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PART 1

PART 2

THE MOVEMENTS OF PEOPLE IN SCOTLAND 1851-1951

R. H. Osborne *

In recent years considerable concern has been expressed in Scotland regarding the loss of population from particular regions, such as the Highlands, the North-east and the Borders, and the increased concentration in the already well-populated Central Lowlands. In order to provide an historical perspective to the current discussion the present writer has considered it useful to show the state of internal migration in Scotland in the three years, 1851, 1901 and 1951.[1]

Since 1851 the population of Scotland has increased from 2·9 millions to 5·1 millions, i.e. by 76 per cent. One hundred years previously, in 1755, the population was estimated at 1·3 millions by Dr. A. Webster in the unofficial but valuable census carried out under his direction by parish ministers and entitled "An Account of the Number of the People in Scotland in the year One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Five" (reprinted in Kyd 1952). The first official census, taken in 1801, revealed a population of 1·6 millions, indicating an increase of 27 per cent during the previous half-century. Between 1801 and 1851 the rate of growth was 80 per cent, between 1851 and 1901, when the population reached 4·5 millions, the rate was 55 per cent, while in the last fifty years the rate was 14 per cent.

Over the last two hundred years profound agricultural and industrial changes, in conjunction with a high rate of natural increase, at least until the beginning of the present century, fostered a transformation of the geographical pattern of employment opportunities and thus led to considerable internal migration. The redistribution of population effected since 1755 is indicated in Table I. This gives the numbers living in the various parts of Scotland in 1755 and in the census years 1801, 1851, 1901 and 1951, and also the percentage of the national population represented by these figures.

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The territorial units here adopted differ somewhat from those customarily used by the Registrar-General for Scotland. Four major divisions are distinguished, here called "North", "South", "Forth-Tay" and "Greater Clyde", the two latter in turn constituting a larger "Central" division. The North division consists of the seven crofting counties (Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Orkney, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland and Zetland) and the five counties of the North-east (Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Kincardine and Nairn). In Table I the Crofting Counties have been split into two groups—"Argyll and Inverness" and "Remaining Counties"—while the North-east counties have also been split into two groups—"Aberdeen and Kincardine" and "Remaining Counties".

The Crofting Counties are commonly regarded as a distinctive region of Scotland, owing to the dominance (at least historically) of the crofting system over much of the area, and no defence of the adoption of this particular statistical region is therefore necessary. The North-eastern counties embrace the coastal lowlands between Montrose and Inverness, with their arable and beef cattle farms and fishing ports, including the city of Aberdeen. This group of counties also constitutes a fairly well-recognised economic region of Scotland, although it is true that the Highlands intrude into each of them, thus introducing a contrasting environment and economy. The Crofting Counties and the North-eastern counties together cover the greater part of the country lying to the north of the Highland Line, or Northern Boundary Fault, the geological boundary between the Highlands and the Central Lowlands, which extends from Helensburgh in Dunbartonshire to Stonehaven in Kincardine. These two regions taken together thus broadly correspond to the north of Scotland and here constitute the North division of the country.

About half of Angus and about two-thirds of Perthshire also belong to the north of Scotland, in so far as they lie to the north of this line in the Highland zone, but, as the bulk of the present population is found in their Lowland areas these counties are here treated as a separate region falling within the Forth-Tay division. These populous districts of the two counties include Dundee, Perth, Strathmore and the line of small towns commanding the entrances to the Highland valleys. To the south Fife and Kinross form a convenient region corresponding to the peninsula lying between the Forth and

TABLE I

Distribution of Population, 1755-1951

Enumerated in	1755		1801		1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Crofting Counties:	255,513	20·2	302,817	18·9	395,540	13·7	352,371	7·9	285,786	5·6
Argyll and Inverness	*125,849*	*10·0*	*153,949*	*9·6*	*185,798*	*6·4*	*163,746*	*3·7*	*148,291*	*2·9*
Remaining Counties	*129,664*	*10·2*	*148,868*	*9·3*	*209,742*	*7·3*	*188,625*	*4·2*	*137,495*	*2·7*
North-east:	214,001	16·9	220,712	13·7	349,716	12·1	460,941	10·3	462,496	9·1
Aberdeen and Kincardine	*139,225*	*11·0*	*147,414*	*9·1*	*246,630*	*8·5*	*345,362*	*7·7*	*355,411*	*7·0*
Remaining Counties	*74,776*	*5·9*	*73,298*	*4·6*	*103,086*	*3·6*	*115,579*	*2·6*	*107,085*	*2·1*
NORTH	469,514	37·1	523,529	32·6	745,256	25·8	813,312	18·2	748,282	14·7
Angus and Perth	188,999	15·0	224,636	14·0	329,924	11·4	407,365	9·1	402,905	7·9
Fife and Kinross	86,459	6·8	100,468	6·2	162,470	5·6	225,818	5·0	314,196	6·2
Stirling and Clackmannan	46,017	3·6	61,683	3·8	109,188	3·8	174,320	3·9	225,059	4·4
Lothians	136,950	10·8	170,427	10·6	325,956	11·3	593,172	13·3	706,570	13·8
FORTH-TAY	458,425	36·2	557,214	34·6	927,538	32·1	1,400,675	31·3	1,648,730	32·3
Clyde	122,228	9·7	246,903	15·3	736,363	25·5	1,722,172	38·5	2,103,292	41·3
Ayr and Bute	66,134	5·2	95,998	6·0	206,466	7·1	273,255	6·1	340,520	6·7
GREATER CLYDE	188,362	14·9	342,901	21·3	942,829	32·6	1,995,427	44·6	2,443,812	48·0
Central	*646,787*	*51·1*	*900,115*	*55·9*	*1,870,367*	*64·7*	*3,396,102*	*75·9*	*4,092,542*	*80·3*
Solway	77,459	6·1	106,726	6·6	164,633	5·7	144,639	3·2	148,005	2·9
Tweed	71,620	5·7	78,050	4·9	108,486	3·8	118,050	2·7	107,586	2·1
SOUTH	149,079	11·8	184,776	11·5	273,119	9·5	262,689	5·9	255,591	5·0
SCOTLAND	1,265,380	100·0	1,608,420	100·0	2,888,742	100·0	4,472,103	100·0	5,096,415	100·0

Tay. Stirling and Clackmannan constitute another suitable territorial unit, in view of their close economic relations, associated with the mining of coal and with their joint command of the lowlands at the head of the estuary of the Forth. A thinly populated part of Stirlingshire does, admittedly, lie within the Highland zone, however. Finally, the Lothians, dominated by Edinburgh and embracing the fertile lowlands along the southern shores of the Firth of Forth, constitute another well-recognised region. The Forth-Tay division thus consists of a group of four regions which are drained by these two major river systems, the whole area corresponding to the eastern portion of the Central Lowlands.

To the west of this Forth-Tay division lies the Greater Clyde division, consisting of the highly-industrialised Clyde region, corresponding to the counties of Dunbarton, Lanark (including Glasgow) and Renfrew, and a region which straddles the Firth of Clyde, corresponding to the counties of Ayr and Bute. Although the group of islands forming the county of Bute belongs partially to the Highlands on the basis of geology, the population pattern is dominated by Rothesay and other resort towns serving the population of Central Scotland. Part of Dunbarton also lies in the Highlands, although most of its population is found along the north bank of the Clyde. The Greater Clyde Division thus broadly corresponds to the western portion of the Scottish Lowlands, and although smaller in area than Forth-Tay it is more populous (2·4 millions, compared with 1·6).

The geological boundary separating the Lowlands from the Southern Uplands—the Southern Boundary Fault—runs conventionally from Girvan in Ayrshire to Dunbar in East Lothian. Those parts of Ayr, Lanark, Midlothian and East Lothian falling within the Southern Uplands have only a small population, however, and, in fact, the county boundaries are here more appropriate on physical and economic grounds than those of Angus, Perth, Stirling and Dunbarton, on the northern margin of the Lowlands.

The South division consists of the seven counties which extend from the Southern Uplands to the Solway Firth and the English border. The four eastern counties, commonly known as "the Borders" (Berwick, Peebles, Roxburgh and Selkirk), are here called the Tweed region, after the river which drains them, while the three western counties (Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown) are called the Solway region,

although strictly speaking Wigtown borders the Irish Sea rather than the Solway Firth. Both these regions have distinctive agricultural economies, the Tweed region being noted for its emphasis on sheep and the Solway region for its emphasis on dairy cattle. The Tweed region is further distinguished by its specialisation in the woollen textile industries.

These statistical regions necessarily consist of entire counties, since the county is the basic unit for the publication of most demographic statistics. It is inevitable, therefore, as has already been implied, that such regions based on whole counties are not necessarily ideal if a high degree of uniformity of regional characteristics is desired. As regards the particular county combinations and regional nomenclature there is also room for discussion. For instance, Kinross is here combined with Fife, although for local government purposes the county is associated with Perthshire. It should be pointed out, however, that for other purposes, e.g. telephone administration, Kinross is associated with Fife. The association of Angus with Perth may also be questioned. Here it may be stated that these two counties were treated as a convenient unit for a post-war planning survey (Payne 1950). The combination of Stirling with Clackmannan is found in the geographical organisation of the National Coal Board, which places the mines of the two counties in its Alloa Area.

The regional sub-division of Scotland suggested here may usefully be compared with the scheme adopted by C. P. Snodgrass (1943) based largely on types of agriculture. An inspection of the map of these regions shows that apart from the anomalies relating to the northern and southern fringes of the Lowlands already suggested, the arrangement of counties by the present writer only seriously violates this scheme in the Crofting Counties, where important areas of arable and stock farming occur in the Orkneys, in Caithness and around the Moray Firth. To summarise, it may thus be claimed that the ten regions here adopted have a fair measure of economic and physiographic homogeneity, given the need to adhere to county boundaries.

As regards the titles of the regions and divisions here adopted it will be seen that the names are in some cases those of the constituent counties and in others are related to type of economic activity (e.g. Crofting Counties), drainage basins (e.g. Clyde) or compass directions (e.g. North-east). While this mixture may not be entirely satisfactory the author considers that in each

instance the name is the most suitable on the grounds either of common usage or easy identification in the mind of the reader. The name "Solway" for the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown may possibly be open to criticism. It should therefore be stated that this name was given to the area in an official survey of Scottish depopulation (Hutchinson 1949).

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1755-1951

Table I shows how the numbers living in these Divisions and Regions of Scotland and the percentages these formed of the national population have changed since 1755. It will be seen that between 1755 and 1801 and again between 1801 and 1851 each region increased in population, although there were changes in the percentages of the national population held by each region. Between 1755 and 1801 the percentages did not change very markedly, however. Most of the regional percentages fell by small amounts, although slight upward changes occurred in Stirling-Clackmannan, Ayr-Bute and Solway. It must be remembered, however, that the 1755 figures, although given in exact numbers, are not as reliable as those for 1801 and succeeding years, so that too close a comparison of the two sets of percentages should not be made. The only really remarkable change between 1755 and 1801 is that occurring in the Clyde region, where the percentage rose from 9·7 to 15·3. The general situation is thus one of a slight decline in the position of all regions, except the three mentioned above, which experienced minor increases, but of a considerable increase in the proportion held by the Clyde region, where, it will be noted, the population doubled in size from 122,000 to 247,000.

Although the population of all regions increased between 1801 and 1851 the changes in the regional percentages were rather more marked than in the previous period. This time the percentage of Stirling-Clackmannan remained constant and that of Solway declined, while Ayr-Bute again experienced an increase. The percentage holding of the Clyde region again increased considerably (from 15·3 to 25·5), its population in 1851 being three times that of 1801. Apart from the Lothians, where the percentage increased from 10·6 to 11·3, all the remaining regions experienced a decline in their percentages.

Between 1851 and 1901, when the volume of internal migration in Scotland was probably at its height, the regional

pattern of population distribution underwent much more severe changes. The Crofting Counties and the Solway region actually declined in population, it will be observed. There was again an increase in the percentage of the Lothians, and again Stirling-Clackmannan was able to maintain its position. Clyde again experienced a substantial increase in its holding (25·5 to 38·5), but that of Ayr-Bute now declined. All the remaining regions suffered a decline in their percentages.

In the most recent period, 1901-51, the Crofting Counties again declined in population and, as the population of the North-east only increased by a mere 1,500 persons, there was a decline in numbers in the North Division as a whole. To the south of the North-east region population declined by about 4,500 in Angus-Perth. The Lothians region showed a slight increase in its percentage, but Stirling-Clackmannan and Fife-Kinross—the latter regaining its 1801 position—underwent greater proportionate increases in their holdings, especially the latter. The percentage of Ayr-Bute also rose during the period, but without regaining the level of 1851, while that of Clyde now increased only to a moderate extent compared with previous periods (38·5 to 41·3). In the South the population of the Tweed region declined by 10,500 and as there was only a slight growth of population in Solway the South Division as a whole declined in population. Nevertheless, in spite of the depopulation of three regions (Crofting Counties, Angus-Perth and Tweed) and the negligible growth of two others (North-east and Solway) the slowing-down in the rate of growth of the percentage of population held by the Clyde region and the rise in the percentages of Fife-Kinross, Stirling-Clackmannan and Ayr-Bute, suggest that, for Central Scotland at least, further regional differentiation in favour of the Clyde region has been halted.

If the 1951 regional percentages are compared with those at the three earlier census dates the magnitude of the redistribution which has occurred in the last hundred and fifty years may be appreciated. The share of the nation's population held by the Crofting Counties has fallen since 1801 from 18·9 to 5·6 per cent (with the actual numbers falling by 17,000) while that of the North-east has fallen from 13·7 to 9·1 per cent. The proportion of the population inhabiting the North thus fell from nearly one-third (32·6 per cent) to well under one-sixth (14·7 per cent). Within the Crofting Counties both "Argyll and Inverness" and "Remaining Counties" showed

similar reductions in their percentage holdings. Within the North-east, on the other hand, there was a sharp distinction between "Aberdeen and Kincardine" and "Remaining Counties", the former experiencing a more than twofold increase of its population and a less severe proportionate reduction in its holding than the latter. The Forth-Tay Division, covering the eastern, and major, section of the Central Lowlands, has very nearly maintained its 1801 proportion of the population, the percentage having fallen only slightly, from 34·6 to 32·3. Within the Division, however, Angus-Perth has suffered a decline in its proportion, Fife-Kinross has maintained its position, while increases have occurred in Stirling-Clackmannan and the Lothians. In the western portion of the Central Lowlands the percentage held by the Greater Clyde Division has more than doubled, having increased from 21·3 to 48·0. This change was almost entirely due to the increase in the percentage of the Clyde region. In the South Division the percentage holding has been more than halved, having fallen from 11·5 to 5·0, with both of the constituent regions sharing in this decline. Already in 1801 Central Scotland held more than half of the national population (55·9 per cent), while the North and the South taken together held 44·1 per cent. To-day, however, the percentages are 80·3 and 19·7 respectively. Finally it should be noted that although only the Crofting Counties show a decline in population compared with 1801, other regions have declined since either 1851 or 1901, viz.:—Angus-Perth (1901), Solway (1851) and Tweed (1851 and 1901), while the North-east has remained stationary since 1901.

This redistribution was effected by internal migration movements in both a direct and an indirect sense. Migratory movements themselves, through the fact that they concern young people predominantly, frequently affect local rates of natural increase. Thus outward migration tends to cause a reduction in the local rate of natural increase, while on the other hand inward migration tends to cause an increase in the local rate of natural increase. It can also happen, of course, that even after correction is made for the age and sex structure of a local population its rate of natural increase (through high fertility or low mortality, or both) may be higher than the country as a whole, or lower as the case may be. The Tweed region, for instance, is notorious in Scotland for its low fertility rate, and it is this factor as well as the "ageing" of the population

structure, itself related in part to long-standing outward migration, which largely accounts for the low rate of natural increase in this part of the country. However, while such local differences in fertility and mortality have undoubtedly been of importance in the redistribution of population a consideration of this topic lies outside the scope of this paper.

The effect of internal migration movements has inevitably been to change the numbers and proportions of the population native to the various Scottish regions, as may be seen from Table II. This shows that the number of natives of the Crofting Counties has fallen since 1851 and the number of natives of the North-east since 1901. The total number of persons native to the North of Scotland has fallen by over 150,000 in the last fifty years and by over 20,000 in the last hundred years. During the latter period the proportion of Scots native to the North has fallen from 29·9 to 16·3 per cent. The population native to the South has also fallen—numerically since 1901 and proportionally since 1851 (10·3 to 5·0 per cent).

By contrast Central Scotland has more than doubled its number of natives in the last hundred years and these now form 78·7 per cent of the Scottish population compared with 59·8 per cent in 1851. This increase in representation is due to changes in the Greater Clyde Division (27·1 to 47·8 per cent) and within this to changes in the Clyde Region (19·7 to 41·2 per cent). In the Forth-Tay Division the proportion has fallen slightly, from 32·7 to 30·9 per cent. Within the Division Angus-Perth and Fife-Kinross, with smaller percentages than in 1851, show a contrast with Stirling-Clackmannan and the Lothians, where the percentages have increased. The natives of Angus-Perth have, in fact, declined by 40,000 since 1901. One ventures to suggest that the cultural, political and sociological implications of these changes in the pattern of regional origins have possibly received less attention than their immediate economic effects.

ENGLISH AND IRISH IMMIGRATION

Redistribution has also been assisted by the immigration of persons from outside Scotland, in so far as they have tended to settle in certain parts of Scotland rather than in others, or more precisely, to settle in varying ratio to the existing native population of such areas. Conversely, the emigration of Scots to England and other countries in a higher proportion from

certain parts of Scotland than from others will have tended to have a similar, though reverse, effect. While there is no available

TABLE II

Origin of Scottish-born Population

Born in	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Crofting Counties	439,493	16·8	413,916	10·1	290,660	6·2
North-east	345,089	13·1	500,271	12·3	471,248	10·1
North	*784,582*	*29·9*	*914,187*	*22·4*	*761,908*	*16·3*
Angus and Perth	319,254	12·2	406,505	10·0	365,124	7·8
Fife and Kinross	167,091	6·4	226,167	5·5	263,451	5·7
Stirling and Clack.	106,502	4·1	166,659	4·1	209,990	4·5
Lothians	263,188	10·0	474,871	11·6	604,291	12·9
FORTH-TAY	856,035	32·7	1,274,202	31·2	1,442,856	30·9
Clyde	517,488	19·7	1,315,856	32·3	1,928,091	41·2
Ayr and Bute	193,392	7·4	286,542	7·0	307,672	6·6
GREATER CLYDE	710,880	27·1	1,602,398	39·3	2,235,763	47·8
Central	*1,566,915*	*59·8*	*2,876,600*	*70·5*	*3,678,619*	*78·7*
Solway	159,642	6·1	161,563	4·0	138,323	2·9
Tweed	111,581	4·2	128,297	3·1	96,877	2·1
South	*271,223*	*10·3*	*289,860*	*7·1*	*235,200*	*5·0*
Scotland	*2,622,720*	*100·0*	*4,080,647**	*100·0*	*4,675,727†*	*100·0*

* Excluding 5,108 persons not specifying county of birth.
† Excluding 20,102 persons not specifying county of birth.

statistical material regarding the contribution to emigration-flows at different periods made by the various parts of Scotland, the numbers and location of immigrants into Scotland can be obtained in some detail from the census reports.

Table III shows the composition of the population of Scotland by country of birth in the census years 1851, 1901

and 1951 (no similar information is available for 1801). It will be seen that in all three years the native-born population amounted to over 90 per cent of the enumerated population and that the percentage increased slightly from one year to the next. The percentage of persons born outside Scotland amounted to slightly more than 9 per cent in 1851 and fell to under 8 per cent in 1951. The English (including Welsh) and the Irish formed the bulk of these persons, although the English element has increased both relatively and absolutely since

TABLE III

Origin of Scotland's Population

Place of Birth	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Scotland . .	2,622,720	90·8	4,085,755*	91·4	4,695,829†	92·1
Elsewhere: . .	*266,022*	*9·2*	*386,348*	*8·6*	*400,586*	*7·9*
England & Wales‡	47,449	1·6	135,081	3·0	233,080	4·6
Ireland (all parts)	207,367	7·2	205,064	4·6	89,007	1·7
Empire/Commonwealth	6,543	0·2	15,907	0·3	28,810	0·6
Foreign countries	4,272§	0·2	29,858‖	0·7	49,446¶	1·0
At sea/Not stated .	391	0·0	438	0·0	243	0·0
Total population .	2,888,742	100·0	4,472,103	100·0	5,096,415	100·0

* Including 5,108 persons not specifying county of birth.
† Including 20,102 persons not specifying county of birth.
‡ Including Channel Islands and Isle of Man (1851—658, 1901—1,058, 1951—1,286).
§ Including 1,202 British subjects.
‖ Including 10,917 British subjects by birth and 1,287 by naturalisation.
¶ Including 7,925 British subjects by birth and 12,484 by naturalisation.

