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The School of
SCOTTISH STUDIES

J. Orr *

At this noteworthy stage in the life of the School of Scottish Studies when it makes its first corporate venture into print, it is appropriate that something should be said of its origins and purpose. It came into being at Edinburgh University as a result of conversations between Heads of Departments in the Faculty of Arts who, being themselves concerned more or less directly with things Scottish in the exercise of their normal duties, considered that there was a need for an institution which would view Scotland as a whole. Such an institution would, they believed, not only integrate existing studies, of necessity fragmentary and independent, but give them wider relationships and a fuller content by undertaking others which, for lack of any place in the academic curricula and consequently of any body responsible for their pursuit, had been hitherto largely if not entirely neglected by the University.

In a document placed before the Senatus of the University on 10th May 1950, the founding of the School was advocated and the following activities and fields of investigation proposed:

A. Archæology;
B. A compilation of information upon which maps of prehistoric and historic Scotland could be based;
C. The collection of place-names from both documentary and oral sources, and the organisation of a place-name archive;
D. The collection of oral traditions of all parts of Scotland and the organisation of an equivalent folklore archive for these;
E. Study of the structure of the European and other affinities of music in Scotland;
F. The integration of intensified field studies in social anthropology with the rest of the work of the School;
G. The co-ordination of the study of Scots Law in relation to the other studies in the School.

* Professor Emeritus, French Language and Romance Linguistics, Convener of the Committee of the School of Scottish Studies.

This important document was much more than a piece of pious aspiration. It contained not only a considered and authoritative preamble that stressed the academic importance of the scheme, but also a careful study of ways and means for the initial stages of the School and its future development, the fundamental problem of staff and housing receiving particular attention. The Senatus of the University Court gave the project their approval, and the School of Scottish Studies was founded and, with the generous aid of the Carnegie Trust, given a staff and a home.

The home is at Nos. 27 and 28 George Square, two houses which also accommodate in convenient contiguity the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, and the two dictionaries, the Scottish National and that of the Older Scottish Tongue.

The present staff consists of a Secretary-Archivist; Collectors for Folklore, Folk-song and Folk-music, both Celtic and Scots, and Material Culture; workers in Social Anthropology and Place-name Study; and a technical staff consisting of a Manuscript Indexer, Technician, Draughtsman-Illustrator, and Secretary-Typist. The staff is responsible to a Committee composed of specialists in the above fields, presided over by a Convener.

As a result of the collection and investigation conducted hitherto, an almost unsuspected wealth of material has been discovered. The collecting has far outstripped the work of indexing and cataloguing, to say nothing of interpretation. The material is so plentiful and the opportunities for fruitful research so numerous, that more workers both in the field and in the archives are needed. Moreover, with the existence of the School, located though it is in Edinburgh, there is a great opportunity for work in association with the other universities of Scotland. In the minds of the founders this aspect of collaboration with interested departments in other universities was of the greatest importance, and it is a matter of great regret that hitherto so little by way of collaboration has as yet been achieved. It is much to be hoped that, as the School becomes better known, and the importance of its work and aims more widely realised, such co-operation will be forthcoming. It is surely a matter to be welcomed by all scholars, and particularly by Scots scholars wherever they may reside, that Scotland has at long last taken her place between Ireland and Scandinavia in the systematic investigation of north and north-west European culture, a study to which, by her history and geographical position, she can make a unique and most valuable contribution.

The work of the School of SCOTTISH STUDIES

Stewart F. Sanderson *

AIMS AND OBJECTS

A history of the foundation of the School of Scottish Studies would find its source-material in a strange medley of memoranda, private letters from one professor to another, half-remembered scraps of common-room talk, and a certain amount of retrospective divination. The motifs have not all been documented, although together they form the basis of the plans described by the Convener in the foreword to this journal.

Among the many considerations in the minds of the founders of the School was the desirability of making the fullest use of the material already being collected by the newly-formed Linguistic Survey, material of potential value to many fields of study besides pure linguistics. Indeed, some of this richly varied material was not likely to develop its full value even for dialectologists unless parallel studies were instituted to supplement and amplify the linguistic work. For instance, a collection of local names for a particular object could only prove fully significant if a study were made of possible variations in the construction or use of the object. Even the various functional contexts in which the object was found might influence the choice of word to be used. Since the University of Edinburgh had already started its Linguistic Survey, and the four Scottish Universities together were to assume responsibility for the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue and the Scottish National Dictionary, it seemed a great opportunity to lay the foundations of future collaboration for the common benefit of all these activities. The fruitful results of the *Wörter und Sachen* approach were clearly visible in the achievement of scholars in other countries. There was therefore a general feeling that the School should pay particular attention to such activities as the collection of popular traditions, where the decay factor made an early start imperative if the older material was to be saved.

* Secretary-Archivist, School of Scottish Studies.

In 1952 the Committee of the School received a grant from the Carnegie Trust for the Scottish Universities in addition to an allocation from the general University budget for the quinquennial period then beginning; and work was started on the collection of oral tradition (folk-tales, items of belief and custom, et cetera), folk-song and music, the study of material culture, the study of the social structure of rural communities, place-names, and—a little apart from the other subjects—the sponsorship of a complete illustrated corpus of the pre-historic material remains in Scotland. It has been the aim of the Committee to keep the structure of the School flexible in these first experimental years, and of course modifications may be made from time to time to the present rather broadly-based programme.

SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION

The Study of Place-names: This is essentially a study in both time and place: history and geography meet and marry here. The searching of historical documents reveals the changing forms of a name across the centuries, with all that that implies for linguistic history: geography, on the other hand, casts light on the origin and meaning of the name or of its elements. It is essential to collect all the forms from the earliest spellings to the present-day pronunciation, for without such documentation, from sources such as early records, charters, feu-titles and maps, as well as from the lips of living men, nothing really definite can be determined. It is a fantastically complicated task to identify the linguistic stock and the meaning of the elements of our place-names. Successive waves of invaders (Picts, Britons, Gaels, Norsemen, Angles, Normans and others) have at various periods passed across or settled in our country, adopting and handing on versions of each others' names for places: and to come to the modern name, as printed on the Ordnance Survey map, equipped only with a smattering of Gaelic, a bundle of Norse roots, and a simple faith in certainties, is worse than useless. The origins of place-names may sometimes be settled only by comparing the geographic occurrence of names in different parts of the country: and these basic needs of *full documentation*, *historical* and *geographical comparison*, are fundamental not only to place-names studies but to all kinds of folkloristic research. Another task of importance is the recording of names which have never been written down. The names of

fields, clumps of trees, burns and pools, rocks, beaches, and creeks are often unrecorded, but they might illuminate many problems otherwise difficult to solve. A correspondent from the Long Island has sent in over a thousand such names (some of them with traditional explanations of their meaning) from his home parish, each name pinpointed on a map supplied by the School. If people would do the same for the 855 other parishes of Scotland they would make a very real contribution to the study of Scottish history.

The Work in Social Anthropology: There are obviously relevant correspondences between this discipline and the discipline of material culture and folklore. Social anthropology studies the lives and organisation of the people whose traditions, spiritual and material, are the field of investigation of the folklorist. The results of this sociological analysis will show the folklorist why certain kinds of traditions are changing their forms: at the same time, folkloristic studies can explain certain social phenomena (e.g. the division of labour between men and women, or the social distinctions and rules at a *ceilidh*) in terms of tradition, and thus give historical perspective to the functional analysis conducted by the social anthropologist. The School has so far made a detailed study of a Hebridean community from the points of view of social and economic relationships, kinship ties, social mobility and social change, together with a shorter study designed to elicit comparative material from an adjacent Hebridean community with a different religious background and economic pattern. An investigation of tinker groups is also in progress.

Folk Culture: One of the chief activities of the School of Scottish Studies has been and is the study of folk culture. The student of folk culture may deal with so many kinds of material, and may handle his material in so many ways, that it seems almost as impossible to define the scope of folklore studies to everyone's satisfaction as it is to agree on an internationally acceptable terminology—witness the deliberations of the International Folklore Congress at Arnheim in 1955, when even that highly authoritative body of scholars found itself in difficulties with European ethnology, ethnography, folklore, *Volkskunde* and *traditions populaires*. The folklore studies pursued by the School might be said to be "the recording and investigation of the oral and material traditions of rural communities in Scotland, with special emphasis on the traditions of the pre-industrial age".

The study of folklore is, in fact, the study of a certain kind of history; the intimate domestic history of a people. History is not just a matter of kings and queens, battles and treaties, statesmen and parliaments: these are certainly important, moving as they do in splendid and colourful succession into the highlights of time; but they play their part against a more enduring background. Behind them and around them lies the less spectacular but more lasting history of a people's beliefs and customs, notions of right and wrong, good and evil, luck and ill-luck, happiness and sorrow, songs and stories, facts and fancies—all the common places which make up the intricately-patterned fabric of our environment. It is this kind of history with which the student of folklore is concerned.

The study of folklore is an international science: yet within the framework of western European civilisation there are minor differences from country to country, province to province, parish to parish; and it is precisely in these variations of the larger patterns of culture that the folklorist starts his work. Robert Louis Stevenson once wrote that no matter how you educate a Scotsman, no matter whether he is brought up to speak the dialect of his native parish or the mandarin English which our grandfathers went to such trouble and expense to import into the Northern Kingdom, he will still speak with a "Scots accent of mind": and it is those who speak with a Scots accent of mind that most immediately concern us. The study of folklore begins with the individual and his local and personal heritage of tradition.

Every age, of course, has its folklore: it is axiomatic that the "folk" are not simple-minded rustics in Caithness or Kintyre, living in a cloud of bygones and survivals. The most sophisticated urban dwellers have their horoscope columns, step off the pavement when they come to a ladder, and believe in the magical power of chlorophyll tablets over halitosis. There will always be material for the folklorist to collect, but if we are to track down the last vestiges of pre-industrial tradition, both spiritual and material, we shall have to move very fast in this age of mass-communication with its London-centred press, radio and now television, its Hollywood films and party-line philosophies, which are so rapidly and radically stereotyping the patterns of popular culture. What matters now is the collection of evidence. The analysis can wait for the moment.

What sorts of things, then, are being collected?

Folklore: Of first importance is the *oral tradition* of the Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland—a part of the world of importance quite out of proportion to the number of its inhabitants. For here we have an ancient culture comparatively unmodified by the influence of twentieth-century "civilisation": a culture containing many strange blends of things from the past. The oral traditions of this culture are preserved in an ancient language, and although that language is dying under the force and pressure of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there are still men whose skill in the tongue, and whose respect for tradition, have preserved for us some of the oldest folk-tale material in Europe. In this oral field the School has a small but strong team headed by a collector with a remarkable range of experience and interests. In support there are collectors for Gaelic folk-song and for Scots folk-song (both concerned more particularly with song texts), and also a musician, again a man of wide experience extending over many years of folk-song collection and research. The range and quality of Hebridean tradition-bearers seems to be equalled in the art of Shetland story-tellers as judged by work on the folk-tale tradition outside the Gaelic-speaking area. Folk-tales have also been recorded in Scots from tinker story-tellers, and, despite the common remark that the folk-tale disappeared from the Borders with Sir Walter Scott, from one exponent not twenty miles from the Shirra's own home.

Another valuable aspect of the oral field is local historical tradition: reminiscences of things that happened in the district in times past, of feuds and disputes, incidents in the droving days, great disasters when the crops failed or the herring left the loch, ancient customs or ceremonies no longer in use, noted local characters and their doings—all the old things that have never found their way into the books, but are preserved and cherished in anecdote.

Folk Music: The collection of *folk-song* is another important aspect of the School's activities. About 5000 Gaelic songs, including variants, have been recorded; and about 3000 ballads, bothy-songs, and children's songs in Scots—the largest corpus since Gavin Greig collected the magnificent body of ballads lying in MS. notebooks in the library of Aberdeen University. But there is something new in the resources of the present-day collector and the possible scope of his studies, for the recording-machine can give us the very tones and accents of the singer. For the first time it is possible to analyse not only words and

melodies, but also styles of singing and intonation. It has been possible to note that singers in certain islands prefer to pitch their songs in a lower compass than in other islands; to observe the much richer and freer ornamentation of Lewis singers over Skye singers; to differentiate between those who sing on the true Hebridean scales and those whose ears have become attuned to the equally-tempered scale of the B.B.C. concert-room or the school piano. Pipe-music, fiddle-playing, mouth-music, a superb recording of reels and strathspeys played on the Jew's harp by a man using the bagpipe intervals—these are some of the miscellaneous items in the School's collection, which includes recordings given us by Dr. John Lorne Campbell who, with Mrs. Campbell, has done so much for one area of Scottish folklore studies.

Folk-song collection has a double importance. There is the musical value, and also the historical.

> Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow
> For old, unhappy, far-off things,
> And battles long ago:
> Or is it some more humble lay,
> Familiar matter of to-day?

In the texts of folk-song there lie embedded a wealth of historical information: the disposition of the forces and the manner of the engagement at Inverlochy; references to ancient sports and pastimes, archery, hunting and the chase; entertainments; dress; even hair styles—matters of great importance for the social historian.

Work in Material Culture: In addition to the oral aspects of tradition are material traditions too. The landscape of the Merse strikes the eye immediately as being different from the landscape of the Spey Valley: the building materials and lay-out of the houses, the angles of the roofs, the ways of tying the thatch, the types of fencing used, all help to build up a picture of the variations of tradition within the country. The Hebridean black house, its massive walls rounded against the western wind, its roof of thatch pegged or tied over a construction of stunted timber or driftwood, the reek from its central fire of peats finding its lazy way through a smoke-hole in the thatch, reflects a different way of life from that of the East Lothian or Fife Coast fisherman, whose gabled chimneys burn sea-coal, whose walls glisten with tar from his boat, and whose roof is made of curved pantiles of a cheerful red clay.

Climate, local resources of material, the day's toil and what it requires in the way of working spaces and implements, mark off the different culture areas; and an investigation of the house, its plenishings and gear, their construction, use and function, is a necessary complement to the investigation of oral tradition.

Unfortunately, such studies have been very much neglected by previous generations of students, with of course the outstanding exception of Dr. I. F. Grant and her Museum of Highland Life. (My own belief is that our studies of the material traditions are in need of considerable expansion: but then, so is almost anything we do. We could use three times the staff and four times the available finance without feeling that we were other than a small institute making our way up a steep hill very late in the day.)

Late in the day: when one remembers that the Swedish folk-museum movement has been going on for more than half a century, it is strange that so little was done in Scotland to follow up the studies of the black house made by Captain Thomas in the 1850's and '60s, or to pursue the fascinating byroads along which Arthur Mitchell led his audience when he gave the Rhind Lectures in 1876, printed later in his book *The Past in the Present.* Material culture studies in this country have been largely confined to pre-historic studies. The archæologist has investigated the material aspects of life in the Stone or Iron Ages—housing, food, tools and weapons: yet the stone huts dug out of the sand-dunes round our coasts are intrinsically no more important than the stone houses found in the Hebrides to-day. The concept of pre-history is sometimes misleading. History is a continuum, and in remote rural areas some things (fishing and agricultural practices, building and wool-working techniques, proverbs perhaps and attitudes of mind) have not changed very much at all in the last thousand or two years.

EQUIPMENT AND SERVICES

It will be obvious that extensive cataloguing, archiving and technical services are necessary for handling the fruits of field-work—the collections of sound recordings, photographs of objects, survey drawings of traditional house-types and so forth. *Technical Aids:* At 27-28 George Square there is a studio equipped for both audition and high fidelity recording. Field recordings are made on magnetic tape, the cheapest and most

portable system. The machines capable of making high quality recordings are not, unfortunately, of any use in areas where there is no electric power supply: so in addition to the large machines are smaller tape recorders operated by accumulator or dry battery packs. The more expensive of these machines, where not only the recording mechanisms but also the motors for driving the tape are electrically powered, give a fairly high level of quality: but the older machines, where the tape is driven by a clockwork motor, are of little use for music or song, though adequate for speech. Magnetic tape is not a stable form of recording, and already a deterioration in the quality of the earliest tapes has been noted. It is proposed, therefore, to store the most valuable material on gramophone disks, and the laboratory contains equipment for dubbing from tape to tape, tape to disk, disk to tape, or disk to disk. Special machines are also in use when transcribing tape or disk recordings.

There is also a darkroom for photographic work, the object being to create a kind of folk-museum on paper. The preparation of finished drawings of village and house sites, house-types, details of construction, field patterns and so forth, requires the services of a draughtsman-illustrator, and a recent start on this work too has been made.

Research Facilities: The School contains small study-rooms for the staff; a growing library with important collections of foreign books (especially Scandinavian), useful not only for comparative study, but also for methodology; a conference room for committee and seminar work; and of course the archives. These contain reels of recording tape and disks in a constant-temperature room; files of photographs, plans and maps; and shelves of transcriptions and notebooks. One of the greatest problems is to convert the material on the recording tapes to written transcriptions. There already exist more than six hundred hours of solid recording. As it may take anything from four to eight hours to transcribe one hour's recording much yet remains to be done to make findings readily available. Still, the material is there, safe for the moment; and one gains a little, albeit cold, comfort from the fact that the Director of the Dialect and Folklore Institute in Uppsala estimated in 1952 that he would need ten people for ten years to overtake the untranscribed recordings in his Institute! At any rate, the material is temporarily preserved: as safe as the ten thousand MS. pages of Scottish Gaelic material collected in the Hebrides

by the Irish Folklore Commission, who so generously deposited a microfilm copy in the library of the School when it was set up.

The written transcriptions have to be catalogued and indexed. This is not the place to go into the ways in which folk-tales and their motifs are classified by a kind of literary botany: that is a task for the expert; but suffice it to say that an analytical index of all our MS. material has been started on the lines of the Swedish system which may be best known in Great Britain in its Irish variant, in Sean O'Sullivan's *Handbook of Irish Folklore*. This detailed subject-index, which covers every aspect of human life and thought, should of course incorporate material from at least the main historical MSS. and printed sources: again, there is a crying need for readers and excerpters.

It will be many years till the material can be analysed with confidence. Some of the folk-tale and folk-song material could of course be handled usefully in certain ways in the fairly near future: but the items of general folklore, if they are to be regarded as elements in a living culture, not as mere assemblages of curious but useless facts, cannot possibly be handled until very much more material is collected—until, to put it succinctly, enough of the total culture has been recorded to provide the context in which these elements are to be considered.

A BROADER BASIS OF WORK

In order to supplement the field collection carried out by the staff of the School, it is hoped to secure the co-operation of interested institutions and individuals wherever they occur. There are already some people recording the traditions of their home districts in notebooks provided by the School: and one of these—one only, and his efforts would be outstanding in any country—has already written about six thousand pages in three years. Much more help of this kind is needed. A questionnaire has been devised on certain aspects of Scottish life and traditions for use in schools, youth clubs, adult education groups and so forth: and this is now beginning to be used by a network of correspondents. From it we hope to get a general overall picture of certain phenomena, and also to get in touch with a still wider circle of people who will co-operate in the most rewarding kind of questionnaire work; namely,

the detailed questionnaire, dealing with one specific topic, and answerable in a dozen words or so. The framing of such a questionnaire is a difficult technical task, but the advice of scholars abroad who have experience of the problems involved has been obtained. When answers to such questionnaires are received from correspondents all over the country, it will be possible to start on the distribution maps which should not only help us systematically to define various culture patterns in Scotland, but also, in collaboration with our Irish, Scandinavian and other neighbours, to study the culture contacts and loans in and around the North Sea area and north-west Europe. This could be the basis of a contribution to the much-desired atlas of European folk culture—a contribution which would depend not only on the work of a handful of scholars, but on the generous co-operation and self-expression of many Scotsmen and women, the inheritors of the richly coloured tapestry of Scotland's past.

Not only the heirs of the past, but the trustees of the future. Although, according to some, it is not the academic folklorist's business to meddle with the future traditions of the country, one cannot help speculating on the various ways in which this vast encyclopædia of Scottish tradition may be consulted. The study of traditional house-types, though in itself a purely academic research project, may one day help Local Authorities to build new houses which grow the more naturally out of the landscape because they not only use local materials, but provide kinds of living space that people instinctively want. The analysis of the structure of traditional communities may suggest better ways of giving stability to new planned communities. Some Scottish Dvorak may one day draw inspiration for a symphony from the songs of Shetland or the Hebrides, from the bare tragic fall of a ballad line, from the fantastic syncopation of mouth music that sets the whole body jigging and dancing, from the charming lullabies and poignant love-songs that have flowered so spontaneously on our Scottish soil. The possibilities are endless: the task ahead is immense.

Concrete results cannot be expected for many years, and the University has, from an academic point of view, made a bold investment in an uncertain future. But if the investment is bold, the faith is strong: faith in the tradition-bearers who have preserved these things for generations, and who are now so generously reposing their inheritance in what should become a most remarkable national archive; faith too that people

will come forward in sufficient numbers to help this immense task to be achieved.

Tempus edax rerum: the tooth of time has made savage attacks on the old Scotland, and it is strange to think of teddy boys in the douce streets of Edinburgh. But a new Scotland is being shaped, with new industries, hydro-electric schemes, forestry and agriculture. The stronger the spiritual roots of that Scotland, the more splendidly will she flourish. There is work for all in the task of preserving and bequeathing our national heritage.

FOLK-TALES FROM SOUTH UIST

For the past three years Mr. Donald John MacDonald, of Peninerine, Isle of South Uist, has been engaged—on a voluntary, part-time basis—in the collection of folklore material for the School of Scottish Studies. He has now collected over 6000 MS. pages of material, all from his own township of Peninerine and the neighbouring townships of Stoneybridge, Howbeg and Howmore.

His collection comprises extensive lists of place-names; detailed accounts of customs, practices and beliefs; descriptions of techniques and methods of work with sketches of house-types, out-buildings and implements; the texts of some hundred folk-songs; and a surprisingly large number of international folk-tale types in addition to local legends and heroic tales and lays.

Students of the folk-tale will, of course, realise that it is becoming increasingly difficult to find the type of material listed in the Aarne-Thompson Register of folk-tale types in current tradition now; and in some countries it is no longer possible to do so.

Here is a list of the types recorded by Mr. MacDonald, numbered according to the Aarne-Thompson classification.

Aa.-Th. 200 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 301 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 325
Aa.-Th. 400
and 401 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 425
Aa.-Th. 449+
Aa.-Th. 451 (3 variants)
Aa.-Th. 506 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 513
Aa.-Th. 516
Aa.-Th. 517 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 550
Aa.-Th. 706
Aa.-Th. 726+
Aa.-Th. 753
Aa.-Th. 901
Aa.-Th. 910B
Aa.-Th. 930
Aa.-Th. 935++
Aa.-Th. 953
Aa.-Th. 956B
Aa.-Th. 966++ (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 1386
Aa.-Th. 1525
Aa.-Th. 1535 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 1539 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 1541
Aa.-Th. 1651 (2 variants)
Aa.-Th. 1653A
Aa.-Th. 2030

All folk-tale scholars will agree that the above list, compiled by the Rev. Angus Duncan, is an unqualified tribute to the work done by the collector and to the richness of the cultural traditions of the area in which he has operated—four small townships, and, in reality, only a tiny corner of the Isle of South Uist. It is to be sincerely hoped that other collectors in other islands and on the mainland of Scotland will come forward to emulate the work done by Mr. Donald John MacDonald.

SCOTSMEN AND NORSEMEN:

CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE NORTH SEA AREA

R. Th. Christiansen *

During the spring in one of the years of German occupation in Norway a small popular edition of the ancient saga of Sverre the king, who reigned some 750 years ago—he died in A.D. 1202—achieved an unexpected popularity, much to the amazement of the publisher. The reason was that the king, in a speech made in Bergen in 1186, had expressed the general feelings of his countrymen in a way that was felt to apply just as well to the situation of 1943. He said: "We should thank the English who come to this country bringing with them honey, wheat, cloth, butter, linen and other goods. The Germans have come in great numbers and in many ships"—they certainly did in 1939—"to carry away our butter and our fish, so that our land loses thereby. They bring only wine with them, and we are not grateful to the Germans for their presence among us."

In some ways the words of this king, a contemporary of William the Lion and of Richard Cœur de Lion, may be taken as a fair expression of the general attitude of the Norwegians, looking with a kind of kinship and co-operation towards their neighbours on the far side of the North Sea. This feeling of being neighbours still persists. It can be heard in local speech, when cloudbanks far out are called "the boathouses of England", or when some captain of a drifter would describe his being driven far out to sea by saying that he heard "the church bells in England". It is an attitude based on geographical fact. The distance, for instance from Aberdeen to Bergen is less than from Aberdeen to London, and until the crosscountry railroad from Oslo to Bergen was opened some sixty years ago a journey to the capital from Bergen would take some sixty to seventy hours, while the transit from Bergen to Newcastle could be done in half the time.

The wide stretches of desolate hills and mountains stretching from north to south through central Norway have an important

* Late Professor of Folklore, University of Oslo. Munro Lecturer, Edinburgh University, 1955-56.

place in the history of the country, acting as a divide, a barrier, between eastern and western Norway, and causing a deeply rooted difference between east and west. This difference is certainly growing less distinct year by year, as intercourse over land and by air has proved more rapid and more easy than going by sea; but it is still obvious even to the most casual observer. The difference between the bare mountains, the long-winding fjords, the countless islands, bare, windswept and without trees, and the endless woods, the long valleys with a river in the middle, and farther down stretches that might be called open country, is immediately apparent to every traveller. In far-off days, when Sverre the king made his speech, the western coast with the city of Bergen was indisputably the chief part of the country, and the west, by its very position, stressed even more one essential Norwegian characteristic: in being the rocky western porch of the Scandinavian peninsula, Norway's face has always been turned towards the west.

Some wise historian once wrote: "The frontiers of nations are fixed on land but very movable at sea". In the old days this was true, while in our days the interests of our people have been concerned even with the open sea and with the Antarctic and Arctic wastes. Thus the demarcation of sea frontiers has grown into a serious issue. With the predominance of the western coast in earlier periods followed continuous and important intercourse with Great Britain, an intercourse of very long standing. Archæologists have found evidence of such contacts from prehistoric times, and from the advent of the Vikings, etc. the general development is known from sources from both sides of the sea, from the Norse sagas, from Scottish and English chronicles and annals, and from Irish writings. But it does not seem necessary to recapitulate what is known about the actual happenings, as such a summary could hardly be more than a re-shuffling of the cards. The literature on the subject is very extensive, and the interpretation of the few facts known has varied in the highest degree.

On the western coasts of the North Sea the Norsemen came in contact with two peoples and with two very different types of life and culture. They met in eastern Scotland and in England people not too far removed from their own kin; the language would of course differ, but not so much that some understanding could not be easily established. Going farther west they met the Gaels, the Celts of western Scotland and the Isles and of Ireland, presenting a unity with a common

tradition for established centuries and sheltered by having a tongue of its own, unintelligible to the invaders. To these people the Norsemen were real strangers, and the impression of the invaders would therefore be more vivid, a fact reflected in Irish tradition. In Great Britain the annals record the raids and complain of damage done, and the advent of the first Viking ships is referred to in an oft quoted passage, one of the extant manuscripts adding that, on being asked, those on board answered that they came from "Heretaland", which is generally assumed to mean the present Hordaland, the districts around the Hardanger fjord.

They were coming from the north and the ideas about these regions held by the Scots, by Irishmen and by Scandinavians were probably rather hazy, but in the main the same. The generally accepted impression (that the sea-going Norsemen descended upon a peaceful settled agricultural population, living in the main in isolation) is hardly true. Seafarers from the west had explored the northern waters at a much earlier date. About the year 825 Dicullus, the Irishman, was able to give reliable information about Iceland from the evidence of eye-witnesses, correcting some errors generally held concerning constant darkness and impenetrable ice. His reference to the settlement of monks from the west in Iceland is confirmed by a statement in the Landnáma-book, the account of the settlement of the Norsemen in Iceland—even those pagan "Northmanni", mentioned by the Irishman.

From a northern point of view the aspect of the Viking expeditions differed. In Norway this period belonged to a time of expansion based upon the domination of the contemporary sea-routes. Norway especially was then, as it is still, orientated with its face towards the western sea. So it was with the Vikings a thousand years ago, as it is to-day when shipping, seafaring-men and investments, and the interests of the larger per cent of the Norwegians, are concerned with the sea. The Viking period was therefore not regarded as one of many phases but as a formative period of our history, and a touch of enterprise and daring on a more than ordinary scale gave it a certain glamour and made it a popular theme, both in general conception and in serious study.

In Norway the trend of these studies was given by the writings of the linguist Sophus Bugge and his son Alexander Bugge. According to their books the Norwegians, isolated and conservative, an old peasant society, had in the west, Great

Britain and Ireland, had their first contact with European civilisation: and from this world they carried back to their home-country a wealth of ideas, if not the very idea of composing and writing. So in ancient Norse literature, sagas and Eddic poems, as in the poems of the scalds, traces of western motifs and conceptions could be found. Those studies have been carried on, and new evidence added, and again the wrong use of the term Celtic has caused mischief. When hunting for parallels every Celtic source seemed equally important, and every coincidence equally valuable, whether it was taken from an Irish manuscript dated before the year 1000, or from a Welsh romance of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, or even from a Scotch or Breton folk-tale recorded sometimes between 1850 and 1900. To be accurate, there were other scholars who looked upon many of these alleged parallels with critical eyes. So did the main authority upon Norse and Icelandic literature, the Icelander Finnur Jónsson, and his writings with those of others were always a salutary counterbalance to the many equations suggested, as to the more general conception of the whole complex.

The main lines of the history of the Viking period are fairly well known and derive from many sources, but they do not give much definite information on special points, such as the way of life in the hybrid districts, or the means and ways of intercourse. The chronicles leave us with an impression of incessant warfare, of raids, names emerging and being dropped, a kind of puzzle that historians have tried to fit into a coherent whole.

In the west, relics or reflections of such intercourse as there was between the British Isles and Norway are all too few. Most of them are Irish rather than Scottish. Perhaps we may be allowed to let the Irish references stand for Gaeldom. Of considerable significance, for instance, is the Irish history of "The Wars between the Gael and the Gall", i.e. the foreigners, known from a single ancient manuscript written in 1170 and not complete, and from several later transcripts. The author's style and manner were modelled upon the traditional literary pattern, and he had his own point of view; and even if written probably only some fifty years after the final battle at Clontarf on 22nd April 1014, the account does in no way give a clear impression of what really happened. Some passages show that he must have had eye-witnesses among his sources, as when he quotes a Norse phrase in such a way that it is still intelligible,

or when he refers to the low-water on that day in Dublin bay, fatal to the ships of the strangers—a fact which has been verified by calculations. The battle was the virtual end of the Viking kingdom of Dublin and the emergence of an Irish centre of power, but the opponents were not two nationalities, and the background, with the numerous factions involved, was extremely complicated.

Reports of the battle must have spread wide and far, as in the Nials saga we are told that portents marked the day in Iceland, and in Scotland Darrad the Caithness-man saw the awful sprits of war entering a tower to play at their loom and to sing the chant that Darrad was able to learn by heart. The exact relationship between the Irish and the Norse account is hard to work out. Both however have in common the unrealistic "mythical" twilight, obscuring the events with its imaginative traditional colouring.

There are, however, other contemporary accounts which leave us with a far clearer idea of life in those days, such as the narrative of one Findán, who, more than a century before the Clontarf battle, was captured by the Vikings, was sold by one party to another, carried off in a ship, but escaped somewhere in the Orkney islands. Equally vivid is the impression given by a quatrain jotted down by a friar in the margin of the copy he was making some time about the year 900, giving expression to his feeling of gratitude on seeing that on this night a storm prevented any Viking attack.

Evidence of this kind is, however, rare, and to Irish historians the Viking invasions were only parts of a traditional pattern, a passing tempest like many before; and in the history or the nature of these foreign invaders they had small interest. They knew that they were not quite barbarians, and the writer of the history of the wars, mentioned above, may even refer to the "historians" of the foreigners to check his own statement. But in their history he had no interest as it is expressly stated in some annals from the year 872.

In this way Irish history does not yield very much information on other aspects of contact with the Norsemen than war and fighting. If one passes to Norse sources there is even less to be found. Reference has been made to the note about the monks from the west that had settled in Iceland, as to the saga-chapters concerned with the battle of Clontarf. To these references may be added a quatrain by the warrior king Magnus Barelegs voicing his fondness for Ireland and his

reluctance to return home; and, further, a passage in a later saga of a bishop, describing the activities of a would-be interpreter at the Irish court, illustrating the difficulties involved in such an encounter, and the curious fidelity of tradition, the Irish words having been preserved but at least one phrase having been completely misunderstood. The chapters in the Laxdöla saga, describing the journey of the chieftain to Ireland to meet the relatives of his mother, an Irish princess—she had taught him her own tongue—are more concerned with the heightening of interest by constantly deferring the final meeting of the relatives, than with giving any information about Ireland and the Irish. Finally there is the strange case of a sailor reading an effective spell "in Irish" when in peril at sea.

Magnus Barelegs, the young king with ambitious plans, who fell in a fight in Northern Ireland, seems to illustrate very well the distinction between those who settled in the west and those who returned. No census was of course taken, but the question is further connected with another one: what was the reason for this sudden expansion, for these expeditions to the lands on the far side of the North Sea? Traditionally they are conceived as the result of daring and of the spirit of adventure, and such motives were of course in many a case the reason for going: but the traditional young Viking, tired of his narrow surroundings, and wanting to see a larger world, such as our national poets used to describe him, is hardly correct. The Viking expeditions were on a scale too large to be accounted for in this way. A parallel has been drawn between the Viking expansion and the great migrations of the Germanic tribes many centuries earlier, and the juxtaposition has a real foundation in fact, the fact that the main cause was of an *economic practical* nature. Norwegian archæologists have called the Vikings "Ancient Emigrants", thus by an apt designation stressing the very core of the problem. At home in Norway the possibilities for new generations must have grown more and more difficult. It was then, as now, a country of mountains and woods, cut up by mountain ranges and by fjords: and inland travel and intercourse must in ancient times have been exceedingly difficult. What arable land there was could not support an ever increasing population. Such characteristics depend upon the very nature of a country, and are still valid, even if in our days the very constitution of the society has changed, and the means of getting a livelihood have increased a hundredfold.

In the Viking period Norse society was composed of farmers, small chieftains, each in his own sphere, living at the family farmstead with their sons and daughters, and with serfs, native and captive, to do the work. An older system, known to have been followed even during the iron age, persisted. The sons, on marrying, lived at the family farm; the families grew, and the farmer himself was the ruler of this "larger family". Technical implements were unknown, apart from such things as spade and plough, and the breaking of new ground was a very difficult matter. It is easy to see that a society thus constituted would reach a stage when the opportunities to support ever-new members of the family were exhausted, and the new and younger generations had to seek some other outlet. They turned to the sea, being past masters of seacraft. Experiments have shown that their apparently primitive gear for steering and sailing worked excellently well, and a technique for following a definite course was evolved, and enabled them to get safely to any place they wanted, even across the open stretch of the North Sea. The traditional directions for sailing to Orkney and Shetland are known, and we are told that the passage from Norway to Shetland, with a fair wind, could be made in forty-eight hours, only slightly more than twice the time taken by a modern passenger steamer. An expansion of the same kind happened when during the later half of the eighteenth century thousands of Norwegian families left home to settle in America, the new wonderland of the west.

Probably a large, if not the largest, percentage of Vikings left as emigrants, not as raiders; and that leads to the fundamental distinction between settlers and pirates. The settlers found, first in Iceland and in the Faroes, new virgin soil with hardly any traces of earlier inhabitants, and natural conditions were not too different from western Norway to prevent them from resuming their old ways of living. Even in far-off inhospitable Greenland, and the mysterious "Wineland", somewhere on the coast of North America, they settled. We have in Greenland the ruins of their farms, still appearing as green patches on the hillside, where the sites of houses and cowsheds can be traced. We have their churches, in ruins of course: but in one the stone walls, heavy and solid, are still standing. The Greenland colony was doomed to extinction, when constant intercourse with Norway and the outer world was broken. In the isles to the north of Scotland the invaders

seem to have had the land to themselves, while farther west, in the Hebrides, they met the Gaels and had to come to some sort of arrangement with them. Still farther away, in Ireland, they founded their colonies, in intercourse as in conflict with the Irish; and as the Northerners were a minority they were gradually absorbed. In northern Scotland they also settled, but of their contacts with the Scotsmen in peace and conflict over the hills to the south very little is known.. When therefore, many centuries after those troubled times, we try to estimate in what way this period of common history has left any lasting traces, the only way seems to be to examine the traditional ancient way of life on both sides of the North Sea, in order to ascertain whether any elements exist that could only be explained by mutual influence.

Such studies cover a wide field and the co-operation of students of several types is needed, as each branch pre-supposes some special kind of knowledge and technique. Some problems have to be referred to the linguists, to those who know the languages and their historical development. They have to study the place-names, where the relationship between names of Norse and of Gaelic-Scots origin offers an indication of the extent of Norse settlements. Linguists are also required for a study of dialects and loan-words. Of Sudrey-norn no phrase is preserved, only a rich stock of loan-words, most of them related to the sea. The Norse dialect of Shetland is well known, thanks to the effort of Jakob Jakobsen the Dane. Of Orkney-norn less is known but still the studies of Dr. Marwick present sufficient material for a study of the dialect. Loan-words may in a way be said to offer better illustrations of the co-existence of the new arrivals and the indigenous population. In Norway material of this kind is hardly to be found, a fact equally significant. No place name of Scotch or Gaelic origin seems to be known, and the few Gaelic-Irish loan-words found in Norse-Icelandic speech, some twelve to fifteen in number, all denote implements for field and kitchen work, and seem to hint that those who brought them came as serfs, and whatever innovations they brought probably preserved the words.

Problems of this kind can only be solved by specialists, and the same may be said with regard to questions concerning the study of the setting of daily life, houses, implements, food and dress, etc., matters usually referred to the ethnologists. In Scotland as in Norway ancient traditional culture was deeply rooted, and materials for study are plentiful still. Such

studies may also gain further evidence from observations made in other districts settled by the Norse; and in thinly populated countries, such as Iceland, Greenland and Norway, ancient reliques have had a far better chance of being left intact than e.g. in a country like Denmark, where cultivation has claimed nearly all the available ground.

In districts in western Norway archæologists have recently uncovered the sites of farmsteads dating from Viking times or from periods earlier still. The type of house, and details such as, e.g. the construction of a roof, have been studied, and the existence of a type of house common to the districts round the North Sea, and farther west, has been recognised. Scottish archæologists have produced a similar wealth of material and scholars from the north have taken part in the study of these relations. The establishment in Scotland of a centre for such studies in the School of Scottish Studies, with competent scholars for field-work and with technical facilities, will prove to have a great importance for further development.

Recognising the need of specialists, it seems equally important to stress that all these branches at the same time are a living complex, a unity, where each element has its function in relation to the rest, and also that, for this reason, every specialist will have to recognise the necessity of co-operation.

Such awareness of an ultimate unity is perhaps especially strong among *folklorists*, i.e. those who, like the present writer, have been primarily engaged in the study of the expressions, in words and customs, of the inner life of traditional culture. The very term *folklore* seems, however, to have certain hazy associations, and accordingly needs, if no defence, at least some qualifications. To ask for a definition of the term would probably be of no use, and any one is left free to choose among the fifteen listed in the American Dictionary of Folklore.

It is certainly a convenient term, but it is also far more than the innocent, rather picturesque hobby of recording odds and ends from the vast storehouse of oral tradition. Every one may admit that extremely valuable information has been preserved in folklore books written by amateurs; but when one realises that those stories and songs, ballads and folk-tales, are no haphazard conglomeration of items, but the scattered, often incoherent remains of an ancient way of life, in some ways narrow-minded, always self-contained, no one will deny the importance of folklore studies. Even the sternest classical scholar does not hesitate to interpret his texts by references to parallels

from folk-belief, whether of what is called primitive races or of ancient rural Europe. Considering the peculiar character of folk-tradition such parallels ought to be handled with due caution, and one cannot, or ought not, to quote an isolated item as proof of a certain theory. Anything might be proved in this way, and in the immense mass of facts mustered in, e.g. Frazer's *Golden Bough* there is sufficient mana, tabu and Divine Kingship to explain any custom at all. The essential difference between folk-tradition and a written text must always be kept in mind. The former induces a kind of perspective of development and change, of the passing of time, while a written document is the representative of a definite period.

Students of folklore have accordingly always to face the passing of time, the many centuries through which this oral tradition has been evolved; and their conclusions have therefore to be drawn with certain reservations. Imagine for an instant that authentic, extensive collections of folklore existed from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; remember the immense distance to be faced; and the risk in using evidence from our own times will be immediately apparent. The only justification for doing so is the *inherent permanency* and *stability* of oral tradition. A prevalent characteristic of the life and conceptions of the unlettered classes is an extreme conservatism, unbroken as far back as one can see, but breaking down before the onset of modern urbanised civilisation. Such conservatism is perhaps best illustrated by the countless parallels established between folk-tradition and the belief and practices of "primitive" peoples. Occasionally an instance of such continuity may occur apart from these comparisons. In Norway, some twenty years ago, a runic inscription was discovered, dating perhaps from the seventh century A.D. Apart from its length it had several other features that were remarkable. It was obviously somehow connected with a burial, perhaps part of some ritual, and the runes were fairly legible: but the inner sense escaped us, as we did not possess the associations meant to be roused. On two points only the sense was clear, i.e. the reference to the non-use of iron in such rites, and to the danger of an exposure to the light of the sun. On these matters old-fashioned country people had a point of contact with those present at that distant burial.

Assuming such continuity it seems justified to examine present-day folklore to ascertain whether traces of constant contact exist from the distant centuries. The numerous parallels,

the amazing similarities apparent even on a cursory survey, may, however, more reasonably be explained as due to derivation from a common source, mediæval European folklore tradition.

It is first to be noted that these two traditional areas, the Scottish-Irish and the Norse-Scandinavian, have one important characteristic in common. Both are outposts, the one to the west, the other one to the north. Accordingly, within both, the currents of folklore matter reached the end of their migrations, circled in eddies, being developed and influenced from autochtonous sources, from contacts with races by now disappearing and forgotten. Within both areas the main stock of folklore is essentially of the migratory European type. There are the standard themes, the well-known incidents in ever-new combinations, coloured by the surroundings, and blended with elements apparently universal, expressing "the collective unconscious", to borrow an American term, more expressive perhaps than the "independent origin" of earlier controversies. An important point is also that in Celtic Scotland, as in Ireland, ancient oral tradition has been preserved to an extent unique at least in western Europe, and is accordingly still alive and accessible to students. In few other places only is there such an opportunity to study a mediæval type of society and point of view, where storytellers are not only guardians of toys half forgotten but still representatives of an art. Rarely elsewhere have they still a public not only of children wanting to be amused or quieted but of grown-up appreciative listeners, ready to face a long walk or a wet night to listen to an old tale. For folk-tradition is after all a social factor, by no means confined to isolated farms: its true medium is intercourse, neighbours meeting, strangers arriving bringing additions to what is known, cautiously adopted if found congenial.

The importance of collecting is at all events obvious: so is also our grateful acknowledgment of what has been done. To students of folklore few names are better known than that of Campbell of Islay, and I know few other collectors whose descriptions of places and people are as vivid and sympathetic, and few books are more fascinating than his *Tales of the West Highlands*. Further instalments from his manuscript volumes will be hailed with the same delight as was J. G. McKay's *More West Highland Tales*, Vol. 1. And we know that Campbell by no means exhausted the field. The ancient art of storytelling, almost ritual in manner and consciously artistic, is alive to the

present day; and new records of the ancient ballads, or of the Sgialachdan—long complicated stories—have been published during recent years. There are many points of contact between Gaelic folklore and Scandinavian, but it is obvious that the background of Gaelic folklore is to be found farther west, in Ireland. There may be stories and songs where Norway—Lochlan—figures; but any trace of historical facts—apart perhaps from a name—is not to be found. Lochlan is a distant land of monsters; nowhere has one the same feeling of a real world as, e.g. in the stanza from the ballad *Sir Patrick Spens* where "they hoisted their sails on Monday morn" and "hae landed in Norroway upon a Wednesday".

With the Scots and the Lowlands and eastern Scotland the Norsemen must have been on more familiar ground. They were more or less within the same greater traditional group. The sources for a knowledge of Lowland Scots tradition are, however, much less extensive. There is no such rich store of folk-tales recorded, but still enough to show that the folk-tales were known—I need only refer to Buchan's fine collection, now rare and not easily accessible. And as in Norway, folk-tradition was not coloured by the existence of an old literature, widely known and extant and circulated in manuscripts, as in Ireland and the Hebrides. Iceland may have had similar conditions, and the saga-manner has coloured the way the reciters rendered even the international folk-tales, but in Scandinavia storytellers had no such pattern. The tales were part of their own conditions, accepted and retold in the way their own artistic instincts determined. And my impression is that whatever tradition was alive in Lowland Scotland was of the same character, and therefore more akin to that of Scandinavia.

Such common characteristics become even more apparent when comparing Scotch with Norwegian, or one ought perhaps to say Scandinavian folk-tradition. Of their derivation from a common stock there can be no reasonable doubt. The difficulty, however, is that such things as ballads and folk-tales were to a large extent things of the past when the first attempts were made about a hundred years ago to record them. Even at that date they existed only as a kind of survival, growing increasingly more foreign to general ideas and ways of life. And since then this development has gone on, more and more swiftly for every decade. In using such terms as Scandinavian and Northern, it is well to keep in mind that they cover distinct

national groups, each with characteristics of their own, while at the same time, when seen against another different type of folk-tradition, as, e.g. the Gaelic one, they present a unity. In speaking of "groups of tradition" within Europe it is certainly true that no adequate map of such groups has been drawn up, but at the same time the marked lines of division are in several cases apparent. They do not follow political, nor even racial frontiers, but seem to be determined largely by ancient lines of communication, especially by routes across the sea. Such considerations justify the use of a term like North Sea tradition: there is a kind of sea-consciousness colouring groups of tales and of belief current along the coast of the North Sea and the Atlantic.

Some districts within this Scandinavian group stand apart, and that may be said of *Iceland.* As mentioned before, Icelandic tales and folk-songs have several points in common with Gaelic and Irish tradition. Iceland had for a long period an isolated existence, just as did the Gaeltachd. Literature and folk-tale had not parted company, and the genuine interest in story-telling was the same. The carriers of tradition had an unbroken consciousness of a literary style, and Irish and Gaelic, like Icelandic storytellers, retold the European folk-tales in their characteristic way.

This, however, is by no means identical with the aim of every good storyteller: "to tell a good story in straight words", to quote an old Norwegian peasant. Such an ideal is inherent in good storytelling anywhere, but when literature proper, composed by and expressing the ideas of individuals, followed international patterns, the folk-tale was left in the hands of the unlettered, and had its own development as a folk-art, rich and varied but with a choice of subjects and a point of view limited to a purely local horizon. In Norway there were no literary prototypes to imitate; the links with ancient saga-tradition were broken: only in the ballads, protected by rhyme and metre, ancient diction and motifs could survive.

The examination of the relationship between the folk-tradition of Scotland and Norway may suitably begin with the question "In which branch of folklore are parallels to be found?" It is not a question of mere formal arrangement, but in the various groups, ballads, folk-tales, legends, folk-belief, etc., the interplay of migratory international elements, and those more intimately connected with national characteristics, varies.

The *ballads* stand apart, as it is already well known that Scottish, English and Norwegian ballads belong to the same group and are closely connected. Evidence is plentiful and accessible to all in the copious notes to Child's edition.

To the west the British-Norse ballad group was bordered by Gaelic folk-song, entirely different in style as in content, with motifs taken from ancient Irish-Gaelic romance, the tales about Fionn and his son Oisin, who as Ossian gained European fame through the travesties of MacPherson. The question whether a ballad is originally Scottish or Norse is hard to answer, and in more cases than one the explanation is rather the existence of a common source. As to folk-music, the question of mutual influence could only be answered by an expert.

The relationship between Scottish and Norwegian folk-tales is still more difficult to assess. Of the essential unity there can be no doubt, and a reader of the representative collections, if unfamiliar with the international character of folk-tales, could hardly escape the conclusion that there had been a wholesale interchange. Hence the readiness of earlier editors to assume "Norse influence" or "borrowings form the Norse". In most cases, however, such close correspondence is due to derivation from a common source; but still cases exist where the peculiar development of a plot or some particular twist in the pattern point to direct interchange. Comparing Scottish and Norwegian folk-tales another difficulty is apparent: apart from tales told in Gaelic from the west, the material is very scanty. An Orkney tale—*The Mester Stoorworm*—is, in spite of the editor's alterations, a remnant of a Norse story, and Campbell of Islay recorded, in English, the tale of "The Unwelcome Guest", a rare tale now seldom told which has close parallels in Norwegian tradition.

One ought perhaps in such cases rather to talk of remnants than of evidence of interchange. They seem to be of the same kind as the ballads or ballad-fragments taken down in Shetland, e.g. the *Lay of Hildina*, and others; "visecks" that were sung as an accompaniment to dancing in ancient style and whose existence is testified by writers like Dr. Low and Hibbert.

Points of technique in the construction of the tale may also reveal a mutual influence, such as the use of the "geasa motif", i.e. an arbitrary demand, absolutely binding, an excellent device to prolong a story *ad infinitum*. The device is characteristic of Irish tales, and its recurrence in Iceland and occasionally in western Norway points to borrowings from the

west at some period or other. In recent times a book may be the intermediary; but with records taken down a century ago, in a community where few knew how to read, and any translations of folk-tales were unknown, the only possible explanation seems to be a direct interchange. Intercourse has been going on. Scotsmen have settled in Norway, and round the year 1300 Scots-Norse relations played an important part in Norwegian history, with the royal marriage, an event rich in dramatic episodes, and the source of a Norwegian ballad-cycle.

One would rather ask, *why* is there among Norwegians, as also probably among Scotsmen, such a mutual feeling of close relationship, to which, e.g. the Norwegian fishermen transplanted to the east of Scotland during the war have testified? The general outlook, the mentality, was probably somehow akin on both sides. This is, however, a far wider and more difficult thing to assess. The general characteristics of a people, in prose and poetry, in outlook and mentality, in the general rhythm of life, is the kind of subject, or problem, to which perhaps a poet could give an answer. An historian, and in the widest sense the term covers even folklorists, is bound to keep to a more easily circumscribed field, and yet to come to one essentially of the same kind: the tradition of the people, more simple, but still the experience, not of individuals, but of the people.

A definite answer to the question of the ultimate relationship between a Scottish and a Norwegian ballad or folk-tale will probably always have to be tentative, and the reason is that neither ballad nor folk-tale can be compared in the same way as written texts, even if we find them in a manuscript or in a book. Their really formative stage is in the mind of the individual storytellers or balladsingers, ever changing—even if the pattern is kept intact; and the passing into writing or print is a critical stage in their life, and the influence of the editor is decisive. As fiction, handled by individuals more or less artists, folk-tale and ballad is to a large extent independent of the local surroundings.

More intimately connected with a definite district and with a certain milieu is *folk-belief* as expressed in custom, and more tangibly in the vast masses of legends of every kind, which serve, not only as the expression of belief, but perhaps even more as its constant confirmation. The fundamental conceptions of folk-belief are never stated as a formulated system, but there is always a legend at hand that satisfactorily proves

some idea more or less vague. When therefore traces of mutual influence appear within this branch, one may with some reason conclude that in that case the contact between natives and invaders was intimate and profound. To illustrate this point one might try to examine some fundamental conception that coloured the legends and determined the actions of the rural population of earlier days. In my opinion among such ideas the belief in another kind of being, sharing this world with man, is of special importance. It was a constant background to human life, never wholly indifferent, always to be considered, as every wrong way of action invariably led to harm. Those "others" were close neighbours, never quite dependable: and to hit upon the true medium between them and ourselves was always a problem, and of every step taken, fortunate or not, some story could be told in evidence.

The reference is of course to *The Secret Commonwealth* of which the Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle has given one of the few authoritative descriptions. The main function of this secret world seems, however, to have escaped him. That is to explain every happening that needed an explanation, to solve problems that seemed insoluble, and to sanction such actions as were for the general well-being of the community. The present equivalent would be religion, and probably the belief in fairies has its ultimate source within the same sphere from which religion has sprung, the word religion being taken in its widest sense.

The name in general use—the *fairies*—has acquired certain associations that seem to remove them altogether from everyday life into the world of free fancy, together with other picturesque symbols and fancies that nobody ever took seriously. The reason is that English literature, the great classics that everybody knows, has fixed the idea of fairies and their doings as diminutive beings mostly engaged in playing pranks upon mortals. When years ago a book advertised "The Coming of the Fairies", on the evidence of some persons especially gifted, it was a disappointment to find that only these diminutive ballet-dancers were "coming". They are quite different from the fairies of tradition, a difference noted by Sir Walter Scott, who explained the literary kind as due to "the creative imagination of the sixteenth century".

Mentioning fairies in seriousness may raise a smile with some, as if one would take some light poetic fancy as evidence of actual fact. The name, however, will have to do, with the

further note that elsewhere, where the belief, if not perhaps still valid, is remembered, these beings are recognised as an important element or factor in the life of man. In such districts there is no hesitation as to what you mean, when, e.g. in the Gaeltachd you mention the *sithichean* or the *good people* or in Norway the *hidden people*, or *those under the ground*, or *dwellers of the mounds* or perhaps only *they* to avoid a certain risk in mentioning their real name.

When such beings are mentioned in all seriousness it is not because one wants to contend that they exist or existed some time in the past, but because the complex of ideas seems to be a most remarkable link with ages long since past, or with a way of thinking previous to and independent of Christian ideas, as of the wisdom of schools and school-teachers. Through their finds archæologists may attain to some knowledge of how early man fought, laboured and lived, but nowhere, as far as far as I can see, is such a strange relic preserved as the *fairy faith*, the belief in fairies, and, what is of more interest, the belief that it is difficult but vitally important to maintain well-balanced relations with them. Probably the real religion and the daily religious experiences and practices of Northern paganism were dominated by such belief. The traditional picture of ancient Scandinavian mythology, of the pantheon of the gods, was created, or rather arranged into a coherent system, by Snorri the historian, a couple of centuries after pagan religion had lost its sway. Snorri knew mediæval literature, and his account of the gods, and even more of the ultimate fate of man and of the world, seems to be a kind of theology, where elements of an earlier date were fitted into a coherent system with new and leading ideas borrowed from the new faith.

The sagas prefer to describe the life and death, the deeds and intrigues, of living men and women. In this dramatic world the interest is focussed upon the actions and passions of man, and the background is rarely filled in. Materials may be found for reconstructing the dwellings, but far less numerous are passages that throw any light upon the mental horizon of these people. When such glimpses occur, they leave an almost frightening impression of the conceptions dominating this strange peasant world, as, e.g. in the sagas of the Eyre-dwellers, and of Grettir the Strong. More specially it is the strange conception of the deceased as being still alive and active, and invariably evil, that lends its colour to saga-life. The

consequences were serious, sometimes almost practical in kind, as when one of the first settlers in Iceland chose the site of his new farm because there was a mountain conveniently near, into which he "chose to die". The statement is given in a way that shows that such foresight was perfectly intelligible to all.

In suggesting a connection between those "living dead" and the fairies, the intention was nowise to raise the vexed question of the origin of the fairies, but only to stress the fact that fairy-belief was no light fancy, nor were fairy stories a mere catalogue of wonders, but had far deeper roots in the mind of man. If then such belief may be assumed to be worth serious consideration as a deeply rooted and important element, still more or less faintly preserved, one might make an attempt to examine its various phases; and, keeping to the North Sea countries, a comparison may reveal ancient contacts and influence.

In these countries one may discern various phases of the general attitude towards these beings, in spite of the essential agreement. As for Scotland by far the greater mass of evidence comes from the west, from the Gaeltachd, as is immediately apparent from every collection of Scottish tales and legends. Gaelic fairy-lore is closely connected with Irish tradition, both in the attitude adopted towards the fairies and in the popularity of the same stories. In the main they seem to deserve the appellation *the good people*, even if occasionally stories are told of their bad behaviour. They live in a world richer and more colourful than ours, they have kings and castles, etc. Most believers will agree that in some way they are connected with the deceased.

The *sithichean* of the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles are of the same kin and have a similar temperament; but in many tales a new note of something sinister and malignant is apparent. As an instance one may refer to a well-known story, often recorded, of three young men passing a night in a lonely shieling. In the evening they had a visit from three young women, who turned out to be some kind of vampires, bleeding two of the men to death, while the third barely escaped to tell the tale. The same motif is very popular in Norway, but the development is quite different. The young man in the mountain hut gets a visit from a whole flock of fairies, who dance to his piping. He notices an exceptionally fine girl, and somehow, in jest, he happens to touch her with his knife, thus taking

her a captive. They marry, and the union proves very successful. The tale is current all over the country as in the other Scandinavian countries, and it is worth noticing that in some versions from western Norway the fairy girl is malignant and pursues the lad hotly.

In tradition this evil strain in the nature of the fairies is accounted for by stories about their descent. They are the angels that fell from Heaven, and lack the grace of God. In Norway the general account is that they are also the children of Eve, but she once hid them, as they had not been washed, when Our Lord came to her unexpectedly. Hidden they have remained ever since. In Scottish tales they are under a shadow of doubt, and they have no chance of salvation, a problem that did not only worry the fairies but also keenly gripped the imagination of man. In Scotland a representative of the fairies once put the question to an old man reading his Bible, and got a negative answer, upon which "he vanished with a piteous scream". In Norway the point is a warning against presuming to measure the extent of the mercy of God, and the young curate who declared that fairies had no chance of salvation was convinced of his error by the miracle of his dry stick bursting into flowers.

Even if such a "souring" of the disposition of the Scottish fairies is fairly evident and often noted, quite a number of stories are almost identical in Scottish and in Scandinavian tradition. These, however, are migratory tales and developed by constant retelling, and have passed the stage of fairy-belief pure and simple, assuming some of the characteristics of the folk-tale proper. The actual attitude of the believers is accordingly more in evidence in stories about their origin and ultimate fate, as also in accounts of personal experiences, even if also such relations seem to have a tendency to stiffen into traditional shape, where, however, the emotional aspect may still be felt. As an instance one may refer to the conception of fairies moving in hosts, like a storm, the *Sluagh Sihde* of the Gaeltachd, dangerous to human beings. In the Hebrides this host is well known, and people who saw it pass have often noticed acquaintances, deceased persons, among them. In western Norway the host is equally well known, and is regarded by all as something evil, consisting of evil-doers, while farther east, in the long valleys leading down to eastern Norway, the conceptions as to those moving about have been coloured by imagination.

This complex has been often studied and explained in various ways. Some have imagined them to be personifications of storm and wind; some have said they were the degraded pagan gods, outlawed and damned; some have even maintained that they are a kind of sublimation of ancient ritual processions. In tradition the belief is that the host are those spirits that found no rest in the grave, moving about by night. Noting that this belief is held especially in the western parts of Norway, being unknown farther east and in the other Scandinavian countries, the inference seems justified that the conception came to Norway from the west, or vice versa—which way is hard to decide. The tales have also a wider background in continental stories about the wild hunt, of which an eye-witness account exists as far back as the tenth century. This belief, that some of the dead will not stay quiet, is perhaps universal; but the equation between such ghosts and the fairies, common to Scotland and Norway, may have its ultimate explanation in the far nearer relationship between ghosts and fairies than between fairies and man.

Briefly surveying the evidence of Scottish fairy-faith, one may note some Orkney stories related by Dr. Marwick. In one island, Stronsay, trows—the common appellation—are known by individual names; and within the memory of living men, people used at night to *buil the trows*, making a noise to scare them into their *buile*, or quarters, a green mound near the house. In Shetland stories about the trows are far more numerous, while compounded words show that the original form of the word was *troll* (*trödl*, Foula), that is, the usual Norwegian appellation. In Norway, however, troll is another kind of being, long since passed out of folk-belief, and remembered only when some special landmark, a stone, remains as a sign of their activities. Such giants are remembered also in Shetland by some individual name, as, e.g. in Unst: so are their wives the *gaikerls*, an exact counterpart of the same beings known in Norway. The trolls and gaikerls are the descendants of the *jotnar* of ancient Norse belief, and a *yetna-stone* in Scotland has preserved a memory of the name, and, like stones of this kind, it turns about on hearing the church bells. In Shetland the trows, or fairies, have other names, such as Hill-tings, Hill-folk; and the use of such appellations may be due to a vague knowledge that *trows* were not originally those diminutive neighbours, often seen and heard.

On the mainland of Scotland fairy-belief had weakened

at an early date, and information is correspondingly scarce. In folk-tradition their disappearance is explained by their departure, and the last fairy in Caithness is said to have been seen on the shore ready to depart for Russia. On the other hand fairies are said to have been "terribly troublesome" in Buchan about 1880, according to Dougal Graham.

In the countries on the other side of the North Sea the belief in fairies presents various stages of development, even if a common origin is evident, a background, of which an idea may be got through the stray reference to such matters in the sagas. Icelandic lore has preserved and developed ancient elements that have become obsolete, e.g. in Norway. The appellations show something of this. In Iceland the term *alfar* is still in use, in Norway it is only known in some compound words as, e.g. *Alvskot*, i.e. elfshot. Equally common is *huldumadur* or *-folk*, while a *troll* is a larger, wilder kind of being, but still active, and tales are told about encounters and meetings with trolls. They still belong to folk-belief, and are not relegated to fiction.

