eaten by the drovers *en route*.

[47] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1969/25/B6. Stevenson, R.L. (1897) *St Ives: Being the Adventures of a French Prisoner in England*. London: Heinemann, pp. 67-68. Youatt, W. (1834) *Cattle; Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases*. London: Baldwin and Cradock, p.163.

[48] McIan, R.R. and Logan, J. (1848) *Highlanders at Home*. London: Ackermann and Co., p.41.

drove road into Falkirk about two miles south of Stirling (see figure 45).[49] They thereby suggest that the regular halting of drovers on the banks of the burn, for the purposes of collecting water to mix with their oatmeal, probably led to it being named the 'Bannock Burn' – Bannock being the traditional Scottish name for a dense oaten cake made from oatmeal and water. Consequently, the continued etymological association of this narrow meandering burn, with the consumptive practices of the drovers illustrates that bygone trades, and memories of their associated routines, have became symbolically inscribed within the Scottish landscape.

Figure 45: The Bannock Burn

[49] Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Stirling and Ochil Hills West* (Sheet 366). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

Figure 46: Landseer's painting of resting drovers

Bovine Interaction

Aside from the consumptive practices associated with these overnight stop-offs, the drove stance was also a site of rest and recuperation where herdsmen and their cattle could 'bed down' for the night. Reflecting on this peaceful scene, McIan and Logan note the following:

> In the Highlands, the hardy drover rests on the heath among the wearied animals, whose heat in cold weather serves to keep him in warmth; even when he reaches the plains, he cares not to avail himself of the shelter of a lodging, although his cattle he places within inclosure. Often do these trusty fellows travel from the northern Highlands to the south of England, as far as Barnet and Smithfield, with their horned stock, not losing one from their numerous droves, during the long and wearisome journey. It is surprising that in the darkness of night no animal gets astray; but the acuteness of hearing possessed by those engaged in droving, enables them to detect, although unseen, those that may have left the herd to snatch a browse of the tempting herbage by the way – they will immediately spring in pursuit and drive the stragglers back.[50]

This account provides an interesting perspective on the interaction between herdsmen and their cattle. The need for heat on cold autumnal nights, necessitated that man and beast lay in close physical proximity. Such embodied contact presumably resulted in strong emotional bonds being formed between herders and individual cows – caring relationships that went beyond the co-operative working understanding required for the drove's steady progress. Furthermore, despite the lack of supporting documentary

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[50] McIan and Logan provide no sources but it is likely that these insights were gained from personal encounters with drovers. McIan, R.R. and Logan, J. (1848) op. cit., p.37.

evidence, it is not inconceivable that some drovers, by virtue of sleeping and spending many weeks with their cattle, would have developed, and perhaps acted upon, feelings of a sexual nature. While it is true that such assertions might only ever be speculative in nature, Carl Griffin's recent paper on the geographies of animal maiming and bestiality in eighteenth-and early-nineteenth-century England serves as a useful reminder of the potential for, and documented history of, sexual encounters between agricultural workers and their animals.[51]

In addition to the warmth provided by slumbering beasts, sleeping outside with their animals was also motivated by a desire to prevent their cattle from straying.[52] Thus, as noted by the authors, the drovers would have required an 'acuteness of hearing' to detect the slightest movement of cows away from the herd. Consequently, the ability to distinguish between the rustling of a restless animal and other sounds around the stance site, required a carefully trained ear. Their impressive aptitude for 'picking out' the sounds of straying cattle demonstrates that, in addition to their skilled vision – essential for the identification of navigationally relevant features in the landscape and assessing the condition of their beasts – drovers were also attuned to their surrounding 'soundscapes'. As such, the mobile task of cattle droving was inherently multisensual, requiring a heightened appreciation of land, locomotion and beast.

Furthermore, the ability to stop animals from straying would have been dependent upon a drover's understanding of the unique behavioural characteristics of his beasts, allowing him to identify, and keep a watchful eye on, those animals that were most prone to wandering.[53] Additionally, the capacity for certain animals to stray was influenced by the stage of the journey where, as noted by Haldane, "during the first few days … the homing instinct, strong in … cattle, lingered on, and during this period there was the risk of beasts making off the way they had come" – something of

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[51] Griffin, C. (2012) 'Animal Maiming, Intimacy and the Politics of Shared Life: The Bestial and the Beastly in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37, pp. 301-316.
[52] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 40-41] noted that "Many [drovers] … never slept under a roof between Lochaber and Lincolnshire, and those still (1948) alive recall meeting in their youth with old drovers who, when in charge of cattle, were loth to enter a house even to eat. The constant vigilance called for from the drovers no doubt made it necessary for them to rest beside their cattle".
[53] Accounts of wandering beasts serve as a wonderful illustration of the agency displayed by cattle – something that is often neglected in Haldane's anthropocentric account of the droving trade.

which the drovers would have needed to be wary.[54] The acknowledged frequency with which animals became unsettled or restive 'during the first few days' of the drove illustrates that the experience of moving over unfamiliar terrain, accompanied by shouting drovers and barking dogs, must have been disorientating, and perhaps rather traumatic, for some of the animals – the majority of whom, unlike their human counterparts, had never previously left the confines of their native hillside or glen.

Rights to the Commons

In contrast to the romantic and uninhibited stancing accounts of McIan and Logan, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was an increasing tendency by Scottish landowners to restrict and prohibit access to wayside grazing grounds. These actions were part of a wider movement among landlords, economists, agrarian scientists and the British Government to maximise and 'improve' agricultural productivity, departing from the traditional clan system of communal land tenure (in which multiple tenants had collective access to fertile pasture) in favour of a more individualistic and capitalistic model of land ownership.[55] Throughout this period, many occupants were forcibly evicted as proprietors sought to amalgamate and consolidate their 'unprofitable' smallholdings into larger enclosures, replacing their tenants with crops and sheep.[56] Furthermore, the increasing commercialisation of Scottish agriculture meant that large amounts of 'under-utilised' or common land, much of which was 'set-aside' for collective grazing, was either absorbed into landowner's estates or put to 'fuller use' by existing proprietors.[57] Combined with this process, the nineteenth century saw a growing desire by Highland proprietors to protect their estates for shooting, fishing and stalking – further restricting access to

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[54] The challenges posed by wandering beasts are examined in greater detail in Chapter Five. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.37.

[55] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.190] described how the clan system of land tenure was characterised by the existence of multiple tenants and sub-tenants, each one paying a small rent (either in the form of a cash payment or services) to a tacksman. This individual, often a relation or friend of the chieftain, would then pay a small fee to the chieftain. Over the past seventy years there have been several classic studies of Scottish agricultural improvement and agrarian capitalism. For example, see: Dodgshon, R.A. (1998) op. cit.; Gray, M. (1957) *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Houston, R.A. and Whyte, I.D. (eds.) *Scottish Society 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; McKerral, A. (1947) 'The Tacksman and his Holding in the South-West Highlands', *Scottish Historical Review*, 26, pp. 10-25; Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. (1991) op. cit.

[56] According to Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.192], turnips were among the most popular of these 'cash crops'.

common land.[58] Consequently, it is clear that the changing agrarian landscape of Scotland, with its growing emphasis on enclosure, sporting rights and agricultural 'improvement', posed a significant threat to common stancing grounds – a free and customary right to graze one's cattle that had been used by drovers since time immemorial.[59] In addition to this, the prevailing commercial ethos of land ownership meant that many Scottish proprietors sought to profit from the growing numbers of drovers passing through their estates by charging them for overnight grazing.[60] As such, the task of herding cattle through the Highlands became an increasingly costly enterprise, severely impacting on the personal finances of the drovers.

In response to persistent attacks on their customary grazing rights, some drovers chose to challenge the actions of landowners in court. One such case, detailed in a collection of nineteenth-century court papers, describes an ongoing dispute between Lord Breadalbane and a group of drovers from the Western Highlands, Western Isles, Sutherland, Inverness-shire and Northern England with regards to the drove stance at Inveroran (shown in figure 49).[61] The action arose in 1844 after the landowner, John Campbell, second Marquis of Breadalbane, attempted to close the site on the grounds that the grazing cattle would disturb his deer, while proposing that the present stance be moved to a new site at Clifton.[62] In so doing, Breadalbane applied to the Scottish courts for an 'interdict' against the drovers, to prohibit them from using this stance and any adjoining ones. Responding to these threats, the drovers engaged the Marquis in lengthy litigation, resisting his claim on the grounds that: [63]

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[57] In areas of common land, communities had collective rights to graze their cattle, free of charge. Enclosed estates were often used for testing out 'improved' farming techniques.

[58] Land historians such as Andy Wightman have written extensively about the appropriation of common land by Highland proprietors since the early-nineteenth century. For example, see: Wightman, A. (2011) op. cit.; Wightman, A., Callander, R. and Boyd, G. (2003) 'Common Land in Scotland: A Brief Overview', *Securing the Commons*, 8, pp. 1-21; Wightman, A., Higgins, P., Jarvie, G. and Nicol, R. (2002) 'The Cultural Politics of Hunting: Sporting Estates and Recreational Land Use in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland', *Culture, Sport, Society*, 5, pp. 53-70.

[59] Due to the logistical importance of nightly grazing, the enclosure of stance sites would have also forced the drovers to change their routes.

[60] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.210.

[61] Inveroran is located about two miles to the north-west of Bridge of Orchy on the drove route between Tyndrum and Glen Coe (see figure 49). National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4). Papers in Action over Drove Stances at Inverouran and Suie (1843-1862).

[62] Lord Breadalbane was seeking to protect his forest for deer stalking. Clifton is a small settlement located slightly to the north of Tyndrum (see figure 51).

[63] The case was initially heard in the Court of Session in 1846.

> The result of this proposed change of the drove-stance at Inverouran [sic.] would be, to make the day's journey or travel for sheep and cattle from Kingshouse to Clifton, a distance of seventeen miles, which is beyond the physical capacity of the animals ... [64] The distance between Clifton and Tyndrum being only about two miles, the latter place would be useless as a drove-stance. The next stance for this road would be Sui or Luib, a distance of about fourteen miles, which is also beyond the capacity of sheep and cattle.[65]

Given the limited stamina of their beasts and the lack of alternative grazing areas, it is clear that the closure of the Inveroran stance effectively prevented the drovers from crossing Rannoch Moor.[66] Despite the existence of an alternative line of passage, which crossed the eastern edge of Rannoch Moor, this route would have involved a significant detour, particularly for those travelling from coastal regions such as Ardnamurchan, Moidart, Sunart and Ardgour.[67] Furthermore, the eastern route crosses through a remote part of the country with rough terrain and a significant amount of ascent – factors that would have fatigued the beasts and delayed the drove's progress to market.[68] Consequently, due to the vulnerability of the droving network, a seemingly localised decision to close a stance site could jeopardise entire routeways and all paths leading towards them.

Additionally, the drovers argued that the freedom to pass along the road adjoining the stance was their prescriptive right, borne out of centuries of continual and unchallenged use. In so doing, they contended that:

> The drove stance is truly part and parcel of the drove road. That the cattle feed and rest there more than at any other part of the road, is true. But the 'feeding', and much more the 'resting', are inseparable adjuncts to such a road.[69]

Due to the practical and spatial inseparability of the drove road from its adjacent stance and the physical impossibility of preventing cattle from feeding and resting on the roadside, the drovers argued that their customary 'rights of passage' also gave them a legal entitlement to graze their beasts where they deemed fit. On the basis of

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[64] The spelling of this stance has changed from 'Inverouran' during the mid-nineteenth century to 'Inveroran' on current maps.
[65] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4) op. cit., p.4.
[66] Rannoch Moor is a flat expanse of boggy moorland, situated between Glen Coe and Inveroran (see figures 47 and 48). Most of the droving traffic passing through western Scotland had to cross Rannoch Moor.
[67] This route went from Glen Spean, over the Lairig Leacach, before crossing the eastern edge of Rannoch Moor at Corrour, at the site of the current railway station.
[68] As discussed in Chapter Five, these remote regions were also popular with cattle thieves.

these arguments, the court upheld the drovers' prescriptive right to continue stancing their animals at Inveroran. The court's decision resonates with McDonagh's recent work on enclosure in sixteenth-century England in which she describes how common rights to passage and pasture were protected by customary law, a legal privilege that was often exercised by 'commoners' seeking redress against landowners in the civil courts.[70]

Figure 47: Drove route between Altnafeadh and the King's House Hotel
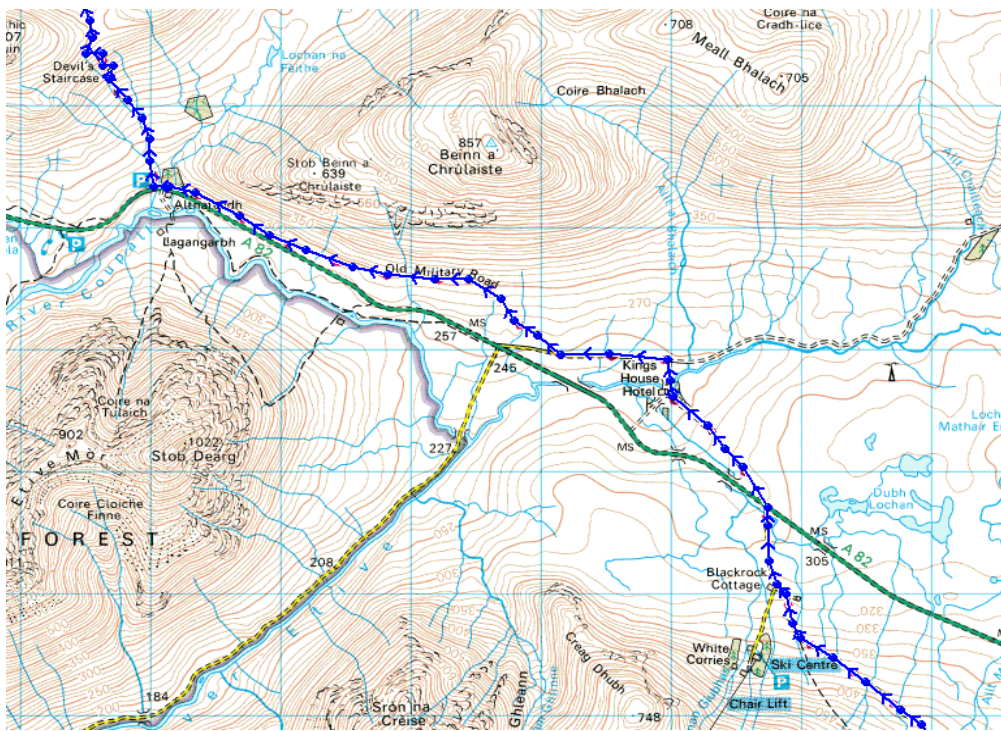
The court's decision to defend these customary grazing rights raises several important points. Conceptually, the recognition of the drovers' 'right to stance' on the basis of 'continual unchallenged use' serves as a necessary reminder that, aside from materially inscribing themselves into the landscape through the formation of paths and tracks, the historical movement of drovers and their cattle was also inscribed in Scottish law. On a political level, the legal action against Breadalbane also had a class-based dimension. The Inveroran court case is a powerful illustration of how a

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[69] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4) op. cit., p.8.
[70] Similarly, Ken Olwig describes how prescriptive rights of passage are rooted in place-specific custom, the continuation of which is dependent upon continued usage. For example, see: Olwig, K. (2005) 'The Landscape of 'Customary' Law versus that of 'Natural' Law', *Landscape Research*, 30, pp. 299-320; Olwig, K. (2008b) 'Performing on the Landscape versus Doing Landscape: Perambulatory Practice, Sight and the Sense of Belonging', in Ingold, T. and Lee Vergunst, J. (eds)

predominantly working-class group were able to resist the restrictive actions of a landed proprietor in defence of their customary rights.[71] Furthermore, the fact that the litigation was taken out by several groups of drovers across a wide geographical area, ranging from the Western Isles to northern England, implies a level of organisation and a degree of solidarity – a willingness to unite and take collective action against the repressive activities of a powerful landowner.[72] Similar instances of working class solidarity and resistance also took place in other parts of Britain during this period. For example, in his research on the 'Whiteboys', Dave Featherstone describes the collective action taken by several subaltern groups during mercantile labour disputes in early-modern London.[73]

Figure 48: Drove route between Glen Coe and the Black Mount

Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 81-92. McDonagh, B. (in press) op. cit., p.8.
[71] There are no examples in either the written or oral accounts of the droving trade of herdsmen taking direct action against landowners.
[72] Unfortunately, there is no evidence in any of the archival or court documents about how this collective lobbying was organised. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, it is likely that legal action would have been arranged, in part, through meetings between the various groups of herdsmen.

Figure 49: Inveroran
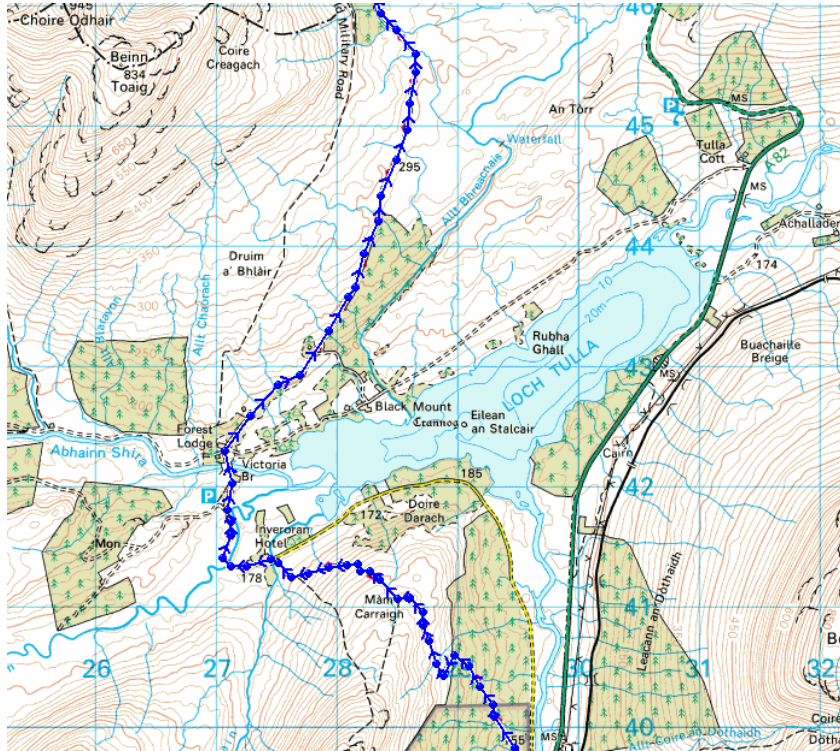
Figure 50: Drove route between Bridge of Orchy and Tyndrum

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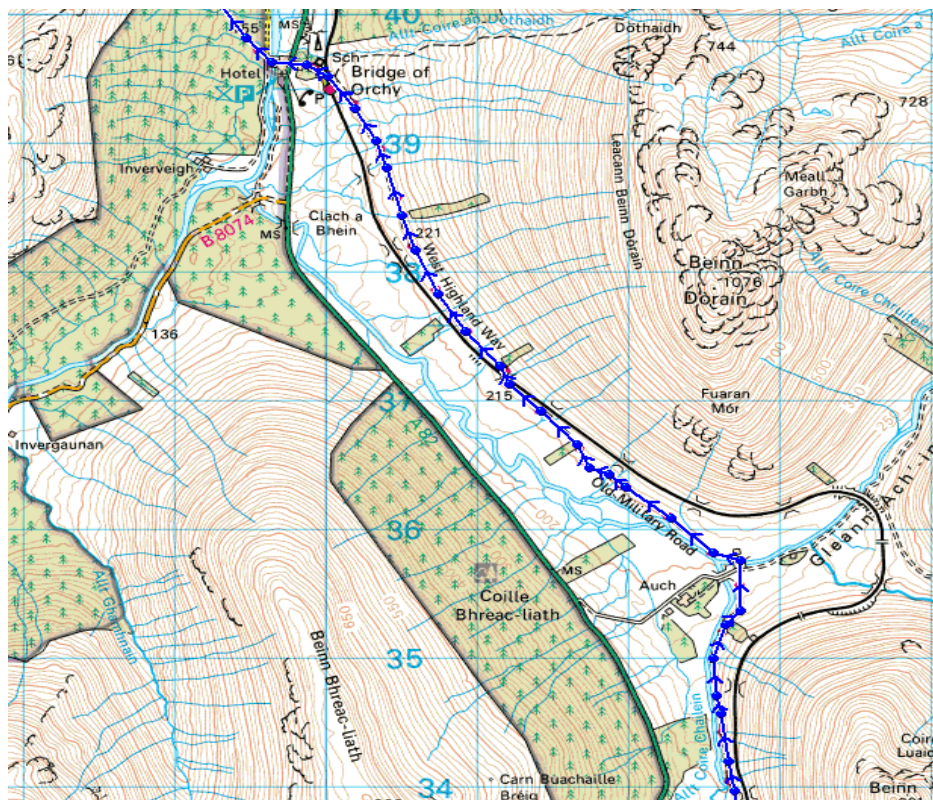
[73] Featherstone, D. (2007) op. cit., particularly p.298.