1851, whereas the Irish element has declined. However, the 233,000 English and Welsh persons living in Scotland in 1951 formed a smaller proportion of the population (4·6 per cent) than the 207,000 Irish in 1851 (7·2 per cent). (The number of English and Welsh persons actually fell between 1921 and 1931, but the 1951 figure rose to well above the 1921 level of 194,000. The number of Irish in Scotland fluctuated between 195,000 and 218,000 between 1851 and 1901, but the decline since 1901 has been progressive.)

Tables IV and V show respectively the distribution of the English and Irish by Divisions and Regions in these three census years and the percentage ratios which they bore to the

TABLE IV

Distribution of Population Born in England, 1851-1951*

Enumerated in :	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	% of popn.	Nos.	% of popn.	Nos.	% of popn.
Crofting Counties .	1,915	0·5	4,595	1·3	10,091	3·5
North-east . .	3,112	0·9	8,533	1·9	16,995	3·7
North . . .	*5,027*	*0·7*	*13,128*	*1·6*	*27,086*	*3·6*
Angus and Perth .	3,417	1·0	8,848	2·2	16,828	4·2
Fife and Kinross .	1,708	1·1	4,973	2·2	18,222	5·8
Stirling and Clack.	1,185	1·1	3,919	2·2	8,053	3·6
Lothians . .	11,236	3·4	26,659	4·5	42,012	5·9
FORTH-TAY . .	17,546	1·9	44,399	3·2	85,115	5·2
Clyde . .	13,394	1·8	55,469	3·2	75,407	3·6
Ayr and Bute .	1,658	0·8	5,843	2·1	13,862	4·1
GREATER CLYDE .	15,052	1·6	61,312	3·1	89,269	3·7
Central . .	*32,598*	*1·7*	*105,711*	*3·1*	*174,384*	*4·3*
Solway . .	4,232	2·6	6,749	4·7	11,642	7·9
Tweed . .	4,046	3·7	5,762	4·9	9,050	8·4
South . . .	*8,278*	*3·0*	*12,511*	*4·8*	*20,692*	*8·1*
Scotland . .	*45,903*	*1·6*	*131,350*	*2·9*	*222,162*	*4·4*

* Excluding Wales, Channel Islands and Isle of Man (1851—1,546, 1901—3,731, 1951—10,918).

total number of persons enumerated in these areas. Table IV reveals that the English element has increased progressively since 1851, both absolutely and relatively, in all regions of Scotland. In each of the three years the highest percentages

were found in the Lothians, Tweed and Solway regions, with the percentage of Fife-Kinross becoming virtually as high as that of the Lothians in 1951. The proximity of the two southern

TABLE V

Distribution of Population Born in Ireland, 1851-1951

Enumerated in:	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	% of popn.	Nos.	% of popn.	Nos.	% of popn.
Crofting Counties	2,185	0·6	1,552	0·4	1,927	0·7
North-east	2,363	0·7	1,203	0·3	1,466	0·3
North	*4,548*	*0·6*	*2,755*	*0·3*	*3,393*	*0·5*
Angus and Perth	18,664	5·7	7,143	1·8	3,468	0·9
Fife and Kinross	2,684	1·7	2,102	0·9	3,205	1·0
Stirling and Clack.	6,194	5·7	4,998	2·9	3,029	1·3
Lothians	19,497	6·0	17,397	2·9	8,217	1·2
FORTH-TAY	47,039	5·1	31,640	2·3	17,919	1·1
Clyde	120,364	16·3	156,396	9·1	59,912	2·8
Ayr and Bute	21,552	10·4	11,107	4·1	4,921	1·4
GREATER CLYDE	141,916	15·1	167,503	8·4	64,833	2·7
Central	*188,955*	*10·1*	*199,143*	*5·9*	*82,752*	*2·0*
Solway	11,769	7·1	2,099	1·5	1,844	1·2
Tweed	2,095	1·9	1,067	0·9	1,018	0·9
South	*13,864*	*5·1*	*3,166*	*1·2*	*2,862*	*1·1*
Scotland	*207,367*	*7·2*	*205,064*	*4·6*	*89,007*	*1·7*

regions to the Border explains their fairly high percentages, but the reasons for the substantial English proportions in the Lothians and Fife-Kinross, and why these should exceed the proportions of other Central regions, are less immediately apparent. Most of the English in the Lothians are located in

Edinburgh, which, with its high ratio of professional employment, may exert a greater proportionate attraction than the Glasgow district, which is only slightly more distant from the Border. The rise to importance of the English element in Fife-Kinross is no doubt largely connected with the presence of English personnel at the naval base of Rosyth. The 1951 County Census Report for Fife showed that the English population of Dunfermline, which includes Rosyth, totalled nearly 7,000 and formed nearly 20 per cent of the population of the burgh.

Table V shows that the Irish element declined relative to total population in all regions between 1851 and 1901, and that, except in Clyde, the decline was also absolute. Between 1901 and 1951, however, the percentages increased slightly in the Crofting Counties and in Fife-Kinross (where there were numerical increases), and remained constant in the North-east (numerical increase) and Tweed (numerical decrease). These numerical increases may possibly be associated with the employment of Irish labour on hydro-electric schemes in the North of Scotland and with the expansion of mining and industry in Fife in recent years. In all other regions there was again a relative and absolute decrease. In all three years the highest percentage occurs in the Clyde region. In 1851 there were also high percentages of Irish in Ayr-Bute, Angus-Perth, Stirling-Clackmannan, the Lothians and Solway.

This great influx was connected with the potato famine of the 1840s and with the differences in employment and wages existing between Ireland and Scotland. In the second half of the century the main current of migration was more and more directed to North America, however. The Irish were typically employed in textiles, mining and general labouring, and formed a considerable element of the population in many localities, especially Glasgow and neighbouring towns, Dundee and Edinburgh. The pattern of immigration reveals the attraction of the urban and industrial districts, especially Clydeside and Lanarkshire, and also, to a certain extent, mere proximity to Ireland (Solway and Ayr-Bute). An account of the Irish immigration has been given by Macdonald (1937, Chap. IV), who also shows a map of the distribution of Irish immigrants in 1851 (1937 : 160).

It is plain from these tables that Central and Southern Scotland have benefited considerably, from the point of view of numbers, as a result of English and Irish immigration,

notably the latter. The population of Northern Scotland has not, on the other hand, been supplemented to any great extent by such immigration. It must be remembered, of course, that the figures given in the tables relate only to persons born outside Scotland and not to their children and later descendants born in Scotland. The tendency on the part of the Irish to a higher rate of natural increase has no doubt enhanced the effect of the Irish immigration.

TABLE VI

Migration to and from Rest of British Isles

	1851	1901	1951
English and Welsh in Scotland	46,791	134,023	231,794
Scots in England and Wales .	130,087	316,838	580,806
Migration Balance . .	−83,296	−182,815	−349,012
Irish in Scotland . . .	207,367	205,064	89,007
Scots in Ireland . . .	12,309	30,101	21,371 } 31,526*
			10,155 }
Migration Balance . .	+195,058	+174,963	+57,481
Total Migration Balance with rest of British Isles†	+111,762	−7,852	−291,531

* Northern Ireland (1951), 21,371; Republic of Ireland (1946), 10,155. Questions regarding birth-place were not asked in the 1951 census of the Republic of Ireland.

† Excluding negligible migration balances with Channel Islands and Isle of Man.

As has been stated earlier it is not known to what extent these inward movements were counterbalanced by outward movements to England and Ireland from the different regions of Scotland. We do know, however, that the total number of Scots in Ireland formed only a small proportion of the Irish in Scotland in 1851 and 1901, and only about one-third in 1951. Again, we know that the total number of Scots in England greatly exceeded the number of English in Scotland in all three years. Table VI shows the large increase which has taken place since 1851 in the net migration loss from Scotland to England, in spite of the growing numbers of English living in Scotland. The table also shows the heavy fall

in the net migration gain from Ireland which has occurred since 1901. It is interesting to note that the large net influx from Ireland considerably exceeded the net loss to England in 1851, giving Scotland a net intake of over 100,000 from the rest of the British Isles. By 1901 the increased loss to England slightly exceeded the reduced gain from Ireland, giving a position of near-equilibrium. In 1951, with the great decline of the Irish element and the much greater loss to England, Scotland shows a net loss approaching 300,000. In fact, of the 5·3 million Scots enumerated in Great Britain in 1951 over half a million, or about 11 per cent, were actually resident in England.

INTERNAL MIGRATION OF POPULATION—COUNTIES

Although the contribution made by English and Irish immigrants to the differential regional growth of population in Scotland cannot be overlooked, it is plain that the chief factor causing the regional redistribution of population must have been internal migration movements of the native Scottish population. It is with an analysis of these movements in their broader aspects that we are now concerned.

Certain calculations have been made from the birth-place tables contained in the census reports for 1851, 1901 and 1951. These are presented for counties in Table VII and are also shown cartographically in a series of maps showing the state of internal migration as recorded in these three census years (Figs. 1, 2 and 3).

As the birth-place tables show the Scottish-born population of each county of Scotland by county of birth, the volume of flow both ways between individual counties can be readily extracted, and a simple subtraction of the two figures gives the net flow from one county to another. In 1851, for instance, there were 8,505 natives of East Lothian enumerated in Midlothian (including Edinburgh), but only 3,205 natives of Midlothian were enumerated in East Lothian. Thus there was a net migration flow from East Lothian to Midlothian amounting to 5,300. Such figures cannot be related to a well-defined period of time; they merely record the situation as it existed in 1851 in respect of all persons living in that year whose county of birth was stated on the census schedules as East Lothian or Midlothian and who were enumerated in Midlothian or East Lothian respectively. Nevertheless, it is obvious, in view of the average lifespan, that the migration flows thus

recorded must largely be attributed to population movements occurring in the preceding half-century, and within this period probably to the most recent decades. The difference between

TABLE VII

Net Migration—Counties

County	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	Rate	Nos.	Rate	Nos.	Rate
Aberdeen	+5,451	+2·7	−23,815	−7·4	−16,053	−4·9
Angus	+12,704	+8·0	+2,359	+0·9	+1,077	+0·4
Argyll	−24,099	−21·7	−16,969	−19·3	−1,890	−3·2
Ayr	−11,522	−6·5	−34,485	−12·7	+4,124	+1·4
Banff	−4,103	−7·1	−17,363	−22·3	−14,795	−23·4
Berwick	−7,415	−17·7	−9,564	−25·2	−3,105	−12·6
Bute	+560	+3·7	+1,671	+10·5	+3,489	+26·8
Caithness	−3,003	−7·3	−11,537	−25·7	−7,804	−26·3
Clackmannan	+2,139	+10·9	−2,613	−7·9	+4,752	+15·7
Dumfries	−6,494	−8·2	−13,207	−16·5	−2,014	−2·6
Dunbarton	+844	+2·2	+15,881	+19·0	+29,959	+25·8
East Lothian	−5,919	−14·7	−9,157	−20·2	+3,817	+8·7
Fife	−8,776	−5·6	−7,769	−3·6	+20,336	+7·9
Inverness	−9,078	−8·7	−13,257	−13·2	+368	+0·5
Kincardine	−4,110	−10·8	−5,685	−12·6	−3,756	−12·5
Kinross	−792	−8·2	−2,062	−23·2	+1,413	+26·0
Kirkcudbright	−803	−2·0	−3,082	−7·7	−878	−3·1
Lanark	+80,495	+23·2	+152,398	+15·3	−56,835	−3·7
Midlothian	+37,982	+19·7	+77,226	+21·1	+32,685	+6·9
Moray	−652	−1·7	−5,722	−11·6	−1,309	−3·0
Nairn	+1,348	+15·9	−240	−2·6	+104	+1·3
Orkney*	−2,630	−4·1	−4,840	−14·6	−2,862	−12·3
Peebles	−2,995	−22·6	−1,103	−7·2	+1,185	+9·5
Perth	−25,225	−15·8	−21,253	−15·3	+6,493	+5·9
Renfrew	+173	+0·1	+104	+0·0	+25,268	+9·4
Ross & Cromarty	−7,648	−8·5	−15,502	−17·1	−6,045	−9·5
Roxburgh	+531	+1·1	−8,029	−15·0	+367	+0·9
Selkirk	+377	+4·2	+867	+4·0	−601	−3·0
Stirling	−7,278	−8·4	−528	−0·4	−5,675	−3·2
Sutherland	−2,329	−8·3	−4,296	−16·9	−2,360	−15·4
West Lothian	−3,539	−11·6	−4,360	−6·9	−2,439	−2·8
Wigtown	−4,194	−10·5	−10,622	−25·7	−4,597	−13·9
Zetland*	...	...	−3,446	−11·1	−2,419	−11·4

* 1851 figures for Orkney include Zetland.

the total number of natives of a particular county (whether living in that county or in the rest of Scotland) and the total number of Scots living in that county (including natives) gives the overall net migration balance for that county *vis-à-vis* the rest of the country. This same figure can also be derived by summing the individual net migration flows for a particular county to or from all the others, or by taking the difference

between the number of natives enumerated outside the particular county and the number of natives of other counties enumerated within that county.

Such county migration balances, i.e. both the net movement between individual counties and the overall net movement between a particular county and the rest of Scotland, merely show the migration pattern at a particular point of time. Changes in the volume and direction of internal migration movements, coupled with the deaths of the older migrants, take place continually and in time may lead to the emergence of a new pattern of migration flows. A time-lag necessarily occurs, however, before a change in the pattern of movements fully reveals itself in this type of analysis derived from the birth-place returns. A further necessary observation is that the children born to migrants after their arrival in the county of enumeration are inevitably considered to be natives of this county. The children born to immigrants are thus a further reinforcement to the population of the receiving county; on the other hand they represent a theoretical loss from the native counties of their parents. As has been mentioned above, migration tends to enhance still further the local demographic losses and gains occurring through migration, since, except in the case of migration at retirement, the transfer of reproductive capacity is also usually involved.

Table VII shows the overall net migration balances for each county in relation to the rest of Scotland in the years 1851, 1901 and 1951. The second column for each year gives the percentage ratio of these figures to the number of natives of these counties enumerated in Scotland (this equals the Scottish-born population of each county minus its net migration balance). This "migration rate", as it may be called, is therefore a measure of the impact of the net loss or gain, as the case may be.

It will be seen that of the thirty-three counties only Angus (including Dundee), Bute, Dunbarton, Midlothian (including Edinburgh) and Renfrew showed gains from the rest of the country in all three years. Lanark (including Glasgow) showed gains in 1851 and 1901, but a loss in 1951, while Aberdeen (including Aberdeen city) showed a gain only in 1851. Ayr, East Lothian, Fife, Inverness, Kinross, Peebles and Perth all recorded gains in 1951, compared with losses at the two preceding dates. Clackmannan, Nairn and Roxburgh, which had gains in 1851 and losses in 1901, also recorded gains in

1951. In Selkirk gains in 1851 and 1901 were followed by a loss by 1951. All the remaining counties registered losses in all three years.

Several extraneous factors qualify any conclusions to be drawn from the figures. In the first place 20,000 Scottish-born persons omitted to state their county of birth at the 1951 census. At the 1901 census the figure was only 5,000, while in 1851 it would appear that no one failed to give this information. It is highly improbable that there were no omissions of this kind in 1851, and it may be that in such instances the persons not attributable to any particular county of birth were either added in with the natives of the county of enumeration, or otherwise distributed.

In 1891 boundary changes were made to nearly all counties, under the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889[2], chiefly with the aim of disposing of their detached portions. In most instances the areas transferred from one county to another contained few inhabitants, but there were, nevertheless, a number of transfers involving larger numbers, notably the transfer of Milngavie from Stirling to Dunbarton, Culross from Perth to Fife, and Alva from Stirling to Clackmannan. Part of Galashiels had been transferred from Roxburgh to Selkirk in the 1870s. Other major boundary changes took place in Banff, where there were notable gains from Moray and losses to Aberdeen. Apart from these changes there were also important changes in the county boundaries of Lanark and Renfrew associated with the absorption of Govan by Glasgow. While the census of 1901 observed the new county boundaries it is not clear whether persons born in such transferred areas gave the name of the old or new county as their birth-place, nor is it known whether the Registrar-General corrected any entries he discovered to be at variance with the new boundaries. The 1901 county migration balances for some counties, and especially those mentioned above, may therefore be liable to some degree of error.

Boundary changes since 1901 have chiefly concerned the extension of Aberdeen city into Kincardine, the extension of Glasgow into Dunbarton and Renfrew, particularly the latter, and the annexation by Dumfries burgh of Maxwelltown in Kirkcudbright. It is understood that erroneous entries regarding county of birth resulting from such changes were corrected by the Registrar-General at the 1951 census. A further qualification arises from the fact that in 1951 a larger number

of Scots than in 1851 and 1901 were away from their usual residence, especially those enumerated in Defence Establishments elsewhere in Scotland.

The figures given in Table VII are presented in map form in Figs. 1, 2 and 3. (It should be noted, incidentally, that the county boundaries used for all three maps are those for 1951.) Here the net migration balances are shown as circles with areas proportional to the number of persons involved, the circles for net inward movements being shown in solid black and the circles for net outward movements being shaded. The background shading for each county represents the migration rate referred to above, unshaded counties having negligible migration rates lying between plus and minus 2·5 per cent. For rates above 2·5 per cent line- or dot-shading of increasing intensity is used for positive and negative rates respectively, as indicated in the key to the maps.

(*a*) 1851

Fig. 1, illustrating the position in 1851, shows the powerful attraction exerted by Lanark and Midlothian, with their gains of 80,000 and 38,000 and their high rates of inward migration. Elsewhere the only substantial gains are those of Angus and Aberdeen (13,000 and 5,000). Smaller gains, but with fairly high inward migration rates, occur in Nairn and Clackmannan. In the Clyde estuary, Bute, Dunbarton and Renfrew show very slight gains, as do also the Border counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk.

An interpretation of the pattern of movement thus revealed can only be made in general terms. This is not only because of the impossibility of attributing the net shifts to exact periods of time, but also because much migration occurs within individual counties in addition to migration from one county to another. The county balances represent the outcome of many individual migrations, producing local gains and losses within each county through the movements both of persons native to the county and persons born in other counties. Thus many counties will have experienced local net gains and yet show an overall loss, and vice versa. Again, the larger and more populous a county and the more varied its economy the more difficult it becomes to suggest reasons explaining the county migration balance. In the smaller counties it is likely that the balance may fluctuate quite widely within short

periods since small numerical changes in employment opportunities (whether negative or positive) may have a large

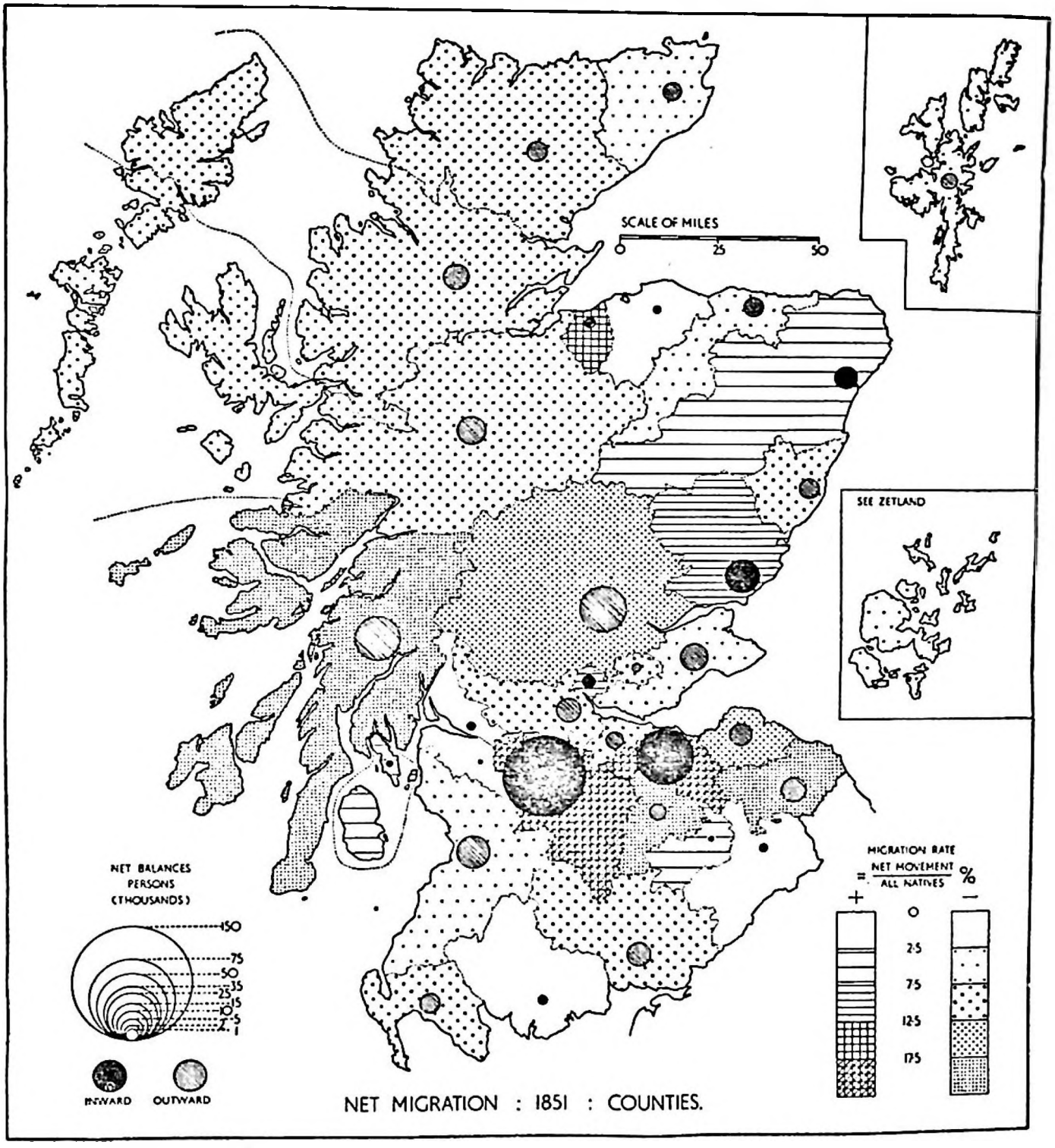

FIG. 1

proportionate effect on migration. The great disparity of the Scottish counties in respect of area and population thus somewhat reduces the usefulness of this type of migration analysis.