Names are perhaps no safe indication of the general attitude towards such non-human beings, but a change in ideas is indicated by the different associations they raise, and when the use of the term *trow* in Shetland involves a change in people's ideas about them, the appellation used has a certain significance. The belief in fairies, etc. is often interpreted in a romantic way, when the stress is laid upon the lonely hills and woods, where these beings lead a free careless life of their own. They are, it is said, personifications of human reactions towards the wild uninhabited surroundings. Their predilection for music and song made them exponents of the forces of nature. Such interpretation is eminently suited for poetic uses, but it cannot be held when confronted with genuine accounts of their doings, after all the only possible evidence. The general tenor of fairy-legends is by no means poetical: the predominant feeling is one of terror and risk, and the point constantly stressed is that misfortune will follow upon *not* observing the traditional rules for any intercourse with them, however slight.

The main argument against such romantic interpretation of the belief in fairies seems to be the fact that they do not by any means prefer to live in the wilds. One of their main characteristics is their wish to live as closely as possible to the habitations of man, with a strong, almost sinister desire to establish a relationship with human beings. They accordingly

enter, or did enter before, into everyday life, representing a dangerous element to be carefully reckoned with in all its aspects. Such intimate co-existence is especially vividly reflected in stories from Iceland and the Faroe Isles. Trolls and alfar pass in and out in ordinary life, even if there is the distinction that trolls, larger and more malignant, had to have roomier habitations in mountains and hills.

Any number of stories might be quoted in illustration, e.g. stories of mountains haunted by trolls, where the aid of a clergyman was called in to make it safe for fowlers, much as was an Icelandic bishop in an account from ancient days. The direct connection with ancient belief is strikingly evidenced in the collection made by Jón Árnason and others. With the alfar and the huldu-folk relations were more intimate as they were of the same size and looked like human beings. One may also note that they are considered objects of pity, envying mortals their life in the sunlit world and their Christian faith. One may compare the appellation *fornestkin*—i.e. pagan. They lack essential things, need human midwives, and steal the infants of man. They may live close to the people, often occupying an old building no longer in use. Stories of the same type are current in western Norway; and when given notice to quit, they move unwillingly away, punishing with the loss of an eye a too curious onlooker. Sometimes, especially at Christmas, they want the whole place to themselves, and a widely known story tells how they once were frightened and never returned. The belief in such Christmas visitors has been alive up to fairly recent times, and the ritual prescribed for such occasions was in Iceland rather elaborate.

Traditions seems tacitly to imply that these visitors were the *hidden ones*, but many features suggest that originally they were the deceased, earlier generations, returning. Why gradually the fairies have come to take their place is a problem of wide implications; and one reading is this, given with all possible reservations: as time passed the problem of relationship with those "living dead" in mounds or mountains became less acute, while the consciousness of their existence was too deeply ingrained in the minds of people who were still under the sway of tradition, and was accordingly not discarded. That did not happen until recently. But "the others" retired from the immediate vicinity of living men, to places on the fringe of daily life where human visitors only came occasionally, to the hills and to the shielings. Living in another world they became

the subject of legends, only occasionally of actual experience. Still, however, even if they lived at a safer distance, they had to be considered seriously. As the years passed they grew fainter, and were more and more rarely seen. They became creatures of free fancy, or, as folk-belief explained it, left for an unknown destination, or like the Caithness fairies for Russia.

The impression remains of how immensely complicated such a problem as fairy-belief is. And when an earlier stage, represented by Icelandic tales, seems to re-appear in the sterner features of Gaelic-Scots fairy-lore, the conclusion is not too far fetched that they are due to the influence of the Norse settlers. If this is so, it is evidence of a deeper and more intimate contact than that of which traces may be found in folk-tales and ballads.

"Cultural contacts" is an ambitious title, and in this paper they are considered only from one aspect, that of oral tradition. Being the writer's special field of research it seemed at the same time to be an aspect of the question where one might point to some definite observations. Cultural contact there has been from the first confrontation of Scotsmen and Norsemen, ever increasing during the subsequent centuries. Ships have crossed the North Sea; visitors have come and gone, settled and departed; on every occasion contact, or the possibility of contact, existed. The complex of mutual influence has become increasingly complex. The result is the Scotland and Norway of to-day, with the bewildering interplay of things they have in common and things that are different. To unravel every strain, to explain every single element in this process, would need an observer of wide knowledge and outstanding ability.

THE TWO TAILORS

In a village somewhere in Scotland two tailors sat at their work sewing clothes. One was a tall thin man; the other was a little deformed man, and could only walk with difficulty. As they sat sewing they talked about ghosts and the churchyard and body-snatching, so their talk drifted to what one could do and another could do. The big tailor thought he would try the little man's courage, so he bet him a pound he would not sit in the middle of the churchyard among the tombstones for an hour in the middle of the night. The little tailor sat for a while thinking about the pound which he would like very much, so he said to his mate he would not mind sitting for an hour but how was he to get there as he was so lame and could not walk that distance. The big [one] said "I'll give you a chance, I['ll] carry you there, and when the time['s] up I'll come and carry you back". So they agreed to the bet. And that night at 11 o'clock the big tailor would carry the little tailor to the churchyard.

It so happened that another two men were to meet in the churchyard. One was to steal a sheep and the other was to steal a bag of potatoes, and they were to meet at a flat headstone in the middle of the churchyard. So the man with the bag of potatoes was there first and was waiting on his mate coming with the sheep. So the big tailor came carrying the little tailor on his back; he had just got over the steps into the churchyard when the man who was sitting waiting on his mate and thinking this was him with the sheep he called out "I hope he is a fat yin". The little tailor heard him and that was enough and he sprawled off his mate's back, and he could not walk but he never crawled as quick in his life as he got clear of the kirkyard and he told his mate it would be a long time or he took a bet on with him again.

This tale (Aa.-Th. 1791) was written down in 1954 by Mr. John Elliot, Hangingshaws, Yarrow, who heard it as a young man about 1890. The spelling is normalised. Other Scottish versions in the School's archives are from Benbecula (two), Morar, Lochaber, and Aberdeenshire (one each). For Irish versions see *Bealoideas* V, pp. 221-2, (269); XVIII, pp. 125-6, (127). For a Manx version see *Bealoideas* XVIII, pp. 50-1, (56-7).

The Significance of Scottish
ESTATE PLANS AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS

SOME LOCAL EXAMPLES

Betty M. W. Third*

ESTATE PLANS AND THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE

During the eventful years of the Agricultural Revolution, roughly from 1720 to 1810, the geographical appearance of the Scottish countryside was remodelled to conform to new theories of husbandry and to the new conception of commercial rather than subsistence farming. To enable the lairds to plan the re-organisation and improvement of their lands as many independent surveys were undertaken as there were estates. So complicated was the existing system of land tenure and so radical were the changes to be made that it was customary to have at least two surveys, the first resulting in plans showing the old unimproved terrain and the second the laying-out with drawing-office precision of field-grids, new roads and other features. Thus posterity was provided with a unique, detailed and remarkably accurate representation of a landscape that had changed little in its characteristic features for centuries. Of great interest also are the plans showing the shaping, often by a process of trial and error, of the new landscape which remains fundamentally unchanged to-day.

Before enclosure could proceed it was frequently necessary to consolidate and redistribute a multitude of small parcels of land lying scattered throughout the farmland and constituting the intermingled possessions of joint tenants. This was the legacy of the old outmoded runrig system of co-operative husbandry whose original function had been to ensure fair distribution of land among farm co-tenants by wide distribution and periodic re-allocation of possessions. By the seventeenth

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century possessions were almost invariably held in fixed tenure and the pattern had frozen into one of considerable inconvenience. Estate plans were drawn therefore on a scale large enough to show possessions that frequently amounted to fractions of an acre, and gave exact acreages in place of the old estimated and often erroneous measurements. The great majority of the plans are of individual farms or groups of farms and although they vary in scale from 2 to 8 Scots chains to an inch the most usual scale employed was 4 Scots chains to an inch or approximately 18 inches to an imperial mile.* Other plans include those of entire estates, of lairds' policies, and of commonties, which were subjects of considerable interest at the time.

THE PLANS: APPEARANCE AND CONTENT

Enclosure was a straightforward process in Scotland uncomplicated by compulsory legislation and the personal element was therefore conspicuous in the procedure adopted. The estate plans conform to no stereotyped pattern and vary greatly both in appearance and content. The most outstanding plans are those found in bound volumes bearing the name of an eminent surveyor and usually in a good state of preservation. Such plans, expertly executed in colour and print are masterpieces of graphic representation, meticulous precision and of artistic effect. Plate 1 is a drawing made from such a volume produced by John Ainslie the celebrated surveyor. Most of the loose plans are backed with linen, bound and of workmanlike appearance while even the small proportion of strictly utilitarian plans produced on flimsy paper are usually reliable as regards detail and proportion. These, the least prepossessing of the plans, commonly offer the minimum of information with annotations in scrawling longhand, and may lack title, date or scale. In size also there is great variety. Some plans measure less than a foot square and others approach the unwieldy dimensions of the mammoth plan of Douglas Estate in Lanarkshire which measures 15 feet by 6 feet 6 inches.

The most detailed plans show each arable field with its name and the individual rigs with acreages and names of possessors marked. Meadow, rough pasture and moorland are indicated and often in symbolic form each haystack and lone

* Scots areal and linear measurement was almost invariably used throughout the eighteenth century. An acre Scots was equal to 1·26 imperial acres. A Scots chain was equal to 1·12 imperial chains.

tree is noted. Each cottage with its toft appears in the farm hamlet or "fermtoun" and with the addition of the kirk or mill in the kirkton and millton. Roads, paths, antiquities, limekilns, quarries and other features are marked. Some plans show estates at an intermediate stage of enclosure, with the laird's policies laid out and the rest of the estate either unimproved or in early stages of improvement (see figs. 7 and 8). Another type of plan usually of more than average interest shows the enclosure grid superimposed on terrain which is manifestly in an unimproved and otherwise unaltered condition.

There must be many thousands of estate plans still in existence in the keeping of lairds, their factors or agents, besides those preserved in Register House and in libraries. Nearly four hundred of these have been catalogued under the auspices of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society yet the work can scarcely be said to have begun. However the study of even this small proportion of the plans has yielded a tremendous amount of information.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLANS AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS

The dated plans alone provide a dependable means of tracing the spread of the enclosure movement in Scotland. Although the earliest plans were being produced about 1720 the lands concerned were usually small well-situated estates whose lairds had achieved a certain prosperity either due to the inherent fertility of their lands or to a fortune made in the cities or industrial areas. It was not until the decade commencing in 1765 that the peak period of production of plans was reached. At that time the general enclosure of the great estates began, partly because the foremost landowners had not until then acquired sufficient capital to enable them to undertake large-scale improvements and partly because their labours were facilitated by an act passed in 1770 to encourage the improvement of land held under settlements of strict entail. The poorer and more marginal lands were enclosed with great difficulty at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The main factors in deciding the development of the enclosure movement appear to have been highly local and to have consisted of relative fertility of land, available capital, labour supply and distance from a market.

When estate plans are studied in conjunction with the associated rentals and reports of advisers, considerable insight

is gained into the fundamental causes underlying the continuous process of change in the social and economic structure of the rural community. In particular it is possible to study the later stages in the evolution of the runrig system, because when the impact of the Agricultural Revolution was felt, estates even in the same district were commonly at different stages of development. Thus one may observe the growing disparity in status between people who were once co-tenants on equal footing, and the appearance of the independent farmer who eventually arrived at sole possession of his farm. This development was reflected on the ground in the gradual consolidation of scattered possessions and the combining or splitting of farms.

The plans of the unimproved landscape reveal the adaptations of cultivated land and of the old pattern of settlements and roads to the characteristically undulating terrain whose constant variations in soil texture and drainage, more apparent at that time, were due largely to the effects of the last ice age. Furthermore, settlement types and sites may be classified, the actual distribution of population and extent of cultivated land determined, and the characteristic features of the local unit based on subsistence economy differentiated from the later re-organisation based on a broader regional economy.

The Agricultural Revolution for all its planning was a hasty introduction of something new-born of fresh and exuberant ideas and theories. It was inevitable that improvements should be made by a process of trial and error although the Edinburgh Society of Improvers and the writers of the numerous contemporary treatises on the subject did their best to give detailed guidance on every conceivable topic. The effects of their teachings are apparent in the designs for improvement, down to such details as the approved rounding-off of fields with triangular patches of trees at the corners. Even the authorities sometimes lacked sufficient practical experience and mistakes were made by lairds who tried to adopt fashionable but inappropriate methods. For example, the first of two consecutive farm plans may show the adoption of a grid of small enclosures modelled on the type favoured at the time in southern England, while the later plan shows the pattern considerably modified or even superseded by an arrangement of large fields that was better suited to the type of husbandry practised, or to the Scottish terrain.

Estate documents provide the most reliable means of determining the actual situation with regard to evictions and the

extent to which each laird was moved by the desire for greater financial reward. Plans showing the lines of projected enclosures laid out without regard to the vagaries of local topography and passing through the very cottages and yards of fermtouns and crofts, give the impression of what was often in effect an uncompromising attitude. The sweeping away of old clustered hamlets and their replacement by new steadings more conveniently situated by the roadside was a commonplace occurrence, but may be attributed as much to the action of influential factors and advisers and to the system of rouping farms to the highest bidders as to any deliberate intent on the part of the lairds. The lairds varied greatly in their attitude towards their tenants. It will be seen later, for example, that whereas the laird of Penicuik considered it worthwhile to attract smallholders to his lands and to foster the development of Penicuik, another laird took steps to obliterate the village of Dalmahoy. The surveyors were influential people who were in many cases entirely responsible for the ambitious designs for the enlargement and embellishment of gentlemen's policies at the expense of former farm land. Doubtless some of the lairds who ruined themselves at this time regretted listening to their grandiose notions.

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF SCOTTISH ESTATE PLANS

The changing geography of the Scottish landscape, resulting from enclosure, could only be depicted after an exhaustive study of plans. The stage for this has not been reached. In the meantime much can be done through the study of plans which are significant for their region. The samples chosen for this paper are mainly for the Edinburgh area, but they do represent, in some respects, the general trends and problems of the times. The plan of Carsewell gives some impression of conditions prevailing in the more inhospitable or backward areas, but none of the plans shows the excessive fragmentation of possessions that was fairly common in other parts of Scotland during the eighteenth century.

Newton (1754 *and* 1756) *and Carsewell* (1796)

The plans showing the farms of Newton and Carsewell, which are situated some ten miles apart in the basin of the Midlothian Esk, afford an excellent study in contrasted development (see figs. 1, 2 and 3). Newton was enclosed with lightning rapidity

during the 1750's whereas Carsewell was still unenclosed in 1796 despite the admirable effort made by the lairds of the estate, successive Clerks of Penicuik, from the early part of the century. The cause of the relatively backward condition of the estate was therefore fundamentally geographical.

Carsewell Farm lies at the foot of the Pentland Hills due west of Penicuik and at an elevation of 800 to 900 feet. Its situation on the high moorland surface which fringes our central lowlands and which still has more than its share of moss and bog, places it in the category of marginal or near-marginal land. Spreads of glacial sands and gravels forming a series of miniature hills, diversify the sloping surface of the farm. The hollows, or "howes", before drainage were persistent stretches of peat bog and rough pasture, doubtless resembling the present condition of nearby Auchencorth Moss. A rainfall heavier than that of the adjacent lowlands and the effect of strong winds on the upland doubtless contributed towards the discouraging nature of the farm. Were it not for present government encouragement Carsewell would to-day be a predominantly pastoral farm.

Newton on the other hand exhibited even in 1754 the characteristics of a prosperous lowland farm. This farm, situated about a mile and a half from Dalkeith and within sight of its spires, adjoins the River Esk in its lower reaches. The farmland, standing at just over 100 feet, slopes gently and smoothly towards the Esk: in 1754 it was covered with a close patchwork of arable fields and quite free of useless ill-drained land. Doubtless the situation of the farm in a populous district and near urban markets encouraged the full development of its resources and moreover the wealth accruing from the local coalmining would facilitate its rapid enclosure. The intrepid improver, Baron Sir John Clerk, struggling with the meagre returns from his Penicuik estate, recognised the value of lands near a royal burgh or near coal, where, he declared "small Tenants pay their rents best".[1] Coal was mined on Penicuik Estate and even on Carsewell Farm but in negligible quantities when compared with production from the district around Newton.

ENCLOSURE AT NEWTON

Prior to enclosure, Newton (see fig. 1) was a considerable farm settlement approximating more closely to a village than to the characteristic lowland farm hamlet but of a type that was

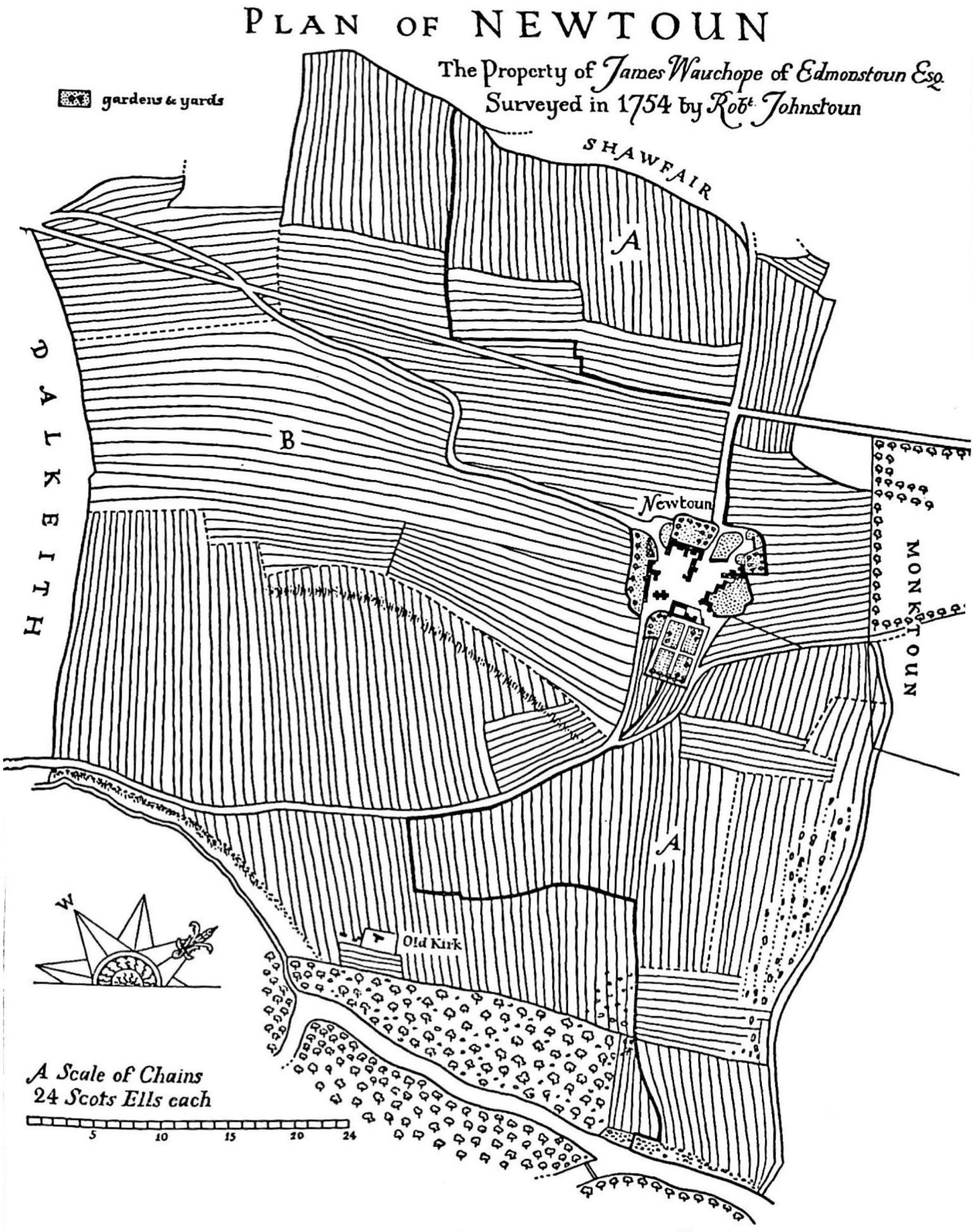

PLAN OF NEWTOUN
The Property of James Wauchope of Edmonstoun Esq.
Surveyed in 1754 by Robt. Johnstoun
gardens & yards
SHAWFAIR
A
B
DALKEITH
Newtoun
MONKTOUN
A
Old Kirk
W
A Scale of Chains
24 Scots Ells each
5
10
15
20
24

FIG. 1

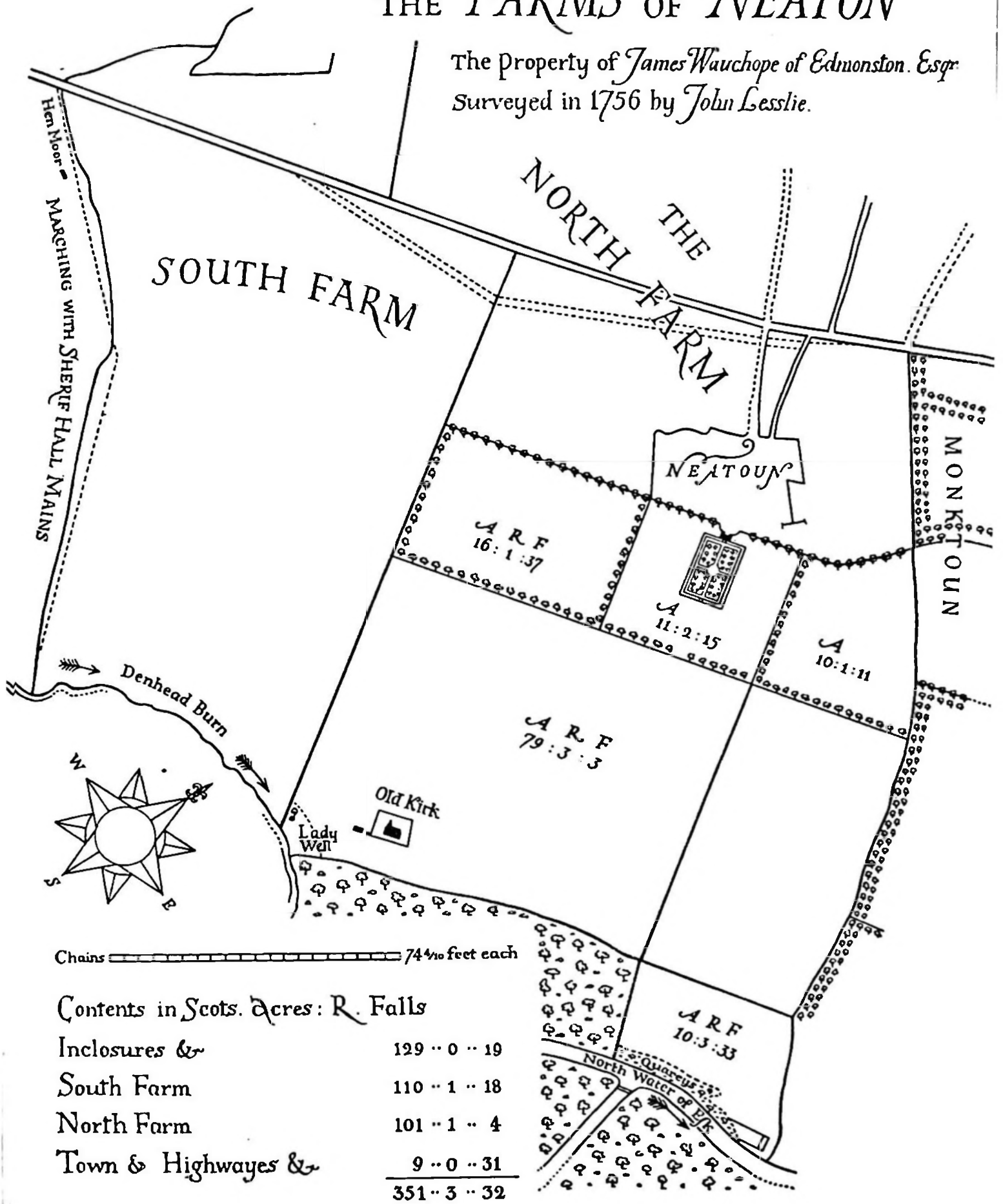
common in the Lothian lowlands. The four principal tenants' their subtenants and others of the community had their houses and tofts laid out on three sides of a square in front of the old mansion house which faced towards the formal gardens attached to it. An irregular boundary running through the village separated the east part of the farm, amounting to 122 acres, from the west part which was roughly twice as large. When a farm had a frontage on a river it was a common practice to split it when so desired into strips lying at right angles to the river so that each section should have a share of the fertile haugh land. The division of this farm and the allocation of possessions in it present an interesting line of enquiry. A minute of contract dated 1698 concerns the infefting of Sir John Wauchope of Edmonstoun in "two Roumes of the half lands of Naetoun" and a crown charter dated 1715 shows the two portions to have been in the easter half of Newton.[2] By 1754 the east farm of Newton had come into the possession of one tenant and was considerably less than half of the whole farm, the western part being in possession of three tenants. The gradual acquisition of an increasing share in farmland by the more prosperous tenant farmers was a common feature of the times, especially in farms of a rewarding nature. The three tenants of West Newton held unequal possessions distributed in small parcels throughout the various fields.[3]

The key to the 1754 plan shows that both farms had an unusually high proportion of infield. This was the land kept almost continuously under crops by the liberal application of manure, in distinction from the outfield which usually lay at some distance from the steading and received no manure; sections of the outfield were cultivated until they would yield no more and then were allowed to revert for some years to their natural condition. The fields of Newton were larger and more regular and the ridges or rigs longer than was common in less favoured districts. The direction merely of the rigs is shown and these, as usual, tended to follow the direction of the slope.

The line of the new road between Dalkeith and Musselburgh which was constructed in 1755 was added to the 1754 plan and the initial outlining of proposed enclosures is also shown. Newton House was a subsidiary residence and no policies were laid out but, as was customary, the earliest enclosures were made close to it and designed to correspond with the alignment of the mansion. By 1755 the three enclosures shown on the

THE FARMS OF NEATON

The Property of James Wauchope of Edmonston. Esqr
Surveyed in 1756 by John Lesslie.



Contents in Scots. Acres: R. Falls

Inclosures &	129 .. 0 .. 19
South Farm	110 .. 1 .. 18
North Farm	101 .. 1 .. 4
Town & Highwayes &	9 .. 0 .. 31
	351 .. 3 .. 32

FIG. 2

1756 plan and the enclosure of the 10-acre field by the riverside had been completed (see fig. 2). In the following year the large field of 79 acres was enclosed making a total for the two years of 129 acres enclosed at the cost of £794 Scots or £66 sterling. A statement by John Leslie the surveyor gives particulars of the share borne by each tenant in this quite considerable labour and expense.[4] The statement for David Brown, one of the three tenants of the West farm reads as follows (see table below). The cost of enclosure per acre would vary with

Inclosed first Year re Crop 1755.

Acres	Roods	Falls	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1	3	24	at 10 — —	pr Acre	19 — —	Scotts
1	1	12	at 7	pr A.	9 5 6	
2	0	31	at 6	Do.	13 3 3	
0	0	34	at 4 10 0	Do.	0 19 1½	
5	2	21				42 7 10½

The Seconde Year.

A	R	F	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
1	1	14	at 7 — —	pr Acre	9 7 4	Scotts	
11	0	25	at 6 — —	Do.	66 18 10		
7	1	21	at 5 10 —	Do.	40 12 —		
1	0	1	at 4 10 —	Do.	4 10 6	6 2 8	omitted
20	3	21				121 8 8	

the position of each holding in the field and the type of enclosure to be made.

The Modern Scene: The old mansion still stands in a cluster of trees with a group of farm buildings but all that remains of Newton village is some remnants of cottage walls and door lintels obscured by undergrowth. Part of the high enclosure walls near the mansion have been left but the fields are larger than those originally designed and the farm has a pleasant

PLATE I

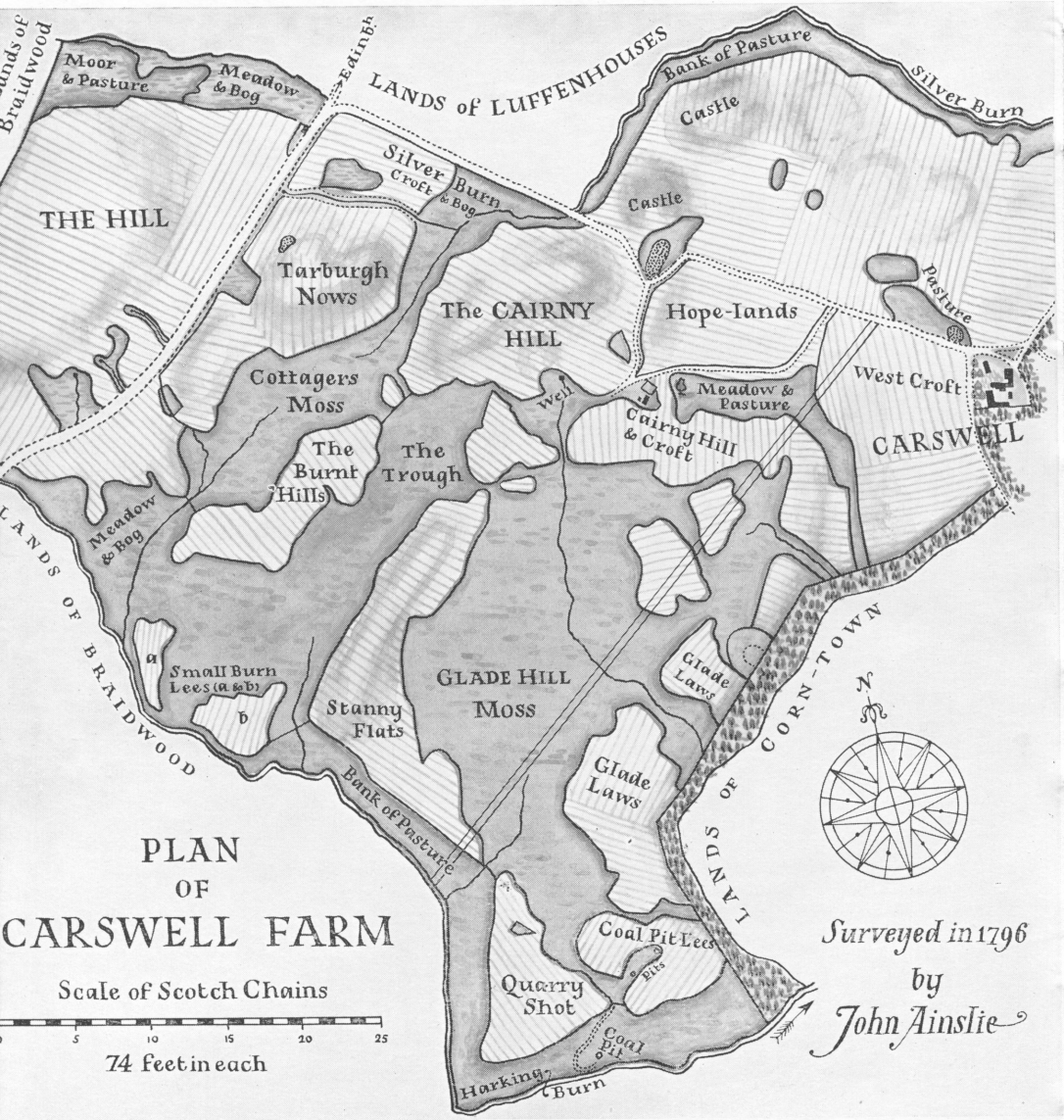

Moor & Pasture
Meadow & Bog
Edingh
LANDS of LUFFENHOUSES
Bank of Pasture
Silver Burn
Castle
THE HILL
Silver Croft
Burn & Bog
Castle
Tarburgh Nows
The CAIRNY HILL
Hope-lands
Pasture
Cottagers Moss
Well
Meadow & Pasture
West Croft
Cairny Hill & Croft
CARSWELL
The Burnt Hills
The Trough
Meadow & Bog
LANDS of BRAIDWOOD
a
Small Burn Lees (a & b)
b
GLADE HILL Moss
Glade Laws
Stanny Flats
LANDS of CORN-TOWN
Glade Laws
Bank of Pasture
Coal Pit Lees
Pits
Quarry Shot
Coal Pit
Harking Burn
N
PLAN OF CARSWELL FARM
Scale of Scotch Chains
0 5 10 15 20 25
74 feet in each
Surveyed in 1796 by John Ainslie

FIG. 3

open aspect. It is now in one hand and boasts excellent crops of wheat, the land betraying no mark of its earlier condition save some vestiges of the old track to Dalkeith.

ENCLOSURE AT CARSEWELL

The colouring of this plan in the original adds to the pleasing effect and to the excellent representation of natural features and cultural detail (see fig. 3). The series of glacial ridges and hillocks is readily apparent as is also the correspondence of the irregular patches of arable land with them. Two of the most outstanding of these bear the local designation "Castle" which was applied to similar features on other plans of the estate. One of the "castles" is to-day a conspicuous tree-covered knoll. In 1796 these cultivated ridges stood like islands amidst troughs of peat bog and rough pasture or meadow which comprised nearly half of the total acreage of the farm.

Carsewell was manifestly in a backward condition in 1796 yet some improvement must have taken place during the preceding century to permit of the threefold increase in rent from £326 Scots (£27 sterling) in 1696 to £80 sterling in 1787. Sir John Clerk, Baron of the Court of Exchequer, who took the first arduous steps towards improving Penicuik Estate, has described the condition of Carsewell in his various reports and memoirs. He described "The Castles" as a fine dry piece of ground for sheep but evidently wanted to see the arable ground improved and extended.[5] He blamed the length of the fifty-six year tack his father had given to the tenant of the combined farms of Carsewell and Cairnyhill in 1709 for the complete neglect of enclosing and draining and insisted that his tenants should be obliged to enclose 20 acres of their lands yearly.[6] He wanted to see the crofts of Carsewell improved and for that purpose suggested digging about 60 yards of the surrounding flow moss and mixing it with lime to make "what we call Earthmiddings. Nothing wou'd be better mannure for the Croft ground." [7] Evidently ditching and hedging had been beyond the capacity of successive tenants but by 1796 the arable land was quite extensive for this type of farm and especially so on either side of the two roads.

The original settlement of Cairnyhill which was abandoned in 1709 stood in a sheltered hollow amidst some minor hillocks. The site in a patch of ill-drained pasture was in conformance with the common practice of considering the

convenience of the beasts rather than the comfort of the inhabitants. Carsewell steading was probably built during the early part of the eighteenth century on the convenient site at the edge of the policies and by the roadside. If Newton housed a larger community than is commonly associated with the runrig period, the single tenancy of Carsewell represents an equally marked departure from the co-operative fermtoun. Both examples serve to demonstrate the changes that came about as the runrig system broke down. (They also remind one of the dangers of generalisation.) It had been customary at Penicuik during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and perhaps before that, for large pastoral farms to be run by one or two tenants and Baron Sir John Clerk considered one tenant sufficient for the management of what he termed his wild sheep rooms. Nothing remains of Cairnyhill, but the tree marked on the 1796 plan close to the settlement is now a veteran of the fields and can be seen on the aerial photograph (see fig. 4).

The infield or "Croft" land of Carsewell, Cairnyhill and the smallholding of Silverburn can be seen close to the steadings while the common terms "Shot", "Lees" and "Flats" appearing on the outlying patches of cultivation show them to be sections of the outfield. The adaptation of rigs to the awkward configuration of a glacial knowe can be seen diagrammatically represented on the field called Tarburgh Nows, situated beside the Edinburgh-Biggar road. Although the mosses constituted the poorest type of pasture they provided a plentiful source of fuel supplementary to the output of coal from the pits shown on the plan: until 1765 the tenant of Carsewell was obliged to deliver thirty-eight loads of peat yearly to the laird as rent payment in kind. The traditional rights of the cottars of Silverburn over the Cottager's Moss are still remembered.

The Modern Scene: The aerial photograph shows a different Carsewell (see fig. 4).* Although patches of the farm still present drainage difficulties, the old spreads of bog have long since disappeared and streams have vanished into underground conduits. The banks of the larger streams are wooded. "The Cairny Hill" and "The Burnt Hills" are now masked by trees and the present Sir John Clerk shows by his progressive afforestation of the estate his agreement with his forefather the

* The road from Penicuik to Biggar which was sketched out on the 1796 plan can be seen crossing the photograph diagonally. Carsewell steading is close to it.

FIG. 4.—Aerial Photograph of Carsewell

Baron's belief that "Warmness and shelter at Pennicuik is chiefly what is wanted." It is interesting to discover that most of the fields retain the old names: there is the Castles field, Gladslaw field and the Troughmoss wood and field, but Cairny-hill has recently been renamed the Doctor's field in honour of a doctor who has built her home at the edge of it.

Dalmahoy (1749) *and Penicuik* (1796)

The condition of Dalmahoy and Penicuik villages in the late seventeenth century gave no apparent indication that within a hundred years the former would be in a moribund condition and the latter a pleasant and rapidly-growing town (see figs. 5 and 6). Of the two, one would have thought that Dalmahoy, lying only seven miles from Edinburgh and on the seaward side of the Pentland Hills was more likely to prosper than Penicuik, which at that time lay at some distance from the nearest main road and was altogether more remote. However, the favourable position of Dalmahoy was its undoing, because during the early decades of the eighteenth century when grass parks in the vicinity of Edinburgh could be let at a premium, the laird of Dalmahoy evidently could not resist the temptation to extend his parks at the expense of the village. On the other hand, Baron Sir John Clerk and his successors regarded a thriving industrial village as an asset: they did all that they could to foster the growth of Penicuik by introducing industries and making provision for the housing of a growing population.

The villages originally had certain features in common: both lay at the gates, so to speak, of the estate policies, both housed a fair number of tenant farmers and commanded extensive lands. The lands of Penicuik extended to over 500 Scots acres, while those of Dalmahoy, judged from the size of the infield or "Crofts" in 1749, must also have been considerable at one time. By the time that the plans were drawn, both villages had suffered the fate that commonly befell such extensive farms, of having sections of the outfield converted into independent farms by the laird. The farms of the Haggs and Newhouse whose steadings are shown on the Dalmahoy plan had almost certainly been in the possession of the Dalmahoy tenants at no remote period, indeed some of the Dalmahoy tenants still had holdings within these farms in 1749. The dispossessed tenants and subtenants of Penicuik could turn to

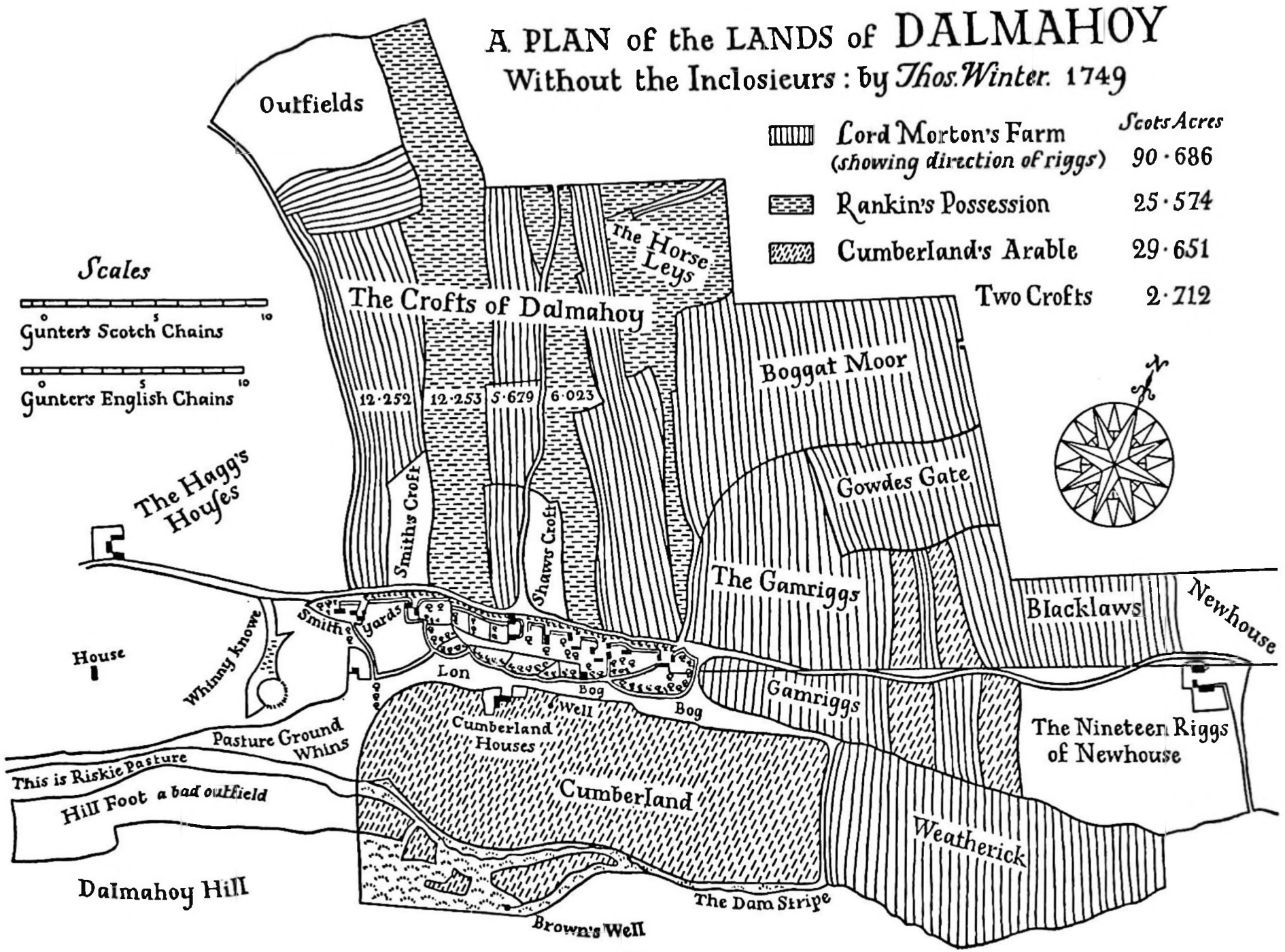

A PLAN of the LANDS of DALMAHOY
Without the Inclosieurs : by Thos. Winter. 1749
Lord Morton's Farm (showing direction of riggs) Scots Acres 90 · 686
Rankin's Possession 25 · 574
Cumberland's Arable 29 · 651
Two Crofts 2 · 712
Outfields
The Horse Leys
The Crofts of Dalmahoy
Boggat Moor
Gowdes Gate
Scales
Gunter's Scotch Chains
Gunter's English Chains
12 · 252
12 · 253
5 · 679
6 · 023
Smith's Croft
Shaws Croft
The Hagg's Houses
The Gamriggs
Blacklaws
Newhouse
Smith's yards
Whinny knowe
House
Lon
Bog
Well
Bog
Gamriggs
Cumberland Houses
Pasture Ground Whins
The Nineteen Riggs of Newhouse
This is Riskie Pasture
Hill Foot a bad outfield
Cumberland
Weatherick
Dalmahoy Hill
The Dam Stripe
Brown's Well

FIG. 5

industry but those of Dalmahoy when confronted with dwindling possessions and rising rents, were in a serious plight.

ENCLOSURE AT DALMAHOY

A string of twenty cottages set in small groups amidst tofts and yards constituted the village of Dalmahoy in 1749 (see fig. 5). These humble dwellings overlooked the road and faced over the crofts towards the bounding walls of the laird's new parks. A marshy loan led from the rear of the village towards the pastures which presumably were held in common by the tenants of Dalmahoy and the Haggs. Immediately to the south rose the slopes of Dalmahoy Hill.

The possessions of the village tenants lay in intermingled parcels in runrig style but certain modifications had gradually been effected and the crofts in particular present an interesting study in development. The irregular outlines of the various possessions shown on the plan reveal traces of an original arrangement of bands of rigs running in one direction and placed end to end. The familiar curving S shape of some of these can be detected. At the time when each rig was considered as a unit possession the periodic allocation of rigs amongst the co-tenants by a system of ballot doubtless produced a pattern of bewildering complexity. Consolidation of possessions had gradually taken place, however, first by combining groups of adjacent rigs and then by uniting groups of rigs lengthwise to form single possessions. It is interesting to note that the old tradition of equal apportionment had been maintained throughout this process: the two most westerly strips of the crofts amounted to 12·252 and 12·253 acres respectively and thus differed by as little as 0·001 of an acre, while the adjacent pair of strip possessions varied by only 0·3 of an acre. Total shares of the farm were no longer equal however and the laird had taken 91 acres of the crofts into his own hands while three tenants with their subtenants and two cottars shared the remaining 58 acres in unequal portions.

During the decade prior to the survey of the estate some of the Dalmahoy tenants fell into arrears with their rents and according to a memorial by the laird, dated 23rd July 1743, such tenants were to be summarily dealt with. The factor was enjoined to determine the exact state of the arrears so that "such of them as are disabled may renunce That their possessions may be let forthwith . . ." Some of the tenants held no

written tack although most of them had been in possession of their lands for a considerable period and were in similar condition to one, Thomas Tennents, who according to a statement dated 1743, had "possessed these 22 years 10 aikers in Dalmahoy town". Such tenants were easily evicted and the number in possession of Dalmahoy fell from eight to three during the six years from 1743 to 1749. The subtenants would also relinquish their holdings so it is not surprising that the rentals from that time onwards contained frequent references to renunciations of land and "waste houses".

The greater part of Dalmahoy had been converted to grass parks by the period from about 1770 to 1790 when the general enclosure and improvement of the estate was proceeding. The rent obtained from the grass parks of the estate was considerable: there is for example a record of Dalmahoy Parks having been let from 1766 to 1782 to a Mr Greig, flesher in Edinburgh, at a yearly rent of £500 sterling. In 1782 the parks were considered to be sufficiently improved for tillage to be resumed and seven years later the present farm of Dalmahoy Mains was constituted and let for nineteen years to a single tenant. The steading marks the eastern extremity of the old village.

The Modern Scene: Such was the fate of Dalmahoy and the fate of many a Scottish hamlet at that time. Some grass-covered vestiges of the eighteenth-century village can be seen while a smallholding and a row of cottages by the roadside perpetuate the old name of Long Dalmahoy. One of the householders with long-standing connections with Dalmahoy merely smiled and shook her head when asked whether she would consider Long Dalmahoy to be a village. Surveying the low wall on the other side of the road and the parks beyond she could not conceive that the dwellers in Long Dalmahoy had once possessed a considerable section of the policies.

The old fortification on the Whinny Knowe which might be of interest to students of antiquities has been lost to the modern ordnance maps.

ENCLOSURE AT PENICUIK

The town of Penicuik in 1796 was the creation of the Clerk family, the outcome of much enlightened planning and careful nurturing over a period of some sixty years: the plan shows the result to have been creditable (see fig. 6). To Baron Sir John Clerk must be attributed the original inspiration that led

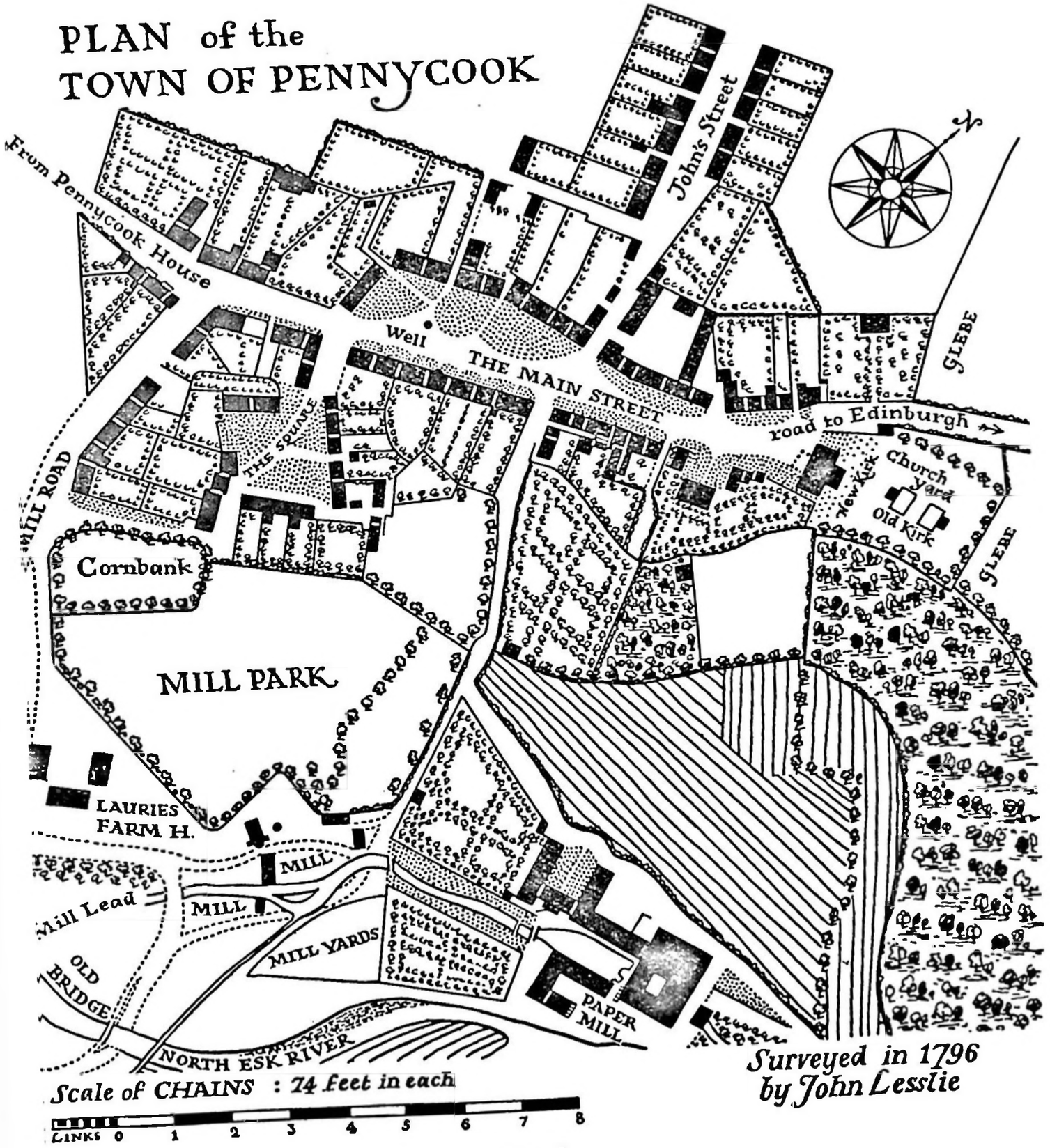

PLAN of the
TOWN OF PENNYCOOK
From Pennycook House
John's Street
Well
THE MAIN STREET
GLEBE
road to Edinburgh
THE SQUARE
MILL ROAD
Church Yard
New Kirk
Old Kirk
Cornbank
MILL PARK
LAURIES FARM H.
MILL
MILL
Mill Lead
MILL YARDS
OLD BRIDGE
PAPER MILL
NORTH ESK RIVER
Scale of CHAINS : 74 feet in each
LINKS 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Surveyed in 1796
by John Lesslie

FIG. 6

to the transformation of an untidy cluster of farm steadings and cottages into a thriving industrial town designed on the lines of a garden city.

When the Baron turned his attention towards the improvement of Penicuik in the 1730's, the village was in an unpromising condition. The tenant farmers were backward in their methods and made no attempt to enclose their barn and kail yards or to restrain their sheep from roaming. Probably as an understatement Sir John wrote in his Scheme of Improvements "Pennicuik Town has hitherto not been very well lookt after for the Houses might have been more Regular and better built with very little more pains and Attention." [8] Undaunted, he looked forward to the day when industry would flourish and population increase in Penicuik and he had the vision to plan for future contingencies. Thus, for example, he made the intelligent recommendation that in future, houses should be built regularly and have at least two, if not three storeys. Sir James Clerk acted upon this recommendation when he planned and laid out the village about the year 1770.

As a commissioner of the Board of Manufacturers Baron Sir John Clerk had every opportunity of observing the prosperous condition of the industrial villages that were arising in various parts of Scotland and the facility with which part-time weavers and other artisans paid their rents. Accordingly he gave every encouragement to the paper industry which was already established in Penicuik, built what he called a "manufactory house" for weavers and tried with varying success to introduce such occupations as serge-making, bleaching and brick-making. Mindful of the social needs of the community he built the Town House at the corner of Main Street and John Street to serve as an inn, court room and concert room. Penicuik moreover was to be an attractive industrial town: "As to the grounds about this place, they ought to be enclosed that so the whole might resemble a garden." [9] Accordingly a gardener was established in Penicuik to ornament the banks of the Esk with trees and lay out gardens for the pleasure of the Penicuik folk. Few eighteenth-century factory workers can have had such pleasant surroundings created for them as the workers in Penicuik Paper Mills.

The formal lines of the plan executed by Sir James Clerk in the 1750's were relieved by slight irregularities which perpetuated some of the earlier lineaments of the village. The newly-constructed church with its classical front would add

dignity to the Main Street but the arrangement of the houses and the grass plots fronting them left the old well as the focus of interest. The Square, constructed on the site of one of the old steadings strikes a pleasantly informal note by its slight asymmetry and the arrangement of the grass plots for convenience of access rather than appearance. Some of the stone two-storey houses constructed with outside staircases can still be seen but few of the tree-fringed gardens are left. It is unfortunate that the uncontrolled industrial development of the nineteenth century obscured the earlier charm of Penicuik.

Houston (1759) *and Riccarton* (1772)

The estate plans of Houston and Riccarton in distinction from the more usual farm plans of the period are literally plans of estates. In each case the plan was drawn at a transitional stage in the process of enclosure when the policy parks had been formally laid out and the enclosure of the rest of the estate was incipient.

Houston Estate is seven miles west of Riccarton and lies across the county boundary between Midlothian and West Lothian: in 1759 it amounted to 1732 Scots acres and was larger than Riccarton by some 400 Scots acres. Both estates extended from a river frontage in a north-westerly direction across the grain of the country, Houston stretching from the River Almond to the vicinity of Uphall village and Riccarton from the Water of Leith at Currie to the Gogar Burn. There is a certain similarity in the appearance of the two estates in that each is diversified by a corrugation of ridges and hollows trending from south-west to north-east. The consequent local variations in topography and the possession of a river frontage led to the characteristic strip formation of farms which has already been noted on the Newton plan and is particularly noticeable on the Houston plan both as regards farm boundaries and the elongated shape of the estate.

Improvements on the farms of both estates began on the more level and fertile lands near the main roads, in each case at the north end of the estate, while the poorer and more remote lands were left until the primary enclosure was complete. The policy parks were laid out with characteristic precision and artistry and Riccarton in particular illustrates well the extent to which the orientation of the mansion house and its gardens might determine the alignment not only of the home

parks but also of the adjacent enclosure grids. The enclosures stand out in marked contrast to the unimproved lands where irregular fields, loans, and patches of bog and moss are conspicuous.

Although only 7 miles apart, the two estates afford an interesting study in contrasted development. The farms of Riccarton were in a much more advanced condition than those of Houston, doubtless because of advantages of position, altitude and soil. Riccarton was nearer to the market of Edinburgh and whereas the greater part of that estate lies below 350 feet, practically the whole of Houston Estate is above that altitude. Rentals for the early years of the century show that Riccarton farms even then were tenanted by farmers of some standing, some of whom were in possession of more than one farm. At that time the farm buildings other than those in the villages of Currie and Hermiston consisted of isolated single-tenanted steadings and individual possessions had been consolidated to a considerable extent. On the other hand, the plan of Houston shows a pattern of settlements akin to that which characterised the true runrig period. A scattering of hamlets or "fermtouns" and cot-houses can be seen standing amidst a fair proportion of moorland in the unenclosed section of the estate while the old holdings marked in the western enclosure grid show considerable inter-mixture of possessions. Contemporary records are not available for Houston, but it seems possible that the old co-operative methods of farming may have lingered on this estate. Thus it may be seen that an early-dated estate plan showing partial enclosure betokens a progressive laird but not necessarily an estate advanced in development and ripe for improvements (see fig. 7).

ENCLOSURE AT HOUSTON

The Laird of Houston who undertook the initial enclosure of his lands at an early stage in the enclosure movement showed both enterprise and courage. The policy parks may have given promise of rapid returns but the western enclosures which were superimposed on various parcels of land pertaining to five farms, consisted to a considerable extent of moorland and moss. Three large enclosures, Wester Park, Nettlehill Park and Stonie Park, each extending to 57 acres, were constructed here, presumably for the grazing of livestock. With this end in view, as so often happened in Scotland, enclosure took place some time

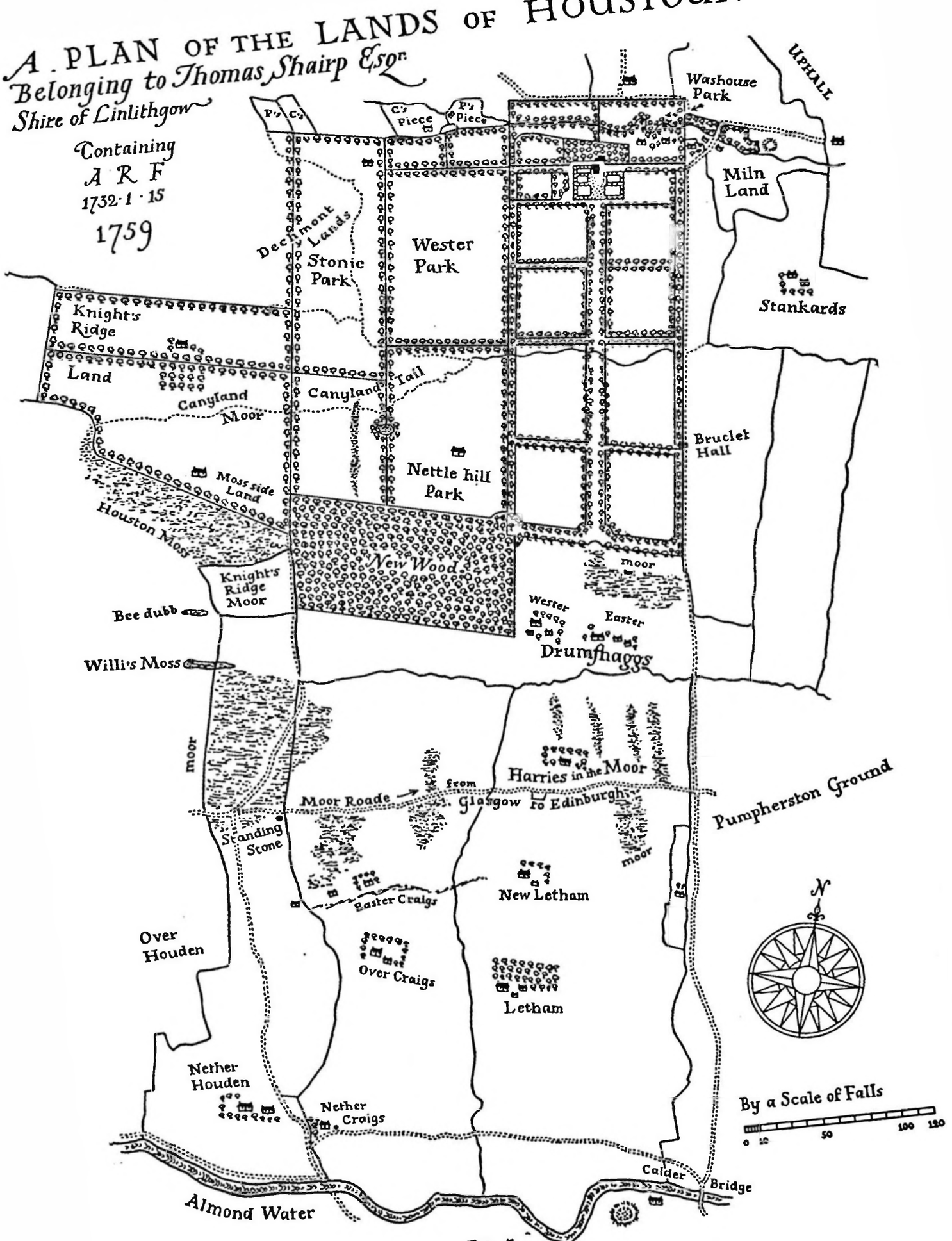

A PLAN OF THE LANDS OF HOUSTOUN
Belonging to Thomas Shairp Esqr.
Shire of Linlithgow
Containing
A R F
1732-1-15
1759
Washouse Park
UPHALL
P's C's
C's Piece
P's Piece
Miln Land
Decimont Lands
Stonie Park
Wester Park
Stankards
Knight's Ridge
Land
Canyland Moor
Canyland Tail
Bruclet Hall
Nettle hill Park
Moss side Land
Houston Moss
New Wood
Knight's Ridge Moor
moor
Wester
Easter
Drumshaggs
Bee dubb
Willi's Moss
moor
Harries in the Moor
from Glasgow to Edinburgh
Moor Roade
Pumpherston Ground
Standing Stone
moor
Easter Craigs
New Letham
Over Houden
Over Craigs
Letham
N
Nether Houden
Nether Craigs
By a Scale of Falls
0 10 50 100 120
Calder Bridge
Almond Water

FIG. 7

before other improvements were contemplated. With characteristic thoroughness, the wall dividing Nettlehill Park from Canyland Park was continued right through a small mire lying in the way, while the double line of trees deviated to encircle it (see fig. 7).

The policy parks were laid out with an eye to artistic effect. The lines of trees fringing the parks left room for a long avenue lying within view of the mansion house and for lateral walks leading from it. The parks were laid out in pairs which varied from 10 to 18 acres in size and doubtless were devoted mainly to grazing the profitable black cattle.