Figure 51: Tyndrum and Clifton
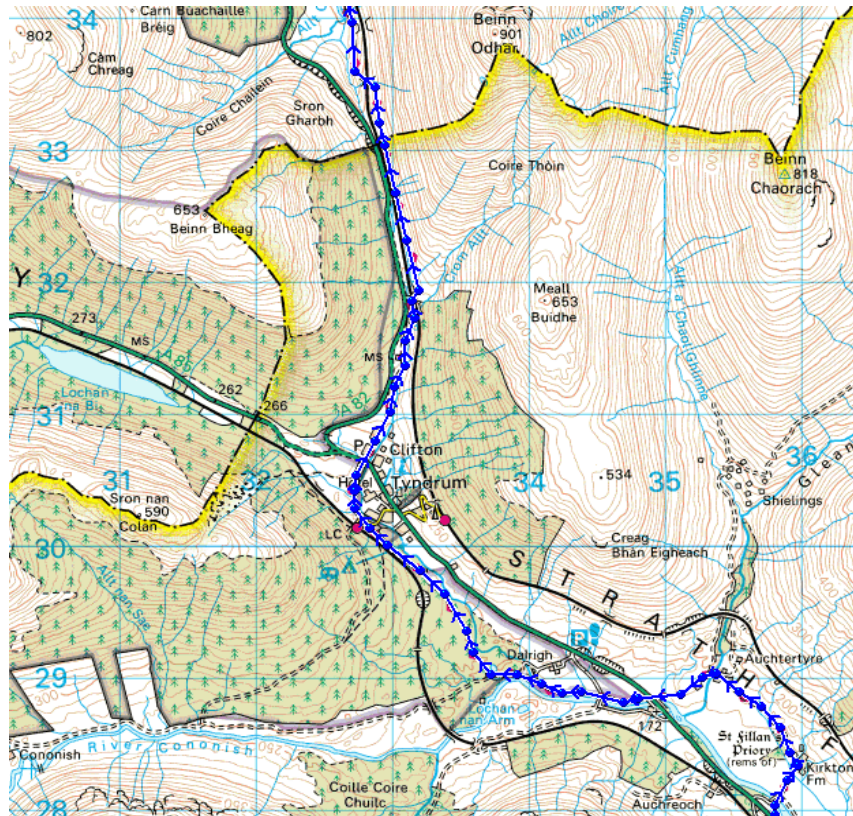
Clearly angered by the court's decision, the Marquis of Breadalbane decided to appeal the judgement in the House of Lords on the basis that:

> there is no authority that a proprietor of lands adjacent to a turnpike road or a public road or highway is under any obligation to provide accommodation for men or horses or cattle or sheep, or other animals, passing along such road.[74]

Breadalbane's line of argument was curious. Throughout the case, the drovers had made it clear that they opposed the stance closure at Inveroran on the premise that it violated their prescriptive grazing rights. Consequently, by equating the 'right to stance' with an 'obligation to provide accommodation', the Marquis deliberately misrepresented the drovers' demands – exaggerating their legitimate plea for nightly pasturage as an unreasonable request for wayside housing. Furthermore, Breadalbane's decision to entrench himself in such legal technicalities, rather than attempting to determine the central point of whether or not the drovers had prescriptive stancing rights, suggests that he was 'perfectly aware that the existence of

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[74] *London Daily News* (Thursday 31st August 1848).

the right could easily be proved' and was merely trying to complicate the case with 'irrelevant and inconclusive objections'.[75]

The House of Lords was largely sympathetic to the Marquis, overturning the Court of Session's judgement on the grounds that the drover's claim to stance constituted an unreasonable right:[76]

> to take the profits of the soil without the consent of the owner of the soil –
> certainly, on payment of certain fixed remuneration, which is supposed not to
> arise from contract, but by matter of right.[77]

Objecting to the drovers' right to stance on the basis that their cattle would benefit from the unearned 'profits of the soil' demonstrates a fundamental lack of understanding about how stances operate. By its very definition, a right to stance or a right of way is also an entitlement to graze and consume the surrounding grass – were it not so, the beasts would have to be muzzled at all times.[78] Furthermore, the assumption that grazing is a one-way process of extraction, constantly depleting the profits of the earth, is both inaccurate and misleading. The continued fertility of the stance ground would have been dependent upon the regular deposition of dung from wandering beasts.[79] A failure to recognise these basic facts of pasturage suggests that the Lords presiding over the case were both ignorant of, and unwilling to, engage with the claims of the drovers – claims that were dismissed as both 'absurd' and 'unnecessary'.[80] From the tone of these comments and the ambiguous nature of the arguments put forward, it is clear that the House of Lords were heavily prejudiced in favour of the Marquis – eager to defend his proprietary rights against the 'unreasonable' demands of the drovers. Indeed, Lord Breadalbane's decision to appeal his case in the Lords would have been based on the expectation that, when faced with a group of men from the same class, some of whom were also landowners,

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[75] Ibid.
[76] The case was overturned by the House of Lords on 20th July 1848.
[77] *London Daily News* op. cit.
[78] This counter-claim was voiced by the drovers during the trial and reprinted in the *London Daily News* article.
[79] This argument is based on my own logical suppositions and was not voiced by the drovers during the trial.
[80] The House of Lords' unwillingness to engage with these arguments illustrates that customary claims to wayside grazing were often at odds with the more rigid, capitalistic interpretations of land rights and property law held by landowners and lawmakers, a point which I examined in Chapter Four. *London Daily News* op. cit.

his grievance was likely to be viewed sympathetically.[81] Consequently, by virtue of his landed status and ability to fund an appeal, a luxury that most drovers would not have had, the Marquis had a significant advantage over the herdsmen – a position which he exploited to suppress and undermine their prescriptive stancing rights.

In response to these legal inequalities and the controversial outcome of the Inveroran case, one writer for the *London Daily News* noted that:

> And now the right, which has existed for centuries, is not displaced to make way for cultivation or improvement of any kind, but to foster the barbarous and puerile passion for artificial wild sports! And the feudal spirit of the House of Lords assists the purblind owners of highland estates to push their proprietary right to this mischievous extreme.[82]

The writer's clear disdain for these 'purblind' Highland proprietors illustrates the extent to which some social commentators and members of the public were opposed to the enclosure and privatisation of common land.[83] The author's use of terms such as 'barbarous' to describe the actions of landowners and members of the House of Lords also demonstrates that he regarded the economic system which protected proprietary rights and capitalistic interests as both outdated and uncivilised.

Similar criticisms were expressed by groups such as the Association for the Protection of Public Rights of Roadway – an Edinburgh-based organisation campaigning for improved 'rights of access to the countryside'.[84] In 1847, possibly inspired by the initial success of the drovers one year earlier, the Association took legal action against the Duke of Athole – a decision that was taken after he closed the right-of-way through Glen Tilt.[85] Action was also taken by the group in 1887 in response to

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[81] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Lobban, M. (2004) 'Brougham, Henry Peter (1778–1868)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press], Henry Brougham, one of the Lords deciding the case, was the hereditary owner of Brougham Hall – a fourteenth-century country estate, located near Penrith in Cumbria. *London Daily News* op. cit.

[82] It is notable that this story was covered in London, nearly five hundred miles south of the disputed stance. *London Daily News* op. cit.

[83] The author's decision to publish these views in a popular daily newspaper suggests that there must have been an appetite among the public readership for such critical perspectives.

[84] According to the Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society [Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society Website – History of ScotWays: http://www.scotways.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50:history-of-scotways&catid=35:about-scotways&Itemid=67, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/12/12], the organisation was founded in 1845 (one-year prior to the original Inveroran Court Case) in response to the restrictive actions of landowners in and around Edinburgh.

[85] The spelling of 'Athole' has now changed to 'Atholl'.

Duncan Macpherson's closure of the 'Jock's Road' through Glen Doll. According to court documents relating to the latter case, several local drovers were called to give evidence at the trial.[86] The testimony given by these herdsmen, most of whom were aged over sixty, provided the Association with a wealth of information regarding the route's previous use as a drove road – evidence of customary access which ultimately led to the defeat of the landowner and the reopening of the road.[87] Consequently, the outcome of this action demonstrates that, despite their defeat in the Inveroran case, drovers were occasionally successfully in defending the prescriptive rights of other groups – the growth of which led to an effective rural access movement.[88]

However, while it is certainly true that the growth of agrarian capitalism severely impinged upon the lives of Scottish herdsmen, it is important to acknowledge that the *London Daily News* was a radical newspaper, whose socialist and reformist sympathies undoubtedly informed its coverage of the Breadalbane Court Case.[89] In its eagerness to defend droving 'ways of life', the quoted article sets up a false binary between the common land rights exercised by Highland drovers and the 'feudal' system which supposedly undermined these rights by protecting the interests of Scottish landowners. In so doing, the writer failed to recognise that it was the clan system, with its feudal principles of kinship and locally-evolved systems of power, which had provided the drovers with their historical rights to wayside grazing.[90] Consequently, the *London Daily News'* coverage of the Breadalbane Court Case

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[86] By the 1880s, the Association for the Protection of Public Rights of Roadway had changed its name to the 'Scottish Rights of Way and Recreation Society'. Duncan McPherson was the owner of the Glen Doll estate. The Jock's Road is an ancient drove route which runs between Glen Doll and Braemar. National Archives of Scotland (References: GD335/8/1; GD335/8/2; GD335/8/3). Letters and Papers Relating to the Glen Doll Rights of Way Case (Records of the Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society).

[87] Despite their success in reopening the road, the cost of litigation after the case was finally settled in 1888, left the organisation bankrupt [Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society Website op. cit.].

[88] Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Scottish Rights of Way Society, along with allied access and recreation groups such as the Scottish Mountaineering Club (founded in 1889) and the Ramblers' Association (founded in 1935), saw a significant growth in popularity and influence, particularly during the 1930s – factors that helped to reduce the number of route closures and limit the power of landowners.

[89] According to McCarthy and Robinson's commemorative history of the newspaper [McCarthy, J. and Robinson, J.R. (1896) *The "Daily News" Jubilee; A Political and Social Retrospect of Fifty Years of the Queen's Reign*. London: S. Low, Marston] and the Encyclopaedia Britannica Website (http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Newspapers, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/12/12), the *London Daily News* was founded in 1846. The paper was first edited by Charles Dickons and was well-known for its progressive and pacifist stance on social issues such as land reform, often including contributions from prominent socialist writers such as George Bernard Shaw and H.G. Wells.

[90] Dodgshon, R.A. (1998) op. cit., p.13.

serves as a useful example of how the national press occasionally championed 'victims' of enclosure, often at the cost of engaging more critically with the complex realities of capitalistic restructuring in the Highlands – an unflinching defence of 'threatened' communities and rustic 'ways of life' that can also be seen in newspaper coverage of the Sutherland clearances, the trial of Patrick Sellar in the 1820s and the Crofters' War of the 1880s.

While it might be tempting to portray the drovers as victims of enclosure and agrarian capitalism, the reality was more complex. As was the case for most commercial traders in Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the drovers' primary motivation for herding cattle from the Highlands to the great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff was to make money. By facilitating the movement of cattle to central markets in the south of the country, Highland herdsmen played an important role in the development of agrarian capitalism and the establishment of Scotland as a 'modern' trading nation. Furthermore, the act of purchasing animals with the intention of herding them south for profit, contributed to the decline of the clan system whereby cattle were reared and exchanged locally, and the growth of a more 'mobile' system of agrarian commerce in which cows were increasing regarded as a tradable commodity. Consequently, it is clear that the drovers were both victims *and* facilitators of capitalistic restructuring – a process of socio-economic change that transformed the material and cultural geographies of Scotland's cattle trade. As such, the broad-based championing of common rights and customary practices over enclosure and agrarian capitalism (seen in the work of geographers such as Nick Blomley and Michael Watts) is overly-simplistic and needs to be questioned in order to unravel the complex entanglements of 'mobility', 'trade', 'feudalism' and 'traditional folk practice' that characterised social life in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Scotland.

The Drovers' Inn

In addition to the extensive network of grazing stances, herdsmen also spent their nights at drovers' inns – accommodation that provided them with sustenance, warmth and shelter before setting out on the road again the next morning. Such hostelries were often located along drove roads in regular intervals and varied in size and

formality, from small wayside cottages, to large commercial establishments. Unlike stances, drovers' inns tended to be situated closer to centres of population and alongside the busier drove routes – factors that ensured a regular flow of nightly custom and a reasonable passing trade. One such inn, known as the 'King's House', was located at the entrance to Glencoe, on the main drove route between Fort William and Falkirk (see figures 47 and 52).[91] Given its relative isolation and prominence as one of the only buildings to be seen on an extensive area of moorland, at the base of several imposing mountains (see figure 53), it is unsurprising that the inn appears in several eighteenth-and early-nineteenth century journeying accounts of the region.[92] Two such accounts, one penned by the romantic author and poet Dorothy Wordsworth in her journal of a tour through Scotland in 1803, and the other from William Thomson's touring diary of 1785, describe the King's House in disparaging terms:

> The house looked respectable at a distance – a large square building, cased in blue slates to defend it from storms, – but when we came close to it the outside forewarned us of the poverty and misery within. Scarcely a blade of grass could be seen growing upon the open ground; the heath-plant itself found no nourishment there, appearing as if it had but sprung up to be blighted. There was no enclosure for a cow, no appropriated ground but a small plot like a church-yard, in which were a few starveling dwarfish potatoes, which had, no doubt, been raised by means of the dung left by travellers' horses ...[93]

> Never did I see such a miserable, such a wretched place, – long rooms with ranges of beds, no other furniture except benches, or perhaps one or two crazy chairs, the floors far dirtier than an ordinary house could be if it were never washed, – as dirty as a house after a sale on a rainy day, and the rooms being large, and the walls naked, they looked as if more than half the goods had been sold out.[94]

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[91] The King's House was a popular drovers' inn and is still in use as a hotel today. In the years following the 1745 Jacobite rising, the Inn was used as barracks for King George III's troops under the command of the Duke of Cumberland [Jones, K. (2006) *Keep Right on to the End of the Road*. Cambridge: Vanguard Press, p.130]. In 1785, when William Thomson visited, the King's House was being rented out by the British Government as an inn. Remarking on this arrangement, Thomson [Thomson, W. (1788) op. cit., pp. 134-135] observed that: "The old rascal who lives in it … has it rent-free, and is allowed nine pounds per annum by Government". By the time of Dorothy Wordsworth's visit in 1803, the ownership of the Inn is unclear. During her stay, Wordsworth asked the Inn's sole employee if she had always served the same master, to which she responded: "Nay, nay, many masters, for they were always changing" [Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., p.68].

[92] These observations are based on personal experiences of walking along the drove route through Glencoe. The most prominent and iconic of these mountains is Buachaille Etive Mor, an imposing pyramidal peak lying at the entrance to Glencoe (see figure 53).

[93] Due to the lack of enclosures, cattle would have grazed on the land surrounding the Inn. There are no historical records describing the number of cattle stanced outside the King's House. However, considering the large amounts of flat, open ground around the Inn, it is likely that several droves of cattle would have coalesced there at once.

[94] Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., pp. 66-67.

> After getting out of Glencoe … you may see the King's House, at the distance of three miles, situated on the side of a rapid river. Around this lonely hut, for twenty miles in each direction, there seems to be no habitation, nor food for man or beast. This house is so ill attended to by the old rascal who lives in it, that there is not a bed fit to sleep in, nor any thing to eat.[95]

Both records of the King's House are heavily critical in tone, condemning the Inn as a 'wretched' and 'dirty' establishment, barely fit for human habitation. As such, the drovers' ability to tolerate this hostelry with its cold and uncomfortable sleeping conditions must have been aided by the experience of spending most of their evenings outside. However, the challenges of 'bedding down' for the night in a damp and draughty building, with other groups of noisy, maybe drunken travellers, must have caused some herdsmen to lose sleep, resulting in frayed tempers and a loss of concentration on the drove.

Aside from their unfavourable sleeping conditions, the fact that 'scarcely a blade of grass' could be sustained in the open ground outside the inn would have been of greater concern to the drovers.[96] Indeed, a lack of decent pasture for their cattle to graze could contribute to the weakening and deterioration of their beasts – slowing the drove's progress and reducing the potential value of a drover's animals. Furthermore, the absence of an enclosed area in which to place the cows would allow beasts to stray more easily during the night, increasing the risk of financial losses.[97] Consequently, their frequent decision to shun the shelter of a drovers' inn, in favour of sleeping outside at a fertile stance where the cattle could be carefully monitored, is quite understandable.[98] Additionally, the use of a stance could be obtained free of charge, whereas the service of a drovers' inn would incur a fee. Considering the lack of funds available to the herdsman, and the fact that they had to travel to market at their own expense, one can appreciate why many drovers chose to avoid such establishments in an effort to prevent themselves from incurring unnecessary costs. Given their financial vulnerability and the likely duration of the drove, a failure adequately to budget for their trip due to excessive spending on accommodation in the early part of

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[95] Thomson, W. (1788) op. cit., p.134.

[96] The lack of fertile pasture was likely the result of over-grazing by successive droves or the trampling of ground so that the soil became too compacted for plants to grow.

[97] Most drovers would have slept separately from their animals, inside the inn. However, given the prevalence of cattle thieving in the Highlands and the tendency for beasts to wander during the night, it is likely that at least one drover would have stayed outside to keep watch over the animals.

[98] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.42.

the journey, could leave the drover with insufficient funds to pay for unavoidable costs (such as turnpike tolls and ferry charges) in the latter stages of the drove.

Figure 52: The King's House Hotel

Figure 53: Buachaille Etive Mor from the King's House Hotel

However, despite the problems associated with the King's House, the frequency with which drovers visited this inn, suggests that they had few alternatives.[99] An examination of the large-scale Ordnance Survey map for the area reveals the next nearest inn to be located nearly three miles to the west, at a site named 'Altnafeadh' (see figures 47 and 54) – a building that was described in equally unfavourable terms to the King's House as:[100]

> a whisky hovel, a building which, when it came out of the workmen's hands with its unglassed windows, would, in that forlorn region, have been little better than a howling place for the winds, and was now half unroofed.[101]

Furthermore, the closest recognised stance with decent pasture for their cattle was positioned over nine miles to the south, at Inveroran.[102] Considering that the drovers were constrained by the limited day's walk that their beasts could cover, it is unlikely that they would have willingly driven their animals the extra distance – additional activity that would tire and weaken their animals. As such, the quality and choice of a herder's overnight stop-off was clearly influenced and restricted by the fertility of the landscape through which they passed, a factor that had to be accounted for in the

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[99] While there are no official figures for the number of drovers that visited the King's House, both Wordsworth and Thomson give the impression that this was a busy inn. Furthermore, the Inn's prominent location on the main drove route through western Scotland suggests that it was used by a large number of drovers.

[100] Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Glen Coe and Glen Etive* (Sheet 384). Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

[101] Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., p.65.

[102] The distance between the King's House and Inveroran has been calculated using MemoryMap.

planning of their journeys.[103] The requirement to find suitable roadside grazing demonstrates that a drover's comprehension of the Scottish terrain went beyond a heightened feel for its surface. The ability to locate fertile stance sites also required an understanding of the earth that lay beneath – a capacity to see beyond the landscape's exterior, to assess the quality of the soils below.