The remarks that follow are based to a large extent on an inspection of the census figures and any associated comments for the two decades preceding the year 1851[3]. Attention is given to the counties of gain rather than to the counties of loss, since it happens that, while net county gains can frequently be associated with exceptionally large population increases in a few localities, resulting from the generation of new urban employment which tends to attract migrants from a wide area, it happens that overall losses are frequently compounded of a multitude of individual local losses from widespread rural areas. The latter remark is admittedly more true of 1851 and 1901 than 1951, when the residual effects of industrial depression in the inter-war period are reflected in the migration figures. Furthermore, in two leading counties—Ayr and Fife—the overall net losses for 1851 and 1901 mask considerable industrial (including mining) and urban development.

The large gains by Lanark and Midlothian reflect the growth of population in the Glasgow district and the Lanarkshire coalfield, with their specialisation in the cotton and iron industries, and the expansion of Edinburgh, including Leith. The gain by Angus is probably related to the growth of Dundee and other towns, largely on the basis of the linen industry, while Aberdeen's gain would appear to be related to the growth of Aberdeen city. Both at Dundee and Aberdeen shipping had increased, and elsewhere along the coast the smaller ports seem to have been thriving, with fishing as an important activity (e.g. Fraserburgh and Peterhead). The gain by Nairn (and the negligible loss from Moray) may also be connected with this factor. The small towns of Clackmannan had been affected in recent years by the growth of the woollen textile industry, as had also Hawick in Roxburgh and Galashiels in Selkirk. In Bute the net gain may be associated with the growth of the fishing port of Rothesay and the local cotton industry. In Dunbarton the cotton-print industry had led to a growth of population in the Vale of Leven. In Renfrew, on the other hand, the cotton industry of Paisley had experienced a recent depression and along the Clyde population had been stagnating in the 1840s in Greenock and Port Glasgow, in the former as the result of "the decline of shipbuilding and the removal to Glasgow of a portion of the trading population" (according to the 1851 census). Near Glasgow Govan, by contrast, was growing rapidly in the 1840s. The negligible

migration gain by Renfrew may thus reflect the recent contraction in industrial employment.

As might be expected, the counties with the largest losses were all mainly agricultural in character. It is, perhaps, noteworthy, however, that the highest outward rates were experienced by counties easily accessible to growing urban centres, i.e. Argyll, Perth, Berwick, East Lothian and Peebles. Within the Crofting Counties the low rates for Caithness and Orkney-with-Zetland may reflect the relative prosperity of fishing at this period. In the South of Scotland no explanation can be offered for the very small degree of loss from Kirkcudbright. Migration from rural areas resulted not only from the fairly high rate of growth of the population, but also from the changes which had taken place in agriculture in recent decades. "Enlargement of farms" is, for instance, frequently mentioned in the census notes as a cause of migration, and sheep-farming is cited in the Highland counties. On the other hand the cultivation of waste land is given as a reason for rural increases earlier in the century in the North-east. In some counties a decline of domestic manufacture or of commercial activity appears to have enhanced the outward flow of population resulting from any inadequacy of agricultural employment. For instance, local declines in Perthshire are attributed by the census to "depression in the weaving trade", and in East Lothian "the decline of the shipping trade, occasioned by the opening of the North British Railway" is mentioned in connection with population loss at Dunbar.

Other counties besides those registering net inward balances of migration had also been experiencing some degree of industrial development and urban growth, especially Ayr and Fife, chiefly related in these counties to coal-mining. iron-works and textiles (cotton and linen respectively). Here, however, the level of development was apparently insufficient to induce a net inflow of population from the rest of Scotland. Nevertheless it will be noticed that the outward migration rates are relatively low. Similar comments may be made regarding Stirling and West Lothian, where coal-mining was increasing, although here the migration rates were rather higher.

(*b*) 1901

Between 1851 and 1901 the seven Crofting Counties and the three Solway counties all declined in population, and in all of these except Inverness, where the population remained

static after 1861, there were successive declines in all, or nearly all, of the five decades. In the Tweed counties, Peebles experienced successive increases, as also did Selkirk, except in 1891-1901, when there were boundary changes. Roxburgh declined over the fifty-year period taken as a whole, partly as a result of boundary changes, while Berwick declined in successive decades, except in 1851-61. In the North-east there were increases in each decade in Aberdeen and Banff (except in 1891-1901, when there were boundary changes). Kincardine and Nairn both declined over the fifty-year period, partly owing to boundary changes, while the population of Moray increased over the period, although remaining static after 1871.

In the Clyde and Forth-Tay Divisions there were successive increases in Angus, Ayr, Dunbarton, Fife, Lanark, Midlothian, Stirling and West Lothian, while Bute, Clackmannan, East Lothian and Renfrew suffered only one decennial decline, in the latter as a result of boundary changes. On the other hand, the small non-industrial county of Kinross, and Perth, with its substantial Highland element, both experienced successive declines, except in one decade. The effect of these county increases and decreases on regional populations may be seen in Table I.

The situation regarding internal migration in 1901 (Fig. 2) shows a much more profound contrast between the gaining and losing counties. The gains by Lanark (152,000) and Midlothian (77,000), where the development of mining had now been taking place, in addition to the further growth of Edinburgh and Leith, are seen to be considerably higher than in 1851, while Lanark's gain is supplemented by a further gain of 16,000 in adjacent Dunbarton and by smaller gains in Renfrew and Bute. In Dunbarton there was great expansion of population in Clydebank, together with growth in the Dumbarton-Vale of Leven and Helensburgh areas. The very small gain by Renfrew would conceivably have been much greater but for the recent transfer of part of Govan and part of Cathcart to Glasgow and thus to Lanark. The area concerned had a population of 60,000 in 1891. Urban expansion had also been proceeding in the Paisley-Renfrew and Port Glasgow-Greenock districts.

Of the remaining counties only Angus and Selkirk show gains, and in both cases these are fairly modest. The gain by Angus of only 2,000 is perhaps surprising in view of the fact

that Dundee experienced considerable growth in the preceding decades, largely as the result of the great expansion of the

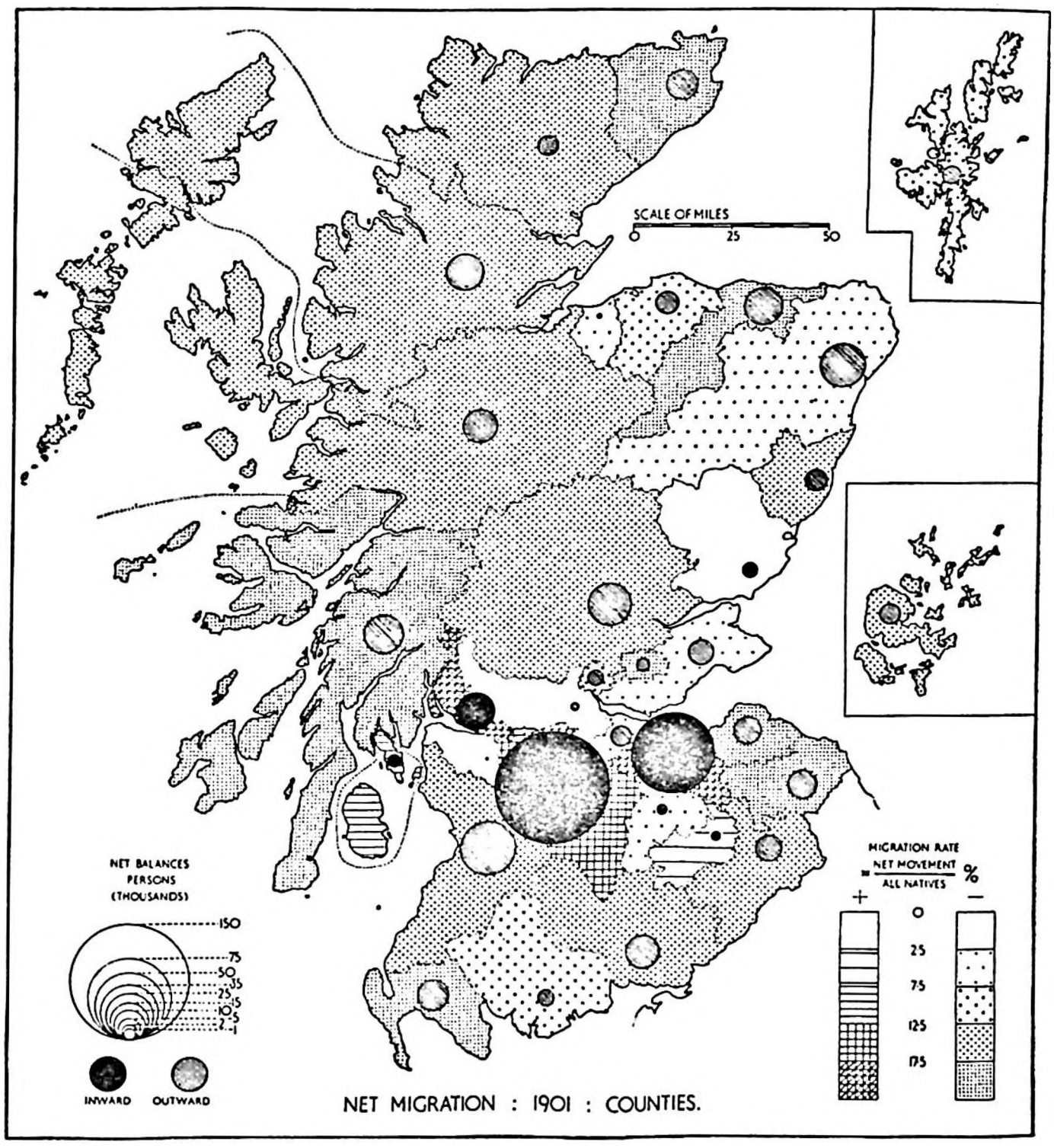

FIG. 2

jute industry. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, expansion slowed down, and this factor, together with the stagnation or decline of population in the countryside and the other towns of the county, may account for the

smallness of the gain. The gain by Selkirk is again apparently related to the growth of Galashiels.

The remaining counties nearly all show large numerical losses, reaching 24,000 in Aberdeen, 34,000 in Ayr, and 21,000 in Perth, and high rates of outward migration. These exceeded 17·5 per cent in Argyll, Banff (where boundary changes may have had some effect), Berwick, Caithness, East Lothian, Kinross and Wigtown, and exceeded 12·5 per cent in Ayr, Dumfries, Inverness, Kincardine, Orkney, Perth, Ross and Cromarty, Roxburgh and Sutherland. Some of the lowest outward migration rates occur in counties undergoing an expansion of mining, such as Fife, Stirling and West Lothian, or of industry, such as Peebles (woollens). In the former group many mining communities were developing at a great rate, particularly in the later decades of the century. Stirling's very small loss may, incidentally, be somewhat overstated as a result of the loss of Milngavie and Alva. The further growth of Aberdeen city and other fishing ports, notably Fraserburgh and Peterhead, appears to have kept the migration rate fairly low in Aberdeen. As in 1851 Nairn appears as the most buoyant county of the North-east. In Ayr the high outward rate is somewhat surprising in view of the continuing development of the county's coalfield, ports, textile industry (chiefly lace) and resort towns. Even in the losing counties, most of which were largely agricultural in character, urban expansion was not absent, of course. In Argyll there was the growth of the resorts of Dunoon and Oban, for instance, and in Roxburgh the growth of the knitwear-manufacturing town of Hawick, while several county towns also experienced notable increases, such as Dumfries, Inverness and Perth. On the other hand urban growth was not necessarily universal in the gaining counties; the town of Lanark stagnated, for instance, and in Angus, Brechin, Forfar and Montrose all declined in the last twenty years of the period, and there was only slight upward change in Arbroath.

(*c*) 1951

The population changes in Scottish counties revealed by the census returns during the period 1901-51 were affected by a number of important factors. These include the losses of the two World Wars (especially those of the First World War); the holding of the 1921 census in June instead of the usual month of April, with the result that the populations of counties

containing holiday resorts were temporarily inflated; the depressed conditions in mining and heavy industry during the 1920s and 1930s, which induced a high level of emigration leading to a fall in the national population between 1921 and 1931 (4·88 millions to 4·84); and the succeeding conditions of fuller employment during the Second World War and in the years 1945-51. The fact that no census was taken in 1941 means that the overall changes recorded between 1931 and 1951 embrace two distinct periods in terms of employment conditions, frequently related, therefore, to opposing population trends. Evidence of improved economic conditions, both in agriculture and in industry and mining, may perhaps be adduced from the fact that whereas twenty-two of Scotland's thirty-three counties declined in population in the period 1911-31 and twenty-eight in the period 1921-31 (some of them admittedly because of inflated 1921 populations) only ten declined in the period 1931-51 and most of these had been affected to some extent by an excess of deaths over births in certain years. On the other hand it is also true that discouraging economic conditions abroad probably inhibited potential emigration in the 1930s.

Fig. 3, illustrating the state of internal migration in 1951, shows the extent to which the acute differences revealed in 1901 have now been mitigated. This change has been associated with such diverse factors as the deaths of the older migrants with the passage of time, the marked fall in the rate of natural increase of the population since 1911[4], and the higher rate of external migration to England and abroad, the two latter factors tending to reduce local disparities in employment opportunities and labour supply. Another factor was inter-war economic depression in Lanarkshire and Clydeside, resulting in a repulsion of would-be migrants from the rest of Scotland and, indeed, a current of outward migration to other counties and other countries.

Compared with the position in 1901 the number of gaining counties has increased noticeably, the newcomers being Ayr, Clackmannan, East Lothian, Fife, Inverness, Kinross, Nairn, Peebles, Perth and Roxburgh. The gains of Inverness, Nairn and Roxburgh are so small, however, that a position of equilibrium would be a more appropriate description of the state of these counties. Selkirk, lying between Peebles and Roxburgh, now appears as a losing county.

Perhaps the most striking feature is the fact that Lanarkshire

now shows a net loss (57,000) in place of the large net gains registered in 1851 and 1901. The gains by adjacent Dunbarton

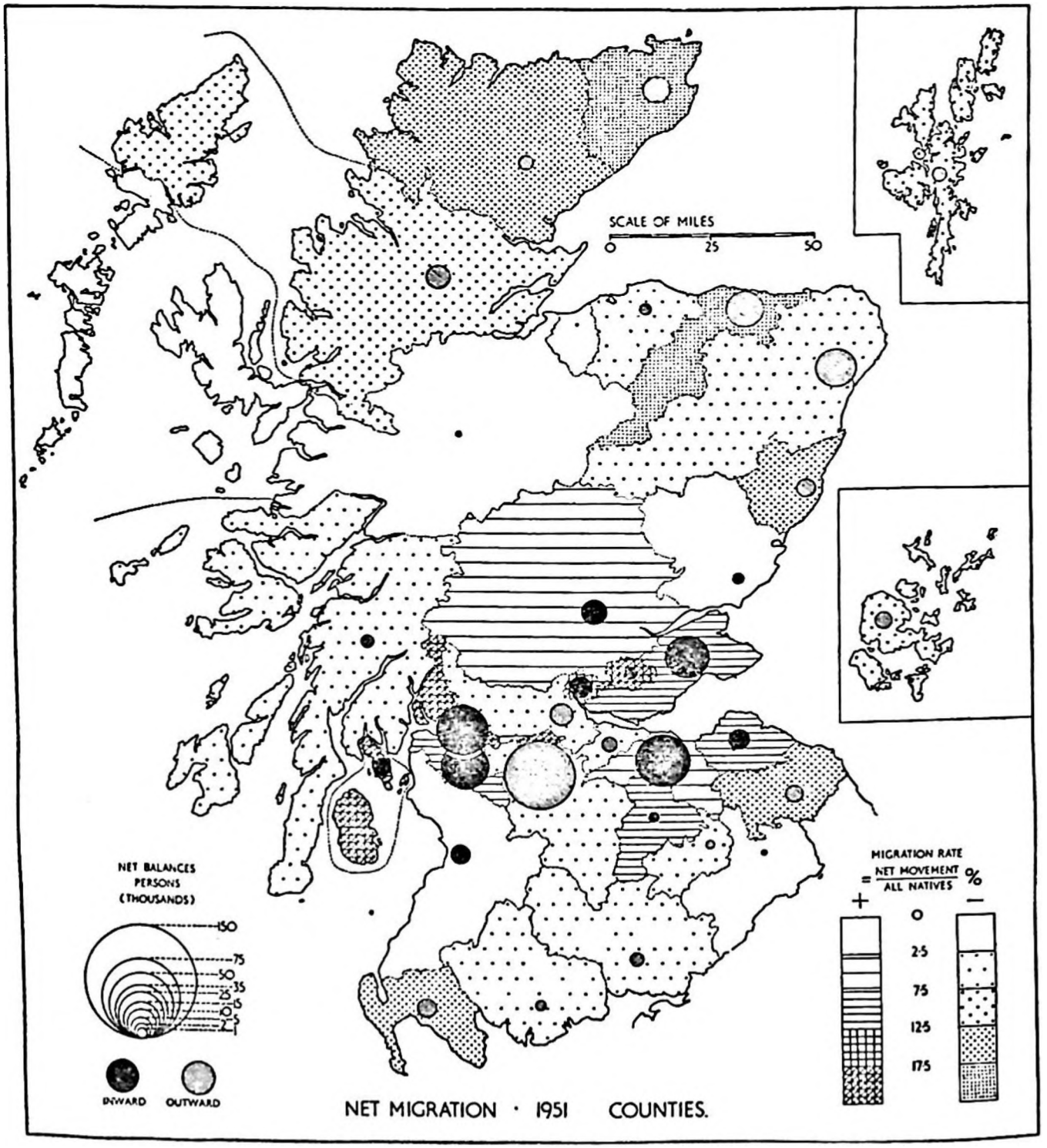

FIG. 3

and Renfrew (30,000 and 25,000) offset this loss, however, and are mainly due to the recent growth of suburban neighbourhoods beyond the boundaries of Glasgow (and therefore of Lanark), such as Bearsden and Milngavie in Dunbarton and

Cathcart and Eastwood in Renfrew. The gain to Dunbarton may also partially reflect the rapid growth of Clydebank in earlier decades. Bute, with its resort towns of Rothesay and Millport, once more appears as a gaining county. The gain by Ayr appears to be due to the growth of its coastal resort towns and to the expansion of industrial employment, representing in effect, if not in fact, a decentralising movement from the Clyde region. Within Lanarkshire many of the industrial and coal-mining towns which formerly had been centres of attraction to migrants now themselves lost population to other areas owing to economic depression, and suffered a decline in numbers as a result. This tendency also applied to certain industrial districts in Dunbarton (e.g. Clydebank) and Renfrew (e.g. Greenock), although, as has been seen, the entire counties registered net inward balances. Even the improved conditions of the 1940s and consequent population increases were not sufficient to offset these declines in all cases. The population of Glasgow in 1951 was slightly below that of 1931—a reflection of both industrial depression and normal "overspill" into surrounding areas.