The enclosures were evidently of recent origin in 1759. One or two cot-houses were still standing in the new parks and some of the old irregular farm boundaries can be traced across the western enclosures. The cluster of cottages in the Wash-house Park close to the mansion house suggest a truncation of the miln-toun on the other side of the enclosure. As a result of this intake the old road leading westwards from North Mains was forced to take the right-angle bend so characteristic of post-enclosure roads. The small "pieces" or pendicles seen attached to the enclosures in the north-west have an untidy and incongruous appearance.

Beyond the New Wood and the parks lay the moorland, crossed by the "Moor Roade from Glasgow to Edinburgh". A standing stone is marked by the roadside. Harries in the Moor, New Letham and nearby cot-holdings represent intakes from the moor at some period when pressure of population was sufficiently acute to warrant the arduous work of reclamation. An increase in the number of tenants would account also for the splitting of the farm of Drumshaggs and consequent division of the original fermtoun into two almost contiguous hamlets named Easter and Wester Drumshaggs. The fermtouns of Over Houden, Over Craigs and Letham stood on the brow of the steep slope overlooking the River Almond. The pairing of Over Craigs with Nether Craigs and Over Houden with Nether Houden was characteristic of runrig times and often indicated expansion from an original settlement.

The Modern Scene: Most of the enclosures shown on the plan can still be seen, clearly outlined with trees. The large enclosures have been divided into smaller fields and the Wester Park, now crossed by the main Edinburgh to Glasgow road, has been subdivided into a number of smallholdings. The steadings of Nettlehill and Knightsridge standing close to a main railway

line have every appearance of prosperity while the old moor has long since given way to a patchwork of cultivated fields. A few stretches of heath remain however and the "New Wood" has degenerated considerably. Drumshaggs Farm is now known as Milkhouses, Houston Moss as Dechmont Moss, and Harries in the Moor as Harry's Muir. The housing schemes of Pumpherston are spreading towards the latter steading.

ENCLOSURE AT RICCARTON

The first impression given by the faded old plan of Riccarton Estate is one of complete confusion, produced by the amount of detail shown and the irregularity of outlines. The boundaries of a hundred and fifty-nine fields, faintly coloured and numbered to indicate possessors, are hard to distinguish from interjected patches of bog and pasture, courses of streams and ill-drained strips or "sykes", and the close network of roads and paths crossing the fields. The insertion of new roads and enclosures, projected or in process of construction, introduces further complication.

Once mastered, however, the plan (see fig. 8) reveals an advanced and straightforward system of land tenure since most individual possessions, especially in the northern section of the estate, lay in large consolidated blocks forming self-contained farms. Moreover, the key to the plan shows that the total acreage of rough pasture was small in relation to the extent of arable land: as little as 70 acres of uncultivable land lay interspersed amidst 1000 acres of arable land, nearly half of which was continuously-cultivated infield. In the midst of these lands which lay open and almost treeless, the perfect square of the policies stood out as a model of planned enclosure. The regular parks and gardens extended to 150 acres and were enclosed by a wall and belt of trees with fashionable serpentine walk.

Hermiston and Currie furnish further examples of the farm villages which were characteristic of the more fertile lands in the Lothians. There is a marked contrast in the plans of the two villages and in the condition of their lands. Hermiston, known variously as Long Hermiston, the Langherdmanstoun and even the Langhairedmanstoun in early plans, was manifestly a street village with the advantage of being situated on the main Glasgow to Edinburgh road and in the midst of excellent level farmland. The prosperous farmers of Hermiston

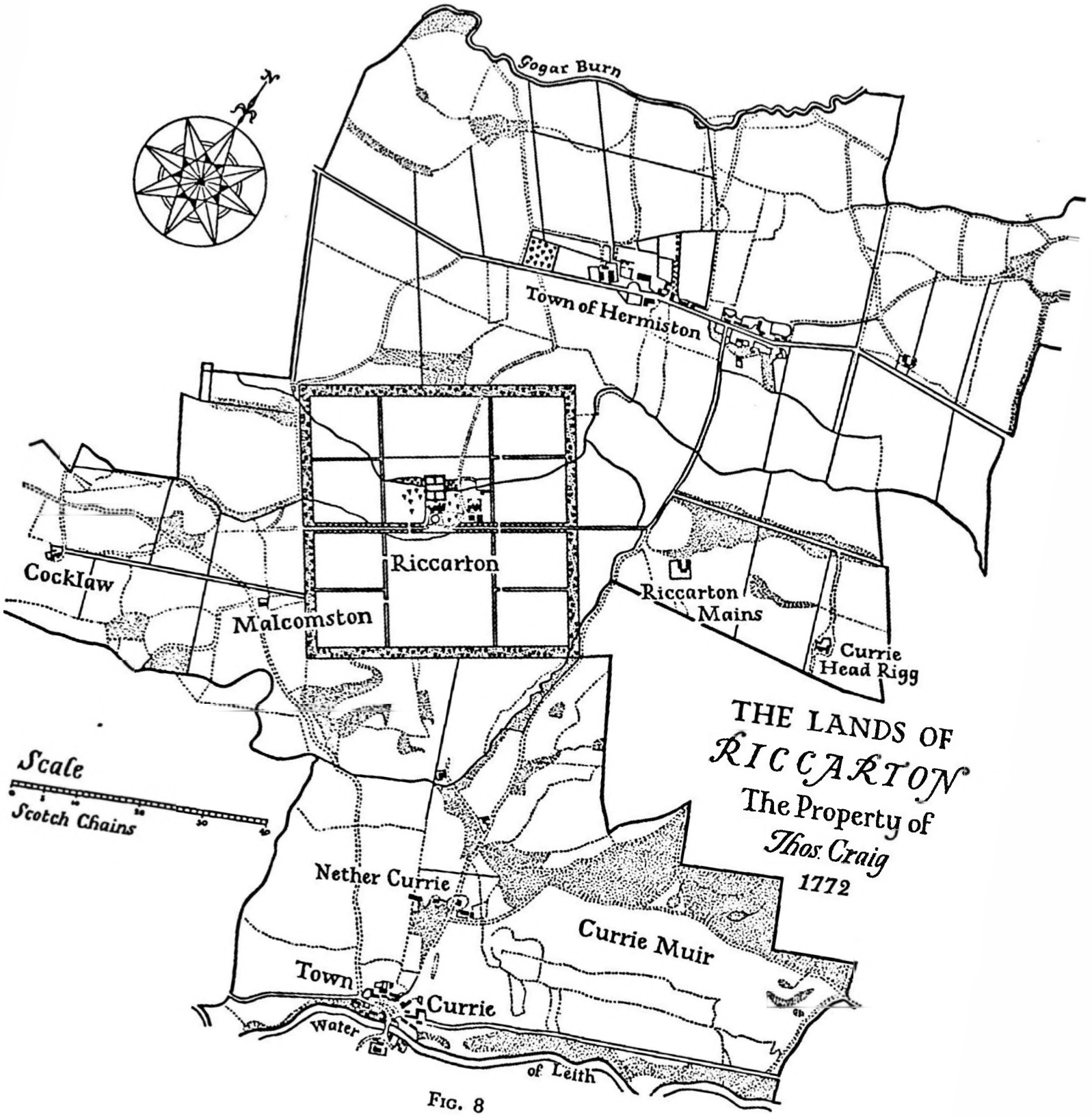

Gogar Burn
Town of Hermiston
Riccarton
Cocklaw
Malcomston
Riccarton Mains
Currie Head Rigg
THE LANDS OF
RICCARTON
The Property of
Thos. Craig
1772
Scale
Scotch Chains
Nether Currie
Currie Muir
Town
Currie
Water
of Leith

FIG. 8

were in a different category from those of the humble street village of Dalmahoy. Currie stood some 200 feet higher than Hermiston on a ridge overlooking its lands which were undulating and in a poorer and more backward condition than those of Hermiston. The kirkton of Currie consisted of four or five farm steadings and some cot-houses grouped round a village green at the point where the old Lanark road crossed the Water of Leith.

In both villages there were tenant farmers in possession of more than one farm. Three of the four principal tenants of Hermiston held each two farms and one of these possessed a farm at either end of the village, with a combined acreage of 317 acres. This was the equivalent of three ploughgates, which in characteristic runrig times would be worked co-operatively by twelve tenants. The farms were arranged in strips lying roughly at right angles to the main road and almost equally divided by it, in a fashion which has been observed elsewhere in the Lothians. By 1772 most of the lands of Currie, including Currie Muir which was once common to all the tenants, had fallen into the hands of two principal tenants. One of these, an Edinburgh bailie, possessed four holdings including the farm of Nether Currie. This small hamlet which stood at a short distance from Currie and can be seen on the plan, was obviously destined soon to disappear. Riccarton Mains, Currie Head Rigg, Malcomston and Cocklaw, were independent single-tenanted farms. Riccarton Estate had thus progressed far from the runrig era and was ready for improvements; in fact a number of tenants in both villages had enclosed one or two of their fields before the general enclosure of the estate was undertaken.

The Modern Scene: The aerial photograph shows a drastic simplification of the old complicated network of local roads (see fig. 9). Most of the roads and a considerable number of the fields which were being laid out in 1772 have remained as they were designed. It is interesting, however, to note that the projected enclosures shown to the west of Hermiston, which look as though they had been produced by drawing lines at right angles to the line of the policy wall, apparently were not suitable in practice. The Union Canal, which proved a tremendous boon to improvers for the transport of manures, can be seen on the aerial photograph passing close to Hermiston.

Hermiston has remained a distinctly rural village despite the rapid advance of the Edinburgh housing schemes but now

has only one steading. Currie Farm covers all the original lands of Currie and the farmhouse stands on the main street but Currie is virtually one of the ribbon tentacles of Edinburgh's development and the village has lost much of its character. Riccarton policies stand out clearly on the aerial photograph but the mansion house is in process of demolition.

CONCLUSION

It may be seen from these few examples that the study of changes shown by Estate Plans gives a unique picture of the economic and social geography of Scotland during the Agricultural Revolution, and affords interesting comments on the ideas and methods of the times, not to mention the men who altered the face of the landscape.

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FIG. 9.—Aerial Photograph of Riccarton

AM MINISTEAR AGUS AN CLABAN

Calum I. MacLean *

The following tale was recorded on 28th July 1955 at Muir of Ord, Ross-shire, from the dictation of Alexander Stewart, 55, travelling tinsmith. He heard the tale over forty years ago from his grandmother, Clementina Stewart, a native of Sutherlandshire. Clementina (Climidh) Stewart died in 1914 and was then aged eighty-two years.

ALEXANDER STEWART: *Well* bha fear a' fola(bh) ann a seo is e a' coiseachd. Agus tha e col(t)ach gu robh e a' coiseachd C93 † 'ro' chladh. Agus thachair *skull* ceann ris—a bheil si' a' tuigsinn? Agus dar a thachair a' *skull* ceann a bha seo ris:

"*Well*," thuirst esa', "cha d' fhuair mise cuireadh Calluinn," E238 thuirst es', "ach tha mi a' toir' cuireadh Calluinn dhut-s'." C13

Is thug e breab dha. (Tha fhios agaibh, 's e 'n fhìrinn a tha seo.)

Agus cha robh guth air seo. Dh' fhola(bh) an duine a bha seo is bha e 'na shuidhe, is cha robh guth aige ma dhéidhinn a' fac(hc)al a thuirste, mar a chanas a chuile duine fac(hc)al fadharsach—tha fhios agu péin air sin. (Agus) (Agus) Ach aig latha na Bliadhn' Ur chunnaic e an claban ceann seo 'na shuidhe air a' bhord.

Ministear a bh' ann, ministear a bha 's an duine.

Chunnaic e an claban ceann seo 'na shuidhe air a' bhord. Agus dar a chunnaic, bha e a' cur a null a' bhiadh agus chan fhios 'm dé bha ag éirigh dha 'n-a' bhiadh 'us nach robh, ach char an oidhche seachad. Is thuirst an claban ceann ris:

"A nis," thuirst esa', "chuir mise an oidhche seachad comhla riut-s'," ars esa', "ach tha thusa a' fola(bh) is tha thu a' dol a thighinn a shealltainn oram-s'."

"Glé mhath," ars a' ministear, "fola(bh)aidh mis'."

Dh'fhola(bh) a' ministear leis a' phaunaidh aig'. (Is dòcha gun cuala siu péin an té-a seo).

Dh'fhola(bh) a' ministear leis a' phaunaidh aig'. Agus dar

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† The numbers in the margin and in the summary are the motif-numbers according to the Stith Thompson *Motif-index of Folk Literature*.

a dh' fhola(bh) e leis a' phaunaidh, shiubhail e is shiubhail e
F137 is shiubhail e is shiubhail e is choisich e is choisich e. Is a'
chiad rud a thachair ris, thachair boireannach, seann chailleach,
F171.3 seann bhoireannach ris agus dithis chlann òg is iad a' gobhail
V71 dhi-e ri * slat air là na Sàbaid, is iad a' gobhail dhi-e ri slat,
C413 air an t-seann bhoireannach. Is char e seachad orra: cha do
shaoil e idir dhiubh. Chum e a' dol is chum e a' dol is thachair
boireannach eile ris is làn measair a bhainne aic(hc)' is na
rodain a' tighinn a mach á bial is rodain a' leum a staigh 'na
C413 bial. Char e seachad oirr': cha do sheall e i.
F171 "*Ah well*," thuirst es', "tha rudan neònach a seo," thuirst
es'.

Chum e a' dol is chum e a' dol is chunnaic e dithis ghillean —dhaoine—is iad a's a' ch*uarry*, ann an *quarry* ag obair agus bara ac(hc)a is iad 'g obrachdainn air latha na Sàbaid is iad a' toir' a mach greabhal, a' toir' a mach gaineamhach . . . mu seach eatorra.

Ach ràinig e taigh bòidheach, snoc. Bha an taigh seo cho
F163.3 bòidheach is cha robh a leithid ri fhaighinn. Char e a staigh
ann is thachair seann duine ris.

"Thàine tu," ars' es'.

"Thàinig," ars es'. "Thàine: sheas mi ri mo ghealltaineas," ars es'.

"*Oh well*, tha thu *all right*," ars es'.

"Ach aon rud a tha mi a' dol a dh' fhaidhneachd dhi'," thuirst es'. "Car son a tha an dithis sin ag obair an diu?"

"Shin agat dithis dhaoine," ars es', "a bha ag obair air an
C631 t-Sàbaid is bho'n bha iad 'g obair air an t-Sàbaid, chaidh a'
Q220 cumail a' dol an diu iad." *

"O, glé mhath!" ars es'.

"Car son a tha am boireannach a bha siod," thuirst es', "agus na rodain a' leum 'na bial?"

"Tha, innsidh mi sin dut," ars es', "boireannach bochd a bha a' dol seachad," ars es', "is dithis na triùir a chloinn aic(hc)' agus char i a dh' iarraidh deoch bhainne. Is dar a char i a dh' iarraidh 'n deoch bhainne, tha e col(t)ach gun deach rodan a bhàthag a's a' bhainne an oidhche ro' n-a sin is thug i dha 'n-a' chlann aic(hc)e-s' e. Is tha sin a' toir'
Q280 breitheanas oirr' an diu," thuirst es'. "Tha ise a' faighinn a breitheanas fhéin an diu."

"O, glé mhath!" ars es'. "Car son a bha am boireannach a bha siod, ma tha?" thuirst es'.

* *Sic.*

"Shiod agat boireannach," thuirst es', "a bha dona dha S12
cuid fhéi' teaghlach is tha i a' faighinn. . . . Shiod agat a' rud
a bha ise a' dèanamh air a màthair fhéin an toiseach, a' toir' S20
dhi gréidheadh le slat, is tha na h-oghachan aic(hc)e an diu a'
toir' an tuarastal a staigh oirre." Q581

"Glé mhath!" ars es'. "*Well,*" thuirst es', "tha mise a'
fola(bh)."

"O, a bhròinein, cha ruig thu a leas a bhith a' fola(bh) a
seo" thuirst esa'. "Tha thusa ann a seo is bios thu ann cho
math 's a ghobhas tu, ma dh' fhuiricheas tu ann."

"O, ged tha," thuirst e, "chan fhuirich mi idir ann."

"O, ged tha," ars esa', "ged nach fhuirich. . . . Ged a
dh' fhuiricheadh tu is ged nach fhuirich thu, tha thu ann a
seo," thuirst es', "cho math is a bhios thu air an t-saoghal."

"O, tha mise a' fola(bh)!"

"O, cha ruig thu a leas fola(bh)," thuirst es'. "Chan 'eil
dad romhat a dh' fhaithnicheas tu an diu. Ach shin agat bìdeag F377
charpet dhut," thuirst es', "agus c' àit' 'sa bith an cuir (thu) fo D1155
do thòin air muin an each, an tig thu dhe muin an each cuir
thu air a chasan e. Ma théid thu dha 'n eaglais agat fhéi' cuir
air a dhà chas e."

Ach dh' fhola(bh) a' ministear a bha seo is bha e a' dol is
dol is dol is dol is dol. Cha robh e a' faithneachdainn an àit' F137
aig' fhéin idir, idir, idir, idir. Ach air a' cheann thall—chan
'ios 'm dé na bliadhnachan a bha e a' fola(bh)—bha e a
dèanamh smaoineachdainn gu robh e a' tighinn air ais
dha'n àit' aig' fhéi'. Ach thachair seana-bhoireannach ris. Tha
mi a' creidsinn gu robh i corr mór is ceithir fichead bliadhna.
Is dh' fhaidhnichd e dhith:

"An cuala si' riamh iomradh air a leithid seo a dhuin'?"

"*Well,*" ars ise, "chuala mi m' athair 'ga . . . gun cuala
a sheanair bruidheann gu robh a leithid sin a dhuine 's an
àit', ach an eaglais chan 'eil innte ach an dara leth dhith."

Thóisich e an uair sin ag innseadh dhaibh: "A màireach
latha na Sàbaid," ars es', "is tigibh uile gu leur a dh' éisneachd
rium-s'," ars es', "dha'n eaglais a màireach. Fiach an tig sibh
uile gu leur chon a' chomh-thional a màireach."

Thàinig iad uile gu leur. Char iad suas is bha iad ag
éisneachd a stòiridh is ag éisneachd mar thachair dha is mar a C423.3
char e. Is bha e fhéi' 'sa chùbaidh is bha 'n *carpet* fo dhà chas.
Eadar a chuile rud a bh' ann, *shlide* a dhà chas air ais dhe'n
charpet is dh' fhola(bh) e mar a dh' fhola(bh)adh ceò 'na F378.1
laighe. Dh' fhola(bh) an t-each is an diallaid is dh' fhola(bh)

chu aile dad a bh' ann. Cha robh dad ann. Bha e na mìltean bhliadhnachan air fola(bh) as an àite.

Siod an fhìrinn.

SUMMARY AND NOTES

A minister is walking through a churchyard (C93). He has received no invitation for New Year's Day and invites a skull to visit him (E238). He kicks the skull (C13). On New Year's Day he sees the skull on his table. The skull invites him to the otherworld. He travels a long, long distance (F137) on horseback. He sees an old woman being beaten with a switch (F171.3) by children on Sunday (V71). He pays no attention to them (C413). He meets a second woman carrying a basin of milk and rats spring in and out of her mouth. He pays no attention to her (C413). He remarks that strange sights (F171) are to be seen. He continues and sees two men working in a quarry on Sunday (V71). He finally reaches a beautiful house (F163.3) where an old man greets him. The old man tells him that the two men working in the quarry profaned the Sabbath (C631) by working and have been kept at work on Sunday as punishment (Q220). The woman with the basin of milk once gave milk in which a rat had been drowned to the children of a poor woman and she is now being punished for having done so (Q280). The woman being beaten with a switch was cruel to her own children (S12) and used to beat her own mother (S20). She now receives similar punishment at the hands of her own grandchildren (Q581). The minister then says he is going back to this world. The old man tells him that he need not do so and that there is nothing awaiting him on earth now that will be familiar to him (F377). He insists on returning and the old man gives him a piece of carpet (D1155) and tells him to put it underneath him on the saddle and under his feet when he dismounts. He returns after a long, long journey (F137) but recognises no place. After years of wandering, he imagines that he has reached his old home. He meets a very old woman, who tells him that her father heard his father say there was talk of such a person as he, but only a half of the church now stands. He asks all to go to hear him on the following day, Sunday. He places the carpet underneath his feet in the pulpit, and recounts his experiences in the other world (C423.3). While doing so, his feet slip off the carpet (F378.1) and he vanishes in a mist. Horse, saddle and all vanish.

The previous tale (Aarne-Thompson type 470) is rare in Scottish tradition. Only one published version is known to me. Vide *The Folklore Journal*, VI, pp. 183-5 for a version from Sutherlandshire contributed by Dempster and written in English. An unpublished Gaelic version was recorded on 1st October 1946 from the late John Macpherson, Northbay, Isle of Barra, Inverness-shire. A Shetland version was recorded on 7th June 1955 from Brucie Henderson, Arisdale, South Yell and is to be published in the next issue of *The Shetland Folk Book*. The Sutherland, Inverness and Shetland versions are all in the form of *Sagen*. For an Irish Gaelic version see *Béaloideas*, X, pp. 42-4, 99. For the international distribution, published variants and an analysis of the story, see Dorothy Epplen MacKay's study, *The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan*.

A MEMORY OF THE RESURRECTIONISTS

Body-snatching did not appear to be much practised in this direction. Miss P. recalls her grandmother telling of a very pleasant gentleman named Dr. Knox. He came very often at week-ends from Edinburgh for the fishing in the Whitadder at Abbey St. Bathans. The old woman provided him with food and if necessary a bed. Little did she dream that his real mission to the Borders was not fishing but the buying of the dead bodies from the body-snatchers. Her only comment when he was caught was "I'm real sorry for he was a very nice kindly man".

THE PIG TABOO

One of the stories about this superstition was about three brothers. These brothers owned a fishing boat and they were very superstitious. One day there had been a flood and a small suckling pig had been washed down the river where a mischievous youth had conceived to capture it and set it up in the trawl of these three fishermen. The next day when the elder brother arrived at the boat he found the pig, and therefore did not go to sea that day. On returning home he met his two brothers and told them "The brute's there afore 'oo". So that boat did not put to sea until the pig had been removed the following day.

These anecdotes were written by school children in response to Questionnaire No. 1.

The *PLOUGH IN SCOTLAND*

Ragnar Jirlow * and Ian Whitaker †

The evolution of the plough is one of the most important aspects of agricultural history. In Scotland this subject is of especial interest on account of the survival until recent times of three distinct types of tilling implement; the spade, the ard and the plough, representing three successive stages of development in agricultural methods.

In those crofting areas where the spade has been the principal implement of tillage until modern times, we can distinguish two distinct tools: the ordinary spade, sometimes somewhat modified, and the characteristic and much discussed *cas-chrom* (crooked spade), which is peculiar to north-west Scotland. This latter was in use in the Outer Hebrides until very recent times,‡ although it has slowly given way to the plough. Thus in South Uist in 1794, Heron reported that the plough was used in the coastal machair, whilst the crooked or ordinary spade was used in "declivities and narrow summits".[1] In the parishes of Uig and Lochs in Lewis it was still the exclusive means of tillage in 1811, being used for potatoes and corn.[2] In Skye it was used quite extensively together with the ordinary spade (*cas-dhireach*) by poor people, unable to purchase a plough.[3] It was also widely used in many of the mainland parishes of Sutherland, Ross and Inverness-shire, from which, however, it has now disappeared almost entirely.[4] In Wester Ross, for example, it was retained for tilling reclaimed peat-bog.[5]

The *cas-chrom* is made from a naturally curved piece of oak or ash, to the end of which another piece of wood somewhat flattened is fastened with iron hoops, almost at right angles. This corresponds to the head of the plough, and at the tip of it is attached an iron sock, rectangular in section. Sometimes

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‡ Geddes reports seeing it used in Rodel, Harris, in 1919, but it certainly survived longer in the Uists and Benbecula—Geddes 1955 p. 61; cf. plates 4a in Shaw 1955, and 79 (opposite p. 71) in Quigley 1936, both relating to South Uist.

the implement was made from a single piece of wood, conveniently shaped and with the sock at one end. The shaft of the *cas-chrom*—see fig. 1—is between 5 feet 9 inches and 6 feet long, whilst the separate head may be between 2 feet 6 inches and 2 feet 10 inches long and 4 inches broad.[6] Both types of crooked spade are to be found in the Highland Folk Museum in Kingussie, but the specimen made in one piece lacks a sock, having been found under a thick layer of peat.

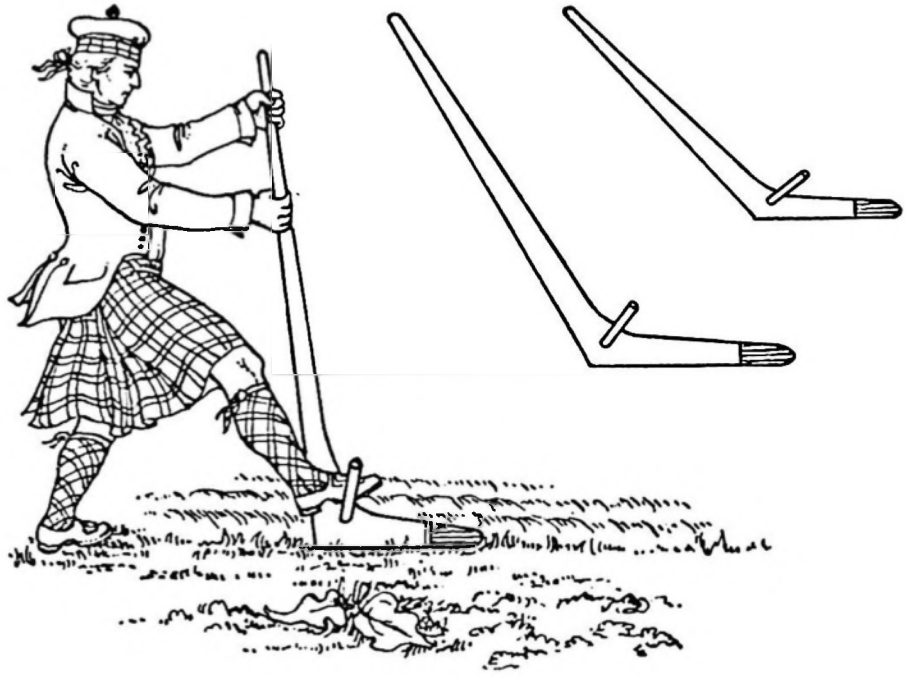

FIG. 1.—*Cas-chrom* (after Macdonald, 1811).

To use the *cas-chrom* the worker places his right foot on the wooden peg which is fixed where the shaft joins the head. Holding the shaft firm with both hands he drives the head into the earth with two jerks,* turns the clod from right to left, and takes another step backwards, continuing to work in that direction.[7] In this manner twelve labourers could dig an acre a day, and the result would be as satisfactory as if the area had been covered twice with an ordinary plough. If the ristle or sickle plough [8] was used (see p. 81) the work would be completed somewhat more quickly, and only ten men would be needed to cover an acre a day. It would prove twice as expensive as a ploughing team of four horses. But the *cas-chrom*

* Robertson says the action is done with "one bend of the body"—1808 p. 102.

could be used in boggy country where a horse would be unable to go, as well as in stony ground, where it could lever stones up to 200 lb. in weight out of the ground. The *cas-chrom* also has an efficiency superior to the ordinary spade, with which implement ten or twelve men could only cover 2/3 acre a day: as far as the quality of the work went, Macdonald considered it twice as effective as an ordinary spade.[9] The characteristic use for the *cas-chrom* in the Hebrides, was in setting up lazy beds (*feannagan*) on which were cultivated potatoes, corn and oats.[10]

A certain similarity may be noted between the *cas-chrom* and the so-called breast-plough, which was found in both England and Scotland from the eighteenth century.[11] In its north English and Scottish form this implement is bow-shaped.[12] The two tools differ very sharply in their uses, however, since the breast-plough was not used for tillage, but only for swiddening. This agricultural technique, widely used in the eighteenth century, consists in taking off the surface of the ground with the breast-plough, and then burning it—hence its alternative designation of "paring and burning".[13]

Although a connection between the plough and the *cas-chrom* is generally postulated, it is very difficult to determine its precise character. Certainly a naturally curved piece of wood formed from the branch and main stem of a tree is the main element of many old types of plough, as for example many Scandinavian ards, but there are greater differences in the way in which these two types of implement are used. The *cas-chrom* is used in a backwards movement like a spade, and the earth is placed on the left side of the worker, whilst with a plough the movement is forwards, and the ridge is to the right.

Although not so widely noticed by travellers and others, the use of a spade as an instrument of tillage is certainly no less important. This was common in much of the Highland area, in the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland, and even as far south as Dunbartonshire.[14] This implement, the *cas-dhireach*, has a single step, usually but not invariably, on the right-hand side thus enabling the worker to use his right foot as with the crooked spade. Several diggers (or "delvers"), each armed with the implement, worked together as a team. Thus Ure writes of Dunbartonshire in 1794:

"It is the common practice for eight or ten men and women to assemble with their spades, for the purpose of digging a piece of ground, and it is amazing with what speed they accomplish their work. They begin at the lower extremity of the ground and form

themselves into a row, at a convenient distance from one another; they cut, with their spades, a line into the ground, nine or ten inches deep, and then with one united effort throw over, at once, a furrow or piece of ground, about eighteen or twenty feet in length, and about eight or ten inches in breadth".[15]

The *cas-dhireach*, which is about 6 feet long, was used in Sutherland for digging lazy beds for barley, whilst in Shetland it was more commonly used for potatoes until very recently.[16] It was especially useful for inaccessible small plots of arable land, as well as steep fields.[17] In some of the remoter regions such as St. Kilda,[18] the Pentland Firth Island of Stroma,[19] and Mid- and South Yell in the Shetlands,[20] the spade was the exclusive means of tillage, and even in Lerwick in 1792 almost all the small farms were dug by spade.[21]

The use of the spade by a digging team is also reported from Vestlandet in Norway,[22] and a similar use is probably referred to by Young when he wrote that there was not a single plough in the whole village of Tuorist in Co. Kerry, Ireland, and added: "All the tillage is by the Irish loy; ten men dig an acre a day, that has been stirred before".[23] Similarly team-digging is found in many parts of the world where the digging-stick is still used, such as Abyssinia, Guinea and the Andes. It is interesting that the spades in those regions of north-western Europe where tillage by spade has survived are often rather similar to the digging-stick. This is particularly true of Faeroese and Irish spades, which are long and narrow, and sometimes lack a step.*

It would seem that spade-tillage has been common throughout north-west Europe,[24] and it may be postulated that this practice in its turn was based on the earlier use of the digging-stick. One reason for the survival of the spade for tillage is the heavy rainfall which may have prevented the ard from being more widely used. At the same time it must be admitted that the plough has long been in use in this area, permitting a wide degree of local variation. On the other hand there is no evidence that the hoe was used here as the principal implement of tillage, but this need not necessarily mean that it has not been used as an auxiliary implement in the region.[25]

. . . . . .

The most primitive form of plough, the ard, which lacks a mouldboard, and in contrast to the plough proper is symmetrical

* The lazy bed is also to be found in both Ireland and the Faeroes—see Bruun 1929 p. 183; Jirlow 1931 p. 115.

in shape, has only been found in two or three scattered places in Great Britain, and this leads us to conclude that it has played rather an insignificant role in British agriculture. The bronze model of an ard which was discovered in a Roman barrow in Sussex is clearly connected with the finds of similar models from the lower Rhine.[26] It is possible that this type may have been connected with the Roman invasions, and was not important in the indigenous British culture.

There are, however, two crooked pieces of wood found in Scotland which belong to a non-Roman type of ard. One of these pieces, excavated by Mrs Piggott at Milton Loch Crannog in Dumfriesshire [27] appears to be a head and stilt from an ard of the Døstrup type (i.e. a type found in Denmark, and dated to the middle of the first millenium B.C.).[28] It is dated to the second century A.D. The other piece is a beam of unknown date but from a similar ard-type and was found in the same county in Whitereed Moss north of Lochmaben.[29] The two finds thus conveniently complement each other.

It would seem that the Scots in prehistoric time used a type of ard which was borrowed from the south. The finds of small plough-socks in southern Scotland dated to the early centuries A.D.[30] would appear to confirm this early use of ards. There is indirect evidence for the use in Scotland (as in eastern England) of wooden-wheeled ploughs of the Danish Tømmerby or Villersø type, in which the sole of the plough is studded with pebbles to protect it from wear.[31] Finds of pebbles with the characteristic facets resulting from such use have been recorded from Roxburghshire, Wigtonshire and Aberdeenshire.[32] This hypothesis of Scottish archæologists remains unproved, however.

. . . . . .

It may be suggested that the distinctive types of plough found in the Scottish islands are themselves based upon the ard. This would certainly seem to be the case for the Shetland plough, which appears to have fallen out of use by the 1860's,[33] but of which type three examples are to be found in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh.[34] In one of these, from the Lerwick collection—see fig. 2 (Lerwick)—the beam is made of three parts; the foremost piece is forked at the tip for the attachment of harness; the middle piece, at its hindmost end, is curved to form the support of the wedge-shaped third part, which is a sort of stilt connected with

the head. This is mortised from the front into the lower part of the stilt. A pole, fixed to the beam in front of the coulter acts as a handle, and this is strengthened by resting on an upright support fixed to the upper edge of the stilt. After the ridge is horizontally cut with a feathered and socketed ploughsock, the earth follows a rounded protrusion on the side of the head—in effect a sort of groundwrest—after which it is turned over by the two straight mouldboards, consisting of a lower and longer board acting as a continuation of the rudimentary groundwrest, and an upper and shorter board set at an angle to the direction followed in ploughing. Thus instead of turning over the earth with a straight or a rounded mouldboard, which is the method common to most of Eurasia, two separate mouldboards, set in different planes, are used.

Of the other two Shetland ploughs in the same museum, the specimen from Cunnisburgh (MP 81) is of the same type, whilst the other—see fig. 2 (Whalsay)—differs slightly in that the stilt continues up to the handle, and the beam is attached to this. We have, in addition, a contemporary illustration of the Shetland plough provided by Shirreff—see fig. 2 (Shetland, Shirreff). He portrays a plough not dissimilar to the existing museum specimens, although there is a more striking resemblance to the ard. The head and coulter are fixed to the lower part of an almost S-shaped beam, whilst the handle which connects with the centre of the beam is strengthened by an upright support attached to the beam, which itself has an iron brace on one side. The mouldboard appears to be in two pieces, although the illustration is not very clear on this point. The same type of plough was also general in Orkney in 1814.[35]

As for the origin of the Shetland plough, Leser has suggested a connection between this type of framed handle and similar ones in Scandinavia,[36] whilst Payne has suggested that the implement was borrowed thence during the Viking period.[37] Payne's theory may be accepted with a slight modification: there is no evidence for a plough with a mouldboard of this type in Scandinavia, but there is a similar type of ard, *krokard*, which is especially common in Norway (in particular in Vestlandet, in parts of eastern Norway and in Trøndelag),[38] as well as in parts of Sweden (particularly Västergötland).[39] The important feature in the construction of these ards is that the head is mortised into the curved beam, a detail which is repeated in the Shetland ploughs. On the other hand this type

of Norwegian ard lacks a coulter. The beam is shortened, and the implement is drawn by shafts. These improvements date

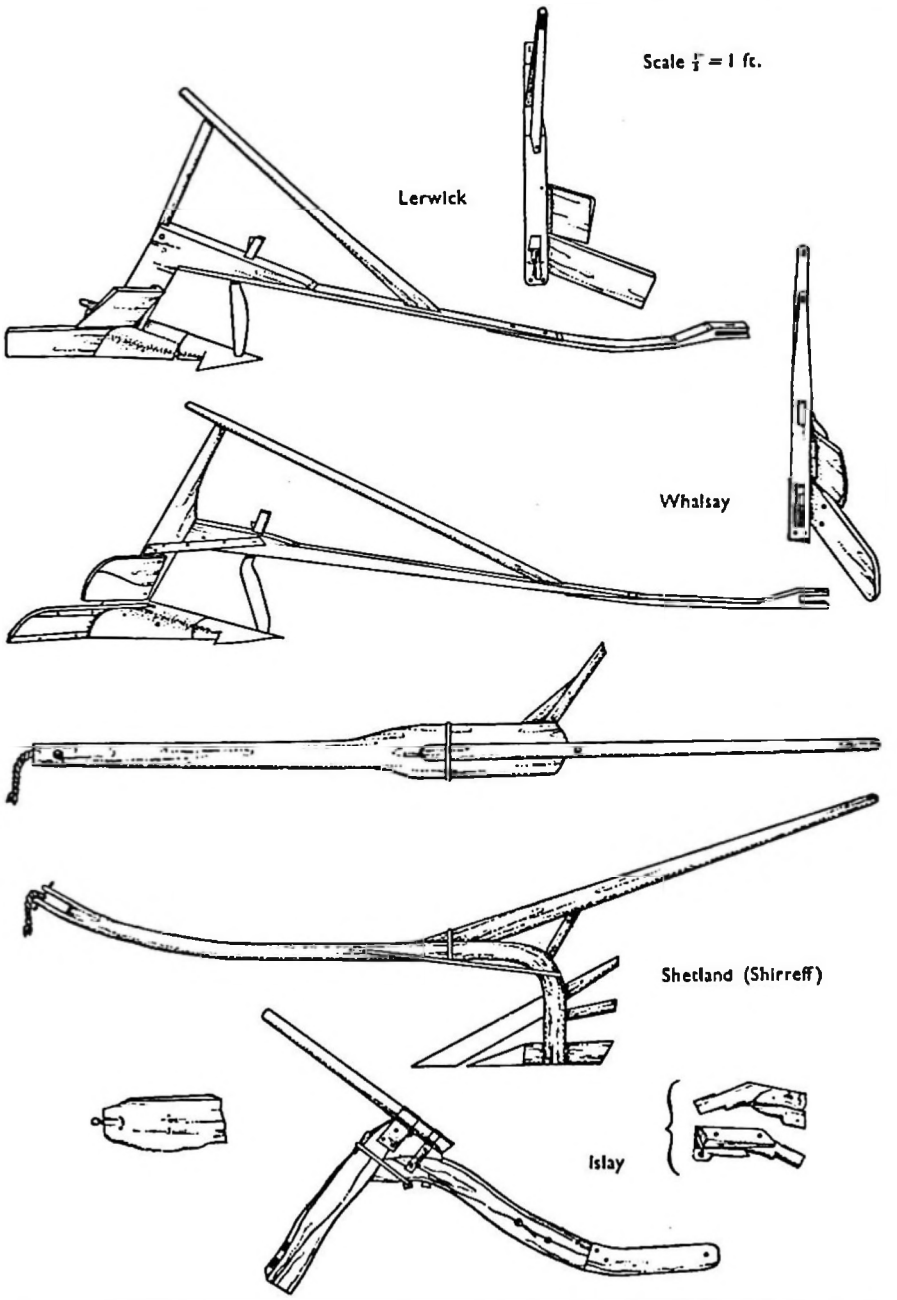

FIG. 2.—Types of Scottish ploughs including the Shetland plough from the Lerwick collection, MP 82; a Shetland variant from Whalsay, MP 585; another Shetland plough after Shirreff, 1814; and a Hebridean one from Islay, MP 388.

from the mediæval period. Yet since the Norwegians began to occupy the Scottish isles soon after 780, and founded there

a Norwegian earldom under Harald Haarfagr which retained a connection with Scandinavia until 1469, it would be natural to assume that the Viking colonists had ards with them. These may well have survived in Orkney until 1795, when it was reported,[40] that in some parishes there a type of plough was used which had a "stilt" without either a "groundwrest" or "earthboard". It is clear that the Norwegian ard must have preceded the plough with mouldboard imported from the Scottish mainland. Possibly the ard evolved into a one-sided plough with mouldboard through the influence of the oldest English and Scottish ploughs in the earlier Middle Ages.

Another plough-type is connected with the South Hebridean island of Islay [41]—see fig. 2 (Islay). As with the Shetland plough just described, the curved beam is made in three parts: firstly a foremost piece with a forked end by which the implement is drawn, secondly the main part of the beam, and finally a piece which is both a continuation of the beam and also acts as the stilt. The mouldboard has clearly been bound to the stilt, although it is now separate. One other piece has also assisted in turning the earth; unfortunately these loose parts are not now fixed to the main part of the plough, and hence the plough cannot be completely reconstructed. The handle is formed from a pole which is a continuation of the beam. The sock has been lost, but it is clear that the plough has lacked a coulter altogether. This implement must have been preceded in the field by a ristle.[42]

One further plough is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland [43]—see fig. 3 (Orkney)—which, if anything, is even more unusual than those described, and one might well doubt if the implement can be considered to be a plough at all, since the earth was turned over with a part that is toothed like a comb, rather similar to a harrow. This implement from Orkney was illustrated and described by G. Marwick in 1903 [44] and was locally known as a "sideplough" and "stilltie", but was called by that writer a "Roman plough". The beam was in three parts: the foremost part was forked like the implement from the Hebrides, and was called *kyollks* (jaws). The continuation was bow-shaped, curved to such an extent that it would rub against the ground, and thus acted as a foot: this was called *foregill*. The joint between the "foregill" and the third part of the beam, the *stang*, was covered by a wooden patch, the *nobe*. Between the poles was a coulter, *cooter*, and behind this a stilt, the *sewcher stang-post*, attached at

the top to the beam, and at the bottom to a small rounded wooden head, the *sewcher*, which according to Marwick was shaped like the head of a dogfish. Attached obliquely to the head was a *markal-pin* to which was fixed by two nails the sock, *sewcher soc*, made of a very insubstantial piece of thin metal plating. A wing, the *wing* or *sproll* on the "markal pin" was pierced by three vertical pins, called by Marwick *nether ski*, *millya ski* and *ivver ski*, the latter nearest the sock. An iron hasp in the shape of an eight, the *bridal*, joined the "sewcher stang" to the coulter. The 9-feet-long traces, *trauchle-soam*, were attached to the harness, *trauchle*, with a pin made of a sheep's bone, *trauchle pin*, pushed through a hole in the "kyollks". The plough * was drawn by one, two or four animals; instead of reins, a special man, *pirrin*, walked before the horse leading it.*

According to Marwick this plough was the normal type on the western part of the mainland about 1790. Then for the first time the Scots plough, *cupper*, was used. Yet the older type was thought to be warmer, and therefore better for the earth, than an iron-shod implement. The old type, according to Marwick, was still used in 1903 in Rackwick on Hoy, and a few decades earlier on Birsay. He also refers to various semi-magical rites accompanying the use of this plough, which we cannot, however, discuss in this present survey.

The three types of ploughs from the Scottish islands here described may well all be developments of the Norwegian ard, *krokard*, which may also have been used there, having been imported during the Viking age. Some of the alterations can be explained by the new milieu, especially by the shortage of timber which would necessitate the beam being made in three parts. Under the influence of the earlier British ploughs proper, the symmetrical ard evolved into a plough with a mouldboard on one side, and a coulter. Even this change must have taken place comparatively early to allow for the subsequent regional modifications. The Shetland plough is probably nearest the original. After 1700 the Orkney type was slowly replaced by the Scots plough, particularly by the lighter Scots plough which was common by about 1800. In Dunrossness, Shetland, the old island type nevertheless survived until 1864.[45] We must, however, point out that Marwick's theory that the Orkney plough was based on one used by the Romans is altogether inadmissible.

It is not quite clear what implement is intended by the

* This method was known in other parts such as Caithness—Sinclair 1795 p. 203.

designation *thrapple-plough* [46] used by authors writing of Caithness. This had a bowed beam, convex "ribbed" mouldboard

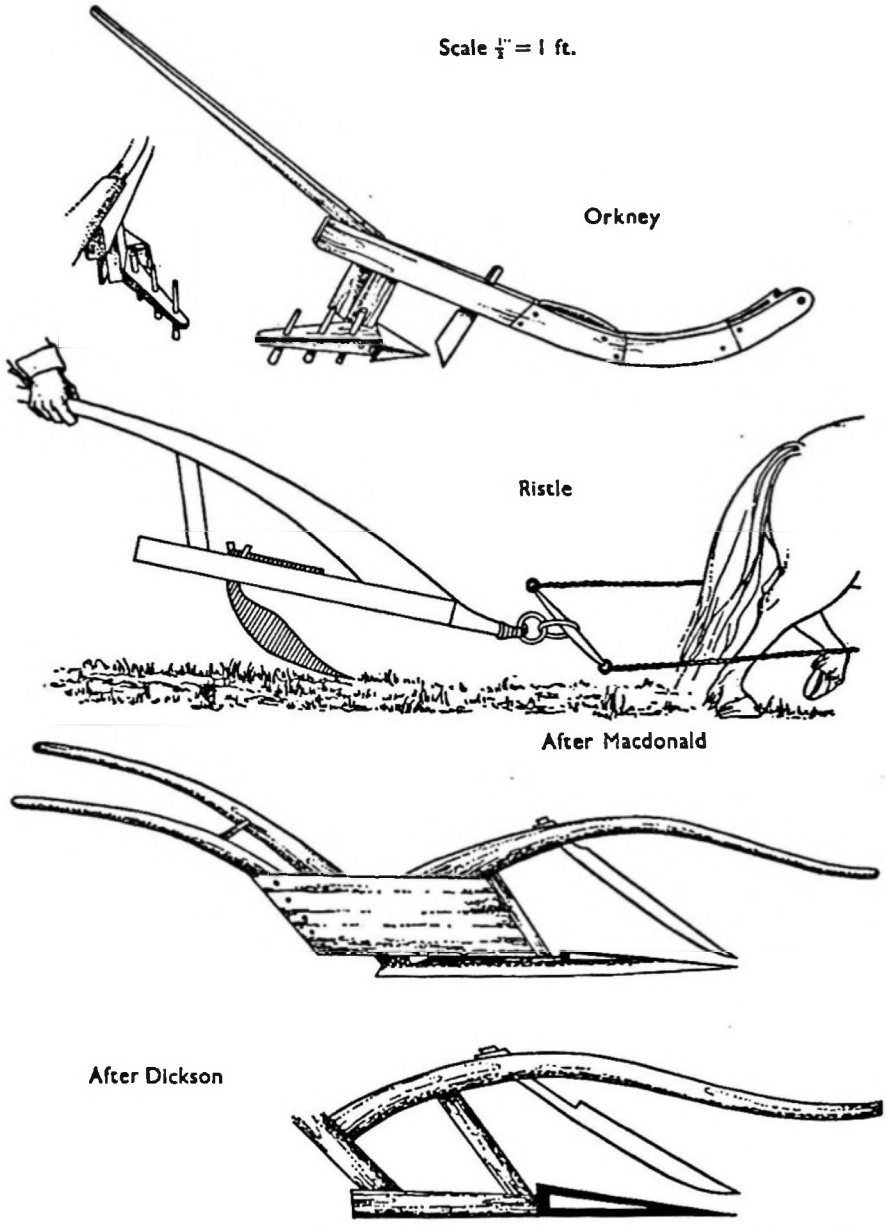

FIG. 3.—Types of Scottish ploughs including the Orkney type, Nat. Mus. of Scot. MP 564; the Ristle plough (after Macdonald, 1811); and the Old Scots plough (after Dickson, 1770).

and a handle protruding from the head, as well as an iron coulter and sock, feathered for grassy land and plain (without feather) for stony terrain. At the end of the beam was attached

a piece of wood and a raw leather thong, which served as the "muzzles" by which the plough was drawn and by four small horses or oxen, yoked abreast. One man held the handle, and another pressed on the beam, whilst a third preceded the draught animals, walking backwards. The single handle in particular is very reminiscent of the island plough described above.*

. . . . . .

Several writers discussing the husbandry of the Hebrides and the adjacent parts of the mainland describe a plough which they call the *ristleplough*, *sickleplough* or *ristle*.[47] This implement was drawn by a horse (or sometimes two horses) led by a man, whilst another man controlled it from the rear—see fig. 3 (Ristle). It had a "culter" in the form of a sickle. This cut a deep ridge in the ground, and thus prevented the plough which followed it from being hindered by roots. The implement was linked by Heron with Virgil's *Georgics* and the Romans, but it has clearly a much closer connection with the Vikings.[48] The word "ristle", which the *New English Dictionary* instances from 1703, 1808 and 1879, is correctly there linked with Old Norse *ristill*. The Norwegian word *ristel* and the Swedish *rist* were used during the nineteenth century to designate a special ristleplough, which went in front of the ordinary plough and which made the going for the latter somewhat easier; the implement was common to a large part of Scandinavia. Since the terminology, technique and use are the same for the Scottish and the Scandinavian tools, it would seem probable that the Vikings also brought this with them to the Hebrides, where it could, of course, even be combined with tillage with the *cas-chrom*. But in contrast to the ard, it seems to have been more or less confined to the Hebridean islands.

The combination of the ristleplough with the Norwegian ard, or with the plough which is a development of the ard, constituted an important improvement in Hebridean agriculture. For in this way it became possible to utilise land more or less covered with grass where the ard alone could only be used with extreme difficulty.

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The ploughs discussed hitherto have all had a very limited

* Henderson 1812*b* p. 55. This method of employing three men for ploughing seems to have been common throughout much of north Scotland.

geographical distribution, confined to the area subjected to Viking colonisation; whilst within this area tillage with spade or *cas-chrom* has continued side by side with the plough. In the rest of Scotland an agriculture based upon the use of the ard seems to have gained ground, but the precise extent of this is not known although it has clearly been replaced by the plough in recent times. It is only with the reports of the Board of Agriculture written between 1793 and 1816 in which the state of agriculture in the different counties is thoroughly described,[49] that we begin to get reliable information about the different implements used. In these reports there are constant references to the old Scots plough, which was said to be the only type in use in 1765,[50] but which by the 1790's was being replaced by more modern forms. Fortunately we are given a careful description of this older plough in Adam Dickson's *A treatise of Agriculture* (1770). At that time the implement was made of wood with an iron sock and coulter, and built round a rectangular but obliquely inclined frame consisting of a sheath, which sloped slightly backwards, the top part of which was mortised into the curved beam, 6 feet long, and the lower end of which formed an angle of 60 degrees with the head, which was about 20 inches long. The beam was mortised into the left handle, which was about 5 feet 4 inches long and was also inclined sharply backwards, and this in turn was mortised to the head.

The very generously proportioned coulter was also stuck into the beam. Seen from above—see fig. 3 (Dickson)—one can distinguish the symmetrical and rather lengthened sock, which was probably rounded and appears to have been nailed on to the head, as well as being socketed into it. The head and sock together were 3 feet 8 inches long. Apparently for reasons of economy the sock was not solid, but was in fact little more than a metal fret. A wrest, 26 inches long, was fixed at a sharp angle to the right-hand side of the head, and this acted as the lower part of the mouldboard. This was made of a rough plank or log, hollowed out with an axe, and pointed upwards towards the right handle. It was frequently curved outwards, that the earth might be turned over more efficiently, but it was more usually straight. When the mouldboard was curved in this way, it generally lacked a wrest. With this general type of plough there was always a shorter right handle, fixed to the wrest and mouldboard, whilst the handles were connected with each other by two cross-braces.

It is particularly interesting to note that according to Dickson the old Scots plough was a swing-plough, which "is raised out of the ground by pressing upon the handles, which raises the forepart of the plough." [51] On the other hand there was certainly to be found, albeit of more recent provenance, a Scots wheel-plough.[52] This latter had a normally curved mouldboard and feathered sock: that is to say an assymetrical sock with a wing (*feather*) protruding on one side.

Dickson himself constantly recommended an assymetrical sock with a feather on the right-hand side, although this was not a novelty. In stony terrain, however, the symmetrical sock was more satisfactory.

The harness was normally attached by an ordinary hook, but, strangely enough, even at that time there were several more developed forms of different thickness and breadth, which had not however been generally adopted.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, supplements Dickson's description of the old Scots plough in his *The Gentleman Farmer* (1776). He was born in 1696 in Berwickshire, a county in which this type of plough still survived in 1794.[53] According to Home the plough was large and heavy, some 13 feet in length, whilst the head and sock together measured 4 feet. The sock lacked both a fin and a feather. But the plough had its advantages: it turned over the soil very well and the long handles enabled the driver to control it easily. The long head took a firm grip of the ground, and the weight of the implement prevented stones from pushing it out of the furrow. One drawback, however, was that its weight demanded many oxen, since the head and the mouldboard were too long, and thus increased the friction. The mouldboard in particular was set at too sharp an angle to the sock, instead of gradually sweeping outwards. About 1800 it would seem that the mouldboard was becoming more commonly strengthened with a metal plate.[54]

The number of animals in the draught team seems to have varied in the 1790's from county to county. Thus in Aberdeenshire it was still drawn by eight to twelve oxen, yoked two and two, although the author of the report on that county thought this absurd since two horses would suffice in the light soil.[55] In Perthshire about 1780 it was customary to use four oxen and two horses, or four horses and two oxen [56] and this practice was reported from the Carse of Gowrie in 1794.[57] In Ross in 1810 six to eight animals were still used, indiscriminately mixed,[58] whilst in the two counties of Galloway (Kirkcudbright

and Wigtown) in the same year, although it was more usual to use four animals yoked abreast, six or eight might sometimes be used.[59] Four horses yoked abreast are also reported from Kirkcudbright in 1794,[60] Clackmannan in 1795,[61] Argyll in 1798,[62] and Stirlingshire in 1812,[63] whilst four horses yoked two and two were in use in Arran in 1807.[64] According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1797, the traditional numbers in the ploughing team were six oxen and two horses in southern Scotland, and ten (and sometimes twelve) oxen in the north. There had been a gradual diminution in the number of animals, a tendency which started first in Berwickshire, but slowly became more general. This change began about 1745 according to Lord Kames.[65] The number used was clearly dependent on several factors, including the weight of the plough used and the social position of the landowner, as well as local custom. In Aberdeenshire there was a certain amount of competition in this matter on farms of more than a full ploughgate of land, to see who had the most oxen before the plough.[66]

The old plough not only required a number of men to control the team, but demanded extra labour on account of its clumsiness. Three men was the minimum required: one to lead the horses, one to hold the plough, and a third to clean the mouldboard and with his weight keep the head in the furrow.[67] About the 1790's the old Scots swingplough began to be replaced by more modern types, especially that of James Small.[68] Thus in East [69] and Midlothian,[70] Fife [71] and Moray [72] it had fallen out of use by 1794, in Kinross by 1797,[73] in Galloway by 1810 [74] and in Aberdeenshire by 1811.[75] On the other hand we have reports that it was in full use in Ayrshire until 1790,[76] in Glenisla and Glenesk in Angus,[77] the Outer Hebrides,[78] and in the inner Islands of Gigha and Islay [79] in 1794, as well as in Arran [80] in 1807. It was also retained for use in heavy clay-soils in Dunbartonshire,[81] Selkirk,[82] Roxburgh,[83] Dumfriesshire [84] and Peebles [85] in 1794, in Lanarkshire in 1798,[86] in Berwickshire [87] in 1809 and in Stirlingshire as late as 1812.[88]

The poorer tenants, who could not afford the more expensive ploughs even when these were widely used in their county, often had to make do with the old Scots plough.[89]

We may assume that the old Scots plough is identical with the old British rectangular plough, which was imported into England from across the Channel, and which is generally known in the scientific literature as the "Saxon" plough.

Originally it had a forecarriage, but in England the wheels were abandoned in the Middle Ages, and the type changed to a swing plough.

It may be noted in parenthesis that Scotland was one of the pioneer countries in the movement for agricultural improvement.[90] As early as 1723 the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland was founded,[91] and several other societies with similar aims were founded in that century. It is probable that the small collection of four models now in the Science Museum in South Kensington is the result of the activity of such a society.*

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Whilst the collections of models do not seem to have exerted any real direct influence on the progress of agricultural improvement, the Scotsman James Small (*c.* 1740-93) did, on the other hand, play an important part in this movement with his plough constructed soon after 1767. According to Hamm all more recent improvements of the swingplough in England may be traced to his influence.[92] It is, however, also clear that Small's improvements are themselves based upon the well-known north-English plough, designated in the literature as the Rotherham plough, the centre of its manufacture being Rotherham in Yorkshire. The origin of this type has been the subject of much uncertain speculation.[93] It is known, however, that it was first patented by Stanyforth and Foljambe in 1730, and according to the specification it could plough three acres with the same power that was previously needed for two. It had a heel "fastened under the fore end of the land stilt or haine". The plough had no head, but moved forward on the lower end of the sheath, the left handle and the heel. "Two mould plates are fastened upon the shield-board [i.e. mould-board], one upon the upper edge and the other upon the lower edge thereof." [94] It is probable that the smiths based this plough on a type already known in Yorkshire. In 1653, Blith depicted a plough which he called the *plaine-plough*,[95] which seems to anticipate the Rotherham plough. According to Mill [96] one man and two horses would plough as much land with this

* One of these (1933: 222) is perhaps a Welsh plough, and another seems to be a swing plough with wooden mouldboard from Värmland, Sweden (1933: 176); a third (1933: 175) is probably a Scottish copy of a foot-plough with iron mouldboard and head, also from Värmland. Strangely enough an ard from Uppland, also in Sweden, completes the collection. The models show traces of having been numbered before 1865, but their style suggests that they are somewhat older, probably from about 1800.

implement as two men and six horses with the old wheelplough. This plough is basically a swingplough with a curved mouldboard, not reinforced with metal. The sock has a rudimentary feather, whilst a heel-wedge was fixed to the bottom of the left handle. The head is strengthened with an iron tip. The angle between sock and mouldboard is therefore rather slight.

The Rotherham plough soon reached Scotland. According to what appears to be a reliable account, Small returned to Berwickshire from a visit to England for the purpose of study in 1764, when on the advice of Renton of Lammerton he settled down as a blacksmith in Blackaddermount. That he was quickly successful is demonstrated by the fact that he was soon employing twenty or more carpenters and six to eight blacksmiths. He specialised in the manufacture of ploughs and these soon replaced the old Scottish plough with "straight timber mouldboard" and pointed sock.[97]

Probably the Rotherham type was already known in Scotland. Thus Lowe wrote in 1794 that in 1739 the products of a ploughsmith named Lummas or Lumbas were being imported into Scotland, but that his ploughs had been replaced by Small's.[98] According to Brown the Rotherham plough was introduced by a Mr. Lomax or Lummis to West Lothian in 1730.[99] By 1776 Small's so-called "chain-plough" was much thought of. This name is taken from a chain that was attached to the beam near the coulter. The draught was thus intended to be taken not by the beam but by the chain.[100] The head was small and short. One particular advantage according to Lord Kames was that the plough had clean lines and no sharp angles between the sock and the mouldboard.

In 1784 Small's plough was described in print in a manual written by himself.[101] In the preface he cited Lord Kames' approval of his plough, and stated this preference for the "twisted mouldboard" to the straight mouldboard of the earlier plough, but admitted that this was no novelty. In the same way he preferred a feathered sock to the spear-like one, which could, however, be convenient in stony fields, and the swingplough to the plough with forecarriage. Seen from beneath, his plough was very similar to the Rotherham model, but lacked the heel under the left handle; but his plough also had a rectangular frame. Later it was also furnished with a heel, and thus became even more similar to the Rotherham type.

Small's writing bears the imprint not only of his practical

PLATE I

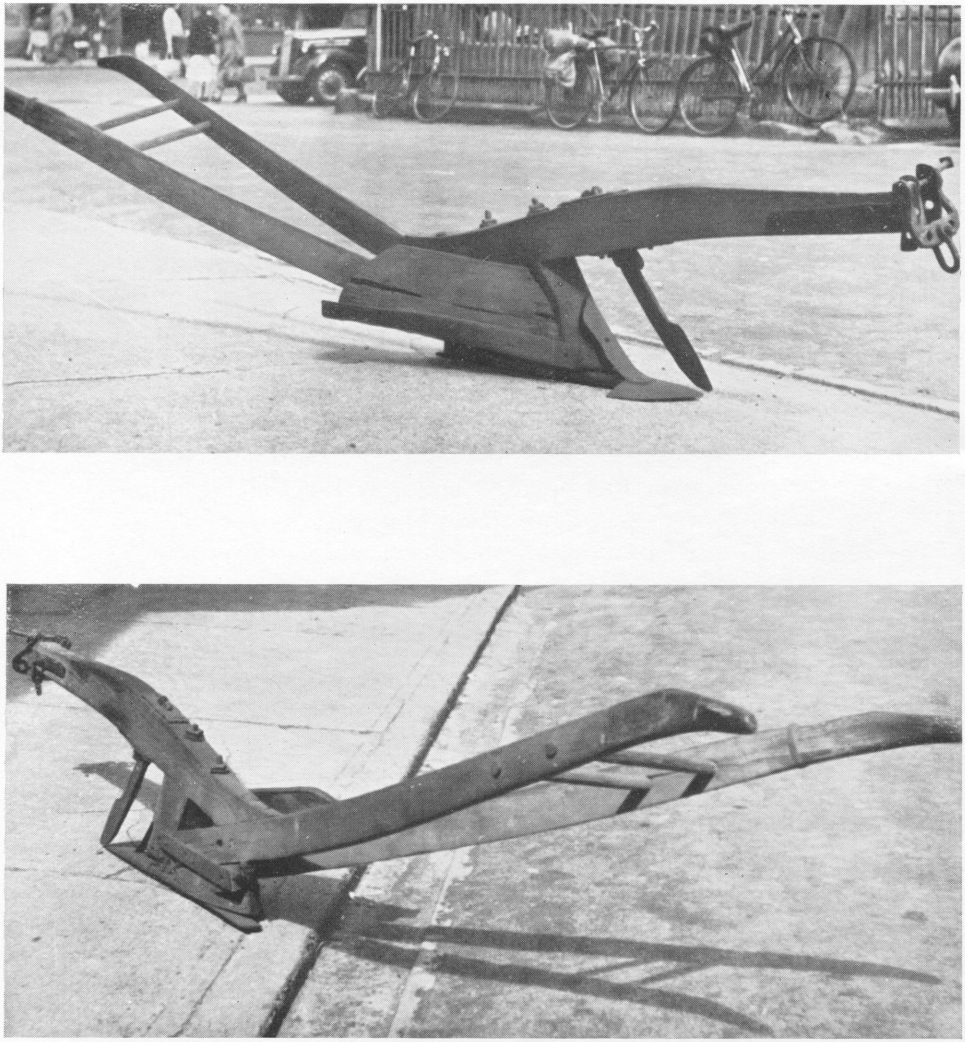

FIG. 4.—Inverness-shire Plough from the Fort William Museum

experience as a smith, but also of a scientific clarity of mind which made his work the classic account of the plough. Since he was not academically trained he could not base his design on mathematical calculations. This was done by James Bailey from Chillingham in Northumberland in his *Essay on the construction of the plough* (1795).