In addition to her comments regarding the squalid conditions experienced at some wayside inns, Wordsworth also detailed her encounters with the drovers residing at these establishments. In the following extracts, the first referring to the drovers' inn at Inveroran, and the second describing the King's House in Glencoe, she describes the activities and social interaction that took place inside these wayside hostelries:

> About seven or eight travellers, probably drovers, with as many dogs, were sitting in a complete circle round a large peat fire in the middle of the floor, each with a mess of porridge, in a wooden vessel, upon his knee; a pot, suspended from one of the black beams, was boiling on the fire; two or three women pursuing their household business on the outside of the circle, children playing on the floor.[104]

> She could hardly spare time to show us up-stairs, for crowds of men were in the house – drovers, carriers, horsemen, travellers, all of whom she had to provide with supper, and she was, as she told us, the only woman there.[105]

Wordsworth's animated descriptions of Inveroran, with drovers 'sitting in a circle around a peat fire' and 'children playing on the floor', serve as a useful illustration of the range of activities and layers of interaction that took place inside a typical drovers' inn. The diversity of travellers encountered at this cottage, ranging from drovers and horsemen to carriers and tourists, suggests that it was an important site of convergence – a meeting place where gossip, stories, songs and experiences could be shared and disseminated. Consequently, in an era before mass print media, where the average person had little knowledge of events outwith their immediate locale, the wayside inn served the same purpose as a national newspaper – keeping drovers

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[103] This would have been aided by the drover's knowledge and previous experience of the route ahead.
[104] The women and children mentioned in Wordsworth's account were from the inn and not connected to the group of drovers. Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., p.72.
[105] Ibid., p.66.

informed of markets, route closures, cattle thefts and other relevant occurrences around Scotland.[106]

Of further interest is Wordsworth's recollection of dogs sitting around the fire next to the drovers. Judging by the number of animals present within the room, and considering that they were permitted to sit inside with the herdsmen (as opposed to outside, watching the cattle), one can infer that their companionship on the drove must have been highly valued. While there is little evidence of drovers' dogs being housed within these wayside cottages in any of the School of Scottish Studies recordings, one interview, conducted by Haldane in the late 1940s, provides a fascinating insight into the practice of drovers 'setting their dogs loose' to make their own way home:[107]

> Some years ago the late Miss Stewart Mackenzie of Brahan, Ross-shire, informed a friend that in the course of journeys by coach in the late autumn from Brahan to the South during her childhood about the year 1840 she used frequently to see collie dogs making their way north unaccompanied. On enquiring of her parents why these dogs were alone, Miss Stewart Mackenzie was informed that these were dogs belonging to drovers who had taken cattle to England and that when the droving was finished the drovers returned by boat to Scotland. To save the trouble and expense of their transport the dogs were turned loose to find their own way north. It was explained that the dogs followed the route taken on the southward journey being fed at Inns or Farms where the drove had 'stanced' and that in the following year when the drovers were again on the way south, they paid for the food given to the dogs.[108]

Mackenzie's testimony affords the reader a unique perspective on the mobile geographies of drovers' dogs and their embodied awareness of the landscape through which they passed. The dogs' ability to find their way home through the complex terrain of Highland Scotland suggests that, like their human masters, these animals must have possessed a detailed memory of the route – aided by the identification of familiar smells and previous experiences of walking the road.[109] As well as this, the fact that inn keepers and farmers were willing to feed the dogs without receiving

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[106] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.44] described how "Gossip and talk with other travellers and drovers at inns … cheered his [the drover's] lonely journeys, and with the packsman, the pedlar and the tramp he shared the function of news carrier so dear to country people at a time when news was scarce".

[107] An extract from Haldane's interview appears as a long footnote in *The Drove Roads of Scotland* [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 26-27].

[108] Ibid.

payment until the following year suggests that they must have trusted the herdsmen. Consequently, when combined with the drovers' readiness to accept the inn-keepers' assurances that his Collies had definitely been 'stanced' at their cottage, it is clear that a friendly and co-operative relationship must have existed between the two parties.

**Figure 54: Altnafeadh and the Devil's Staircase
from Buachaille Etive Mor**

Figure 55: Inveroran from the West Highland Way

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[109] Unlike the dogs, the cattle only passed this way once and would not have had any previous experiences of walking the road.

Aside from the drovers and their canine companions, Wordsworth's account of the King's House and Inveroran inns also refers to the presence of the inn worker. The author's recognition of these servants thus serves as an important reminder that, in addition to the sale of cattle, the droving trade also benefited from a supportive wayside economy, the hard-working employees of which need to be acknowledged. The sole woman employed by the King's House is described as being so harassed in her requirement to cater for the demands of the Inn's guests that she was 'hardly able to spare the time' to show Wordsworth to her room.[110] Consequently, it seems that the thankless job of attending to the Inn's various demanding customers must have been a challenging one, with tasks ranging from lighting fires and drying sheets to cooking food and cleaning.[111] Furthermore, given that most inn-workers would have remained in these buildings throughout the year, for periods they must have felt isolated and lonely – particularly during the long stretches of winter, when few travellers would have been passing through the Highlands. With this in mind, the relatively constrained personal geographies of the inn-worker likely provided them with a detailed understanding of the surrounding landscape and an enhanced sensitivity to the changing seasons and its associated weather conditions, factors that could heavily influence the type and frequency of travellers likely to visit the inn.

A Convivial Site

While it is necessary to acknowledge the role of the inn-keeper and the interaction between herders and other groups of travellers at drovers' inns, it is also important to recognise the social contact that took place between the drovers themselves. With this in mind, two interviews with elderly herdsmen from the Scottish Borders, both recorded in 1956, describe the typical social character of these wayside establishments:

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[110] Recounting a conversation with the employee, Wordsworth [Wordsworth, D. (1897) op. cit., pp. 67-68] noted that: "She told us that she was only a servant, but that she had now lived there five years, and that, when but a 'Young lassie', she had lived there also".

[111] Aside from domestic chores, it is likely that some female inn-workers, particularly in the big market towns, would have had sexual demands placed upon them too. Remarking on the prevalence of prostitution at the great trysts, Hunter [Hunter, J. (1999) *Last of the Free: A History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Mainstream] suggests that the drovers spent "a good deal of their profits … on drink, prostitutes and other attractions with which, at that time of year, both Crieff and Falkirk were … awash". Hunter's book contains no page numbers so it is not possible to provide complete bibliographic details.

we drove for three days on the road over the hills and then we stayed at Hawick at night and we had a good sing-song and a crack with the other herders – herders that came from the other direction … some of them from the Northumberland side … We stayed … firstly, when I was young … with … Miss Ingles. Then we stayed in the Buccleuch Hotel with Mrs Boon, and the night before the fair was the biggest night. We never got to bed at all. Mind you, there were fourteen of us put into a room with straw beds and we never got to bed that night.[112]

You know there was a public house at Tushielaw and not where the present public house is, it was up the Crosslee Burn a little and there was a friend who was the man who held the license … William Grieve … [he was known as] 'Whisky Willy'.[113]

Due to the lack of written or oral testimony from the drovers themselves, such accounts provide a uniquely personal and enlivened perspective on the drovers' inn. Of particular interest is the account of the inn at Hawick, where drovers would enjoy 'a good sing-song and a crack' with the other herders. Such information demonstrates that the atmosphere inside these buildings was an inherently social one – characterised by the enthusiastic recounting of stories and songs.[114] Furthermore, the exchange and discussion of folklore with other groups of herders, would have contributed to a herdsman's understanding of the country and its associated legends, customs and practices.

Figure 56: Tushielaw

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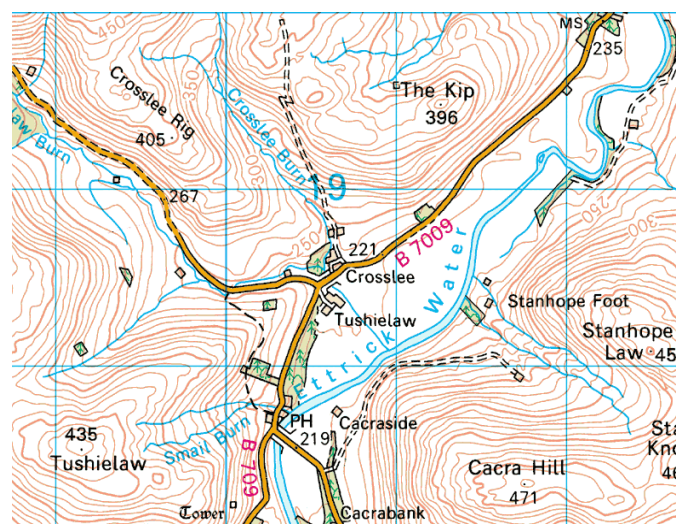
[112] The informant provides no information about how or if the animals were kept apart. However, as noted in Chapter Eight, cattle were often marked to enable drovers to distinguish between their own animals, and those belonging to other herdsmen. School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1956/137/A1.

[113] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1956/148/A2.

[114] This would have been the case for most wayside inns.

Of further note, is the drover's recollection that some of the herders congregating at the Hawick inn had crossed over from the 'Northumberland side' of the border – a reminder that temporary droving communities were based on trade and movement rather than propinquity. As well as this, the description of fourteen drovers, crammed into a room with only 'straw beds' for comfort, suggests that the sleeping conditions endured by drovers had improved little since Wordsworth's encounter with the King's House almost a century earlier. However, judging by the drover's memory that he 'never got to bed' the night before the fair, the lack of adequate bedding seems to have been of little concern. Given the fair-side location of the inn and the descriptions of drovers staying up all night, it is clear that the anticipation of a coming market could alter the social character of these hostelries, transforming them from strategic places of rest and convivial interaction to livelier sites of carnivalesque celebration and riotous drinking.[115]

Supplementary to their descriptions of the social interaction that took place within the drovers' inn, both drovers are also able to name the various inn-keepers that they 'stanced' with along the way. Such accounts suggest that some drovers would have been well acquainted with their accommodating hosts. When viewed alongside the co-operative and trusting relationships integral to the practice of stancing drover's dogs, it is probable that friendships would have been formed between herdsmen and inn-keepers. Furthermore, the drover's reference to 'Whisky Willy' suggests that inn-keepers would have been well-known and popular figures among the small community of travellers that frequented their establishments – affectionately regarded for their continual supply of cheap spirits.[116]

Conclusions

After scrutinising a range of written and oral material, it is clear that drovers' inns and cattle stances were integral sites of rest, consumption and interaction. Consideration of various published accounts of stances highlights the practical and logistical challenges of finding suitable grazing grounds, the successful and timely location of

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[115] The social interaction which took place at trysts and cattle markets is examined in greater detail in Chapter Eight of this thesis
[116] 'Whisky Willy' was the amusing nickname for William Grieve, the licensed inn-keeper at Tushielaw.

which required a detailed knowledge of the Scottish landscape and its associated weather, water courses and fertility. Such descriptions also reveal how the Scottish drover was romanticised and popularised by writers such as Walter Scott and Robert Cunninghame-Graham as a heroic Highlander, constantly battling against the elements. Following this, an examination of legal and newspaper sources relating to the closure of the Inveroran drove stance illustrates how customary grazing rights were being increasingly eroded by the capitalistic restructuring of the Highlands and the restrictive actions of Scottish proprietors – individuals who exploited their landed status and ample financial resources to engage herdsmen in costly court battles. Finally, an analysis of drovers' inns (based on a selection of interview and published material) reveals that they were important sites of convergence and cultural exchange where inn-keepers, inn-workers, herdsmen and other travellers would socialise, share stories and drink together – interaction that enlivened the drover's journey and improved their understanding of Scotland's cultural landscape.

Chapter Eight: Trysts and Markets

> To this Fair flocked an immense concourse of people, not merely for the
> purpose of transacting business, but for rallying friends and renewing
> intimacies, which remote residences, or mountain ranges, forbade but any but
> at most an annual meeting. It had thus much the character of a gala day – a
> real highland gathering, – frequently enlivened with feats of strength, or of
> skill at sword play. Here the lowland chapman found a profitable outlet for his
> wares, and in Crieff the brotherhood actually formed themselves into a guild.
> The Highlanders ere [sic.] long discovered it to be a favourable market for
> their black cattle.[1]

This chapter investigates the cultural and economic geographies of the great cattle
markets at Falkirk and Crieff, as well as the numerous smaller sales that operated in
the Highlands and Islands throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth
centuries. The piece commences with an examination of the personal interaction that
took place at the great trysts, analysing a range of published travel narratives and
official records – sources which attest to the spectacle, romance, pageantry, violence
and supposed 'immorality' of these social gatherings. Drawing on a collection of
droving songs, newspaper articles and agricultural guides, the next section analyses
the co-operative working relationships that existed between the herdsmen and their
animals with respect to markets, before discussing the aesthetic, tactical and logistical
considerations connected with the task of breeding and showing cattle. With reference
to several touring diaries and oral testimonies, the final section focuses on four of the
smaller markets (Tollaidh, Lochmaddy, Sligachan and Broadford), exploring the
strategic significance, stories, selling practices, politics, gossip and popular
representations of these cattle fairs.

For the majority of Scottish drovers, the final destination on their journeys south
would have been the great markets or 'trysts' – a word which likely originated from
the old word 'trust', referring to the fact that the cattle dealers 'trysted' the drovers to
meet them at an agreed location for the sale of cattle – in central Scotland.[2] These

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[1] A 'chapman' is an itinerant seller. Roger, C. (1854) *The Beauties of Upper Strathearn, Described in
Six Excursions from the Town of Crieff*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, pp. 54-55.
[2] Throughout Scotland, there existed numerous smaller markets and fairs, selling a range of goods and
animal products such as hides, timbers, clothing, literature, salmon, horses, ponies and sheep [Haldane,
A.R.B. (1952) *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, p.134]. The most well-
known of these periodic markets were located at Aikey and Old Rayne (known as the St Lawrence
Fair) in Aberdeenshire, Alyth (in Perthshire), Brechin and Forfar (in Angus), Muir of Ord (in Ross-

markets were important sites of convergence lying conveniently at the gateway to the Highlands and the intersection of drove routes from the Islands, the west Coast, northern Scotland and the Grampians. For context, the *Old Statistical Account* noted that, until the middle of the eighteenth century, the main cattle market in Scotland was held once a year at Crieff (see figure 60) in the second week of October.[3] At its peak, during the 1720s and 1730s, it is estimated that around thirty thousand black cattle would have been sold at the Tryst, reportedly covering several miles of land around the town.[4] Consequently, the spatial spread of this market led to a fleeting expansion of the town beyond its normal boundaries, a momentary territorialisation which transformed its layout and social character. From 1770s onwards, this market was gradually replaced by an alternative tryst at Falkirk – a change that came about due to increasing costs of pasturage, Falkirk's relative ease of access for Argyll and Inverness-shire drovers and an increasing demand from England.[5] This market was originally held on a large muir at Reddingrig, one mile south of Falkirk (see figure 57).[6] However, due to the division of the commonties of Whitesiderig and Reddingrig, the market was moved to another site at Rough Castle, two miles west of Falkirk (see figure 58). After 1785, as consequence of the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal which disrupted access to Rough Castle, the tryst was eventually

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shire), Dumfries, Dumbarton, Doune (in Stirlingshire) and Hawick (in Roxburghshire). Writing in 1727, James Smith [Smith, J. (1727) *The Exact Dealer's Companion*. Edinburgh: s.n.] gave the names of over five hundred fairs and markets held at various points in the year, the majority of which were at least partially used for the sale of cattle. For further information about fairs and markets held in Scotland see: Alexander, W. (1877) *Notes and Sketches Illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh: David Douglas – particularly pp. 77-82 on the Aikey Fair; Marwick, Sir. J.D. (1890) *List of Markets and Fairs Now and Formerly Held in Scotland; With Notes as to the Charters, Acts of Parliament, and Other Documents by which the Right to Hold them has been Conferred*. London: Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.134.

[3] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.136] observed that the date of the market "forced those bringing cattle from the north and west to dispose of them or face the hazardous alternative of driving them on, so late in the year, to seek other markets farther south".

[4] Following the demise of the Crieff Tryst, Stirling [Stirling, R. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Crieff, Vol. IX, pp. 583-602, p.596] described how "old people here sometimes speak with deep regret of the glorious scene displayed to view, when 30,000 black cattle, in different droves, overspread the whole adjacent country for several miles around the town".

[5] Describing the decline of the Crieff Tryst in the late-eighteenth century, Stirling [ibid., pp. 595-596] noted that "Till near the middle of this century, Crieff had continued for ages to be the great mart to which the dealers in England annually resorted, to purchase, for the English markets, the droves of black cattle reared in the Highlands of Scotland … the principal sale and meeting has since that time been removed to Falkirk, and not a single head directly from the Highlands ever appears now in the market here". Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.139.

[6] A 'muir' is a large area of flat moorland.

relocated to an extensive site at Stenhousemuir (see figures 59 and 61), near Larbert, where it remained until the end of the nineteenth century.[7]

Figure 57: Reddingrig Muir

Figure 58: Rough Castle

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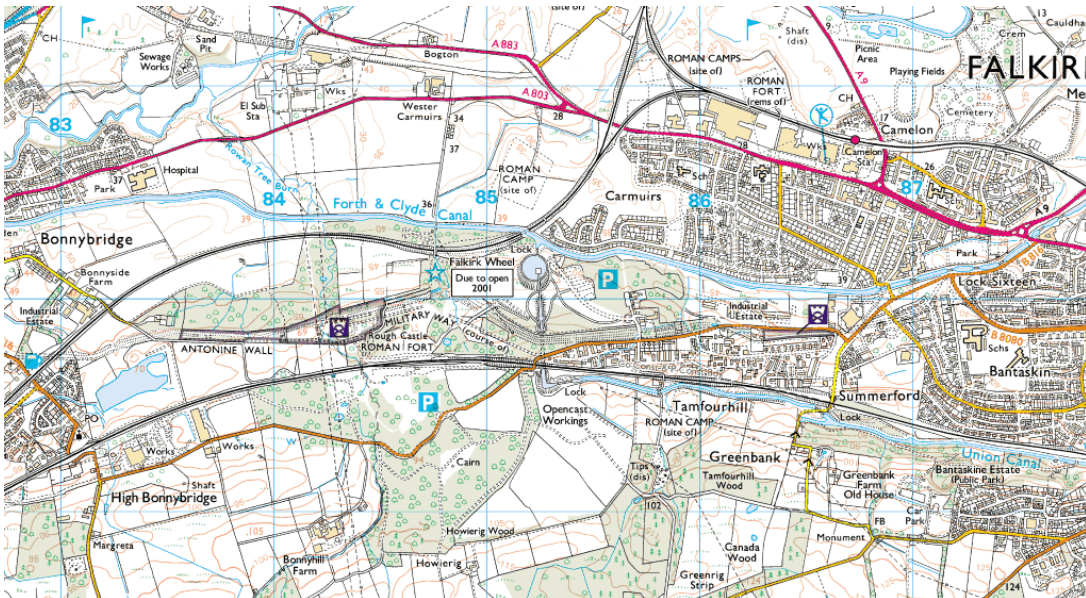
[7] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.139.

Figure 59: Stenhousemuir
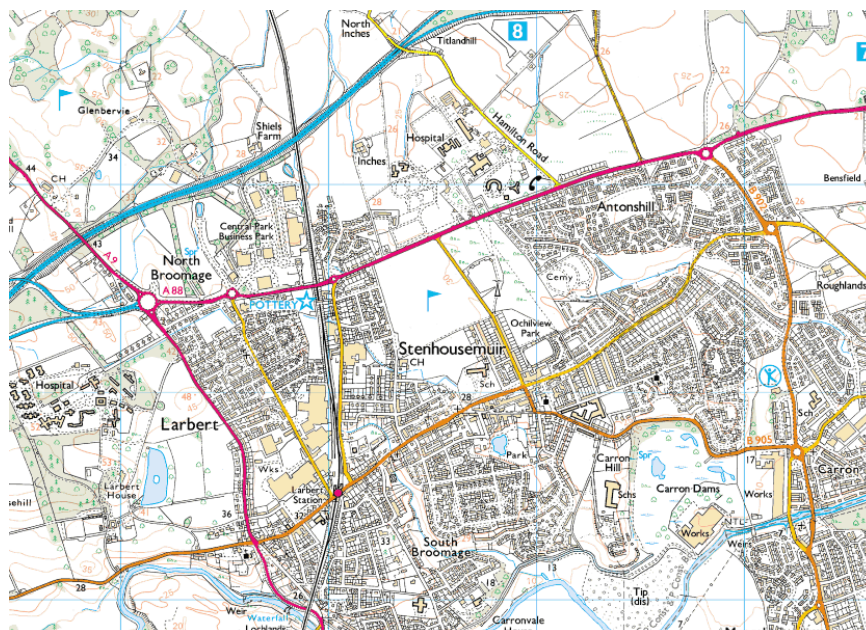
Figure 60: Crieff

The tryst took place three times a year on the second Tuesday of August, September and October – the latter being the largest and most well-attended market.[8] Arriving at

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[8] Remarking on the duration of the Falkirk Trysts, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.142] observed that: "The number of beasts for sale was such that the business was completed in one day, the

the tryst, drovers from the Highlands, Western Isles and Aberdeenshire came into contact with a diverse collection of dealers and breeders from the north of England and the Border counties. In the days before the tryst, droves of cattle gathered over a large area surrounding the market before moving into the centre of the tryst ground for actual sale.[9] Here, the beasts were paraded in bunches in front of dealers who threaded their way through the parcels of cattle to strike bargains direct with the drovers.[10] After agreeing on a price, the two parties retired to a refreshment tent to secure the bargain, or to banking booths where drovers could get notes of the Scottish banks in return for the Letters of Credit supplied by the English dealers and pay off the bills that were originally taken out to purchase their cattle.[11] At the end of each day, the drovers returned to the fields surrounding the tryst site to sleep and keep watch over their cattle.[12]

Once the cattle had been sold at Falkirk and Crieff, many of the animals were then herded by English drovers and dealers to markets such as Carlisle, Newcastle, St Faiths (near Norwich) and Smithfield (in London), often changing hands several times before being slaughtered.[13] Indeed, as noted by both Defoe and Gilpin, many of the Scottish cattle purchased at St Faiths would have been fattened on the meadows of Norfolk, before making their way south to London, a city which, by 1700, contained well over a tenth of England's population.[14] Consequently, while it is true that some

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October Tryst in particular lasting for several days, while the drovers fought to get the last penny of price from dealers equally determined to get bargains of beasts which they know must, so late in the year, ultimately be sold". Graham, P. (1812) *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire*. Edinburgh: G. and W. Nicol, pp. 332-333. Harvie, G. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, Vol. III, pp. 333-338, p.335.