The absence of a net inward movement to the three Clyde counties taken as a whole should now be compared with the position in the Forth-Tay counties. Here Midlothian, including Edinburgh, shows a large, though reduced, net inward movement. Although West Lothian recorded a net loss, no doubt related to its heavy commitment to coal and oil-shale mining and to its decline of population in the period 1921-31, this loss was more than offset by the gain to East Lothian. This can be related to an expansion of coal-mining in the west of the county and to the popularity of its coastal settlements as residential areas. On the other side of the Firth of Forth Fife and Kinross have also experienced net inward movements, the total population of Fife growing, in fact, by 40 per cent between 1901 and 1951. This was the second highest rate for any county and was exceeded only by Dunbarton. In Fife we can cite the great expansion of coal-mining and the associated growth of mining settlements (e.g. Cowdenbeath, Lochgelly) and coal-exporting ports (e.g. Methil) at the end of the nineteenth century and during the early part of the twentieth. At the same time the development of the naval base of Rosyth also provided new employment. Although the depression in the coal trade led to a decline of population between 1921 and 1931 prosperity was subsequently reinstated

and the renewed expansion of coal-mining since the war is leading to immigration from other coalfield areas, notably Lanarkshire. The gain by adjoining Kinross may probably be ascribed to its attractiveness as a residential district, although it must be admitted that its population has declined since 1921.

At the head of the estuary of the Forth Stirling and Clackmannan show loss and gain respectively, possibly related to the inter-war depression in the coal and iron trades in Stirling, and to the newer mines and more varied industrial structure in its smaller neighbour. The gain by Perthshire results on the one hand from a reduced outward migration, related to the nineteenth century depletion of population and the deaths of many of the older migrants represented by this exodus, and on the other hand from an increased number of residents from the rest of Scotland, some of whom may have contributed to the recent marked growth of population in the county-town. The figures relating to this change in Perthshire are as follows. There were 139,310 natives of the county resident in Scotland in 1901, of whom 82,729 were living in Perthshire and 56,581 in other counties. At the same time there were 35,328 persons from other counties resident in Perthshire, so that the net outward balance of migration totalled 21,253. In 1951 the number of natives of Perthshire had fallen to 109,270, of whom 69,063 were living in the county and 40,207 outside the county. At the same time the number of other Scots living in the county increased to 46,700, so that the net balance of migration was now positive (6,493). These figures are quoted in detail since similar changes to these also operated to produce an improvement in the situation of other counties, especially the counties of the North and South, which had also been heavy losers in 1901. The neighbouring county of Angus which, unlike Perth, showed an overall decline of population between 1901 and 1951, again exhibits only a fairly small net balance of inward migration. The inter-war depression of the Dundee jute industry and the associated lack of significant population growth in the Dundee district may be quoted here.

In the North-east Banff and Nairn declined between 1901 and 1951, the latter increasing, however, between 1931 and 1951, while Aberdeen, Kincardine and Moray increased in population, although only very moderately. The decline of fishing may possibly account for the fall in the population of Banff and for the high rate of outward migration. This factor and the limited opportunities for alternative employment in

the largely agricultural economy of the North-east may account for the outward movement from the other counties. Once again the growth of the city of Aberdeen was insufficient to induce net inward migration to the county of Aberdeen as a whole. The slight gain by Nairn is somewhat unexpected in view of its overall decline between 1901 and 1951.

In all seven Crofting Counties population declined between 1901 and 1951, although numbers increased in Argyll and Inverness between 1931 and 1951. This may account for the now much-reduced migration loss from the former county and the slight gain by the latter. As in Perth, however, the deaths of older migrants would seem to have played a part in reducing migration losses. Caithness, the county with the highest proportionate loss, may have been more affected by the decline of fishing than other counties. The population of the fishing town of Wick has fallen steadily in recent decades.

In the South of Scotland the 1951 map shows a considerable reduction of net outward migration compared with 1901. Only Berwick and Wigtown, at either extremity of the Division and both containing negligible industry, show high outward rates. The slight gain by Roxburgh and the small loss by adjoining Selkirk should probably be viewed as a general position of balance in this main part of the Tweed textile area. At the same time, however, both of the leading textile towns, Galashiels and Hawick, declined over the fifty-year period since 1901. The gain by Peebles possibly represents the increasing popularity of this county for residence and retirement. The experience of Peebles and four other of the smaller counties—Bute, Kinross, Nairn and Roxburgh—shows that despite a stationary or even declining population in recent decades they have been able to gain population on balance from the rest of the country. In all instances, as Fig. 3 implies, the number of other Scots enumerated in each of these counties exceeded the number of natives enumerated elsewhere in Scotland.

INTERNAL MIGRATION—REGIONS

In Table VIII the net migration balances for individual counties have been combined into regional totals for each of the three years and regional migration rates have been calculated. The table shows that the Lothians and Clyde, the two regions with net gains in 1851, increased these gains in the succeeding fifty years, while the remaining regions all

experienced increased losses, with the exception of Stirling-Clackmannan. In Fife-Kinross the increase in loss was extremely slight, however. At the same time the inward migration rate

TABLE VIII

Net Migration—Regions

Region	1851		1901		1951	
	Nos.	Rate	Nos.	Rate	Nos.	Rate
Crofting Counties	−48,787	−11·1	−69,847	−16·9	−23,012	−7·9
North-East	−2,066	−0·6	−52,825	−10·6	−35,809	−7·6
North	*−50,853*	*−6·5*	*−122,672*	*−13·4*	*−58,821*	*−7·7*
Angus and Perth	−12,521	−3·9	−18,894	−4·6	+7,570	+2·1
Fife and Kinross	−9,568	−5·7	−9,831	−4·3	+21,749	+8·3
Stirling and Clack.	−5,139	−4·8	−3,141	−1·9	−923	−0·4
Lothians	+28,524	+10·8	+63,709	+13·4	+34,063	+5·6
FORTH-TAY	+1,296	+0·2	+31,843	+2·5	+62,459	+4·3
Clyde	+81,512	+15·8	+168,383	+13·0	−1,608	−0·1
Ayr and Bute	−10,962	−5·7	−32,814	−11·5	+7,613	+2·5
GREATER CLYDE	+70,550	+9·9	+135,569	+8·5	+6,005	+0·3
Central	*+71,846*	+4·6	*+167,412*	*+5·8*	*+68,464*	*+1·9*
Solway	−11,491	−7·2	−26,911	−16·7	−7,489	−5·4
Tweed	−9,502	−8·5	−17,829	−13·9	−2,154	−2·2
South	*−20,993*	*−7·7*	*−44,740*	*−15·4*	*−9,643*	*−4·1*

of the Lothians increased, although that of Clyde fell slightly, and the outward rates increased in all the losing counties, except in Fife-Kinross and Stirling-Clackmannan.

Between 1901 and 1951 a reversal of these tendencies took place, the losing regions of 1851 and 1901 now showing either a reduced loss or a conversion of their loss into a gain (Angus-Perth, Fife-Kinross and Ayr-Bute). In addition the losing regions experienced a reduction in their outward migration

rates. On the other hand the Lothians region experienced a reduction of its 1901 gain, which was accompanied by a fall in its inward migration rate, and in the Clyde region the large gain of 1901 was replaced by a slight loss.

If we look at the changing experience of the Divisions we see that the loss from the North in 1951 was slightly higher both relatively and absolutely than in 1851, although very much lower than in 1901. Both in 1851 and 1901 the Crofting Counties had been losing population to a greater extent than the North-east, both absolutely and relatively, but by 1951 the rates of loss were similar and the amount of loss from the North-east exceeded that from the Crofting Counties. In the South Division the rate and amount of loss in 1951 were only at about half the level of 1851, with the Tweed region showing the greatest reduction. Since 1901 Central Scotland has suffered a decline both in the amount of net gain and in the rate of inward migration. This development conceals opposing tendencies as between the constituent Forth-Tay and Greater Clyde Divisions, however. In the former both the net inward balance and the migration rate have nearly doubled since 1901, while in the latter both have fallen very markedly.

The regional migration balances and migration rates are shown diagrammatically in Figs. 4, 5 and 6. Here the total of natives of each region, whether resident there or elsewhere in Scotland at the time of the respective census dates, is expressed as a shaded circle and the migration rate is represented by a segment of this circle. The white, detached, segments show outward migration rates and the black, superimposed, segments show inward migration rates. A migration rate of, say, 12·5 per cent thus appears as a segment with an angle of 45 degrees. These three maps also show the net currents of migration between individual regions of which the net migration balance of each region is compounded. These currents are shown by flow lines whose widths are proportional to the numbers represented, the thickest representing a net flow of between 20,000 and 40,000, and the thinnest a net flow of between 1,000 and 2,500.

These three maps should now be compared with the maps showing the county migration balances for the corresponding years, and the three pairs should then be viewed in historical sequence. It is clear that internal migration in Scotland was at a much higher level in 1901, than in either 1851 or 1951. To put this the other way round we can say that a compulsory

return of all migrants to their native counties and regions would have caused a much greater net redistribution of the

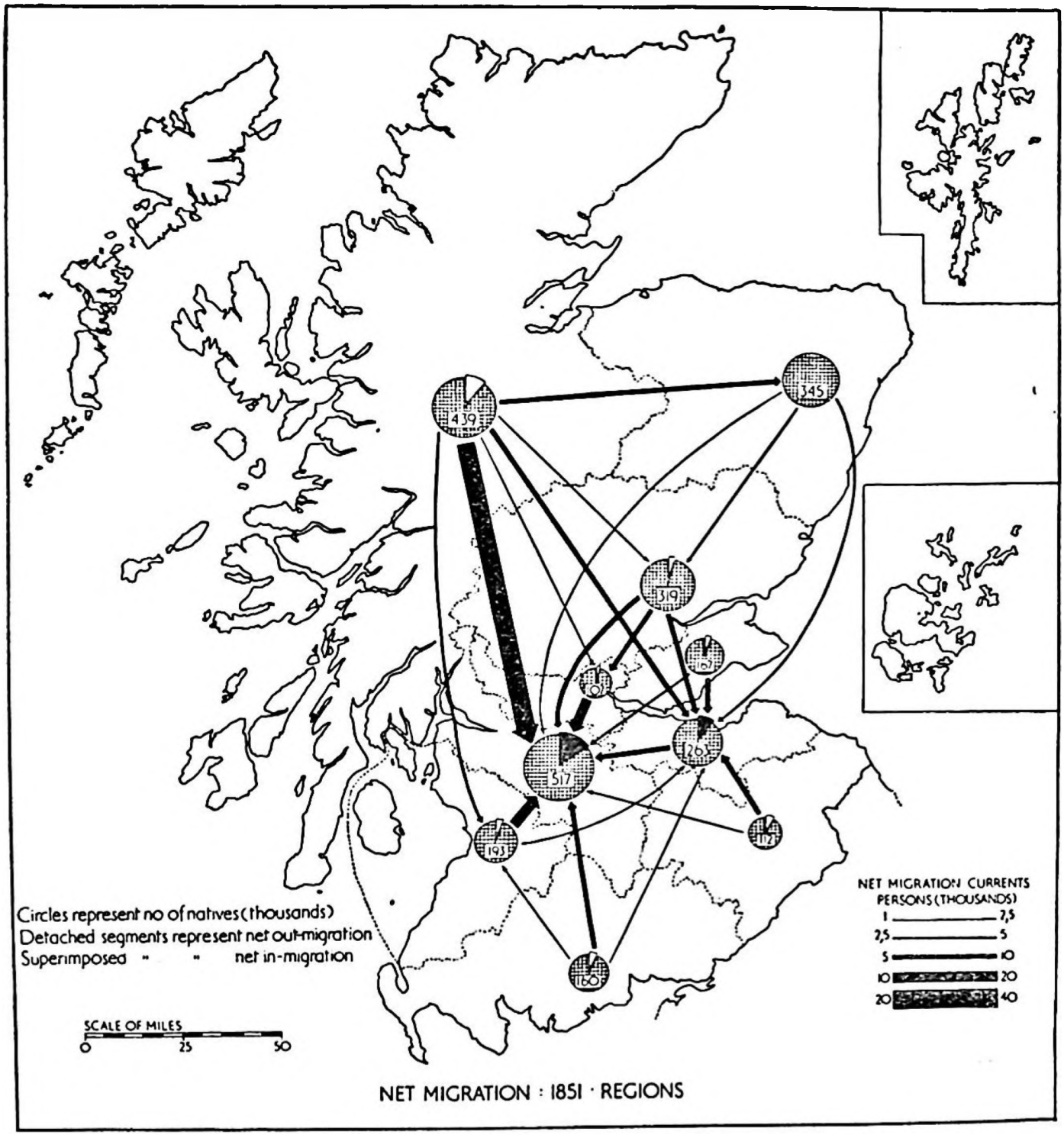

FIG. 4

population in 1901 than in either 1851 or 1951. For instance, if such a compulsory return could have been effected in 1901 the counties constituting the South of Scotland would have reclaimed 44,740 natives over and above their now departing immigrants from the rest of the country, whereas in 1851 they

would have been entitled to only 20,993 and in 1951 to only 9,643, and these two latter figures would have represented much

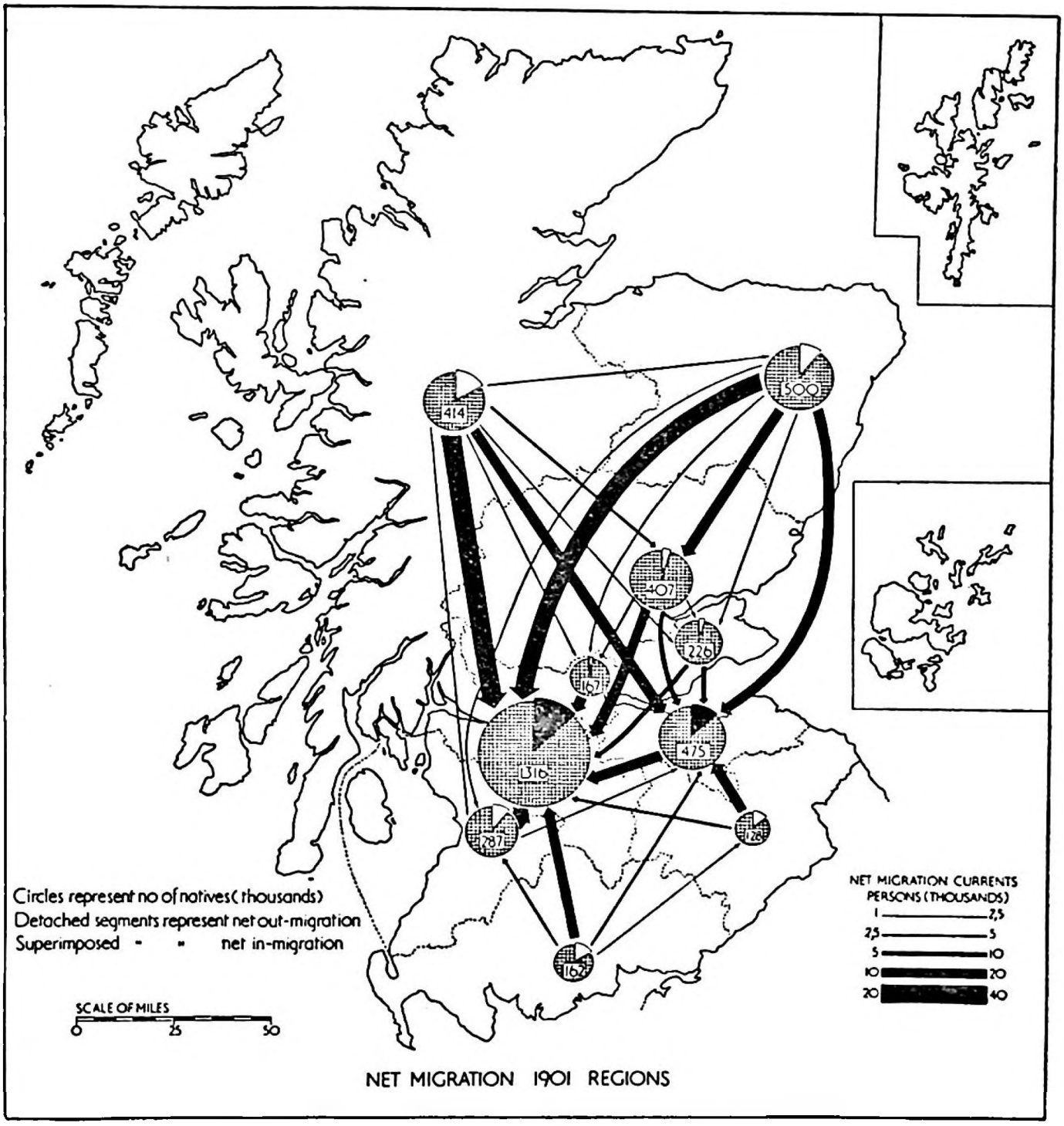

FIG. 5

smaller proportions of their natives present in Scotland at the time. Another important feature is that whereas the position revealed in 1851 may be said to foreshadow the position revealed in 1901, which thus can be seen as an intensification of the migrational tendencies apparent fifty years earlier, the

position revealed in 1951 shows an important change in the pattern of inter-regional migration currents.

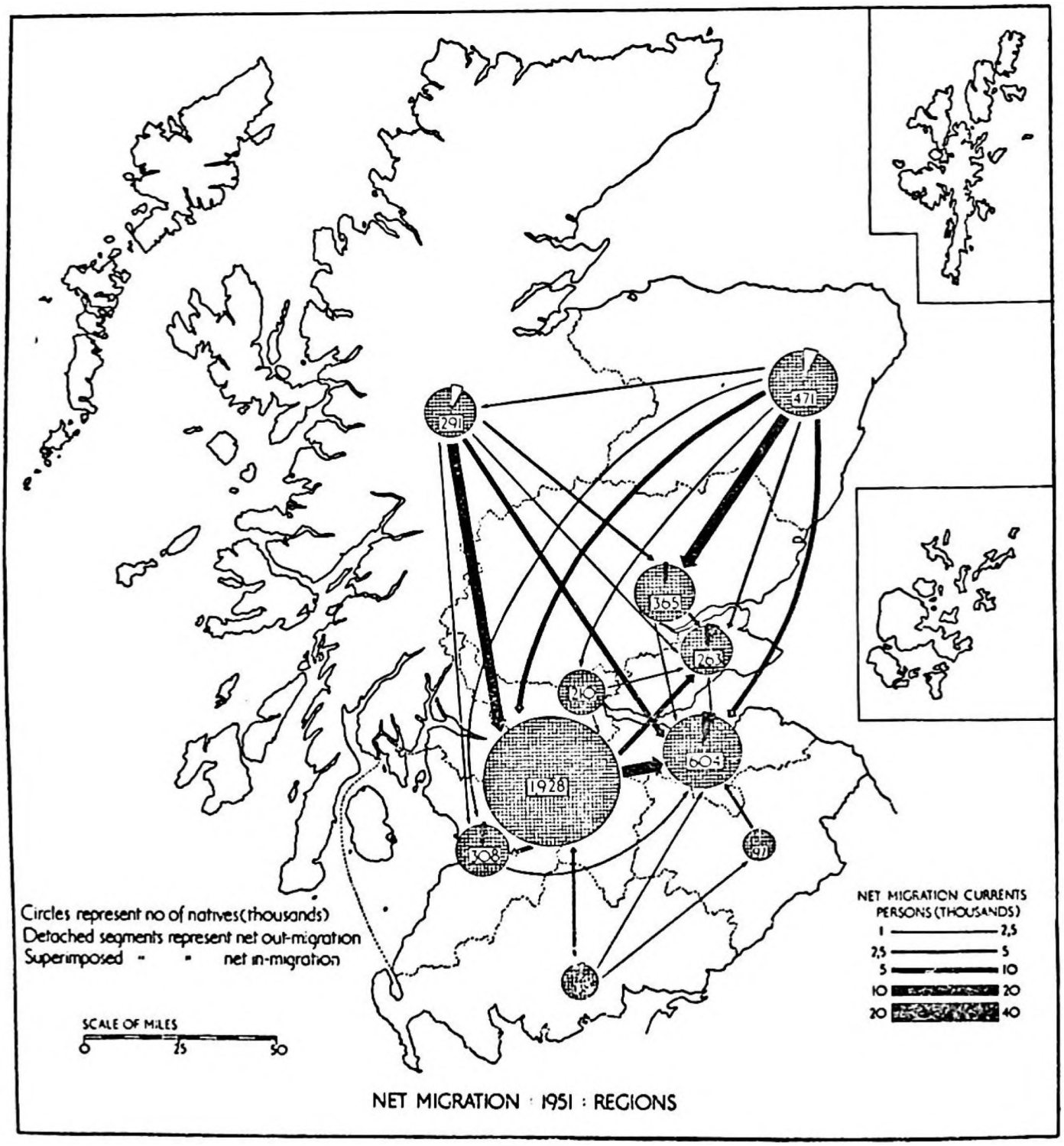

Fig. 6

In all three years the convergence of population on Central Scotland from both North and South can plainly be seen, although, as has been noticed, this was more intense in 1901 than in the other two years. However, in 1851 and 1901 the

chief focus of inward migration was the Clyde region, which drew net intakes not only from the North and South Divisions, but also from all the other regions of Central Scotland. In 1951 the only net gain of more than 1,000 from the Central regions to be experienced by Clyde was from Stirling-Clackmannan (and this was only 1,778). The Clyde region lost on balance to Ayr-Bute, Fife-Kinross and to the Lothians, and although it gained on balance from the Crofting Counties, the North-east and Solway, these gains were insufficient to offset entirely the losses to East Central Scotland and Ayr-Bute. However, the Clyde region appears in a state of equilibrium in the map because its net loss of 1,608 is too small to be shown. The gains by the counties of East Central Scotland have already been noticed in Fig. 3, showing the county migration balances for 1951. This shift in emphasis within Central Scotland may be attributed to the positive factor of expansion in mining and industry in the east and to the negative factor of recent large-scale industrial depression in the west.