The popularity of Small's plough may be attributed in part to the recognition it received in the earlier reports to the Board of Agriculture and in part also to that in the article on "Agriculture" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1797, where the lack of a sharp angle between the sock and mouldboard was again praised, as also the fact that the implement only required two horses. The mouldboard at this time was often of cast-iron and the chain was occasionally replaced by an iron rod.[102] The way in which this type of plough penetrated most of Scotland is clear from the later county reports, where it is referred to by several names: "chainplough", "Small's plough" "common swing-plough" or the "improved Scottish plough". The extent and rapidity of its adoption is demonstrated by the fact that it was in general use in Dumfries,[103] West [104] and East Lothian,[105] and Fife [106] in 1794, in Midlothian the following year,[107] in Stirlingshire in 1796,[108] in Kinross in 1797 [109] and in Roxburgh in 1798,[110] in Peeblesshire in 1802 [111] and in Berwickshire in 1809,[112] in Aberdeenshire in 1811 [113] and in Angus by 1813.[114] In Galloway [115] and in Ross [116] the "better class" of farmer was using it by 1810, and only in Renfrewshire and in Shetland was it less general; in the former county "some" were using it in 1812,[117] and in Shetland "a few" in 1814.[118]

At the same time this plough began to be adopted abroad. In Germany it became known through Thaer; in Sweden in 1809 C. G. Stjernswärd founded that country's first factory for ploughs at Engeltofta in Skåne in which, with the help of Scottish smiths, he made ploughs of the Scottish type, especially Small's.

A good example of this type of plough is contained in the West Highland Museum in Fort William. This plough, from Inverness-shire and dated to the early nineteenth century—see fig. 4—has a wooden mouldboard and is shod with a wooden wrest reinforced by an iron band. The sock is feathered and is continued backwards as an iron support beneath the heel-wedge under the left handle.

Certainly here and there some ploughs were adopted that

differed somewhat from Small's. Thus in Aberdeenshire light ploughs were used which were a sort of transitional form between the Rotherham plough and the old Scots plough and which sometimes retained a "carved mould of wood".[119] In Moray there was a type in circulation constructed by Mr. Crichton of Edinburgh.[120] There is a mention from Kinross of a type of plough invented by Lady Stewart of Goodtrees which was already widespread in southern Scotland before Small's plough,[121] whilst in Islay, Gigha and Colonsay in 1811 Veitche's plough was the favourite.[122] From Ayrshire and Bute there are accounts of Wilkie's plough,[123] which was an improved version of that of James Small, as, indeed, were all late ploughs in Scotland.

In the reports from about 1800 there is frequent mention of the "drillplough", commonly called the "double mouldboard plough" or "ridging plough". This was often used for ridging up drills for turnips and for earthing potatoes. Like the ard it was symmetrical but it had two mouldboards, often hung on hinges and with a spear-shaped sock. Side by side with factory-produced drillploughs, there existed home-made ones, manufactured from old ploughs to which a piece of wood had been attached on the lee-side which acted as a second mouldboard.

Thus this implement, which was common from that time on, had no connection with the ard, but evolved from the plough by its being furnished with a mouldboard on the left side.[124]

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To round off the story, the principal change during the nineteenth century was in the substitution of iron for the original medium, wood. Small's earliest ploughs had a wooden mouldboard strengthened with a piece of metal plate, but he soon went over to the use of cast-iron. This material was gradually used for the whole plough, a development which had taken place by the mid-century. Some ploughs were furnished with a fore-carriage, others were swingploughs. After 1860 the horse was in some places replaced by the steam tractor, and, after 1900, the motor tractor.*

* Mention should be made of the sock with attached coulter from South Uist in the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg (13.223.175). The sock is 29×14 cm. (11½×5½ in.) whilst the coulter which appears to be riveted, is 23 cm. long (9 in.). We are unable to explain this unusual implement—See fig. 5.

FIG. 5.—Sock and Coulter from South Uist from Hamburg Museum

1. Heron 1794 p. 26.
2. Macdonald 1811 p. 152.
3. Heron 1794 p. 33.
4. Macdonald 1811 p. 152.
5. Mackenzie 1810 p. 238.
6. Cf. Sinclair 1795 p. 152n; J. Robertson 1808 p. 102; Henderson 1812*a* p. 57.
7. Macdonald 1811 p. 151.
8. *vide infra.*
9. Macdonald 1811 p. 151.
10. Campbell 1944 p. 231.
11. Fussell 1933.
12. Examples of this type are to be found in the Castle Museum, York, and the Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie.
13. Ekwall 1955; for a discussion of the *cas-chrom* and the breast-plough see Kothe 1953.
14. E.g. Martin 1703 pp. 43, 286; Newte 1791 p. 410.
15. Ure 1794*a* pp. 39-40; the spade was primarily used in the Dunbartonshire parishes of Luss and Arrochar; see also Whyte and Macfarlan 1811 p. 71.
16. Henderson 1812*a* p. 57; Jamieson 1949 pp. 193-5.
17. Ure 1794*a* p. 40; Anon. 1898 p. 67.
18. Buchan 1727 p. 25.
19. Pennant 1771 p. 154.
20. *Statistical Account of Scotland* Vol. II (1791) p. 574.
21. *Ibid.* Vol. III (1792) p. 418.
22. Steinsnes 1945 p. 87.
23. Young 1892 p. 329.
24. Campbell 1944 p. 234.
25. According to Curwen the hoe-culture survived in Scotland—1946 p. 75.
26. Payne 1948 p. 97; Leser 1931 pp. 107-9.
27. C. M. Piggott 1955 pp. 143-4.
28. Glob 1951 pp. 36-41.
29. Now in Dumfries Museum.
30. S. Piggott 1955.
31. Glob 1951 pp. 71-3.
32. Corrie 1914 pp. 338-43; cf. Phillips 1938 p. 338 for similar material from North Lincolnshire, the East Riding of Yorkshire and the Sheffield region. We are indebted to Professor Piggott for drawing our attention to these finds.
33. Mitchell 1880 pp. 94-5.
34. Nat. Mus. Ant. Scot. nos. MP 81 from Cunnisburgh; MP 82 from the Lerwick collection; MP 585 from Whalsay.
35. Shirreff 1814*a* pp. 51-2.
36. Leser 1931 p. 161.
37. Payne 1948 pp. 87-8.
38. Stigum 1947.
39. Erixon 1948; Jirlow 1953, 1954.
40. Sinclair 1795 p. 226.
41. Nat. Mus. Ant. Scot. MP 388.
42. *vide infra.*

43. Nat. Mus. Ant. Scot. MP 564—this appears to be the self-same implement illustrated by Marwick in a lecture published in 1936.
44. Marwick 1936.
45. Mitchell 1880 p. 94.
46. Sinclair 1795 p. 204; *The New English Dictionary* gives the term *thripple-plough* and states that the word has an unknown origin.
47. Heron 1794 pp. 40, 69-70; J. Robertson 1808 p. 103; Macdonald 1811 pp. 156-7; Martin 1703 pp. 53-4; J. Smith 1798 p. 318.
48. Heron 1794 p. 69n.
49. Handley 1953 p. 174.
50. *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1797.
51. Dickson 1770 p. 169; see also J. Smith 1798 p. 59n.
52. The wheelplough is reported from Urie, Kincardineshire, by G. Robertson in 1813—1813 p. 235.
53. Lowe 1794 p. 37.
54. Ure 1794*a* p. 41.
55. Anderson 1794 p. 76.
56. J. Robertson 1799 p. 91.
57. Donaldson 1794*a* p. 19.
58. Mackenzie 1810 p. 146.
59. S. Smith 1810 p. 40.
60. Webster 1794 pp. 12-3.
61. Erskine 1795 p. 32.
62. J. Smith 1798 p. 67.
63. Graham 1812 pp. 107-9.
64. Headrick 1807 p. 316.
65. Home 1776 p. 121.
66. Anderson 1794 p. 76.
67. Mackenzie 1810 p. 250.
68. See Passmore 1930 p. 18, and *infra*.
69. Buchan-Hepburn 1794 p. 90; Somerville 1805 p. 66.
70. G. Robertson 1795 pp. 70-1.
71. Beatson 1794 p. 13; but cf. Thomson 1800 pp. 124-5.
72. Donaldson 1794*b* p. 22.
73. Ure 1797 p. 26.
74. S. Smith 1810 p. 100.
75. Keith 1811 p. 213.
76. Aiton 1811 p. 212.
77. Roger 1794 pp. 16-7.
78. Heron 1794 p. 14.
79. *Ibid.* pp. 49, 51.
80. Headrick 1807 p. 316.
81. Ure 1794*a* p. 41; but cf. Whyte and Macfarlan 1811 p. 70.
82. T. Johnston 1794*a* p. 34.
83. Ure 1794*b* p. 51; but there even in 1798—Douglas 1798 pp. 49-50.
84. B. Johnston 1794 p. 41.
85. T. Johnston 1794*b* p. 31; but also in 1802—Findlater 1802 p. 117.
86. Naismith 1798 p. 76.
87. Kerr 1809 pp. 51-2.
88. Graham 1812 pp. 107-9.
89. Thus reports from Wester Ross and Sutherland—Mackenzie 1810 p. 250; Henderson 1812*a* p. 56.

90. This is conveniently summarized in Handley 1953.
91. Dudgeon 1840 p. 61.
92. Hamm 1856 p. 215.
93. Fussell 1952 p. 65.
94. *Abridgements of specifications relating to agriculture—Division I 1618-1866* (London 1878).
95. Blith 1653 p. 211.
96. Mill 1762 plate IV p. 257.
97. Kerr 1809 p. 151.
98. Lowe 1794 p. 37.
99. Brown 1811 Vol. I p. 232.
100. Passmore 1930 p. 18.
101. Small 1784.
102. J. Robertson 1794 p. 50.
103. B. Johnston 1794 p. 41.
104. Trotter 1794 p. 18.
105. Buchan-Hepburn 1794 pp. 89-90.
106. Beatson 1794 p. 13.
107. G. Robertson 1795 pp. 70-1.
108. Belsches 1796 p. 39.
109. Ure 1797 p. 26.
110. Douglas 1798 pp. 49-50.
111. Findlater 1802 p. 117.
112. Kerr 1809 pp. 151-2.
113. Keith 1811 p. 213.
114. Headrick 1813 pp. 257-8.
115. S. Smith 1810 p. 100.
116. Mackenzie 1810 pp. 146, 250.
117. Wilson 1812 p. 86.
118. Shirreff 1814*b* p. 41.
119. Keith 1811 p. 292.
120. Donaldson 1794*b* p. 22.
121. Graham 1814 pp. 46-7.
122. Macdonald 1811 p. 153.
123. Aiton 1811 pp. 213-8, 723-5; Aiton 1816 pp. 158-64.
124. A plough of this type is to be found in the Angus Folk Museum.

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A Classification of
GAELIC FOLK-SONG

James Ross *

INTRODUCTION

The following article is an attempt to isolate and briefly illustrate the main types that are found in the oral song-poetry of Gaelic Scotland.† Attention is concentrated on what is actually found in present-day tradition and although most of the types described are strictly sub-literary, a few types are included which appear to be of literary origin.

One of the major barriers to the analytic discussion of any folk-song culture is the lack of a definitive terminology. There has been very little objective study in this field over the last fifty years and it has not been possible to use a previous classificatory system as a model.[1] This state of affairs contrasts sharply with the great progress that has been made in the systematic study of the folk-tale. Antti Aarne published his *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* forty-six years ago, setting forth a classification of tales which set the pattern for all future catalogues up to the present time.[2] Since metrical forms cannot cross linguistic boundaries as easily as story plots which have no formal requirements other than those of the arrangement of narrative elements, it is probably not possible to provide a classification of song types which would have an international application. The basic procedure of Antti Aarne may be said to have been the isolation of recurring narrative plots and numbering them within larger groups based on the predominance of a particular theme, such as Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Novelle, etc. Where similar tales in this classification differ in detail the difference is seen to lie in the presence, absence or different positioning of segments of narrative which recur in different contexts. His systematic tale division, therefore, implies the possibility of tabulating these atomic segments. This was subsequently undertaken by Stith Thompson.[3] Even ignoring the international aspect of this type of folk-tale study,

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† The translations presented in this paper are mostly in prose. Though printed in a narrow line they are not meant to reflect the Gaelic verse forms.

the many differences of theme, structure and function between story and song severely limit the application of such methods to song analysis. Because of the several important facets of song, the possibility of a plurality of criteria which takes due account of each of them has to be considered. In making a systematic classification each criterion must be used consciously, its relation to the others in use being carefully defined.

In this study four criteria have been found applicable to the particular task set and an attempt is made to use them systematically. Since it is important to reveal the system in use as far as possible, the types isolated have been grouped according to the criterion which has been predominant in their selection.

The criteria used are 1. *Theme*, 2. *Structure*, 3. *Folk Ætiology*, and 4. *Function*.

The thematic criterion, supported in some cases by a consideration of structural factors, is the one that has been most widely used. The following table gives a list of types grouped according to the thematic elements which are predominant in them.

I. SONG THEME

1.1 *Songs with an inter-sexual aspect*
- 1.1.1 Love songs (general)
- 1.1.2 Matchmaking songs
- 1.1.3 Night visit songs
- 1.1.4 Pregnancy songs
- 1.1.5 Rejection songs
- 1.1.6 Tàmailt (complaints)

1.2 *Songs relating to the physical environment*
- 1.2.1 Hunting songs
- 1.2.2 Homeland songs
- 1.2.3 Topographical songs

1.3 *Panegyric*
- 1.3.1 Eulogy
- 1.3.2 Elegy
- 1.3.3 Lament

1.4 *Satire*
- 1.4.1 Aoir
- 1.4.2 Flyting

1.5 *Songs of miscellaneous themes*
- 1.5.1 Religious songs
- 1.5.2 Bacchanalia
- 1.5.3 Jacobite songs
- 1.5.4 Merry songs

The arrangement of types isolated by use of a structural criterion is as follows:

II. SONG STRUCTURE

2.1 *Ballads*
2.1.1 Heroic Ballads
2.1.2 Sailors' Ballads (Place-name songs)
2.1.3 Soldiers' Ballads

2.2 Macaronics

2.3 Pibroch Songs

2.4 Puirt-a-beul

Since this criterion differs so fundamentally from the first, it may appear that there has to be a certain amount of overlapping. This will be discussed below where the thematic nature of these marked structural types will be illustrated.

The scope of the third criterion is narrower but nevertheless important. A song can become part of the general traditional lore of a community in a very special way, especially where it becomes the focal or culminating point of a supernatural tale, its existence being explained for instance by reference to a fairy or other supernatural being. The arrangement of this minor group is as follows:

III. FOLK ÆTIOLOGY

3.1 Fairy Songs

In the fourth main grouping the term *Functional* is used to refer to songs which play or have played a definite part in the material life of the people, and as such it has two applications: (*a*) to songs which are associated with traditional customs or rituals; (*b*) to songs which are used as an accompaniment to the physical rhythm of labour.

The use of the functional criterion would be more straightforward if it could be taken as a maxim that theme expresses function. Unfortunately this is only the case with the first of the two groups listed. The term *Duan Challuinn* (S.T. 4.1.1) for instance, not only labels a song from the aspect of its function but also indicates a thematic content which is indicative of that function. The term *Waulking Song*, on the other hand, while it implies that a song has been used in a certain occupation, tells us nothing about thematic content. Even incidental

textual allusions to the work are rare in songs associated with the waulking tradition. Although one hears the term frequently used in discussions about traditional Gaelic song, it has not been given generic status in this classification because of the wide variety of themes and structures which are found in this tradition. Songs from it are included in S.T. 1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.4, 1.1.5, 1.1.6, 1.2.2, 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.4.2, 1.5.3, 2.1, 3.2, and 4.2.3, revealing the particular richness of this song culture. Although the theme of a song may not be directly indicative of its function, we nevertheless find that particular themes are found associated with particular occupations. Cradle songs, for instance, normally have texts which are either laments or eulogies of a particular kind. Since the employment of a song in an occupation is so often incidental to its origin or theme, occupational type names are only used where some peculiarity of content is also discernible.

The types isolated in this way are grouped together in the following manner.

IV. SONG FUNCTION

4.1 *Songs associated with ritual*
4.1.1 Duain Challuinn (Hogmanay Songs)
4.1.2 Eòlais (Charms and Incantations)

4.2 *Occupational Songs*
4.2.1 Cradle Songs
4.2.2 Milking Songs
4.2.3 Orain Basaidh (Palming or Clapping Songs)
4.2.4 Rowing Songs
4.2.5 Spinning Songs

As has already been indicated, suitable names were not available for many of the individual types enumerated in this paper. Where names did already exist with a sufficiently technical connotation they have been used. Terms such as *Flyting* and *Night Visit Song* are definitive type names borrowed from external sources and need little re-definition to suit the special requirements of this context, whereas other terms such as *Ballad* and *Satire* need considerable qualification. Gaelic names have been used where these are more suitable than English ones.

The classification is primarily the result of an analysis of some two thousand of the Gaelic sound recordings at present in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies.[4] The documentation of these recordings has involved the examination of

numerous published collections and manuscripts. In giving references published sources are used where possible. It must be stated, however, that references are limited to indicating that a given type recurs and are not meant to be in any way exhaustive.

I. THEME

As has been indicated in the course of the above discussion, we can view Gaelic song from the three main aspects of Theme, Structure, and Function, and also from the lesser aspect of the position it occupies in the general folklore of the community. While Theme is undoubtedly the most widely applicable of these criteria, it is not sufficiently delimiting in itself to make a basis for an exhaustive classification. Thus many of the groups under the remaining three headings can be seen as further delimitations of Theme. S.T. 4.2.1 (*Cradle Songs*) further divides S.T. 1.3.2 (*Eulogy*) and 1.3.3 (*Lament*). S.T. 2.1.2 (*Sailors' Ballads*) and S.T. 2.1.3 (*Soldiers' Ballads*) can be seen as a further sub-division of Group 1.2 (*Songs relating to the physical environment*).

Although the criterion of Structure is used as a criterion distinct from that of Theme, it is also operative within the thematic groupings. S.T. 1.1.2, 1.1.4, 1.1.5, and 1.4.2 show individual structural differences which emphasise their thematic differences. Furthermore, an important part of the difference between S.T. 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 is structural in the metrical sense.

1.1. Songs with an Inter-sexual Aspect

1.1.1. *Love Songs (General)*

A number of songs having an inter-sexual aspect, and which could loosely be called "love songs", are treated below as more specific types. We shall here briefly consider the residue of love songs which are not characterised by any particular recurrent structure. From the aspect of the various influences that have gone towards its formation, we can consider this residue as falling roughly into three main groups.

(*a*) Specifically women's songs from the early modern period which have survived through the waulking culture.

(*b*) A small group of sophisticated love songs, some of which seem to indicate the continuing influence of the early modern literary love poem familiar in Irish literature.

(*c*) A large mass of recent compositions, mainly nostalgic in tone and related to the Homeland series we shall consider below.

(*a*) These are songs which share many characteristics with the sub-literary eulogy. The basic difference between eulogy and love song, ignoring for the moment the normal inter-sexual aspect of the love-song, is the objectivity of the former, its tendency to describe and attribute qualities to the subject, as distinct from the more emotional, subjective tendency of the latter. We naturally find a number of examples which reveal both these tendencies and there is a considerable overlap with the sub-literary eulogy. In this section we shall indicate briefly the peculiar characteristics that they have as love songs.

Their chief characteristic is their great virility of expression, frequently employing extreme imagery to convey desire.

Alasdair òig ic ic Neacail
b'fhearr leam fhin gu'm beirinn mac dhut
cóigear na sianar na seachdnar
's uallach a dheanainn an altrum;
bheirinn cìoch is glùn an asgaidh
thogainn suas air bhàrr mo bhas iad.[5]

Young Alasdair son of the son of Nicol, I wish I could bear you a son, five or six or seven, and proudly would I nurse them; I would give breast and knee freely, I would raise them aloft on my palm. . . .

Jealousy can be found expressed in an equally striking way.

N'an cluinninn té eile bhi suas riut
gu spionainn bun is bàrr mo chuailein
'S leumadh mo shròn àird na stuaigheadh
's gu falbhadh m'anail na ceò uaine. . . .[6]

Were I to hear of another woman making up to you I would tear my hair tip and root, my nose would spout blood the height of a gable end and my breath would go in a green mist. . . .

The following passage occurs in a variant of the same song:—

'S tu fireannach lium as docha
shaltair air fiar riamh no fochann
laigh air a thaobh deas no toisgeail
no chuir bròg ma cheann a choiseadh.
Mo mhil mhìochain 's mo mhil bheachainn
mo dhìtheinean eadar ghart thu,
mo cheòl, mo cheòl mo cheòl fidhleadh
's mo cheòl clàrsaich àrd is ìseal.[7]

You are the man I most prefer to any who has ever trampled on grass or on corn shoots, who has ever lain on his right or left side, or who has put shoe on the point of his foot. You are my honey of . . . and my honey of bees, you are my flowers among fields, you are my music, my fiddle music, my harp music high and low.

These passages may reveal the starkness, and great directness of these heroic love songs, which are also unique in being the permanent contribution of women to Gaelic literature.

(*b*) The songs of this group could be called "romantic" love songs. They are composed with a certain controlled artistry of language despite the emotional disturbance of love. Among this not very prolific class are songs by known eighteenth-century poets like William Ross and Duncan Ban MacIntyre. These have survived in variants close to published versions and must be regarded textually as having been reinforced at one or more point in the history of their survival in the oral tradition by reference to the printed word. Musically, however, they belong purely to the oral tradition.[8] Others of fine literary quality are not traceable to any known author. Variants of beautiful love-poems such as *Fhir a leadain tlàith*,[9] *Oran le Nighean Fir na Réilig* [10] and *'S mi air m'uilinn 'sa leabaidh* [11] are still to be heard traditionally.

(*c*) It is rather unusual to find any recent composition which is a straightforward love song. For the modern poetic lover the nostalgia of love tends to be combined with a quasi-nostalgia for the homeland, a common kind of development being *An teid thu leam a ribhinn oig a null gu tir nam beanntan*—"Will you go with me young maiden over to the land of the mountains?" This sentiment is becoming increasingly prominent

in modern compositions. Furthermore, the lack of melodic originality of these songs lessens their interest for the collector.

1.1.2. *Matchmaking Songs* [12]

At the conclusion of the shrinking process of the waulking when the cloth was being folded and palmed, it was customary to sing dialogue songs in which the leader matched a member of the waulking group with a certain man. The named girl sang a reply, which was derisive if the leader's choice was unacceptable to her, or eulogistic if she favoured him. These dialogues were spontaneous only to a limited extent since they were fitted into certain traditional song forms and refrains.

There were a number of these forms, employing various metrical and refrain patterns. No common metre is thus employed and the continuity of structure that is evident throughout the group is based purely on the dialogue element which is found in all of them. In belonging to the clapping or palming stage of the waulking, they can be regarded as a thematic sub-class of S.T. 4.2.3. Since, however, they do not constitute the total song literature of that occupation, and since they have a marked identity of theme, they are classed separately.

The following matchmaking song-form was popular in Lewis. A syllabic chorus was sung with a final solo line of text embodying a request for a lover to be named. The suggested lover was then named in a solo line sung to the same melody as the one in which the request was made.

Haoim éile haoim ó
hóro bhi 's na hóro gheallaidh
haoim éile haoim ó
faigheabh dhòmhsa leannan tràth.

Domhall Sheòruis dhut an trasd.

If he was unacceptable he was satirised as follows:

Sios e sios chùirt an ùraich
's a chuid lùirichean ma cheann;
ceigeanach dubh ceann gun chìreadh
cha teid mi gu dìlinn dha

Down with him, down with him to the dung-yard with his rags of clothing after him; black dwarf of the uncombed head, I will never go to him.

A request for a better one followed and if he was acceptable he would be eulogised as follows:

Suas e suas e chùirt an airgid
nighean a righ cha b'fharmad leam;
suas e suas e bhàrr nan crannaibh
's na siuil ghealaic' air a slìnn.[13]

Up with him, up with him to the court of silver, I would not envy the king's daughter, up he goes, up he goes to the white-sailed mast tops.

A Skye song of a similar type had the following refrain, the name of the suggested suitor inserted in the second line.

Goiridh an coileachan uair roimh là
Aonghas mac Dhòmhaill air tighinn do'n bhaile so
goiridh an coileachan uair roimh là.[14]

The cock crows an hour before day
Angus MacDonald has come to the township
The cock crows an hour before day.

A solo line then followed:

Có 'n té òg bheir e bho'n chagailte?

Who is the young woman he will take
from her fireside?

A young woman of the company was then matched with the man named.

1.1.3. *Night Visit*

We are now dealing with a clearly differentiated song type which has been found in many cultures. It has also a sociological significance in that it is associated with a courting custom known in a number of societies. As an English and Scots song type, the night visit song has been discussed at length by Charles Read Baskerville.[15] In this section we shall describe briefly the forms that the songs of the night visit take in Gaelic and make comparative notes where relevant.

Isolated references to the night visit appear in the earlier love songs, particularly the women's songs. A love-eulogy has

been recorded in which the woman enquires of her lover whether he is to visit her during the night.

Ailein Ailein Ailein chùlduinn
an tig thu nochd no'm bi mo dhùil riut
an dean mi'n daras mór a dhunadh
an dean mi choinneal bhàn a mhùchadh
an dean mi sin no'n caisg mi'n cù dhut.[16]

Alan, Alan, brown-haired Alan, will you come tonight or shall I cease to expect you; shall I close the outer door, shall I quench the white candle. Shall I do that or shall I restrain the dog for you.

Another song of the same type says:

Tha an Seachdaran air an adhar
's tha a' ghealach gun éirigh fhathast
faodaidh fear na suirghe gabhail
ga brith taobh dha'n dean e rathad
dh'iochdar no dh'uachdar an taighe.[17]

The Pleiades are in the sky and the moon is not yet risen; the wooer may proceed wherever his destination may be, to the lower or the upper part of the house.

The above quotations represent the night visit traditions uncomplicated by intrigue or any special situation. Two distinct developments from this norm are found, one expected extension of the tradition being to sheiling life. Isolated references from an early period indicate this transference.

'S tric a chuir thu mi teann an gàbhadh
's mi leabaidh chaoil an taobh na h-àireadh.[18]

Often you placed me in dire danger, and I in a narrow bed in the side of the sheiling.

It is unlikely that this variation of the custom would be regarded with approval by the society in which it was practised. The night visit of the lover to his girl was essentially a visit to her home, and if the visit was uncomplicated, that is, if the parents approved of the lover, the secrecy that attended his entry would be formal or ritualistic only. The night visit in this form could only properly exist with the approval or connivance of the girl's parents. The alteration of these basic

circumstances and the transference of the custom from the girl's home where some control could at least be theoretically exercised, to the sheiling, where the girls lived through long periods of the summer with the minimum of supervision, would be regarded as an illegitimate extension, particularly so in later times when the custom was declining and when there would be a changing attitude to it on the part of parents and guardians.

The songs that we have so far recorded, which deal with the night visit custom in the sheiling, are all composed from the lover's view point. They tend to be humorous and tell of the lover's frustration owing to some ridiculous mishap. A song attributed to a piper in the service of a Laird of Glenalladale about the end of the eighteenth century is of this type. He describes his difficulties in achieving entry, and how, when he finally reaches his sweetheart's bedside, he finds her sleeping with a young child. In response to his request to sleep with her she replies

> Thuirt i mata cuir dhiot t-aodach
> bheir mise nochd mo leth thaobh dhut
> air eagal 's gun dean thu m'aoireadh
> 's chan ann air son gaol do mhànrain.[19]
>
> She said, unclothe yourself, you will tonight get a place at my side, but it is for fear that you will satirize me, and not for love of your company.

As he unclothed himself the child began to scream, awakening the woman of the house. The lover then had to flee partially clothed.

We get another variation of the normal night-visit theme when there is a background of intrigue and the woman is already married. A married woman's warning to her lover incorporated in a lullaby has been recorded. The song has the following three-phrased refrain

> Bi falbh o'n uinneig fhir ghaoil fhir ghaoil
> 's na tig a nochd tuilleadh fhir ghràidh, fhir ghràidh
> bi falbh o'n uinneig fhir ghaoil fhir ghaoil.[20]
>
> Go away from my window my love, my love
> and do not come again tonight my darling, my darling
> go away from my window my love, my love.

Baskerville has commented in detail on the antiquity and widespread occurrence of the refrain "Go from my window,

go". He also points to the international occurrence of the theme of a wife's warning to a lover through a lullaby. The text of the above song, which is fragmentary only, is as follows—the refrain being given initially and after each line.

The athair mo chloinne 'na laighe 'nam thaice
Tha do long air an t-seòra 's i gun seòladair aice;
Cuir umad do bhròg an tha 'n tòir a tigh'n cas ort
Gura mise bhios brònach ma ni an tòir seo cur as dhut.

The father of my children is lying by my side, your ship is unmanned on the shore; put your shoes on, the pursuit is coming close to you; it is I who will be sad should this pursuit destroy you.

A comparison may be made in particular to Buchan's "*Cuckold Sailor*" [21] and to the texts discussed by A. G. Gilchrist in the Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.[22]

1.1.4. *Pregnancy Songs*

Songs which are motivated by this state fall into two groups, the second of which concerns us in this section.

(*a*) Complaints about seduction or rape and subsequent pregnancy. These are included in the *Tàmailt* section and do not concern us here.

(*b*) Songs in which the complaint trait is only slightly developed or absent. The pregnancy is indicated but the song then develops into a vaunting boast which states that the father of the unborn child is not a "balach" or unworthy person but a great hero. The lover is then eulogised and the willingness to bear him several children may be expressed. The general trait is well exemplified, though in a compressed way, in a text recently recorded in Skye.

Cha dìrich mi an t-uchd le fonn
ceum mo chois is truime lium
tha mi torrach dùmhail trom;
cha leis a bhalach mo throm
ach leis a lasgaire dheas dhonn.[23]

I cannot climb the slope lightly,
the stride of my foot is heavy, I
am closely filled and pregnant; my
pregnancy is not the servant lad's
but that of the excellent brown
haired hero.

A similar trait is developed in another song collected by K. C. Craig.

Thog iad ormsa le sgainneal
gu robh bainne 'nam chìochan,
gu robh mi trom torrach
o thoradh na h-aon uidhch
gun deachaidh mi an uaigneas
le buachaill a' chinn duibh. . . .
Gura càirdeach mo leanabh
dha na falannan uasal
do Mhac Leòid anns na Hearadh
's dha gach baran tha fiachar
Gura car' thu Mhac Dhùghaill
thig o thùr nan clach lìomhann.[24]

They raised the scandal about me that there was milk in my breasts, that I was heavy and pregnant from the fruit of one night, that I had lain in secrecy with the black-haired herd boy. . . . My child is kin to the young nobles, to MacLeod of Harris, and to every baron of worth. You are kin to MacDougall of the smooth-stoned tower.

No traces of modern composition are found in any of the known examples of this interesting type. Heroic imagery is found in all of them and they may be regarded as survivals of the song-literature of a heroic society. We owe the survival of what examples we possess to the song-culture of the waulking.[25]

1.1.5. *Rejection Songs*

These are women's songs and are associated with waulking. They proceed, (*a*) by rejecting a given suitor and enumerating a number of reasons for doing so; (*b*) by rejecting a number of actual or hypothetical suitors, classed according to trade or profession, with one reason given in each case. A eulogy of the desired lover may be associated with either type.

(*a*) The following text is sung in various parts of the Outer Hebrides.

Bodachan cha phòs mi
bi e fada 'g éirigh
fada dol na éideadh
fada, fada ag cur uime
cha teid e mach gun am bata
cha tig e steach gun an casda
saoilidh e gur caoirich clachan
saoilidh e gur bó na h-eachu. . . .

I will not marry a little old man, he will be late in rising, very slow in dressing; he will not go out without a stick, he will not come in without a cough; he will think that the stones are sheep, that the cows are horses.

A variant of this song has a brief eulogistic accretion.[27]

(*b*) The following text is a good example of the second kind of Rejection Song, in which the singer leads up to her choice of suitor through a series of rejections.

Chan àill leam an gobha mu'm bodhair an t-òrd mi.	I don't want the smith, his hammer would deafen me.
Chan àill leam am breabadair goididh e móran	I don't want the weaver; he steals much.
Chan àill leam an tuathanach buailidh e dòrn orm	I don't want the farmer; he will strike me with his fist.
Chan àill leam a fìdhlear ge fìnealta mheòirean	I don't want the fiddler despite the skill of his fingers.
Chan àill leam an greusaiche 's breugach a sheorsa	I don't want the cobbler, his kind are liars.
Chan àill leam an cìobair bi lìth air a mheòirean	I don't want the shepherd, his fingers are greasy.
. . . . .	. . . . .
Gum b'fhearr leam an tàillear a chàradh mo chota.[28]	I prefer the tailor who would mend my coat.

Essentially of the same type is *Chan àill leam gobha dubh a ghuail*.[29] In this song, the blacksmith, tailor, farmer, carpenter, cobbler, weaver, and sailor are rejected and the soldier is accepted.

As stated above, a eulogy of the desired lover may be associated with the rejection song. This may be a brief reference, or it may be developed to a greater extent than the rejection element itself. Where the rejection element is only incidental to a longer text, as it frequently is, it can be seen as a formulaic trait peculiar to women's love songs. The Rejection Song is thus like the Pregnancy Song, in that it can comprise a song text in itself and is also used as a compositional element in longer texts of another type.[30]

1.1.6. Tàmailt (*Complaint Songs*)

The Gaelic term *Tàmailt* has already been given a technical significance in indicating a definitive song type.[31] An accurate translation of the word is difficult. It normally indicates an emotional state, a mixture of aggrieved shame and anger, which we could indicate approximately by using the English words "chagrin" or "mortification". There are a number of songs which appear to have originated in this psychological state, being complaints about personal insults or imagined or real persecution by other members of the community.

The song which J. C. Watson calls "A specimen of the *Tàmailt*" is an answer to a pregnancy slander. It has a satirical development and is similar to a section of a flyting. More typical of what is implied by the term *Tàmailt* is the song *Cha tog mi fonn eutrom* in Craig.[32] The song commences as a complaint about a cut thumb and then develops into a series of complaints against the entire community.

Since the most frequent source of a *Tàmailt* is a seduction, subsequent pregnancy, and abandonment by the lover, it has been placed in the inter-sexual grouping. The song *Choinnich thu'n coille nan geug mi* [33] is such a complaint and is not directed merely at a girl's faithless lover but complains of her treatment by her associates who despise her for what she has allowed to happen. In its more general sense of "complaint", the *Tàmailt* grouping can include miscellaneous pregnancy complaints and complaints about being dispossessed of land, or about sons being pressed into military service by the chief.[34]

1.2. Songs Relating to the Physical Environment

1.2.1. *Homeland Songs*

This song type is an old one, poems expressing love of place being known in mediæval Irish texts.[35] The vast majority

of examples in the current oral tradition are, however, modern in conception and relate to the population movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Very few examples have survived with an early eighteenth- or seventeenth-century background and it is doubtful whether songs of this type were composed in any numbers during that period. Of the one hundred and forty-seven songs from the waulking tradition published by Craig, twelve are of the homeland type or contain homeland traits. Of these, seven seem to be from the earlier period and are mainly in Type I metre. Despite the fact that they are all motivated by absence from the homeland, the heavy and repetitive nostalgic utterances of the later songs are missing. They appear to have been composed within Highland society and frequently express love for one Gaelic-speaking area rather than another, expressing joy at the prospect of returning. There is a marked tendency for the homeland trait in these early songs to be developed in a formulaic way, the following passage being found in close variants in different melodic and textual contexts.

O chóin a chiall mo thriall dhachaidh
gu baile bòidheach a chlachain
far an d'fhuair mi gu h-òg m'altrum
m'àrach chan e sàil a phartain
ach bainne cìoch nam ban bas-gheal
's an toigh mhór am biodh am pailteas
far an cluinnte pìob is caismeachd
's ruighleadh mór air ùrlar farsainn
treis air dhìsnean 's treis air chairtean
's treis eil air an t-sròl a phasgadh.[36]

Ochone my journey homeward to the pretty township clachan where I was nursed in childhood; my nourishment not the brine of the shore crab but breast milk of white palmed women, in the great house of plenty where bagpipes and tramping of feet would be heard with a great reel dancing on a wide floor; a spell at ice and a spell at cards, and another spell folding the satin.

This passage may be found as the central part of a song text or, as in the example quoted, it may be an accretion to a song of different type.

The development of the homeland song as a prolific type seems to be a late one. Its appearance in the earlier song culture of love-eulogies, laments, and flytings is incidental only and attracts our attention primarily because of its contrast to the later type. The vast majority of the Homeland songs in the School's recorded collection and in published collections relate to the involuntary emigrations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reflect the social and economic vicissitudes which mark that era in the Highlands. We can divide them roughly according to origin into two different kinds.

(*a*) Emigrant's songs. In these the poet yearns for his childhood habitat, usually proceeding by cataloguing its virtues, the customs and qualities of its people, and the natural beauties of the countryside. The new environment in which the poet finds himself may be treated, its inhabitants being condemned for their different religious or moral attitudes.[37]

(*b*) Songs composed by people who have not been forced to leave the environment of their youth, but who have remained and watched that environment change. Like the former type they are heavily emotional in tone and contain expressions of bitterness or hatred towards the landlords. They lament the coming of the sheep and the expulsion of the tenantry, the two processes always being necessarily related in this kind of song.[38]

These later songs are not of great interest for the collector. They lack originality both musically and textually, and since the type has become a quasi-literary genre for town-dwelling Gaels with poetic aspirations, it has been popular at concerts and in broadcasts. The Homeland Song, with its interpolated love element, is the most prominent type in current composition.

1.2.2. *Songs of Hunting Scenes*

The type name in this case might suggest some kind of occupational song. The grouping has been made on the basis of theme because the songs deal largely with hunting reminiscences and these frequently develop into longer passages of a topographical kind. The hunting reference is quite often an allusion only, within the larger context of a topographical passage.

Chi mi Srath farsuing a' Chruidh
far an labhar guth nan sonn,
is coire creagach a' Mhàim Bhàin
am minig a thug mo làmh toll.

Chi mi Garbhbheinn nan damh donn
agus Lapbheinn nan tom sìth;
mar sin is an Leitir Dhubh—
is tric a rinn mi fuil na fríth.[39]

I see the broad strath of cattle where loud is the voice of heroes; and the rocky corry of Màm Bàn, where often my hand wounded.

I see Garbhbheinn of brown stags and Lapbheinn of fairy mounds, and also Leitir Dhubh, often I let blood in its forests.

Verses of a gnomic kind are also found in Hunting Songs. In a recording of the song *Thogainn Fonn air Lorg an Fhéidh* gnomic statements are predominant in the opening phase. A series of utterances states the desires which characterise the trout, innkeeper, goat, wise woman, farmer and hunter. As the song appears in a longer published version, the text continues with hunting reminiscences and includes a reference to the debility of old age.[40]

A song collected by K. C. Craig has as its two main elements a hunting passage and a series of gnomic utterances. The first sequence contains a compressed description of a hunt, culminating in the slaughter of a hind. The gnomic utterances, which we quote here, are preceded by a slight topographical reference.

Loch mo chridhe an loch ud thall
an loch ud eadar an da ghleann,
an loch air am bi an lacha le h-àl
cha tromaid an loch an lacha
cha tromaid an lacha a h-àl
cha tromaide caora a h-olla;
cha tromaide colann ciall,
cha tromaid an t-each a shrian.[41]

Yonder loch is dear to me
the loch between the two glens;
the loch which the wild duck frequents with her brood.
the loch is not heavier for the duck
the duck is not heavier for its brood,
a sheep is not heavier for its wool
a body is not heavier for understanding,
the horse is not heavier for its bridle.

We are probably dealing here with a type which is literary in origin. The poem we have already quoted two verses from, *Comhachag na Stròine* (The Owl of Strone), is a sophisticated sixteenth-century literary composition showing clear connections with the Irish bardic tradition. It exemplifies well the various hunting, topographical, and old-age traits we find intermingled in our other examples of the type. Apart from the undoubted fact that the practice of hunting was mainly an aristocratic pursuit, the possible literary origins of topographical poetry have also to be considered.

In his analysis of the poem, John MacKechnie goes too far when he regards as separate poems what are clearly different aspects of a single poetic genre.[42] He separates the hunting, topographical and old-age sections and treats them as independent poems which have fallen together. Yet it is not difficult to see why a poem or song which receives its primary inspiration from hunting should also contain comments of a topographical kind. Verses on senility also can be viewed as a logical development from a eulogy of the joys of the hunt; and their connection with topographical verses, particularly if these are in the nature of reminiscences, poses no particular problem.

Hunting songs which are essentially complaints or laments are exemplified in

(*a*) *'S gann gun dìrich mi chaoidh*,[43] a Skye song which expresses a hunter's complaint when further permission to hunt is denied him.

(*b*) *Òran Fear Druim a Chaoin.*[44] A song which seems to have been composed by a hunter while in prison.

(*c*) *'S dona sud a Bhothain bhochd.*[45] This song is said to have been composed for an injured hunter. It is in a syllabic metre and contains topographical and hunting reminiscences.

1.2.3. *Topographical Poems* (*Nature Poems*)

When dealing with a language in which the concepts of "song" and "poem" are united and the single word "oran" or "amhran" is the common term, it is naturally very difficult to impose the categories of *song* and *poem* on its poetic material. Yet we are dealing here with a type which we can only describe as being of a literary, poetic origin. At all stages of its development as a type that it is possible for us to trace, it has shown a conscious artistry of language and æsthetic purpose that is alien to the sub-literary tradition. In speaking of a "poetic"

origin in this context, we mean that a composition aims at its æsthetic objective primarily through devices of language and speech rhythms, and that the melody is incidental only. The melody is not composed by the poet but is chosen by him from well-known traditional airs. A melody for the poem is chosen at all only out of deference to a tradition that requires the singing of all poetic compositions.

The sung poems we are considering are not related in any way to the Homeland group we have already described. Neither are they, properly speaking, "nature" poems as they are customarily called. Undoubtedly their sudden popularity with the Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century was due to the influence of poets like Allan Ramsay and James Thomson. It must not be thought, however, that their style was modelled to any essential degree on the English nature poetry of that period, despite the fact that they were influenced by it in their acceptance of literary fashion and even in choice of subject. The whole æsthetic outlook involved in the Gaelic poets' conception of a nature poem was derived from an earlier and different poetic tradition. When a subject was chosen the aim was to describe it exhaustively in objective terms. Language indicating states or processes of a subjective kind, analysing the relationship between poet and his subject and the influence of an emotional or spiritual kind which it has upon him, is only found very rarely.

A few examples of this kind of song-poetry have survived in the oral tradition despite their involved, academic, structure. While their origin is plainly not sub-literary, the fact that they have a continuity in the oral tradition makes it desirable that they be included in this classification.[46]

1.3. Panegyrics

1.3.1. *Eulogy*

In this section we shall deal briefly with the eulogy in its sub-literary aspect. Although eulogies appear in the oral tradition which, on account of their form and content can be described as literary, no special section has been allotted to them. They belong to the same encomiastic tradition as the elegy, and what is said in the following sections about the relation of the elegy to the lament, applies also to this division within the eulogy group. This is particularly applicable to the differences in metre which are outlined in the lament section.

The eulogies we are concerned with here are found invariably in the Type I and Type II metres described there.

Some traits are found, however, which we associate with the literary panegyric. Among these is the well-known practice of attributing natural decay to the death or absence of the chief.

> O'n latha thug thu'n cuan ort
> laigh gruaim air na beannaibh;
>
> Laigh smal air na speuran
> dh'fhàs na reultan salach.[47]
>
> Since the day you took to the ocean,
> gloom has lain upon the mountains;
>
> A blemish has come on the heavens
> and the planets have grown dirty.

The use of tree imagery as a eulogistic reference is also known. It is highly developed in *Craobh nan Ubhal.*—The refrain of this song as it is sung is normally

> Chraobh nan ubhall gheug nan abhall
> chraobh nan ubhall o ho.[48]
>
> O tree of apples,
> choice branch of the orchards,
> O tree of apples o ho.

This imagery is further developed in the text of the song.

Although these particular traits are found, together with the practice of reciting the pedigree of the subject or enumerating his influential relatives, they are on the whole unusual. The songs are generally felt to refer only to the immediate social unit, whereas the reference of the literary eulogy is frequently to a wider unit. The trained poet, whose sphere of activity was normally wider, felt he had to qualify his praise for his subject to a certain extent. This could be achieved by mentioning other people and possible alliances. The subject's illustrious relatives were frequently mentioned, no doubt with the dual intention of pleasing the subject and at the same time pleasing his allies by eulogistic reference to them. The temporary allegiance of a poet on his rounds could also tend to the qualification of the praise of an individual by this reference to a wider enviroment.[49] These eulogies have for the most part been preserved in the

waulking tradition and include a large number of love eulogies. No doubt many of these were composed by women, but in some instances where the inter-sexual imagery is incidental only, they may not have originated as love songs. Centuries of oral transmission within a strictly feminine culture would undoubtedly bring changes of a particular kind, and the introduction of love imagery into eulogies of local chieftains would be an expected development.

1.3.2. Elegy (*Marbhrann*)

The chief differences between *elegy* and *lament* have already been described elsewhere in some detail, but a brief description will be given here for the sake of completeness.[50]

The elegy is a Gaelic literary type of considerable antiquity. The elegiac songs extant in the oral tradition follow the pattern familiar in elegies of late mediæval and early modern Irish poetry. The purpose remains the same, to construct an obituary in verse as a memorial to a dead person. An elegy from Skye contains the following couplet in its first stanza:—

> Mar chuimhneachan bàis ort
> bheir mi greis air do nàdur math inns [51]
>
> As a memorial to your death I will
> spend a while telling of your good nature.

The Gaelic elegy is essentially panegyric and its greatest emphasis is always on the qualities of the subject in life and the desolation caused by his death. While the poet frequently stresses in an exaggerated way the grief of others, his own sorrow is not emphasised.

The elegiac songs recorded by the School of Scottish Studies from the oral tradition are not survivals of bardic literature. They are all in the eight-lined stressed stanza used by the Scottish Gaelic poets after the break-down of the bardic tradition, and they show clearly that the elegy, although a poetic type of considerable antiquity, survived as a living genre until very recent times. It even came to be used by the bereaved person. *Mo rùn geal òg*,[52] composed by his widow on William Chisholm of Strathglass who was killed at Culloden, is an elegy in the completest sense of the word. The song largely consists of a catalogue of virtues and qualities accompanied by conventionalised expressions of grief. In this case the bereaved

person has chosen an established poetic form, sanctified by past usage, and uses it both to express her personal sorrow and as a suitable obituary. In doing this she reveals a general tendency that came to be shown increasingly from her period to the present day. While, on the whole, the composition of elegiac literature, including laments, decreased considerably during that period, where it did remain, the forms peculiar to the laments disappeared and the more elevated style of the elegy took its place.

1.3.3. *Lament*

In exploring the song literature generally connected with death, a metrical division within the group is apparent immediately. One section is composed in eight-lined or four-lined stanzas and does not normally have refrains, while the rest are in a variety of song forms under which we can discern two main poetic metres which can be called Types I and II.

Type I is basically a quantitative metre in that the line is governed by the number of syllables in it rather than by any system of poetic stresses. The stanza we find beneath the refrain patterns of a song consists of an irregular number of lines related by final assonance only. This is essentially the same metre as is used in some European heroic narrative poetry, particularly in the early French *Song of Roland.* In Gaelic, however, it is subject to being broken up into various song forms, and we must speak in terms of *poetic metre* and *song metre.* These do not necessarily coincide.[53]

The basic metrical unit of Type II from the poetic aspect is the stressed couplet. In this case the couplet is usually sung in its poetic form with an external refrain. It is also, however, subject to occasional disruption by internal refrains and it takes song forms associated with Type I.

It is the second main group, framed in these two metres, that we call *Lament* as distinct from the first group which we have treated in the previous section as *Elegy.* It is not entirely suitable for inclusion under the general heading of *Panegyric* in that it is not primarily concerned with praise of the subject and commemoration of his death. It can be said to be expressive of the sorrow of bereavement rather than descriptive of it, as the elegy tends to be.

The most noticeable single feature of the Lament in this connection is its greater personal nature. The loss is framed in

terms of its impact on the singer and it may be illustrated by reference to its effect on everyday routine.

'S muladach 's muladach a tha mi
dìreadh na beinne is 'ga teàrnadh
'g iarraidh a' chruidh 's nach mi'n t-àireach
'g iarraidh nan each 's nach mi 'n àiteir. . . .[54]

Sad and sorrowful am I, ascending and descending the mountain, seeking the cattle and I not the herd, seeking the horses and I not the grieve. . . .

In being generally concerned with sudden or violent death the Lament seems to reveal a more spontaneous response to tragedy. This realism is further manifested in their perception of the state of death. In the elegy, death tends to be a kind of "lying in state", a condition which does not necessarily impair the dignity of the subject, whereas the lament makes no attempt to lessen the impact of death. In one song there is an emphasis on its sheer incapacity.

Cha ghiulain a cholainn còt
cha ghiulain a chas a bhròg
cha ghiulain a làmh a dhòrn.[55]

His body cannot carry a coat,
his foot cannot carry the shoe,
his hand cannot carry his fist.

In another, a woman laments the death of her brother and imagines the actual decomposition of the body:

'S duilich leam do chùl clannach
bhith 'san fheamann 'ga luadh

'S duilich leam do gheal dheudan
bhith 'ga reubadh 's a chuan. . . [56]

Grievous to me your curled ringlets being waulked in the seaweed, your white teeth being torn asunder in the ocean. . . .

Nearly all the laments we have are women's songs and we owe their survival to the waulking tradition. No songs of this type appear to have been composed in the last hundred and fifty years. The lament has been superseded by the more formal measures of the elegy. Its disappearance is, however, only one

instance of the general decay of the specifically sub-literary tradition in song-poetry, and the gradual disuse of its peculiar metrical forms.[57]

1.4. Satire

The use of the term *satire* in an unqualified way in regard to any phase of Scottish Gaelic literature is not strictly justifiable. Where the term has come to have a technical significance outside the Gaelic sphere in discussions of art and literature, it has developed a moral import: that is, a satire is a castigation according to certain moral principles, and not mere abuse. In this section we consider briefly the Gaelic *aoir*, a term which is usually translated satire, and the *orain chòmhstri*, or flyting songs, of which a few survive in the oral tradition from the late mediæval or early modern period. Neither type is a satire in the above strict sense but since they constitute the nearest approach to satire that is discernible in the tradition they are both grouped under this label.

1.4.1. *Aoir*

The *aoir* was a well-known and much feared poetic genre during the mediæval bardic period of Irish literature. It survived the collapse of the bardic order and the subsequent release of poetry from its professional status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, persisting into the present time as a clearly defined type. Although it is still being composed, the *aoir* is not a prolific type and it tends to be parochial. It is largely a poem of abuse in which the composer expresses enmity and malevolence towards his subject. No examples of any antiquity seem to survive and singers are chary of recording many of the modern compositions for fear of injury to the subject or his relatives.

Since there is nothing of great interest to be conveyed about the *aoir*, beyond saying that it is a sustained exercise in diatribe, it is not necessary to give any examples. Furthermore, the published works of the Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century contain compositions which are the same as their modern counterparts.[58]

1.4.2. *Flyting*

The type name in this case has been borrowed from Scots. It connotes an altercation in verse between two protagonists, and, as such, was known in Greek and Provençal literature, and elsewhere. Since the flyting tradition in Gaelic is somewhat

different from its Scots counterpart, the type name will have to be used with appropriate qualifications.[59]

Bardic contests of various forms are known to have taken place since mediæval times. In current oral tradition we hear of improvisation contests which are said to have taken place between known poets. These took the form of either improvising verses which included a number of given words, or making poems on set subjects. We also hear of battles of wit between known poets, taking the form of rhyming statements or complete verses of poetry. It is a feature of these accounts that the poet is named, but the names can vary from district to district although the essentials of the tale can remain. No sustained disputes in verse between known poets survive in the oral tradition; we have only tales of casual encounters and the verse portions are recited, not sung.

In the song culture of the waulking, however, sustained flytings do survive and at least four well-developed examples have appeared in the School's collection. It is not a living song genre and the examples we have seem to be from the early modern period. They are said traditionally to have originated in altercations round the waulking wattles. They are not so much personal encounters as slanging matches between representatives of districts or clans, and the scurrilous attacks of a personal kind, characteristic of the Scots flyting, are not prominent in them, districts, or clans or clan chiefs being the subjects of praise or dispraise. In one, the dispute is between a Barra woman and a Uist woman.[60] The Uist woman makes the first speech and upbraids Barra as a land of poverty which no one would enter willingly. The use of shell fish as food, symbolizing the extreme of poverty in all early Gaelic poetry, is mentioned with scorn. The Barra woman responds by praising the fertility of her island and emphasises the generosity of its people by a reference to the entertainment of Irishmen, presumably itinerant poets and harpers. In all extant versions of this song, the dispute is felt to be an inter-district one and references to personalities are incidental.

In others, however, the flytings are essentially inter-clan, and chiefs and their forbears figure largely in the opposing eulogies and satires. It is a feature of these flytings, and again one which distinguishes them from their Scots counterparts, that eulogistic passages are prominent. Indeed opposing speeches can be entirely eulogies, as in the song sometimes called *The Barra Boasting*. This is again a contest between a Barra

woman and a Uist woman but in their capacities as representatives of the MacNeills and MacDonalds respectively. As a complete flyting with opposing speeches the song survives only in South Uist. In Barra tradition the speech of the MacNeill woman only survives. Both eulogies are in the true heroic tradition and they not only illustrate well the eulogistic content of a typical flyting but reveal the imaginative language in which the noble ideals of the sub-literary eulogy are phrased, and the uncompromising pride with which it is developed.

In South Uist tradition the song commences with the speech of the MacDonald woman.

A Dhia, is gaolach leam an gille
'ga bheil deirgead 's gilead 's duinnead;
dalta nam bàrd 's na mnatha gileadh thu,
ogha 'n fhir o'n Chaisteal Thioram
bheireadh air an togsaid sileadh
cha b'ann le bùrn gorm na linneadh,
le fion uabhrach buan ga shileadh,
le fion na sheusdar 's e air mhire.[61]

> O God, beloved to me is the youth who has redness, whiteness and brownness; you are the fosterling of poets and of pure women, the grandson of the man from Castle Tioram who would make the hogsheads flow, not with the blue water of the pool but with proud wine perpetually pouring, with shimmering wine in perfection.

The speech of the MacNeill woman is then delivered with as great a dramatic power and strength of imagery.

A bhradag dhubh bheag a bhrist na glasan
a Mhuilidheartaich a chochuill chraicinn
ca'n do dh'fhàg thu Ruaraidh Tartair
a bheireadh a fion dha chuid eachaibh
air ghaol uisge lóin a sheachnadh
a chuireadh cruidhean òir ma'n casan
's a chuireadh srianan dhe'n airgiod ghlas orr'.[62]

> A little black thief who has broken the locks, O hag of the skin husk, where have you left Roderick the Tartar . . . who would give wine to his horses so that they might avoid the waters of the stream, who would put golden shoes under their hooves and give them bridles of grey silver.

1.5. Miscellaneous Themes

1.5.1. *Religious*

We have already dealt with religious compositions of a definite kind under *Eòlais*. Although many of these songs were distinctly religious in sentiment they were classified according to their peculiar function. In this present section we group together the *òrain mhatha* or *laoidheann spioradail*, which achieved considerable popularity in certain Presbyterian areas during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the *òran math* or "pious song", was contrasted to the *òran dìomhain* or "vain song", which category included all compositions of a non-religious nature. These religious songs were never sung in church or at any religious service but were performed at gatherings in private houses. At a time when there was a strong religious feeling against secular songs, and against instrumental music of all kinds, these songs must have occupied an important place in the evening's proceedings at many céilidh houses. They made a significant compromise with the traditional song tradition in being sung to familiar song melodies.

At the moment no definite information is available concerning the distribution of these *òrain mhatha*. No examples have so far been recorded from Skye or Uist but some were recorded recently from a Harris singer.[63] The available evidence suggests that as a living tradition they are largely confined to Lewis and Harris. From the few examples already collected it is unwise to form any generalisations concerning their composition or content. At the time of writing recording is proceeding from a Lewis woman singer who appears to know about a hundred songs of this type, many of them with lengthy texts and the vast majority of them hitherto unpublished. This group alone should provide enough material for a preliminary analysis when it is fully recorded.

Songs of a spiritual kind are also found in the Catholic areas. A long narrative song called *Laoidh Mhuire Mhathair*, on the life and death of Christ, has been recorded.[64] It is traditionally attributed to Silis Ni Mhic Raghnaill na Ceapaich, a Keppoch poetess who lived during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The religious songs of these communities were well collected and published by Alexander Carmichael but what proportion of them were song as distinct from recitative is not clear.[65]

1.5.2. *Bacchanalia*

The earlier song literature of the heroic type is fairly prolific

in bacchanalian references. These occur in eulogistic contexts having reference to the prowess of a given individual. These bacchanalian allusions are of two kinds, praising, on the one hand, the subject's capacity for imbibing liquor, and on the other, his generosity in distributing it to others. The words *drongair*, and *pòiteir*, which would be adequately translated to-day as "drunkard", appear to have had a different emotive force and were capable of use as eulogistic terms. The generosity of the subject is frequently described in the concise formula—*dh'òladh càch is phàigheadh tusa*—"the rest would drink and you would pay", or—*air am bu shuarach stòp sineubhair*—"to whom (the giving of) a stoup of geneva meant little".

Since these allusions, however, are merely references or passages within larger contexts, we cannot treat them as members of a song type. The bacchanalian song proper, that is, a song which devotes itself to the joys of drink and the conviviality it engenders, is of comparatively rare occurrence in the Gaelic tradition. When it does occur it tends to be in praise of whisky. In the earlier songs whisky is rarely mentioned and in some contexts appears as *uisge beatha nan Gall gruamach*—"the whisky of the surly foreigner", suggesting that in the Hebrides at least it first appeared as an imported drink. It becomes popular in the eighteenth century and with it appear the bacchanalian songs. Prominent eighteenth-century poets composed such songs, Alasdair MacDonald, William Ross and Ailean Dall in praise of whisky and Duncan Bàn MacIntyre in praise of brandy. Alasdair MacDonald appears to have based his composition *Horo mo bhobag an dram* on an existing folk-song, a version of which has been recorded recently in Barra. While most of the other bacchanalian songs extant tend to combine praise of whisky with mock repentance, this song, which is perhaps the oldest drinking song in the oral tradition, advocates a wholehearted philosophy of drink. It praises whisky exclusively and treats geneva in a derogatory way, as the following verses show.

As a chailleach a bu luidiche bh'ann
nuair chaidh an drama na ceann
"teann as mo rathad a chlann
's gu feuchainn mo chas air an danns"

. . . . . .

Cha teid mi'n tigh-sheinnse ud thall
chan fhiach an sineubhair a th'ann;
ged chuirinn an casg aig ri'm cheann
cha chuireadh e moille nam chainnt.[66]

Said the clumsiest old woman present, when the dram went to her head—"Move out of my way children, so that I may try my feet at the dance."

. . . . . .

I will not go to the change house yonder, the geneva they have there is worthless; though I should put the cask to my head, it wouldn't put a falter in my speech.

1.5.3. *Jacobite Songs*

There is no distinctive Jacobite song literature. The rebellion seems to have left little trace in oral tradition of any kind. Earlier clan warfare and the Montrose campaigns figure more prominently. It is true that the rising stimulated a number of poets to fine compositions of a literary kind but very few of these have had any continuity in the oral tradition. Two waulking songs survive in the Hebrides which date from that period. One, *Co sheinneas an fhideag airgid* [67]—"Who will sound the silver whistle", appears to have been composed either on the occasion of the actual landing of Prince Charles or during the currency of one of the many rumours of his coming that swept through the Highlands during the two or three years prior to 1745. The other, *Agus hó Mhórag*,[68] was composed by Alexander MacDonald after the failure of the rising and in anticipation of another. Another song has been recorded which seems to have been composed after the defeat of Culloden but before the realisation that it was decisive.

Ailein, Ailein 's fhad an cadal
tha 'n uiseag ag gairm 's a là ag glasadh;
tha ghrian ag éirigh air an leacainn
's fhada bhuam fhìn luchd nam breacan.

Ailein Duinn gabh sguinn 's bi 'g éiridh
tional do chlann cuimhnich d'fheum orr';
bi Alba mhór fo bhinn nam béistean
mar a dean a muinntir éirigh.[69]

Alan, Alan the sleep is long, the lark is calling, the day is greying, the sun is rising on the heights, far from me is the plaided company.