[9] In addition to the breeders and dealers, the outskirts of the tryst ground were also scattered with numerous tents selling food and drink [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.141]. Ibid.

[10] There is little published or interview material describing how the trysts were structured but it is likely that the buying and selling of cattle would have occurred throughout the day rather than at particular times. For the greater period of the tryst's existence there were no auctioneers so business had to be done directly between herdsmen and dealers [ibid.]. Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[11] Haldane [ibid., p.48] observed that many of the Highland bills taken out by drovers to purchase cattle were made payable at the great trysts.

[12] As discussed in Chapter Seven, drovers also spent their nights at drovers' inns. However, the evidence from interviews and published accounts suggest that this was not a common occurrence and tended to occur at smaller fairs and cattle markets rather than the great trysts. Youatt, W. (1834) *Cattle; Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases*. London: Baldwin and Cradock, p.121.

[13] The focus of this thesis is almost entirely on Scotland. These English markets are mentioned throughout Haldane's [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.] book.

[14] Using census records, Griffith [Griffith, G.T. (1929) 'Rickman's second series of eighteenth-century population figures'. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 92, pp. 256-263, p.263] calculated that the population of England was around five and a half million in the year 1700. For the purposes of comparison, Trevelyan [Trevelyan, G.M. (1950) *Illustrated English Social History*, Vol. II. London:

drovers would have herded their animals directly to England, the southerly flow of Scottish cattle was usually more complicated, often making its way through a network of trysts, markets and grazing grounds before eventually arriving at Smithfield.[15]

At its height during the middle of the nineteenth century, it is estimated that upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand cattle (in addition to large numbers of sheep) were sold annually at the Falkirk Tryst.[16] However, from the 1840s onwards, the arrival of the railways encouraged stocksmen to buy fatter, better bred cattle – animals that would have deteriorated on the long journey to Falkirk – direct from the farms, transporting them back to England by rail or ferry.[17] These improvements in transport led to a reduction in demand from dealers, resulting in a slow decline in livestock sales throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, a process that continued until the Tryst's eventual demise around the turn of the twentieth century.

Figure 61: Aerial photographs of Falkirk Tryst site

Longmans, p.144] stated that the Metropolitan Area of London contained 674,350 inhabitants in the same year, which amounts to roughly twelve per cent of England's population. By 1815, Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker [Emsley, C., Hitchcock, T. and Shoemaker, R. (2012) 'London history - a population history of London', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*: www.oldbaileyonline.org, last modified 04/12. Accessed on 12/02/13] estimate that London's population had more than doubled to 1.4 million inhabitants as a result of inward migration, industrialisation, rising fertility and declining infant mortality rates. Defoe [Defoe, D. (1769) *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journies* (7th ed.), Vol. I. London: J. and F. Rivington, R. Baldwin, Hawes, Clarke and Collins, J. Buckland, W. and J. Richardson [and 15 others in London], p.61] estimated that around forty thousand Scots cattle were grazed on the pastures of Norfolk each year. Nathaniel Kent [Kent, N. (1796) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk; With Observations for the Means of its Improvement*. London: George Nicol, p.145] suggested that around three-quarters of the twenty thousand cattle sent annually from Norfolk to London were Scots cattle.

[15] In a recent conversation, Janey Clarke (from the Highland Livestock Heritage Society) spoke of one drover who herded his animals directly from Lochmaddy (on North Uist) to Smithfield market – a distance of roughly six hundred miles.

[16] *Stirling Journal*, 13th September and 11th October 1827.

[17] For reference, according to Awdry [Awdry, C. (1990) *Encyclopaedia of British Railway Companies*. Wellingborough: Stephens], the Edinburgh to Aberdeen line was completed in 1853, the Edinburgh to Inverness line opened in 1865, the Far North Highland Line between Inverness, Thurso and Wick was completed in 1874, the Glasgow to Fort William line was completed in 1894 and the North Highland Line between Inverness and Kyle of Lochalsh was completed in 1897. McCombie, W. (1867), *Cattle and Cattle Breeders*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, p.102.

Fairground Spectacle

The scale and economic importance of these gatherings meant that they attracted large numbers of tourists, each one seeking to experience a significant episode in Scotland's cultural life. At a time when many herdsmen were either illiterate or spoke Gaelic, the published records of these travellers provide the English-speaking researcher with an otherwise unattainable insight into the scene that would have been encountered at the great trysts.[18] In the following account, printed in the February edition of Eliakim Littell's *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, the dynamic spectacle of the Falkirk Tryst is described in considerable detail, and is worth repeating at length to set a scene for the remainder of this chapter:[19]

> The scene seen from horseback, from a cart, or some erection, is particularly imposing. All is animation, business, bustle, and activity. Servants running about shouting to the cattle, keeping them together in their particular lots, and ever and anon cudgels are at work upon the horns and rumps of the restless animals that attempt to wander in search of grass or water. The cattle dealers of all descriptions, chiefly on horseback, are scouring the field in search of the lots they require. The Scottish drovers are, for the most part, mounted on small, shaggy, spirited ponies, that are obviously quite at home among the cattle; and they carry their riders through the throngest groups with astonishing celerity …[20] A good deal of haggling takes place; and, when the parties come to an agreement, the purchases claps a penny of arles into the hand of the stockholder, observing at the same time "It's a bargain."[21] Tar dishes are then got, and the purchaser's mark being put upon the cattle, they are driven from the field. Besides numbers of shows, from 60 to 70 tents are erected along the field, for selling spirits and provisions … Many kindle fires at the end of their tents, over which cooking is briskly carried on. Broth is made in considerable quantities, and meets a ready sale. As most of the purchasers are paid in these tents they are constantly filled and surrounded with a mixed multitude of cattle dealers, fishers, drovers, auctioneers, pedlars, jugglers, gamblers, itinerant fruit merchants, ballad singers and beggars. What an indescribable clamour prevails in most of these party-coloured abodes! Far in the afternoon, when frequent calls have elevated the spirits and stimulated the colloquial powers of the visitors, a person hears an uncouth Cumberland

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[18] Many of the petitions signed by drovers in the Scottish Rights of Way Society records are marked with an 'X', a likely consequence of them being illiterate. Furthermore, most of the interviews with herdsmen which appear in the School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive are recorded in Gaelic.

[19] This monthly journal was published in the United States and composed entirely of selected articles from foreign (mostly British) publications such as the Edinburgh-based *Johnstone's Magazine* – the source from which this account of the Falkirk Tryst originated. *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (February 1838), Falkirk Trysts, Vol. IV, pp. 287-288.

[20] The relationship and interaction between ponies and cattle is explored in greater detail in Chapter Five.

[21] An 'arles penny' is a deposit paid to bind a contract.

jargon, and the prevailing Gaelic, along with the innumerable provincial dialects, in their genuine purity, mingled in one astounding roar. All seem inclined to speak; and raising their voices to command attention, the whole of the orators are consequently obliged to bellow as loud as they can possibly roar.[22] When the cattle dealers are in the way of their business, their conversation is full of animation, and their technical phrases and generally appropriate and highly amusing.[23]

From the colourful descriptions above, it is clear that the Falkirk Tryst was an important site of social interaction – a carnivalesque occasion marking the end of the drove and the meeting point for Scottish herders and English dealers.[24] For the drovers, much of this interaction took the form of bartering – attempting to convince the dealers of the relative qualities of their beasts before concluding proceedings with a customary clapping of hands. As such, the practice of negotiation was a highly performative act, characterised by jovial banter and 'good humoured lounges' – a delicately choreographed display of camaraderie, requiring oratorical and persuasive skill. In addition to the usual collection of dealers and auctioneers, this account illustrates that drovers would have encountered and interacted with a diverse assemblage of other groups, ranging from jugglers and beggars to pedlars and ballad singers.[25] Consequently, aside from their primary purpose as places of transaction and transition, the great markets of southern Scotland were also important sites of convergence – a 'place-ballet' where Highland drovers would come into contact and interact with a wider network of itinerants and travellers from across the country.[26] Furthermore, the writer's descriptions of regional accents mingled together 'in one astounding roar' highlights the hybridised nature of this market scene as a site of multiple, and often competing, identities and tongues – a temporary community in which a variety of skills, place-based experiences and knowledges could be shared and debated.

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[22] These descriptions provide a powerful impression of the soundscapes encountered at the Falkirk Tryst.

[23] *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (February 1838) op. cit., p.287.

[24] The term 'carnivalesque' has been borrowed from the Russian Critic Mikhail Bakhtin [Bakhtin, M.M. (1968) *Rabelais and His World*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press] to convey a sense of the chaos and spectacle of the Falkirk Tryst.

[25] A 'pedlar' is a travelling merchant.

[26] Seamon, D. (2006) '*A Geography of Lifeworld* in Retrospect: A Response to Shaun Moores', *Particip@tions*, 3 [Online]. Available at: http://www.participations.org/volume%203/issue%202%20-%20special/3_02_seamon.htm. Accessed on 25/08/13.

Another point of interest is the description of stalls and tents erected in the fields surrounding the Tryst, selling a range of alcoholic beverages and provisions to a steady passing trade. This illustrates that, aside from its primary purpose as a site for the large scale purchasing of cattle and sheep, the Falkirk Tryst also supported a vibrant mobile economy in which local residents and traders were permitted to occupy a segment of the market ground for a small fee.[27] These temporary constructions played a vital role in shaping the micro-geography of the fair-ground – providing a useful focal point around which drovers and other attendees congregated and interacted. However, despite their essential function, the increasing prevalence of these stalls, including a growing number of banking tents, occupying expanding portions of the market ground, was also problematic – contributing to the increasing privatisation of public space and the reduction of common land available for grazing and sleeping.[28] Consequently, the growth of these stalls and tents serves as another example of how private capital reshaped and impressed upon the droving landscape.[29]

An Unruly Site

While, for many, the great trysts were regarded as a celebratory and convivial occasion, symbolising the successful completion of the drove and the gathering together of different groups from across the country, these events did not always pass without incident. During the first half of the eighteenth century, in the years prior to the Jacobite Rebellion, the market and surrounding town of Crieff was subject to a number of hostile interventions. Notably, in October 1714, at the height of the Michaelmas Tryst, the infamous outlaw and drover Rob Roy MacGregor entered the town with a number of his men to gather support for the Jacobite cause.[30] Just over a year later, in January 1716, Crieff was badly burnt by Highland Jacobites returning from the Battle of Sheriffmuir – an event reportedly ordered by James Stuart to

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[27] The author of the *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* article noted that these traders paid a rent of around 2s. 6d. for the quieter August tryst and 4s. for each of the other two markets.

[28] Munro, N. (1928) *The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1727-1927*. Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark, p.105.

[29] As illustrated in Chapters Five and Seven, the capitalistic restructuring of Scotland also led to the enclosure of stances and drove routes – changes that severely restricted the spaces in which droving operated.

[30] Stevenson, D. (2004) 'McGregor, Robert (1671–1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

obstruct the march of the King's forces towards Perth.[31] Furthermore, during the Rebellion of 1745, the *Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland* (1842) stated that the town:

> Narrowly escaped the same fate … the Highlanders, it appears, bearing an old and inveterate grudge to "the kind gallows o' Crieff," on which so many of their marauding forefathers had been suspended by the Stewarts of Strathearn, who held their courts here.[32]

**Figure 62: Contemporary illustration
of the Crieff Tryst**

Consequently, for many Highlanders, some of whom would have been drovers attending the early trysts, the market location at Crieff had symbolic significance as a site of violent judicial oppression – a haunting spectre of collective memory that would have played on the minds of some fair-going herdsmen. In light of these events, it is not surprising that, as mentioned by John Macky (1723) in his account of a trip to the Crieff Tryst during the early part of the nineteenth century, many of the Scottish drovers attending the markets would have been armed, both as a precaution against potential disturbances and to counteract the threat of cattle thieves:

> They [the drovers] have a Ponyard Knife and Fork in one Sheath, hanging at one side of their Belt, their Pistol at the other … with a great broad Sword by their side.[33]

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[31] Macara, D. (1881) *Crieff, its Traditions and Characters, with Anecdotes of Strathearn*. Edinburgh: D. Macara, p.302.
[32] *The Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland* (1842), *Crieff*, Vol I. Glasgow: A. Fullarton, p.265.
[33] Macky, J. (1723) *A Journey Through Scotland*. London: Pemberton and Hooke, p.194.

The violence associated with this market is further illustrated by Roger (1854) who, in his later discussion of the Crieff Tryst, noted that:

> Here, on common ground, met clansmen of very different factions, whose animosities had been the growth of ages, and had been kept fresh by constant aggressions, Thus, all the parties came to the tryst prepared for battle, and the tryst was too often wound up in bloodshed. To the Earl of Perth fell the duty of watching and guarding the fair – an onerous duty at one period.[34]

Despite their geographical location in the Scottish Lowlands, many miles from the majority of clan-motivated battles and rivalries that were prevalent in the Highlands and Islands throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and for many centuries previous), the markets of Crieff and Falkirk were clearly not a place apart from these external tensions.[35] Indeed, far from operating as a 'space of exception' or a harmonious site of convivial interaction, dislocated from occurrences in the outside world, the atmosphere of, and relationships expressed within the great trysts were invariably influenced by, and reflective of, events elsewhere.[36] Consequently, the factional disputes at Falkirk and Crieff illustrates that clan lives and contestations were mobile social forms that travelled with the drovers to the great trysts.[37] Occasionally, these tensions – no doubt exacerbated by the stresses of controlling cattle and the consumption of too much alcohol – would 'spill over' into acts of physical violence. The following account, published in the *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, is a testament to this:

> Brawls frequently ensue, particularly among … the drovers, during the night, when the rustic belligerents occasionally use the formidable saplings they bear about with them for belabouring their rebellious stots.[38]

Given these descriptions, it is apparent that the great markets had the potential to be volatile affairs, where feelings of frustration at the day's bargaining or disagreements

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[34] Roger, C. (1854) op. cit., p.55.

[35] This would have been particularly true during the early years of the Crieff Tryst, in the first half of the eighteenth century.

[36] As a result, it is clear that factional disputes between clans could be as significant as broader geopolitical rivalries such as that between England and Scotland.

[37] Considering that most drovers were from the Highlands and Islands – regions that were gripped by clan rivalries – it is clear that they would have had a strong sense of their clan identity and that of other drovers. In his work on the Highland clan system, Bob Dodgshon [Dodgshon, R.A. (1998) *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493-1820.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press] provides a detailed account of the rivalries, character and ideologies of clans and chiefdoms.

[38] A 'stot' is a bullock. *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (1838) op. cit., p.288.

between rival drovers and dealers could be heightened or aggravated in the constrained environment of the tryst.[39]

However, despite the tensions and violence that occasionally characterised the Crieff Tryst in its early years, the hitherto necessary presence of the Earl of Perth's army parading the market ground, gradually waned:

> The farce of watching Michaelmas market was kept up down to 1831. A few stalwart youths, – recruited for the occasion by the feuars, – marching to the tuck of the drum, armed with Lochaber axes, paraded the market, and carried defaulters to be summarily dealt with by the baron bailie.[40]

Consequently, the continued patrolling of the Crieff Tryst, for many years after the external threat of disturbances had subsided, transformed the Earl's army, obediently marching 'to the tuck of the drum', into a form of pageantry – a tokenistic act of defiance against the Hanoverian government and a poignant reminder of the troubles that had blighted the market in previous years.[41] However, aside from its role as a form of militaristic posturing, the army's primary purpose was to act as a regulatory presence on proceedings and to apprehend defaulters. As such, the constant presence of these armed men, encircling the Tryst ground, must have been an intimidating sight for the drovers, many of whom were dependent upon bank loans to purchase cattle from farmers and landowners in northern Scotland before driving them to market. Thus, a failure to obtain satisfactory prices for their beasts could, and frequently did, result in drovers being unable to pay their debts, causing them to default on their loans which left them vulnerable to arrest by the Earl's men.[42]

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[39] The paternalistic and mildly patronising tone of this commentary also provides an insight into social attitudes towards the drovers – a cultural group that was looked down upon by some nineteenth-century writers.

[40] For reference, a 'feuar' is a landowner and a 'baron bailie' is a Scottish magistrate. Roger, C. (1854) op. cit., p.55.

[41] Pittock [Pittock, M.G.H. (2004) 'Drummond, John (1714–1747)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press] noted that the Earls of Perth had close links with the House of Stewart and were staunch supporters of the Jacobite cause.

[42] Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., pp. 66-67] and the Rootsweb Family Tree Website [Rootsweb Family Tree Website: http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=kosmoid&id=I7526&style=TEXT, last modified on 02/01/13. Accessed on 10/02/13] both refer to a collection of letters written by Thomas Bell – an eighteenth-century drover from Galloway. In September 1746, Bell is described as borrowing £1449 from Bryce Blair of Annan and using the funds to purchase five hundred cattle from Murray of Broughton with the intention of herding them south to the East Anglian markets. Unfortunately, Bell's arrival at the market coincided with the outbreak of a severe cattle plague. In a letter dated 25th December 1746, Bell noted that: "The distemper amongst the cattle rajes [sic.] more and more … God knows what we shall do; we cannot get money to bear pocket expenses; all manner of sale is over; our beasts drop in numbers every day, and

On occasions, however, the actions and behaviour of certain drovers did justify the existence of some form of fairground policing. The following description, taken from the *New Statistical Account* for the Parish of Monzie, refers to a range of mischievous actions and disturbances by drovers in the later years of the Crieff Tryst:

> They [the drovers] are described by people old enough to remember them, as barefooted and bareheaded, although many of them old men. Being numerous, they used to enter the houses of the country people, take unceremonious possession of their firesides and beds, carry off the potatoes from their fields or gardens, and sometimes even the blankets, which had afforded them a temporary covering for the night.[43]

Although by one reading rather amusing, such accounts of petty household thefts around the stance site are suggestive of a wider disregard by some Highland drovers towards formal rights of property – an unfamiliar concept for many herders who adhered to a collective system of land tenure, based on 'common' and 'customary' rights to access, as opposed to 'private ownership'. Consequently, the actions of these drovers could be regarded as acts of defiance or resistance against an increasing trend towards the enclosure and privatisation of land around the Tryst, developments which reduced the availability of free grazing. Furthermore, the theft of such basic amenities as food and blankets, as opposed to more valuable items, implies a degree of desperation – an indication of the meagre living conditions at the trysts and relative poverty of some of the drovers attending.

Representing and Knowing the Tryst

In order to escape the harsh realities of fairground living, many drovers sought refuge in the various licensed premises surrounding the tryst site. This trend was exacerbated by the fact that most of the financial transactions between drovers and dealers,

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we have an express from William Johnston in Essex that the distemper is also got among our beasts there and dying in half dozen and half scores every day; our conditions are such that several drovers have run from their beasts and left them dying in the leans [sic.] and high ways … there is upwards of 300 lost in one hand here already. We had on hand since we sold any 1,481 all high priced beasts. I cannot half express our melancholy situation. May God pity us". Becoming increasingly distressed as more of his cattle succumbed to the disease, another letter dated 4th January 1747 includes the following remark: "All is over now. We can neither pay London bills nor nothing else. We have above £1,000 of charges to pay in this country and on the road, and not a shilling to pay it with". Three days later, in his final letter on the 7th January 1747, Bell seems resigned to his fate: "I shall be home by Candlemass and people may do with me what they will. They shall get every groat we have and we can do no more".