Apart from the persistent migration to Central Scotland from the North and South, the maps also show something of a wavelike or "shunting" motion as part of the process of movement. This well-known phenomenon of migration studies may be illustrated by the experience of Angus-Perth, occupying an intermediate position between the persistently losing regions of the North and the more buoyant regions of Central Scotland, especially Clyde and the Lothians. In all three years Angus-Perth experienced net gains from the Crofting Counties and from the North-east, and in turn suffered net losses to the regions lying to the south. A north-south chain of migration movements can, in fact, be discerned, extending from the North-east to Clyde. Thus the North-east lost to Angus-Perth, which in turn lost to Stirling-Clackmannan (the 1951 loss is too small to be mapped), which in turn lost to Clyde, but at the same time, however, there were also direct losses from the North-east to Stirling-Clackmannan (the 1851 loss being too small to be mapped), and to Clyde, and there was also a direct loss from Angus-Perth to Clyde (too small to be mapped in 1951). This chain of movement can be carried back a stage further in 1851 and 1901, since in these years the North-east itself attracted a net inward movement from the Crofting Counties. In 1951 the North-east was a net loser to the Crofting Counties. A somewhat similar though less complete chain occurs between the North-east and the Lothians, via Angus-Perth and

Fife-Kinross, with the "overshooting" of intermediate regions occurring here also.

The maps also suggest a broad relationship between distance and volume of migration. Thus in all three years the volume of net outward flow from the Crofting Counties was greater to the Clyde region than to the rather more distant Lothians, while the flow from the North-east, with its similar distances to Clyde and the Lothians, shows a rough division between these two regions, except in 1901. It is quite likely, of course, that the economic pull of the Clyde region was greater than that of the Lothians in the second half of the nineteenth century and that this therefore partially offset the distance factor. The distance factor is perhaps most vividly seen in the South of Scotland, where questions of distance and accessibility would appear to have determined that the largest outward movements from Solway were to Clyde and from Tweed to the Lothians. All these general features of the inter-regional migration pattern are also revealed on a smaller scale by the figures of net migration between individual counties. Considerations of space preclude an examination of these and other aspects of the birth-place tables, e.g. the *gross* migration figures from which the net flows are derived, and the sex-ratios of migrants.

NATURAL INCREASE AND NET MIGRATION, 1861-1951

Although we are here primarily concerned with the geography of migration in Scotland as revealed by an analysis of birth-places it is useful to view the results in conjunction with the information derived from a comparison of natural increase and total population change in each inter-censal period. This other method of calculating net migration does not, however, reveal anything about the origins and destinations of migrants, nor does it exclude from consideration those inhabitants of Scotland born outside the country, but the figures obtained do, on the other hand, relate to definite periods of time. The method is to subtract the total of deaths registered during a given inter-censal period from the births registered during the same period and then to subtract this figure of natural increase (or decrease) from the total population increase (or decrease). The difference gives the net inward or outward migration.

The centenary of the introduction of statutory registration of births, deaths and marriages in Scotland, in 1855, was marked by the publication in the Registrar-General's Annual

Reports for 1953 and 1954 of statistics of natural increase and net migration during the previous hundred years (Registrar-General for Scotland 1954: 8-11, 71-95; 1955: 9-19, 80-137). These Reports show the natural increase and net migration for each county and for Scotland as a whole in the eight intercensal periods, 1861-1951. While the 1953 Report contains the more extensive commentary the 1954 Report contains the more detailed figures and also gives revised county migration balances for the two periods affected by war deaths, 1911-21 and 1931-51. Details of changes for 1931-51 within counties, separately distinguishing the four "counties of cities" and the "large burghs" are shown in the General Volume of the 1951 census (1954, Tables 1 and 2, pp. 4-5). Since the present writer (Osborne 1956*b*) has summarised elsewhere the main facts relating to migration as given in the two Annual Reports and the General Volume of the 1951 census they will not be recapitulated here. The reader is also referred to the "National Atlas" series of Ordnance Survey maps showing changes by migration in local government areas in Scotland for the periods 1921-31, 1931-38 and 1938-47.

The figures of natural increase and net migration for the period 1861-1951 given in the Hundredth Annual Report are, however, now shown here for the first time in diagrammatic form. Fig. 7 shows the county figures combined into the regional groupings already used for the analysis of migration by the birth-place method. Natural increase in each period is represented by diagonally shaded columns of a height corresponding to the numbers involved, while net inward migration is represented by solid black extensions to these columns, the total height being equivalent to the total increase in population for the particular period. Where net outward migration has occurred the natural increase column is shaded horizontally from the top downwards, so that the lower "uncovered" part of the column represents the total increase in fact achieved. Where net outward migration has exceeded natural increase and has thus caused depopulation (in the sense of a decline in total population) the horizontally shaded column extends below the base line. Thus it will be seen, for instance, that the Crofting Counties experienced net outward migration to an extent exceeding natural increase in all periods, and, as a result, registered persistent depopulation.

Owing to the absence of a census in 1941 the final column of the series covers a twenty-year period and is of double

width, the figures of natural increase and net migration therefore being halved in order to preserve areal comparability

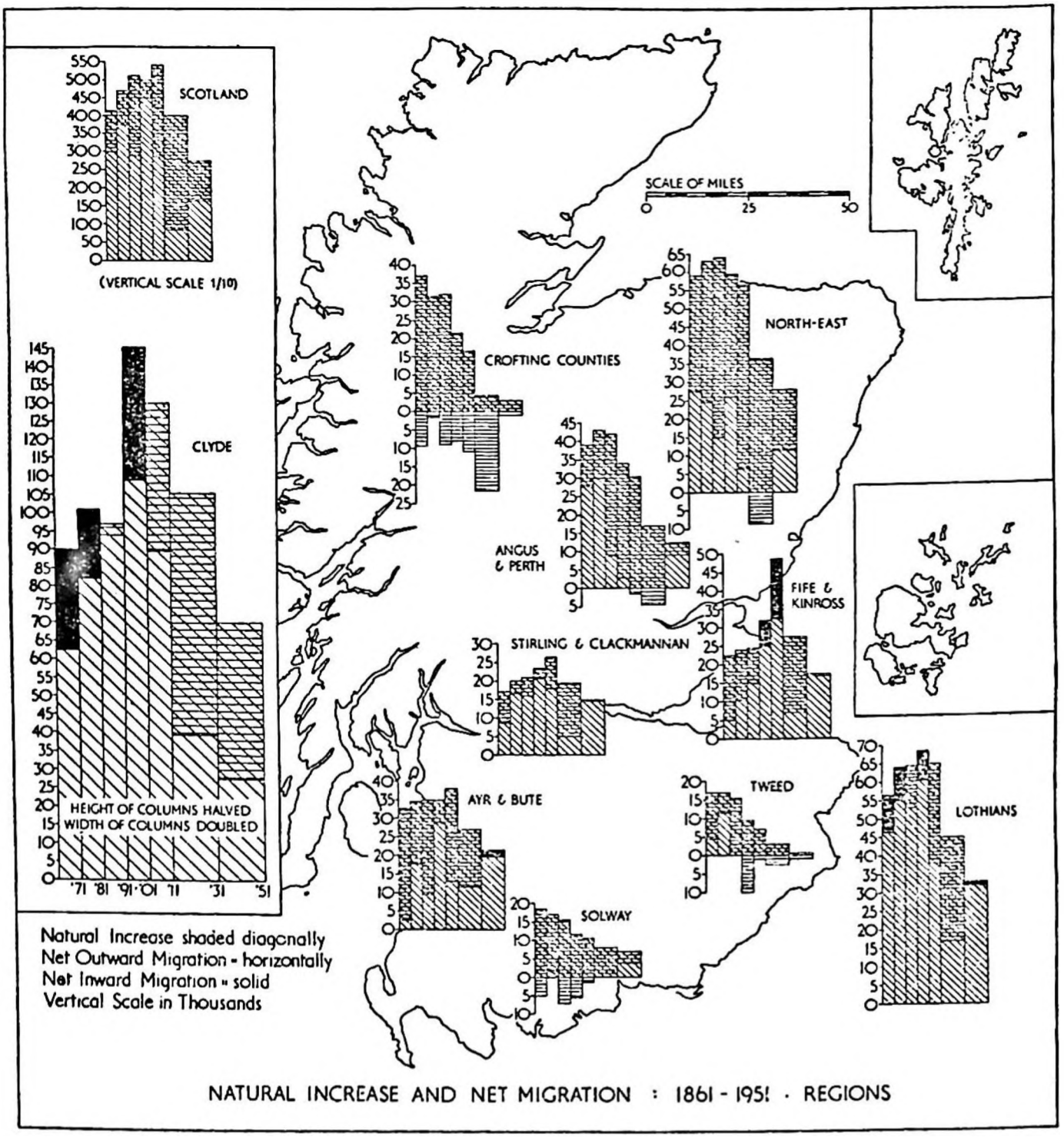

FIG. 7

with the ten-year columns. The readings on the vertical scale should thus be doubled for the complete intercensal period. As has been mentioned above, the holding of the 1921 census in the month of June resulted in the inflation of population in counties containing resort areas and in the complementary,

though more widely diffused, depletion of population in the other counties. The migration balances published by the Registrar-General thus give an unrealistic picture of migration changes in the two decades 1911-21 and 1921-31.[5] In order to avoid this difficulty the figures for the two decades have been combined and are shown in a similar way to the figures for 1931-51. Needless to say, it must not be assumed that changes in the two decades of each twenty-year period were identical.

A further qualification is that while total change can be calculated from an inspection of the columns for the decades between 1861 and 1911 this procedure cannot be adopted for the periods 1911-31 and 1931-51, since net migration does not here correspond to the difference between total increase and natural increase. This is because overseas war deaths in the two World Wars (amounting to 74,000 and 34,000 respectively) lay outside the scope of the civil registration system and could not be attributed to particular counties. The Registrar-General did not subtract these from the county natural increase figures, which, therefore, are somewhat too high in the diagrams for these two periods. On the other hand the Registrar-General did make appropriate adjustments in respect of these deaths to the county net migration figures, which thus are rounded to the nearest hundred in the published tables. For the period 1931-51 an allowance was also made for the larger numbers serving in the Forces outside Scotland in 1951 than in 1931. It has been thought preferable in the diagrams to retain the figures of natural increase as provided by the Registrar-General rather than alter these to conform to his adjusted net migration figures. The inset diagram for Scotland is also subject to the same qualifications. Finally it should be pointed out that the height of the columns has been halved, and their width doubled, in the diagram for the Clyde region, with the result that although the proportionality of numbers to area is the same as in the other regional diagrams the readings on the vertical scale should be doubled (and quadrupled for the last two periods).

All the regional diagrams show a considerable fall in the amount of natural increase in the two periods since 1911 (which was typical also of England and Wales). It will also be observed that the volume of net outward migration in the period 1931-51 was in all regions less than in the preceding twenty years and also (when halved) less than in any earlier decade, with the exception of Clyde. At the same time it

must be remembered that natural increase was also lower than in any other period, not only in those regions where total population declined but also in those regions with increased populations. In two regions natural increase in the last twenty years has been either negligible (Tweed) or very small (Crofting Counties). A continual excess of outward migration over natural increase led, as we have seen, to continual depopulation in the Crofting Counties and in the nineteenth century to almost continual depopulation in Solway. Angus-Perth, the North-east and Tweed were depopulated in various periods between 1891 and 1931. Only four regions have ever had a favourable balance of migration, viz. Clyde, Lothians, Fife-Kinross and Ayr-Bute. By far the greater part of these gains was experienced in the decades before 1911. The substantial gains by Clyde in all but one decade of the period 1861-1901 resulted from the large internal gains of population from the rest of Scotland, already suggested by the 1901 map of internal migration, and also from the later contributions of the Irish immigration. Since 1901 migration trends have not favoured the region, however: the differential between immigration to the region and emigration from the region has changed in character from positive to negative.

A somewhat similar situation has occurred in the Lothians, except that in the last twenty years the region has recovered its character as an area of net gain to a limited extent. In Fife-Kinross the late nineteenth and early twentieth century development of the coalfield fostered a considerable net immigration, followed in the period 1911-31 by a large net loss and in the most recent period by a position of equilibrium. In Stirling-Clackmannan net losses in the period 1861-1911 were followed by a very much larger proportionate loss between 1911 and 1931, and then by a slight gain between 1931 and 1951. In Ayr-Bute also the recent net gain follows a succession of losses.

The position of the three Forth-basin regions in the last period (with a combined net migration balance of +1,700) should be contrasted with that of the Clyde region with its large net loss (amounting to 169,500). Direct comparison with the situation revealed by the birth-place analysis of 1951 cannot be made, of course, since the latter method does not relate to a definite period and also excludes any consideration of external migration. Nevertheless the results of both methods show the present lead of the Forth regions over the Clyde

region in terms of population gain by migration. The situation may be summarised as follows:—

	Net Migration, 1951	
	Internal (by birth-place)	Internal and External (Registrar-General, 1931-1951)
Clyde . .	−1,608	−169,500
Forth . .	+54,889	+1,700

The total amount of natural increase occurring in Scotland between 1861 and 1951 may be assessed by summing the natural increase columns of the regional diagrams, while the external balance of migration with the rest of the world may be derived by subtracting the sum of the solid black columns from the sum of the horizontally shaded columns. The resulting situation for the whole country is shown in the inset diagram and reveals that Scotland experienced an outward balance of migration in all periods. This was particularly heavy between 1911 and 1931. The smaller numerical and proportionate loss since 1931 has been associated, as we have seen, with a reduction of net outward migration in seven regions and the introduction of a net gain in three.

The fall in natural increase in recent decades means that any given volume of net outward migration now tends to have a greater effect on the level of population than it would have had in the Victorian period. The position has already been reached where entire regions of the country produce only a small volume of natural increase, so that only fairly modest net outward balances of migration can lead to population decline. This is even more true of particular counties and individual parishes; indeed negative natural change not infrequently occurs, apart from any unfavourable balance of migration. Such conditions are typically related to an age-structure with a high proportion of the population in the older age-groups, a state of affairs in turn related to the cumulative effect of outward migration in the past. Contemporary depopulation is not, therefore, necessarily associated with a large volume of net migration loss.

As has been seen in Fig. 3, a county such as Inverness,

which includes many depopulated communities in the Highlands and Islands, actually showed a slight gain (368) from the rest of Scotland in 1951. It might, therefore, be claimed that any restoration of local population losses in the county ought to be a purely domestic problem, involving a redistribution of the county population without claims being made on the rest of the country to assist with any policy of repopulation. No doubt Inverness contributed its share to the negative external balances affecting Scotland as a whole (which are not, it will be remembered, reflected in Fig. 3), and possibly contributed more than its share, but again it can be argued that any attempt to recoup such losses should not involve claims on other Scottish counties. It might, of course, be held that counties which have gained in the past should be expected to disperse some of their present population to counties which have persistently sustained heavy losses. This would imply calling on the present inhabitants of gaining counties to relocate some of their numbers in accordance with the various county deficits calculated in respect of both living and deceased migrants. Clearly there would be many objections to such a policy.

More seriously, however, it must be stressed that the 1951 situation shows a number of features which suggest that a simultaneous condition of more even distribution and greater stability of the population might well be establishing itself, in contrast to the situation in the nineteenth century. We can point to the reduced migration losses in the losing counties, the increased number of gains, the reduction of the overall gain by Central Scotland, and within Central Scotland to the shift of emphasis from west to east as shown by the absence of any gain in the congested Clyde region and the occurrence of gains in three of the four regions of East Central Scotland. Within the west there is now a loss from Clyde to Ayr-Bute.

Economic change in Scotland since 1951 may well be promoting the continuation of similar tendencies and, indeed, one suspects that even more striking changes may in time reveal themselves. The inward migration resulting from the installation of an atomic reactor in Caithness, for instance, can scarcely fail to lessen the negative migration balance of this county. Ayr, Fife and Midlothian, with their expanding coalfields, may well increase their gains, while Stirling may benefit by the growth of the oil-refining centre of Grangemouth. Measures to provide more varied industrial employment in the

North-east may help to reduce adverse balances here. In fact, a comparison of the birth-place tables of the forthcoming 1961 census with those of 1951 will provide a useful guide to the economic development of Scotland during the first intercensal period of the post-war era and also to the success or failure of public policy with regard to employment and industry.

STATISTICAL SOURCES

Sources of the statistics from which the tables have been compiled:—Table I:—Kyd, *op. cit.*, App. I, p. 82; *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables I, Vol. II, Scotland* (1852), p. 2 (for 1801 and 1851); *Census, 1951, Scotland, Vol. III (General Volume)* (1954), Table 5, p. 8 (for 1901 and 1951). Tables II-VIII:—*Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables II, Vol. I, Summary Tables* (1854), Table XL, pp. ccxcvii-ix. *Eleventh Decennial Census of Scotland, 1901, Vol. II, Abstracts, Section III* (1903), Tables 1 and 2, pp. 338-349. *Census, 1951, Scotland, Vol. III (General Volume)* (1954), Tables 32 and 34, pp. 49-50 and 52-53. Additional sources for England and Wales and Ireland used in Table VI:—*Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables II, Vol. I* (1854), Table 42, p. ciii. *Census of England and Wales, 1901, Summary Tables* (1903), Table XLIV, p. 246. *Census, 1951, England and Wales, General Tables* (1956), Table 32, p. 114. *Census of Ireland, 1861, Part V (General Report)* (1864), Table XXVII, p. xxxiv. *Census of Ireland, 1901, Part II (General Report)* (1902), Table 24, p. 138. *Census of Population of Northern Ireland, 1951, General Report* (1955), Table 16, p. 21. *Census of Population of Ireland, 1946, Vol. III* (1952), Table 1A, p. 74.

NOTES

[1] This study was made under the auspices of the Social Sciences Research Centre of the University of Edinburgh. For a similar investigation of England and Wales in 1951 by the same author, see Osborne: 1956*a*.

[2] For a detailed list of the boundary changes, see Shennan (1892), and for the effect of these on local population figures see *Tenth Decennial Census of Scotland* (1893).

[3] The 1851 census report contains revised population figures for previous years and also gives reasons for large increases or decreases in local populations. (*Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables I, Vol. II, Scotland* [1852], pp. 4-97). Unfortunately this practice was not continued in later years. For a survey of population changes and the associated economic background in the period preceding 1851, see Macdonald 1937.

[4] The intercensal rates (per hundred of population in initial year) were as follows:—1861-71, 13·6; 1871-81, 14·0; 1881-91, 13·6; 1891-1901, 12·4; 1901-11, 12·1; 1911-21, 7·6; 1921-31, 7·2; and 1931-51 (twenty years), 10·4. Overseas war deaths in the two World Wars are included. (*Census, 1951, Scotland, Vol. III* [*General Volume*] [*1954*], Table B, p. vi).