> Brown-haired Alan take heed and arise, gather your clan—remember your need of them; great Scotland will be under the judgment of the beasts unless her people rise.

A number of poems were composed after the event, bitter polemics against Hanoverian rule, longing for a French landing. The type of romantic Jacobite song which had some popularity in Lowland Scotland is not found in Gaelic.

1.5.4. *Merry Songs*

Broadly speaking, humorous songs tend to be of a parochial nature, although the themes, such as depredations of rats, the scarcity of commodities such as tobacco, the first motor car of the district, etc., can be universal. Exceptions to the broad rule of parochialism are songs such as *Cailleach Mhór Stadhlaidh*,[70] which describes the poet's battle with a hag which was reputed to haunt a moor to which he went to fetch his horse, and *Domhall an Dannsair*.[71] These songs carry their humour within themselves and do not depend upon a knowledge of local conditions for their effect. The parochial songs are parochial for that very reason; they parody a local event, for instance, and assume in their hearers some knowledge of the circumstances. Songs embodying traits of internationally known merry tales have not so far appeared.

Strictly speaking, the songs grouped in this section have a variety of themes, but since they share the important thematic characteristic of humorous intent they are grouped accordingly.

A common subject for a humorous song was a wedding. These songs are sometimes more like humorous satires and may have been inspired by the lack of good fare at certain weddings, or even by the lack of an invitation. Poor hospitality is criticised in an extreme way.[72]

2. STRUCTURE

This section marks our first change of criterion. To change over from viewing songs from the thematic aspect to looking at them from the viewpoint of compositional structure might suggest that a number, if not all of the thematic groups already outlined, would be re-considered. This, however, is not the case. The application of the structural criterion involves, broadly speaking, a further division of the material already treated by

a thematic analysis. This takes place through the addition of further themes, as in ST 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.1.3. These could also have been included in the thematic grouping, but since the concept of "ballad" has a technical significance in Western European folk-song and since it implies a primary use of a structural criterion as distinct from a thematic one, these three types have been placed in this section.

By use of this criterion a further subdivision of themes also occurs. ST 2.2. is largely humorous in intent and could, with few exceptions, be regarded as a further limitation of ST 1.5.4 (Merry Songs). ST 2.3 and 2.4 are based on forms associated with instrumental music. They are limited in content, but so far as a definite theme can be identified, ST 2.3 could also be linked with ST 1.5.4, while ST 2.4 would largely fall with the Panegyric group (1.3).

2.1 Ballads

The ballad as a folk-song type has attracted much more attention than any other. Although it is not capable of easy definition it is clearly recognisable by its peculiar narrative style, the terseness of its rhetoric, its concentration on the main events of the story, and the impersonal attitude of the story teller. While much of Gaelic song, particularly from the earlier period, shares features that we find in the ballad, such as, "stress on the crucial situation", "letting the action unfold itself in event and speech", two of Gerould's constants found in all ballads,[73] it lacks the important third constant of telling the story—"objectively with little comment or intrusion of personal bias". A plot may be recognisable as a classical ballad plot, but it is told not by a detached observer but by a participant.

A good example of this is found in the Gaelic rendering of the *Two Sisters* theme, which is found widely scattered in three main versions throughout the Western Isles. In all the versions it appears as the song actually sung by the drowning sister. The following is a typical rendering from a Lewis singer.[74]

Thig am bàta — moch am màireach
bidh m'athair innt — 's mo thriùir bhràithrean
's mo chéile donn — air ràmh bràghad
gheibh iad mise — air mo bhàthadh
togaidh iad mi — air na ràmhan
mo bhreacan donn — snàmh na fairge
mo chuaileinean — a measg nan carraicean
's mo bhroitse airgid — measg na gainmhich

> The boat will come early to-morrow, my father will be in her and my three brothers, and my brown haired husband will be at the forward oar; they will find me drowned, they will lift me on the oars, my brown cloak awash in the ocean, my curled tresses among the rocks, my silver brooch in the sand. . . .

The discovery of the murder and the survival of the song is explained by the jealous sister memorising it and unwittingly singing it as a cradle song to her child.

Themes from classical balladry are, however, very rare and the *Two Sisters* is the most complete example of a ballad plot that we have. The familiar story of the murder of the lover by the girl's family appears frequently but the circumstances are revealed only incidentally in the girl's lament for her lover.

2.1.1. *Heroic Ballads*

The parts played by ballads in the oral tradition of the Anglo-Scots peoples of the late mediæval and early modern period seems to have been fulfilled in the Gaelic communities by the heroic Ossianic narrative poetry. These poems deal with the triumphs of the Fenian warriors over their human and supernatural foes. This is the oldest documented type that is included in this classification and it is also the most documented. Edited volumes based on an early sixteenth- and an early seventeenth-century manuscript source have been published, together with collections made from oral tradition during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[75] In using the plots of many of them as raw material for his controversial *Ossian*, James MacPherson was responsible for this early interest by collectors. While some of these ballads are still to be heard in the Western Isles in short versions nothing essentially new has been discovered. The most popular are, *Duan na Ceardaich*,[76] The Lay of the Smithy, which relates the adventures of Fionn and his men in the magic smithy of Lon Mac Liobhainn, and, *Duan na Muilidheartaich*,[77] The Lay of the Great Hag, which tells of the defeat and slaughter of the great hag called the "Muilidheartach" sent by the King of Norway to invade Ireland.

These narrative poems have nothing in common with the Child ballads. They reveal none of the constants which Gerould found to characterise the essential ballad. Although, as far as we can gather, they originated at about the same time as the

ballad form, and may, as a literary fashion, owe something to the Germanic ballad tradition, they are basically different in rhetoric and subject matter. They deal with different themes in being largely limited to the glorification of Fionn and his warriors. In their development of these themes they lack the terseness and the drama of the typical ballad. The obvious bias of the poet, who is frequently a participant in the events described, and the overall lack of human interest so prominent in the ballads, completes the dissimilarity.

2.1.2. *Sailors' Ballads*

Among songs of nineteenth- and twentieth-century composition we find narrative songs which refer to sea voyages. Subject to the general qualifications made in paragraph 2.1., these songs can be regarded as ballads of a peculiar kind. They are narrative in the sense that their main purpose is the description of a sequence of events but they differ from the ballad proper in that the description is given through the personal experience of the composer.

Some of these narrative songs have a peculiar structure. They proceed by enumerating the names of places passed on the voyage and appending to each place-name a statement as to weather conditions or circumstances aboard ship. A song recorded in Skye illustrates this progression in an extreme way. The first line of each couplet stanza states the progress of the voyage by reference to a place-name, while the second makes a report on conditions at the time.[78] Another song with a quatrain stanza shows a similar progression.

Dol seachad aig Eige
an t-eilean beag creagach
gu'm b'fheudar dhuinn beagan
a leigeil dheth siùil:

Dol seachad aig Ìle
's ann aice bha sìneadh
bha struth fo na linne
tighinn dìreach fo cùl

. . . . . .

Bha cóignear dhe'm bhràithrean
air long nan cruinn àrda
's gur mise bha cràidhteach
'ga fàgail 's a' ghrùnnd.[79]

Going by Eigg, the little rocky island, we had to lessen sail.

Going by Islay she was journeying swiftly, the current from the open sea was coming directly behind her.

. . . .

There were five of my brothers on the high-masted ship, it was great torment to me to leave them on the sea-bottom.

Although only some of these ballads pinpoint the progression of a voyage in this detailed manner it is nevertheless a characteristic of the group as a whole. A kind of plot is given to events, which are perhaps not related in any other way, by the statement of a geographical progression.[80]

2.1.3. *Soldiers' Ballads*

A song form having some typical ballad characteristics also appears to have been used by soldiers in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The first person is used and the subject matter consists of a description of some phase of the singer's military carer. A widespread song tells of the circumstances in which the soldier was persuaded to enlist.[81] It relates how he met the recruiting sergeant who persuaded him to take the finest trade under the sun. The interview ended by his accepting "the daughter of George—the grey wife who will not scour my shirt".

The "daughter of George" refers to the musket, and is explained by the jocular story that was current, to the effect that the reward for enlistment was the hand of the King's daughter.

A complaint trait engendered by homesickness, maltreatment and foreign service, is common in these songs. A song occurs in Skye and Harris which is entirely a complaint in nature. It describes the singer's unpopularity as a soldier and expresses his misgivings at the prospect of foreign service.

Dol a bhaile mór na Tuirce
gun fhios a ruig mi gu bràth e

Dol a dh' eilean nam ban fiadhaich
cha robh duine riamh ann sàbhailt

Dol a dh' eilean nam ban dubha
cha bhi sinn subhach no sàmhach.

Going to the great city of Turkey with
no certainty that I shall ever reach it.[82]

Going to the isle of wild women—no man
was ever safe there.

Going to the isle of black women—we shall
be neither joyful nor peaceful.

2.2. Macaronics

Macaronics, poems composed in alternating lines and phrases from two languages, one of them usually Latin, were fairly popular in Western Europe during the late mediæval period.

Macaronic songs having both English and Gaelic words and phrases as compositional elements first appear in the eighteenth century. These songs are for a bilingual people and cannot be understood by reference to the English or Gaelic elements alone. The purpose of using two languages where the poet could presumably compose in either one of them appears to be to exploit the peculiar humorous effects that can be obtained by the metrical combination of both languages. To the bilingual the chief humorous element consists of an exaggerated bathos.

Ma thilleas tu fhathast 's tu m' aighear 's mo rùn,
perhaps I will marry you *'s t-earrach co-dhiubh,*[83]

In the song from which this excerpt is taken the English phrases are almost entirely confined to the first half of the poetic line. While there is a definite tendency to combine the language in phrases rather than in individual words, their positioning is not the same in all examples. In the following example, which is from a song describing a man's experiences in a hospital, the English phrases tend to occupy the second part of the line, although when one considers the whole song no definite pattern can be established.

O madam you surprise me *bheil thu dol as do chiall,*
chan fhaod thu tigh'n cho teann orm I'm minus all my gear
'S ann thuirt i 's i smileadh rium you're very shy *ma's fhior*
ach chi mi aig an danns' thu if you do not die in here.[84]

It remains to be said that not all Gaelic-English macaronics are humorous. A *Homeland* macaronic has been recorded which praises a district in Uist.[85] The purpose in using such a form in this case is not clear.

2.3. Pibroch Songs

The pibroch is the classical music of the Highland bagpipe, being quite different from the marches, strathspeys and reels that are more generally known. It is composed in movements, a typical composition containing *Urlar*, *Siubhal*, *Taorluath* and *Crunluath*, together with their respective variations. It is probably of late mediæval origin.

What we have called *Pibroch Songs* are songs which are traditionally associated with given pibrochs. This association is a two-fold one. Besides being sung to an air which is an approximation of the melody of its pibroch counterpart, the pibroch song generally takes as its subject the circumstances which inspired the original pibroch. Where, however, the pibroch is pastoral in inspiration or where the subject is indefinite, the text of the associated song is correspondingly free.

The words of the pibroch songs are usually very repetitive. Where it keeps to the subject of a pibroch it is content to reiterate key phrases and the subject is never developed in detail as an elegiac or descriptive poem. From this aspect of textual repetition it superficially resembles the *port-a-beul*. In the *port-a-beul*, however, the same melody can find expression in a variety of texts, whereas in the pibroch song, the text, although scanty, is frequently related to the origin of the piece of music that inspired it. This association between text and melody does not exist in the *port-a-beul*. Even where the pibroch song text cannot be related to the subject of the pibroch, it seems to have a greater continuity than the *port-a-beul*, which is more transitory. The following early text is sung to an approximation of the melody of the pastoral pibroch *Maol Donn*.

Iain Shomaltaich e horó
thog iad an crodh far na lóin (sung twice)

Thig an tòir oirnn fhin
air mo laimh ni thu lorg
Iain Shomaltaich e horó
thog iad an crodh far na lóin.

Iain bi muigh ho hó
tha'n tòir ma'n tigh ho hó
thoir leat claidheamh ho hó
mór is saighead ho hó.[86]

This verse is followed by the repetition of the second couplet of the song followed by the first.

Iain Shomaltaich e horó, they have lifted
the cattle from the fields (sung twice)

The foray will come upon us,
by my hand you will pursue them.
Iain Shomaltaich e horó,
they have lifted the cattle from the fields.

Go outside Iain ho hó
the foray is about the house ho hó
take with you a claymore ho hó
and an arrow ho hó.

Then follows the repetition described above.

The earliest dateable example in the collection is *Piobaireachd Dhomhnaill Dhuibh* which appears to have been composed after the defeat of King James I's army by the western clans in 1431.[87] It was this song which suggested to Scott his Pibroch of Donald Dhu. The Gaelic song is, however, a celebration of a victory, while Scott's is a kind of romantic rallying song.

There is a genre of poetic composition in Gaelic literature which must be sharply distinguished from the type of song described above. During the eighteenth century it became fashionable for Gaelic poets to compose poems metrically based on the rhythms of a pibroch's movements. These poems such as *Moladh Móraig* by Alexander MacDonald, *Iseabail NicAoidh* by Rob Donn, and *Beinn Dórain* by Duncan MacIntyre are not textually related to any given pibroch and their purpose is never to perpetuate the subject or melody of a pibroch. In a period of metrical innovation, some poet (probably Alexander MacDonald) hit upon the idea of composing a poem in strictly defined metrical movements, taking as his model the rhythmical development of a typical pibroch. This innovation had a temporary popularity, giving, as it did, great scope to the rhythmic virtuosity which is a general characteristic of eighteenth-century Gaelic poets. Furthermore the poems were long and involved, and the purpose of this type of poetic construction seems to have been to create a poem, which, in relation to poetry composed in the commoner metres, had the greatness which pibroch essentially has in relation to the lesser music of the bagpipes. Apart from *Moladh Móraig* none of these ingenious compositions appears to have had any popularity in the strictly oral tradition.

2.4. *Puirt-a-beul* (Mouth-music)

The compound word *port-a-beul* literally means "tune out of mouth". The *raison d'être* of this song type is the memorising of dance tunes, and the texts are thus mostly trivial. Where the texts are sufficiently developed to have a definite content they are usually intended to be of a humorous kind, the humour frequently consisting in the brief and repetitive presentation of ludicrous images.

Iain mór fada gobhlach
Iain mór fada slaodach
Iain mór fada gobhlach
as deodhaidh Móire caoile.[88]

Long, leggy, big John,
long, clumsy, big John
long, leggy, big John
is chasing thin Marion.

A dance may be described in an exaggerated way, containing at the same time an exhortation to an actual dance.

Puirt-a-beul texts are subject to extensive local variation while the airs remain recognizably the same. This is not surprising considering the parochial nature of the texts and the comparative ease with which they could be improvised. The practice of singing dance tunes such as strathspeys and reels appears to be of modern origin. The *Puirt-a-beul* are popularly supposed to have originated as a result of the religious opposition to musical instruments such as the bagpipes and the fiddle, which was at its strongest in the middle of the nineteenth century.[89] This explanation seems quite feasible and would certainly account for the increased popularity of *Puirt-a-beul*. It is unlikely, however, that the mouth-music was widely used as an accompaniment to the actual dance. Its origin is more likely to lie in the desire of instrumentalists to perpetuate their favourite tunes after the destruction or banning of their instruments.

3. FOLK ÆTIOLOGY

The nature of this criterion has already been indicated in the introduction. The decisive factor by means of which we group a song in the category of *Fairy Song* is a traditional story which purports to explain its origin in a certain way.

The only songs which are included in this section, therefore, are those which have attendant stories to explain their authorship. Traditional information of a general kind about songs can also play a part in the classification of the functional groups, and can at times be very important, but it is of a different kind to the stories we are considering here.

3.1. *Fairy Songs* (Orain Shìdh)

It is difficult to isolate a definite textual type that we can call a "fairy song". Neither is there any metrical or melodic significance about it; it is merely the song a fairy sang in a certain situation, and for this information we depend upon a traditional account of its origin which is given by the singer of the song. Since, however, the circumstances under which the fairies sang are fairly clearly prescribed by tradition, and since, as a result, the songs that are associated with them tend to be of certain types, we can treat them as constituting a group.

When fairies wished to make prognostications, they were sometimes known to sing them. As a general example of a fairy song and its attendant tradition we may quote the following example.

A man was travelling during the night to fetch a midwife for his young wife who was in childbed. He had to cross a ford on the way and, as the tide was in, he lay down to rest and fell asleep. He was awakened by a fairy singing a song which revealed to him that his wife had died. The song text is fragmentary. The refrain is in two sequences (*a*) a syllabic line; (*b*) a textual refrain which repeats the line *hù rù aig tòiseach na tràghad*—"hù rù at the beginning of the ebbtide". The surviving text is as follows.

'S olc an obair
do theachdairean cadail.
Bean òg a chùil chleachdaich
aig baile 'ga càradh.

Mairead ni Ruairidh
bean shuairc' an deagh nàduir.

Dheanadh an t-aodach
's gum bu chaol bhiodh an snàithnean.

'S Aonghais Mhic Iain
bu tu cridhe na féille.[90]

Evil is the work for messengers of sleep, the young wife of the curled ringlets being laid out in the township; Mairead, daughter of Ruairidh, the gentle woman of the good nature who could weave cloth of the finest thread. And, Angus son of John, you were the heart of hospitality.

It is clear that such a text needs the support of a story which relates the circumstances under which the song was composed. As the text stands it is a fragmentary lament of a typical kind. This reveals the somewhat tenuous basis of the *fairy song* grouping. A song can be a *fairy song* on the strength of folk ætiology as to its origin, but it is important to note that the number of types about which such explanations are given is very limited. Laments are prominent among these types and the stories centre on the theme of the fairy lover. A young man has a fairy mistress whom he visits frequently on the pretext of going hunting. When he returns empty-handed day after day, his mother becomes suspicious and details his brothers to follow him. They do so and, discovering his secret mission, they shoot him with an arrow. His fairy mistress then sings a lament for him, a portion of which we give below to reveal the beauty and pathos of its imagery.

Chuala mi do ghlaodh 'sa bhruthach
ach ma chuala cha d' chuir umhail
gus an cualas guth an fhithich.

Mìle mollachd air na bràithrean
dh'fhàg iad air mo bheulabh sgàthan
fuil do chuim do bheuil 's do bhràghaid
's tu nad shìneadh air na blàru.[91]

I heard your scream on the hillside
but I did not heed it until
I heard the voice of the raven.

A thousand curses on the brothers,
they have left before me a mirror,
the blood of your chest, of your
mouth and of your throat, and you
lying in the fields.

These laments are almost invariably found as cradle songs. This close connection between songs with fairy ætiologies and

cradle songs is not confined to laments but is extended to the cradle eulogies discussed below. While this relation is interesting no obvious explanation is evident.[92]

For the sake of convenience, songs with a general supernatural background are included in this section, although a separation could be made in a more detailed classification. *Oran a Ròin*, The Song of the Seal, is the song of a woman under enchantment:

> Is mise nighean Aoidh Mhic Eóghain
> gum b'eòlach mi mu no sgeirean;
> gur mairg a dheanadh mo bhualadh
> bean uasal mi o thìr eile.[93]
>
> I am the daughter of Aodh MacEoghain,
> I knew the reefs well; woe betide him
> who should strike me, I am a noble lady
> from another land.

Other songs which are traditionally classed as *Oran Sìdh* are *Mo thruaighe mo chlann*,[94] a song by a deceased wife complaining of her successor's bad treatment of her children, and *Phiuthrag nam Piuthar bheil thu d'chadal*,[95] a song by a dead woman bringing news to her sister that a brother has been killed in Ireland.

4. FUNCTION

The general problems associated with the classification of songs according to *function* have already been outlined in the introduction. The fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that the function of a Gaelic song is rarely indicated by the nature of its text or theme. In the case of the large group of songs associated with the tweed waulking tradition, classification according to function would be pointless because of the great variety of songs which have apparently been borrowed and bent to this function. In this particular case function has been taken to be incidental to the nature of the song.

Although the text is not always indicative of function in the groups which are listed here, it is nevertheless possible to show that certain textual types tend to be associated with certain occupations.

4.1. Songs with Ritualistic Significance

In this group, theme tends to express function in that the text is related to the actions performed. A separation of *ritualistic* from *occupational* has been made because of the difference in

the nature of the employment of the songs. The songs of the latter group are used as accompaniments to the physical rhythms of labour, while those of the former group are associated with traditional rituals and in no way constitute a melodic or rhythmic punctuation of physical movements.

These two groups approach one another in certain cases. Where the *Eòlas* is directed towards the successful fulfilment of a physical activity it can be sung as an occupational song.[96] But more frequently it accompanies an activity of a different kind, such as the pouring of water over silver, or as in the case of the charm for a stye, stabbing movements towards the sore eye. The *Eòlas* type is thus included in the *ritualistic* group.

4.1.1. Duain Challuinn (*Hogmanay Songs*)

It used to be customary for young people through the Gaelic-speaking areas to celebrate Hogmanay by travelling in small groups round the houses of their townships. Various rites were performed at each house, including the recitation of a *Duan Challuinn* or Hogmanay poem. There appear to have been two types of *Duan Challuinn* proper. One was recited outside the house and contains a description of the ritualistic approach and entry of the house. Another duan was sung after the entry into the house, when the *caisean Calluig*, or piece of skin or hide carried by the travellers was beaten. We are uncertain as to the form this duan took but there is a fragment of text in *Carmina Gadelica*, *Calluinn a Bhuilg* which was probably one form of it.[97] As Carmichael gives it, the text consists entirely of injunctions to strike the skin, accompanied by the repetitive line *Calluinn a bhuilg*—Hogmanay of the sack.

The former type of duan is better known and is still recited in parts of the Outer Isles. There seems to be a universal form of it which is not susceptible to any fundamental variation throughout the entire area through which it is possible to trace it. It is invariably a recitation and usually begins with a statement of the intention of the reciter and the purpose of the visit.

Thàinig mise so d'ur n-ionnsaigh
a dh'ùrachadh dhuibh na Calluinn
cha ruiginn leas sud innse
bha i ann ri linn mo sheanair
Theid mi deiseal air an fhàrdaich
is tearnaidh mi aig an dorus
gabhaidh mi null mar is còir dhomh
culabh còmhla fhir an taighe . . .[98]

I have come here to you to renew Hogmanay; I need not relate it for it existed in my grandfather's day. I will go sunwise round the dwelling and I will descend by the doorway; I will go over as is proper for me behind the seat of the man of the house.

It is surprising that this duan, which seems so impromptu in its development should be widespread in close variants throughout the Gaelic-speaking area. The above passage is from a St. Kilda version collected in 1830, yet it is close to versions collected in Lewis in 1955. One Lewis version obtained, however, has an interesting variation. It begins with the line *Nochd oidhche nam bannag*, usually associated with the *Nuall Nollaig* or Christmas Hail, and a chorus *Hurra bhith ó* after each line. It ends with the following passage:

A cheud la de'n bhliadhn' ùr
chunnacas triùir a dol do'n tràigh;
dh'fhoillsich fearann dh'fhoillsich fonn,
dh'fhoillsich an tonn air an tràigh,
dh'fhoillsich fiadh na beinne cais,
dh'fhoillsich an coileach air an spàrr. . . .[99]

On the first day of the New Year three were seen going to the shore; the earth shone, the land shone, the wave on the beach shone, the deer on the steep mountain shone, the cockerel on the perch shone. . . .

Similar imagery is found in two Christmas chants recovered by Carmichael in Lewis.[100]

An interesting development in the Calluinn tradition was the employment of heroic ballads as *duain*. Ossianic narrative poems such as *Duan na Ceardaich* [101] and *Duan na Muilidheartaich* were recited or chanted by the young men on other rounds. These heroic poems do not seem to have displaced the normal duan in this function, or vice versa, since the two forms co-existed.

4.1.2. Eòlais (*Charms and Incantations*)

The basic everyday sense of the word *Eòlas* in Gaelic is "knowledge", or "wisdom". The name has also been traditionally

applied to the rhymed incantations which invoked the assistance of the saints to combat diseases or disorders of the body, the influence of the evil eye, to give power to maledictions, and to assist in the successful prosecution of such activities as churning, smooring and kindling fires, seed sowing, grinding, etc. Indeed, these incantations covered the greater part of the whole sphere of human activity. In these *Eòlais*, a common procedure is to describe an action attributed to Christ, to the Virgin Mary, or to one or other of the Roman Catholic or Celtic saints. The following is a version of a charm for the healing of injured limbs, *Eòlas air sgiuchadh féithe.*

Chaidh Crìosda mach
's a mhaduinn mhoich,
's fhuair e casan nan each
air am bristeadh mu seach;
chuir e cnàimh ri cnàimh
agus féith ri féith
agus feòil ri feòil
agus craicionn ri craicionn;
's mar aleighis esan sin
gu'n leighis mise so.[102]

Christ went out in the early morning and found the legs of the horses each broken; he put bone to bone and tendon to tendon and flesh to flesh and skin to skin; and as he healed that, may I heal this.

This particular *Eòlas* has been collected in a number of variants and illustrates the religious basis of the type, the essential identification with the actions of a religious figure. Sometimes he is stated to be the actual author of an *Eòlas.*

An t-Eòlas a rinn Calum Cille
dh' aona mhart na caillich . . .[103]

The Eòlas that St. Columba made for the single cow of the old woman . . .

Only a few examples of *Eòlais* have been recorded by the School although informants stated that they had heard numbers of them. We are not yet certain as to what extent they are recitative or song.[104] A number are included in *Carmina*

Gadelica but Carmichael only infrequently states whether they were sung or recited. A churning and a querning charm have been recorded as songs, together with fragmentary texts said to have been sung to clear a muddy well, and during a hail-storm. The well charm is as follows:

Tobar tobar sìolaidh
tobar tobar sìolaidh
nighean righ ag òl dibhe
's na gabhair ag éigheach.[105]

The first two lines call on the well to settle, and the second two state—"a king's daughter is taking a drink and the goats are bleating".

The hail-shower charm is of a similar kind.

Clach mhìn mheallain 's an tobar ud thall
clach mhìn mheallain 's an tobar ud thall

Am buachaille bochd fo sgàil nan cnoc
a bhata na uchd 's a dhealg 'na bhrot
's e 'g iarraidh air Dia turadh is grian a chur ann.[106]

Refrain:

Fine hailstones in yonder well
fine hailstones in yonder well

The poor herdsman is in the shadow of the hills, his crook in his chest and his pin in his cloak, imploring God to send fine weather and sun.

Both these fragments are of a descriptive nature and show no trace of the invocation of supernatural powers to achieve the desired end. The peculiar efficacy which they were supposed to have is not thus easily traceable. We cannot assume that they had been religious in nature and that that aspect had been lost in transmission, since what would have been thought to be most essential to their efficacy would tend to be the last element to be forgotten.

4.2. Occupational Songs

4.2.1. *Cradle Songs (Tàlaidhean)*

The songs that are traditionally associated with this occupation fall into two main groups:

(*a*) cradle eulogies; (*b*) laments.

In the former type the child is visualised as a grown warrior. The most striking example of this type is undoubtedly *Tàladh Dhomhaill Ghuirm* "The Cradle Song of Donald Gorm", supposed to have been addressed to Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617, by his foster mother. She visualises her child as a mature warrior and describes his expedition to the mainland of Scotland and the festivities that accompany it. As a climax to her eulogy she invokes the elemental powers to protect him.

Neart na gile — neart na gréine
neart an ſhochuinn — anns a' Chéitein
neart nan tonna — troma treubhach
neart a bhradain — as braise leumas
neart Chon Chulainn — fa làn eideadh
neart sheachd cathan — feachd na Féinne
neart Oisein bhinn — neart Osgair euchdaich

. . . .

neart na miala — móire séideadh
neart nan dùl — is chlanna speura—
gach aon dhiubh sud — is neart Mhic Dhé
bhith eadar Domhnall — Gorm 's a léine [107]

> The strength of the moon, the strength of the sun, the strength of corn shoots in May time, the strength of the heavy, mighty waves, the strength of the swiftly-leaping salmon, the strength of Cuchulainn in full armour, the strength of the seven battalions of the Féinn, the strength of melodious Ossian and heroic Oscar . . . the strength of the great whale blowing, the strength of the elements and of heaven's children—may each one of those, and the strength of the Son of God, lie between Donald Gorm and his armour.

Before tracing this type further a connection with ST 3.1 (Fairy Songs) must be pointed out. Many cradle songs are given fairy origins by folk ætiology. The next cradle eulogy we shall consider was supposed to have been sung by a fairy to a child belonging to a MacLeod chief. Although less picturesquely expressed than the first example, it shows a similar eulogistic development.

'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhin do bhuaile
gu h-àrd, àrd air uachdar sléibhe

. . . . . .

'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhin do sheisreach
fir 'ga freasdal an am an fheasgair
mnà Còmhnaill a' tighinn dhachaidh
's na Catanaich ag cur sìl.[108]

I wish I could see your fold, high up on the summit of a moor . . . I wish I could see your team of six horses and men serving them, the women of Comhnall going homeward and the Catanaich sowing seed.

Numerous laments are found in the cradle song tradition. They are normally by a widowed father or mother. The lament attributed to the widow of MacGregor of Glenstrae (*ob.* 1570) is now popularly known from various published sources but traditional versions can still be obtained.[109] Besides these, a number of laments with a supernatural background are found. Both laments discussed below in the Fairy Song section are sung as lullabies. A similar tradition exists concerning the song *Chi mi'n toman caoruinn cuilinn.* In this case it is the woman's fairy lover who has been slain by her brothers. In her lament for him she reveals her attachment to the fairy world.

Chi mi mo thriuir bhràithrean thall ud
air an eachaibh loma luath;
sgianan beaga aca ri'n taobh
's fuil mo ghaoil a' sileadh uath.

. . . . . .

'S a chraobh chaoruinn a tha thall ud
ma's ann ort a theid mi chill
tionndaidh m'aghaidh ri Dùn-tealbhaig
's bheirear dhomhsa carbad grinn.[110]

I see my three brothers yonder on their bare swift horses; they have little knives by their sides and the blood of my darling drips from them.

. . . . . .

O rowan tree over yonder, if it is upon you that I am to be borne to the graveyard, turn my face to Dun-tealbhaig and I shall be given a fine chariot.

There are also lullabies with a more general supernatural background which would have been included in the Fairy

Song section. The song *A Mhór, a Mhór till gu d'mhacan* [111] is supposed to have been composed by a water horse (in some districts a fairy) to a mortal woman who had borne him a child and had exposed it. The father pleads with the mother to return to her child and promises her every reward except a normal married life.

There are other songs which are used as lullabies and selections of them are to be found in Frances Tolmie's Collection and in Margaret Fay Shaw's *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist.* Most of the texts consist of endearments and references to the nursing or rearing of the child.

4.2.2. *Milking Songs*

The majority of songs which can be shown to have, or to have had this function, are eulogies of favourite cows or heifers. The following two verses are from such a eulogy.

Faic an dris air an lionaig
's i a lùbadh leis na smiaran
's amhuill siod agus m'aghan ciad-laoigh
an t-agh is ciatach de chrodh na buaile.

'S i mo rùn-sa an t-aghan caisfhionn
chan iarr i buarach a chur ma casan
nuair bhiodh càch anns na siomain naisgte
's sìod a Sasunn bhiodh air mo ghuailfhionn.[112]

See the blackberry bush in the field, bending low with berries; that is the likeness of my first-calved heifer, the finest of all the cattle of the fold.

The little white-hooved heifer is my love, she needs no cow fetter; when the rest are entwined in their strawropes, my white-shouldered one will have silk from England.

A similar image is found in another song.

Ged bhiodh na sìomain
air crodh na tìre
bidh buarach shìoda
air m'aghan donn.[113]

Though the cattle of the land be in straw ropes, there will be a silken fetter on my little brown heifer.

Besides being eulogistic, milking songs are also exhortatory. The main element of the refrain may be a request for milk.

> Och a Mhaol thoir am bainne
> 's e do laogh tha thu gearain
> och a Mhaol thoir am bainne.[114]
>
> Give milk hornless one, it is
> your calf that you lament,
> give milk hornless one.

In another song in *Carmina Gadelica* the repetition of the line *Thoir am bainne bho dhonn* [115] (give the milk brown cow) constitutes most of the text.

Stories of fairy authorship can be found with some milking songs and some songs normally found as lullabies have also been used in this function.[116]

4.2.3. *Orain Basaidh* (*Palming or Clapping Songs*)

Reference has already been made to the practice of singing while the cloth was being folded and palmed at the conclusion of a waulking (*v.* ST 1.1.2). In that section the improvisatory dialogue songs commonly associated with this occupation were described. Little remains to be said here except that at the folding stage of the waulking as well as during the fulling process, songs of a general kind were used. The palming songs were of a quicker tempo and tended to be simpler in melody and refrain. The following text is a portion of a song which was used in Barra in this occupation. It has the following three-phased refrain sung after each half-line—*ho hà mo rùn Ailein ho hà.*

Dh'eirich mi moch	maduinn earraich
dhìrich mi suas	gual a' bhealaich
dh'amhairc mi bhuam	fad mo sheallaidh
'S chunna mi long	mhór 'san t-seanail
có bh'air a stiùir	ach mo leannan
's mi gun earbadh	siod ri'd dheagh làimh
fad 'sa mhaireadh	stagh na tarruing.[117]

> I rose early on a spring morning; I climbed the shoulder of a pass, gazed into the distance and saw a great ship in the channel; who was steering her but my lover; that I would entrust to you as long as a stay or pulley would endure.

4.2.4. *Rowing Songs (Iorram)*

We have no songs which we can definitely associate with rowing song tradition by means of a textual analysis.[118] Information is sometimes obtained along with a given song to the effect that it was a rowing song, but the few examples studied reveal no continuity of theme or structure. As a living functional type it appears to be quite extinct in the areas so far studied although it must have been well known in the recent past. A number of rowing songs found their way into the waulking culture but their identification is complicated by the fact that the word *iomair*—"row", which would probably figure in exhortatory refrains, also means "drive" or "push", and is used as an exhortation to strike the cloth in waulking songs.[119]

Frances Tolmie recognised the tendency for the same song to be used for both waulking and rowing.[120] Of the four examples of *Iorram* which she prints and which she states were also used for waulking, three can be heard from oral tradition at the present time, one as a waulking song, one as a cradle song, and one as a spinning song.

4.2.5. *Spinning Songs (Orain Sniomhaidh)*

A number of spinning songs are easily identifiable by textual allusions to the work of spinning. The examples of this kind examined are meagre in text and contain little besides these allusions and praise of the thread. There is evidence that songs of indefinite types have been used for spinning as for waulking. Information about this type is, however, very meagre and until more research is done in the field no definite conclusions can be reached.[121]

5. MISCELLANEOUS TYPES AND TRAITS

It is only to be expected that a rich and varied song culture cannot be comfortably contained within the confines of a classificatory system. In addition to the considerable proportion of songs that can be described in terms of the above thirty-three groupings, there is a rich deposit which is largely intractable.

It is difficult to comment briefly on this residue. It may well be that although we cannot sub-divide further this considerable remnant into distinctive recurring types by internal reference to Gaelic culture, it may be found to contain examples of types which are more prolific in other song cultures. This

description of Gaelic song would thus tend to be more exhaustive if it were possible to work on a comparative basis, using classificatory analyses of other representative groups.

A song-type is found in collections made in the recent past which have not so far been found in the present-day tradition. Its main purpose is to enumerate the ideal attributes of a given subject. Examples are found in published sources which describe the good points of a Highland cow, *Dh'aithnichinn an t-agh dubh no ruadh* [122] and *Ged bha barail uil aig càch*,[123] on the choice of a good companion *Mo roghainn companaich*,[124] and on the choice of a good wife, *Nam biodh agam bàta biorach*.[125]

Among the songs of a general kind are didactic songs, songs about the proscription of Highland dress, fugitives' songs, songs about cattle raiding, and a song which is entirely composed of false statements.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is hoped that the above classification represents reasonably accurately the song-tradition of Gaelic Scotland. Since no fully representative collection has yet been made, the system may have to undergo some changes before it is made the final basis of a song archive. It is hoped, however, that these changes will be more by way of elaboration and enriching of groups rather than alteration of the system itself. Certain groups could be sub-divided further. ST 3.1 (*Fairy Songs*) could be elaborated by reference to the kind of supernatural being associated with the origin of a given example such as the water-horse or the *gruagach*. More sub-division could be undertaken with reference to ST 4.1.2 (*Eòlais*), and the thematic content of some of the structural types could be analysed further.

It was decided that a systematic count of the various types might be misleading at this stage since collection and examination is still proceeding.

It has not been possible to do more than touch upon the historical background of the songs. While numbers of them are dateable by internal evidence and refer to historical happenings it is not possible to make a distinct class of "Historical Songs". A grouping such as this would imply narrative songs with certain historical events as subject, whereas reference to historical events in the songs is in fact incidental and always subordinate to the subject.

The meagreness of the information given about functional

types may be regretted by students of folk-life. That information, however, must be obtained by systematic research in the field into the social background of these types since it is not enough to get texts and melodies alone. While the questionnaire method is on the whole unsuitable for song collecting it could be used with advantage to document the peculiar part songs play in the material life of the people. It is clear that the analysis of functional songs such as *Eòlais*, *Cradle Songs*, etc. is largely an investigation into custom and belief, and indeed no questionnaire on folk-life can be complete without reference to them.

REFERENCES

1. Seán Ó Súilleabháin gives a short list of Irish song types in his *Handbook of Irish Folklore* but no examples are given.
2. Folklore Fellows Communications, 1910.
3. Motif Index of Folk Literature. FF Communications, Nos. 106-9, 116, 117.
4. These include copies of his own recordings generously given by John Lorne Campbell of Canna. Valuable copies of recordings are also being received from Dr. Alasdair MacLean of Loch Boisdale. All the MSS. quoted have been compiled from current local tradition by Donald John MacDonald of South Uist, and are lodged in the School of Scottish Studies' archives. All log and RL references are to sound recordings in the School's archives.
5. Log 265, MS. 20.109, K. C. Craig, Orain Luaidh (O.L.) p. 8.
6. MS. 6.545.
7. MS. 25.2306.
8. *Cuachag nan Craobh*, Log 194; Log 1679, RL 426.1; *A Mhàiri Bhàn Òg*, RL 593A12, and other examples.
9. Uncatalogued recorded version; *Sar Obair* p. 385.
10. Log 337/8; RL 242.2; *Sàr Obair*, RL 593A12.
11. Log 1666.
12. This type has already been described in an article by the present writer—*The Sub-literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song-poetry*, II, Eigse: A Journal of Irish Studies Vol. VIII pp. 1-17.
13. Text given to me by Rev. William Matheson; variant published with air by Otto Andersson, *Folk Songs from the Isle of Lewis*, Budkavlen, 1952.
14. Log 1577. Other examples of this type are *Their mi'n fhìrinn gur h-i*, Log 1577; *Cò bheir mi leam air an luing Eireannach* and *Mhile mhìle mhìle bhogu*, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XIII. See also Margaret Fay Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955, pp. 227-8.
15. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 1921.
16. O.L. p. 7; for similar passage *v.* Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. p. 219.
17. MS. 22.2077.
18. O.L. p. 84.
19. Log 1065; Turner Collection, 1813, p. 293.

20. Text given to me by Rev. William Matheson; RL 594 A1. A similar type of song has been recorded which is an invitation to the lover to enter.
21. *Ancient Ballads of the North*, 1875 ed., Vol. II p. 221.
22. *Sacred Parodies of Secular Folksongs*, Vol. III pp. 157-83.
23. RL 626A; O.L. p. 13, MS. 23.2150.
24. O.L. p. 56, MS. 22.2028.
25. Further examples of this trait in MSS. 19.1794; 22.2028; O.L. pp. 17, 57.
26. RL 751A2.
27. *Eilean Fraoich*, Comunn Gaidhealach Leodhais, Stornoway, 1938, p. 66.
28. T.G.S. XVI p. 103.
29. Op cit. p. 100.
30. For further examples *v.* Log 90; Log 94; *A ghaoil saoil a faigh mi thu.* (Uncatalogued recording); O.L. pp. 15, 17, 19, 28, 39, 42.
31. J. C. Watson, *Songs of Mary MacLeod*, pp. 12 and 112.
32. O.L. p. 20; MS. 19.1784.
33. MS. 20.1921; O.L. p. 31.
34. MSS. 20.1898, 24.2296; O.L. p. 27; MS. 22.2083, O.L. p. 78.
35. Some of the incidental poetry in the mediæval tale *Buile Shuibhne*, edited J. G. O'Keeffe, London, 1913, is of this type; see also T. F. O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*, Cork, 1927, especially Nos. 41 to 52.
36. O.L. p. 31; variants of some formula in O.L. pp. 8, 28, 66, 83 and 92. Variants also in S.S.S. MS. and sound recordings.
37. Log 50, 52, 105, RL 131.6, RL 135.3; numerous recorded and published examples.
38. Also numerous; Log 108, Log 1005, RL 190.2.
39. Published by *Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba*, Glasgow 1946, edited by John MacKenchie.
40. Log 4/2480; T.G.S. VIII p. 113.
41. O.L. p. 40, a variant also heard in Skye; for another example showing a gnomic trait see RL 626B15.
42. Op cit. pp. 29-32.
43. Log 1497; Sinclair, *An t-Oranaiche*, 1879, p. 491.
44. T.G.S. VII p. 7.
45. T.G.S. XII p. 159.
46. *Oran a' gheamhraidh*, Log 1669/70; *Allt an t-Siùcair*, Log 1763; *Cead Deireannach nam Beann*, RL 629 B1, and others.
47. MS. 23, 2125, O.L. p. 2.
48. RL 629 A2. Version published by the Linguaphone Institute for the Folklore Institute of Scotland.
49. The best published sources for texts of this general type are, K. C. Craig, op. cit. and the *MacDonald Collection*. Variants of most of the songs included in these works are in S.S.S. archives.
50. James Ross, op. cit. Part II, Eigse Vol. VIII Part I.
51. Log 1662.
52. Log 2277, RL 593 B1; Mackenzie, *Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gàidhealach*, p. 373. Published by the Linguaphone Institute for the Folklore Institute of Scotland.
53. For a detailed discussion of this metre *v.* James Ross, op. cit. Part I, Eigse Vol. VII pp. 217-39.

54. Log 1674.
55. Log 266.
56. Log 1493.
57. Several examples of this type may be found in O.L., particularly pp. 4, 5, 22, 41, 51, 74, 76, 89, 96, 105; also in some other published collections such as the *MacDonald Collection*; Sinclair, op. cit.; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit.; Tolmie Collection, J.E.F.S.S. Vol. 16; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Vol. V, Edinburgh 1954.
58. Recorded examples on Log 1041*b*; 1042*b*; 1103; 1129; 1131; and others; most of *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie* is as typical of the *aoir* as any Gaelic example could be. The antiquity of the type in Celtic tradition is verified by Diodorus Siculas. Speaking of the Gauls, he says—"And there are among them composers of verses whom they call Bards; these, singing to instruments similar to a lyre, applaud some, while they vituperate others." *Histories*, V, 31, 2.
59. For notes of the flyting tradition in Scots *v.* W. MacKay MacKenzie: *The Poems of William Dunbar* p. xxxii.
60. *Cha teid Mór a Bharraidh bhrònach*, Log 455; MS. 23.2182, O.L. p. 20.
61. O.L. p. 1; MS. 24.2262.
62. This part is more widely known than the former; *v.* Marjory Kennedy Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, Vol. I p. 2; Log 452, RL 205B7; for further examples of the type *v.* Log 93, MS. 20.1854, O.L. p. 80; Duanaire p. 42.
63. RL 754/758.
64. Log 219/220.
65. Op. cit. Vol. I-V; no clear dividing line is possible between some of the metrical prayers given by Carmichael and the *Eòlais* group.
66. RL 1089.2; other versions, Log 175, 1042, 1092, 1125.
67. Log 2276.
68. RL 592A16.
69. RL 592A18, *Sàr Obair*, p. 372.
70. Log 1101.
71. Uncatalogued version.
72. Log 1634*b*, Log 89, RL 31.
73. *The Ballad of Tradition*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1932, p. 11.
74. RL 750B10; K. C. Craig *Orain Luaidh*, p. 1; Margaret Fay Shaw op. cit. p. 254 (with references). For a study of the Two Sisters Ballad as it occurs in Western Europe see Folklore Fellows Communications No. 147, by Paul Brewster.
75. Neil Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1939; *Duanaire Finn*, Vols. I-III, Irish Texts Society VII, XXVIII, XLIII, Vol. I edited by Eoin MacNeill, Vols. II and III by Gerard Murphy; J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 1872; Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I 1892, Vol. II 1894.
76. Log 233.
77. RL 932.
78. RL 625A11.
79. Log 1657.
80. For other examples *v.* RL 51; Log 1109; Log 1136; T.G.S. Vol. XII p. 225.
81. T.G.S. XX p. 191.

82. RL 833.1; other examples Log 1562; Log 1509, O.L. pp. 49, 110; T.G.S. Vol. VII p. 52; Vol. VIII p. 116.
83. Log 71.
84. RL 625A9.
85. Log 1090*b*; another homeland macaronic, Log, 367; macaronic love song, Log 1111.
86. RL 626A.
87. RL 600A6; for further examples of pibroch songs *v.* RL 626A, RL 592B17; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. Nos. 27, 28, 30.
88. Log 1599.
89. V. Carmichael, op. cit. Vol. I Introduction.
90. RL 629A9; *v.* Carmichael op. cit. Vol. V for more elaborate version of the story and text.
91. RL 629A5.
92. For further examples of this type see *Cradle Song* section; also MacDougal and Calder, op. cit. p. 110, *Gael*, 1877, p. 112, T.G.S. XIX p. 42.
93. RL 594B2; Rev. William Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1938 Introduction, p. xxxvii.
94. Log 1487, RL 192.3, T.G.S. Vol. XIX, p. 42.
95. T.G.S. Vol. XVI p. 106.
96. For instance *Eòlas a' Chrannachain* Log 85/2092. Other examples in Carmichael op. cit, particularly Vol. 1.
97. Vol. 1, p. 148, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.
98. Celtic Review II p. 8; *Carmina Gadelica*, I pp. 150, 152; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. p. 24.
99. Got from Mr. Donald MacDonald of North Tolsta.
100. Op cit. pp. 126, 132.
101. Log 223, version with Hogmanay allusion.
102. T.G.S. VIII p. 123; XIX p. 46; *Carmina Gadelica*, II pp. 14-20. This particular charm is known internationally and may be compared in particular to a ninth century German version invoking Balder and Woden quoted by Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, Oxford 1952, p. 53.
103. T.G.S. VIII p. 127. St. Bride appears frequently in similar contexts, *v.* Carmichael, op. cit. II pp. 10, 14, 18, 24, 28, and elsewhere. Both these saints are invoked in Anglo-Saxon charms, *v.* Grattan and Singer op. cit. p. 66.
104. Log 85/2092.
105. Log 88/2094.
106. Log 88/2094.
107. Watson, *Bardachd Ghàidhlig*, p. 246; *Gael*, V p. 68; O.L. p. 11; *MacDonald Collection*, p. 35; RL 898B1.
108. MS. 6.561; MacDougal and Calder, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*; p. 108, called *Oran Sithe*; Tolmie Collection No. 20; Carmichael, op. cit. p. 184; for a similar lullaby with a fairy etymology *v.* MacDougal and Calder, op. cit. p. 104; other examples of cradle eulogies, *Eisd a chuilein laoigh 's a lurain*, RL626B; *Hi hà hó mo leanabh*; T.G.S. Vol. XII p. 212, and Vol. IX p. 63.
109. RL 626 B", RL 882 B3.
110. T.G.S. XV p. 156.
111. RL 524, T.G.S. XV p. 154.

112. T.G.S. XV p. 163.
113. RL 481 A18, T.G.S. XV p. 169.
114. Carmichael, op. cit. Vol. IV p. 76.
115. Op. cit. p. 71.
116. For further examples of Milking Songs and references *v.* Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. pp. 157-164. A milking song has been recorded in Skye which was specifically used for illicit milking, *Mo chuilein bó Raghaill*, RL 626.
117. RL 629 A8.
118. Except *An t-Iorram Niseach*, RL 724 A4.
119. Particularly in *Iomairibh Eutrom hó ró*, Log 1587; and *Clò nan Gillean*, RL 629 A7.
120. Tolmie op. cit. Nos. 75-8.
121. *v.* Log 1650, also used for waulking. For three spinning songs *v.* Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. pp. 202-5.
122. T.G.S. XV p. 108.
123. Op. cit. IX p. 107.
124. Op. cit. VIII p. 25.
125. Op. cit. XII p. 120.

SOCIAL DANCING IN SCOTLAND, 1700-1914

J. F. and T. M. Flett *

Some fifty or sixty years ago, the older social dances of Scotland, the Reels and the Country Dances, were gradually losing the place they had once held in our social gatherings. Their decline was accelerated by the disruption of social life caused by the first World War, and by the introduction of jazz, so that, by 1920, they were rapidly dying out. The story of the formation of the Scottish Country Dance Society and of its success in reviving interest in these dances is now well known, and has been told by several writers (Milligan, 1954). Little, however, has been written about social dancing in Scotland during the period immediately prior to the formation of the Country Dance Society, although some knowledge of this period is essential for a proper appreciation of the character of the traditional dances collected and revived by the Society. In this article an attempt is made to give a picture of social dancing in Scotland prior to the first World War.

To fill in the background of the picture, one must go back to about the year 1700. For a hundred years before this date dancing was a very unusual pastime in the Lowlands of Scotland and in those parts of the Highlands which came under the influence of the Presbyterian Church: dancing was a sin, and greatly condemned.† There are remarkably few references to dancing in Scotland during this period, and most of those which do occur (*Records of Elgin*, 1908) are records of the occasions when some miscreant appeared before a Church Session for daring to celebrate Hogmanay in the manner of his forefathers, or for being so forgetful of the good of his soul as to invite all the neighbourhood to dance at his wedding.

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† Even Royalty had to conform. In 1681-82, when the Duke of York (later James II) resided in Edinburgh, "a splendid court was kept at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, to which resorted the principal of the nobility and gentry. . . . Balls, plays, and masquerades, were introduced: These . . . were soon laid aside. The fanaticism of the times could not bear such ungodly innovations" (Tytler, 1798).

The hardier spirits among the ordinary Lowland country folk probably continued to dance in secret, although the majority seem to have supported the Church in its condemnation of all forms of frivolity. The upper classes probably did not dance at all, for, even if they wished to dance in secret, they would have found it impossible to do so in those days of numerous servants.

By 1700, when the Church was beginning to take a less narrow view of the lighter pleasures, polite society in Scotland had not danced for over a hundred years. The Court dances of the sixteenth century, which showed very clearly the strength of French influence at that time, were long since dead. English influence was now paramount, and it was therefore natural that Scottish society, just beginning to dance again, should learn the dances fashionable at that time in English society, the Minuet and the Country Dance. And, since these were perhaps a little dull for Scottish tastes, they also took the Reel, which had been preserved in the remoter parts of the Highlands.

It may be as well to say a little here concerning the Country Dance, since this is sometimes erroneously claimed as of Scottish origin. The earliest "Country Dances" seem to have been the ordinary social dances of the village people of the English countryside. These countryside dances were introduced into English society during the late sixteenth century (Wood 1936-9; Nicol and Dean-Smith 1940-5), probably losing a good deal of their simplicity in the transition from a rustic to an urban dancing-ground. They may also have been influenced during this period by dances introduced to England from Italy. The early Country Dances were of various types, round, square and longways. During the late seventeenth century, however, all but one of these, the longways progressive type,* died out, and from 1700 onwards the term "Country Dance" referred exclusively to dances of longways progressive type.†

So far as we are aware, the first record of a Country Dance

* That is, a dance in which the dancers form two parallel lines, the men in one, their partners opposite them in the other, and every couple comes to the top place in turn.

† It is usual nowadays to include Reels under the heading of Country Dances. In this article, however, we shall follow the older usage—which is also the traditional usage in Scotland—in which a Country Dance is a longways progressive dance. We use "Reel" to mean a dance of the same general form as a Foursome Reel. Descriptions of most of the Country Dances and Reels mentioned in this article are given either in the books published by the R.S.C.D.S. (1923-55) or in the *Border Book* (1932), and we give references only when this is not the case.

in Scotland occurs in a MS. dated 1704 (National Library of Scotland). This contains the description of a longways progressive dance, John Anderson my jo. The MS., however, does not use the term "Country Dance", and the first explicit reference to a Country Dance in Scotland known to us is in 1723. In that year the first public dancing assemblies to be held in Scotland were opened in Edinburgh, and Country Dances and Minuets formed part of the programme.

Immediately after the introduction of the Country Dance to Scotland, Country Dances were set to Scottish tunes. Only a little later, a truly Scottish type of Country Dance evolved, the distinguishing mark of which was the ending *set to and turn corners and reels of three with corners* (a sequence probably inspired by the Scottish Threesome Reel). But in spite of these Scottish contributions, the Country Dance remained the "*English* Country Dance" for nearly a hundred years, and only towards the end of the eighteenth century did it attain anything like the same popularity as the native Reels.

By 1800, then, the Country Dance was firmly established in Scottish Society. In 1816 a new rival appeared on the scene in the form of the Quadrilles, which were introduced to Edinburgh directly from Paris (E. Grant 1950). They immediately became popular, and for a year or two the Country Dances and Reels suffered a slight setback. But after this initial period the Country Dances and Reels recovered, and for some thirty or forty years all three forms of dance, Quadrilles, Country Dances and Reels, seem to have been equally popular.

Shortly after the introduction of the Quadrilles, the Waltz followed, but it seems to have found little favour in Scotland (though it had some effect, for a waltzing step was introduced almost immediately into the Country Dance figure *pousette*).

It is interesting to compare this state of affairs with that in English society. There the Quadrilles and the Waltz combined to oust the Country Dance from the place it had held for over two hundred years, and after 1820 the popularity of the Country Dance in England declined very rapidly.* This difference between England and Scotland is easily explained,

* This may be seen from various nineteenth-century English ballroom guides. Thomas Wilson's *Companion to the Ballroom* (London, 1815) contains the descriptions of several hundred Country Dances, while *The Ballroom Preceptor and Polka Guide* (9th edition, London, 1854), *The Ball-Room Instructor* (London, 1855) and *The Ball-Room Guide* (London, 1874), include only four Country Dances between them. *The Ball-Room Instructor* says that "Country Dances, since the introduction of the Quadrilles, have not been so much used as formerly"; while *The Ball-Room Guide* remarks that "a country dance is often tolerated as a finale; but . . . only tolerated".

for in England the Country Dance was already declining when the Quadrilles were introduced. In Scottish society, on the other hand, the Country Dance was more or less at the peak of its popularity at the time of the introduction of the Quadrilles and was therefore much less likely to have been completely eclipsed by the newcomer.

After 1800 there was a good deal of interaction between the three forms of dance, Quadrilles, Country Dances and Reels. Already before the introduction of the Quadrilles in 1816, new Reels were composed incorporating Country Dance figures, and after 1816 Quadrille figures were also used. Most of these "new Reels" had only a short life, but one, an Eightsome Reel using Quadrille figures (National Library of Scotland), survived through the century and was ultimately incorporated into the modern Eightsome Reel. After 1816 Quadrille figures were used increasingly in the Country Dance. The "figure 8" of the Foursome Reel also found its way into the Country Dance, while late in the nineteenth century we find Quadrilles composed in the Scottish style, incorporating both Reel steps and the Reel "figure 8".

From about 1870 onwards the Country Dance lost favour to a certain extent in Scottish society. It was never entirely eclipsed, however, and all three forms of dance, Quadrilles, Country Dances and Reels, still form part of the programmes at such meetings as the Perth Hunt Ball. The variety of Country Dances performed within recent years, however, is less than formerly, only some half dozen or so remaining in favour.

So far we have been concerned only with dancing among the upper classes. To complete the picture the social dances of the ordinary working people should be considered. Here two main traditions have evolved, Highland and Lowland, quite distinct from each other.

The Highland tradition is found in its purest form in the West Highlands and the Hebrides. There, until about seventy years ago, the most popular dance in an evening's entertainment was the Foursome Reel. The Country Dance and the Quadrilles did not reach these parts until about 1850,* and it was not for some years after this that they became popular—even to-day old people in the Hebrides refer to them as "modern" dances. As might be expected, therefore, the Country Dances to be found in these districts are those which

* Or later: old people in the Benderloch district of Argyllshire, for example, can remember the first introduction of the Quadrilles to their district, about seventy years ago.

were in common use elsewhere from 1850 onwards. Thus *the* traditional Highland dance is the Reel, and the Country Dance is here a very recent immigrant.

In the Lowlands the state of affairs was very different. Here, as in the Highlands, the Reel was firmly established, though whether it was indigenous, or was imported from the Highlands, it is now impossible to say. In addition to the Reel, however, the Country Dance may also be regarded as traditional to this region. For in the towns the Country Dance passed from the upper classes to the ordinary people, and from the towns it spread into the neighbouring countryside. Possibly also it spread directly from the country houses of the landed gentry. At any rate, it had reached the country districts of the Lowlands well before the end of the eighteenth century.

The Lowland townsfolk tended to follow the lead of the upper classes and, by 1900, only a few Country Dances remained in use in the bigger towns.* In the country districts, however, the Country Dance remained in favour until the first World War, with little or no diminution in popularity.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the country folk of the Lowlands performed, in addition to those dances popular in polite society, many dances which were (at that time) peculiar to their own districts. Among these were the Country Dances in strathspey tempo, representatives of a type of Country Dance which had not been performed in polite society for some years prior to 1850. Most of these Country Dances in strathspey tempo have been found among the ordinary working folk of the Border countryside. Some of them doubtless descended to the country folk from the eighteenth-century ballroom. Others, more recent, were created by the country folk themselves, and these are true folk dances.†

Even after 1870, when the Country Dance was declining in polite society and in the towns, new dances were composed in the country districts. These usually contained figures drawn from the Quadrilles, sometimes combined with the "figure 8"

* There may also be other reasons for the disappearance of the Country Dance from the towns. William Lamb, in *The Peoples' Ballroom Guide* (Dundee [?], 2nd edition, *c.* 1910), remarks that Country Dances "were very popular long ago, when . . . all classes could mix quite freely. The growth of wealth and the development of style and fashion have deepened the lines of social cleavage, with the result that it is now more difficult to get people to forget differences of rank and position and join in any form of social amusement where all meet and mix for the time being on terms of equality".

† For example, the Haughs of Cromdale, a Country Dance collected in Galloway. This incorporates the Highland Schottische, and so cannot be earlier in date than that dance, i.e. about 1860.

of the Foursome Reel. These dances using Quadrille figures were admirably suited to the style of dancing of the country folk, which was less polished and more vigorous than that of the refined ballroom.

The Highland tradition was dying even in 1900, but the tradition of the country folk of the Lowlands, with its easy natural style, was still vigorously alive, and indeed remained a creative one almost up to the first World War, and certainly long after the Country Dance had lost its popularity in polite ballrooms.

It is difficult to assess the effect on social dancing of that great wave of religious enthusiasm which swept Scotland in the nineteenth century. Starting in Sutherland about the beginning of the century, the religious revival gained tremendously in momentum after the Disruption (Brown 1884). Certain regions, notably in the North-west, were affected by an almost puritanical spirit, and there dancing seems for a time to have disappeared almost entirely.* But it may well be that religious feeling against dancing lasted for too short a period in many places to cause the complete disappearance of all the existing social dances there. Certainly we have found old dances in Skye (T. M. Flett 1952), one of the regions affected earliest by the revival. It is possible that a thorough search in the North-west might bring to light old dances similar to those still preserved in the Catholic regions of the Highlands and the Western Isles (J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett 1952).

The local traditions of Orkney and Shetland also deserve mention. In Shetland the most popular dance until recently was a Sixsome Reel, of a type not found elsewhere in Scotland (MacLennan 1953). Unlike the traditional Foursome Reel of the mainland of Scotland, it has no part in strathspey tempo, being danced only to reel or jig tunes. The Orkney tradition is intermediate between the Shetland and the Highland traditions (T. M. Flett 1956). Here the popular dances were a Sixsome and one or more Eightsome Reels. The Orkney Sixsome Reel is somewhat similar to the Shetland Reel in construction, but resembles the Foursome Reel in that it is danced to both strathspey and reel tunes, and Highland setting steps are used.

These traditions remained in a very pure state until quite recent years. In Orkney, for instance, the Country Dance and the Quadrilles first reached the smaller isles and the

* Alexander Carmichael (1900) records a conversation between himself and a lady in the Isle of Lewis which shows the extent to which the Church there suppressed music and dancing.

country districts of the Mainland well within living memory. They were first performed on Flotta, for example, as late as 1891.

No survey of traditional dancing in Scotland can be complete without some reference to dancing teachers. Prior to 1914 it was usual in Scotland for almost everyone to attend dancing classes. In the bigger towns there were permanent dancing schools, often run by famous professional Highland dancers. After 1870, when the popularity of the Country Dance in polite society was declining, the dances taught at these schools included only the half dozen or so Country Dances which remained in favour, Petronella, Flowers of Edinburgh, Rory O'More, Haymakers, Strip the Willow, etc. They also included the Foursome Reel and Reel of Tulloch, Quadrilles and Lancers, and some "couple" dances, both those of the older type such as the Polka and the Highland Schottische, and also those new dances, such as the Pas de Quatre, which were rapidly coming into fashion.

The teachers at these big schools would sometimes also serve the smaller towns and villages around them. For instance, David Anderson, a famous Highland dancer, who taught in Dundee from about 1870 until about 1905, had dancing schools also in Brechin, Broughty Ferry and Tayport, and also in some of the smaller villages about Dundee (Stewart). In such places, more conservative than the bigger towns, the Country Dance was still in favour, and there these teachers would teach Country Dances which they had long since discarded at their central schools. David Anderson actually composed a number of Country Dances for the rural communities in his neighbourhood, naming them after the places where he held his classes, Brechin Fancy, Broughty Ferry Castle, Monifieth Star, and the like.