[43] Omond, J.R. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Monzie, Vol. X, pp. 262-280, p.270.

officiated by representatives from the local Falkirk Bank, would have been conducted in these taverns, making them a site of constant activity, discussion and consumption.[44] One account, extracted from the *New Statistical Account* for the Parish of Larbert, refers to the drunken scene at Falkirk:

> It is much to be lamented, that the number of houses licensed for the sale of spirits is so great; and there can be no doubt that the habitual use of ardent spirits has had a most injurious effect upon the morals of the people. The magistrates have endeavoured to check the increase of these houses; but the use of this alcoholic spirit, namely, whisky, is by no means diminished.[45]

Here, the author expresses a deep disdain for the damaging effects that spirit consumption was having on the morality of people attending the Tryst. In so doing, he argues that the presence of 'licensed houses' was responsible for corrupting and degrading the moral standards of those (including the drovers) who chose to frequent them.[46] Furthermore, his comments betray a belief more broadly held that, if left unchecked, the degenerate behaviour induced by such establishments might begin to spread – threatening the wider 'moral landscape' of Falkirk itself.[47] Consequently, by casting 'licensed houses', 'excessive alcohol consumption' and 'immoral behaviour' as inevitable companions at the Tryst site, the author's intention was to highlight and limit the spread of these 'injurious' premises in order to 'remoralise' the market area and its impressionable attendees – observations that echo Chris Philo's comments regarding the perceived immoralities associated with live meat markets in nineteenth-century London.[48] Typical of many contributions that appear in the *New Statistical Account*, the entry for Larbert was authored by a local Church of Scotland Minister, in this case, the Reverend John Bonar, Presbyterian Minister for Larbert Free Church.[49]

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[44] Describing the practice of finalising deals, Cunninghame-Graham [Cunninghame-Graham, R.B. (1913) *A Hatchment*. London: Duckworth, p.220] noted that "When, after an infinity of haggling, a price was reached, to which the seller gave assent, both parties would adjourn to one or other of the tents, to wet the bargain, and sit down at a white, deal table, placed upon the grass, and swallow whisky". *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (February 1838) op. cit., p.287.

[45] Bonar, J. (1834-45) *New Statistical Account*, Parish of Larbert, Vol. VIII, pp. 340-379, pp. 377-378.

[46] Similar moral outrage can be found in the *Old Statistical Account* entry for Kirkmichael [Stewart, Rev. A. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Kirkmichael, Vol. XV, pp. 506-522, p.514] – another market town with several licensed houses: "It has been remarked, and perhaps with too much reason, that this market gives encouragement to idleness, and imprudent, not to say immoral indulgences".

[47] Matless, D. (1994) 'Moral Geography in Broadland', *Ecumene*, 1, pp. 127-155.

[48] Philo, C. (1995) 'Animals, Geography and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, pp. 655-681.

[49] Nimmo, W. (1880) *The History of Stirlingshire* (3rd ed.), Vol I. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, p.346. Withers, C.W.J. 'Scotland Accounted For: An Introduction to the 'Old' (1791-1799) and the New

At the time, the Church of Scotland was strongly opposed to the production and sale of alcohol, particularly spirits. The Church had been fiercely resistant to the whisky distilling industry during the 1790s and, from the middle of the nineteenth century, played an influential role in the Temperance Movement – helping to bring about the Temperance (Scotland) Act of 1913.[50] Given Bonar's professional position, and considering the Church's outspoken views on the supposed 'immorality' of alcohol consumption, it is hardly surprising that he was heavily critical of the 'habitual use of ardent spirits' in and around the Falkirk Tryst.

In contrast to Bonar's disapproving portrayal, other authors writing about the great markets were more sympathetic. Of particular merit is William Youatt's description of the Falkirk Tryst in 1832:[51]

> At the last October tryst [1832] there were, on the lowest computation, more than 50,000 black cattle, 30,000 sheep, and 3000 horses. It is worth going many a mile to witness such a collection of beasts, and including every variety of every breed of Scotland. It is a school for the agriculturalist, from which he will not fail to derive the most useful lessons; and then, in the latter part of the day when the tryst is over, to see every spot not only of the flat muir but of the beautifully undulating ground above, covered with cattle asleep and herdsmen in their characteristic Scottish dress either stretched in their plaids or resting for a while their wearied limbs – but still watchful – or gathered in groups and telling of the occurrences and bargains of the day; this is a scene which the agriculturist will not soon forget and to which no one can be insensible.[52]

Youatt's enthusiastic, and somewhat nostalgic, account of the Falkirk Tryst provides a fascinating insight into the animated scene encountered at the market. In so doing, he conveys an idyllic image of 'sleeping cattle' lying side-by-side with drovers 'resting in their plaids' on the 'beautifully undulating ground' – a deliberate privileging of the more picturesque and communal qualities of tryst life. No doubt influenced by the prevailing literary trend at the time, Youatt is clearly something of a romantic,

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(1834-1845) Statistical Accounts of Scotland', *Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online*: http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/reading/intro.shtml, no date last modified. Accessed on 12/02/13.

[50] Brown, C.G. (1997) *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p.146. Turnock, D. (1982) *The Historical Geography of Scotland Since 1707*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.97

[51] Clarke and Hall [Clarke, E. and Hall, Rev., S.A. (2004) 'Youatt, William (1776–1847)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Clarke and Hall] describe Youatt as a distinguished veterinarian and committee member of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

[52] Youatt, W. (1834) op. cit., p.121.

celebrating the twilight years of a 'golden age' in agricultural spectacle.[53] While it is important to think critically about Youatt's sentimental depiction of market life, such accounts can still provide the contemporary researcher with an impression of the scale and appearance of these annual events, and the sight confronted by fair-going drovers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of specific interest is the author's description of the social interaction between herdsmen, noting that the drovers could often be seen gathered in groups, 'telling of the occurrences and bargains of the day'. Conversations about the triumphs and excitements of the trysts ensured that these accounts continued to survive, long after the end of the market. This in turn contributed to a great oral tradition, in which tacit knowledges about market mechanics and bargaining practices could be passed down through the generations. Indeed, as Haldane noted:

> His was the excitement of the Tryst, of the bustle and the bargaining; his too was the pride of recounting its every detail to eager listeners back in the Highland glen.[54]

As such, the continued geographical dissemination of memories and words of knowledge from the market would have reinforced a popular imagination of the trysts, resulting in the creation of popular folklore, poems and songs.

Trysting Diaspora

One such poem, written by the Celtic bard and drover, Robert Mackay (also known as Robert Donn), appeared in *The Quarterly Review* of July 1831.[55] At odds with the romantic and celebratory accounts of the trysts published by many authors, Donn's descriptions of the Crieff market, based on his experiences as a drover in the middle years of the eighteenth century, are more melancholic:

> *Easy is my bed, it is easy,*
> *But it is not to sleep that I incline;*
> *The wind whistles northwards, northwards.*

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[53] As a highly-esteemed vet, Preece and Clewlow [Preece, R. and Clewlow, J. (2009) 'William Youatt and Byron's 'Favourite' Dog', *Journal of the Veterinary History Society*, 15, pp. 10-15, p.10] note that Youatt was given the responsibility of treating Lord Byron's dog after Byron's death in 1824.

[54] This is an unusually evocative description from the normally restrained Haldane. Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.44.

[55] Thomson, D.S. (2004) 'Mackay, Robert (1714–1778)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

And my thoughts move with it.

More pleasant were it to be with thee
In the little glen of calves,
Than to be counting of droves
In the enclosures of Crieff.

Great is my esteem of the maiden,
Towards whose dwelling the north wind blows;
She is ever cheerful, sportive, kindly,
Without folly, without vanity, without pride.

True is her heart – were I under hiding,
And fifty men in pursuit of my footsteps,
I should find protection, when they surrounded me most closely,
In the sweet recess of that Shieling.[56]

Donn expresses a strong sense of regret at having to leave the 'sweet recess' of his shieling to attend the distant Crieff Tryst.[57] The powerful feelings of homesickness provide the reader with an insight into the emotions that must have been experienced by some drovers attending the fairs. Remarking on these qualities, Walter Scott, in a short note at the end of *The Two Drovers*, noted that:

> I cannot dismiss the story [of the two drovers] without resting attention for a moment on the light which has been thrown on the character of the Highland Drover since the time of its first appearance, by … Robert Mackay … The picture which [Mackay] … gives of the habits and feelings of a class of persons with which the general reader would be apt to associate no ideas but those of wild superstition and rude manners, is in the highest degree interesting; and I cannot resist the temptation of quoting two songs of this hitherto unheard of poet of humble life.[58]

At a time when much of the population was relatively geographically constrained, rarely accustomed to travelling more than a few miles from their place of birth, the mobile demands of droving would have been emotionally unsettling for many herders – an occupation which required constant uprooting and dislocation from the familiar landscapes and valued personal relationships of home.[59] Consequently, in addition to

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[56] 'Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language, by Robert Mackay, the Celebrated bard of Lord Reay's Country; With a Memoir of the Author', *The Quarterly Review* (July 1831), 45, pp. 371-372.

[57] A 'shieling' is a small hut, often used as a temporary summer dwelling by farmers and shepherds. Thomson [Thomson, D.S. (2004) op. cit.] notes that that Donn lived near the north coast of Scotland at Allt na Caillich, in Strathmore, Sutherland.

[58] This note only appears in the second edition of *The Two Drovers* [Scott, W. (1832) 'The Two Drovers' in Scott, W. *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Vol. XLI. Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., p.285].

[59] Robert Donn lived over two hundred miles away from Crieff. This rough measurement was gained by plotting the route from Allt na Caillich to Crieff on MemoryMap.

reflecting on, and telling of, the occurrences and bargaining of the day, thoughts and conversation at the great markets must have been occupied with memories and tales of the Highlands. Therefore, the annual gathering of different groups at the great trysts made them important sites for the discussion and dissemination of local information and folklore, improving drovers' (and other fair-goers') awareness and knowledge of Scotland's cultural and political landscape.[60] With this in mind, the diasporic yearnings of Donn's poetry highlight that, aside from being sites for the production of droving folklore, the trysts at Falkirk and Crieff were also important spaces for the articulation, exchange and consumption of stories and accounts from other regions. Furthermore, Donn's description of the 'little glen of calves' and the 'enclosures of Crieff' underlines a sharp contrast between the wider, freer, commonly-held northern droving landscape and the cramped and enclosed landscape of southern Scotland – differences that became increasingly pronounced during the era of agricultural improvement.

In contrast to Donn's melancholic account, another poem, taken from George Wyse's (1829) *Original Poems and Songs*, admires the dynamic scene encountered around the Falkirk Tryst in October 1827:

> *The roads now shew a motly group*
> *Of horses and of men,*
> *Highland drovers with barking dogs,*
> *And thieves frae town and glen.*
>
> *Some stately stots frae Angus-shire,*
> *That have nae horns ava,*
> *Whilst some a little dangling thing,*
> *Upon their fronts do shaw.*
>
> *West Highland heifers, fat and plump,*
> *With legs baith tight an' sma',*
> *That when in England they are fed,*
> *Turn out the best o' a'.*
>
> *Wee Highland kine, wi' curly calves,*
> *A' trotting at their feet,*
> *And Highland shelties, frae the hills,*
> *Were never halter'd yet.*[61]

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[60] Similar arguments are made in Chapter Seven of this thesis in relation to drovers' inns.
[61] Wyse, G. (1829) *Original Poems and Songs*. Falkirk: T. Johnston, pp. 40-41.

Unlike most accounts of the Tryst, this poem focuses primarily on the interaction and movement of *cattle* as opposed to humans, with particular emphasis on the variety and different appearances of beasts encountered on the road into market. In so doing, the animals are identified in relation to their specific breed – Angus-shire, West Highland and Highland – an avowedly place-based characterisation of animals, founded on an understanding of their distinctive regional characteristics. Consequently, such descriptions illustrate that, apart from being important sites for the convergence of different social groups, the markets of Falkirk and Crieff were also significant spaces for the gathering and displaying of various breeds of cattle – each one connected with a different region of the country. This corresponds with Richard Yarwood and Nick Evans's assertion that breeds of cattle, through their association with particular landscapes, serve as living expressions of regional environmental difference and local herding histories.[62] Furthermore, the description of small Highland calves trotting side-by-side with the larger heifers provides the reader with an insight into the spatial organisation of cattle within the herd – an arrangement that had to be regulated and controlled by the herdsmen to ensure the drove's steady progress to market (considerations that are explored in greater detail in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis).

The following sources, both referring to the Falkirk Tryst, provide an illustration of the human-animal interaction occurring at the great markets:

> the field presents the appearance of a grand military display; indeed, I have seldom seen a sight more imposing. For a week or more before the tryst, the roads leading to Falkirk will be found crowded with successive droves of cattle and sheep, proceeding to this central point; and it is extremely curious, on the field, to see with what skill and care different parties and herds are kept together by themselves. In this matter, the … [drovers] are greatly assisted by their dogs, who appear endowed with a sagacity almost human, and almost to know every individual belonging to their charge. They are sure, with an inflexible pertinacity, to follow and bring back a deserter.[63]

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[62] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) 'Livestock and Landscape' *Landscape Research*, 20, pp. 141-146, p.142. See also: Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (2000) 'Taking Stock of Farm Animals and Rurality', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds.) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-114; Yarwood, R., Evans, N. and Higginbottom, J. (1997) 'The Contemporary Geography of Indigenous Irish Livestock' *Irish Geography*, 30, pp. 17-30.

[63] Colman, H. (1846) *European Agriculture and Rural Economy. From Personal Observation*, Vol. I. London: Wiley and Putnam, p.300.

At times, when the market is densely crowded and there is a danger of the separate lots being mixed, the Celt is seen in all his fury and excitement; his Highland blood is up and he screams himself hoarse in shouting to his dogs … The maledictions between the herdsmen are exchanged in Gaelic and as the colleys seem to catch the spirit of their masters the contention is generally wound up by a regular worry, presenting altogether a scene of the most admired disorder and of no little amusement to those who have nothing else to do than to look on and enjoy it.[64]

Both accounts of the fair describe its chaotic nature – a 'densely crowded' scene 'of the most admired disorder', characterised by the constant mixing of humans and beasts. As such, the overwhelming emotion for many drovers attending the trysts would likely have been anxiety, a constant fear of animals straying or separate lots being mixed.[65] Considering that most drovers purchased their cattle on credit, a failure successfully to maintain and sell their animals would result in a loss of income, hindering their ability to repay loans and threatening them with the prospect of bankruptcy and debtors' prison. Consequently, the ability to 'round up' and control cattle at the markets would have been an essential skill, requiring a good working knowledge of established stock-keeping practices and a constant watchful eye. Furthermore, as noted in these accounts, the task of herding was greatly aided by the presence of trained collies, described by Colman as being 'endowed with a sagacity almost human'. The obedience and herding proficiency displayed by these animals, coupled with their willingness to follow commands, is indicative of a strong working relationship between drover and dog – a shared sense of purpose borne out of prolonged periods of time spent in each other's company. In addition to this, Colman's suggestion that drovers' dogs were aware of 'every individual belonging to their charge' illustrates that, in addition to the relationships formed between herder and herd, a mutual understanding, predicated on a willingness to co-operate, also had to forged between the drove's non-human constituents – something that could only be achieved through a practical knowledge of the individual characteristics of the cattle and an awareness of which animals were most likely to stray.[66]

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[64] *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 27th September 1844.
[65] 'Lot' is the collective name for a group of cattle belonging to a particular drover.

Showing and Breeding

In addition to their bartering skills, success at the trysts was also dependent upon the drovers' abilities to present beasts, a practice described by one droving elder in an interview dating from 1958:

> When the cattle were being sold they were kept in a close bunch and paraded around the fair in front of the buyers. You would try to keep the bad ones in the middle and the rest around the outside. It took four or five men to keep the cattle in a circle and turn them round when the buyers came to look over and to buy them. The drover held out his hand, and once the buyer offered a satisfactory price, the bargain was sealed with a slapping of two hands.[67]

These recollections demonstrate that the task of parading cattle required herding skill and careful choreography, a tactical positioning of animals intended to ensure that each group was shown at its best. Displaying the cattle in a way that masked the shortcomings of some beasts, while accentuating the qualities of others, would have required a detailed knowledge of bovine physiognomy and aesthetics – an understanding of which animals were most sought after and how best to draw attention to them. Furthermore, since the beasts were accompanied by only a small group of men, it is clear that the ability to hold or distract a dealer's discerning gaze would have been dependent upon the co-operation and co-ordination of herdsmen – essential to ensuring that each of their beasts obtained a high price.

The ability to attract buyers would also have required an awareness of wider debates and discourses associated with animal beauty – popular understandings of the 'ideal beast' and desirable bovine characteristics that could heavily influence the price of an animal. Ideas about how to assess the quality of specific breeds of cattle were published in, and disseminated through, various agricultural guides and reports throughout the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By way of illustration, the following extract from James MacDonald's (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides* describes the ideal physical dimensions of a cow of the Kyloe breed:

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[66] These observations also correspond with the accounts of inter-species interaction examined in Chapter Five.

[67] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1958/195/B5.

A bull of the Kyloe breed should be of a middle size, capable of being fattened to fifty stone *avoirdupois*.[68] His colour should be black (that being reckoned the hardiest and most durable species), or dark brown, or reddish brown, without any white or yellow spots. His head should be rather small, his muzzle fine, his eyes lively and prominent, his horns equable, not very thick, of a clear, green, and waxy tinge; his neck should rise with a gentle curve from the shoulders, and should be small and fine where it joins the head; his shoulders moderately broad at the top, joining full to his chine and chest backwards, and to the vane of his neck forwards. His bosom should be open, his breast broad, and projecting well before his legs; his arms, or fore thighs, muscular, and tapering to his knee; his legs straight, well covered with hair, and strong boned. His chine or chest should be so full as to leave no hollows behind his shoulders; the plates strong, to keep his belly from sinking below the level of his breast. His back or loin should be broad, straight, and flat; his ribs rising above one another in such a manner that the last rib should be rather the highest, leaving only a small space to the hips or hooks; the whole forming a roundish, barrel-like carcase. His hips should be wide placed, rounded or globular, and a very little higher than the back. His quarters (from the hip to the rump) should be long and tapering gradually from the hips backwards, and the turls, or pot-bones, not in the least protuberant; his rumps close to the tail; his tail itself should be thick, bushy, well haired, long, and set on so high as to be in the same horizontal line with his back. His general appearance should combine agility, vivacity, and strength; and his hair should be glossy, thick, and vigorous, indicating a sound constitution and perfect health.[69]

MacDonald's account provided the reader with a useful summary of 'what to look for' in the 'ideal beast'. Technical in approach, the author methodically deconstructed the cow's physiognomy, describing in meticulous detail how each part of the animal's body should present itself to the sharp-eyed stocksman. As such, MacDonald's authoritative guide was, no doubt, intended as a yardstick – a position from which prospective buyers could identify, compare and judge the differing aesthetic qualities and physical characteristics of individual beasts. The dissemination of such material and its influence on dealers' understandings of the 'ideal animal' would have impacted on the drovers, whose livelihood was dependent upon the fickle tastes of these demanding individuals. By concentrating exclusively on the visual aspects of bovine assessment, Macdonald's aesthetic approach to livestock evaluation is clearly linked to a more visceral appreciation of the animal's body and the various qualities of flesh, fat and muscle that were most valued by consumers. However, in his decision to neglect the tactile and mobile dimensions of cattle showing, MacDonald's account of the Kyloe might reasonably be interpreted as both static and detached – a

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[68] Avoirdupois is a system of weight based on a pound being equal to sixteen ounces.

disembodied approach to livestock description that paid little attention to the sensual considerations of animal appraisal. In contrast, Christina Grasseni describes how bovine assessment is a life-learned skill which requires an integration of the senses – an ability to 'think with eyes and hands' that can only be obtained through embodied contact with animals.[70] In so doing, she argues that the practice of breeding and showing cattle requires an 'apprenticeship of skilled vision' where specific ideas about bovine beauty are constructed, learned and reinforced through tending to one's animals and participating in social gatherings such as cattle fairs – a process of 'enskilment' that would have been essential to the Scottish drovers.[71]

Of additional interest is MacDonald's suggestion that Kyloe cattle were often slight in build due to the poor soils, mountainous topography and harsh climate of the Highlands and Western Isles:

> Heavy cattle cannot seek their food in bogs and marshes, leap over ravines, rivers, and ditches, or scramble through rocks, and in the faces of cliffs and precipices, like the present [Kyloe] breed, which is almost as active and nimble as a Chamois goat.[72]

Consequently, without wishing to be too deterministic, it is clear that the physical landscape of north-west Scotland, with its associated lack of grazing and rugged terrain, helped to influence the lean appearance and agile movements of the Kyloe. Indeed, the existence of such a hardy and profitable breed of cattle, well-adapted to coping with these harsh living conditions, was a key factor in encouraging the growth of the droving trade – an industry which enabled farmers to supplement their agricultural incomes and reduce their dependence upon vulnerable crops.[73] Furthermore, their ability to thrive in this challenging environment meant that Kyloe cattle were well-suited to the task of traversing Scotland's mountainous landscape, an activity which required stamina and sure-footedness. Despite their physical resilience, cattle herded from the Highlands still lost some weight on their journeys to Falkirk and Crieff. Estimates vary, but the *Old Statistical Account* for the parish of Sorbie

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[69] MacDonald, J. (1811) *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Silvester Doig and Andrew Stirling, pp. 425-426.
[70] Grasseni, C. (2004a) 'Skilled Vision: An Apprenticeship in Breeding Aesthetics', *Social Anthropology*, 12, pp. 41-55, p.49.
[71] Ingold, T. (1993) 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology*, 25, pp. 152-174.
[72] MacDonald, J. (1811) op. cit., p.426.

suggests that black cattle travelling from Galloway to Norfolk would typically lose around an eighth of their body weight on the trip.[74]

> They are about twenty-eight days in travelling to the Norfolk markets, and the cost about 18 s. per head driving and feeding. When they have finished their journey, it is supposed they have lost, through fatigue, above one-eight of their weight.[75]

This loss in condition impacted upon the profits of the drovers, hindering their ability to pay back the debt incurred from purchasing cattle. Consequently, the drovers' inclination towards beasts of the Kyloe breed was largely governed by their capacity to withstand the long, pastureless journeys without losing as much weight as larger, less hardy breeds of cattle.[76] Another advantage of the Kyloe was their ability to fatten quickly – a trait which enabled the drovers to add weight and value to their animals in the days prior to market.[77] Additionally, their weight-gaining reputation meant that Kyloes were highly regarded by the dealers, many of whom purchased animals with the intention of fattening them on the fertile pastures of East Anglia. The following accounts, one taken from Daniel Defoe's (1769) *A Tour Through Great Britain*, and the other extracted from William Gilpin's (1809) *Observations on the Counties of Cambridgeshire and Norfolk*, detail the practice of grazing beasts on the meadows of Norfolk.[78]

> In this vast Track of Meadows are fed a prodigious Number of black Cattle, which are said to produce the fattest Beef, though not the largest, in *England*

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[73] Due to the stormy weather conditions and poor soils in north-west Scotland, most agricultural land was marginal and unproductive.