[5] A similar distortion occurred in the percentage changes of county populations between 1911 and 1921 and 1921 and 1931. For a map showing intercensal changes in counties between 1801 and 1931 see O'Dell (1932: 283). See also Snodgrass (1944) for an account of changes between 1921 and 1931 (with maps).

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THE GREEN MAN OF KNOWLEDGE

Hamish Henderson*

Weel, this is a story aboot an old lady—an auld woman it wes—she bred pigs. She wes a widow-woman, an' she'd a son cried Jack. An' this son wes jist a nit-wit, he'd nae sense, they say—so they said, onywey—an' he used to sit at the fireside amangst ashes. Ay, he'd a big auld hairy Hielan collie-dog. An' this collie-dog wes a' he lookt at, an' mindet; him an' his dog used to sit an' play at cards—an' I couldnae say the dog played back, like—but he played cards wi' his dog. An' that's a' he did, the lee-lang day.

But Jack, he comes to the age o' twenty-one. An' on his twenty-oneth birthday, he rises fae the fireside an' streetches hissel'—he's a man weel over six fit. An' his breekies he was wearin' fin he did streetch hissel' went up to abeen his knees. An' his jaicket an' schuil-buits . . . he wes a giant o' a man, compared to the clothes he wore. He was aye sittin' humphed up.

He says, "Mither," he says, "you feed awa at your pigs, Jack's awa to push his fortune." "Ah," says she, "Jack, dinnae gae awa noo, 'cause ye'll jist get lost, an' ye ken ye've never been past the gate o' the place there a' your life, Jack. Jist bide whaur ye are."

"Ah, but mither," he says, "I'm goin' awa to push my fortune, an' nothin' 'll dee me but I'm goin' to push my fortune."

"No, no, Jack, g'awa an' play wi' your doggie."

He says, "No, I'm gaun to push my fortune."

She says, "Weel, Jack, dinna wander awa." But Jack never bothers, mither or nothing else—he hauds awa, whenever she turns her back. An' he opens the gate an' walks oot—and whenever he opened that yett, he's in anither world. He didnae know where he wes, because he'd never been oot o'

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the fairmyard in his life. An' he walks doon the road. So—if everything be true, this'll be nae lies—there were a cross-roads, an' the one signpost says: 'To the Land of Enchantment'. So Jack says, "Here's for it." So he hauds doon the road to the Land of Enchantment onywey. And in the Land of Enchantment—I must tell ye this, if ye understand what I tell yeze!—everything spoke: animals, birds, everything spoke. So he's comin' on, an' he's feelin' gey hungry, Jack. He's a gey lump o' a lad, an' he liked his meat, and he was feelin' hungry. So he says, "Lord, I wisht I'd asked my mither for a bannock or something to take on the road wi' me, 'cause it's gey hungry, gaein' awa."

He's comin' on, an' he looks—an' d'ye ever see a horse-troch, kin' o' grown wi' moss—an' a lovely troch it wis, at the road-side. An' Jack says: "O, thank the Lord, I'll get a drink onywey, it'll quench the hunger for a bittie—my thirst tae." So—there a wee robin sittin' on the edge o' the watter—the edge o' the troch, ye ken—so he bends his heid to take a drink.

The robin says, "Hullo, Jack."

He says, "Lord, begod, it's a bird speakin'! Whit are ye speakin' for," he says, "I never heard a bird speak in my life."

"Oh," he says, "Jack, ye're in the Land of Enchantment —everything an' everybody can speak."

"Oh, but"—he says—"nae a bird!" He says: "If I didnae see't wi' my ain een, I wouldnae believe't."

"Oh yes, Jack, I can talk."

He says, "Fit wey d'ye ken my name?"

"Oh," he says, "Jack, we knew ye were comin'—we've been waitin' on ye for twenty-one years, Jack."

"Lord, ye'd a gey wait, had ye no?"

But—he has a drink o' water—he says, "ye ken fit I could dae wi, birdie," he says, "I could dae wi' a richt feed o' meat."

"Oh, well," he says, "Jack, jist follae me."

He turns awa, doon the road a bit, and here's a lanely thackit cot at the roadside, an' an old woman in't, she'd the age o' a hunder, an' she's rockin' back an forrit in an auld rockin' chair. So she says, "Come in, Jack." She says, "Go in an' get your supper, Jack."

So when Jack comes in, here's a lovely table set, an' a plate o' porridge, an' milk, an' some tea, an' so on—scones, an' things like that, scones was home-made fancy at that time

onywey. An' a lovely young girl. An' she supplied the food, d'ye see?

So he sits doon, an' has a plate o' this porridge, an' it tasted lovely, he never tasted finer in his life. (When ye're hungry, a'thing tastes fine.) An' he had some tea—no, I'm goin' through my story: there was home-brewed ale. He'd a mug o' this home-brewed ale, an' some scones an' oatcakes, an' things like that.

So she says, "Jack, would you like to lie down?" An' he says, "I wouldnae care, for I'm feeling gey wearriet," he says, "an' things, an' I could dee wi' a lie-doon."

She says, "Come up here, Jack." An' there's the loveliest feather bed that ever you see in your life, a richt bed. And so Jack jist lies doon, an' sinks in't, an' fa's right to sleep.

So he's lyin', but he wakens through the night, an' he's lyin' on a sheepskin an' three peats. He says "My God, my bed's changed quick! Lord," he says, "a queer bed." But he fa's awa again—Jack didnae worry, he wis used to lyin' in ashes onywey. He fa's awa again, an' when he waukens up in the mornin', he's lyin' in this lovely bed again. He says, "My God, this is a queer country. It's jist no like my mither's place at a'."

But he jumps oot-ower his bed, an' he gaes doon, an' the breakfast's waitin' for him again. So the young girl says: "Go out, an' my grandmither 'll give ye some advice, Jack. An' in the land you're in, all the advice you can get, Jack, you take, for you'll need it, see?"

So Jack says, "Ay, I aye tak advice, lassie." An' he says: "It's nae deen nae hairm."

So he gaes oot tae the door, an' he says, "Weel, Grannie, how are ye keepin'?" "Och," she says, "fine, Jack." She says, "Jack, I'm goin' to give ye some advice. When you go along this road today, Jack, never talk to anybody first. Wait tae they talk to you first."

He says: "Well, whatever ye say, Grannie."

So he says good-bye, an' he hauds doon a bit o' the road—the young girl cries efter him, an' gies him some sandwiches to carry on wi'—ye ken, scones an' butter, an' things like that. So he carries them wi' him, see?

But, to mak a lang story short an' a short story lang, he hauds on the road. An' he's ho the road, hey the road, doon the road. He's walkin', an' he hears the bells o' a village, like a church-bell ringin' awa; it wis helluva sweet music, ye ken,

awa in a hollow, ye wad think; it wis bonny-like. So he comes on over the ridge, an' he looks doon in a den, an' here's a lovely village. So, the most of the scones that he got, he ate them—and there was a small something got up in a piece o' cloth, ye ken—an' he opened it up, an' here's a gold piece. Either a geeny, or a . . . fit it wis I dinna ken, but a gold piece, that's a' that I ken. An' he takes it oot, an' he pits it in his pocket, an' he gaes on tae the village.

So he looks, an' here's a inn. He says, "I'll gang in here," he says (for he wes feelin' hungry again). So he gangs in, an' he orders home-brewed ale an' scones, an' he eats a gey hillock, at least a platefu'! An' has a richt drink.

So he looks over in a corner, an' there three men playin' cards, an' they're a' playin' cards jist, neither speakin', movin', naething else, jist playin' cards. An' there were a man dressed heid to fit in green—his heid in green. O a very cunnin'-lookin' man—mebbe he's a man aboot fifty, but what a cunnin' face. Jist a face, you would ken he was very clever—a man o' brains.

So Jack gings ower till 'im, and he says, "Can I get a game?"

He says, "Have ye money?"

Jack says, "Weel, I hinna a lot o' money, but I've money" (he had change, this gold piece). An' he says, "I'd like a game."

He says, "Can you play at cards? We don't play," he says, "with men that canna play at cards."

"O," he says, "I've practised a bittie in my day," and he starts to play at cards. An' the four o' them plays an' plays; the Green Man o' Knowledge wis a good card-player right enough, but he couldnae beat Jack, 'cause Jack had a' his life-time played wi' his collie. He could play cards!

But a' thing's comin' Jack's way, so the ither two fa's oot, but Jack an' the Green Man o' Knowledge plays an' plays an' plays up tae the early 'oors o' the mornin'.

Sae he looks at him, an' he says, "Jack," he says, "ye're too good a man for me at cards." He says, "Good-bye, Jack."

He says, "Wait a minute. Fa are ye?"

He says, "I'm the Green Man o' Knowledge."

"Sae you're the Green Man o' Knowledge, are ye?" he says. "Faur dae ye bide?"

He says, "East o' the moon and west o' the stars."

He says, "Lord, that's a queer direction."

"Make oot o't onythin' ye like, Jack," he says. Sae he jist left it like that.

"My God," says Jack, "he's a gey peculiar kin' o' a lad."

But he heaps a' his money—he has any amount o' money, I couldnae value it, but he's any amount. So he pits it in bags, an' he says to the innkeeper, he says, "You keep this gold to me till I'm back this wey," he says. "I must fin' faur the Green Man o' Knowledge bides."

An' the innkeeper shakes his head. "Jack, dinnae follae him," he says. He says, "You'll go to disaster if you follae him."

"Ach," Jack says, "a' body has only onst to die—why worry!" But Jack reckoned for the Green Man o' Knowledge.

So he hauds on the road, the only road oot o' the village. An' he's haudin' on the road, ye ken—an' he's gettin' tiret an' weary again, and he'd took a few gold pieces wi' him, nae much, in his pocket, frae fear he would come tae ony mair inns or that, ye ken, where he could get refreshments. An' he's haudin' on the road—but he jist comes right in aboot till anither thackit hoosie, the same.

He says, "Well, I'll go up to see this thackit hoosie," he says, "an' they might help me onywey. I'll pay them."

So he chaps at the door, an' he hears a voice: "Come in, Jack." He says, "Lord, they're weel-informed in this country," he says, "everybody kens my name." So he opens the door an' gangs in, and says, "I'm in."

She says, "Are ye hungry, Jack, I suppose ye are."

He says, "Yes, I'm hungry." She says, "Sit doon, Jack." So he sits doon. He gets the same meal again as he got in the other place. If the first girl was bonnie, this girl was ten times bonnier. And if the first woman was old, this woman was much older—she was ancient! And she was sittin', rockin' awa in her chair tae. So they pits him to bed, but the same thing happens in the bed as I tellt ye. He goes tae his bed an' rises in the mornin', and the peats was through the night. But he notices before he goes to bed that this old woman was knittin' —just a round piece o' knittin' she was, like crochetin', but it was knittin' she was, jist a round piece like that table there. And it was lyin' on the floor when he comes in the mornin'. Now she says, "Jack, you're lookin' for the Green Man o' Knowledge." He says, "I am." And she says, "Jack, we're here to help you, because you could never manage yourself, Jack."

He says, "Well," he says, "I'll tak a' the help I can get."

So efter his breakfast, she says, "Jack," she says, "take this piece o' knittin' out to the door, and lay it down and sit on't—and sit plait-legged, Jack. Cross your arms," and she says, "Whatever happens, don't look behind you." She says, "Don't look behind you, because if you look behind you, it's the end." She says, "Whatever happens, don't look behind you."

So he sits plait-legged, and folds his arms. And she says, "Say, away with you. And," she says, "whirl it three times round, when you land with it, and say home with you. And," she says, "that'll be all right, Jack." And he says, "Weel, weel, thank you."

So he says, "Away with you," and he moves that quick that the wind just leaves his body.

And he's through what he doesn't know what—hail, fire, brimstone, water, everything. And he's just dying to look back! And he minds—he's a strong-willpowered man—he minds what the auld woman said. He says, "We'll just keep lookin' forrit." So he looks forrit.

But he lands, and he was glaid to land. So he stands up, and he catches this bit o' knittin', and he pits it roond his heid three times like that, ye ken, an' he says, "away with ye"—or "back with ye", it wis. And away it wis.

So he jist comes roond the corner, he hears 'ting-ting-ting', a blacksmith on an anvil, tinkerin', and so he comes in-aboot, and here's a house. And here's an old woman sittin' like the first een, rockin', ye ken, and she was older.

And he says, "Ah weel weel"—he goes in-aboot. She says, "Well, Jack, we've been waitin' for you." She says, "Go in to the house, Jack." So Jack goes into the house, and he gets the same meal again. The same bed, the same procedure a' through, till the mornin'.

"Now," she says, "Jack, go round to the smiddy shop," she says, "and you shall see my husband, and he's made something for you, Jack. And—do what he tells you, and you won't go wrong."

So the smith says, "I want to talk to you Jack," he says. "Now," he says, "you're nearin' the Green Man o' Knowledge. But," he says, "the Green Man o' Knowledge has many precautions, for getting about them."

He says, "There must be a river to cross—a river to be crossed," he says. "I can't help you to cross it, Jack, and there's a bridge. But," he says, "if you step on that bridge it'll turn to a spider's web. You'll fall through Jack." He says, "If

you fall in the water, Jack, you're finished, because the water goes into boilin' lava." He says, "You're instantly dead."

He says, "There's only one way across, Jack—it's his youngest daughter. He's got three daughters, Jack, and the youngest one is the most powerful of the lot." He says, "They come down to swim, Jack, every mornin'," he says, "at mebbe ten o'clock," he says—"that time o' the mornin'. And whenever they touch water," he says, "they turn into swans. There's two black swans, Jack, and a white swan. It's the white swan you must get, Jack. But if you don't trap her in the way I'm tellin' you, Jack, you're finished, for she'll ca' you doon."

He says, "You watch where they're puttin' their clothes, and pick every article up of her clothes—and if you leave a hairpin, she'll make a outfit out o't—don't leave nothin'." And he says, "Jack, they cross the bridge the side you're on," he says, "and go into the water," he says, "from that side, Jack." He says, "they come back and dress there, Jack."

So he says, "Weel, it'll likely be true. But," he says, "this is a gey queer affair, but weel, weel, we'll try't."

He says, "You see that horse-shoe, Jack?" It was a very large horse-shoe. He says, "You sit on the horse-shoe, Jack, and don't look behind, whatever you do, and say, away with you!" and he says, "put it round your head three times and say back with you!"

So Jack does't, and he gings through the same again, it wis jist torture. But he lands at the banks o' the river. Now the blacksmith tellt him to hide hissel, so Jack hides hissel, just aside the bridge, and he sees this three lovely maidens comin' ower, and they were bonnie lassies. But the littlest one was the slenderest, and the most graceful o' the lot, you would have thought. So they come trippin' ower the bridge and undress, and into the water. And whenever they touched the water, the two oldest ones turned till a black swan, and they swum fast and away. And this youngest one undresses; and he watches where she pits her clothes, and ye ken what like Jack, a big fairm servant, never seen a woman in his life hardly, says, "Lord, this is fine!" They're into the water, and they're away swimmin'. So he up wi' every stitch o' claes she had, everything, even the very ribbons, and hides them.

So the two oldest ones comes out and dresses, and across the bridge and away. And she's up and down the side, and she says, "Where are you, Jack?"

He says, "I'm here."

She says, "My clothes, please, Jack."

"Ah na na, I'm nae gien' ye nae claes," he says. "I was weel warned aboot ye."

She says, "Jack, please, my clothes. Are you a gentleman?"

"Na na," he says, "I'm just Jack the Feel. I'm nae gentleman."

She says, "What have I to do, Jack?"

He says, "Well," he says, "it's a cruel thing to ask, but," he says, "you must help me across this river on your back."

She says, "Oh Jack, you'd break my slender back."

"Ah," he says, "the old smith's nae feel. Ye're nae sae slender." He says, "Ye'll take me across the river."

She says, "Well Jack, step on my back, but whatever you do, on the peril of my life and your life, don't tell how ye got across."

He says, "Okay."

So he jumps on her back, and she takes him across, and he steps up on the bank.

"Now," she says, "Jack, he'll try his best to ken how you got across, but tell him nothing."

He says, "Weel, weel," he says, "I'll tell him nothin'."

So he walks up to the hoose—she gaes awa an' gets dressed, an' runs past him an' awa—he jist gaes straight up tae the hoose an' he chaps at the door, see. So the door opens, and here's the Green Man o' Knowledge, and he was flabbergasted —he was shocked!

So he looks at him, an' he says, "My God, Jack, how d'you get here?"

"Och, jist the wey ye get."

He says, "Jack, how did you cross the river?"

"Och, flew across."

He says, "You've no wings, Jack."

"Oh, nothin's impossible. But I can grow wings," he says.

"Weel, Jack, come in," he says, "I must shake your hand," he says. "You're a good man." So Jack shakes his hand—and Jack's against the wa'—sae he gies Jack a push, an' Jack's through a kin' o' trap-door affair, an' he lands in a wee roomie, there's nae as much room for a moose, never mind a big man like Jack.

An' he looks, an' there a bit dry breid, an' hit blue-moulded, an' water, an' he says, "Drink, an' eat, an' be merry." He says, "My God, a lad winna be very merry on that!"

So he's sittin' awa, but at night he hears a whisper, and

here's the girl that helped him. She says, "Jack, you've won me. Whenever you made me take you across the river, you spelled me, I love you. I'll love you till the day I die, I can't do nothing else. I'll help you in any way, but please Jack, don't move a fit or he'll kill ye." She says, "My father, for he's evil."

She says, "Here's some food, Jack." So Jack, he gets a feed o' meat, an' he was one that loved his meat! He was sittin' there fair out wi' hunger.

So in the mornin', the place opens and Jack creeps oot. An' the Green Man o' Knowledge says, "How was ye last night, Jack?" "Ach," Jack says, "very comfortable, jist fine." He says, "Ye wisnae fine, Jack?" "I never slept better." He says, "You're not bad to please, Jack." "Ach, a lad cannae be bad to please at this time," he says.

So he says, "Would you like, Jack," he says, "would you like to prove to me that you are a man?" Jack says, "Yes, I would like to prove to ye that I'm a man." "Well," he says, "Jack, I'll give ye three tasks." He says, "They're not hard tasks, any child could do them," he says. He says, "They're not hard tasks, but," he says, "they take doin', Jack." He says, "Do you see that dry well in the garden, Jack?" He says, "Ay, I see the dry well." He says, "I want you, Jack, to go down to the bottom o' that well," he says, "an' take out my wife's engagement ring, which she lost there twenty years ago. Oh," he says, "it isn't hard to do, Jack," he says, "I could do it."

Jack says, "Why d'ye nae dee it?" He says, "I want you to do it, Jack." Jack says, "Weel, I'll try 't." So he thinks, My God!

He says, "Not today, tomorrow, Jack." He says, "Come over till I show you a photograph o' my wife, Jack." So Jack's standin' lookin'—"Ay, she's a bonnie woman"—an' he gets a push again, an' he's intae anither kind o' a cavity.

So the hard breid's there again, an' the water, a' the same.

So here she comes again, wi' mair food for 'im. So she says, "Jack, the task he's going to give you is near impossible—it *is* impossible, Jack. I shall help you to make it possible. Now," she said, "the well's thirty-five feet deep, Jack. I'll make a ladder with my body frae the tap o' the well tae the bottom o' the well." An' she says, "If you miss wan step, Jack, you'll break a bone in my body." An' she says, "For God's sake, Jack, watch what you're doin'."

So Jack says, "Weel . . ." An' he says, "Whit wey will I

see't?" She says, "The well's covered with mud," she says, "it's a terrible well—I'll make the bottom clear, an' you'll see the ring shinin'." He says, "Weel, I'll try that."

So the Green Man o' Knowledge takes him oot next mornin', an' takes him oot to the well—an' says: "There's the well, Jack." So Jack says, "Well." So Jack leans over, and he feels for the lether, an' he feels her there, her shouthers, an' he takes ae step, an' plunges doon quick, kiddin' that he's drappin' like, an' he's steppin' doon, steppin' doon, till he comes tae the last step, an' he misses—he says, "My God, I've broke her neck! . . . Ah," he says, "weel, weel, we cannae help it," so he grabs the ring, an' he's up like the haimmers o' hell, an' oot o' the well.

So he shows the Green Man o' Knowledge it, like that. He says, "Here's the ring." So he says, "You're clever, Jack." He says, "Let me see 't, Jack." "No," Jack says.

He says, "Wha's helpin' ye, Jack?" He says, "Nobody's helpin' me." He says, "Somebody's helpin' ye, Jack." Jack says, "No!"

He says, "Well, Jack," he says, "you're a clever man. You've deen the first task, but," he says, "the second ane's harder, Jack."