Such teachers would also hold classes in towns far away from their own headquarters. Thus Anderson had schools in Alford, Dingwall and Inverness, as well as in those places already named.

The remoter country districts were served by itinerant dancing-masters. These men would usually stay in one village for eight or ten weeks at a time, teaching there on one or two evenings a week. If possible, they would also teach in neighbouring villages on the other evenings of the week. If no hall were available, they hired a farmer's barn. They were usually expert fiddlers, and provided the music for their classes

themselves, often playing and dancing simultaneously. In the Lowlands such teachers would have a large repertory of Country Dances.

In the Border counties, as I have found from discussions with many, the best known of these itinerant teachers was "Professor" R. F. Buck. He usually stayed in one village for ten weeks, and held classes on two evenings a week, from 7 p.m. until 10 p.m. His classes normally consisted of tuition for the entire period (as opposed to tuition interposed between periods of general dancing), but on the last evening of the session he held a ball, when his pupils could show their paces. People other than his pupils normally joined in this ball.

To begin his first lesson he selected either a simple Country Dance such as The Nut, or a "couple" dance such as the Common Schottische or the Polka. The Country Dances he taught included Blue Bonnets, Bonny Breastknots, Bottom of the Punchbowl, Corn Rigs, Cumberland Reel, Drops of Brandy, Duke of Perth, Flowers of Edinburgh, Haymakers, Highland Laddie, Jessie's Hornpipe, Meg Merrilees, Petronella, Rifleman, Rory O'More (also known as the American Dwarf), Roxburgh Castle, Speed the Plough and the Duchess of Gordon's Fancy. Many of these were afterwards collected by the late I. C. B. Jamieson and others, and published in *The Border Book* and the R.S.C.D.S. books.

In addition to these Country Dances, Mr. Buck also taught the Foursome Reel and the Reel of Tulloch (the latter either in sets of two couples or in one large circle round the room), the Highland Fling, the Sword Dance and the Sailors' Hornpipe. He taught also Quadrilles and Lancers (giving his pupils one figure of these each evening until they knew the entire dances), Circassian Circle and a number of "couple" dances.

Mr. Buck also held classes in towns like Selkirk, but there he restricted himself to the standard half dozen Country Dances. His complete repertory was given only to the country folk who would appreciate it.

It is noteworthy that among the Country Dances taught by Mr. Buck are some in strathspey tempo. The travelling step which he taught for these dances was the normal Highland one, that is to say, "step forward on right foot, close left behind right, step forward again on right foot and hop on it, bringing the left foot up in front of the right leg, then the same with left foot". Among the Border people, however, it was more usual just to swing the left foot straight through on the hop,

ready to step forward on it. These are very different steps from the polished gliding step taught to-day by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. We do not know where their step comes from, and have certainly not met it among traditional dancers. It seems to require soft heelless shoes * in order that it may be performed properly, yet the country folk from whom the strathspey dances were obtained wore ordinary shoes, while even in the nineteenth-century ballroom patent leather shoes were worn. Mr. Buck also played the strathspey music much faster than it is now played by the Society's musicians. This is also true of every traditional fiddler we have encountered, and we do not know whether the Society has any traditional evidence for the slower tempo.

We have collected information about a dozen or more of these itinerant dancing-masters, and so far as the organisation of their classes was concerned they nearly all resembled Mr. Buck. One exception to this seems to have been the famous Scott Skinner, who was an itinerant dancing-master before he made his name as a fiddler. He taught in the North-east, and his repertory seems to have been typical of the region, being similar to that of the teachers in the bigger towns.† Information about him is rather difficult to come by, since he ceased teaching about seventy years ago, and we have a record of only one of his schools. This was at Rothes, where he stayed for four weeks, teaching six evenings a week. His classes on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, were for the well-to-do, and his fee was a guinea for the four weeks. For the classes on the other nights, which were attended by the ordinary working folk of the district, his fee was only 7s. 6d. But both sets of pupils were taught exactly the same set of dances.

Our informant, Mr. David Grant (1955), a lad of 17 at the time, was coachman to an advocate in Elgin, and drove his employer's family to the guinea classes. His employer paid for him to attend the classes, but when he first entered the room where the classes were held, Scott Skinner approached him and suggested that perhaps he would be more at home on the other evenings. However, when Scott Skinner learnt that his fee was being paid by his employer, he accepted him without further demur. By attending the guinea classes

* Such as the Highland dancing pumps, which have become increasingly popular since the formation of the Scottish Country Dance Society. In the old days these were worn only by professional Highland dancers.

† It did, however, include the Dashing White Sergeant, a longways Country Dance, which was not normally taught in the towns at that time.

Mr. Grant was put to the expense of obtaining white gloves. These were considered essential there, but were unnecessary for the classes on the other evenings.

In addition to the Reels, Country Dances and Quadrilles, Scott Skinner taught all his pupils the Highland Fling. He also taught the Sword Dance and Seann Triubhas to those who wished to learn them. The latter dance seems to have been rather uncommon, and few of the itinerant teachers included it in their repertory.

Even in the remote country districts, where the "ballroom" was a barn, the itinerant dancing-masters taught their younger pupils the normal etiquette of the ballroom. A Mr. Lilly, who taught in Kincardineshire some seventy years ago, was perhaps more strict than usual in this respect, but not greatly so (Milne). He held classes for the 10-14 year olds in the afternoon. At these classes the boys were taught how to make a bow, and how to ask the girls to partner them. At the end of the session (three months, with one class a week) there was a ball. Each boy had to find his own partner for this, and had to go some days before the ball to the home of the girl of his choice, and ask her mother for permission to take her daughter to the ball. This must have been no small ordeal for a country boy of 12 or so!

In spite of such strictness, these old dancing-masters do not seem to have put great emphasis on technique. It was much more important to learn the figures of the dances, and, while they taught steps, they were not greatly worried if their pupils could not attain great precision or polish. Indeed, great precision was impossible since many of their pupils wore ordinary outdoor shoes. The emphasis throughout traditional dancing in Scotland was, as one would expect, much more on enjoyment than it was on technique.

In addition to the dances taught and spread by the dancing-masters, there were also a number of social dances which were rarely or never taught by the professional dancing teachers, but were passed on in the traditional manner. Usually these were peculiar to particular localities, for example, Cath nan Coilcach and Ruidhleadh nan Coilcach Dubha in Barra (J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett 1952), The Eight Men of Moidart in Moidart,* the Sixsome and Eightsome Reels in

* Two versions have been collected by one of the authors and Dr. F. Rhodes, both being different from the longways Country Dance of this name published by the R.S.C.D.S. One version has been published in the *Oban Times* for 30th June 1956, the other is so far unpublished.

Orkney (T. M. Flett 1956) and the Sixsome Reel in Shetland (MacLennan 1953). But there were also a few which were very widely distributed. One which we have found from the Border to Orkney was the Threesome Reel in which the dancers were linked with handkerchiefs. Another was the kissing dance known by various names, in the Lowlands and the North-east as Babbity-Bowster (Bob at the bolster), in the Highlands and Western Isles as Ruidhleadh nam Pòg, Blue Bonnets, Pease Strae or The White Cockade, and in Orkney as the Lang Reel or The Swines Reel (T. M. Flett 1952; 1956; J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett 1952). All these dances are true folk dances, owing little or nothing to the polite ballroom. They are perhaps the only truly traditional Scottish dances, passed down and preserved without the intervention of professional dancing-masters.

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TWO SONGS BY LADY NAIRNE

William Montgomerie

I. THE LAIRD O' COCKPEN

In the past—and this is true of all art-song derived from folk-song, e.g. the songs of Robert Burns—the approach has been from the art- to the folk-song. The folk-song has had value, not in itself but as an inspiration for the art-song. The assumption has been, especially in studying Burns, that the poet always improved on his source material. It is my purpose here to study two derivative songs by Lady Nairne, *The Laird o' Cockpen*, where the student of literature has good reason for claiming improvement, and *Kitty Reid's House*, where the case for improvement is a very doubtful one.

In this essay, the approach to Lady Nairne's two songs—in preparation for a much wider examination of all her songs—is analogous to the new biochemical approach to the problems of biology. As Ernest Baldwin pointed out recently in the first of his six radio talks on "The Chemical Basis of Life":

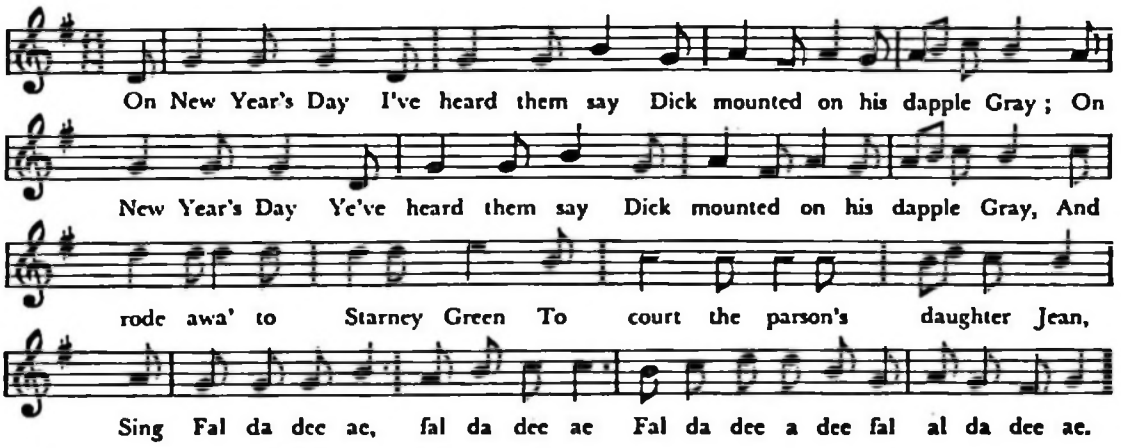
> During the last thirty or forty years the technique of studying the parts of animals and plants—the organs and the cells—have been supplemented by a newer approach; that of biochemistry. Instead of starting with large objects and working downwards, biochemistry starts with simple naturally occurring chemical substances and works upwards to progressively larger units and more complex chemical systems. In fact biochemistry attacks the problem from the opposite end to that of the older techniques, and at the present time the different lines of approach have begun to meet.

The problem of Lady Nairne's poems is attacked from the opposite end to that of nineteenth-century criticism. One assumption is made: folk-song has value in itself, and the study of folk-song has value for its own sake.

First let us look at courting songs not dissimilar to that of *The Laird o' Cockpen*. Robert Bell (1889 pp. 369-73) in his "Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England", prints the words of *Richard of Taunton Dean*, "taken down from the singing

of an old blind fiddler, 'who,' says Mr. Sandys, 'used to accompany it on his instrument in an original and humorous manner; a representative of the old minstrels!' The air is in *Popular Music*." Gavin Greig (MSS.) noted an oral version of the song:

NEW YEAR'S DAY



Robert Bell's version is as follows:

Last New-Year's day, as I've heerd say,
Young Richard he mounted his dapple grey,
And he trotted along to Taunton Dean,
To court the parson's daughter, Jean.
Dumble dum deary, dumble dum deary,
Dumble dum deary, dumble dum dee.

With buckskin brecches, shoes and hose,
And Dicky put on his Sunday clothes;
Likewise a hat upon his head,
All bedaubed with ribbons red.

Young Richard he rode without dread or fear,
Till he came to the house where lived his sweet dear,
When he knocked, and shouted, and bellowed, "Hallo!
Be the folks at home? say aye or no."

A trusty servant let him in,
That he his courtship might begin;
Young Richard he walked along the great hall,
And loudly for mistress Jean did call.

Miss Jean she came without delay,
To hear what Dicky had got to say;
"I s'pose you knaw me, mistress Jean,
I'm honest Richard of Taunton Dean.

"I'm an honest fellow, although I be poor,
And I never was in love afore;
My mother she bid me come here for to woo,
And I can fancy none but you."

"Suppose that I would be your bride,
Pray how would you for me provide?
For I can neither sew nor spin;—
Pray what will your day's work bring in?"

" Why, I can plough, and I can zow,
And zometimes to the market go
With Gaffer Johnson's straw or hay,
And yarn my ninepence every day!"

"Ninepence a day will never do,
For I must have silks and satins too!
Ninepence a day won't buy us meat!"
"Adzooks!" says Dick, "I've a zack of wheat;

"Besides, I have a house hard by,
'Tis all my awn, when mammy do die;
If thee and I were married now,
Ods! I'd feed thee as fat as my feyther's old zow."

Dick's compliments did so delight,
They made the family laugh outright;
Young Richard took huff, and no more would say,
He kicked up old Dobbin, and trotted away,
Singing, dumble dum deary, &c.

Robert Bell (1889 p. 371) notes that he has heard a Yorkshire version of this English West Country song. Another version in Halliwell's "Nursery Rhymes of England" is called *Richard of Dalton Dale*. In addition, Mr. Bell (1889 pp. 370-1) prints the first two stanzas of *Last New-Year's Day*, an Irish variant of the same song:

Last New-Year's day, as I heard say,
Dick mounted on his dapple gray;
He mounted high and he mounted low,
Until he came to *sweet Raphoe!*
Sing fal de dol de ree,
Fol de dol, righ fol dee.

"My buckskin does I did put on,
My spladdery clogs, *to save my brogues!*
And in my pocket a lump of bread,
And round my hat a ribbon red." . . .

The rest of it follows the English song almost verbatim. The second Irish variant is worth printing at length:

Dicky of Ballyman

On New-Year's day, as I heard say,
Dicky he saddled his dapple gray;
He put on his Sunday clothes,
His scarlet vest, and his new made hose.
Diddle dum di, diddle dum do,
Diddle dum di, diddle dum do.

He rode till he came to Wilson Hall,
There he rapped, and loud did call;
Mistress Ann came down straightway,
And asked him what he had to say.

"Don't you know me, Mistress Ann?
I am Dicky of Ballyman;
An honest lad, though I am poor,—
I never was in love before.

"I have an uncle, the best of friends,
Sometimes to me a fat rabbit he sends;
And many other dainty fowl,
To please my life, my joy, my soul.

"Sometimes I reap, sometimes I mow,
And to the market I do go,
To sell my father's corn and hay,—
I earn my sixpence every day!"

"Oh, Dicky! you go beneath your mark,—
You only wander in the dark;
Sixpence a day will never do,
I must have silks and satins, too!

"Besides, Dicky, I must have tea
For my breakfast, every day;
And after dinner a bottle of wine,—
For without it I cannot dine."

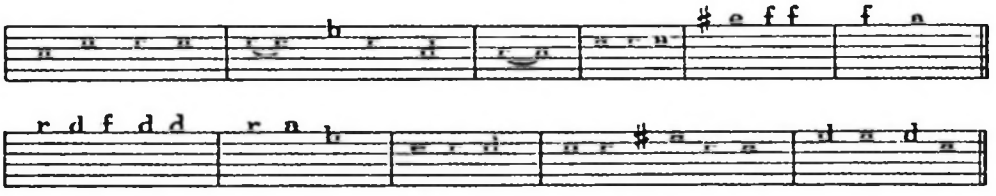
"If on fine clothes our money is spent,
Pray how shall my lord be paid his rent?
He'll expect it when 'tis due,—
Believe me, what I say is true.

"As for tea, good stirabout
Will do far better, I make no doubt;
And spring water, when you dine,
Is far wholesomer than wine.

"Potatoes, too, are very nice food,—
I don't know any half so good:
You may have them boiled or roast,
Whichever way you like them most."

This gave the company much delight,
And made them all to laugh outright;
So Dicky had no more to say,
But saddled his dapple and rode away.
Diddle dum di, &c.

In these English and Irish variants of the courting song made famous by Lady Nairne, there is no connexion with the Laird of Cockpen, whose home was near Edinburgh. But before printing a Scottish folk version of *The Laird o' Cockpen*, it would be better to refer to a song about one Laird of Cockpen, which has been accepted by some authorities as a source for Lady Nairne's song. The melody for this song is in *Leyden's MS.* (G. F. Graham 1847), of the end of the seventeenth century. The words are in David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1776):



WHEN SHE CAME BEN SHE BOBBIT

When she came ben she bobbit,
And when she came ben she bobbit.
And when she came ben she kist Cockpen,
And then deny'd that she did it.

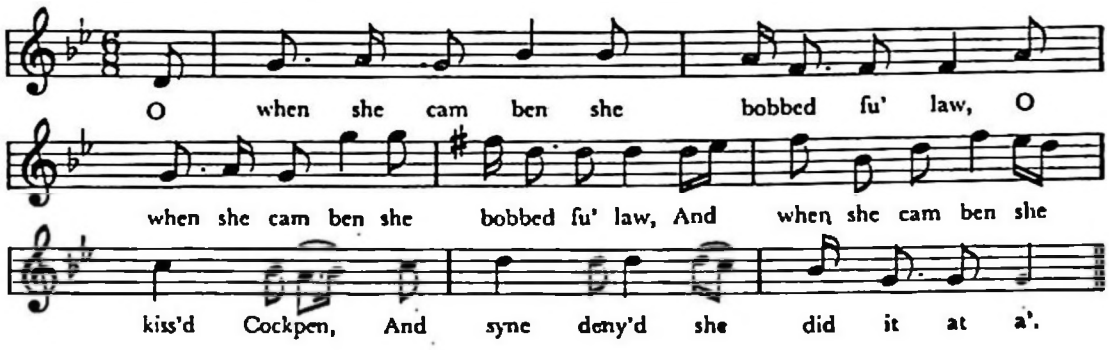
And was nae Cockpen right sawcy,
And was nae Cockpen right sawcy?
He len'd his lady to gentlemen,
And he kist the collier lassie.

And was nae Cockpen right able,
And was nae Cockpen right able?
He left his lady with gentlemen,
And he kist the lass in the stable.

O are you wi' bairn, my chicken?
O are you wi' bairn, my chicken?
O if I am not, I hope to be,
E'er the green leaves be shaken.

This is probably the source of Robert Burns's song in the *Scots Musical Museum* (Johnson 1792):

WHEN SHE CAM BEN SHE BOBBED



And was na Cockpen right saucy witha'?
And was na Cockpen right saucy witha'?
In leaving the dochter o' a lord,
And kissin a collier lassie an' a'?

O' never look down, my lassie, at a'!
O, never look down, my lassie, at a'!
Thy lips are as sweet, and thy figure complete,
As the finest dame in castle or ha'.

Tho' thou hast nae silk, and holland sae sma',
Tho' thou hast nae silk, and holland sae sma',
Thy coat and thy sark are thy ain handywark,
And Lady Jean was never sae braw.

R. H. Cromek (1810) in *Select Scottish Songs*, adds the note:

Here is a verse of this lively old song that used to be sung after these printed ones.

O, wha has lien wi' our Lord yestreen?
O, wha has lien wi' our Lord yestreen?
In his soft down bed, O, twa fowk were the sted,
An' whare lay the chamber maid, lassie, yestreen?

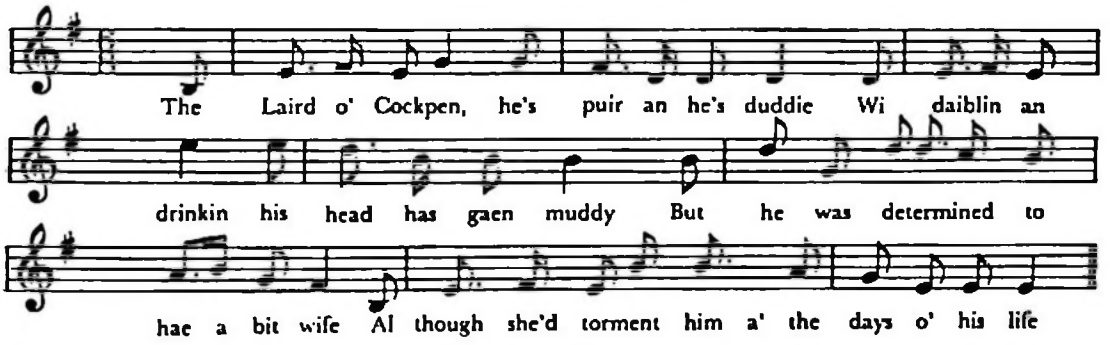
According to tradition, this Laird of Cockpen was a boon companion of Charles II. That the late seventeenth-century

Leyden MS. (G. F. Graham 1847) records the tune of this version of the song to some extent supports this tradition.

There is one snag, however, when David Herd's version (1776) is quoted as Lady Nairne's source. The English and Irish songs discussed above, as well as Lady Nairne's version, describe a perfectly moral wooing. There is further evidence that there were at least two songs. One of them—by no means the only song of its type that has survived in manuscript and oral tradition—is Herd's song about the Laird's amours. The other—one of a common type of wooing song—gave rise to the English and Irish variants, whose style suggests the eighteenth century.

There has always been one gap in the evidence, namely the Scottish variant of the wooing song that Lady Nairne used as her source. To suggest as in the past that Lady Nairne completely recreated the Herd version, and expanded it to the length of her song, is quite untypical of the poetess. She could improve a folk-song, usually by condensation, but such a feat of recreation was beyond her powers, as it is beyond the powers of most folk-song poets. It is strange that a folk version of *The Laird o' Cockpen* has remained unprinted. The following words of the old version from D. McN. Kilmaurs is copied from a Manuscript (Findlay) now in my possession, the music from Smith (1821-24, III).

The Laird o' Cockpen



At the back o' a knowe a lassie did dwell
At muckin a byre he thocht she'd look well
McClcish's ae dochter o' Claversha' lee
A pennyless lass wi' a lang pedigree

He mounted his cuddy an cantered away
Until he cam doun to the hip o' the brae
An' there the auld donkey grew dour as the deil
Sae up wi' his cudgel an thumpit it weel

Wi' whippin an spurrin he got round the hill
Till ance he cam round to the end o' the mill
'Gae tell Mistress Meg to come to the house-end
She's wanted to speak wi' the laird o' Cockpen'

His hair was weel kaimed an pouthered wi' meal
Quo' he to himsel' I'm a gay lookin chiel
His coat it was green an' his trousers plush blue
Wi' a great hole ahind where his sark tail hang through

Mrs. Meg she chanced to be meetin the swine
'O what brings the body at sic a like time
She thumpit the grumphies an made them stan round
Syne kilted her coatie an cam away round

An when she cam round she bowèd fu' low
Quo' he 'I'm come here to mak ye my joe
My stockins to clout my plush breeks to mend
Sae come awa hame this nicht to Cockpen'

Whan Meg heard o' that she cockit her lug
She thocht wi' the laird she'd be unco snug
'It's come awa in lat my auld mither ken
An faith I'll gang wi' ye the nicht to Cockpen'

Sae the laird steppit in to see the auld wife
He ne'er lookt sae crouse a' the days o' his life
Quo' he 'my auld wifie I'm wantin to ken
Gin ye'll lat your ae dochter gang hame to Cockpen'

The auld wife consentit, sae did the auld man
Up started the laird an took Meg by the han'
A' bade them fareweel an bade them guidsen'
An tellt them 'be fruitfu' an plenish Cockpen

An noo they are married an lien fu' snug
For happier never were bridegroom an bride
Wi' great muckle dochters an sturdy young men
Wha cry 'faither' an honour to the Laird o' Cockpen

One scholar (C. H. A. 1899) to whom this folk version of the song was unknown and who traced Lady Nairne's song to Herd's version, records one significant fact about the early sevententh-century Laird:

The Cockpen register of baptisms begins only in 1690, and after that date it is noted that Mark Carss and Margaret Fowls had four sons—Thomas, John, William, and George, born in 1696, 1698, 1700, and 1706 respectively.

There is here no record of the "great muckle dochters" of the folk-song, but the name of the Laird's wife, Margaret, agrees with the Meg of the song. In Lady Nairne's song she is Mistress Jean. The last two stanzas of the same version which have been ascribed, by different critics, to Susan Ferrier and Sir Alexander Boswell differ significantly from the folk-song.

Between the printing of Lady Nairne's song (Smith 1821-24) and William Findlay's recording of the folk version (*c.* 1868) the oral song may have been influenced by the popular printed version, but the English and Irish variants support the authenticity of the song in Findlay's notebook, and it may be Lady Nairne who is derivative even where the lines are identical or similar.

The scholar familiar with material, printed and written, whose composition can be dated accurately must modify his preconceptions when dealing with oral tradition, where a song recorded in 1868 may be the source of a song printed nearly half a century before. It was an adjustment that Professor Child had to make. With Child, as with other students of ballad and folk-song (and ballads are folk-songs), the final arbiter is the ear.

2. KITTY REID'S HOUSE

The second of Lady Nairne's poems to be considered, *Kitty Reid's House*, echoes the traditional song, *The House on the Green*, which was "recovered from tradition, and for the first time printed" as an eight-page pamphlet privately issued in 1869, above the name Omar, who seems to have been the Rev. Thomas Morris, a Perth antiquary. One copy, probably the only one that has survived came into my possession among the papers of the Rev. William Findlay (1868).

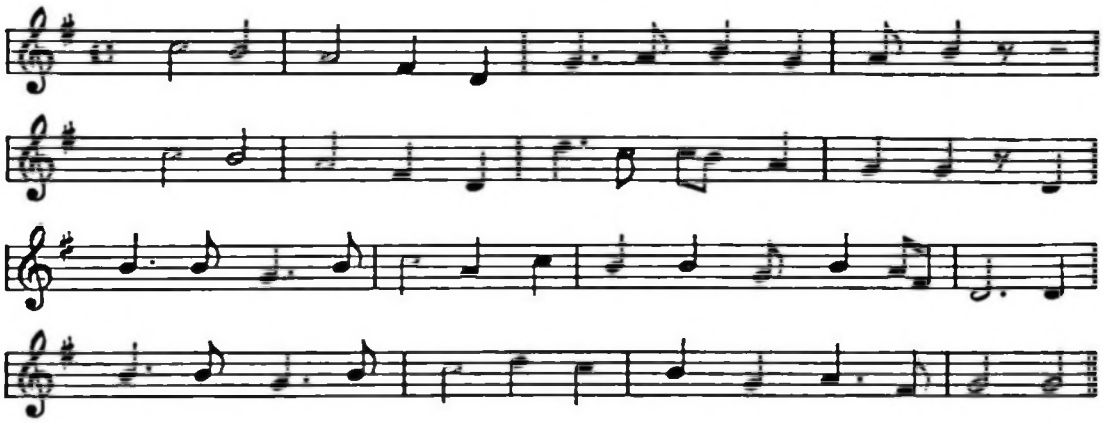
The House on the Green stood in the fifteenth century at a spot where the Watergate now joins Perth High Street. The House belonged to the Mercers of Aldie and Meikleour. Sir Michael Mercer flourished at that time and his name is connected with the House, sometimes called the Kirk or old Temple of Perth.

A smaller house stood there in the seventeenth century, and is the hostelry of the song. It was a rendezvous for the Perth County lairds.

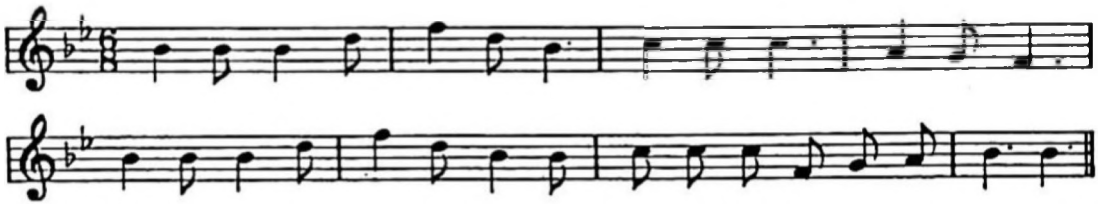
Lady Nairne gives "Country Bumpkin" as the air to which her version should be sung. Thomas Morris, in his pamphlet,

mentions a nursery rhyme version sung to the air of "Bab at the Boster". I print two versions:

B O BABBITY (MACLAGAN 1901)



BABBITY BOWSTER (GOMME 1894)



" It may be stated," concludes Omar, "that this old ballad is now, so far as we are aware, printed for the first time, although several fragments have occasionally appeared:—"

The House on the Green

We're a' reelin' doun the brae,
To Jenny Ryd's house, to Jenny Ryd's house;
We're a' reelin' doun the brae,
To Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.

And it's O rare! the mirth that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
And it's O rare! the mirth that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
The laird o' Cultoquhey sat eatin' a pie,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
The laird o' Logie he left a clean cogie
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

Up hill an' doun brae,
To Jenny Ryd's house, to Jenny Ryd's house;
Frae Strageath, Meikleour, an' bonnie Pitfour,
To Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Kirkpottie, Kintullo, Pitcur an' laird Rollo,
Cam' a' to the house, to Jenny Ryd's house;
Invermay, Monivaird, Balbeggie, Kinaird,
Cam' a' to the house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

And it's O rare! the mirth that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
What wi' Condie an' Cragie, an' crouse Aberdalgie,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Sic a crackin' o' bickers an' breakin' o' plates,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
When crusty Balquhidder sent the lairds thro' ither,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

It's the laird o' Kinvaid that kissed the maid,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
It's the laird o' Gleneagles that joukit the beagles,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
The laird o' Perth he foucht wi' airth,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
An' young Seggieden set the cock on the hen,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

We're a' at hame in Jenny Ryd's house,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
We're a' at hame in Jenny Ryd's house,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
They came frae the north, an' they came frae the forth
To Jenny Ryd's house, to Jenny Ryd's house;
Up hill and doun brae,
To Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

Gae tell Tullylumb that he's wanted to come,
To Jenny Ryd's house, to Jenny Ryd's house;
Tell Bousie an' Keir, an' Riven the peer,
To come to the house on the green, jo.
It's the laird o' Keir he made a steer,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jennie Ryd's house;
When the laird o' Strathallan dang doun the hallan,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

Fetch Easter Tarsappie an' gie him a drappie,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
Fetch Wester Tarsappie an' he'll be as happy,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Gae tell auld Monzie that he's wanted to see
The lairds in the house, in Jenny's Ryd's house;
Tell the laird o' Woodhead that his bed's newly made,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

An' it's O rare! the mirth that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
They danced an' sang the nicht an' day lang,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
The laird o' Arnprior brunt his taes at the fire,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
The laird o' Kinnoull gaed on like a fool,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

Deil tak' Dumbarnie an' Abercairnie,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
They crackit the cradle an' fliggit the bairnie,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Stormont and Pitheavles are weel kent for deevils,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
But the laird o' Moncreiffe was a' the lairds' chief,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' doun the brae, &c.

Hech! hey! it's nae mair the daffin' was there,
An' mirth in the house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
English men, a hunder an' ten,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae, &c.

There was clappin' o' cods, an' shakin' o' beds,
An' waukenin' lairds in Jenny Ryd's house;
There was crackin' o' bickers an' breakin' o' plates,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' it's O sair! the dule that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
Oliver's men, baith but an' ben,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae, &c.

The laird o' Crief he cam' to grief,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
Young Balgowan he set a' a-lowan,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Auld Gorthie Graeme gaed canterin' hame,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
An' Meffan gaed wi' him, an' Keillor gaed wi' him,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae, &c.

The laird o' Coplindie jumpit out at the window,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
Balvaird Murray peeled his kuits in the hurry,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
Ochtertyre he lap ower the mire,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
The laird o' Monzie he flew like a flee,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae, &c.

The laird o' Scone he crackit his crown
That day in the house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
The laird o' Blair tumbl't doun the stair,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
The laird o' Struan he rade like a growan,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
The laird o' Struan he swore it was ruin,
That day in the house on the green, jo.
An' we're a' reelin' up the brae, &c.

Ilk laird that day took the King's hie way,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
Some up hill, an' some doun brae,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.
An' there's armed men, five score an' ten,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
An' it's O sair! the dule that was there,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.

An' we're a' reelin' up the brae,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house, frae Jenny Ryd's house;
Up hill an' doun brae,
Frae Jenny Ryd's house on the green, jo.

Charles Rogers (1869), in *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne* goes off at a tangent in his note to Lady Nairne's song:

The elder composition originated in the practice of the lairds of the district frequenting the hostelry of Catherine Reid, a celebrated club-house on St Ninian's Green, Stirling. From the

recitation of an aged gentleman we have recovered some of the original verses:—

Chorus

There's chappin o' cods and makin o' beds
At Catherine's house, at Catherine's house;
'There's chappin o' cods and makin o' beds
At Catherine's house, at Catherine's house.
An' O 'twas rare, the fun that was there,
At Catherine's house, at Catherine's house;
An' O 'twas rare, the fun that was there,
At Catherine's house on the green, Jo.

The laird o' Polmaise cam' drivin' his chaise
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house;
The laird o' Gargunnock cam' eatin' a bannock
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house.
The laird o' Dunmore puffed his pipe at the door
O' Catherine's house, o' Catherine's house;
The laird o' Airth cam' crying out dearth
At Catherine's house on the green, Jo.

The lairds o' Cambus cam' seekin an awmous
At Catherine's house, at Catherine's house;
The laird o' Dunblane cam' ridin' his lane
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house.
The laird o' Keir cam' makin' a steir
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house;
The laird o' Strathallan rade up to the hallan
O' Catherine's house on the green, Jo.

The laird o' Saint Ringan's cam' peelin' his inguns
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house;
The laird o' Boquhan was oure late, and he ran
To Catherine's house, to Catherine's house;
The laird o' Doune fell an' crackit his croon
At Catherine's house, at Catherine's house;
The Provost o' Stirlin sat by the house skirlin'
In Catherine's house on the green, Jo.

Of course, this is a Stirlingshire variant of the Perthshire song, and it must have been the Perthshire song that Lady Nairne used for her version. In the version in "The Maxtone's of Cultoquhey" is the line, "The Laird o' Gask had muckle to ask", which suggests that the song would—for the sake of that line—be preserved in "the auld house" of Gask in Perthshire, where Carolina Oliphant was born in 1766.

Thomas Morris (1869), in his pamphlet, mentions another

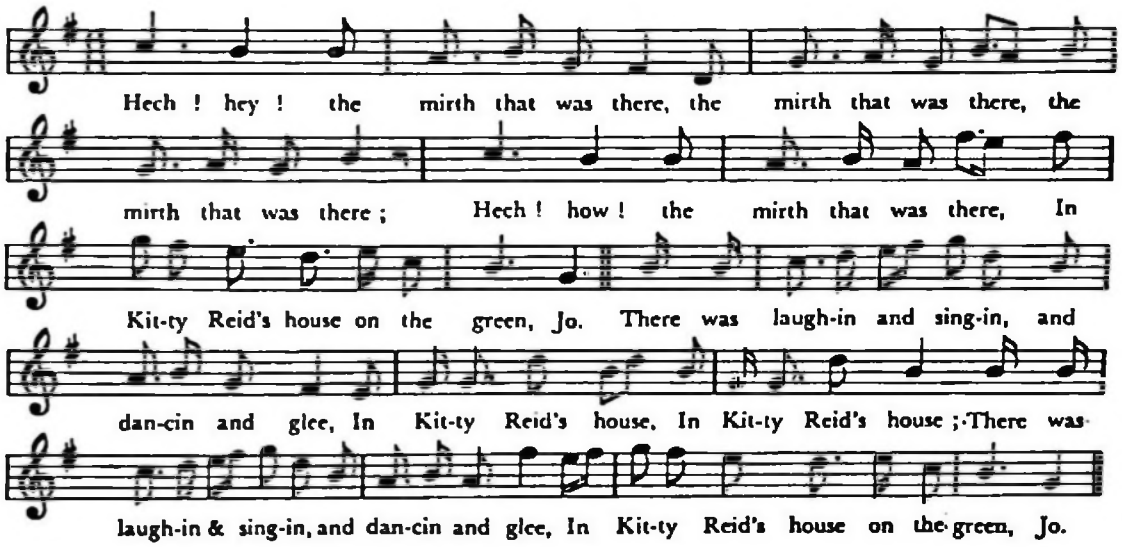
version of the song still extant in 1869 in the neighbourhood of Crieff—which is also in Perthshire—and quotes four lines of it:

Abercairney sat rockin' a bairnie,
In Jenny Ryd's house, in Jenny Ryd's house;
Abercairney he cuddled the bairnie,
In Jenny Ryd's house on the green, Jo.

It is recorded that the landlady had six handsome daughters, which may help to explain the connexion between Abercairney and the bairnie he cuddled, assuming that there is any historical basis for the libel. The words of the song depend so much on the rhymes that, without proof, one must doubt the truth of the personal references to the lairds.

When Lady Nairne summarised the song in three stanzas, the poetess omitted the references to all the Perthshire lairds. Yet this list of lairds is probably the most traditional part of the song. Here is Lady Nairne's version of the words. The music is to be found in *The Scotish Minstrel* (Smith 1821-24, IV).

KITTY REID'S HOUSE ON THE GREEN, JO



Hech! hey! the fright that was there,
The fright that was there,
The fright that was there,
Hech! how! the fright that was there,
In Kitty Reid's house on the green, Jo.
The light glimmer'd in thro' a crack i' the wa',
An' a'body thocht the lift it would fa',
An' lads and lasses they soon ran awa'
Frae Kitty Reid's house on the green, Jo.

Hech! hey! the dule that was there,
The dule that was there,
The dule that was there,
The birds an' beasts it wauken'd them a',
In Kitty Reid's house on the green, Jo.
The wa' gaed a hurly and scatter'd them a',
The piper, the fiddler, auld Kitty, an' a',
The kye fell a routin', the cocks they did craw,
In Kitty Reid's house on the green, Jo.

In this version, the fact that Kitty Reid's House was a seventeenth-century hostelry is not clear, though it would explain the mirth of the first stanza. The reason for the fright in the second stanza is obscure, and the dule, or sorrow, of the third is equally unaccounted for. Cromwell, who entered Perth in 1651 and gives the traditional song historical interest, has been lost in the shortened song, as well as all the lairds.

Lady Nairne's attempt to modernise the song is unsuccessful, and though it continues to be printed among her works it is not one of her better-known songs. That the older version has survived at all is due entirely to preservation by a few antiquaries. It is the version which has died in oral tradition which is the better song, but folk-singers do not preserve a song for purely historical reasons.

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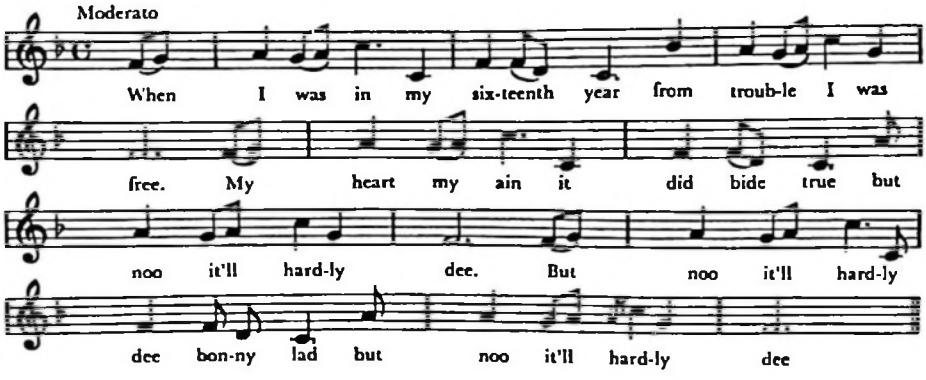
"THE GAIRDENER AND THE PLOOMAN"

When I was in my sixteenth year
From trouble I was free.
My hert my ain it did bide true,
But noo it'll hardly dee:
But noo it'll hardly dee, bonnie lad,
But noo it'll hardly dee.

A gairdener lad cam a-coortin' me
Amangst the rue an' thyme.
He has teen fae me my maidenheid,
And he gied me cause tae rue:
An' he gied me cause tae rue, bonnie lad,
An he's gien me cause tae rue.

O it's braw tae be wi' the gairdener lad
Amangst the rue an' thyme,
But it's better tae be wi' the plooman lad
Gyaun whistlin' at his ploo:
Gyaun whistlin' at his ploo, bonnie lad,
Gyaun whistlin' at his ploo.



Collected from Mrs. Elsie Morrison, Nether Dallachy, Spey Bay, on 5th April 1956. Mrs. Morrison, a native of Ballindalloch, learned many of her songs when she was fee'd on Speyside farms in her young days. (See page 249 for notes.)

OLD LAND DENOMINATIONS AND "OLD EXTENT" IN ISLAY

PART ONE *

W. D. Lamont †

Part 1

This paper assumes the correctness of the general theory of old Highland and Hebridean land denominations expounded by Mr. McKerral (1943-44; 1947; 1950-51). It suggests, however, that a revised account of the Islay denominations is necessary for the application of the general theory to that island.

To Mr. McKerral himself I am deeply indebted for guidance in working over this subject. He is not, of course, committed in any way to the views here expressed; but they could not even have been developed in their present form without his assistance.

SECTION I: THE GENERAL THEORY

1. Islay Denominations from Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century: James Macdonald (1811) compiled for the Board of Agriculture a report on the Hebrides which was based on journeys undertaken in the years 1793-1808; and he tells us that, at that time, the denominations used in Islay were:

Cearabh—the "Quarterland";
Ochtobh—the " Eighth ";
Leor-theas—half an Eighth, and supposed to be equal to the "ploughgate"
Cota ban or *Groatland*—half a Leor-theas;
Da-Skillin—half a Cota ban, and commonly known as a "Two-penny-land".

* Editorial note: Dr. Lamont's article will be published in two parts in succeeding issues of the Journal. The first part, including Sections I, II, III, consists of a review of existing ideas about land denominations in the Hebrides and in Ireland. It forms the basis for the second part—a detailed study of land denominations in Islay setting forth the author's own conceptions. Sections IV, V and VI are reserved for part 2 of the article.

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We shall say something about the smaller denominations in Section VI of the paper. For the present we shall be concerned mainly with the Cearabh and Ochtobh. The Quarter and Eighth—to use the English terms—are found in State papers relating to Islay as early as 1494 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1424-1513 p. 468; *Book of Islay* pp. 24-5), the year after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles; and a few years later we find them associated with a certain "Extent", the Quarter being a $2\frac{1}{2}$ Merkland, and the Eighth a 16/8d land. In McIan's list of Islay lands (*Exchequer Rolls* xii, 587-90) and their Extents, it is clearly the "33/4d to the Quarter" system which is being used, and the same is true of the Crown Rental of 1541 (*Exchequer Rolls* xvii, 633-41). It is generally assumed, therefore, that these are the ancient land-divisions of Islay, the ancient Celtic divisions.

2. The Celtic System (McKerral 1943-44; 1947; 1950-51; Skene iii, 153-70; 223-7; O'Curry I, lxxvii-xcix) According to the generally accepted theory, the tribal lands in Ireland and Celtic Scotland included, as one of their most characteristic features, a fiscal grouping known as the *Bailebiataigh* in Ireland and the *Davach* in Scotland. Where the Norse conquerors had super-imposed their own administrative system, the Davach often became known as the *Tirunga* ("Ounce-land") because a tax of one silver ounce (equal to 20 pennies in the Hebrides and 18 in the Orkneys) was imposed on the Davach. But despite the differences in name, Bailebiataigh, Davach and Tirunga all refer to substantially the same old land-division. This principal administrative unit was divided into 4 Quarters, and these Quarterlands are familiar in the records of Ireland and Celtic Scotland, though they often appear, under Norse influence, as "Fivepennylands" in the Hebrides and as "Skatlands" in Orkney.

As the Islay records from 1494 on suggest that the island was then found divided into Quarterlands in an astonishingly thorough fashion, without the faintest trace of Norse influence in the denominations used (Lamont: Part II), Islay is regarded as a curious example of a locality in which the old Celtic land denominations were apparently unaffected by the Norse occupation, despite the ample evidence of this occupation in other respects—e.g. in the place-names and antiquities.

3. "Old Extent" in the Isles (McKerral 1943-44, p. 67; Thomson). Shortly after the cession of the Isles to the Scottish

Crown (the general theory continues), an "Extent" was imposed on this newly acquired territory. This is the famous "Old Extent". In Islay the Davach was rated at 10 Merks; and that is why the Islay Quarterland appears with the regular Extent of 33/4d in the charters and other State papers relating to the island.

4. Thesis of this Paper: Before discussing the weaknesses in this attempt to fit the Islay data to the general theory, I shall state, quite dogmatically, the view I myself hold and hope to vindicate in subsequent sections of the paper.

Firstly, with regard to the general theory that there was an old system of land denominations common to Ireland and Celtic Scotland, I think the Islay evidence, rightly interpreted, supports this view. *Secondly*, with regard to the assumption that an Extent was imposed on the Isles during, or shortly after, the reign of Alexander III, I think the Islay evidence favours this view.

But, *thirdly*, there are strong reasons for holding that the familiar Islay Quarters and Eighths are *not* the ancient Islay Quarters and Eighths of the Bailebiataigh or Davach; that the ancient Islay Quarter was appreciably smaller, equal to 6 *Cowlands* or 4 *Horsegangs*, containing the minimum "ploughland" in the mainly pastoral period of Islay life. And, *fourthly*, the "33/4d to the Quarter" Extent is *not* the true "Old Extent" of Islay, although it was probably derived from the approximate total true Old Extent of the island which normally assessed the *old* Islay Quarter (of 6 Cowlands) at 20/-.

The remainder of the paper will be concerned chiefly with the evidence and argument in favour of this thesis; but before I proceed to the positive case to be presented, I want to indicate certain weaknesses in the currently accepted theory of the Islay denominations which have not been properly faced by those who propound it.

5. Weaknesses in Accepted Theory: The view that the sixteenth-nineteenth century Quarters and Eighths are the old Celtic land divisions ignores two important considerations: (1) the documents relative to Islay suggest that, for a considerable period subsequent to 1493, the system of land divisions locally in use was different from the one employed in the State papers; and (2) the State documents themselves suggest a process of adjustment to bring the lands of Islay under the "33/4d to the Quarter" system.

(1) James Macdonald (1811) who gives the late eighteenth-century denominations says:

"The island was divided, according to the old valuation, into 337 half-merklands . . . but the sub-divisions and denominations by which lands have lately been let are different. They are . . ." (He then gives the denominations noted on p. 183).

It is true that Macdonald somewhat misunderstood the position. He says "337 half-merklands", when he should have said "337½ merklands". Here he probably mis-read his notes. But the whole passage just quoted indicates a more serious error on his part. He seems to think that the "old valuation" of 337½M refers to a system *earlier* than the one he found in operation. This is not so. At the time of his visit the island was reckoned as containing 135 Quarters (Ramsay); and at 2½M to the Quarter we get 337½M. His "Cearabh" is the Quarter of the State papers, and is just as old as what he calls "the old valuation".

But these errors do not justify us in summarily dismissing his belief that the denominations he mentions were " lately introduced". He was probably informed that the older local custom of division into "Marklands" and "Half-marklands" had recently been replaced by the one he found operative, and drew a mistaken inference as to what the older system was and how it was related to the "old valuation". It is unlikely that anyone on the island at that time could have been accurately informed on the matter.

That Macdonald was not merely inventing a mythical older system, as a consequence of his own erroneous inferences, is clear from a *Description of the Isles of Scotland* written between 1577 and 1595 (Skene iii, Appendix 3). Dealing with Islay, the writer says that each *Markland* pays a certain rent and supports a gentleman of the lord's household. He then adds that each *Town* is a 2½M land, paying an annual rent of so much. There is not, of course, any such thing as "*a* Markland" on the "33/4d to the Quarter" system. It corresponds to none of the land-divisions given by Macdonald. Yet it is perfectly obvious that in the latter part of the sixteenth century the local practice was to let in Marklands (and presumably also in Half-marklands). It is equally obvious that for some specific purpose lands were grouped as Towns at a valuation of 2½M. And a comparison of the rent of the Town, as given by the writer of the *Description*, with the Crown Rental of 1541 (*Exchequer*

Rolls) makes it clear what that specific purpose was. It was the grouping adopted by the Crown commissioners for purposes of State, after the forfeiture of the Lordship in 1493. The *Description* thus makes it clear that, though the State papers give with great (though not perfect) regularity the Islay holdings in terms of Towns or Quarters at 33/4d, this was not the system locally employed at the end of the sixteenth century. The local system was quite different; and it must have persisted to some degree into the eighteenth century, since Macdonald was aware that there had recently been a change in favour of adopting the "33/4d to the Quarter" system for all purposes.

(2) We must therefore abandon the assumption that, when the Lordship was forfeited in 1493, and when the Crown commissioners began to re-set the lands, they found, all ready to their hands, an Islay divided with quite phenomenal regularity on the "33/4d to the Quarter" system. The notorious aversion of the Lords of the Isles to the payment of Crown dues, and the administrative chaos which must have obtained in Islay for most of the fifteenth century, suggest rather that the Crown commissioners would find no properly organised system for the levying of Crown dues. McIan of Ardnamurchan, who had been bailie of Islay, had probably a rough idea of the total amount due to the Crown for the island as a whole; but he, and those assisting him, probably had to re-create a system for distributing the burden over the lands in detail. It may indeed be to such a necessity that we owe the "33/4d to the Quarter" system in Islay as a whole.

Those who assume that this was the ancient system must admit that it is a pure assumption based on charters and other State papers which are all subsequent to 1493. The only document (at least the only one of which I am aware) even hinting at the system of land division prior to that date is a Gaelic charter of 1408, and this charter tells rather against than for the claim to antiquity of the "33/4d to the Quarter" system (*Book of Islay*, pp. 16-18; Cameron; C. M. Macdonald).

It is true that McIan's Rental of 1507 professes to give the "Old Extent", but it may seriously be doubted whether this is true with regard to many of the detailed items. In the very few cases where relevant evidence is available, there has quite certainly been a great deal of "adjustment" of the land groupings to produce the Quarters typical of the 1507 Rental.

Thus, in 1506 we have mention of 8 Islay holdings (*Exchequer Rolls* xii, 709).

i.	The lands of Odoni McKy	£5
ii.	„ „ „ L. McSuyna	5
iii.	„ „ „ Moricio McSuyna . . .	5
iv.	„ „ „ Nigello McCane . . .	5
v.	„ „ „ Archibaldo McKofee . . .	5
vi.	„ „ „ Duncano McGillehaanich . .	5
vii.	„ „ „ Gilchristo McVaig, surrigico .	3: 6:8d.
viii.	„ „ „ Angusio filio Angusii . . .	6:13:4d.

No. i is almost certainly the hereditary holding of MacKay of the Rhinns which is broken down into 3 Quarters in the 1507 Rental and in the 1541 Rental; but the breakdown into Quarters does not obviously correspond in the two cases. Nos. ii-vi cannot be definitely identified in the Rentals though the names are those of important Hebridean families known to have held lands in Islay. In all these cases the £5 Extent of the lands in question is probably much earlier than the breakdown into 3 Quarters at 33/4d each.

In this connection No. vii is of particular interest. It has all the appearance of being a regular 2-Quarter group. In fact it is the group of lands hereditarily in the family of McVaig or McBeth, surgeons to the Lords of the Isles; and the lands are elsewhere shown in detail (*Book of Islay*, pp. 139-43). They are: the 2M & 10/- lands of Ballenaby, the ½M of Areset, the 16/8d of Howe, and the ½M of Saligo. The total of £3:6:8d is perfectly correct; but only one of the lands—Howe—conforms to the "33/4d to the Quarter" system. No. viii I cannot identify.

Further evidence of the adjustments which have been made to bring the island as a whole under this system is provided in charters to McIan himself dated 1494, 1499 and 1506. The Extents shown in the last of these (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1424-1513, p. 639; *Book of Islay*, pp. 31-33) correspond perfectly with the Extents shown in the 1507 Rental. The Extents of the 1499 charter correspond for the most part to those of 1507, though there are some discrepancies (*Book of Islay*, p. 28; *Argyll Charter Chest*). But the Quarters in the 1494 charter (*Reg. Mag. Sig* 1424-1513, p. 468; *Book of Islay*, pp. 24-6) are to a marked degree irreconcilable with the Extents of 1507.

In view of all this evidence, it is reasonable to suspect that, on the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the Crown commissioners found that the old system of distributing

the burden of the Crown dues had broken down in Islay. While some relatively small parcels of land had definite Extents, in many cases the known Extents were for very large holdings—£5, 10M, 20M, and even 60M or £40. This involved the labour of working out a system of distribution; and the scheme adopted was one already employed in various parts of the mainland—the grouping into "Towns" or "Quarters" at 33/4d each. The first essays in the application of this system were subject to revision; but by 1507 the major part of the task had been accomplished, leaving only a few 10M and 20M lands to be broken down in the 1541 Rental, though it was not always done in such a way as to make the sum of the parts equal to the original whole (*Exchequer Rolls*).

To summarise the main argument of the present section: While it is highly probable that the ancient social economy of Islay followed the pattern found in Ireland and Celtic Scotland generally, a characteristic feature of which was the administrative land-division known as the Bailebiataigh or Davach, normally divided into 4 Quarterlands, there are real difficulties in the accepted view that the ancient Quarterlands of this system are represented in Islay by the Quarters of the State papers from 1494 on. Such a view fails to take account of the definite evidence that, even subsequent to 1493, the local system of land-division did not correspond to that of the charters and Crown Rentals; that this latter system was apparently only gradually worked out in detail for the whole island; that it originated, not from the requirements of the local social economy, but from the administrative convenience of the royal Exchequer; and that it did not entirely supersede the older system for local purposes until the eighteenth century. We have suggested that, though there may have been some old groups of lands totalling 2½M, 5M, 10M, etc., the systematic identification of these with 1, 2 and 4 Quarters is probably no earlier than 1493.

But all this argument amounts to no more than negative criticism of the accepted view. We shall therefore now turn to the more difficult task of trying to show positively what was the ancient system of land-division in Islay.

SECTION II: ISLAY MARKLANDS, POUNDLANDS AND COWLANDS

1. Adaptations to the "33/4d to the Quarter" System: In comparing the Islay records, the most obvious adaptations which

have been made to produce the "33/4d to the Quarter" system are the grouping of smaller lands, with or without adjustments of the individual Extents of those lands, and the apparently artificial division of larger units (*Exchequer Rolls*).

But adaptations of this type show little more than that changes have been made. There are, however, certain adaptations which are immensely significant in affording a clue to the character of the ancient system. Their importance in this respect is revealed only when we take the State papers in conjunction with local Rentals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (*Book of Islay*, pp. 490-559); for the comparison of State papers and local Rentals shows that the older system superseded by the "33/4d to the Quarter" one was a system of Marklands and Poundlands.

The State papers themselves contain a few Mark-, Half-mark-, Pound- and Ten-shilling-lands; but the local Rentals contain a number of these which are shown in the State papers on the regular system. Thus an Eighth, at 16/8d, in the State papers may appear in the local Rentals as a Markland, and a Leorthcas, at 8/4d, as a Half-markland. (*Book of Islay*, pp. 523, 545, 526, 547).

Curiously enough, we also find 16/8d lands appearing in the local Rentals as Poundlands, and 8/4d lands as Ten-shilling-lands (*Book of Islay*, Index).

It is natural to suppose that in these cases there may have been an actual alteration in the areas of the lands. But I do not think this is the explanation in any single instance; and in most of the cases I have noted we can quite definitely exclude the possibility of such an alteration (*Book of Islay*, Map). The actual area is the same, but the Extent is given on two different systems. In such cases there are two alternative explanations: *either* the Extent of the 16/8d land has, for some local purpose, been reduced to 13/4d or raised to 20/-; *or* what were originally Marklands and Poundlands have been brought to the mean valuation of 16/8d on the official system. On the *first* of these alternatives the official 16/8d Extent will be the older one. On the *second* alternative, the Mark- and Pound-land system will be the older; and that this is the true solution of the problem is shown by the place of the *Cowland* among the Islay denominations.

2. The Cowland or Quarter-Markland: As I shall try to show in sections III and IV, the Cowland, both in ancient Ireland and in Islay, meant a land with the annual rent or Extent

of 1 cow. Assuming for the moment the truth of this conclusion, let us consider the relation of the Islay Cowland to the Markland and Poundland. What we find, in the instances where these denominations are shown in relation to each other, is that the Cowland is invariably one-fourth of the Markland and one-sixth of the Poundland (*Book of Islay*, Index). This establishes two points: (1) The Marklands and Poundlands belong to the same system; for the Markland (4 Cowlands) bears the same relation to the Poundland (6 Cowlands) as the M has to the £. (2) Since Mark-, Pound- and Cow-land are denominations derived from the respective rents or Extents of these lands, the Islay Cowland with ¼M Extent shows that the Markland and Poundland system of the island belongs to a period when the official value of the cow was 3/4d. But we never get such a low monetary value for the cow until we go back to the thirteenth century in the years 1254-66 (Lamont, Part II). Consequently, the Markland-Poundland system must represent the true "Old Extent" of Islay. It is the remnants of this system which are preserved in the eighteenth-century local Rentals when they show, as Mark- and Pound-lands, lands which, on the "33/4d to the Quarter" system, are shown as Eighths at 16/8d.

But of course this interpretation of the position depends on the meaning we have attached to "Cowland". Whether this really is the true meaning we must now consider. To do so, we must leave Islay for a spell and cross to Ireland. There, too, we find the Cowland; and we are able to say with reasonable confidence what its place was in the ancient Irish system.

SECTION III: THE BAILEBIATAIGH AND LESSER DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND

1. Two Systems of Sub-division of the Bailebiataigh: The significance of the Irish Bailebiataigh itself does not specially concern us here; and on this matter the reader is referred to Mr. McKerral's publications (1943-44, 1947, 1950-51). We need notice only the denominations subsidiary to it. These were reckoned in two ways. On what I shall call "the 16 system", the Bailebiataigh was composed of 16 *Tates* (or *Cartrons*); and on what I shall call "the 24 system", it was composed of 24 units, often but not always called *Ballyboes*. There has been a tendency on the part of some writers to

place an exaggerated emphasis on the 16 system; but we shall find as we proceed that it is the 24 system which was specially characteristic of the early Irish social economy.

An early seventeenth-century account (Skene, iii, 158-9) of the land-divisions in Connaught indicates that both systems were in use there. We are told that the Bailebiataigh is divided into Quarters, and the Quarter into either 6 *Gnieves* or 4 *Cartrons*. The Cartron has thus $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the value of the Gnieve. While both systems were thus used in Connaught, it appears (Seebohm, *English Village Community*, pp. 214-25; O'Curry, p. lxxxix) that Monaghan and Fermanagh, at the beginning of the seventeenth century at least, followed the 16 system with 16 Tates to the Bailebiataigh. South and West Munster, however, used the 24 system, there being 24 Ballyboes to the Bailebiataigh (O'Curry, p. xci).

2. *The "24 System" and the Irish Pastoral Economy:* Abstractly considered, neither system has an obvious claim to greater antiquity. But the 24 system must, in fact, have been the older since it accords so much better with what we are told of the social institutions of Ireland in the predominantly pastoral age.

Three well-known documents support this view. The first is the poem of "Fintan" (Skene, iii, 153-6) which asserts that the Bailebiataigh was divided into 4 Quarters, each of which contained 3 *Seisreachs*. As the reliability of this account has been questioned (O'Curry, p. xcvi; Seebohm, *English Village Community*, pp. 221-2 *Customary Acres*), I shall say no more about it for the present except that, for what it is worth, it clearly indicates the 24 rather than the 16 system of division.

Much more important is the tract, *Crith Gablach* (O'Curry, III, 465), which gives an elaborate account of the old social orders, from the bondman to the High King of Erin. The class of special interest to us is that of the *Bo-Aires* ("Cow-lords"). They were above the class of ordinary freemen, but below the class of *Aire Desa* ("Land-lord"). The rank of nobility held by the Aire Desa came from his property in land. The Bo-Aire's rank and dignity came essentially from his property in cattle.

But this "property in cattle" was closely associated with "tenure in land"; for it was essential to the Bo-Aire's rank that he should hold, of an Aire Desa, a certain tract of land (O'Curry, pp. clxxxv-vi). Some generations of possession

tended to create an hereditary right in the land; so the Bo-Aire's status was nearer that of a feudal sub-vassal than of a mere gentleman "tacksman". The political status was apparently analogous to that of the Scottish "petty baron".

Now the lands held by the Bo-Aires were described in terms of cattle "soums". The lowest grade of Bo-Aire was the *Og-Aire*. He was apparently the lowest noble freeman possessing *full* political status as head of a "house" or "homestead" in his own right. He had, in severalty, land of "7 cumals" (i.e. of 21 cows' grazing); and he was, in addition, entitled to graze 7 cows on the common land of the Bailebiataigh, leaving 1 cow annually as rent. To qualify for his rank he must also own "one-fourth of the essentials for ploughing—an ox, a sock, a yoke, a halter" (O'Curry, III, 479-82).

Passing over the next grade of Bo-Aire (the *Aithech ar a Threba* whose status belonged to him as representing a group), we come to the *Bo-Aire Febsa* who had lands of "twice 7 cumals" (42 cows' grazing), and must possess "half of the essentials for ploughing" (O'Curry, III, 484-5).

Still higher was the *Bruighfer* who had lands of "thrice 7 cumals" and must possess "a perfect ploughing apparatus". Sullivan considers (O'Curry, III, 485-9; I, clxi-ii) that, in view of the important public functions assigned to him, the Bruighfer must have been the principal administrative officer of a Bailebiataigh or group of Bailebiataighs. .

Ignoring all the other social grades—they do not matter for our main enquiry—we note that the lands of the three grades mentioned are in the ascending order: 21, 42, 63 "soums"; or, alternatively, 7, 14, 21 "tir-cumails".

Now the *cumal* was a female slave, and was "standard currency". So also was the cow. And the ratio was 1 cumal = 3 cows (Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 97-100).