[74] The parish of Sorbie is located in Galloway. The distance between Galloway and Norfolk is roughly three hundred miles. It should be noted that the 'black cattle' referred to here were of the Galloway breed and it is unlikely that the leaner Kyloe of north-west Scotland would have lost this much weight on the drove.

[75] Davidson, Rev. I. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Sorbie, Vol. I, pp. 242-258, p.248.

[76] With the exception of the grazing grounds around Falkirk and Crieff, there was relatively little fertile pasture between the Highlands and the great trysts.

[77] Using his knowledge of the area (Haldane's ancestral estate of Foswell was located about two miles to the south-east of Auchterarder, at the foot of the Ochil Hills), Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.113] described how it would have been common for drovers to fatten their cattle close to Falkirk on the days before the market commenced. With regards to the hill grazings at Sheriffmuir (situated fourteen miles to the north of the Tryst ground), he stated that "on the north-west slopes of the Ochils … extensive common rights of grazing for long existed. The area was a favourite stance ground, and when the common was divided in 1771 the evidence of local witnesses agrees to its frequent use by drovers bound for Falkirk. The situation of Sheriffmuir made it particularly well suited for the purpose, for this was the last hill grazing available for beasts from the North on their way to Falkirk, and here drovers who were not pressed for time could rest their droves … before taking them on to the Tryst".

[78] Defoe's book was first published in 1724. Gilpin originally made his tour in 1769, although the book was not published until 1809.

… the Scots cattle which come early to England are brought thither, being brought to a small village north of the City of Norwich called St. Faiths where the Norfolk graziers go and buy them. These *Scots* Runts, as they call them, coming out of the cold and barren Mountains of the Highlands in *Scotland*, feed so eagerly on the rich Pasture in these Marshes, that they thrive in an unusual manner, and grow very fat; and the Beef is so delicious for Taste, that the Inhabitants prefer them to the *English* Cattle, which are much larger and fairer to look at.[79]

The meadows lying along the banks of the Waveny, (which passes through them with an even, gentle course) are supposed to be among the richest in England. Here besides the cattle of the country, numerous herds of starved cattle from the Highlands of Scotland, find their way. Of such pasturage they had no idea. Here they lick up grass by mouthfulls: the only contention is, which of them can eat the most, and grow fat the soonest. When they have gotten smooth coasts, and swagging sides, they continue their journey to the capital [London] … where they find many admirers.[80]

Both passages make reference to the inhospitable climate of Highland Scotland and its stunting influence on the cattle, contrasting it with the 'rich pasture' and favourable feeding conditions of Norfolk. The fact that these animals were herded, at great effort, to grazing grounds over five hundred miles from where they were reared, illustrates that the meat from Scottish cattle must have been highly valued by English consumers for its quality and taste.[81]

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[79] Despite the growing demand for beef in England, meat consumption in Scotland was relatively low for much of the eighteenth century. For example, in his report on the agricultural state of Scotland, Sinclair [Sinclair, J. (1814) *General Report of the Agricultural State, and Political Circumstances, of Scotland*, Vol. III. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, p.255] noted that: "the great body of the population [of the western Highlands and Hebrides], are contented with potatoes, and a little milk and fish, during nine months of the year, and rarely know what it is to taste flesh of any kind". Further south, in the Scottish Lowlands, Fullarton [Fullarton, W. (1793) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr: With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. Edinburgh: J. Paterson, pp. 11-12] observed that: "So small was the consumption of butcher meat in this province [Ayr] 50 years ago that there were not more than fifty head of cattle killed in the country town of Ayr, at that period, although it contained from 4 to 5,000 inhabitants". Defoe, D. (1769) op. cit., p.61.
[80] Gilpin, W. (1809) *Observations on Several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, p.84.
[81] The historical geographies of food quality and consumption have recently been examined by Peter Atkins. For example, see: Atkins, P.J. (2011) 'The Material Histories of Food Quality and Composition', *Endeavour*, 35, pp. 74-79; Bourdieu, J., Bruegel, M. and Atkins, P.J. (2007) ''That Elusive Feature of Food Consumption': Historical Perspectives on Food Quality, a Review and some Proposals', *Food and History*, 5, pp. 247-267. During the early-eighteenth century, the qualities of Scottish cattle were also described by Martin Martin [Martin, M. (1703) *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. London: Andrew Bell, p.155]: "The Cows of the Isle of Skie [sic.] are exposed to the rigour of the coldest seasons, and become mere skeletons in the spring, many of them not being able to rise from the ground without help; but they recover as the season becomes more favourable, and the grass grows up; then they acquire new beef, which is both sweet and tender; the fat and lean is not so much separated in them as in other cows, but as it were larded, which renders it very agreeable to the taste".

Petty Markets and Fairs

In addition to the central markets of Falkirk and Crieff, a collection of smaller sales operated throughout the Western Isles and northern mainland, some continuing to sell cattle for several decades after the decline of the great trysts. These markets ranged in scale and formality from large fairs such as Dumbarton, Beauly (see figure 68) and Kirkmichael to smaller, more infrequent gatherings such as those at Geirinis, Portree and Lochmaddy (see figures 63, 64, 65 and 67).[82] Although lacking the symbolic significance and volume of sales associated with the great trysts, these markets still played an integral role in the Scottish droving trade. Prior to embarking on their journeys to Falkirk and Crieff, many herdsmen would have attended these markets to purchase cattle, a common practice for drovers seeking to supplement their herds and select animals for breeding.[83] As such, the existence of these petty fairs ensured a steady supply of cattle to the markets of southern Scotland. Consequently, as Haldane observed, the structure and layout of Scotland's cattle trade was not dissimilar to that of a river, with small markets at the source feeding multiple drove routes, each one meandering their way through the Scottish landscape before finally converging at the central markets of Falkirk and Crieff.[84]

Figure 63: Geirinis, South Uist

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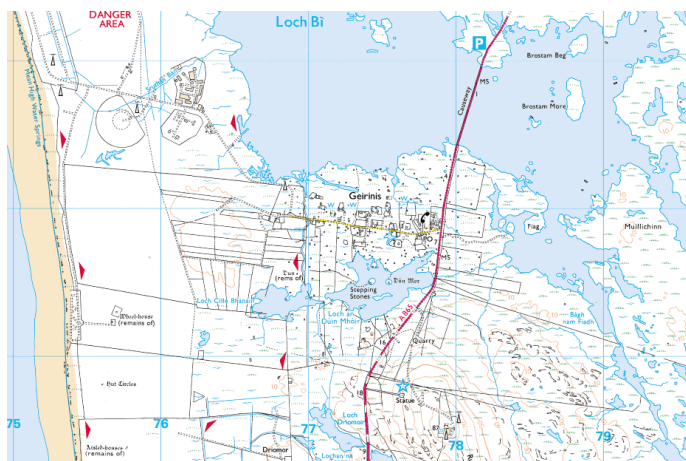
[82] Geirinis market was a small fair located in the north-western part of Sorth Uist (see figure 63), on the main drove route between North and South Uist. Lochmaddy cattle fair was situated on the east coast of North Uist (see figure 64). Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.71] noted that this market was also used for the shipment of cattle to Skye, the route by which most animals made their way from the Uists and Benbecula to Falkirk and Crieff. The Portree market was located in north-west Skye.

[83] Describing the sale of Highland cattle to Falkirk-bound drovers, Robertson [Robertson, J. (1813) *General View of the Agriculture of Inverness*. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, pp. 249-250] noted that "When the drovers … make their appearance in the Highlands, which always happens during the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, they give intimation at the churches, that upon a particular day, and in a central place of the district, they are ready to purchase cattle from any who offer them for sale … These petty markets, in the Highlands, commence at the period above-mentioned, and the cattle are moved as soon as they can bear the fatigue of travelling".

Figure 64: Lochmaddy, North Uist

Figure 65: Portree Market in the late-nineteenth century

Figure 66: Unknown market in the Uists

Figure 67: Lochmaddy Feill in 1897
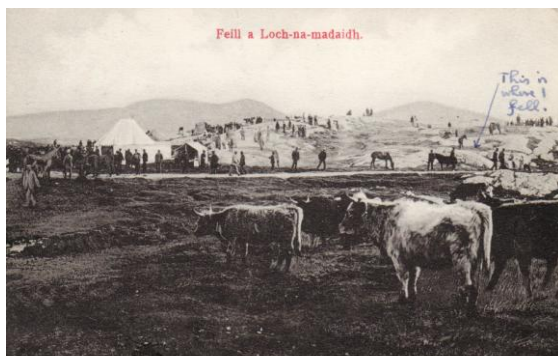
Figure 68: Beauly Tryst in the late-nineteenth century

Another feature of these markets was their longevity. Due to the growth of Scotland's road and rail network and, with it, the ability to transport cattle directly (and more

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[84] Haldane's fluvial analogies are explored in greater detail in Chapter Four. National Library of Scotland Manuscripts: Acc. 6071/19. Haldane, A.R.B. (undated) *Typescript of Talk Proposed for St. Andrews University Archaeological Society*, p.9.

quickly) from the Highlands, the volume of cattle passing through the great trysts steady declined from the mid-nineteenth century onwards – a downward trend which continued until the market's eventual demise and closure around 1900.[85] However, despite the rapid expansion of Scotland's transportation network, some of the smaller cattle fairs continued to operate until the 1960s, over half a century after the demise of the Falkirk Tryst. In part, the resilience of these sales was due to their relative isolation, a feature particularly true of markets in the Western Isles and far north of Scotland. Given their late survival, there are still people alive today who can remember attending and participating in these sales in their youth, an oral record absent for the earlier markets of Falkirk and Crieff.[86]

The remote situation of many island fairs, especially those located in the Outer Hebrides, combined with the lack of roads and landing facilities for lorries, meant that cattle often had to be driven on foot to the nearest port – a practice which continued on the islands of North and South Uist until the arrival of 'roll on roll off' ferries in 1965.[87] On the mainland, the construction of several railway lines throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries led to a dramatic decline in the number of

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[85] Acworth [Acworth, W.M. (1890) *The Railways of Scotland*. London: John Murray, pp. 141-142] noted that the North British Railway transported one thousand and sixteen cattle from Aberdeen to London for the Christmas market in December 1888 and a further one thousand and forty eight beasts in December 1889. An article in the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* on 16th October 1880 stated that "The number [of sales] was … considerably underneath the gatherings of the earlier and pristine days of the Falkirk trysts … It was estimated that there would be 15,000 head of cattle on the ground". By way of comparison, Graham [Graham, P. (1812) op cit., p.334] estimated that around fifty thousand black cattle were sold at the Falkirk Trysts in 1812, and reports from the *Stirling Journal* (one from the 13th September, and the other from 11th October) suggest that a total of one hundred and thirty thousand cattle were purchased at the markets in 1827. The waning significance of this market is illustrated by the following report on the Falkirk October Tryst which appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* on 9th October 1900: "The attendance of farmers and graziers was moderate … Yesterday's proceedings were entirely restricted to the sale of Highland cattle, of which there were about 800 shown, besides fully 200 sold in the neighbouring fields. The numbers show a considerable reduction upon recent years".
[86] In 2006, Janey Clarke from the Highland Livestock Heritage Society made a series of eleven recordings (Am Baile Website – Memories of a Highland Drover: http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/search/data?type_id=3&field,DC_RELATION,substring,string=Highland+Livestock+Heritage+Society+audios, no last date modified. Accessed on 10/02/13) with an old drover named Ian Munro, born at Blackhill Farm, Evanton, Ross-shire in 1933. In these recordings, Munro describes his early memories of assisting with the livestock sales in Dingwall and taking part in seasonal markets in the Uists.
[87] In another interview from the late-1960s (School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1968/24/A8), John MacDonald, referring to his memories of the Lochmaddy cattle fair during the first decades of the twentieth century, noted that "When the cattle were sold to drovers, they were driven down to the pier at Lochmaddy and were taken away to the mainland by boats to either Oban or Kyle of Lochalsh. Kyle cattle would be going to Inverness or Cromarty and Oban cattle would be going to England. The cattle would travel by rail from the pier". Am Baile Website op. cit.

beasts being herded over large distances on foot.[88] However, due to the extreme isolation of some Scottish markets, particularly those in the far north-west of the country, the practice of herding cattle to the nearest railhead would have survived for several decades after the end of the Falkirk Tryst.[89] Consequently, rather than eliminating the trade altogether, improvements in transportation simply altered the form and spatial extent of Scotland's droving network, transforming it from an interconnected weave of routes to an isolated collection of roads and tracks.[90]

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the School of Scottish Studies made numerous sound recordings of drovers recounting their memories of smaller cattle markets in the Highlands and Islands. One such recording, made with an informant named John Fraser in 1966, refers to the market at Tollaidh (see figure 69) during the first decades of the twentieth century:[91]

> The Tollaidh market was always about the 14th day of May and then there used to be a market up at the golf course … in September, and one … in August … the other one … was in October. There was three markets held in Gairloch at that time … the McGillivray's … [were] one of the biggest buyers on the Tollaidh market and there was a tent there – a beer tent … and a food tent … As you were buying your beast he [Mr McGillivray] … [took] tar out of his pocket [to mark the beasts].
>
> At one market, my auntie sold a stirk for £1.10. After putting the … money in her pocket … she had still to wait for a couple of hours for the stirk to be collected and the stirk … was lying a good bit up from the road. They [the dealers] were … scattered all over the croft keeping their cattle separate and the stirk came and began chewing her skirt at her back … he chewed the pocket and ate the £1.10.
>
> I remember them [the drovers] well. They would sit up at the side of the road laughing and giggling away until everybody selling their stirks … [had given up] hope because they weren't going to get them sold at all. One [of the drovers] would get up and then another would get up and so on. They would start buying after that. Keeping the sellers in suspense all the time.[92]

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[88] See footnote 17 for full details of when and where these lines were completed.

[89] Cattle markets such as Gairloch, Aultbea and Tollaidh were located over thirty miles away from the nearest railway station at Achnasheen.

[90] In *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, Haldane [Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit.] devoted little attention to the smaller markets of western Scotland and the Highlands, which continued to operate for many years after the decline of Falkirk and Creiff. In so doing, he implied that improvements in transportation had effectively eliminated the droving trade by the beginning of the twentieth century, which was not entirely correct.

[91] Tollaidh market was located in Wester Ross, north-west Scotland, mid-way between the villages of Gairloch and Poolewe (see figure 69).

[92] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: PN 1966/8.

Figure 69: Tollaidh

Of particular interest is Fraser's description of drovers waiting until the sellers had 'given up hope' before attempting to purchase their cattle, a practice intended to 'keep them in suspense'. Such observations provide an illustration of the crafty tactics employed by fair-going herdsmen, eager to improve their bargaining position and obtain their beasts at a reduced price, an essential skill for drovers seeking to maximise the profitability of their cattle. The experience of haggling with crofters at these smaller markets would have helped to prepare the herdsmen for the great trysts at Falkirk and Crieff, providing them with a valuable insight into the tricks and techniques of the dealers. Furthermore, Fraser's account of his auntie's stirk chewing the money from her skirt provides the listener with an impression of the comical aspects of fair-ground life – a reminder that, despite their primary economic function, these markets were also sites of jovial interaction and playful camaraderie, characterised by the sharing of stories and the retelling of amusing anecdotes.[93] Additionally, the informant's recollections of cattle being marked with tar corresponds with later oral accounts.

An interview with John MacDonald in 1968 describes the practice of marking cattle at Lochmaddy market during the early years of the twentieth century:

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[93] A 'stirk' is a young heifer or bullock.

> Cattle were not marked until they were sold [where they were marked by the drover]. Letters or marks were cut into the hair of the beast or they were tarred in a certain spot … every crofter would know his own beast.[94]

Practically, the marking of beasts would have been vital to ensuring that separate lots of cattle were not mixed, allowing drovers to distinguish between their own animals and those of other herdsmen.[95] Furthermore, the drover's remarks demonstrate that, while land could be held communally, animals were always regarded as private property. However, on a more conceptual level, the branding of animals illustrates that, in addition to inscribing their presence into the landscape through the creation of paths and tracks, the drovers were also putting their mark on their animals – physically imprinting their identity onto the cow's body.

Aside from these oral accounts, several published records of Scotland's smaller cattle markets also exist. The following extract, taken from Joseph Mitchell's (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, refers to the market stance at Sligachan on the Isle of Skye (see figure 70):

> The south country drovers attend and purchase from the breeders and farmers. The large farmer here generally disposes of his stock, the cottar his cow and stirk … The debts that are contracted at other periods of the year are here generally discharged, and there is thus a most heterogeneous collection of people – tacksmen, farmers, drovers, cottars, factors, shopkeepers, innkeepers, many women, and gillies great and small. There are, besides, the extensive droves of cattle and sheep, that are driven to these places to be sold and sent forward to the south.

> At Sligachan the road was lined with tents. It was about eleven o'clock of the second day, and the tent-keepers were engaged in cooking broth, mutton, and potatoes for the country people inside, with the only drink, mountain dew. The tents, if they could be called such, were temporary, formed of blankets, and were miserable. The whole aspect of the place – a bare and barren mountain-side – was wild and savage.[96] It had been raining all night, and as most of the people had been either up drinking or sleeping on the bare ground during the night, they had a dirty and dishevelled appearance. The gentleman had a blowsy unshaven aspect, the horses were ungroomed, and there being no

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[94] School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive Recording: SA 1968/24/A8.

[95] An article in the *Stirling Journal and Advertiser* on 27th September 1844 (referred to in footnote 64) described how the mixing of animals at the Falkirk Tryst could sometimes provoke an angry response from the drovers.

[96] In contrast to the great 'urban' spectacles of Falkirk and Crieff, petty markets and fairs such as the Sligachan market were usually held in sparsely populated rural locations and were mainly frequented by local drovers, farmers and dealers.

stables, little gillies with kilts, bare heads and bare legs were mounted, and with much glee were riding backwards and forwards along the road.