So he takes Jack back, an' Jack he sits down to a lovely meal. But Jack's away to eat his meal when the seat gaes oot ablow him an' wump! away in another cavity. He says, "My God, I canna stand this much langer, it'll kill me." But he's sittin', an' he's lookin' at this hard breid again, when she comes again. "Oh," she says, "Jack, if it had been the other step, ye'd broke my neck." She says, "You broke my pinkie, Jack, and I wore dinner gloves, an' father didn't notice it. If he had noticed it, Jack, we'd both have been dead."

He says, "Fit dis he plan to dee wi' me the morn?" She says, "He's got a task for ye to do, Jack. Ye've to build a castle oot o' a mere nothing within sixty minutes." "Oot o' nothing? Lord, I couldnae thack a hoose in three months, let alane build a castle oot o' nothing."

She says, "Jack, he's goin' to take ye tae a hill at the back of our castle, an' ask ye to build it. And," she says, "it must be bigger and langer and nicer than ours. An'," she says, "Jack, I shall do it. So watch what ye're sayin', Jack, for ye'll get the baith o' us trapped, d'ye see?"

He says, "Weel, weel," but he gets oot next mornin' again, an' the Green Man o' Knowledge says: "How was ye last

night, Jack?" "Ah," he says, "I wis never better." He says, "My God, ye've got a richt place in this hoose. I like this hoose—this castle." So he says, "Yes, Jack, I've a small task for ye today, Jack. Anybody could do it, but I want you to do it, Jack." Jack says, "What is't?" He says, "I want ye to build a castle, Jack, bigger than my one and larger, and nicer in every way. An' I want ye to build it in sixty minutes."

Jack says: "That's a gey stiff task to gie a lad." "Oh, but you're Jack," he says, "you got here—you got the engagement ring, Jack, this shouldn't bother you." "Well," Jack says, "I'll try 't." He says, "Go on, Jack, do 't." "Ah but," says Jack, "I'll be giein' awa trade secrets—you go awa."

So he says, "I canna watch, Jack?" "No," Jack says, "I canna let ye watch." So he turns his back and leaves.

So Jack sits for aboot half-an-'oor, an' he says, "If this deem doesnae hurry up, I'll be killed. This lad'll be back here—she's takin' an awfu time. Oh," he says. "My God, this is nae ees, she's takin' too lang." He says, "I'm makin' tracks oot o' here." So he turns roon, an' the castle's at the back o'm, he wis lyin' lookin' the ither way. So he says, "Thank God." But he's walkin' roon it, an' he's lookin' ower 't—an' there a hole aboot the size o' this hoose. "Oh," he says, "she's made a mistake. Faur is she?" An' he hears a voice sayin', "Jack, that's nae a mistake. When he comes an' looks at this hole, Jack, he'll say 'what's this, what's this?' An' you say til him, Jack, 'I've left that for you to fill up', an' see whit he says, Jack."

So up comes the Green Man o' Knowledge, an' he says, "My goodness, a lovely castle," he says. "Jack," he says, "I do gie ye credit. You are a clever man." So he walks a' roon it, an' he says, "Oh my goodness, Jack! whit a mess! What did ye leave this hole here for?" He says, "That's for you to fill." He says, "Jack, wha's helpin' ye?" Jack says, "Na, na, naebody's helpin' me. I wis only once pals wi' a collie dog," he says, "that's a'." So he says, "Well done, Jack."

Now, the third task was to clear the ants in a wood—ay, tae clear every one oot within half an 'oor. An'—ye know ants, there are millions o' them, they're uncountable, ye can't clear ants. So he takes Jack out next mornin', an' he says: "Ye're to clean all this ants, Jack. I'll give ye half an hour. If you can do that, Jack, I'll give you as much money as you can carry, any of my daughters for your wife, and your freedom, Jack, and my castle, if ye want it—and your freedom."

Jack says, "Freedom means a lot to me," he says. "I've an auld mither at hame; she's workin' wi' the pigs," he says, "and I'd like to help her tae." But Jack looks at this wuid, an' he says, "My God, this'll take some clearin'." Of course, she dis this job for him again.

So he says, "Jack, you are clever. Now," he says. "Jack, come to my house," he says, an' he gives Jack a lovely meal this time, an' no tricks. "Now," he says. "Jack, I've got you four bags o' gold here," he says, "an' in each bag the money's near uncountable," he says, "an' you're past bein' a rich man, Jack. You're very wealthy," he says. An' he says, "I'll take you to the stable," he says, "and give ye the pick o' my horses. I keep all mares," he says, "an' they're lovely horses, Jack." An' he says, "You can have whatever horse you want." So Jack says, "Weel, weel."

So Jack's pickin' his gold (an' the Green Man o' Knowledge is walkin' alang in front o' him), when he hears the voice again, sayin', "Jack, take the old mule—Jack, take the old mule." So he says, "Weel, weel," he says.

So he gaes intae the stable, an' he's standin', ye see, an' he's lookin'—an' they were lovely beasts, nae doot aboot them, loveliest beasts he had ever seen. There a grey meer, an' he could see the fire in her eyes—a lovely meer. An' there anither meer, a fine black meer, an' he could see the fire in her eyes. So Jack looks at them, an' he looks at this wee scruffy-lookin' animal o' a mule, an' he says, "My goodness, whit 'm I gauna dee wi' that?—My God, she hisnae been wrang yet," til himsel, he says. "I better take a tellin'," he says, "but my God, it's a sin to throw this gold oot-owre its back." An' he looks at this meer, but he says to the Green Man of Knowledge, "I'd like that wee donkey, it's fast enough for Jack."

"Oh, my goodness, Jack," he says, "you wouldn't take *that*? It would disgrace ye goin' through the country, Jack." "Ach," Jack says, "I'm nae good to disgrace, I'm nae worried. I'll take that wee mule." "No, no, Jack," he says, "I won't allow ye to take that, ye'll take one of this meers."

So Jack's newsin' awa, an' he straps his gold on tap o' the wee mule's back. An' he's newsin' awa, an' the wee mule's standin' wi' nae rein nor anything else, so he's owre his leg, an' it wis nae bother, for it wis only a wee thingie, an' he draps owre its back an' away, an' he's aff his mark an' this wee mule could rin. It's rinnin', an' Jack says, "My God, take it easy, lassie, nothing 'll catch ye."

She says, "Jack, you don't know my people," she says, "they'll catch me if I don't hurry, Jack." "Aw, awa, lassie, they'll never see ye—take your time, deemie, ye'll jist kill yersel hastenin'." She says, "No, Jack, I must run, and run hard." Jack says, "Take your . . . but, God," he says, "hurry up, he's ahin' us." An' here, they're jist at the back o' his neck. So he says, "Run harder."

So she's rinnin', but she says, "Jack, I haven't got the speed for him." She says, "Jack, look in my left ear, an' you shall see a drop o' water," she says. "Throw it over your shoulder, an ask for rivers, lakes and seas behind you, and a clear road in front o' you." So he throws it ower his shouther; he says, "Gie's lakes, seas, and rivers, behind me, but," he says, "give me a clear road in front of me." An' he looks behind—"Aw," he says, "lassie, save your breath, there's nothing but seas, they'll never get through it," he says, "they'll be droont."

She says, "Jack, you don't know my people." (This meers wis her sisters, changed into meers.) He said, "Ah, ye're safe enough, lassie, jist take your time." She says, "No, Jack." An' he looks ahin' him, an' they were ahin' him again, an' the Green Man of Knowledge on tap o' one o' his daughters' backs, and they're rinnin'.

So she says, "Look in my left ear, Jack, an' ye'll see a spark o' stone. Throw it over your left shoulder, Jack, an' wish for mountains, hills and dales behind you, and a clear road in front of you." So he does the same again, and the same happens, so he jist tells her to take her time again, but na, she willnae listen, she jist keeps batterin' on. So as sure as truth, they're ahin' him again, within any time.

So she says, "Jack," she says, "I love you, and I will destroy my people for you. But," she says, "it shall put a spell on me for a year, an' you too. An'," she says, "look in my left ear an' ye'll see a spark o' fire. Throw it behind you, an' ask for fire, hell an' pits behind you, and a clear road in front of you."

So he did this, an' he looks roon, an' he sees her people witherin' in the fire, an' dyin' . . . they were witherin' awa in the fire.

So she turns intil a woman again, an' he jist stands on his feet haudin' his gold in his hands. An' she says, "Jack, now, because of that," she says, "I must leave you for a year. One year from today I'll come for ye." "Ah," he says, "lassie, I'll

be waitin' on ye." She says, "Jack, let nobody kiss ye. If anybody kisses ye, ye'll forget the whole affair. Jack, you'll forget the whole proceedings. You'll remember nothing aboot where you've been or what you've done." She says, "Jack, don't let nobody kiss ye."

So he says, "Weel, weel, I'll let naebody kiss me if it's that important, but," he says, "I'll see ye fin ye come onywey."

So he hauds away hame. "God Almichty," he says, "I'm nae far fae hame—that's my mither's place doon there." So he's owre the palins, an' here's his auld wife's place. "O," she says, "Jack, my peer loon," an' she's tryin' to kiss Jack. "Na, na, mither, I want nae kissin' an' slaverin'," he says, "I want naething to dee wi' that. Na, na, stop it." So he would hae nae kissin'. But he went intae the hoose, and here's his big collie dog, an' his collie dog jumps up on his chest and taks a big lick. That wis hit, d'ye see, an' he forgat a' thing.

So Jack's plenty money, an' he's nae feel, Jack, now. He's Sir Jack, an' this, an' that—money maks a' the difference. It even maks feels gentlemen. So Jack's bocht a big place, an' he's workin' awa within twa-three month, an' the miller's dochter's a gey wenchy deem, an' he throws an eye at the miller's dochter, see, an' him an' the miller's dochter's engaged to get mairriet. Jack's a business man, he's aye intae business, an' got a lot o' payin' work, an' that; he mebbe couldnae write his name, but he jist put his cross, an' worked awa like that, ye ken.

So he wis jist gettin' mairriet, a year tae the day he cam hame. So the nicht o' his weddin', Jack's awfu busy, an' there's a' the guests there, but Jack's awfu busy—wi' papers an' things like that, I suppose, an' he's in his room. So a poor tattered and torn girl—but a bonnie queyn—comes tae the back door, and asks for a job, see? So they says, "Whit can ye dee, queyn?" "I can cook, I can clean." He says, "Oh, I could put ye on at the weddin', the night. Help us to cook an' clean an' a'thing, an' for a couple o' days after the weddin', and ye'll have to go."

She says, "That'll do me fine, thank you."

So she's washin' dishes, an' scrubbin' awa, ye ken, an' they're waitin' on the preacher—but the preacher's takin' a gey while, 'cause he was comin' on horse-back at that time, ye see, an' it's a gey bit fae a village—an' the preacher's takin' a good while. An' they're gettin' a' impatient, the guests, ye ken; they're gettin' kin' o' uncomfortable sittin'—they're a'

walkin' aboot newsin'. So she says, "I believe I could smooth the guests a little, an' pass away the time for them, because I can do a trick," she says. "I have a wooden hen and a wooden cock, and they can talk, and they can pick, and," she says, "everything." "Oh," he says, "that's great, we'll hear it."

So she goes ben, an' ye can imagine her amongst a' this well-dressed folk wi' mebbe an auld white torn skirt on her, gey ragged lookin' amangst a' this well-dressed kin' o' folk. An' she's doon this two birds, a cock an' a hen. So she scatters some corn, but Jack jist came oot to watch it tee . . . Jack's standin' watchin', an' the cock picks an' looks at her, an' the hen picks an' looks at the cock, and the hen says to the cock, "Do you remember me, Jack?"

An' the cock looks an' says, "Remember you? No I couldn't say I do remember you." So the cock gaes on pickin'.

She says, "Jack, do you remember the Green Man of Knowledge?"

"The Green Man of Knowledge? Oh no, I don't remember him." So the cock gaes on pickin'.

She says, "Jack, do you remember me, the woman you love?" He says, "No, I'm sorry, I don't know you."

She says, "Jack, do you remember when I killed my own people for you, Jack?" An' the cock looked an' says, "Yes, I do remember ye."

An' Jack says, "It's you, dear. It's you, lassie, is't?"

So the weddin' wis cancelled, an' he mairried her, an' they lived happy ever after.

That's the end o' my story.

This folktale, No. 313 in the Aarne-Thompson classification, was recorded in Aberdeen in August 1954 from Geordie Stewart, a general dealer of tinker stock. The storyteller, who was then twenty-four years of age, learned the story from his grandfather. He says it was very popular when story-telling began around the camp-fire, and that many of his people had it.

The tape-recording, of which the foregoing is an unabridged transcription, was made towards the end of a lengthy *ceilidh* in the house of Jeannie Robertson (Mrs. Jean Higgins), Causewayend, Aberdeen. Jeannie, herself an excellent ballad-singer and storyteller, had invited a number of her acquaintances to the house, stipulating that they must all tell stories

and sing old songs into the machine. Versions of Aarne-Thompson 303 and 1600 were recorded the same night, together with four Child ballads and a number of other folk-songs.—Among the audience were three children, lying stretched out on the floor and trying to keep their eyes open. One of these (Jeannie's nephew, wee Isaac, aged 7) told me bits of 313 the following morning.

The tinker clan of Stewart, to which Geordie belongs, is found in many areas of Scotland, principally the Central and Northern Highlands, and Aberdeenshire. One branch of it, which claims Perthshire origin, usually gets the name of the *brochan* (porridge) or *breacan* (tartan) Stewarts; to this branch Geordie, who told *The Green Man* story, belongs. Another member of it is the blind storyteller Alec Stewart of Lairg, from whom I recorded many *sgialachdan* in Gaelic in the summers of 1955 and 1957. The common ancestor of both men seems to be one Jamie Stewart, travelling tinsmith of Struan, Perthshire, who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century, and whose prodigal seed is scattered along the high roads and low roads of Scotland from Cape Wrath to the Inch of Perth.

The *breacan* Stewarts are noted as pipers; one of them, the late John Stewart, who died in Blairgowrie, Perthshire, in 1955, was a very fine pibroch player, and at least two of his sons have inherited his piping skill. The same family has also produced a number of good fiddlers and melodeon-players.

There is another branch of the clan, chiefly found in Lochaber and the Isles; these Stewarts are often bynamed the *Tearlachs* (Charleses) or *Siamaidhs* (Jamies). Like their *breacan* cousins, the *Tearlachs* have stories and songs galore. Both branches claim to be descendants of Jacobite nobility forced to take to the roads after the '45 rebellion, and members of both will vie in extolling their pedigrees with all the grace-note elaboration of the accomplished storyteller.

I first got word of young Geordie Stewart from Jeannie Robertson. She told me that, having heard I needed transport to go and see the old ballad-singer Willie Mathieson, he had offered to drive me anywhere in Aberdeenshire I wanted to go. In his car, a battle-scarred veteran of many scrap-dealing forays, I asked him about folk he knew who had songs and stories; after giving me a fair-sized list of such, Geordie informed me as an afterthought that he had one or two himself. Another interesting piece of information he vouchsafed was

that when only a few weeks old, he was missing one night from his parents' tent and was later found two or three hundred yards away. No explanation had ever been forthcoming. He confided to me with a smile, as we bowled along under the shadow of Bennachie, that some of the older tinkers thought he was a changeling; now and then he had had serious doubts on that score himself.

Aa.-Th. 313, "The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight", is one of the most widely diffused of international folk-tale types. (For a list of references to collections in which this tale is to be found, see Bolte and Polívka [1915, p. 516]). Its classic prototype is the famous Greek myth of Jason and Medea, and in this form it enjoys a universal literary currency. "Every schoolboy knows" how Jason arrived in Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece, how Medea helped him to accomplish the tasks set him by her father Æetes, and how they made good their escape together. But from every part of the world, from Iceland to Madagascar and from the West Indies to Samoa have come versions of the same basic tale-type; it has been recorded among the bushmen, the Eskimos, the Zulus and the American Indians in a bewildering variety of guises and disguises. Not the least interesting version (as we shall see) was told in Romany by Welsh gypsies. Since starting to write this note I have heard yet another version—a West African one this time—from a Nigerian studying medicine in Edinburgh University.

The first version in the Lowland Scots vernacular to be printed—though not the first to be collected—was *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*, which Andrew Lang contributed to the *Revue Celtique* (1876-78, p. 374) and reprinted in *Custom and Myth* (1884, p. 87). This version was written down for him "many years ago" by an aged lady in Morayshire; her name is given in the *Revue Celtique* as Miss Margaret Craig, of Darliston, Elgin. Lang was born in 1844, so presumably the lady in question wrote out her way of the tale well after the middle of the century. *Green Sleeves*, the first known Scots-English version, was recovered by Peter Buchan, the Aberdeenshire ballad collector, and included by him in the MS. volume *Ancient Scottish Tales* which he sent to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe on 4th February 1829. This collection remained unpublished till the twentieth century (Buchan 1908).

In Ireland the 313 tale-type has enjoyed a tremendous

vogue, as successive numbers of *Béaloideas* prove.[1] The Irish versions have a quite special importance for students of Scottish folk tradition. Scots Gaelic versions will be found in Campbell of Islay's *West Highland Tales* (1890, pp. 25-63); four other versions, still unpublished, have been collected by Mr. Calum Maclean (Benbecula and Moidart) and by Professor Kenneth Jackson (N. Uist and Barra). Of the last of these, more later. Without doubt other variants remain to be collected, both north and south of the Highland line.

The principal questions confronting us in a discussion of the *Green Man of Knowledge* are: does this text represent a native Lowland Scots tradition in the North-east? Is it a break through into Scots of a Gaelic tradition via the story-teller's *breacan* Stewart ancestors?—Or is it maybe a sort of mixture of the two?

Before we risk a tentative opinion on these kittle points, let us take a look at the structure of 313 as it is found in Scottish and Irish tradition. For the purposes of analysis, the story may conveniently be divided—as Professor Reidar Christiansen (1928, p. 107) has pointed out—into the following parts: A.—Introduction. B.—The Journey, i.e. how the hero reaches the strange castle. C.—The Tasks set, and how he performs them. D.—The Escape, and E.—End: "The Forgotten Bride".

A.—No folk-tale exhibits better than 313 the possibilities of the *Rahmentechnik* (framework technique) so common in Celtic story-telling. The hero has got to be brought to the castle of his mysterious adversary, and eventually must find his way back to the starting-point, but the ways of contriving this are multifarious. In his essay Christiansen lists three openings very common in Gaelic folk-tales. The first is the "Playing Episode"; the hero plays a game against a mysterious adversary and what then takes place is in settlement of his gambling debt. [Stith Thompson motif-index, S.226]. "It is the handling of this motif, which may be found elsewhere too, which is peculiar to the Irish versions" (Christiansen 1928, p. 108). The second opening mentioned is the "Rash Promise"; the hero's father promises to give his unborn son to a supernatural being in return for some service rendered, and when the time comes the son is claimed and has to go. The third opening is the "Battle of the Birds"; more common in Scottish Gaelic versions than in Irish ones, this opening gives its name to the best-known version in

Campbell, *Cath nan Eun.* It is a motif full of interest to the folklorist, but as it does not appear in the versions which most closely concern us we need not discuss it here.

In Buchan's *Green Sleeves*, as in most of the Gaelic versions, Irish and Scottish, the hero is a King's son; in our version, he is "Jack the Feel", son of a poor widow-woman. But in both versions the hero is fond of playing a game: in our version, cards, in Peter Buchan, skittles. In *The Green Man*, Jack decides to "push his fortune", and is already well on his way into the Land of Enchantment before he meets his adversary; Buchan's *Green Sleeves* brings the game to the forefront of the story. In the latter, the familiar pattern is followed; the enemy wins, and tells the prince that he must find out "his name and place of abode before that day twelve months, or suffer death". In our version, Jack beats the Green Man; then decides to go and look for his castle out of a spirit of curiosity or adventure.

Two of the Lowland versions, therefore, use the "Playing Episode" as an opening; the third, *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*, uses the "Rash Promise", a motif common to a number of other stories. A Queen has a bairn while her husband the King is away "in far countries"; she does not know what to call him, so christens him "Nicht Nought Nothing" till her man comes home. In the meantime, the King has promised Nicht Nought Nothing to a giant who has done him a service. (In *Cath nan Eun*, Campbell's first variant, the "Rash Promise" is introduced as a subsidiary motif of the opening "framework".)

B.—During his journey, the hero usually receives help from a series of benefactors, and succeeds by magic means in reaching the adversary's castle. In *Green Sleeves* the Prince travels "the longest summer's day in June" and then comes on an old man, 200 years old, sitting on a turf seat, who knows what ploy he is on ("You are come seeking that rogue Green Sleeves"). He is directed to a second old man, 400 years older, and then to a third, a thousand years older; it is this last venerable bodach, a little sulky, who tells him about the swan-maidens. Thus the sequence of events is quite like the journey episode in our *Green Man.* The same sequence is also found in versions of 313 in many parts of the world.