But we must note an important distinction between the uses of the terms "cumal" and "cow" when applied to land values. A cumal land, or tir-cumail, was a term of *souming*, while a cow-land was a term of rent or *Extent*. A tir-cumail was a "3 cow souming": a cow-land was a land paying 1 cow as rent or tax. It was, in fact, a 7 cow souming, one of the cows being left as rent. Thus, as the Og-Aire, e.g., paid 1 cow out of the 7 he grazed on the common, it appears that 7 cows' grazing came to be known generally as a Cowland (Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 84; O'Curry, p. clxxxi).

Consequently his holding of 7 tir-cumails would be known as a 3 Cowland holding. The relations between the different terms may be put thus:

Soum(s) (1 cow grazing)	Tir-Cumail(s) (3 soums)	Cowland(s) (Extent of 1 cow to 7 soums)	Holding of:
21	7	3	Og-aire
42	14	6	Bo-Aire Febsa
63	21	9	Bruighfer

While *Crith Gablach* does not give the number of land-divisions in the Bailebiataigh, it seems pretty clear that we are here dealing with the 24, not the 16, system—the Bailebiataigh being composed of a number of Cowlands or Ballyboes, the total number in the Bailebiataigh being a multiple of 3.

The third document to be referred to in this connection is the *Uraiccecht Becc* (MacNeill) which Professor MacNeill considers to be about a century older than *Crith Gablach*. It is mainly concerned with the class of Aire Desa ("Land-lords") rather than that of the Bo-Aire in its detailed descriptions. The social system has apparently undergone some modification in the period between the two documents; but the essentials of the structure seem to be the same. The lands of the different grades of Aire Desa are stated in tir-cumails. The lowest grade has 14 tir-cumails (equal to 6 Cowlands); all the other grades, curiously enough, having 28 (12 Cowlands) (MacNeill, vii, 103-4).

Uraiccecht Becc does, however, give a fairly definite indication of the number of Tir-cumails in the Bailebiataigh. It describes the position of the *Briugu* or "Hospitaller" (the Bruighfer of *Crith Gablach*) (MacNeill, vii, 100, 105). He must have double the property qualification of the landed noble (i.e. he must have 56 cumals of land), and "must keep open house for all comers, rich and poor". Professor MacNeill discusses the burden of this hospitality on the assumption that it is to be provided out of the private wealth of the Briugu himself. But the fact that this " hospitaller " tends to be classed along with the *Rigrechtairi*, or royal stewards, surely indicates that

he provides this hospitality in his capacity as officer of the Bailebiataigh—the "food-supplying baile"—and that he "must have 56 cumals of land" only in this capacity. Fifty-six Tircumails is the equivalent of 24 Cowlands or Ballyboes. The inference is therefore that, in the most ancient account we have of the details of the Irish social economy, the Bailebiataigh is a group of 24 Cowlands.

3. The Seventeenth-Century Juror's Qualification: That the Bailebiataigh associated with the social system described in *Crith Gablach* was of 24 Ballyboes receives interesting confirmation from Sir John Davies' determination of the juror's qualification in the early seventeenth century. He was apparently looking for the old Irish equivalent of the English "40/- freeholder"; and he reported (Seebohm, *English Village Community*, pp. 216-19) in 1607 that the qualification in the counties of Monaghan and Fermanagh was the possession of not less than two *Tates* of land. He was surprised at the number who qualified on this rule, but considered it the only rule he could properly adopt. His reasons are significant.

Superficially, it would seem that he was guided by considerations of acreage, taking the view that the Tate in Monaghan was approximately 60 acres. But even if there were 60 acres to the Monaghan Tate (giving the necessary 120 for 2 Tates), it would have been ridiculous to apply the same rule to Fermanagh where the Tate was estimated to be about half this area (Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 218), ridiculous if Sir John had been guided primarily by considerations of acreage.

In fact he did apply the "2 Tate" rule to both counties, and his reasons for doing so seem fairly clear from his own account of the inquest. He called into conference the "scholars of the country" (not the land surveyors), and from them and the local inhabitants he learned about the "septs" and "families", about the "dignities" of the various classes, about "chiefs" and cadencies of rank, and about the quantities of land appropriate to the various ranks. This strongly suggests that the information Sir John got, and considered most relevant to his enquiry, was the kind of information (no doubt modified in detail) contained in *Crith Gablach*. Looking for the person with the minimum qualification for jury service, his attention would be directed by the "scholars of the country" to the contemporary equivalent of the Og-Aire—to the person who, having a "house" (in the technical sense) and the holding of

3 Ballyboes, just qualified for full political status. As the Tate, on the 16 system, is 1½ times the value of the Ballyboe on the 24 system, 3 Ballyboes are equal to 2 Tates. If we are correct in supposing that it was the traditional status of the Og-Aire which made Sir John adopt the "2 Tate" rule, then, since we know that 2 Tates is ⅛ of a Bailebiataigh, it is a reasonable inference that, in the period represented by *Crith Gablach*, 3 Ballyboes was ⅛ of a Bailebiataigh.

It is only fair to observe, at this point, that while Dr. Reeves regards "Ballyboe" as meaning "Cowland", Dr. Sullivan dissents. He thinks that "boe", in this case, derives not from the Gaelic word for cow but from a term meaning "homestead"; and he wishes to identify the Ballyboe with the holding of the Og-Aire (7 Tir-Cumails). I consider some of his main arguments in a Note (O'Curry, *Meaning of "Ballyboe"*). Here it need only be said that I find them unconvincing, and that Reeves' identification of the Ballyboe with the Cowland seems to me more initially plausible and also more consistent with the information referred to in the foregoing argument.

4. The Old Irish Ploughland: Though *Crith Gablach* envisages a predominantly pastoral economy, the references to ploughing apparatus imply a regular system of agriculture; and we must try to discover what type or group of holdings would normally employ a complete plough unit. This subject is extremely controversial.

Some writers consider that the poem of "Fintan" decides the issue, for he tells us distinctly that there were 12 *Seisreachs* in the Bailebiataigh; and although he does not actually say that the Seisreach is a ploughland, the commentators may well be right in supposing that he took this for granted. But two points need to be borne in mind in this connection. (1) "Fintan" is not universally regarded as a reliable authority for ancient Irish usage, and the size of the "ploughland" may well have varied in the course of Irish history. (2) The assumption that he *must* have intended to equate the Seisreach with the ploughland is often defended by the argument that "Seisreach" *means* a "6 horse plough team". But if this is what it means, then it clearly has no reference to the period represented by *Crith Gablach* when the plough was quite definitely drawn, not by 6 horses, but by 4 oxen. Was it ever drawn by 6 horses in Ireland? It is perfectly true that in Ireland—and in Islay—"Seisreach" meant, in the nineteenth century, a

ploughland or a plough-team yoked to the plough (Seebohm, *Customary Acres*, p. 45; J. G. MacNeill, *New Guide to Islay*); but this does not enlighten us as to the derivation of the term. Sullivan, who notes but does not commit himself to the popular derivation, points out that the term was used in various ways. Essentially, he says, "seisreach" meant "a six-er", and was so applied to a certain measure of milk (O'Curry, p. dcxxxix). Its original application to land may therefore have had nothing to do with horses. It may have signified a "six-er holding" in some sense—e.g. a 6 Cowland group. In short, "Fintan" is not conclusive on the main question.

Sullivan's own theory is worthy of attention. Accepting the position that there were 12 ploughlands in the Bailebiataigh, and 24 Ballyboes in the Bailebiataigh, by identifying the Ballyboe with the holding of the Og-Aire he equates the ploughland with the Bo-Aire Febsa's holding of 14 Tircumails. But while the ploughland may have been 14 Tircumails, Sullivan's argument cannot be regarded as sound if (as I contend) he is mistaken about the meaning of "Ballyboe".

The whole question is admittedly perplexing; but some of the perplexities arise from our asking wrong questions. The general question, "What was the ploughland in Ireland?" admits of no single answer. But if we ask, "What was the ploughland in the predominantly pastoral age represented by *Crith Gablach*?" then I think that we can find in *Crith Gablach* itself the answer within broad limits.

We are told (see page 193) that the Bruighfer (with 9 Cowlands, i.e. $\frac{3}{8}$ of a Bailebiataigh) must possess a "perfect ploughing apparatus" In some cases, then, the ploughland would be $\frac{3}{8}$ of the Bailebiataigh.

It could, however, be either smaller or larger. It could be smaller, because we find in *Crith Gablach* an important distinction between (*a*) the minimum property which the Bo-Aire of a given grade must *himself* possess to qualify for his rank, and (*b*) the *total* property required for the effective use of his holding. This distinction is brought out with regard to stocking. One of the essential items in the Og-Aire's property is 7 cows. This has apparently nothing to do with his grazing rights on the common; and quite obviously it is not the grazing capacity of his holding (21, not 7, soums). The context indicates that he himself must own 7 cows to qualify for his rank. But this leaves two-thirds of his holding which could, theoretically, be let or sub-let to tenants. Similarly, the Bo-Aire Febsa, with

42 soums, must himself own a minimum of 12 cows, leaving 30 soums which could be let to tenants (O'Curry, notes 34, 35, 36).

Now we know that all the Bo-Aires did in fact have tenants who were themselves freemen (O'Curry, p. cvii), for the rent of the Og-Aire's tenant is laid down by law (O'Curry, p. cxli). Being freemen, the tenants must have contributed to the stocking of the land rented from the Bo-Aire.

If this applied to stocking, it applied, presumably, also to the provision of instruments of agriculture. Hence the importance of the distinction between (*a*) qualifying property of the Bo-Aire, and (*b*) the stock and implements needed for effective use of his land.

Now, to determine the *minimum* holding which could constitute a complete ploughland, we must assume that the Bo-Aire did *not* himself provide the full agricultural equipment appropriate to his holding, some of it being supplied by his tenant or tenants. On this assumption, can we suppose that the Og-Aire's 3 Cowland holding might have been a full ploughland? It seems unlikely. He must retain at least 1 Cowland for his exclusive use; and it seems unlikely that the tenants on the two remaining Cowlands would provide three-fourths of the ploughing apparatus. But they might well provide one-fourth in addition to his own. That is to say, 3 Cowlands might well be half a ploughland. And when we consider the 6 Cowlands of the Bo-Aire Febsa, it is perfectly conceivable that the tenants on 4 of his Cowlands could provide half a ploughing apparatus in addition to his own half. The minimum ploughland would therefore be the 6 Cowland holding.

To determine the *maximum* size of the ploughland, we must assume that the Bo-Aire *did* provide the full plough equipment appropriate to his holding. In this case there could be as many as 12 Cowlands in the ploughland.

In brief, during the period to which *Crith Gablach* refers, the ploughland could hardly have been less than 6 Cowlands or more than 12; and in some cases it would be 9. That is to say, there would be not more than 4, and not less than 2, in the Bailebiataigh of 24 Cowlands.

We have now completed the discussion of the ancient Irish system in so far as it is relevant to our Islay problems; and it may be useful to set out our main results in tabular form:

"16 *System*"	*Tates*	*Cowlands*	"24 *System*"
4th Quarter	13-16	19-24	*4th Quarter*
3rd Quarter	9-12	13-18	*3rd Quarter*
2nd Quarter	7-8	10-12 Max. ploughland	*2nd Quarter*
	6	9 Bruighfer ploughland	
		8	
	5	7	
1st Quarter	4	6 Bo-Aire Febsa Min. ploughland	*1st Quarter*
		5	
	3	4	
Juror's qualification	2	3 Og-Aire Full pol. status	
		2 Fintan's Seisreach	
Tate or Cartron	1	1 Ballyboe or Gnieve	

REFERENCES

ARGYLL CHARTER CHEST. Herein is preserved the 1499 charter to McIan.

BOOK OF ISLAY. *Book of Islay*, pp. 24-5.

Pp. 16-18. 1408 Gaelic charter.

Pp. 139-43. Lands of McBeth.

Pp. 31-33. 1506 charter to McIan.

Pp. 28 ff. 1499 charter to McIan.

Pp. 24-26. 1494 charter to McIan.

Pp. 490-559. Local Islay Rentals. Accompanying map of approximately ½ inch to the mile, with most principal place-names, drawn in 1749, and showing boundaries of chief holdings.

Pp. 523, 545 under "Solum" and pp. 526, 547 under "Stremnishbeg". Eighths at 16/8d appearing as Marklands.

Index under "Glenastle", "Nether", "Kilnaughton", "Cornabus", "Proyag". Eighths at 16/8d as Poundlands.

Map. The map in the *Book of Islay* makes it clear that, in the case

of the Oa, any changes in relative areas of lands would be revealed by altered Extents of adjacent lands.

Index under "Stremnishbeg", "Kilnaughton", "Cornabus", "Skeag", "Gyline", "Sorn", "Glenastle", "Solum", "Proyag", Cow-, Mark- and Pound-lands.

CAMERON, J., *Celtic Law*, pp. 212-19, 242-5. 1408 Gaelic charter. Cameron, with local assistance, has tried to identify all the Charter-lands—in my opinion quite successfully. And if the reader compares the lands thus identified with the map (between pp. 552 and 553 in the *Book of Islay*) and adds together the official Extents, he will find the total higher than 11½M—the total Extent given in the charter itself. The present writer has dealt with this and related problems of the charter in a MS. deposited with the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

EXCHEQUER ROLLS, *Exchequer Rolls*, xii, 587-90. 1507 Crown Rental of Islay.

Exchequer Rolls, xvii, 633-41. 1541 Crown Rental of Islay.

Exchequer Rolls. 1541 Crown Rental of Islay. The *Merkland* rent is given in the 1577-1595 *Description* as 3½ marts, 14 wedders, 2 geese, 56 poultry, 5 bolls, 5 pecks malt, 6 bolls meal, 20 stones cheese, 2 merks silver, along with the maintenance of a gentleman of the lord's household in food and clothing. The 2½M *Town* pays yearly: 4 cows with calf, 4 ewes with lamb, 4 geese, 9 hens, 10/- silver. This is clearly a modified version of the Crown rent as stated in 1541: 4 marts, 4 muttons, 30 stones cheese, 30 stones meal, 4 geese, 4 hens, 10/- silver.

Exchequer Rolls, xii, 709. Lands in 1506.

Sum of parts different from whole. The Oa, excluding Stremnishmore and Kilnaughton, is 20M according to the 1507 Rental. In breaking down this 20M, the 1541 Rental gives only £12:18:4d—which is 8/4d short of the 20M. It has, however, omitted Wigasgog which was 8/4d *official* Extent according to later documents (probably 6/8d true "Old Extent"); so, if we add this 8/4d, we get the exact 20M. But if we make *this* correction, we must correct other entries. Cornabus and Lower Glenastle are each shown as 10/- (which was indeed their true " Old Extent"), but the official extent of each, as shown in later documents, is 8/4d; and if we make these corrections, we are still short of ¼M. Further, the official system never decided what to do about the "Markland" of Upper Glenastle. The obvious thing would have been to raise it (as happened in other cases) to 16/8 and thus make good the ¾M lacking. But this was never done.

Examples of Quarters got by combining separate lands are:

(*a*) Dulloch (Dowaach) and Ochtownwruck, 1 qr (in the 1494 charter); but by 1507 Dowaach has become connected with Kilcalumkill to make a £2:1:4d land. This is adjusted to £1:13:4d in 1509 (*Exchequer Rolls*, xii, 219 f.), and henceforth the joint lands appear as in the 1541 Rental, as "Dowauch 2½M".

(*b*) In McIan's 1494 charter Scanlastol is simply shown as 1 Qr *plus* 1 Eighth. In his 1507 Rental he gives, "33/4d of Scanlastol; 33/4d of Bolsa and part of Scanlastol". Bolsa is, in fact, in a different part of Islay! Then in 1542 there is a charter to Maclean of Dowart which includes, "1 Quarter of Scanlastol; 1 Quarter of Scanlastol and Killelegan (which was very near Scanlastol)"; but there is still a bit left over as "6/8d of Scanlastol".

Scanlastol also provides an excellent example of a "Quarter" got by artificial division.

LAMONT, W. D., *Old Land Denominations and "Old Extent" in Islay.* Part II, Pennyland.

"*Groatland and the Da-sgillin*". The *Cota ban* ("white coat") was apparently the name applied to the silver groat or fourpenny-piece. It was the equivalent of the 4/- land (*false* Extent) of the Rentals; but the shillings were Scots, and had now come to be described at their Sterling value, 4d.

"*Da-sgillin* (literally "two shillings"), half of the Cota ban, and often called a "Twopenny-land", expressing the Scots value in Sterling. The "Pennylands" of Islay, it need scarcely be added, have no connection with those which derive from the Norse occupation. They have not, so far as I know, influenced the place-names; and the name was not used, apparently, before the mid-eighteenth century. Certainly "shilling" was the term employed in the 1686 Rental."

If the Norse "skat" was ever imposed on the island it has left no trace. Possibly Islay was too far south to be brought effectively within the system.

Part II. Cow values.

". . . Some Scottish cow values are given in *Regiam Majestatem* which Lord Cooper regards as having been compiled about the reign of Alexander II, though incorporating both earlier and later material in the form in which the treatise has come down to us. In one passage the cow is valued at 6/-; in others at "3 ores" (3 ounces), which will mean 4/-, 4/6d, or 5/-, according as we take the " ore" to be the Old Danish ounce, the *old* Norse and Irish ounce, or the Anglo-Norman and *new* Norse ounce. In still another passage the cow is apparently put at 4/2. We do not know at what period these values were fixed. In any case they are all higher than our Islay one, whether they be earlier or later. We do, however, know that in 1329-30 the cow or mart was valued. at 8/- to 10/- . . ."

MACDONALD, C. M., *History of Argyll*, pp. 183-4, 324. 1408 Gaelic charter.

MACDONALD, J., 1811, *Agriculture of the Hebrides*, pp. 624-5. Land denominations used in the Hebrides.

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MACNEILL, E., *Celtic Ireland.* Chapter 7. Celtic Land System. *Uraieccecht Becc.*

Chapter vii, pp. 103-4. Property Qualifications of Aire Desa.

Chapter vii, pp. 100, 105. Status of Briugu.

MACNEILL, J. G., *New Guide to Islay*, p. 49. Nineteenth-century meaning of Seisreach in Ireland and Islay.

O'CURRY, E., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.* For Celtic land system see especially the Introductory Volume by W. K. Sullivan, pp. lxxvii-xcix.

P. lxxxix. Monaghan and Fermanagh.

P. xci. Munster.

P. xcvi. Authenticity of Poem.
Vol. III, p. 465. *Crith Gablach.*
Pp. clxxxv-vi. Tenure.
Vol. iii, pp. 479-82. The Og-Aire. There is a curious confusion here in the statement of the Og-Aire's holding which at one point is said to be "3 times 7 cumals"; but the whole context and note on p. 479 imply that the correct statement is "7 cumals".
Vol. iii, pp. 484-5. Bo-Aire Febsa.
Vol. iii, pp. 485-9 and Vol. I, pp. clxi-ii. Bruighfer.
P. clxxxi. Note 328. Sullivan is very obscure on the point and on the meaning of Tir-cumail. He correctly states the relative values—a Cumal equals 3 cows; but then he shifts from the notion of the "cow" to that of the "cowland" as equal to "7 cows' grazing", and regards the Tir-cumail as equal to 3 Cowlands—21 cows' grazing. This may be one of the reasons for his difficulties over the meaning of "Ballyboe".
Meaning of "Ballyboe". Sullivan is an authority not to be lightly ignored. It is therefore proper to explain why I am unable to accept his view on the present point. It is true that the derivation of "boe" from the Norse word for "homestead" is credible. There is "by", "bols" and "bus" in Islay; and the combination "Bally-boe" ("homestead-homestead") finds a parallel in the "Glen-dale" or "Eas-fors" in the Hebrides. But the derivation from "cow" is equally credible. Using "baile" in its Old Irish general sense as "place" or "location" would give the combination "cow-location" or "cow-land". Linguistic considerations, then, are not conclusive either way.
As to other arguments, Sullivan does indeed say that in Munster there were 2 Ballyboes to the Seisreach; but it is not clear whether he is referring to accepted local usage or merely drawing the natural inference from the facts that Fintan says 12 Seisreachs to the Baile-biataigh and Munster had 24 Ballyboes. The puzzle here is increased by Sullivan's statement that the Ballyboe "was divided generally into 3 Sessighs, and the Sessigh into 2 Gneeves" (p. xcv, Note). This makes the Gneeve 1/144 of the Bailebiataigh, while we have already seen (text, p. 199 above) that the Gnieve was said to be 1/24 of the Bailebiataigh—the equivalent of the Ballyboe itself. Indeed, while Sullivan mentions a most interesting number of minor denominations, they are given so unsystematically, without adequate indications of place and time of usage, that it is impossible to form any clear conception of a Bailebiataigh structure on the information he gives.
I think his theory of the Ballyboe arises mainly from the fact that, while rightly recognising the fundamental importance of the Og-Aire's holding in the social economy, and that its place in the Baile-biataigh was defined in terms of "Tir-cumails", he could never make up his mind about the meaning of "Tir-Cumail".
He begins by taking for granted three things which are, I think, universally accepted: (i) that the Cumal value is 3 cows, (ii) that for 7 cows' grazing 1 cow was paid in tax or rent, and (iii) that 21 cows' grazing was the holding of the Og-Aire. Working on these assumptions, his original conclusion (p. clxxxi) was that the Og-Aire's holding must be "1 Tir-Cumail", 1 Cumal-land, the reasoning apparently being: 1 cow for 7 soums; therefore 1 Cumal (3 cows) for 21 soums.

That is to say, "Tir-Cumail" was regarded as a denomination derived from Extent or rent of 21 soums; and, in so reasoning, he was clearly regarding "Cow-land" as also derived from Extent.

But subsequently he abandoned this view (see pp. ccxc f.), finding incontrovertible evidence that the 21 soums must be *more* than 1 Tir-Cumail; and indeed this should have been patent from the beginning, since *Crith Gablach* says "land of 7 Cumals".

What, then, is the necessary implication? It is this: if (as Sullivan initially assumed) "Cowland", derived from Extent, means a 7 soum land; and if (as he agrees) Cumal equals 3 cows; and if (as is a fact) the Og-Aire's 21 soums are called 7 Cumal lands; then the Tir-Cumail is a term of *souming*, not of Extent, and "7 Tir-Cumails" (souming) equals "3 Cow-lands" (Extent).

That being the necessary inference, the only remaining question is whether the Cowland in this sense was the same as the Ballyboe. The question is not whether at some time and place the Ballyboe meant something different. It is whether the Ballyboe, when 1/24 of the Bailebiataigh, was the Cowland. I think the answer must be a definite affirmative when we take the evidence of *Uraicecht Becc* (that the Briugu, Hospitaller or Bruighfer administered 56 Cumals of land = 168 soums = 24 Cowlands) along with the results of our comparison of the "24" and "16" systems of division of the Bailebiataigh (see Table, p. 199.) The Ballyboe must have meant the Cowland, not the "Homestead-homestead" of the Og-Aire.

Pp. dcxxxix. General meaning of Seisreach.

Reference notes 34, 35, 36. Property qualifications.

P. cvii. Tenants as freemen.

P. cxli. Tenants' rents.

RAMSAY, Mrs. L. *Stent Book of Islay*, pp. 130, 154. Number of Quarterlands.

REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI.

Reg. Mag. Sig. 1424-1513, p. 468. See charter to McIan.

P. 639. 1506 charter to McIan.

P. 468. 1494 charter to McIan.

SEEBOHM, F., *English Village Community*, pp. 214-25. Monaghan and Fermanagh.

English Village Community, pp. 221-2. *Customary Acres*, pp. 45-6. Authenticity of Poem.

Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 97-100. Cumal and cow as currency.

P. 84. Apparently this is the true meaning of " Cowland ".

English Village Community, pp. 216-19. Juror's qualification.

P. 218. Note 2. Area of Tate.

Customary Acres, p. 45 note. Nineteenth-century meaning of Seisreach in Ireland and Islay.

SKENE, W. F., *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 153-70, 223-7. Celtic land system.

Vol III. Appendix 3. The anonymous *Description of the Isles* is printed here. For Islay, see pp. 437-8.

Pp. 158-9. Connaught divisions.

Pp. 153-6. " Fintan".

THOMSON, *Memorial on Old Extent*, x, 310-21. Stair Society, J. D. Mackie's edition. "Old Extent".

THE SHEEP HEAD

A woman lived at some farm cottages not far off the church and one Sunday she was busy making a big potful of broth and she had in the pot a sheep head and a large dumpling. She has a big boy who was silly and not very right. She had the pot on the side of the fire, and as she wanted to go to church she told the boy to look after the broth or she came back. After the woman had been away for some time the boy thought he would have a look into the pot and see what it was doing. So he lifted the lid and looked in and to his surprise the heat had caused the sheep head (to move) its jaws and they were stuck in the dumpling. He threw the lid on again, and as the kirk was not far off he ran up to the door which was open, and he keeked in and he got his eyes on his mother, and to draw her attention he hissed to her till she saw him and winked to him to go away but he kept on hissing at her and she always winked to him till his patience gave way, and he shouted out among all the kirk folk, "Ye'd sit wink winking there till the sheep head eats a' the dumplin." The woman was so affronted she had to rise up and leave the church.

This tale, in common usage, was written down by Mr. John Elliot, Hangingshaws, Yarrow, in 1955. The spelling is normalised. Words in brackets supplied.

THE BIRTH AND YOUTHFUL EXPLOITS OF FIONN

Calum I. Maclean *

Thugadh an sgeul seo sìos bho Dhomhnall Mac Phàrlain as Dìseig, Eilean Mhuile air an 26amh la de'n Og Mhios, 1953. Chuala eisean an sgeul bho chionn fhichead bliadhna roimhe sin bho Dhomhnall Mac an Tòisich de mhuinntir Loch Baghasdail an Uibhist a' Chinn a Deas, a bha an uair sin ag obair an tigh-òsta Bhuineasain ann am Muile. Tha Domhnall Mac an Tòisich marbh an nis.

'S e rìch † a bh' ann a's na seann timeannan air ais. Cha ghau(bh)adh e mara(bh)adh ach ann an aon àite: bha sin ball-dòbhrain a bha fo'n chìch dheas aige, mar a bheir iad a's a' Bheurla *birthmark*. Is an oidhche a phòs e, bha fear 'ga fhaireadh ris an abradh iad Arc(hc)a Dubh. Is 'n uair a fhuair e a chothrom feadh na h-oidhche, thàinig e agus mharabh e e. 'S e Cumhall a bh' air a' rìch. Is nan éireadh a mach gum bitheadh mac(hc) aig a' bhean aige, bha e fhéi' ri mhara(bh)adh—'s e thigeadh air a' chrùn an àite athar. Dé dh' éirich a mach gu robh mac(hc) agus nighean ann. Am boireannach a bha a' frithealadh air a' bhean thog i leithe 'm balach ann am basgaid agus dh' fholabh i leis gu taobh aibhneadh ann a sin. Agus rinn i bothag dhi fhéi' suas ann a sin is bha i ann a sin leis. Is bha toll mór uisge air bialu na bothaig' is a chuile maduinn, 'n uair a dh' éireadh i, bha i 'ga fhalc(hc)adh ann a sin. Bha e a sin a' snàmh mar gum bitheadh ann ròn. Bha e a' fàs 'na fhomhaire a chuile latha. Bha i seo latha a' dol a staich far a robh a mhàthair, is dh' fhàg i 'n cù a staich leis is thug i cràimh dha-san a bhith 'ga chumail soc(hc)rach gus an tilleadh i. Ach bhuail an iomaguin i gu faodadh an cù tòisinn air a' chràimh a thoirst bhuaidh agus gun gearradh e e. Agus thill i. Is 'n uair a thill i, bha an cù aige air a thoirst 'na cheithir pìosan air urlar na bothaig'.

"*Well*, ma ta," thuirst ise, "fola-a tusa liom-s' a màireach agus chì do mhàthair thu."

Dh' fholabh iad. Is bha i a' dol seachad air loch ann a sin

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† Final *dh*, *gh* becomes *ch* after slender vowels in this narrator's dialect.

is bha na sgoilearan a mach air snàmh is chan fhac(hc)aig esan na b' iomachuidh na dol a mach as an déich. Is bha e a' breith air chùl cinn orra is 'gan càradh fodha is bha e a' cur an eanachainn asta ri *bottom* a' loch. Agus ghlaoich i ris tighinn air tìr cho luath 's a bh' aige, chionn gun tigeadh iad ri bheatha—mhothaich na daoine dha. Thàinig e air tìr is a mach ghabh e fhéi' is i fhéi'. Is bha ise a' fàs sgìth agus rug e air dha lurgainn oirre is thilg e air a ghualainn i agus tharrainn e. Agus bha e a sin a' dol 'ro' choillich agus thug e sùil agus cha robh aige dhith ach an da lorga. Agus thilig e a mach air loch ann a sin iad agus 's e Loch nan Lorgann a th' air a sin gus an latha an diu. Tha sin an àit' eigin mu thuath. Dh' fhaoite gum bi fhios agaibh-se cà bheil e. Co dhiubh, bha e a' gabhail air aghaich a sin agus an t-ac(hc)ras a' tighinn air, agus thàinig e air fear ann a sin agus e ag iasgach bhreac(hc) air abhainn. Agus dh' iarr e breac(hc) air.

"*Well*, chan fhaich thu a' fear seo," ors esan. "Tha e mór. Tha e mór ach gheibh thu, dh' fhaoite, an ath-fhear."

Is a's a' bhruidhinn a bh' ac(hc)a, fhuair e fear air an dubhan agus thug e dha e, do Fionn.*

"Dé tha thu a' dol a dhèanamh ris a nis?" ors esan.

"Tha mi a' dol a dh' fhadadh teine," ors esan.

"*Well*," ors esan, "cuir a suas teine," ors esan, "ach ma leumas spriod," ors esan, "de'n teine air a' bhreac(hc)," ors esan, "thig mi ri d' bheatha."

Is bha na biorain a' spriodadh—tha fhios agat agus leum spriod air a' bhreac(hc) agus dh' éirich bolg dubh air. Stob e a chorrag ann agus loisg e i agus chuir e 'na bhial i. Agus fhuair e fiosachd.

"Is tusa," ors esan, "Arc(hc)a Dubh."

"Is mi," ors esan.

"Is tusa a mharabh Cumhall."

"Is mi."

"Dé a' seòl mara(bh)aich a rinn thu air?" thuirst esan.

"O, sgiamhadh e," orsa esan, "mar gum bitheadh muc(hc) agus ròic(hc)eadh e mar gum bitheadh torc(hc)!"

"Seadh dìreach!" ors esan. "Théid a chearst-leithid a dhèanamh or'-sa is cha bhi an ùine fada."

Chuir e a chorrag 'na bhial a rithist agus fhuair e an ath-fhiosachd, gu robh an claidheamh a bh' aig athair air a thiodhlacadh seachd troighean 'o'n urlar. Agus ghabh e a staich ann a sin agus chladhaich e agus fhuair e an claidheamh.

* *Sic.*

Agus mharabh an claidheamh sin naoi naoidheannan a null agus naoi naoidheannan a nall, far am bu tiugha iad bu taine iad agus far am bu taine iad bu luath-sgaoilteach iad agus far am bu luath-sgaoilteach iad bu ghoirst-mhara(bh)aicht' iad. Agus mharabh e Arc(hc)a Dubh.

Agus bha cù mór a staich air a robh Bran. Agus 'n uair a chunnaic e an claidheamh, chrath e e fhéi' agus chuir e peic(hc) de luath as gach cliathaich dheth fhéi' agus tharrainn e a mach le Fionn. Is dh' fholabh a fhéi' is Fionn ann a sin. Is thàinig iad ann a sin ann a' comhdhail mhór a bh' ann a sin, móran de dhaoine ann a sin agus iad aig siopair mhór. Chaich esan a staich is ghabh té de na boireannaich a bh' ann a sin *notion* dheth. Is bha beothach sònruichte a' tighinn aig amannan 'san oidhche is dh' fheumadh i duine fhaotainn air son icheadh. Is bha iad ag cur chrann có air a thigeadh folabh. 'S ann aire-san a thàinig an crann an oidhche seo. Ach an té a ghabh a' *notion* dheth, b' fhearr leithe a bràthair a leigeil air folabh na esan. Co dhiubh, thuirst esan:

"Fola-a mi fhìn ma ghcallas sibh gun cum sibh Bran air an t-*chain*."

Dh' fholabh e is thug e leis an claidheamh is bha e a' dol ann an aghaich a' bheothaich uamhasaich a bh' ann a seo. Is 'n uair a bha e dìreach a' *step*adh a staich 'na bial, bhrist Bran an t-*chain* is bha e a staich leis, as a dhéich. Reub e 'roimpe gus an d'thàinig e a mach air a' cheann eile dhith is thainig Bran a mac is cha robh ròine fionnaich air.

Agus thill e agus thuirst e riucha * car son a leig iad ma réir an cù. Agus thuirst iad nach b' urra dhaibh a ghléidheil.

"*Well*," ors esan, "feuma sibh an dath a bh' air a chur air air ais."

"Dé," ors esan, "an dath a bh' air?"

"Casan buidhe a bh' air Bran
Le da thaobh dhubh agus tarr geal,
Druim uaine cu na seilige,
Cluasan corrach, comhdhearag."

Sin agaibh an dath a bh' air Bran. Co dhiubh a bha a' naidheachd fìor 'us nach robh, sin agaibh mar a tha i agam-s'.

* *Sic.*

The Birth and Youthful Exploits of Fionn
English Translation

The following story was recorded on 26th June 1953 from Donald MacFarlane, Dishig, Isle of Mull. He heard the story twenty years ago from Donald MacIntosh, a native of Lochboisdale, Isle of South Uist, who was then employed at Bunessan Hotel, Isle of Mull. Donald MacIntosh is now dead.

There was a king who lived away back in the olden times. There was only one part of his body where he could be killed and that was a mole that was under his right nipple, a birthmark, as they say in English. And the night he got married there was a man called Black Arca guarding him. And when he got his chance during the night, he came and killed him. Cumhall was the king's name. And if it should be that his wife bore a son, he also was to be killed—he would succeed to the throne in his father's place. It did happen that there was a son and daughter. The woman who attended the wife brought the son with her in a basket and went with him to the bank of a river that was there. And she built up a bothy for herself there and there she stayed with him. And there was a great hole full of water in front of the bothy and every morning, when she got up, she bathed him in it. He would swim there as if he were a seal. As the days went by he grew up to be a giant. One day she was going to see his mother and she left the hound in along with him and she gave the boy a bone to keep him quiet until she came back. But she became worried that the hound might start taking the bone from him and bite him. And she turned back. And when she returned, he had the hound torn in four pieces on the floor of the bothy.

"Well now," said she, "you will go with me to-morrow and your mother will see you."

Away they went. And she was passing by a loch that was there and the scholars were out swimming, and he saw nothing better than to go into the water after them. And he caught each of them by the back of the head and sent them under and knocked their brains out on the bottom of the loch. And she called to him to come ashore as quickly as he could, for they would take his life—the people saw him. He came ashore and off they went, himself and herself. And she became tired and he caught her by the two legs and threw her over his

shoulder and away he sped. And he was passing through a wood and he took a look behind him and he had nothing left of her but the two shanks. And he threw them into a loch there and it is called the Loch of the Shanks to this day. It is in some place in the north. Perhaps you know where it is. However, he went on his way and hunger was coming upon him, and he fell in with a man there who was fishing salmon on a river. And he asked him for a salmon. "Well, you will not get this one," said he. "It is large. It is large but perhaps you will get the next one."

And, as they spoke, he caught one on the hook and he gave it to him, to Fionn.

"What are you going to do with it now?" said he.

"I am going to kindle a fire," said he.

"Well," said he, "kindle a fire," said he, "but if a spark of fire," said he, "alights on the salmon," said he, "I will have your life."

And the twigs were giving off sparks—you know—and a spark fell on the salmon and a black lump arose on it. He stuck his finger on it and burned the finger and put it in his mouth. And he got knowledge.

"You," said he, "are Black Arca."

"I am," said he.

"It was you who killed Cumhall."

"It was I."

"What manner of death did you give to him?" said he.

"Oh, he squealed like a sow," said he, "and bellowed like a boar!"

"Indeed!" said he. "The very same will be done to you and the time is not far off."

He put his finger in his mouth again and another piece of knowledge was revealed to him, that his father's sword was buried seven feet under the floor. And in he went there and dug and got the sword. And that sword smote nine nines in front of it and nine nines behind it, where they were thickest they were thinnest and where they were thinnest they were swiftly scattered and where they were swiftly scattered they were sorely slain. And he slew Black Arca.

And there was a great hound within called Bran. And when he saw the sword, he shook himself and cast a peck of ashes from each of his flanks and out he dashed along with Fionn. Away he and Fionn went then. And thereupon they came to a large gathering that was there, many people at a

great supper. He went in and one of the women there took a notion for him. And a certain monster used to come at times during the night and it had to get a human being to eat. And they cast lots to decide who should go. It was to his lot that it fell that night. But the woman who had taken a notion for him would rather that her own brother went. However, he said: "I myself shall go, if you promise to keep Bran on the leash."

He went and brought the sword with him and set out to face this terrible monster. And when he was on the point of stepping into its mouth, Bran broke the chain and in he went at Fionn's heels. Fionn cut his way through the monster until he came out at the other end, and out came Bran and there was not a hair of his coat on him.

And he returned and asked them why they let the dog go, and they said that they could not restrain him.

"Well," said he, "you must restore his colour to him."

"What," said he, "was his colour?"

"Yellow legs had Bran.
With two black flanks and white belly,
The green back of the hunting dog,
Ears erect, each as red as the other."

That was the colour Bran was. And whether the tale is true or not, that is how I have it.

The above is a Scottish folk-version of Macgnímartha Find; *cf.* edition by Kuno Meyer in *Rev. Celtique* V, p. 195 *et seq.* For other Irish versions see *Béaloideas* I, pp. 405-10; III, pp. 187-95; VI, pp. 40-3. For references to further Scottish and Irish variants see Duilearga, *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill*, p. 427.

I have recorded two other Scottish variants (*a*) Barra—John MacNeil, Eoligarry, November 1947, (*b*) Benbecula—John Archie Currie, Ardchuig, February 1950. I also recorded five other variants from Inveran, County Galway for the Irish Folklore Commission.

The Semantic Structure of SCOTTISH HYDRONYMY

W. F. H. Nicolaisen *

INTRODUCTION

Scottish place-names have never suffered from lack of interest. On the contrary, there have always been people, from all walks of life, who have dedicated a considerable amount of their time to the study of Scottish toponymy. Very often the reason for this has been an academic one: an antiquarian's interest in local history, an archæologist's desire to find confirmation of his own research in the place-nomenclature of the region, a geographer's attempt at solving the problems of human settlement or a philologist's quest for data relating to the linguistic past of a district. The most important factors taken into account by these students of place-names are usually the distribution of certain elements, the morphological formation of names, the sound changes they imply and the definition of the language and linguistic stratum to which they belong.

But besides this academic approach there has always been a genuine interest in place-names on the side of the general public, although with a completely different emphasis and attitude. To the archæologist, the geographer, the historian —and even to the philologist, semantic considerations may only be of secondary importance. To them it does not really matter what a name "means". Not so with the ordinary enquirer and place-name enthusiast. His first, and normally his only, question is "What does this name mean?" And if the name is not easily explained and understood, he resorts to what is usually called "folk-etymology" until its obscurity is made intelligible. Just as a thing, an idea, an event cannot be "mastered" by the human mind until it can be put into words, so one's geographical surroundings cannot be " mastered" till one has given them intelligible names or till one understands the names they already possess. So, this popular approach to a place name—in contrast to the scholarly one—reflects in

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its special interest in the "meaning" of the name the tendency of the human being to "master" his world—and that includes his geographical surroundings—linguistically.

The Scot—and the Scottish Highlander in particular—seems to have developed an even stronger inclination towards this merely semantic interpretation of toponymic evidence, than members of other nations, as any visitor, especially to the Gaelic-speaking areas, who has ever made any enquiries about place-nomenclature will testify. The crofter, the shepherd, the local schoolmaster—not only will they supply him with the "correct" form of the name and its meaning, but most probably also with a story that explains and underlines this particular meaning. Etymological speculation and imaginative interpretation are applied to the name in question and both have undoubtedly been very strong formative powers in the creation of new names, or the adaptation of old and obscure ones, throughout all phases of Scottish toponymy.

It is typical of this popular approach to the understanding of a place-name—and, indeed, of many a pseudo-scholarly attempt at such an understanding as well—that a linguistic explanation is looked for only in the modern language spoken in that particular area at the time of the enquiry. This is where the peculiar nature of place-names is completely misunderstood, a nature which makes them important source-material of the linguistic history of any country. Personal names wander and migrate with the people that bear them and only in exceptional cases throw much light on the nature of the language or languages spoken in a certain area in the past. But place-names are more stationary, as is to be expected because of their close connection with the land.* They also possess a remarkable power of survival. When, in the course of extensive migrations and re-settlement people of different linguistic stock arrive in a certain region, settle there and, finally, dominate the earlier inhabitants, politically and linguistically, not every geographical feature is named afresh. Old names are translated, either in part or in whole, or are just adapted in accordance with the phonetic possibilities of the new language; sometimes elements belonging to the old language are used in conjunction with elements that are part of the new one, resulting in a not inconsiderable number of

* This does not, of course, mean that they cannot be transplanted; names of European settlements in the "New World" prove the contrary; but, in these cases, the original name usually stays behind and remains a stationary feature of the emigrants' home-land.

toponymical hybrids. The main fact emerging from these observations is, that when new place-names are coined in a different linguistic medium, not all the old names are replaced and disappear, but a certain number of them remains, although often disguised and hardly recognisable.

The result is a stratification of various layers of linguistic sediments, the lowest of which leads us much further back into history and prehistory than any other linguistic evidence. It is the task of the place-name scholar to remove layer after layer, examining the morphological and semantic structure of the names each contains and utilising them in the interpretation of the early stages of those languages to which they can be assigned. When the "lowest" stratum is reached that can still be interpreted with the linguistic knowledge now at our disposal, there will still be a number of names left that have defied all attempts at an explanation, but it would be dangerous to treat obscurity as a sign of the great age of a name. Oral tradition of a name is subject to so many influences, especially when more than one language is involved in its execution, that it would be surprising if every single name could be satisfactorily analysed in the course of our investigations.

Generally, place-names ante-dating names of human settlements are those denoting water-courses or mountains and hills, and especially names of burns and rivers. Such throw much light on the problems of linguistic prehistory and so of prehistory in general. The oldest of them are like fossils preserved in later surrounding linguistic media, and it is not too bold to say that the oldest Scottish river-names give us information about the language or languages spoken on the banks of the water-courses they denote, more than 1000 years B.C.

This is not the place for us to outline the course of our investigations in that particular field of research. It will suffice for our immediate purposes to state the results of that enquiry: there are at least five layers of Scottish hydronymy, the English, the Norse, the Gaelic, the "*p*"-Celtic and the pre-Celtic Indo-European. A closer examination, however, shows that there are really two English strata, one linked up with northern English stream-nomenclature and one moulded upon underlying Gaelic patterns when English began to invade the Highlands. Furthermore, the Norse layer may be divided into three sub-sections, one supplying the generic terms Old Norse *ā*, *grof* and—possibly—*lōn*, the second introducing the *beck*-names near the English border, the third

providing the Scots dialect with the term *grain*. Only two strata cover the whole of Scotland: the latest, the English, and the earliest, the pre-Celtic one. All others are confined to a certain part of the country and usually to a certain period of name productivity.

Morphologically, the top strata of Scottish hydronymy—as those of the other parts of the British Isles and of other European countries—consist of compound names, regardless of the language to which they belong. But underneath these a different class of names is to be found characterised by the formation: stem+suffix. This group only amounts to 8 per cent of all Scottish river-names marked on the one inch Ordnance Survey maps, with the following subdivision: Gaelic names 5·3 per cent, *p*-Celtic names 1·8 per cent, pre-Celtic names 0·8 per cent. With two possible exceptions, Germanic names do not appear in this category, and the formation of river-names by suffixing seems to have ended in their respective languages before the Norsemen and Anglo-Saxons reached Scotland. A number of simple stems occurs in the early hydronymic strata. Even if these early names are few in comparison with the overwhelming majority of modern names, they prove how futile it would be to try to explain every single name of a Scottish water-course from the vocabulary of Modern Anglo-Scottish or Modern Scottish Gaelic.

It is against this morphological and historical background that we wish to outline the semantic structure of Scottish river-nomenclature, i.e. we want to apply scholarly and linguistic methods to that aspect of a section of Scottish toponymy that is normally the prerogative of popular and imaginative speculation. The form in which this will be done will be a systematic classification of names of Scottish water-courses that covers all the categories of meaning which appear in this nomenclature. Significant examples will be chosen from all hydronymic layers, from all dialect areas and from all morphological classes. We shall examine whether and how the predominance of certain aspects of meaning changed in the course of time, and how much each stratum of Scottish hydronymy has to contribute towards each semantic group. We shall also attempt to illustrate, by these examples and by the changes they imply, the change of attitude in the minds of the people who created this Scottish river-nomenclature in its various phases.

The system of classification used will be, in principle, the

one worked out by Bach (1953) for the names of German water-courses. It will be adapted to the special Scottish situation and enlarged to be applicable to the whole of our hydronymy. Comparative notes will be supplied wherever the river-nomenclature of other parts of the British Isles or of other countries in which an Indo-European language is, or used to be, spoken seems to throw light on our particular Scottish problem. Scottish hydronymy is not an isolated entity —either in its semantic or its morphological aspect—and cannot be treated without comparative reference to the terminology applied to rivers and streams in those countries from which the languages, traceable in Scotland's linguistic history, originally emigrated. Scandinavia, Ireland, England, Wales, the European continent proper all have much to contribute to toponymic research in Scotland. Scottish hydronymy, and Scottish toponymy in general, may have many peculiarly "Scottish" features, but nothing could more dangerously impair a satisfactory progress in their investigation than a parochial or national outlook that, apart from ignoring the toponymic situation and research south of the Tweed, refused to look for elucidation from beyond the North Sea, the Irish Sea and the English Channel. The study of place-names in any country must be based on the methods and results of *comparative* linguistics.

The basic material for the following survey has been excerpted from Ordnance Survey maps, scale 1 inch : 1 mile, and supplemented by derivations and explanations of Scottish rivers and burns, given in various place-name studies of which there are not very many that can be accepted and approved without some considerable hesitation. The acceptance of this kind of material as a basis for a genuinely linguistic investigation entails certain handicaps, limitations and inaccuracies, due to the nature of geographical names printed on Ordnance Survey maps covering Scotland, especially in respect of Gaelic names. But it seems that these inexactitudes, slight or grave as they may be, do not seriously impair the validity of the conclusions reached at this stage of Scottish hydronymic research especially in a study of this nature, in which neither comprehensiveness nor finality can be attempted. The advantage of the Ordnance Survey maps is that they cover the *whole* of Scotland, and the 1 inch : 1 mile edition provides a suitable number of names of rivers and burns.

The spellings given will be normally those to be found on

these maps, and the county abbreviations, used to indicate the geographical situation of the water-courses concerned, will be those adopted by the place-name department of the School of Scottish Studies. A complete list of these abbreviations will be provided at the end. Names in the Western Isles will be followed by the name of the island in which they occur, not by the county name. Older forms will generally not be mentioned, as that would only extend the already lengthy lists of names without contributing much to our particular attempt at *a classification of Scottish river-names according to their meaning.* Normally only one instance of a name will be mentioned, even if it occurs several times, as is often the case with the names of smaller water-courses.

CLASSIFICATION *

A. Streams named after CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WATER

(*a*) *The* colour *of the water*

O.S.M. 1″ (Scotland) † have 412 stream-names derived from the colour of the water. This naming of a water-course after the special characteristics impressed upon the people living near it, through the medium of the eye, is by far the most common, compared with the other groups of names that express a special quality of the water of a stream or river. The figures for these groups are: the *taste and smell* of the water 8; *temperature* of the water 6; *noise* of the flowing water 53; *effect* of the water 12.

Almost the whole colour-scheme is represented in this category, some colours more frequently than others. Yet although, in the majority of cases, the actual colour of the water of a stream may have prompted the name it bears, we must take into consideration the possibility of fashionable name patterns and semantic models. Moreover, in quite a number of instances *black* and *white* do not so much serve to describe the colour of the water as to distinguish between two water-courses that flow into each other, are parallel tributaries of the same river or bear the same name and could be confused because of their geographical proximity.

* The following name-lists were first compiled for the third chapter of my thesis entitled *Studies in Scottish Hydronymy*, submitted for the degree of B.Litt. of Glasgow University in 1956.

† O.S.M. 1″ will be used in this article as the abbreviation for Ordnance Survey map, scale 1 inch : 1 mile, 4th edition.

Here are some examples for the various colours:

Black: *Abhainn Dubh* ROS, *Alltan Dubh* SUT, *Allt Dubh* SUT, *Allt Dubhagan* PER, *An Dubh-Alltan* SUT, *Black Burn* MOR, *Black Sike* SLK, *Black Water* ROX, *Caochan Dubh* INV, *Douglas Water* ARG, *Duack Burn* INV, *Dubh Uisge* INV, *Dupple Burn* DMF, *Dye Water* BWK, *Féith Dubh* SUT, *Lón Dubh* SKYE, *River Divie* MOR, *Uisge Dubh* INV.

Blue: *Allt Ghormaig* INV, *Allt Gorm* INV, *Gormack* Burn ABD, *Feadan Gorm* LEWIS.

Bright: *Light Water* KCD, *Lochar Water* DMF, *Luggie Water* DNB/LAN—DNB, *Peffer Burn* ELO, *River Loyne* INV, *The Lussa* ARG.

Brindled: *Alltan Riabhach* SUT, *Allt Riabhach* ROS, *Caochan Riabhach* INV, *Féith Riabhach* SUT.

Brown: *Caochan Donn* INV, **Duinnid* (in Inver*inate*) ROS.

Dark: *Alltan Dorch* ROS, *Leuchar Burn* ABD, *River Lochy* INV.

Dun: *Alltan Odhar* ROS, *Allt Odhar* INV, *Féith Odhar* PER.

Filthy: *Mossat Burn* ABD, *Salachie Burn* ROS.

Green: *Abhainn Glas* PER, *Abhainn Uaine* LEWIS, *Allt Glas* PER, *Allt Uaine* INV, *Glas Allt* ABD, *Glas Burn* ANG, *Glas Féith* PER, *Greenburn* BNF, *Lón Glas* SKYE, *River Glass* ROS.

Grey: *Allt Liath* SCALPAY.

Pic-bald: *Allt Drimmeach* INV.

Red: *Abhainn Dearg* ROS, *Alltan Dearg* SUT, *Alltan Roy* ABD, *Allt Dearg* ROS, *Allt Ruadh* INV, *Dearg Abhainn* ARG, *Dearg Allt* INV, *Red Burn* MOR, *River Roy* INV.

Silver: *Silver Burn* ABD.

Speckled: *Allt Ballach* INV, *Alltan Breac* ARG, *Allt Breac* ROS, *Caochan Breac* INV.

White: *Allt a' Gheallaidh* MOR, *Allt Bàn* INV, *Allt Geal* SUT, *Burn of Canny* ABD, *Cander Water* LAN, *Dìg Bhàn* ARG, *Féith Bhàn* ARG, *Fender Burn* PER, *Finglas Water* PER, *Fionn-abhainn* ROS, *Fionn Allt* LEWIS, *Geldie Burn* ABD, *Gelder Burn* ABD, *Lón Bàn* SKYE, *River Finnan* INV, *Sruthan Bàn* S. UIST, *Sruth Geal* PER, *White Burn* ANG, *White Grain* SLK, *White Sike* SLK, *White Water* ANG.

Yellow: *Allt Buidhe* ARG, *Féith Buidhe* SUT, *Pollan Buidhe* ROS.

Colour adjectives are often used to distinguish between two related water-courses, as for example:

Allt Bàn—Lower part *Allt Dubh* SKYE.

Dubh Lighe—Fionn Lighe (parallel streams) INV.

White Burn joins *Black Burn* ANG.

Black Cart Water RNF joins *White Cart Water* LAN/RNF—RNF.
Black Laggan Burn→*White Laggan Burn* KCD.
Blackadder Water→*Whiteadder Water* BWK.
River Findhorn (**Fionn* Earn)—*River Deveron* (**Dubh* Earn)—identical primary river-names in the same district.

That this practice is not confined to Scotland is shown by Welsh doublets like *Braenan Ddu* and *Wen*, *Claerddu* and *Claerwen*, *Cleddy Ddu* and *Wen*, as well as by the German river-names *Schwarze* and *Weisse Elster*.

In a few instances colour adjectives seem to have become generic terms for "water, river". The Gaelic and Welsh term *glais*, "a stream" is based on Welsh *glas* "blue, grey, pale", Gaelic *glas* "grey, green", Breton *glaz* "green", etc. According to Wilhelm Schulze (1934) a similar derivation is to be considered for Gaelic *dobhar* and Welsh *dw(f)r*, "water", which are connected with Gaelic *dubh*, Welsh *du*, etc. "black"; so the original meaning of these two hydronymic terms seems to have been "the green one" and "the black one", respectively.

(*b*) *The* taste *and* smell *of the water*

This group of names is small compared with the preceding one, no doubt due to the fact that the senses of taste and smell are easily overruled by the eye and the ear in the determination of the main characteristics of a water-course.—Nevertheless we can list *Allt Bhrachain* PER ("putrefaction"), *Allt Breinag* INV ("putrid"), *Allt Shallainn* PER ("salt"), *Almeel Burn* STL ("sweet"), *Foul Burn* BWK, *Garroch Burn* KCD ("having a bad odour"), *Grotaig Burn* INV ("putrid"), *Sweet Burn* ARG.

(*c*) *The* temperature *of the water*

This group of names forms an even smaller category, numerically, in Scottish hydronymy. The hotness or coldness of water have to be extremely intensive before they form the main quality of a stream. Instances are *Burn of Brown* INV/BNF (**Brutonā*), *Cald Burn* ANG, *Cauld Burn* ELO, *Coldstream Burn* KCD, *Uisge Fuar* ISLAY, *Warm Burn* KNR.

(*d*) *The* noise *of the flowing water*

This group contains about one-eighth of the number of names in the category referring to the colour of the water, but it is considerably stronger than *b*, *c* and *e*. Its outstanding feature is the great variety of defining elements which are used to describe the kind of noise peculiar to a certain stream. One

has to listen very long and carefully before one is justified in applying any of these 53 names. *Labhar*, "talkative" seems to be one of the most favoured defining elements, and there are indications that its *p*-Celtic equivalent was used just as readily. In any case, the number of early names in this group is remarkable.—These are some of the names: *Allt Darrarie* ABD ("rattling"), *Allt Eigheach* PER ("noise"), *Allt Gleadhrach* ROS ("shrill"), *Blye Water* BNF ("noise"), *Calair Burn* PER ("loud"), *Clattering Burn* LAN, *Kale Water* ROX (**Calonā*), *Lavery Burn* AYR (**Labharag*), *Levern Water* RNF (**Labaronā*), *Liddel Water* ROX ("loud"), *River Balvag* PER ("silent"), *River Braan* PER ("bleating"), *River Garnock* AYR ("noisy"), *River Ythan* ABD ("talkative"), *Rumbling Burn* AYR, *The Shevock* ABD ("quiet"), *Uisge Labhair* INV ("loud"), *Water of Gairney* ABD ("loud").

(*e*) *The* effect *of the water*

Names in this section refer to the health-giving quality of the water, to its blessedness, and to other virtues. They do not necessarily prove any kind of river-worship, but only point to a certain amount of superstition in the medical ideas or practice of the people living on the banks of these streams and possibly to some genuine health-promoting faculty of the "waters", when drunk by the patient. In this connection the usage of Gaelic *fìon*, "wine" is interesting (Watson 1926, pp. 436-7). Examples from O.S.M. 1″ are *Abhainn Eilg* INV ("virtue"), *Abhainn Bhuachaig* ROS ("virtue"), *Alltan Buadh* CAI ("virtue"), *Allt an Fhìona* INV ("wine"), *Allt Mathaig* PER ("good"), *Allt na Slànaich* INV ("having a healing virtue"), *Allt Sealbhach* SUT ("lucky"), *Allt Slanaidh* PER ("healthy"), *Hallow Burn* PEB, *Polmath Burn* AYR ("good"), *Sound Burn* LAN, *Water of Buchat* ABD ("abounding in virtue").

B. Streams named after Characteristics of the Water-course

(*a*) *The* size *and* length *of the stream*

In 211 cases Scottish stream-names marked on O.S.M. 1″ seem to refer to either the size or the length of the stream, and amongst these, names referring to the size are in a great majority. The most popular Gaelic name of this category is *Allt Mór*, of which there are at least 61 instances. *Mór* is in these cases seldom used in a relative sense, being meant to denote the absolute size of the stream, although one cannot escape the impression that it is very often just the imitation of a semantic

name pattern not referring to the actual size of the water-course. But in some instances an *Allt Beag* runs parallel to an *Allt Mór* and quite frequently *Mór* and *Beag*, *Big* and *Little* are attached to the names of parallel streams to distinguish them from each other. *Beag* and *Little* are also used to denote a tributary that bears the same name as the river into which it flows.

Examples: *Abhainn Bheag* JURA, *Abhainn Mhór* ARG, *Allt Beag* INV, *Allt Fada* LEWIS ("long"), *Allt Mór* ARG, *Allt Yairack* INV ("short"), *Beg Burn* ROS ("small"), *Big Burn* INV, *Caochan Mór* ABD, *Faeshealloch Burn* INV ("short"), *Feadan Mór* LEWIS, *Féith Mór* INV, *Gearr Abhainn* ARG, *Little Burn* SLK, *Little River* CAI, *Little Water* ABD, *Long Burn* ROX, *Long Grain* SLK, *Long Latch* BWK, *Lón Mór* SKYE, *Meikle Burn* LAN, *Muckle Burn* ANG, *Pillmour Burn* ELO, *River Morar* ROS, *Wee Burn* AYR.

Instances of two *parallel water-courses* distinguished by *mór* and *beag* are *Allt Beithe Mór* and *Beag* PER, INV; *Allt Chaorach Mór* and *Beag* INV, *Allt Dearg Mór and Beag* SKYE, *Allt Dhaidh Mór* and *Beag* ABD, *Allt Mór* and *Beag* ARG, ROS, *Allt Ruadh Mór* and *Beag* INV, *Féith Odhar Mhór* and *Bheag* PER, *Feochan Mhór* and *Bheag* ARG, *Fionn Allt Mór* and *Beag* LEWIS, *Scaladale More River* and *Scaladale Beg River* LEWIS.—Here also belong *Allt Mhuic Bheag* INV, flowing parallel to *Allt Mhuic*, and *Little Gruinard River* ROS, flowing parallel to *Gruinard River*.

Examples of *Little* and *Beag* being used to denote a *tributary* that bears the same name as the river into which it flows are *Allt Borgidh Beag* SUT→*River Borgie*, *Beanaidh Bheag* INV→*Am Beanaidh*, *Duibhe Bheag* PER→*Abhainn Duibhe*, *Garbh Uisge Beag* BNF→*Garbh Uisge*, *Kish Beg River* LEWIS→*Kish River*, *Little Allt Bheitheachan* BNF→*Allt Bheitheachan*, *Little Calder* LAN→*Calder Water*, *Little Eachaig River* ARG→*River Eachaig*, *Little Tarras Water* DMF→*Tarras Water*, *Luibeg Burn* ABD→*Lui Water*.—Sometimes the main river shows an additional *mór*: *Allt Cristie Beag* ABD→*Allt Cristie Mór*, *Féith Gaineimh Bheag* CAI→*Féith Gaineimh Mhór*, *Glas Féith Bheag* PER→*Glas Féith Mhór*.

Two water-courses that *join*, belonging to this category, are *Little* and *Big Water of Fleet* KCD which flow together to form the *Water of Fleet*.

Just as in the case of the juxtaposition of Gaelic *dubh* and *bàn* (or *fionn*), English *black* and *white* in the description of parallel

or joining streams of identical names, the usage of Gaelic *mór* and *beag* can be paralleled outside Scotland. In Wales we find, amongst others, *Anghidi Fawr* and *Fechan*, *Dwyfawr* and *Dwyfach*, *Llynfi Fawr* and *Fechan*, etc.

Edward Schröder (1944) in his *Deutsche Namenkunde* points out that tributaries can be named by forming diminutives from the names of the rivers into which they flow; he mentions as examples the continental river-names *Selke* (<**Selica*)→*Sala* and *Mürz* (<**Muoriza*)→*Muor*. Schwarz (1950) is of the opinion that this type of name is especially common in the Slavonic languages and that there even the upper reach of a water-course may be called *Little River*. A possible Scottish example of this type is *Spean* INV, if it may be taken to be a diminutive of *Spey* (Watson 1926, p. 474), although it does not, of course, flow into that river. In England and Wales this category is well represented, cf. *Erthig* (Cardigansh.)→*Arth*, *Sochan* (Caernarvonsh.)→*Soch*, *Sturkel* (Dorsetsh.)→*Stour*, OE. *Temedel* (Worcestersh.)→*Teme*, etc.