The cattle and sheep extending over an immense space were standing quietly looking at each other, while the gillies, their drovers, were leaning on their sticks or lying on the damp ground, their faithful collies at their feet, panting for employment. Such was the fair at Sligachan, which I viewed with no very favourable impression of the civilisation of the people.[97]

Given these vivid recollections of the supposed squalor encountered at Sligachan market, it is clear that Mitchell regarded the drovers as inferior – a predominantly rural folk whose 'primitive' habits and association with animals rendered them 'out of place' in a civilised modern society.[98] Of particular interest is the language that he chooses to employ – describing the scene as 'wild and savage', with the drovers depicted as 'dishevelled' next to their 'ungroomed' horses. Mitchell's decision to ally the unkempt appearance of the drovers to that of their 'ungroomed' animals implies a conviction that they had become "bestial in their habits, and strangely similar in disposition to the animals with which they shared their spaces".[99] Indeed, his use of terms such as 'uncivilised' to describe the chaotic market scene, is suggestive of a wider modern belief in the separation of humans and animals, a desire to cleave apart the world conceptually, and physically, into neat categories of human/non-human, nature/culture.[100] Consequently, for Mitchell, the coexistence of humans and animals at the market represented an unpalatable 'hybridised space', a 'premodern intrusion' which threatened to destabilise the nature/culture divide.[101] However, despite these flaws, the author's account does give some sense of the unfavourable working conditions endured by Skye herdsmen. His matter-of-fact descriptions of 'dirty and dishevelled' drovers lying on the 'bare and barren mountainside' stand in sharp contrast to many of the more nostalgic and idealistic accounts of Falkirk and Crieff,

[97] Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, pp. 219-220.

[98] The negative depiction of drovers by eighteenth-and nineteenth-century writers is also examined in Chapters Two and Nine of this thesis.

[99] It is important to acknowledge that Philo's work relates to a large meat market and abattoir complex in central London which is very different in its layout and ecology to Sligachan. Philo, C. (1995) op. cit., p.669.

[100] For further information about the 'modern' impulse to separate human and non-human worlds see: Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association; Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf; Philo, C. (2005) 'Spacing Lives and Lively Spaces: Partial Remarks on Sarah Whatmore's Hybrid Geographies', *Antipode*, 37, pp. 824-833; Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

narratives that tend to privilege the more exciting and eventful moments of market activity. By focussing on the unpleasant dimensions of stance-side habitation, the reader is afforded a rare glimpse into the monotony and tedium of fairground life – aspects that were often overlooked by other writers.[102]

Elsewhere on Skye, Alexander Smith (1865) refers to the cattle fair at Broadford, a small village located in the south-east of the island (see figure 71):[103]

> Not only are cattle sold, and cash exchanged for the same, but there the Skye farmer meets his relations, from the brother of his blood to his cousin forty times removed. To these meetings he is drawn, not only by his love of coin, but by his love of kindred, and … by his love of gossip also. The market is the Skye-man's exchange, his family gathering, and his newspaper … I saw the picturesque troop go past, – wildly-beautiful brutes of all colours – black, red, cream-coloured, dun and tan; all of a height, too, and so finely bred that, but for difference of colour, you could hardly distinguish the one from the other. What a lowing they made! How they tossed their slavering muzzles! How the breaths of each individual brute rose in a separate wreath! How John Kelly shouted and objurgated, and how his dog scoured about! At last the bellows of the animals – the horde chanting after that fashion their obscure "*Lochaber no more*" – grew fainter and fainter up the glen.[104]

These animated descriptions of the Broadford fair offer the reader a vivid impression of the spectacle encountered at this vibrant market. In particular, Smith's comments about the Skye farmer meeting with his distant relations highlights that, unlike the great trysts, social interaction at these smaller cattle markets was often local in nature, a place where friendships could be rekindled and old rivalries reaffirmed. The author's remarks on the exchange of information and news illustrate that, like the drover's inn (discussed in Chapter Seven), cattle markets played an important role in keeping drovers informed of events and occurrences elsewhere in Scotland – a valuable source of news which must have influenced how they understood, related to and engaged with the landscape through which they passed.[105] As well as this,

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[101] Whatmore, D. (2002) op. cit.

[102] In this case, the word 'stance' refers to the ground on which the cattle market was held.

[103] An examination of the relevant Ordnance Survey map [Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 Scale Explorer Map (2007) *Knoydart, Loch Hourn and Loch Duich* (Sheet 413). Southampton: Ordnance Survey] reveals that Broadford is located about twenty-five miles south of Portree, sixteen miles south-east of Sligachan and eleven miles west of the Kyle Rhea – the narrow tidal channel separating Skye from mainland Scotland which most island drovers would have crossed on their journeys to Falkirk and Crieff (see Chapter Six).

[104] Smith, A. (1865) *A Summer in Skye*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, pp. 98-99.

[105] Similarly, in Chapter Seven, I described how the interaction and gossip that took place inside the drovers' inn served the purpose of a national newspaper by keeping herdsmen abreast of developments

Smith's colourful portrayal of the passing beasts, 'lowing' and 'tossing their slavering muzzles', lends a perspective on the appearance of a drove in motion. The dynamism of this scene, combined with the presence of dogs 'scouring about' for straying cattle, demonstrates that, despite the best efforts of the herdsmen, the animals always retained a degree of agency – an individual character that was often masked by their indistinguishable appearance.[106]

Figure 70: Sligachan
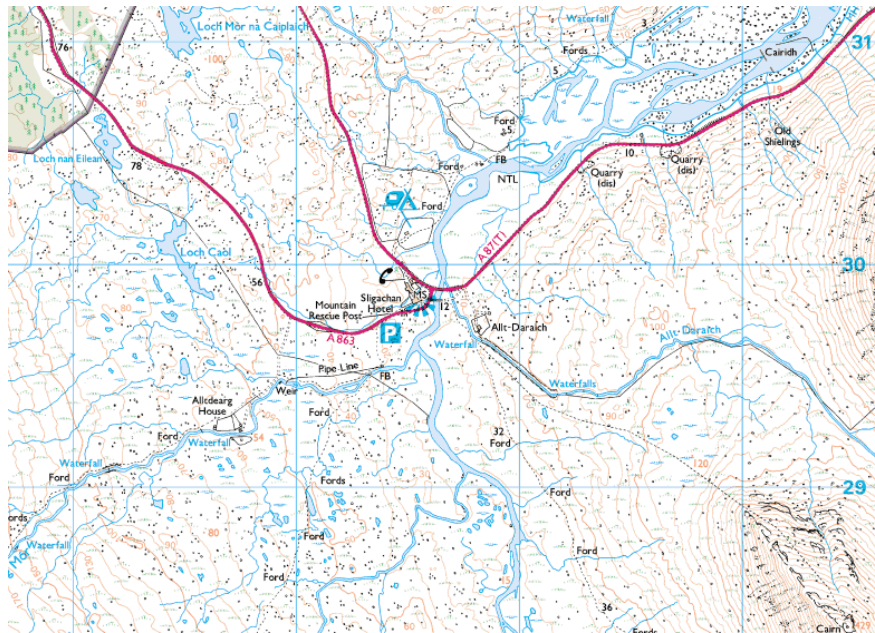
Of additional consequence are Smith's evocative descriptions of drovers chanting the words to 'Lochaber no more' as they travelled down the glen. Originally written by the Lowland Scots poet Allan Ramsay and published in his *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 'Lochaber no more' is a patriotic song of exile, adopted by many Jacobites during the first half of the eighteenth century.[107] As such, the drovers' decision to chant this song

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elsewhere in Scotland. In all likelihood, the information obtained from these fair-goers would have been partial in nature and local in emphasis, conveying events and stories that were deemed to have the most relevance and interest to inhabitants of that region. However, it is inevitable that some of the information shared (relating to events such as clan disputes, tolls and stance closures) was of wider significance – impacting upon the drovers' broader cultural, political and economic understanding of, and engagement with, the nation.

[106] This point corresponds with Chris Bear's [Bear, C. (2011) 'Being Angelica? Exploring Individual Animal Geographies', *Area*, 43, pp. 297-304] recent call for geographers to pay greater attention to animal individuality rather than herd and group identities.

[107] Pittock [Pittock, M. G. H. (2004) 'Ramsay, Allan (1684–1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press] notes that Ramsay was a Jacobite sympathiser who was fiercely opposed to the Union – a position that is reflected in many of his nostalgic and nationalistic poems. See also: Pittock, M. G. H. (1991) *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. London: Routledge, particularly p.57; Pittock, M. G. H. (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 157-158; Ramsay, A. (1724) *The Tea-Table Miscellany*. Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman.

suggests that they were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, a political movement particularly strong among Gaelic-speaking Highland clan members, many of whom were involved with the droving trade.[108] Consequently, in addition to their understanding of herding, it is clear that many drovers, by virtue of their cultural heritage or place of birth, were also aware of, and engaged with, Scotland's wider political landscape.

Figure 71: Broadford
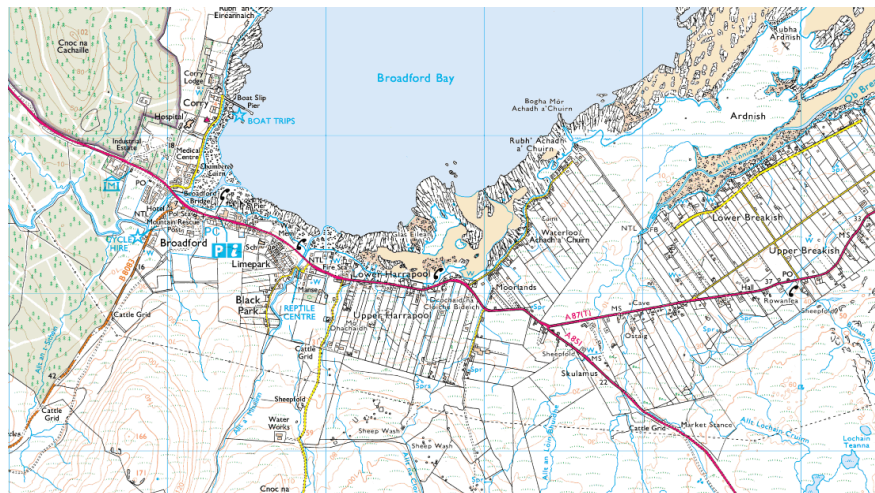
Conclusions

After critically examining a range of written and oral sources, it is clear that the trysts and smaller markets of Scotland were ascribed with a great deal of significance by the drovers, dealers and travellers that frequented them. Analysis of numerous official records and touring accounts of the trysts at Falkirk and Crieff affirms that they were complex sites of commerce and interaction, characterised by lively bartering, enthusiastic conversation, riotous drinking and occasional acts of violence. Following this, an exploration of nineteenth-century newspaper articles, agricultural guides and droving songs reveals that the task of controlling and parading beasts around the tryst site required a trained eye, skilful choreography and strong working relationships between the drovers and their animals. Furthermore, success at the great trysts would

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[108] As mentioned in Chapter Seven, the celebrated Scottish outlaw and Jacobite hero, Rob Roy MacGregor, spent much of his early life as a cattle rustler and drover [Stevenson, D. (2006) 'MacGregor, Robert (1671–1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press]. Aside from indicating Jacobite support among the drovers, the reference to

have been largely dependent upon the drovers' ability to select desirable beasts, demanding a detailed appreciation of bovine aesthetics and a comprehensive knowledge of the fattening abilities of specific breeds. Finally, an evaluation of several travel narratives and recorded interviews relating to three remote markets in the Highlands and Islands illustrates that, despite the demise of the Falkirk Tryst, cattle sales continued to be vibrant sites of social interaction and bargaining activity until the mid-twentieth century.

'Lochaber no more' could also be interpreted as narrative licence – a literary intervention, reflecting the author's own romantic inclinations and Jacobite sympathies.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

In closing the thesis, I wish to offer some final reflections on what it has achieved, the broader stories and thematics introduced, and the ways in which droving is being deployed as a cultural asset in contemporary life. In the opening section, I describe how this thesis has taken critical inspiration from, and attempted to enliven, A.R.B. Haldane's (1952) classic work on the Scottish droving trade.[1] Following this, I consider the contention that the drovers were a marginal social group whose movement and spaces of operation were increasingly restricted through enclosure, agrarian 'improvement', infrastructural development and anti-animal discourses, before offering some remarks about this thesis' contribution towards wider academic debates about landscape, animals and mobility. In the final section, I explore the impacts of droving on Scotland's economic and physical landscape, and the recent efforts of local communities, educational trusts and organisations to commemorate and re-enact the journeys of Scottish herdsmen in order to promote or re-invigorate specific rural, community and landscape values.

Enlivening Haldane

While it is important to acknowledge Haldane's significant contribution to droving scholarship, his work can be judged as rather dry and impersonal in style. In an effort to enliven Haldane's often dispassionate economic history into something more kinetic, personalised and indeed 'vital', this thesis refracts the author's work through the lens of an enlivened 'shire culture' approach – a perspective taking critical inspiration variously from the local, site-based research of 'shire' scholars such as Brian Hindle, the dwelling-based landscape work of Tim Ingold and recent work on embodied animality. In so doing, this thesis pays close attention to the situated experiences of Scottish herdsmen, as well as to the embodied intimacies forged between drovers and their cattle – integral aspects of droving which Haldane largely neglects in *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Furthermore, while Haldane focuses on 'trusted' or 'legitimated' documentary sources such as agricultural surveys, account books and legal reports, this thesis pays greater attention to the songs, stories, poems

and oral testimony of drovers – materials providing animated personal insights into the emotions, customs and lively social encounters of Scottish herdsmen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finally, in contrast to Haldane's too simplistic, progressivist portrayal of agrarian 'improvement' as a necessary phase of Scotland's economic development, this thesis has adopted a more critical, politically engaged approach, focusing on how the privatisation and enclosure of common land was a means to restrict the movement of Scottish herdsmen, so undermining their prescriptive rights to passage and nightly grazing.

However, in spite of these differences in orientation, Haldane nonetheless has remained an important presence in the shaping of this thesis. His work on the Scottish droving trade provided a wide range of references to published source materials and some oral accounts of droving. In my independent efforts to identify and source droving-related materials in the sound archives of the School of Scottish Studies and the National Archives of Scotland, I regularly came across elderly informants and legal documents who or which, initially unbeknown to me, Haldane had already consulted. Consequently, Haldane's travels around Scotland to visit archives and interview local 'tradition bearers' are a curious kind of 'hidden geography' running the length and breadth of this thesis. Furthermore, given his social position as a landowner, estate manager, lawyer and sporting gentleman, it is important to acknowledge that Haldane was an active member of an establishment class – landed individuals that were largely responsible for the closure of drove routes and the enclosure of common land. As such, by critically examining how these socio-economic processes constricted and regulated droving spaces, Haldane's lifeworld occupies a prominent position in my scholarly undertakings – a constant presence woven into the narrative of this thesis.

Enclosing Mobile 'Outsiders'

One of the central narratives that emerges from this thesis is one of social exclusion – a sense in which the drovers were becoming increasingly marginalised from Scotland's commercial and economic landscape. This marginalisation took a variety

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[1] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) _The Drove Roads of Scotland_. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.

of different forms. Firstly, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, Scotland went through a period of rapid agricultural change, resulting in the division and enclosure of a large proportion of its common land.[2] The practice of enclosing drove roads, hemming them in with dykes and turf walls, confined and restricted the drovers' movement, depriving them of their customary rights to nightly grazing and excluding them from access to the surrounding fields. Consequently, enclosure can be usefully conceptualised as a form of dispossession – a method employed by the state to embed the drovers, for good or ill, within the commodity economy.[3] In recent years, similar observations have also been made by critical geographers.[4] Drawing on the earlier work of David Harvey, David Nally argues that the promotion of agrarian capitalism during the eighteenth century was usually 'couched in a rhetoric of improvement' whereby indigenous populations and their subsistence modes of agriculture were derided as 'backward', inefficient and in dire need of transformation – characterisations that served to legitimise the aggressive transformation of non-capitalist social formations into market economies.[5]

Aside from the challenges posed by agricultural improvement, the drovers were also marginalised by the restrictive actions of individual landowners. Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a rapid growth in the leasing, acquisition and enclosure of land for deer forests, actions that led to the closure of many drove routes and cattle stances.[6] An example of this can be seen in the long-running legal dispute between Lord Breadalbane and several groups of drovers over the proposed closure of a cattle

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[2] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.208.

[3] Watts, M.J. (2004) 'Enclosure: A Modern Spatiality of Nature', in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Envisioning Human Geographies*. London: Arnold, pp. 48-64, p.51. See also: Mitchell, D. (1997) 'The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States', *Antipode*, 29, pp. 303-335.

[4] For example, see Nally's work on famine, enclosure and colonial biopolitics in Ireland: Nally, D. (2008) 'That Coming Storm: The Irish Poor Law, Colonial Biopolitics and the Great Irish Famine', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98, pp. 714-741; Nally, D. (2012) 'The Colonial Dimensions of the Great Irish Famine', in Crowley, J., Smyth, W.J. and Murphy, M. (eds.) *An Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 64-74; Nally, D. (2012) 'Trajectories of Development, Modalities of Enclosure: Land Grabs and the Struggle Over Geography', in Duffy, P.J. and Nolan, W. (eds.) *At the Anvil: Essays in Honour of William J. Smyth*. Dublin: Geography Publications, pp. 653-676.

[5] Harvey refers to this process as 'accumulation by dispossession' [Harvey, D.W. (2003) *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.137]. Nally, D. (2011) 'The Biopolitics of Food Provisioning', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36, pp. 37-53, p.43.

[6] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.214.

stance at Inveroran (detailed in Chapter Seven).[7] These actions were symptomatic of a growing belief, shared among landowners, politicians and other advocates of agricultural improvement, that productive spaces should be reserved exclusively for profit generating activities. Consequently, the drovers, by virtue of their traditional rights to passage and wayside grazing, were increasingly regarded as a hindrance to Scotland's economic development, 'out of place' in the modern commercial landscape.

Another factor that contributed to the drovers' marginalisation was the introduction and rapid expansion of tolls and turnpikes. Considering that most drovers travelled at their own expense, the introduction of tolls on roads and bridges put them under significant financial pressure, forcing them on to circuitous cross-country routes. Furthermore, in the early years of the nineteenth century, the government embarked on an extensive road-building programme. Unlike the softer tracks which preceded them, these newly-constructed roads were often surfaced with gravel and small stones, materials which damaged the hooves of the younger cattle and impeded the progress of the drove. Hence, in their efforts to improve military access, commerce and industry in the Highlands, the British Government hindered the mobility of the Scottish drovers.

Combined with the processes of road 'improvement', the drovers were also excluded by developments in Britain's rail network. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the arrival of the railways, and their later expansion through Scotland, enabled stocksmen and breeders from England to purchase and transport cattle directly from farms in the Highlands.[8] As a result, these infrastructural 'improvements' led to a significant reduction in the number of livestock sales at Falkirk – a trend that continued until the Tryst's eventual demise at the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, by removing the requirement for large-scale droving on foot, the growth of Britain's railways effectively erased the drovers from Scotland's modern commercial landscape.

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[7] National Archives of Scotland (Reference: GD112/47/4). Papers in Action over Drove Stances at Inverouran and Suie (1843-1862), *The House of Lords Case of John Marquess of Breadalbane*.
[8] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.219.

In addition to processes of infrastructural and agricultural change, the drovers were often excluded, and portrayed in negative ways, for their close associations with animals. This can be seen in Joseph Mitchell's disparaging account (originally quoted in Chapter Eight) of the market stance at Sligachan – a scene which he "viewed with no favourable impression of the civilisation of the people".[9] His suggestion that the drovers, by virtue of their interaction and coexistence with animals, were uncivilised, is symptomatic of a wider modernist belief that humans and animals should be separated. This 'modern' impulse to separate human and non-human worlds had several implications for the Scottish drovers.[10] Firstly, it led to growing calls by city reformers and sanitary scientists to remove slaughterhouses and meat markets from urban spaces.[11] Furthermore, in the spaces where droving was permitted, the trade came under increasing attack from local highway legislation, allowing local authorities to restrict the movement of animals along public highways, thereby limiting the spaces in which droving could occur.[12]

Much of Haldane's research into the Scottish droving trade was fuelled by an interest in the political and economic processes of nation-and capital-building, identifying the integral role that droving played in the commercial development of Scotland. It is somewhat ironic that these same socio-economic and technological processes were also responsible for transforming the drovers from valued components of the Scottish economy into mobile 'outsiders' whose practices, customary privileges and association with animals rendered them increasingly alien to a progressively

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[9] Mitchell, J. (1883) *Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands*, Vol. I. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, p.220.

[10] Philo, C. (2005) 'Spacing Lives and Lively Spaces: Partial Remarks on Sarah Whatmore's Hybrid Geographies', *Antipode*, 37, pp. 824-833, p.825. See also: Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association; Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf; Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

[11] For example, see: Philo, C. (1995) 'Animals, Geography and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, pp. 655-681.