(*b*) *The* form of the bed *of the stream*

In the 184 examples of stream-names referring to the form of the water-course various comparisons with human instruments and tools are made in order to describe the shape most appropriately. We meet the *fork*, the *vat*, the *bag*, the *bowl*, the *ampulla*, the *needle* and the *trough*. This is a type especially common in Wales (cf. Thomas 1938, p. 128) where the names of many tools and instruments have become names of water-courses. In this hydronymic usage names of containers are to be found throughout Britain, the most frequent of them being *cup* or *bowl*, cf. besides the *Quoichs*, *Quaichs* and *Cuachs* of Scotland *Bune* (Oxfordsh.), *Cogan Pill* (Glamorgansh.), *Sence* (Leicestersh.). Obviously, adjectives like *crooked*, *narrow*, *round*, *pointed* were not sufficiently expressive in the opinion of the name-givers, but they saw the river as being *crooked like tongs*, *pointed like a needle*, *round like a cup*, etc., and so the water-course became itself *tongs*, *needle*, *cup*, etc. The same applies to those stream-names that are identical with names of animals or trees.

Besides these metaphorical terms mostly adjectives are used, among which *crom* and *cam* are the most frequent not only in Gaelic hydronymy but also in earlier Celtic river-names. In *Leth Allt*—in the following list the Ross-shire name serves as one example for many instances of this name throughout the Gaelic area—the intermediate meaning of *allt* as "a burn with

steep banks" is preserved, for *leth allt* "half burn" denotes a burn with only one steep bank. References to the form of a water-course in Scotland are much more common in Celtic than in Germanic river-names.

Some typical examples are: *Abhainn Shlatach* INV ("branchy"); *Allt an t-Sniomh* LEWIS ("twist"), *Allt Briste* SUT ("broken"), *Allt Cam* INV ("crooked"), *Allt Caol* CAI ("narrow"), *Allt Chernie* SUT ("angular"), *Allt Domhain* ROS ("deep"), *Allt Gobhlach* SUT ("forked"), *Allt Leathan* PER ("broad"), *Allt nan Criopag* SKYE ("wrinkles"), *Allt Nealagro* LEWIS ("needle"), *Allt Ùtha* INV ("udder"), *An Cam-allt* INV, *Braid Burn* MLO ("broad"), *Broad Burn* MOR, *Builg Burn* ABD ("bag"), *Burn of Ample* PER ("ampulla"), *Burn of Breitoe* SH ("steep"), *Cam Alltan* ROS, *Cammock Burn* AYR, *Campel Water* DMF, *Caochan Cam* INV, *Caochan Crom* SUT ("crooked"), *Caochan Uchdach* INV ("steep"), *Caolie Water* INV, *Crom Allt* ROS, *Crombie Burn* BNF, *Crook Burn* BWK, *Deep Sike* ROX, *Fiar Allt* LEWIS ("winding"), *Gable Burn* SUT, *Gowl Burn* ELO, *Leth Allt* ROS ("half-burn"), *Loop Burn* CAI, *Meoir Veannaich* ABD ("forked"), *Old Hangy Burn* KNR ("slender"), *Poldivan Lake* DMF ("deep"), *Quoich Water* ABD ("bowl"), *Rigging Sike* ROX ("meandering"), *River Bogie* ABD ("bag"), *Smail Burn* SLK ("narrow"), *Snaid Burn* STL ("needle"), *Trough Burn* AYR, *Vat Burn* SUT, *Woo Burn* SLK ("crooked").

(*c*) *The* speed *and* movement *of the flowing water*

A smallish category in Scottish hydronymy, this group comprises about 70 names extracted from O.S.M. 1" (Scotland). Very often terms normally applied to human moods and states of mind are used to denote the velocity of the flowing water. A rushing stream is *angry* or *quarrelsome* or *boisterous* or *wild*; references to the *fierceness*, *gaiety* or *madness* of a river also occur. Slow burns suggest *sadness*, *tranquility*, *laziness* or the *stately* movement of a procession. A stagnant brook is *dead*.

The following names may be noted as significant examples: *Abhainn Sithidh* ROS ("stately"), *Allt Bheargais* ROS ("anger"), *Allt Bhuailteach* CAI ("quarrelsome"), *Allt Chriosdain* BNF ("quick"), *Allt Sgualach* INV ("moving with a sweep"), *Allt Sniomhach* INV ("sad"), *Allt Socrach* ROS ("slow"), *Bruar Water* PER ("boiling"), *Burn of Sheeoch* KCD ("tranquil"), *Dead Water* ANG ("stagnant"), *Luther Water* KCD ("swift"),

Mad Burn WLO, *Maldie Burn* SUT ("slow"), *Powgavie Burn* PER ("boisterous"), *River Farg* PER ("anger"), *River Kingie* INV ("striding"), *Standing Burn* LAN, *Still Burn* MLO.

(*d*) *The* geological nature of the bed *of the stream*

Whereas the form of the bed and the movement of the flowing water are described by unusual and imaginative defining elements, the geological nature of the bed is denoted by ever recurring matter-of-fact terms, especially referring to the roughness of the bottom of the stream. So Gaelic *Garbh Allt* with its variants occurs at least 50 times; *Calder*-names are widespread and at an earlier period *Carron* is extremely common, almost suggesting appellative usage of that term, at one stage.

This is a short list of examples: *Allt Carnach* PER ("stony"), *Allt Creagach* INV ("rocky"), *Allt Lathach* INV ("clay"), *Allt Leacach* ARG ("stony"), *Allt Tollaidh* ROS ("full of holes"), *Burn of Turret* ANG ("dry"), *Calder Water* LAN ("hard"), *Carron Water* DMF ("hard"), *Dry Burn* AYR, *Gana Burn* LAN ("sandy"), *Garbh Allt* ARG ("rough"), *Garbh Uisge* BNF, *Garple Burn* KCB, *Grudie Burn* SUT ("gravelly"), *Keltie Burn* PER ("hard"), *Megen Burn* ABD ("boggy"), *Meggat Water* DMF, *Moo Burn* SH ("sandy"), *River Clachaig* ARG ("stony"), *River Elchaig* ROS ("rocky"), *River Greeta* LEWIS ("gravel"), *River Lonan* ARG ("boggy"), *River Pattack* INV ("full of pot-holes"), *River Polloch* ARG ("full of holes"), *River Sligeachan* SKYE ("shelly"), *Rough Burn* AYR, *Sandy Burn* LAN, *Sleach Water* CAI ("slimy"), *Stone Grain* PEB, *Yarrow Water* SLK ("rough").

C. Streams named after the Surroundings of the Water-course

(*a*) *The* terrain *through which the stream flows*

It is impossible to give an adequate representation of the more than 1800 Scottish stream-names which qualify for this category. It is the largest semantic group, containing about one-quarter of all names of water-courses marked on the 92 Scottish O.S.M. 1". Reference to the natural features of the terrain through which a stream flows has provided ample possibilities for the naming and re-naming of burns; the corrie, the pass, the hill, the fir-grove, the bog, the water-fall, the valley, the hollow, the point, the field, the slope, the haugh, the meadow, the rock, the marsh—they, and many other

natural features of the countryside, all enter Scottish hydronymy as defining elements, as a rule in the names of smaller water-courses. Many of these descriptive names contain quite a number of words as, for instance, *Allt Cnoc Airidh an t-Seolich Bhig* SUT or *Uisge Dubh Poll a' Choin* INV, and one is entitled to ask how far these accurate *descriptions* are really *names*. Quite a number of them bear much more resemblance to the directions given by a farmer to his shepherd or by a laird to his foresters than to a short, practicable and current proper name. It may very well be the map that will finally turn these descriptions into names and will preserve them as such. Here are a few out of this host of names: *Abhainn Droma* ROS ("ridge"), *Abhainn na Coinnich* ARG ("moss"), *Akran Burn* SUT ("field"), *Allt an Doire-giubhais* ROS ("fir-grove"), *Allt an t-Sneachda* ABD ("snow"), *Allt Bad nan Clach* SUT ("clump"), *Allt Bealach Easain* INV ("pass"), *Allt Choire Phìobaire* INV ("corrie"), *Allt Creag a' Chait* NAI ("craig"), *Allt Eas na Maoile* SUT ("water-fall"), *Allt Lón Ghlas Bheinn* INV ("morass"), *Allt na h-Innse Buidhe* ARG ("haugh"), *Allt Ruigh na Cuileige* ABD ("slope"), *Allt Uamha na Muice* ARG ("cave"), *Caochan Glac na Crìche* INV ("hollow"), *Cleuch Burn* LAN ("ravine"), *Coillechat Burn* PER ("wood"), *Dale Water* SH, *Hamra River* SKYE ("rock"), *Howe Burn* BWK ("hollow"), *Kames River* ARG ("bay"), *Knock Burn* KCB ("hill"), *Laggan Burn* BTE ("hollow"), *Linnshaw Burn* AYR ("copse"), *Loch Strand* WIG, *Longhill Burn* MLO, *Lón Horro* SKYE ("moor"), *Mire Burn*, ROX, *Perter Burn* DMF ("copse"), *Strath Burn* CAI ("valley"), *Strone Burn* PER ("point").

(*b*) Tree vegetation *associated with the water-course*

This group and the following one are not only of interest to the linguist but also the botanist, for if the modern names of this type reflect the distribution of trees and plants as we find it in our own time, older names can contribute towards the knowledge of the distribution of these in earlier periods. At least 16 different tree-names enter into Scottish hydronymy; the birch, the fir, the rowantree, the alder, the willow, and the hazel are especially well represented in younger names, whereas the elm only comes into names of the *p*-Celtic period. Remarkable absentees are the beech and the ash. Apparently, conspicuous single trees, as well as clusters of trees or little groves and larger forests, can contribute towards the making of a name for the stream that flows past them. O.S.M. 1"

has 169 names of this type altogether; in the following list we shall give one or two examples under each tree-name:

Alder: *Alltan Feàrna* SUT, *Alder Burn* LAN.
Birch: *Allt Beithe* ROS, *Birken Burn* STL.
Bird-cherry: *River Fiag* SUT.
Blackthorn: *Allt Dregnie* BNF.
Elder: *River Tromie* INV.
Elm: *River Leven* INV/ARG, *Glen Almagro* LEWIS.
Fir: *Allt Giubhais* ROS.
Hawthorn: *River Skiack* ROS.
Hazel: *Cowie Water* KCD, *Hazel Burn* ANG.
Holly: *Allt a' Chuilinn* SUT.
Juniper: *Allt Staoine* CAI.
Oak: *Derry Burn* ABD, *Oak Burn* SLK.
Rowantree: *Allt a' Chaoruinn* ROS, *Rowantree Grains* LAN.
Sloe: *Allt a' Droighinn* ROS.
Willow: *Allt nan Seileach* BNF, *Willow Burn* DMF.
Yew: *River Ure* ARG, *Glen Ioagro* LEWIS.

Not all names mentioned in this list are necessarily derived from trees growing, singly or in clusters, near or on the banks of the water-course they denote. In a number of cases the streams can be rather thought of as being identified with these trees, just as in group B.*b*. above we find river-names identified with names of tools, instruments and containers. The link between tree-name and river-name may be the shape of the water-course or some other quality that seemed to be common to both the tree and the river in question. But it is quite possible that this identification was due to some other imaginative process in the mind of the name-giver(s) which we are now unable to follow. Of course, the possibility of imitation must be taken into consideration; one river-name derived from a tree-name created another, and so forth.

In the above list, *River Fiag* SUT (= Gael. *fiodhag* "bird-cherry"), *River Tromie* INV (= **tromm-de* "of elders"), *River Skiack* ROS (= Gael. *sgitheach* "hawthorn", or < *Allt na sgitheach*), *Cowie Water* KCD (= O.Ir. *collde* "colurnus") and *Derry Burn* ABD (= O.Ir. *dairde* "oaken") seem to belong to this category, although the meaning "abounding in elders, hazel, oaks" is not ruled out for the names in *-ie, -y*. For this type of name in Russian and Polish hydronymy refer to Paul Trost, *Der blosse Baumname als Gewässerbezeichnung*, Zeitschrift für Namenforschung XIV (1938), pp. 170. Nearer home Wales

provides quite a number of examples, cf. *Castan* (Glamorgansh.), *Cerd(d)in* (several), *Coll* (Cardigansh.), *Helygen* (Cardigansh.), etc.

(*c*) Plants, *other than trees, associated with the water-course*

Various other plants, besides trees, enter into Scottish river-names. Most of them are referred to just once, and there are hardly any doublets, except for names indicating an abundant growth of fern or berries in the neighbourhood of the stream. This section is small and contains only 63 names, perhaps because plants are not conspicuous enough to be the most impressive factor in the natural surroundings of a water-course. Examples of this group are *Allt a' Chreimh* SUT ("wild garlic"), *Allt Dogha* INV ("burdock"), *Allt Luachair* INV ("rushes"), *Allt na Cuilce* INV ("reed"), *Allt nan Eithreag* SUT ("mountain-strawberry"), *Allt Raineach* ARG ("fern"), *Berry Grain* DMF, *Blaeberry Burn* LAN, *Féith Shiol* INV ("oats, corn"), *Feuchaw Burn* DMF ("heather"), *Hay Sike* SLK, *Lusragan Burn* ARG ("herb"), *Nettly Burn* FIF, *River Cannich* ROS-INV ("bog-myrtle"), *River Nant* ARG ("nettle"), *Starragro* LEWIS ("rough grass").

(*d*) Animals, birds, fishes, *etc. associated with the stream*

A great variety of names of animals, birds, and fishes must have seemed to be apt characterising elements to those responsible for the creation of Scottish hydronymy. Foxes that had their dens near the stream, horses that came to drink out of it, heifers that grazed in the neighbourhood, birds that built their nests somewhere on its banks, trout and salmon that filled its pools—they all attracted the attention of the name-givers, and apparently most of our stream-names which contain names of animals, etc. refer to the living fauna near the water-course.

But there seems to be another kind of relationship between animal or bird or fish on the one hand, and the stream on the other. Rivers were called after animals whose special characteristics seemed to express the peculiar qualities of the water-course, and so were more or less identified with these animals. This is suggested by names like *River Bran* ROS ("raven"), *River Tarff* INV ("bull"), *River Einig* ROS ("little bird"), *River Enrick* INV ("snipe"), etc., where we need not suppose any genitival relationship as in the usual name pattern *Allt nan Each* ("Burn of the horses") or *Caochan na Feòraige* ("Streamlet of the squirrel"). A similar identification can be

assumed for names which are derived by suffixing *-aidh* (*-ie*, *-y*) to the name of the animal, for instance: *Burn of Buckie* BNF ("buck"), *Kirkney Water* ABD ("hen"), *Brocky Burn* KCD ("badger"), *Markie Burn* INV ("horse"), *Tarvie Burn* PER ("bull"). There are also diminutives like *Abhainn Chonaig* ROS ("little wolf"), *River Eachaig* ARG ("little horse"), *Allt Laoghainn* PER ("little calf").

Again, many names of this latter kind are to be found in Welsh river-nomenclature (Thomas 1938, p. 52; *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1935, p. 128). There not only the names of almost all domestic animals, but also those of wild beasts, birds and insects, have been employed in the naming of water-courses. An instructive example is *banw* "young pig". This term (*Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie* 1907, p. 43) is applied to water-courses "forming deep channels or holes in which they sink into the earth and are lost for a distance". It is only a short step to calling a tributary of this stream *twrch* "boar".—As in the case of river-names, identical with names of trees, we have to consider the influence of analogy, but a river like *Bran* ROS may have received its name because of its dark colour and *Tarff* INV may be due to the wild speed of its flow (Trost 1936, 1938; Schröder 1937, Pokorny 1954, Krahe 1951-52).

But it is the former category that interests us here. For it, the following names may serve as illustrations: *Allt a' Ghamhna* SUT ("stirk"), *Allt a' Ghobhair* SUT ("goat"), *Allt an Daimh* ROS ("ox, stag"), *Allt an t-Seangain* PER ("ant"), *Allt na Feadaige* INV ("plover"), *Allt na Muic* SUT ("pig"), *Allt na Seabhaig* ARG ("hawk"), *Allt Nathrach* INV ("snake"), *Bo Burn* KCD ("cow"), *Caplaich Burn* CAI ("horse"), *Cock Burn* ABD, *Conglass Water* BNF ("wolf"), *Crow Burn* SLK, *Ishag Burn* PER ("lark"), *Lamb Burn* ELO, *Lón nan Earb* SKYE ("roe"), *River Laxay* LEWIS ("salmon"), *Stag Burn* KCD.

(*e*) *The* situation *of the water-course*

This is, with more than 300 names, an astonishingly large group. The names it contains not only express the absolute position of the water-course but also the position in relation to other streams or to other geographical features. In this latter sense, the names of the four chief points of the compass are frequently used; other favourite terms are words meaning "back", "fore" or "across, transverse". Very often water-courses form the boundary of some piece of land, be it a field

or an estate or a county, and in many instances this stream is just called the *boundary river*.* There are plenty of examples of this, in this category. Most of the names occur over and over again; so a few examples may suffice: *Allt Deas* ABD ("south"), *Allt na Criche* INV ("boundary"), *Allt Shios Bhreac-achaidh* ARG ("below"), *Allt Tarsuinn* ROS ("cross"), *Back Burn* MOR, *Burn betwixt the Laws* BWK, *Cross Burn* BWK, *Easter Burn* ANG, *Fore Burn* BNF, *March Burn* INV, *Meur Tuath* NAI ("north"), *Mid Grain* DMF, *North Burn* SUT, *Powmeadow Burn* LAN ("middle"), *Thorter Burn* PER ("transverse"), *Twart Burn* SH, *West Water* ANG.

Besides colour-adjectives and words denoting the size of the stream, terms referring to the relative situation of the water-course are used to distinguish between two burns bearing the same name and flowing parallel to each other or joining each other. For *parallel* streams we may list: *Auchlyne East* and *West Burn* PER, *East* and *West Burn* AYR, *Easter* and *Wester Burn* ROX, *Eastplace* and *Westplace Burn* PER, *High* and *Low Mill Burn* KCB, *North* and *South Black Burn* AYR, *North* and *South Burn* AYR, *North* and *South Burn of Grimista* SH.

Examples of *joining* water-courses are: *Allt Shios* and *Shuas Chulaibh* PER, *Back* and *Fore Burn* BNF, *East* and *West Burn of Builg* KCD, *East* and *West Burn of Glenmoye* ANG, *East* and *West Grain* ANG, *Easter* and *Wester Burn* BWK, *Easter* and *Wester Glen Quoich Burn* INV, *Eastrig* and *Westrig Burn* PER, *North* and *South Garvan River* ARG, *River North Esk* and *River South Esk* MLO, *Warroch East* and *West Burn* KNR.

D. Water-courses named after Human Institutions and Human Beings

(*a*) *Water-courses associated with* human institutions

This category is represented by 366 names; it does not include stream-names derived from place-names proper, which will be listed separately under E.*a*. We cannot even attempt to give a representative cross section of this name group because the range of defining elements referring to human life and institutions on the banks of the respective water-courses is far too wide. It comprises mill and fort, creel and deer-trap, bridge and booth, church and mill-dam, hospital and sheep-pen, gallows and kiln, mine and penny-land, orchard and byre

* Continental river-names derived from the fact that the water-courses they denote form boundaries, are dealt with by Hans Krahe in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* VI (1955), 1-13.

and many another imprint of human culture and civilisation upon the neighbourhood of our Scottish streams. We select at random, and mention *Abbey Burn* KCB, *Abhainn Rath* INV ("fort"), *Allt a' Mhuilinn* JURA ("mill"), *Allt na Craidhleig* INV ("creel"), *Allt na h-Eaglaise* SUT ("church"), *Allt na h-Eilrig* INV ("deer-trap"), *Allt na Làrach* INV ("ruin"), *Allt nan Ramh* SUT ("oars"), *Bught Sike* ROX ("sheep-fold"), *Castle Burn* STL, *Kiln Burn* DMF, *Kirk Burn* DMF, *Lead Mine Burn* AYR, *Mill Burn* LAN, *Puball Burn* ARG ("tent"), *Pulharrow Burn* KCB ("wall"), *River Borgie* SUT ("fort"), *River Brora* ROS ("bridge"), *River Ericht* PER ("assembly"), *River Housay* HARRIS ("house"), *Smithy Burn* ANG, *Spittal Burn* PEB, *Tower Burn* DMF, *Whitehouse Burn* ARG.

(*b*) *Water-courses connected with* human beings

Not only have human activities and institutions been recorded in Scottish river nomenclature, but also names of gods * and saints, personal names, or names referring to personal callings or titles, are frequently to be found. This group comprise almost 200 names, *all* of the modern compound type.

Personal names, names of saints, gods and goddesses: *Abhainn Catriona* HARRIS, *Allt Eoghainn* MOR, *Allt Màiri* INV, *Allt Mhàrtuin* ROS, *Allt Rostan* DNB (saint's name), *Allt Uilleim* INV, *Bennet's Burn* ELO, *Caochan Roibidh* INV, *Duncan Gray's Burn* ABD, *Murray's Burn* KCB, *Patrick Burn* AYR (saint's name), River Tora SKYE (god's name).

Human occupations, titles, etc.: *Allt. a' Bhodaich* INV ("old man"), *Allt an Àirich* ARG ("shepherd"), *Allt na Caillich* SUT ("old woman"), *Altgillie Burn* ANG ("lad"), *Caochan Greusaiche* PER ("shoemaker"), *Fiddler Burn* LAN, *King's Beck* LAN, *Laird's Burn* ABD, *Lón a' Chleirich* SKYE ("clergyman"), *Pollgowan Burn* AYR ("smith"), *Priest's Water* ABD, *Salter Grain* DMF ("salt-dealer"), *Scots Burn* LAN, *Thief Sike* ROX.

E. Water-courses containing the Name of Named Objects

(*a*) *Water-courses named from the names of* human settlements

In this category of "names from names", there are more than 1000 place-names proper used as defining elements, the second largest sub-section in Scottish hydronymy. In these cases,

* Difficult to assess are mythological names like the two *Dees* (< **Dēuā*) in ABD and KCB and the *Don* (**Deuonā*) in ABD. In these cases the river-name seems to mean simply "goddess", implying in all probability river-worship on the part of the Celtic name-givers.

as well as in the following groups, we would describe the river-name as being *secondary*, i.e. based on the name of some other geographical feature or on a primary river-name. Of course, we cannot expect any discrimination as to the origin, age or linguistic make-up of the place-names which occur as hydronymic elements, and so we find names of all strata of languages in this group. It will suffice to mention a few of them, as they all follow an ever recurring morphological pattern. *Allt Baile nan Carn* INV (Gael. Pl. N.), *Allt Gharbh Ghaig* INV (<pass-name), *Balnakailly Burn* BTE (<Gael. farm-name), *Burn of Auchentumb* ABD (<Gael. field-name), *Forrestburn Water* LAN-WLO (<Engl. river-name), *Golspie Burn* SUT (<ON. Pl. N.), *Gruinard River* ROS (<ON. bay-name), *Inveruglas Water* DNB (Pl. N., containing Celt. river-name), *Keith Water* MLO-ELO (<*p*-Celt. wood-name), *Kilfinnan Burn* INV (<Gael. church-name), *Lealt River* SKYE (Pl. N.<Gael. river-name), *Monynut Water* ELO (<Celt. hill-name), *Nethertown Burn* MLO (Engl. Pl. N.), *Pitcarmick Burn* PER (Pict. farm-name), *River Alness* ROS (Pl. N., containing pre-Celtic river-name), *Wauchope Burn* ROX (<valley-name).

(*b*) *Water-courses named from the* names of hills

In section C.*a*. we came across river-names referring to hills, rocks and knolls past which the stream flows. But the defining elements used in those cases were purely appellative and descriptive, or at least appeared to be so from map evidence. The names of this present group, on the other hand, contain the proper name of the hill or height after which they are called, and so, in our terminology, would have to be classified as "secondary" stream-names. The generic terms used in this category are almost exclusively *burn* and *allt*; we find *burn* qualified by Gaelic hill-names but have no example of *allt* alongside a hill-name of Anglo-Saxon derivation. Here is a short list of examples *: *Allt a' Chnoic* DNB (1614), *Allt a' Mhàim* SKYE (1335), *Allt an Tuirc* INV (2422), *Allt Bhuidh-eannach* PER (3064), *Allt Càrn na Fiacail* INV (1913), *Allt Creag an Lèth-choin* INV (3448), *Allt na Glas Bheinne* INV (2127), *Benbrack Burn* KCB (1900), *Ben Glas Burn* PER/DNB (2037), *Carewoodrig Burn* DMF (1117), *Cruach Neuran Burn* ARG (1988), *Cuff Burn* LAN (1111), *Kingsseat Burn* ROX (1747), *Risingclaw Burn* LAN (1591), *Shalloch Burn* AYR (1777), *Toardy Burn* ANG (1935), *Tushielaw Burn* SLK (1431), *River Horneval* SKYE (218).

* The numerals in brackets denote the height of the hill in feet, as given on O.S.M. 1".

(*c*) *Water-courses named from the* names of valleys

Naturally, a river and the valley through which it flows are very closely associated in the minds of the people living near them, and so it is not surprising that large numbers of streams are named after the glen, dale or dean that houses them. The O.S.M. 1″ (Scotland) has at least 469 of them, not counting valley-names now only used as names of human settlements. These are some of them: *Allt Gleann Gniomhaidh* INV, *Allt Scamodale* ARG, *Burn of Glendui* ABD, *Finland Burn* DNB, *Glendow Sike* DMF, *Glensherup Burn* PER, *Greenhope Burn* BWK, *Lón a' Ghlinne Bhig* SKYE, *Ravendean Burn* PEB, *Rimsdale Burn* SUT, *River Erradale* ROS, *Strathmore Water* CAI.

(*d*) *Water-courses named from the* names of lakes

The "normal" practice in Scottish hydronymy, especially as far as the larger water-courses are concerned, seems to have been to derive the lake-name from the name of the river which flows out of, through or into the loch. We need only think of *Loch Tay*, *Loch Earn*, *Loch Awe*, *Loch Shin*, *Loch Carron*, *Loch Ness* to realise this pattern. But there are almost a hundred, usually smaller, streams mentioned on the Scottish O.S.M. 1″ that show the opposite semantic development: they are named after the loch out of which they issue.* Here belong amongst others: *Abhainn an Loch Bhig* SUT (→Loch Beag), *Abhainn Caslavat* LEWIS, *Allt an Lochain Duibh* INV, *Allt Loch a' Ghael* ARG, *Burn of Pettawater* SH, *Gossawater Burn* SH, *Lochbroom Burn* PER, *Loch Gower Burn* WIG, *Loch of the Lowes Strand* KCB, *Lón Loch Mhóir* SKYE.

(*e*) *Water-courses connected with* primary river-names

Pleonastic usage of generic terms denoting "water, river" seems to have been common in all periods of Scottish hydronymy. It is normally an expression of a change from one language to another, probably starting with an explanatory quality in a time of bilingual transition, but becoming petrified and losing its interpretative character when the older language dies out and is no longer understood. The oldest instance in Scottish hydronymy is apparently *Allander Water* DNB, where Celt. *dubron* was added to a pre-Celtic *Alaunā*. Celt. *dubron*, in its Gaelic and Brythonic variants, is, on the other hand, furnished with a pleonastic *burn* or *allt*, as in *Gelder Burn* ABD, *Allt Calder* INV, *Deer Burn* DMF. Three linguistic strata are represented

* There are one or two exceptions, where the defining element is supplied by the name of the lake into which or through which the stream flows.

not only in *Allander Water* but also in *Feardar Burn* ABD: Brit. **dubro-* or Early Gael. *dobur*, Gael. *féith* and Engl. *burn*. To names in *-glais* usually an explanatory water is added as in *Finglas Water* PER and *Douglas Water* DNB, whereas river-names containing *poll*, *pwll* are, as a rule, followed by an additional *burn*, cf. *Polmood Burn* PEB, *Dipple Burn* LAN, *Pillmour Burn* ELO. ON. *á* enters into quite a number of hydronymic compounds, but always—with the possible exception of *The Lussa* ARG (but cf. also *Lussa River* JURA)—demands a more "modern" pleonastic term, as we see it in *Allt Torray* LEWIS, *Laxo Burn* SH, *Iorsa Water* ARRAN. A few river-names with other pleonastic hydronymic elements suggest that the south-western counties at one time knew *allt* as a river-name element, but it cannot have been very prolific. There are *Garwald Water* and *Garrell Water* in DMF and *Garvald Burn* on the LAN-PEB border, all of which probably stand for Gael. *garbh allt* "rough burn"; *Altigabert Burn* in AYR, *Burn of Altibrair* and *Allivolie Burn* in WIG and possibly *Old Water* in KCB. The maps show 24 names of water-courses altogether in which the primary *allt*-name has been supplemented by a Germanic hydronymic term.

Difficult, in this connection, is the interpretation of the usage of Engl. *river* (and in many cases also *water*). It does occur as a genuine generic element, but where it is attached to a "primary" river-name it is doubtful if it is an integral part of the resulting secondary name, at all. Is it just map-usage or is it an early stage of pleonastic interpretation and addition? We suspect the former although the latter is just possible.

F. "Water-Words"

By this term we mean names which simply mean "river" or "stream" or "flowing water", without any reference to any particular characteristics of the water-course itself or the countryside through which it flows. Names of this kind are to be found in most strata of Scottish hydronymy although they are not very common in modern river-nomenclature. They are well represented amongst the names that have come to us from early linguistic periods, and all names to be ascribed to the pre-Celtic stratum are, without exception, to be classed here. There are 95 of them altogether, 75 of which belong either to the *p*-Celtic or the pre-Celtic layer, and so it is not surprising that we find here most of the names of the larger

Scottish water-courses. Examples are: *Allan* (Water) PER-STL, *Armet* (Water) MLO, *Avon* (Water) LAN, (River) *Awe* ARG, (River) *Ayr* AYR, (River) *Clyde* LAN, (River) *Doon* AYR, (River) *Eden* KNR/FIF, (River) *Esk* DMF, *Leithen* (Water) PEB, *Lyne* (Burn) FIF, (River) *Lyon* PER, (River) *Naver* SUT, *Pow* (Water) PER, *Rye* (Water) AYR, (River) *Shiel* ROS, (River) *Tay* PER, (River) *Tyne* ELO.

Statistical Summary and Conclusion

In this study examples of the various semantic groups have been chosen from all temporal and morphological strata of Scottish hydronymy. It remains now to find out how the semantic categories are distributed over these strata, whether certain morphological types of names are connected with certain semantic aspects and whether certain periods preferred reference to certain characteristics of the water, the water-course, the surroundings, etc.

In examining the most modern names first, we leave aside all smaller groups like names in *sike*, *lane* or *grain*, as well as those in *féith*, *lón*, *dìg*, etc., and concentrate on the two most prolific river-name elements: Engl. *burn* and Gael. *allt*. Names containing these generic terms refer, in the majority of cases, to the surroundings of the water-course, be it natural or man-made. But the difference between the percentage figures is significant. Whereas 64·9 per cent of all *allt*-names refer to the *natural* surroundings of the water-course and only 11·3 per cent to the *human imprint* on them, the respective figures for the *burn*-names drop to 42·1 per cent referring to the *natural* surroundings and rise to 35 per cent for names incorporating names of *human* settlements, institutions, occupations and personal names. The difference is especially striking as far as the derivation of river-names from place-names is concerned; names of that category amount to a mere 2·5 per cent in *allt*-names but include more than a quarter (26·2 per cent) of all *burn*-names, *expressing the high degree of influence human civilisation and culture has had on the naming of our younger and smaller Anglo-Scottish stream-names.* Not even half of all names containing *burn* as a generic term are primary river-names, for 53·4 per cent are "names from names" (place-names, hill-names, valley-names, lake-names, personal names, primary river-names), including 8·7 per cent in which *burn* is used pleonastically. The respective figures for Scottish *allt*-names are 14·9 per cent and 1·7 per cent. Only 15·4 per cent of all

allt-names and 7·3 per cent of all *burn*-names refer to characteristics of the water and the water-course themselves.

The share of secondary names is even greater in the special type "*burn of*—". Here 63·2 per cent are "names from names",

Morphological Group	Linguistic Stratum	Element	Semantic Group A: *a.* colour	A: *d.* noise	B: *a.* size	B: *b.* form	B: *c.* speed	B: *d.* bed
Compounds	Anglo-Scottish	burn	79	10	17	30	15	25
		burn of	1	...	1	1	...	...
		water	16	2	1	1	1	5
		water of	...	1	...	...	...	...
		river	2	...	1	2	...	...
	Old Norse	á	7	...	...	1	1	5
	Gaelic	allt	101	11	62	88	22	90
		abhainn	17	1	12	5	4	3
		uisge	11	...	...	...	...	3
	Early Celtic	glais	7	...	...	...	...	...
		pow, poll	7	1	1	5	1	6
		dubro-	4	...	1	1	...	20
Suffixes and Simple Stems	Gaelic	-ach	15	3	1	12	7	41
		-ag	5	6	2	5	3	9
		-an	6	1	...	3	4	9
		-agan	2	...	...	...	...	1
	Early Celtic	-aidh	23	5	...	17	9	26
		p-Celtic	27	14	...	...	5	22
	pre-Celtic		...	...	...	...	...	...

This table shows the semantic structure of all Scottish river-names to be found on O.S.M. 1". Its figures are by no means final and may be subject to slight alterations, but the over-all picture is undoubtedly correct.

including 37·2 per cent place-names and 11·5 per cent primary river-names. Whereas 76·6 per cent of all names of this group point to the surroundings, natural or artificial, of the stream, only 1·1 per cent (3 names) refer to characteristics

of the water and the water-course. With the pattern "*burn of*—" we may link the type "*water of*—"; "names from names" are represented by an almost identical percentage, i.e. 62·7, but the distribution is very different, for this figure

C					D		E					F		
a. terrain	*b.* trees	*c.* plants	*d.* animals, etc.	*e.* situation	*a.* human institutions	*b.* persons	*a.* place-names	*b.* hill-names	*c.* valley-names	*d.* lake-names	*e.* river-names	water-words	Miscellaneous	Obscure
426	24	12	36	111	155	59	634	129	247	14	212	2	21	131
54	1	2	3	2	3	...	97	17	14	7	30	...	...	16
38	...	2	7	9	10	2	59	1	25	...	104	...	1	34
1	1	...	3	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	26	...	...	8
36	2	3	5	4	7	2	110	6	57	2	173	...	5	15
8	...	...	8	...	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
1075	87	27	131	70	139	75	61	51	71	61	43	1	40	55
84	2	1	6	5	11	4	18	4	41	9	13	1	2	6
3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	2
...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
14	7	4	22	4	10	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	11	10
...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	...
6	8	6	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8	5
...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	2
3	5	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	1	...
...	1	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
7	5	4	26	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	...	...
1	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	12	8
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43	...	3

is made up of 51 per cent primary stream-names, 7·8 per cent place-names and 2·9 per cent other names, stressing the strong accent on pleonastic usage which this type has in modern Scottish hydronymy. 13·7 per cent of all names speak of the natural surroundings of the river and 1·9 per cent (1 name!) of the water itself.—*Water* in the more "normal" morphological

pattern, i.e. *following* the defining element, again is qualified by terms pointing to the surroundings of the water-course or by primary geographical names: 25·3 per cent refer to the natural surroundings of the stream, 21·9 per cent to traces of human civilisation in the neighbourhood, 32·1 per cent show pleonastic usage; the share of "names from names" is just over 50 per cent. We arrive at similar figures for the usage of Engl. *river* in Scottish hydronymy: natural surroundings 26·4 per cent, human influence 27·3 per cent, pleonastic usage 39·7 per cent; but the category of "names from names" goes up to 78·9 per cent, a confirmation of the view expressed earlier that *river* has no real creative value, in the "primary" sense, in Scottish river-nomenclature.

The Gaelic generic elements corresponding to Engl. *water* and *river*—*uisge* and *abhainn*—preserve more of the primary hydronymic character than their English equivalents. Exactly half of all *uisge*-names refer to the water or the water-course and another 18·4 per cent to the natural surroundings; only 2 names (6·8 per cent) are "names from names", one of them with pleonastic *uisge*. *Abhainn* approaches more closely to the usage of Engl. *river* than *uisge* to that of Engl. *water*, but *the highest percentage*—60·1—*goes to streams named after the natural surroundings of the water-course and only* 13 *per cent to those referring to human settlements, institutions and personal names.* Characteristics of the water or water-course are denoted by 17 per cent of the defining elements used. The share of "names from names" is 35·2 per cent. So the main usage of *abhainn* corresponds to that of Gael. *allt*: neighbouring geographical features supply the defining term. In this respect, *abhainn* and *allt* are joined by Gael. *poll*, W. *pwll*, Scot. *pow*, for 45·3 per cent of the names of that class refer to the surrounding countryside and only 11·1 per cent to human civilisation.

It is interesting to compare, at this point, the semantic aspects of the defining elements qualifying ON. *ā* in Scottish hydronymy, for we find that *ā* does not go together with the other Germanic terms mentioned—*burn, water, river*—but can be classed with their Gaelic equivalents in so far as the natural surroundings of the water-course are referred to in 40 per cent of all cases, whereas only about half that number has any connection with human life in the neighbourhood. But in one respect the usage of *ā* points away even from *allt, abhainn* and *uisge*: 35 per cent of all *ā*-names indicate special qualities of the stream itself.

Here *ā* (itself belonging to a fairly early Germanic stratum) links up with those two Celtic terms which must be thought of as part of an older layer of Scottish hydronymy than the one *allt*, *abhainn* and *uisge* belong to: *glais* and *dobhar* (*dw*(*f*)*r*). Not a single one of the names which contain them as generic terms implies a reference to human activity in the neighbourhood of the stream referred to, though the natural surroundings are mentioned in 28·6 per cent of all *glais*- and in 5·9 per cent of all *dobhar*-names. The decisive difference, however, is expressed by the fact that 50 per cent of the names containing *glais* and 76·5 per cent of those containing *dobhar* (or *dwr*) speak of special characteristics of the water or the water-course. This semantic evidence underlines and confirms the view, based on morphological grounds, that names containing Celt. *dubron* belong to the earliest stratum of hydronymic compounds in Scotland, for it closely corresponds to the distribution of semantic aspects in names formed by adding a suffix to a word or word-stem, a group that, on the whole, undoubtedly belongs to an earlier period than compound names.

If we first look at the names ending in *Gaelic* suffixes, we find that the basis of 80·9 per cent of all these names is a word or stem referring to the water or water-course, whereas only 17 per cent point to the natural surroundings of the stream (including names in *-ach*, derived from names of animals, etc.). Names of human settlements, human activities and institutions and personal names are not incorporated, four names are examples of pleonastic usage (1·1 per cent) and the rest come under the headings "miscellaneous" and "unexplained". For p-*Celtic* names almost the same remarks apply, for, as to their name-bases, 80 per cent mean special characteristics of the flowing water or its course, in contrast to 3·2 per cent (4 names) that point to the countryside near it and 16·8 per cent miscellaneous and unexplained names. Again human civilisation does not come into the nomenclature of this morphological stratum, at all. If we step even further back to examine the Scottish river-names which we believe to have come down to us from a *pre-Celtic* period, we find that even references to the natural surroundings are not implied by the stems used, but that all explainable names (93·5 per cent) refer to the water or water-course, most of them simply meaning "water" or "river" or "something flowing", probably with various and sensitive shades of meaning which we can no longer detect.

A comparison with figures given by Hans Krahe (1949) for the semantic structure of the river-names in the catchment area of the River Main in Germany may be very instructive at this point. There the youngest, German, layer—compound names containing the element *-bach*—consists of 41 per cent of names referring to human beings and human civilisation, 46 per cent pointing to the natural surroundings and 13 per cent to the water itself and its characteristics. This corresponds roughly to our *burn*-names, where the equivalent figures are 35, 42 and 7 per cent—In the Main area the main basic element in the older, Germanic, stratum of compound names is *-aha*, cognate with OE. *ēa* and ON. *ā*. Names belonging to this group show a different distribution of the semantic categories: only 6 per cent are derived from human activities and institutions, 54 per cent are connected with the natural surroundings and 40 per cent describe characteristics of the flowing water itself. With these formations in *-aha* we may compare our Gaelic river-names containing *allt* or *abhainn* as generic elements, but it must be noted here that *allt-* and *abhainn*-names show a more "modern" trend in so far as they include a higher percentage of names derived from the human imprint on the surrounding countryside and, at the same time, do not refer as often to the water or the water-course themselves. No name-group comparable with our category ending in Gaelic suffixes is mentioned in Krahe's short survey, based on a dissertation by M. Belschner (1943); but our *p*-Celtic simple stems have an equivalent in Early Germanic names of the same morphological structure, and what Krahe says about the latter is just as applicable to the former (Krahe 1949, p. 24):

> And here man is not mentioned anymore, here everything is only nature, or—more precisely—only the water itself. At this early stage the mere description as "river" is predominant, and only here and there a special quality of its course or its character is referred to more explicitly.

As the oldest accessible hydronymic stratum seems to have been the same in the part of Britain examined by us and in the catchment basin surveyed by Krahe—a pre-dialectal Indo-European group of simple stems—it is not surprising that they are identical semantically in both areas, i.e. they consist exclusively of a great variety of "water-words" describing only the water itself.

If we interpret the above lists and the subsequent summary

and examine the development and changes in the semantic aspects expressed in the various strata of Scottish river-nomenclature, we find that the oldest names just refer to the water itself and its flowing. It suffices at this early stage to call the river "the flowing one"; and even the colour and noise of the flowing water do not play any part yet, but only become significant attributes, together with the nature of the bed in which the stream flows, in the slightly later Early Celtic hydronymy. In the next layer the importance of that aspect is still obvious but references to the natural surroundings occur, first of all to the flora and fauna on the banks of the water-courses, then also to hills, woods and glens. Names including the surrounding terrain, plants, trees, animals, become more common during the following period and form, in our most "modern" river-nomenclature, the strongest semantic sub-section, although greatly challenged for pride of place by the numerous names to be connected with human life near the water-course. The growing number of references to human activities in the widest sense becomes especially apparent in the group of names containing Engl. *burn* as a generic term; here man and his civilisation are, as we have seen above, referred to in at least 35 per cent of all examples found on the Scottish O.S.M. 1".

In this youngest semantic stratum—in which reference is made to the natural and artificial surroundings of the water-course—the number of compound names is extremely great. It is possible to say that the inclusion of the surrounding countryside as a source for river-nomenclature is the semantic equivalent of the morphological development from simple stems and suffixed formations to compound names. The form and meaning of a name prove to be almost interdependable. A change in the morphological structure, i.e. the creation of new morphological types, seems to have made possible, or even necessary, a new semantic aspect, and, on the other hand, an altered semantic attitude has necessitated new modes of morphological expression.

As references to foreign hydronymies have shown, this semantic structure and development is not confined to Scotland or to the British Isles. It represents a change in the connection between name and meaning and in the creative process of naming in general, at least in those parts of the world in which Western European languages have formed the structural basis for the linguistic expression of thought.

County Abbreviations

ABD	Aberdeenshire	LAN	Lanarkshire
ANG	Angus	MLO	Midlothian
ARG	Argyllshire	MOR	Morayshire
AYR	Ayrshire	NAI	Nairnshire
BNF	Banffshire	ORK	Orkney
BTE	Buteshire	PEB	Peeblesshire
BWK	Berwickshire	PER	Perthshire
CAI	Caithness	RNF	Renfrewshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire	ROS	Ross-shire
DMF	Dumfriesshire	ROX	Roxburghshire
DNB	Dunbartonshire	SH	Shetland
ELO	East Lothian	SLK	Selkirkshire
FIF	Fife	STL	Stirlingshire
INV	Inverness-shire	SUT	Sutherland
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	WIG	Wigtownshire
KCD	Kincardineshire	WLO	West Lothian
KNR	Kinross-shire		

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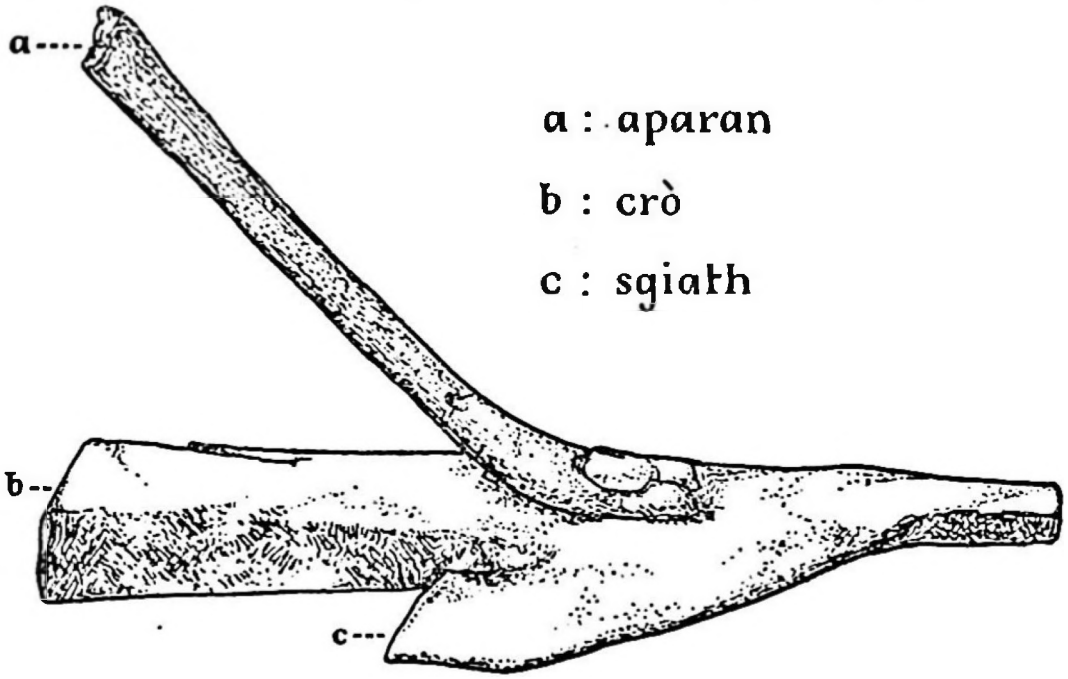
A PLOUGH FROM SOUTH UIST

There is an illustration of a plough-sock from South Uist, now in the Hamburgisches Museum, in *Scottish Studies* 1 (1957), Plate 2, Fig. 5. In a note on page 88 it is described as a "sock with coulter attached", and the authors state "we are unable to explain this unusual implement". If I may be permitted to do so I should like to offer an explanation.

What is described as the "coulter attached" is not really a coulter at all. It is what is commonly known in South Uist as the *aparan an t-suic* (apron of the sock). This apron is fixed



to the top of the sock with an iron bolt which goes right through the entire sock. The bolt is clinched at the bottom end.

The sock is fitted on to the iron *bonn* (bottom) of the plough by inserting the tapered end of the *bonn* into the *crò* (socket); it is a push-fit, and the sock stays put by the pressure of the soil as the plough moves forward. The apron then fits up against that part of the plough known as the *geadha*.

This is the common South Uist sock, and several of the kind are still in use. I had a good specimen of the type in my own possession, now in the Highland Folk Museum.*

DONALD JOHN MACDONALD.

* Mr. Donald John Macdonald has presented the South Uist plough sock to the Highland Folk Museum. A scale drawing of this is appended.

Overall length	: 10⅝ ins.
Max. width across wing	: 4¾ ins.
Height of aparan off crò	: 4⅜ ins.
Height of aparan off howi	: 6 ins.

BIRD LORE IN FOREGLEN

Cock. A cock crowing between the hours of midnight and 4 a.m. (in winter at any rate) presages death in the vicinity.

Crow. A crow perched within twelve yards of the door presages ill fortune.

Hen. Crowing hens are not uncommon. A woman who raises a large number of poultry in the vicinity, when asked what she does with them, replied "Thraw their necks. They're nae lucky."

Hooded Crow. The local people hate its ravenous cry. Ask why and you are told it's unlucky. Ask in what way and there is no definite answer.

Owl. To see an owl during the day is reckoned to be unlucky. An owl hooting during the day is taken to presage rain and to portend bad luck.

Seagull. Country people used to pay particular attention to the flight of gulls. The following jingle was common in the parishes inland from Buckie on the Moray Firth in the boyhood of an old man who died, aged 80, in 1926.

> "Fan the gows flee tae the sea
> Warm weather it will be.
> Fan the gows flee tae the hills
> We'll get water tae oor mills."

Swallow. Swallows which build in houses or steadings are immune from harm. It would be a breach of hospitality to harry them. To do any harm at all would be to invoke ill luck.

Collected by Mr. A. C. W. Sinclair, Tomintoul. The material relates to Forglen and district. The School would be very grateful for similar collections from all parts of Scotland.

A PACKMAN'S BIVVY IN MOIDART

The packman is still a familiar figure in the rural landscape. He travels from house to house with his wares—mostly small articles of haberdashery, buttons, thread, ribbons and the like—slung over his shoulder in a pack or bundled together in a kerchief. In some houses he is offered a meal; in others a bed in the hay-loft or barn. Sometimes he sleeps in the open, taking advantage of whatever shelter can be got from trees, banks, dykes or other such features.

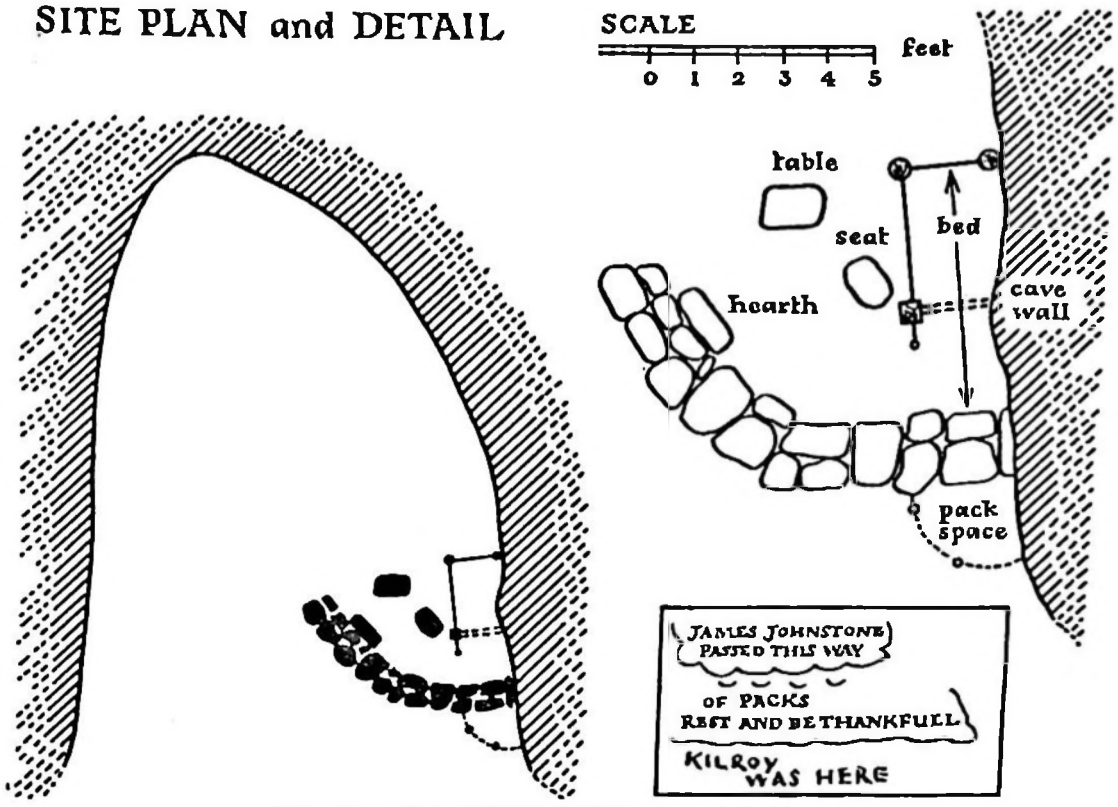


FIG. 1.—A packman's bivvy in Moidart.

A cave occupied intermittently by packmen was noted in September 1956 on Meall na h-Uamh on the northern shore of Loch Moidart, along the footpath leading to the remote crofting township of Glenuig. A crude dry-stone wall about 2 ft. 6 in. in height had been built out from the cave-wall to form a protective screen across part of the mouth of the cave. Two flat stones, one serving as a seat and the other presumably as a table for the packman's plate or cup, were placed conveniently before a hearth-stone set at the base of the screen wall towards its outer end. A bed-space was formed by three timber posts wedged between the cave floor and roof. The two headposts were undressed lengths of fir trunk: the third post

had been squared and was braced at shoulder level by a horizontal spar whose other end was wedged against the cave wall. These posts supported a screen of sacking, and the bed was furnished with a thick carpet of straw. At the foot of the bed, outside the curtain wall, a screen of sacking and tarpaulin supported on sticks enclosed a space for the pack.

A board by the bedroom entrance bore the following legend in pencil: JAMES JOHNSTONE PASSED THIS WAY ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ OF PACKS REST AND BE THANKFULL. A bolder hand had added underneath in yellow chalk: KILROY WAS HERE. The four ⌣ may be purely decorative,

FIG. 2.—A packman's bivvy in Moidart.

or they may have some meaning: is it too much to hope that they indicate a bivvy of four-star comfort? Certainly the whole structure is an admirable example of functionalism in design. Unfortunately none of the recent occupants was in the district when the cave was noted, and no other information about this temporary dwelling has been collected.

The building of a protective wall across a cave-mouth is a practice of which an elaborate example, complete with two fire-places and flues, was found near Dirleton (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*), the wall in this instance being probably a late addition to a cave showing traces of successive occupation from pre-historic times. Protective walls

were built across the mouths of the caves occupied by homeless unemployed men at West Kilbride in 1937 (*Antiquity*). Reference is made to the occupation of caves near Wick (Mitchell 1880) and near Cruden in the nineteenth century (Pratt 1858), while Mr. Hamish Henderson has collected oral references to the use of the Aberdeenshire caves by tinkers in the early years of the twentieth century. He has also recorded a lengthy account of life in an Aberdeenshire cave from a tinker who claims to have spent a year of his childhood in it.

John Campbell, the Ledaig bard, is said by Mr. R. MacLeod to have furnished a cave with benches and to have conducted religious services in it before the village hall was built.* It would be interesting to learn of other recent instances of the use of caves for human habitation, as shelter for animals, or for storage.

STEWART F. SANDERSON.

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* Information supplied by Mr. R. MacLeod, Benderloch.

"PEGGY ON THE BANKS O' SPEY"

A. Recorded from Mrs. Elsie Morrison, Nether Dallachy, Spey Bay, April 1956
B. Recorded from Jeannie Robertson (Mrs. Jean Higgins), Aberdeen, August 1953

A

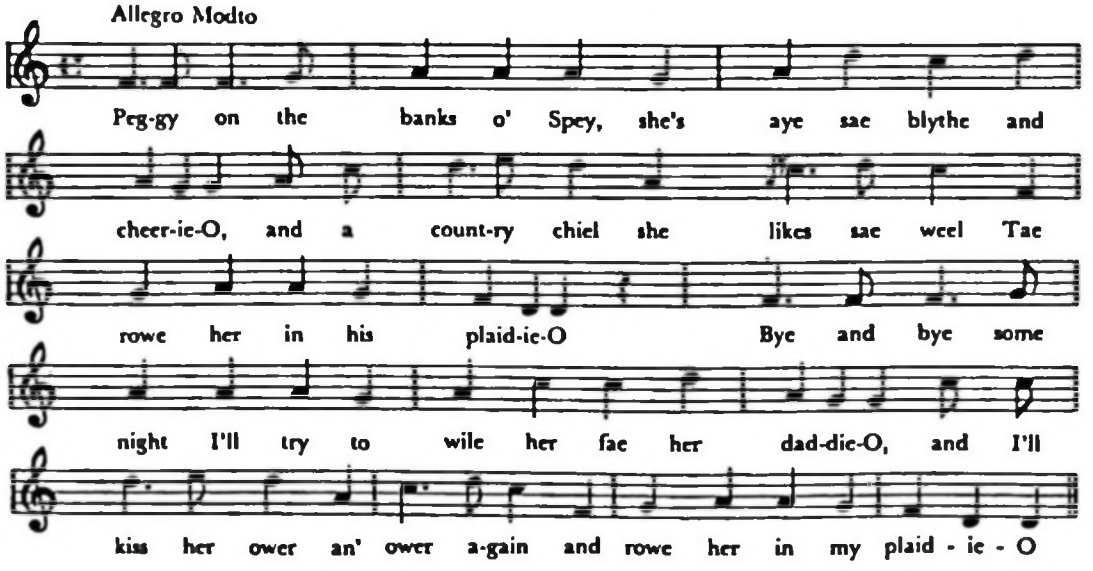
Peggy on the banks o' Spey
She's aye sae blythe an' cheerie O,
An' a country chiel she likes sae weel
Tae rowe her in his plaidie O.

Bye an' bye some night I'll try
Tae wile her fae her daddie O,
An' I'll kiss her ower and ower again
An' rowe her in my plaidie O.

The plooman lads are rovin' lads—
Ye aye ken fit they're seekin' O.
They pawn their kist, an' syne they 'list
An' they leave their lassies greetin' O.

He's pitten me fae jumpin' dykes,
Fae dancin' and fae fiddlin' O.
He's gien me laces tae my stays—
They're o' the latest fashion O.

Gin I had back fit I ainst had
(But that's fit I will never O)
I'd tak guid care, an' be aware
O' the young men in the gloamin' O.



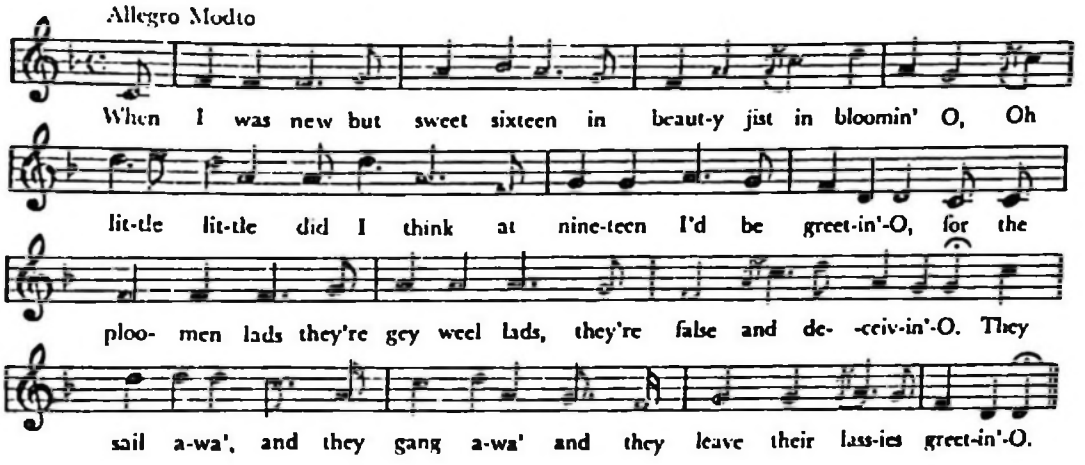
B

When I was new but sweet sixteen
In beauty jist in bloomin' O
O little little did I think
At nineteen I'd be greetin' O.

For the plooman lads, they're gey weel lads,
They're false and deceivin' O.
They sail awa and they gang awa
And they leave their lassies greetin' O.

For if I had 'a kent what I dae ken
And teen my mither's biddin' O
For I widnae be sittin' at your fireside,
Cryin' hishy-ba my bairnie O

O hishy-ba, O I'm your ma
But the Lord knows wha's your daddie O—
But I'll tak good care, and I'll be aware
Of the young men in the gloamin' O.



This folk-song seems to be a native of Strathspey. Mrs. Elsie Morrison heard it in the Ballindalloch area over fifty years ago. Many singers in Upper Banffshire know snatches of it; in addition to the versions printed above, I have a fragment from Willie Gordon, Lilybank, Tomintoul, and a fine gallus recording from Alec Gately, Morinsh—this last the pride of a night-long ceilidh in the Pole Inn, Glenlivet, in March 1956. Alec's title is "Mary on the Banks o' Spey"; his text closely resembles Mrs. Morrison's.

Jeannie Robertson comes of tinkler-gypsy stock, and her people are well known on Speyside. It seems likely that the song will have

been picked up by the travelling folk from the farm servants of the area.

Willie Gordon's first verse is the one usually heard:

Peggy on the banks o' Spey
She's aye sae blythe and cheerie O:
She looks sae shy when I pass by
She would hardly be my dearie O.

HAMISH HENDERSON.

Music transcribed by Francis Collinson.

Note on "The Gairdener and the Plooman"
(Song on page 182)

This song was collected from Mrs Elsie Morrison, Nether Dallachy, Spey Bay, on 5th April 1956. Mrs Morrison, a native of Ballindalloch, learned many of her songs when she was fee'd on Speyside farms in her young days. "I used tae be in the fairm-kitchens, cook, and ye ken what it is in the fairms, at nicht they wad play the melodeon in the kitchen and sing sangs, and then they had tae clear oot at nine o'clock—but ye ken whit the fairms is, the bothy lads wad be singin' a' that kin' o' sangs, ye see, an' me bein' a young quine, I just pickit them up."

Two versions of this song were printed by Gavin Greig in his *Folksongs of the North-East* (reprints of articles which appeared between December 1907 and June 1911 in the *Buchan Observer*). The first is in Article CXXVI; John Ord subsequently reprinted it, with a few minor alterations, in his *Bothy Songs and Ballads* (p. 94). Greig's second version (*Folksongs of the North-East*, Article CXXVIII) is closer to ours.

The song appears to be a distant descendant of a classical ballad "The Gardener" (Child, 219). As Professor Child himself indicates (Vol. V, pp. 258-9), a version of this ballad printed by Wm. Forrest in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, in 1766 shares stanzas with two other songs, "The Seeds of Love" and "A Sprig of Thyme". The farm servants of the North-East have inherited these, severally and as a sort of compost. From the latter has sprung a new song, bringing in a "plooman lad" to comfort the gardener's forsaken sweetheart.

HAMISH HENDERSON.

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Items in bold type denote titles of contributions ; the names of contributors appear in small capitals.

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