[12] The urge to exclude cattle from public spaces can be judged by the inclusion of various orders in local highway legislation such as the *Fife County Council Order Confirmation Act* [The National Archives: Parliamentary Archives (Reference: HL/PO/PB/1/1949/12,13&14G6clvii). Acts of Parliament/Laws/Legislation (1949), *Fife County Council Order Confirmation Act, c.lvii*]: "The owner of any cattle or horses or any person for the time being in charge thereof who wilfully and habitually creates an avoidable nuisance by permitting the same to use any footway on the side of a public highway so that the said footway is damaged or littered with excremental matter shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding Twenty Pounds". Despite being passed in 1949, nearly half a century after the demise of large-scale droving in Scotland, this Act serves as a useful example of how nineteenth-century sanitary discourses and assumptions about the

commercialised and de-naturalising 'modern' society. Indeed, it was in this era of agricultural and infrastructural 'improvement', with its emphasis on commons enclosure, private property rights and economic 'advancement', that the drovers found themselves increasingly 'walled' and 'fenced' into a more limited range of spaces and routes – factors that contributed to the trade's eventual demise at the end of the nineteenth century.

This, in turn, gave rise to a new era in which cattle were increasingly transported by trains and, in later years, by lorries. Since the mid-1990s, cattle born or imported into the U.K. are also allocated with passports, without which they cannot travel beyond the confines of their holding.[13] Furthermore, any movement of cattle, including movements on and off farms to markets and to slaughterhouses, must be reported by farmers and keepers within three days of the event.[14] This latest legislation is illustrative of the continued trend towards restricting and regulating the movement of cattle – legal developments that would render droving in its historical form virtually impossible in the present day.

Scholarly Contributions

Aside from 'shedding light' on the socio-economic processes that marginalised and restricted the movement of drovers, this thesis has also contributed to wider theoretical debates about landscape and mobility. By examining the routes, movement and culture of the Scottish drovers, this thesis re-invigorates a longstanding tradition of local, site-based landscape research – a body of scholarship which I describe in Chapter Two as a 'shire culture'. In particular, this project takes inspiration from and extends upon the work of landscape scholars such as Brian Hindle and Richard Muir, geographers who have written extensively on the topic of ancient tracks over the past

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'avoidable nuisance' caused by animals passing through public spaces, became embedded within local government policy.
[13] Department for Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs Website – Cattle Passports: http://archive.defra.gov.uk/foodfarm/farmanimal/movements/cattle/passports.htm, last modified on 03/09/09. Accessed on 01/10/13.
[14] Department for Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs Website – Movement Reporting: http://archive.defra.gov.uk/foodfarm/farmanimal/movements/cattle/reporting.htm, last modified on 02/10/09. Accessed on 01/10/13.

thirty years.[15] However, while there are certainly similarities and resonances between my research and that of 'shire' scholars – notably, an interest in the routes and relics of droving – this thesis also enlivens these routes by exploring the cultures, practices and lifeworlds of the herdsmen and cattle that passed along them, social dimensions that are rarely examined in the 'shire' literature.

Furthermore, responding to Sellick and Yarwood's recent call, this thesis provides an insight into how livestock and landscape are deeply entwined.[16] Firstly, by examining the physical requirements and favourable characteristics of herd animals, this thesis demonstrates that droving played an important role in influencing the diversity and population of certain breeds of cattle in Scotland. The continued existence of these breeds, combined with their strong regional and herding associations, illustrates that cattle are a significant aspect of the Celtic landscape – living expressions of regional environmental difference and local herding histories that are influential in shaping understandings and social constructions of Scotland.[17] Secondly, following Sellick's work, this thesis draws attention to the lives and daily interactions of cattle, taking seriously the physical and cultural imprints that they leave on the landscape, considerations that have been lacking in recent academic studies.[18] Thirdly, by focussing on the interaction and embodied intimacies between drovers and their animals, this thesis illustrates that cattle play an important role "as co-constituents in place-making and spatial formations", influencing the ways in which drovers understood, experienced and engaged with their surrounding landscape.[19]

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[15] Hindle, B.P. (1982) *Medieval Roads*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications; Muir, R. (2000) *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

[16] Sellick, J. and Yarwood, R. (2013) 'Placing Livestock in Landscape Studies: Pastures New or Out to Graze?', *Landscape Research*, 38, pp. 404-420. See also: Yarwood, R. (1999) 'The Changing Geography of Rare Livestock Breeds in Britain' *Geography*, 84, pp. 80-87; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (1998) 'New Places for 'Old Spots': The Changing Geographies of Domestic Livestock Animals' *Society and Animals*, 6, pp. 137-165; Yarwood, R. and Evans, N. (2000) 'Taking Stock of Farm Animals and Rurality', in Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. (eds.) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-114; Yarwood, R., Evans, N. and Higginbottom, J. (1997) 'The Contemporary Geography of Indigenous Irish Livestock' *Irish Geography*, 30, pp. 17-30; Yarwood, R., Tonts, M. and Jones, R. (2010) 'The Historical Geographies of Showing Livestock: A Case Study of the Perth Royal Show, Western Australia' *Geographical Research*, 48, pp. 235-248.

[17] Evans, N. and Yarwood, R. (1995) 'Livestock and Landscape' *Landscape Research*, 20, pp. 141-146, p.142.

[18] Sellick, J. and Yarwood, R. (2013) op. cit., p.413. See also: Sellick, J. (2006) *Animal Geographies of Cattle: Bodies, Spaces, Ethics*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Bristol, Bristol

[19] Sellick, J. and Yarwood, R. (2013) op. cit., p.414.

Consequently, this study contributes to recent geographical engagements, themselves informed by Actor Network Theory, non-representational theory and 'hybridity', that seek to express and conceptualise the ways in which animals, as active agents, are intimately enrolled and 'mixed up' in human lives and everyday practices.[20]

Finally, this thesis contributes to a growing body of literature on 'mobilities'. By examining the movement and socio-spatial practices of Scottish drovers, this research has helped to question and indeed to trouble the prioritisation of static and bounded notions of settlement and culture which predominated during the droving era – sedentary understandings that have been widely critiqued by mobilities scholars.[21] As such, this study widens and deepens the scope of existing historical scholarship on mobile social groups, examples of which include Tim Cresswell's work on tramps and Sarah Holloway's research on Gypsy-Travellers.[22] Furthermore, as with Cresswell and Holloway's work, this thesis provides an insight into the discourses and socio-economic processes that contributed towards the marginalisation and immobility of itinerant societies.

Despite these resonances, efforts to conceptualise the Scottish drovers have also revealed absences in the mobilities literature. Firstly, there have been few attempts by mobilities scholars to consider the mobile geographies of animals. Consequently, by examining the patterns of movement, spatial configuration and interaction of herd animals, this thesis illustrates that there is significant conceptual and analytical potential for incorporating animal lives into academic debates about mobility. Secondly, with the exception of recent work on Gypsy-Travellers, there is a notable absence of historical mobilities literature exploring the social construction and movement of rural travellers and traders. Thus, by focussing on the cultures and lively

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[20] For example, see: Haraway, D. (2008) *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Hitchings, R. (2003) 'People, Plants and Performance: On Actor Network Theory and the Material Pleasures of the Private Garden', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 4, pp. 99-103; Murdoch. J. (1998) 'The Spaces of Actor-Network Theory', *Geoforum*, 29, pp. 357-374; Thrift, N. (2000) 'Afterwords', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18, pp. 213-255; Thrift, N. (2007) *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. London: Routledge; Whatmore, S. (2002) op. cit.; Whatmore, S. and Thorne, L. (1998) 'Wild(er)ness: Reconfiguring the Geographies of Wildlife', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23, pp. 435-454.
[21] Cresswell, T. (2011b) 'Mobilities I: Catching Up', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, pp. 550-558, p.551.

encounters of the drovers, this thesis provides an insight into the mobile social landscape of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Scotland – a landscape that was shaped by the interaction and movement of numerous social groups, including coffin bearers, pilgrims, miners, travelling merchants, whisky smugglers and herring fishers.

Droving Impacts and Afterlives

After examining a range of oral, archival, literary, photographic and official records, it is clear that droving has had a significant impact on Scotland's economic, cultural and physical landscape. In the two centuries that followed the Acts of Union, droving was a valuable source of employment for large sections of the Scottish population in regions such as Caithness, Sutherland, Ross-shire, the Western Isles, Skye, Inverness-shire, Morayshire, Aberdeenshire, Angus and Argyll. The economic importance of droving is further illustrated by the rapid growth in cattle sales throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the end of the eighteenth century, the annual value of cattle sold from the Highlands was between two hundred and three hundred thousand pounds.[23] By 1812, this figure had risen to nearly half a million pounds, an upward trend which continued until the middle of the nineteenth century.[24] In addition to the revenue generated by droving, steady increases in the volume of cross-border cattle traffic helped to extend trading links with England. Droving duly played a significant role in the commercial transformation of Scotland from a 'sedentary' agricultural economy into a 'modern' trading nation.

Combined with its economic importance, the droving trade also had a lasting impact on Scotland's physical landscape, with a scenic legacy. For example, the remains of dry-stone dykes, originally built by landowners and farmers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to channel the movement of cattle and prevent them from trampling crops on either side of the drove road, can still be seen on hillsides in

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[22] Cresswell, T. (2001) *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion; Holloway, S.L. (2003) 'Outsiders in Rural Society? Constructions of Rurality and Nature-Society Relations in the Racialisation of English Gypsy-Travellers, 1869- 1934', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp. 695-715.
[23] Sinclair, J. (1795) *General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland: Including the Counties of Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and the Islands of orkney and Shetland. With Observations on the Means of their Improvement*. London: Colin Macrae, p.185.
[24] Graham, P. (1812) *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire*. Edinburgh: G. and W. Nicol, p.334

southern Scotland (see figures 16 and 17 in Chapter Five). Furthermore, at the stance sites and waysides where cows once grazed, the sward remains, even to this day, appreciably greener than that of the surrounding landscape (see figures 18 and 44) – a result of generations of manuring from wandering cattle.[25] In many parts of upland Scotland, particularly in the Highlands, Southern Uplands and Cheviots, the tracks created by drovers and their beasts remain visible (see figure 15). The fact that these tracks are still discernible is evidence of their continued usage. Since the demise of droving, these routes have been utilised by a variety of different groups including walkers, cyclists and off-road motorists.[26] Consequently, the utilisation and transformation of drove roads by a variety of recreational groups, each attaching their own specific memories and identities to these routes, serves as a powerful illustration of their enduring cultural and logistical significance.[27]

Over a century after the demise of large-scale droving in Scotland, the trade is still being deployed as a cultural asset by local communities, educational trusts and organisations. One instance is telling. Set within a working cattle mart in Dingwall, the Highland Livestock Heritage Society (HLHS) has assembled a public exhibition that tells the story of Scotland's livestock industry and its international linkages with countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States.[28] The display contains a wide range of materials, including a selection of locally sourced droving and droving-related photographs, letters, folklore, recollections from Highland herdsmen, audio-visual presentations and a number of droving artefacts. Several maps of old drove routes are also included in an effort to galvanise visitors into conducting their own exploratory walks. Combined with this public display, the HLHS has assembled a small archive containing several books, documents, recordings and numerous categorised images of droving.[29] As such, the HLHS

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[25] Haldane, A.R.B. (1952) op. cit., p.37.

[26] The West Highland Way long-distance footpath follows the line of the old drove route between Fort William and the head of Loch Lomond. Much of General Wade's military road between Inverness and Dalnacardoch – a route that was commonly used by drovers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – has been built over by the current A9 trunk road.

[27] In his recent book *The Old Ways* [Macfarlane, R. (2012) *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot*. London: Penguin], Robert Macfarlane provides an immersive account of the stories, journeys and landscapes associated with Britain's ancient routes.

[28] Highland Livestock Heritage Society Website – Drover Project: http://www.dingwallmart.co.uk/HLHS/drover_project.htm, no date last modified. Accessed on 05/12/13.

[29] Ibid.

collection provides a unique opportunity to inspect and witness snapshots of droving in action, allowing visitors to engage with, and better relate to, the stories and livelihoods of a once vibrant trade.

In addition to these public exhibitions, the heritage of droving has been celebrated through cultural events such as the Drovers' Tryst Walking Festival, held annually during the week of the Michaelmas Tryst in Crieff.[30] Throughout the festival, several guided walks along old drove routes in the hills surrounding Crieff provide visitors with an opportunity to encounter and experience droveways in the company of local historical experts and like-minded individuals. Complementing the walking programme are a series of workshops and educational talks devoted to the songs, poems, music, poetry, stories, routes and environmental knowledges of the Scottish drovers.[31] As such, the Crieff Walking Festival serves as an instructive example of how droving is being used to commercialise and commemorate Scotland's cultural heritage. Efforts to promote and re-invigorate regional traditions through cultural heritage can also be seen in other parts of Britain. For example, in their recent work on creative industries and regional space, Nicola Thomas, David Harvey and Harriet Hawkins describe how craft-traditions are being utilised to inform understandings of regional identities and cultural practices.[32] Consequently, the Drover's Tryst Walking Festival is situated within a broader 'landscape of heritage', one which seeks to heighten and shape public perceptions of regional spaces through the creative deployment of old traditions.[33]

Aside from these themed events, the journeys undertaken by Scottish herdsmen have been celebrated through several droving re-enactments. As noted in Chapter Three, during the Summer of 2012 the Scottish-based educational trust SpeyGrian organised an eight-day drove along the old route between Newtonmore and Kirkmichael. Comprised of a diverse group of artists, ecologists, storytellers, historians, geographers, pony handlers and educators from across the U.K. and the United States,

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[30] Drovers' Tryst Walking Festival Website: http://www.droverstryst.com/default.asp, no date last modified. Accessed on 04/12/13.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Thomas, N.J., Harvey, D.C. and Hawkins, H. (2013) 'Crafting the Region: Creative Industries and Practices of Regional Space', *Regional Studies*, 47, pp. 75-88, p.76.

the drove was undertaken in short sections of ten to twelve miles a day, distances intended to correspond with those covered by the drovers. In an effort to replicate further the journeys carried out by Scottish herdsmen, the trip was conducted in the company of several Highland cattle and ponies – the latter being used to carry participants' food and camping equipment. The act of following these old routes and re-visiting a way of life long since past gave new meaning to the landscape for participants, providing insights into the experiences of Scottish herdsmen and the daily challenges of herding animals through the Highlands. Furthermore, the practice of cooking and socialising in the evenings created opportunities to reflect on each day's walk and share stories and songs about the drovers – a reminder that "a road is more than a line of communication between two places, but has a life of its own, with unique stories to tell, linking people, places and journeys over time".[34]

Figure 72: Driving cattle between Kingussie and Glen Feshie

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[33] Harvey, D.C. (2012) 'Landscape and Heritage: Emerging Landscapes of Heritage', in Howard, P., Thompson, I. and Waterton, E. (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 152-165.

[34] Gilbert, J. (2010) *Funding Application to the Gannochy Trust for the 'Journey to the Heart of Place' Droving Re-enactment*, p.4.

Figure 73: Herding ponies between Glen Bruar and Blair Atholl

Figure 74: Entering Blair Atholl   **Figure 75: Evening camp, Blair Atholl**

The drove was punctuated by three 'meet the drovers' events, held at several points along the route – the first at the Highland Folk Museum in Newtonmore, the second at Blair Atholl and the final one at the end of the drove in Kirkmichael.[35] Set up in the fields surrounding our camp site, these events provided local residents, tourists and other members of the public with an opportunity to meet the animals and chat with the droving participants, an open format allowing for the mutual exchange of information, memories and folklore relating to the droving trade. Accompanying each event was a portable display containing a selection of maps, books, photographs and some archival material from the HLHS collection in Dingwall. Housed within a gazebo staffed by droving participants and local historians, these documents provided communities and tourists with a chance to encounter and re-connect with the routes, stories and livelihoods of the Scottish drovers. In keeping with SpeyGrian's educational and practice-based ethos, the events also included displays of storytelling, cattle shoeing and eighteenth-century Highland dress, enabling visitors to engage with the skills and oral expressions of droving culture.

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[35] According to the *Old Statistical Account* entry for Kirkmichael [Stewart, Rev. A. (1791-99) *Old Statistical Account*, Parish of Kirkmichael, Vol. XV, pp. 506-522, p.514], during the middle years of the eighteenth century, this market was one of the most important in Scotland.

Figure 76: Story tent, Kingussie

Figure 77: Droving costume demonstration, Blair Atholl

Inspired by the stories and journeys undertaken by the drovers, the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (RSGS), in conjunction with the University of Stirling, have recently launched an action research project ('Stories in the Land') which aims to "encourage young people and their communities to work together to become collectors, creators and tellers of old and new stories … and their local landscapes".[36] In so doing, participants are invited to take part in local journeys on foot and with ponies and to record their thoughts, experiences and connections with the droving landscape through poetry, music, art, craft and performance.[37] These stories will then be drawn together into a mobile exhibition before travelling around participating communities and going on display at the Fair Maid's House Visitor Centre in Perth and the Netherbow Storytelling Centre in Edinburgh.[38] Consequently, the RSGS project serves as a useful illustration of how droving has been creatively deployed as an effective way to re-invigorate contemporary ruralities, and re-ignite community and landscape values – an enduring 'shire culture' that is still very much in the making.[39] While it is unlikely that Haldane would have envisaged this social world of re-enactment and commemoration, over sixty years after the publication of *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, he would surely have been charmed by such interests being charged across the centuries.

By encouraging visitors and local populations to encounter and re-connect with the routes, landscapes and livelihoods of Scottish herdsmen, these projects re-enforce and re-frame public claims to access and to the commons – a gentle political symbolism, albeit articulated in the more colloquial language of heritage and community

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[36] Stories in the Land Website: http://storiesintheland.blogspot.co.uk/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/12/13.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

engagement.[40] As such, the Dingwall archive and the SpeyGrian/RSGS droving re-enactments can be placed within a wider ongoing politics of land reform and access rights, typified by the work of organisations such as the Scottish Rights of Way Society, Land Action Scotland and Community Land Scotland, which seeks to challenge landed power and reclaim prior erosions of the commons in the Scottish Highlands.[41] When viewed from this perspective, the subtle politics inscribed within the events, projects and activities organised by the HLHS, SpeyGrian and the RSGS, correspond closely with the more critical claims about enclosure, the annihilation of common rights and the restrictive actions of governments and landowners that are made throughout this thesis.

Conclusions

By refracting Haldane's work through the lens of an enlivened 'shire culture' approach, this thesis has sought to provide insights into the routes, sites, practices, lifeworlds and cultures of the Scottish drovers and their embodied interaction with herd animals. By examining legal documents relating to the closure of cattle stances, in conjunction with recent academic research on agrarian capitalism and enclosure, the work illustrates that the drovers were a marginal social group whose routes, customary grazing rights and spaces of operation came under increasing threat from

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[39] Aside from these cultural events, droving was also examined in a recent BBC documentary on 'Britain's Lost Routes', first broadcast at 20:00 on 14th June 2012.

[40] In her recent work on crofting, Fiona Mackenzie describes the ongoing efforts of Hebridean communities to re-frame and re-assert their claims to common land in Scotland: Mackenzie, F.D. (2006a) 'A Working Land: Crofting Communities, Place and the Politics of the Possible in Post-Land Reform Scotland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31, pp. 383-398; Mackenzie, F.D. (2006b) ''S Leinn Fhein am Fearann' (The Land is Ours): Re-claiming Land, Re-creating Community, North Harris, Outer Hebrides, Scotland', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, pp. 577-598; Mackenzie, F.D. (2010) 'A Common Claim: Community Land Ownership in the Outer Hebrides, Scotland', *International Journal of the Commons*, 4, pp. 319-344.

[41] Issues of landownership, land reform and community land rights in Scotland have also been examined by critical historians such as James Hunter and Andy Wightman. For example, see: Hunter, J. (1995) *On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands*. Edinburgh: Mainstream; Land Matters – The Blog and Website of Andy Wightman: http://www.andywightman.com/, last modified 28/03/14. Accessed on 29/03/14]. In an effort to record and promote public awareness of Scotland's ancient routes (and their associated histories), the Scottish Rights of Way Society have recently launched their Heritage Paths Project [Heritage Paths Project Website (Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society): http://www.heritagepaths.co.uk/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/06/13]. Community Land Scotland Website: http://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/12/13; Scottish Rights of Way and Access Society Website: http://www.scotways.com/, no date last modified. Accessed on 15/12/13; Land Action Scotland Website: http://www.landaction.org.uk/, no date last modified. Accessed on 01/12/13.

processes of technological and socio-economic change. In so doing, the thesis also contributes to broader academic debates about landscape, animals and mobility. Over a century after the demise of droving, this final chapter demonstrates that droving is a valuable cultural asset – a way for local communities and educational organisations to re-visit and re-encounter a way of life so as to make Scotland's routes and landscapes more liveable and realisable phenomena, as well as to inform a sensibility alert to the political value of re-creating 'common' spaces and life-ways against the dispossessive imperatives of Scotland's capitalistic modernity.

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