In *Nicht, Nought, Nothing* there is no journey episode, because the giant takes the forfeited son straight to his castle.

C.—The hero gets impossible tasks to accomplish, but succeeds with the help of his enemy's daughter. The first two

tasks in the *Green Man*—getting the ring at the bottom of a well and building a castle—are common to folk-tales everywhere. The third—clearing ants from a forest—is the sort of task that human imagination might easily think up in any day or age (as we shall see, ants are used to help accomplish one of the tasks in a Sanskrit version of 313). The breaking of the girl's pinkie (little finger) which occurs during the accomplishing of the first task is another widely distributed motif. In *Green Sleeves* the tasks are

(1) to build a castle, and thatch it with the feathers of every bird that flies

(2) to sow a cask of lintseed, to harvest the crop, and have seeds back in the cask as at the outset

(3) to clean a stable, and find a gold key.

In *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*, they are

(1) to clean a stable

(2) to drain a loch

(3) to climb a tree seven miles high, and bring back seven eggs from it.

There are two distinctively Irish motifs here. Task (3) in *Nicht, Nought, Nothing* is described by Christiansen as "the special Irish one"[2]; he adds, "in this form it does not occur elsewhere". The fact that it turns up in the Morayshire fairy tale poses another question closely related to the ones with which we have to deal in considering *The Green Man of Knowledge*.

Turning to Buchan's version, we find that Task (1) (thatching the castle with birds' feathers) "is probably to be considered as a Gaelic, if not a Celtic, motif" (Christiansen 1928, p. 110). For that reason, it is very interesting that a story collected in the Scots-speaking North-east in the early nineteenth century should contain it. Other Gaelic motifs are discussed by Koehler (1876-78, p. 377) who writes, "On rencontre seulement dans les parallèles gaéliques, irlandais et scandinaves le fait de nettoyer la grande étable, et seulement dans les parallèles gaéliques et irlandais l'ascension de l'arbre à l'aide des doigts coupés de la jeune fille."

D.—The Escape. In *Nicht, Nought, Nothing* there is a lacuna here; the giant is drowned, but it is not stated how or why. Both *Green Sleeves* and the *Green Man of Knowledge* contain the escape sequence which is one of the characteristic motifs of this tale-type. In *Green Sleeves*, the objects thrown behind to delay the pursuers are

(1) a piece of wood which turns into a forest

(2) a splinter of stone which turns into a big rock
(3) a drop of water which turns into a great river.

The last obstacle does not drown him, however; he is killed when an egg which the hero has gone to fetch from a nest at the top of a high hill is thrown at him and hits a particular part of his breast (cf. Task (3) in *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*). The same motif is often found in Irish folk-tales.

E.—The Forgotten Bride, and the Reconciliation. In Peter Buchan's version, and in others too, the incident of "Waking from Magic Forgetfulness" comes over with considerable artistic power. In both, the waking takes place as a result of a conversation between two magic birds produced at the wedding by the forgotten heroine. Again the Irish variants of the same motif are legion.—In *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*, however, this motif is absent; the girl herself cries to the sleeping hero:

"I cleaned the stable, I laved the loch, and I clamb the tree,
And all for the love of thee,
And thou wilt not waken and speak to me."

One other point deserves mention. In our version, Jack involuntarily breaks the tabu (on kissing) which the Green Man's daughter has imposed upon him by letting his "auld hairy Hielan collie-dog" take a good lick. The motif of forgetfulness induced by a dog's lick [D 2004, 2.1] occurs quite often in versions of 313, but the *Green Man of Knowledge* is the only version I have come across in which the dog is introduced right at the start of the story—is, indeed, a character himself, and not only of the "framework" episodes. Jack's win at the cards when playing against the Green Man is directly attributed by the storyteller to the experience he has gained playing against his collie, and at a decisive moment of the tale—after the completion of the second task—he tells the Green Man: "I was only once pals wi' a collie dog. That's a'."

There is a joke circulating at present in officers' messes, atomic reactor construction-workers' canteens and the like, which goes somewhat as follows: A man is invited to a party, and finds his host playing bridge. Host's partner is a big shaggy dog. Guest says, "That dog must be very intelligent." Reply: "Is he hell! He's revoked twice this evening." [Motif Index B 298].—In a sense, Geordie Stewart's version of Aa.-Th. 313 is the biggest shaggy-dog story of them all.[3]

In 1860 G. W. Dasent, whose *Popular Tales from the Norse* had been published the previous year, sent to J. F. Campbell

of Islay a "verbatim copy" of Peter Buchan's MS. volume of *Ancient Scottish Tales*. This copy had been made in 1847 by A. B. Grosart, a young man much interested in antiquarian matters affecting Scotland; Grosart had attempted without success to purchase the original volume (then in Buchan's hands), but had been allowed to transcribe it (Walker 1915, pp. 106-9). Reading Dasent's *Norse Tales*, Grosart was struck by the resemblance of several of these to the stories collected in Aberdeenshire by Buchan, and he sent his MS. copy to the translator, who shortly afterwards lent it to Campbell. By a fortunate chance, therefore, we know Campbell's views on the provenance of the *Tales* in Buchan's volumes, and the passage in which he discusses these is so relevant to the matter in hand that it is worth quoting in full.

"The tales are written in English, and versions of all except three, had previously come to me in Gaelic. For example, (No. 2), The Battle of the Birds closely resembles 'The Master Maid' from Norway, but it still more resembles Mr. Peter Buchan's 'Greensleeves,' found in Scotland thirteen years before the Norse tales were translated. The manuscript was sent by Mr. Grosart, after he had read the Norse tales, and it seems to be clearly proved that these stories are common to Norway and to Scotland.

"I have found very few stories of the kind amongst the peasantry of the low country, though I have sought them. I find such names as Fingal in Mr Buchan's stories, and I know them to be common in the islands where the scene is often laid. The language is not that of any peasantry, and I have come to the conclusion that this collection is mostly derived from Gaelic, directly or indirectly, perhaps from the shoals of West Highlanders and Irishmen who used to come down as shearers every harvest, and who are now scattered all over Scotland as farm-servants and drovers, and settled in Edinburgh and Glasgow as porters. I know from one of these, a drover, who goes every year to the south with cattle, that he has often entertained lowland farm-servants by telling in English the stories which he learned as a child in South Uist. I know of men in Paisley, Greenock, and Edinburgh, who are noted for their knowledge of sgeulachd. But while I hold that this particular collection was not told in this form by lowland Scotch peasants, I know that they still do tell such stories occasionally, and I also know that Englishmen of the lower ranks do the same. I met two tinkers in St. James's Street in February with black faces and a pan of burning coals each. They were followed by a wife, and preceded by a mangy terrier with a stiff tail. I joined the party, and one told me a version of 'the man who travelled to learn what shivering meant,' while we walked together through the park to

Westminster. It was clearly the popular tale which exists in Norse, and German, and Gaelic, and it bore the stamp of the mind of the class, and of the man, who told it in his own peculiar dialect, and who dressed the actors in his own ideas. A cutler and a tinker travel together, and sleep in an empty haunted house for a reward. They are beset by ghosts and spirits of murdered ladies and gentlemen, and the inferior, the tinker, shows most courage, and is the hero. 'He went into the cellar to draw beer, and there he found a little chap a-sittin' on a barrel with a red cap on 'is 'ed; and he sez, sez he, 'Buzz.' 'Wot's buzz?' sez the tinker. 'Never you mind wot's buzz,' sez he. 'That's mine; don't you go for to touch it,' etc. etc. etc." (Campbell 1890, p. xxxix).

Campbell holds, then, that the version of 313 in Buchan's book has probably entered Lowland Scots tradition from Gaelic. His reasons are (1) that the language "is not that of any peasantry", and (2) that he has found "very few stories of the kind" among the Lowlanders. (We have, in addition, the interesting information that he has collected a version of Aa.-Th. 326 from one of the London "Pikeys" or "Diddy-kayes", who share a certain amount of their underworld folk-culture with the Scots tinkers.)

A glance at the text of Buchan's tales confirms Campbell's opinion regarding the language in which they are couched. It is sufficient to compare Geordie Stewart's handling of the swan-maiden theme with a few sentences of the same episode as it appears in *Green Sleeves*:

> On looking wistfully around her, she spied the Prince, whom she knew, and asked him if he had her swan-skin. He acknowledged the theft, and said, if she would tell him where Green Sleeves stayed, he would deliver unto her the skin. This she said she durst not venture to do; but upon his immediately giving it up she would teach him how to discover the place of his retreat if he would follow her directions (Buchan 1908, p. 41).

There could hardly be a more burlesque contrast. I am convinced, nevertheless, after a careful examination of Buchan's tales—nearly all of which are identifiable international folk-tales—that they were in fact taken down from the recitation of tradition-bearers speaking braid Scots, and constitute in the main faithful if somewhat undistinguished recensions of the stories as originally told. For one mention of Fingal (a suspect name, surely?) there are several which tether the stories quite firmly to the Lowland countryside; the two poor widows in *Red Etin* live "near the burgh of Auchtermuchty in Fife", and

in *Green Sleeves* the scene is laid quite uncompromisingly in Buchan—the swan-maidens take their dip in the waters of the river Ugie. There are only two stories in which the Western Isles are mentioned; these are *The History of Mr. Greenwood* (=Aa.-Th. 955), and *The Cruel Stepmother* (=Aa.-Th. 706), in which latter "The Thane of Mull" is introduced—also a somewhat unconvincing appellation.[4] Furthermore, although Peter (who was constantly being badgered and miscalled because he gave forth the ballads to the world as he found them, warts and all) has written up his tales in a kind of "Babu English", outcroppings of the tongue in which they were originally told keep shining through. For example, when Blue Wing, the daughter of Green Sleeves, refuses to accompany the Prince immediately to his father's court, it is for fear of being taken for "some lightsome leman".

As for the prevalence or non-prevalence of folk-tales among the farm-servant class in the Lowlands, it is sufficient for our purposes to cite the Morayshire version of 313, *Nicht, Nought, Nothing*, which bears in every sentence the marks of rugged indigenous identity (Lang 1876-78, p. 374).[5]

This does not mean, to be sure, that Buchan's fairy tales might not have come over from Gaelic into Scots at some earlier stage of transmission; we feel, however, that (with all due respect to Iain Òg's great eminence as collector and folklorist) the onus of proof is on the man who contends that they *have*.

Having discussed the question of Gaelic origin in the case of *Ancient Scottish Tales*, let us take another look at our present text. Linguistically, as we have seen, it forms the completest contrast to *Green Sleeves* imaginable. Where Buchan's tale is florid and prolix, ours shows the terse epigrammatic qualities of Scots speech at their very best. The wee robin tells Jack that "we've been waitin' on ye for twenty-one years", and the sardonic answer comes pat: "Lord, ye'd a gey wait, had ye no?" Such examples could be multiplied. Geordie's version also shows the occasional use of incantatory formula—"he's ho the road, hey the road, doon the road"—which testifies to a very old tradition of story-telling. And though there are several modern touches—e.g. the Green Man showing Jack his wife's photograph—these are assimilated easily and without incongruity into the relaxed colloquial idiom of the story.

It is noteworthy, too, that the dialogue passages mirror

the linguistic position in present-day Scotland; the speech of the Green Man and his daughter (both clearly "gentry") is much less Scots than the speech of Jack, the country laddie.

This artfully maintained balance of orally transmitted and creative elements, characteristic of a living folk-tale tradition, inclines us to believe that the *Green Man of Knowledge* has a Lowland Scots vernacular ancestry going back many generations—although there may well be a two-three teuchters not very far back in the family tree.

There is, nevertheless, one piece of evidence which at first glance might seem to postulate an irrefutable immediate Gaelic parentage for our *Green Man.* Anyone familiar with the nomenclature employed in Irish and Highland folk-tales will at once have been struck by the very Gaelic-sounding ring of the title. It is untypical of the nomenclature found in Lowland Scots folk-tales; this particular construction, on the other hand, is exceedingly common in Gaelic. One might expect, therefore, to find a Highland version of 313 with a similar title, and one indeed exists. It is called *Fear Uain Òraid*, "The Green Man of Speech" (or "of Discourse"), and was recorded on the island of Barra in 1952 by Professor Kenneth Jackson (MS.) who heard it from Niall Gillies, a crofter at Castlebay. The following is a brief summary of it:

A horseman challenges the Son of the King of Ireland to a game of cards. Latter wins twice, loses the third time. The horseman, who says his name is *Fear Uain Òraid*, puts the prince *fo gheasaibh 's fo chrosaibh* (under spells and crosses) to tell him within a year where he (the horseman) lives. Prince asks advice from his uncle, is told that three daughters of the Green Man come once a year to a certain loch in the shape of swans. Swan-maiden episode follows; youngest daughter makes prince promise to marry her, then carries him over on her back. They get to Green Man's castle before sundown.

The tasks hero is given to do are (1) cleaning out byre, (2) thatching the same byre with feathers, and (3) catching three wild fillies. While helping hero to accomplish second task heroine loses fifth toe. They make escape on palfreys. Hero throws two objects behind to make obstacles, gets them from the two ears of his palfrey. Obstacles are (1) forest, and (2) a great sea. Green Man is not killed, but they escape him.

Kissing tabu, as in other texts. Hero licked by dog, forgets heroine. She gets a smith to make a cock of gold and a hen of silver, and three iron bars. Magic birds converse, iron bars snap. Hero recognises heroine, marries her.

It is clear that this version is a relative, and no distant one, of our text. Furthermore, it is not outwith the bounds of possibility that *Fear Uain Òraid* might be a variant of *Fear Uain Eòlais*, which means "the Green Man of Knowledge". *Eòlas*, "knowledge", can also mean "enchantment, spell, incantation". The phrase, therefore, has richer and more mysterious overtones in Gaelic than it has in English.

Evidence in support of this hypothesis is furnished by the nomenclature of an Irish version of 313 called *Curadh Glas an Eolais* (*The Green* [or *Gray*] *Knight of Knowledge*). In it, the game played is a card game, as in the Aberdeen and Barra variants; after winning two games, hero loses third and has to find the Green Knight's abode in a year and a day, or be killed.[6] In Gaelic, the adjective *glas* can mean either "green" or "gray"; this may explain the plethora of "gray men" in Irish-English versions of 313, e.g. *The Story of Grey Norris from Warland*, collected in County Cork (Britten 1883).

If the Gaelic tales, Scottish and Irish, were the only ones with similar titles, it would be hard to resist the inference that much of Geordie's version had come straight out of Gaelic tradition. However, any such theory must be viewed in a fresh light when one learns that a version of 313, called *The Green Man of Noman's Land*, has been recorded in the Romany language from a Welsh gypsy storyteller (Sampson 1933, p. 17; cf. Groome 1899, p. 254).

This version was collected about 1896 from a member of the Wood clan of gypsies, whose dialect of Romany is regarded by *tsiganologues* as one of the purest and best preserved in Western Europe. The Talyllyn area, where John Sampson first heard the tale, is one of the wildest in central Wales. But in spite of this double barrier of inaccessibility, the Welsh Romany *Green Man* turns out to be a second or third cousin of the Scots tinker one, as the following résumé proves.

Jack—in Romany, *J̌ak*—is a young miller who is a great gambler. A gentleman challenges him to a game, loses first and then wins. Tells Jack his name is *Ō Grīnō Mūrś te ǰivéla arē kekeno T'em* ("The Green Man who lives in Noman's Land") and orders him to find his castle within a year and a day, or be beheaded. Jack gets help from an old woman in a cottage who climbs on to the roof and blows a horn to summon a quarter of the people of the world, and a quarter of all the birds that fly. They don't know where the castle is, so she refers him to an older sister. (Repeat incidents with half instead of quarter.) The eldest sister summons all the

people in the world, and all the birds; she gets the information at last from the eagle, who turns up late.

The episode of the swan-maidens follows. The tasks are (1) cleaning out a stable, (2) felling trees, (3) building a byre, and thatching it with one feather from every bird, (4) climbing a glass mountain, and retrieving a bird's egg from the top of it. (The heroine makes a ladder of herself: he misses a step and breaks one of her fingers.) There is a fifth task—Jack has to tell which daughter is which as they fly over the castle in the guise of swans. He names them correctly, and wins the daughter who has helped him. The tale lacks an escape sequence; in fact, the end of this otherwise admirable Romany version is rather lame:

"Said Jack to the Lord: 'I will have the last one'.

'Yes, Jack, thou hast won her, she shall be thy wife. Now they are married. The old lord died, and the old lady as well; and now Jack is in the castle. And that is all'."

The reader will note that in this story, as in ours, Jack is not a prince but a commoner. In *Fear Uain Òraid*, as in many Irish versions, he is a King's son, and this alone does much to give the Barra story a very different atmosphere.

From our point of view the most revealing thing about the Romany nomenclature of this version is that the word for "Green" is usually "Grīnō"—not "zelano", which is the ordinary Welsh Romany word for that colour. "Grīnō", as Mr. Sampson points out in his dictionary (Sampson 1926, p. 112), is simply the English "green" with the addition of "o"; no other example of its use is cited apart from the title of this folk-tale. In spite of his exotic appearance, Jak is nothing more nor less than plain English Jack, somewhat gaudily gypsified. This suggests that the "Green Man"—whose ubiquitous folk presence is reflected on inn-signs all over rural England—has in fact come into Welsh Romany from English; as far as his name is concerned, at any rate, he still wears under a light gypsy cloak the greenwood livery of shires beyond the Marches.[7]

No version of 313 has ever, it seems, been recorded in England. But in the anonymous fourteenth century romance *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, which is written in the North-west Midland dialect of English, we find a succession of motifs, frequently encountered in the tale-type under discussion. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that an unrecovered English folk version is one at least of the sources of this remarkable poem, which has been described as "non seulement

le plus beau poème arturien anglais, mais une des oeuvres les plus vivantes de la littérature arturienne de tous pays et de tous temps" (Pons 1946, p. 15).

The poem opens at Arthur's court—

This King lay at Camylot upon Krystmasse—

at a time of tournament and revelry. On New Year's Day a gigantic Green Knight, whose skin, hair, beard and eye-brows are green, and who is mounted on a green horse, rides into the hall: he challenges any of the knights present to strike him a blow with the axe he is carrying, and in return to receive a blow from him "in a twelmonyth and a day". Gawain accepts the challenge, and chops off the great green head with one blow; the knight picks up his head, which speaks and tells Gawain to meet the Knight in a year's time at the Green Chapel.

The following autumn Gawain rides on his quest. From Camelot he rides to Wales, and over the river Dee. On Christmas Eve he gets lodging in a castle in the middle of a wild forest; the lord of the castle, Sir Bercilak de Hautdesert (who later turns out to be the Green Knight) welcomes him in. He is entertained by the lord's wife, a woman of matchless beauty, and by an ancient hag of horrible ugliness (cf. the old crones in our present version of 313, and in the *Green Man of Noman's Land*).

The lord tells him that the Green Chapel is "not two miles hence" and invites him to stay till New Year's Day. Sir Bercilak proposes a merry bargain: they should exchange every evening whatever spoils they have won during the day. Three days in succession the lord goes out hunting, while Gawain takes a long lie in bed; he is visited each day by the lord's wife, who tries to get him to make love to her. Gawain withstands these temptations, which are secret tests devised by the lord; on each occasion he receives one, two, and three kisses from the lady. When the knight comes home in the evening, he hands to Gawain the day's kill—venison, a boar, and lastly a fox's pelt—and in return receives the due number of kisses from his guest.

On the third occasion, the lady gives Gawain a green girdle as a love token, telling him that he can never be wounded while he wears it. This gift Gawain keeps dark.

On New Year's Day, the hero rides to the Green Chapel, which turns out to be "nobot an olde cave". The Green Knight appears, brandishing a Danish axe; three times he makes to strike off Gawain's head, but does not touch him till the third time, when he gives the hero's neck a slight nick (this is punishment for concealing the girdle). The Green Knight then explains that the old woman at his castle is Morgan la Fay [= the Irish Morrigu], who has been responsible for the whole enchantment. Gawain

then returns to Arthur's court, wearing the green girdle as a token of penitence.

If we analyse this story according to the scheme already outlined, the Introduction is the "beheading game", or "Champion's bargain". This is an ancient Celtic motif; it is found in the great Irish epic saga *Fled Bricrend* (Bricriu's Feast), which is preserved in a MS. of about A.D. 1100. Here the part of Gawain is played by Cuchulainn (Henderson 1899, pp. 124-9 and 199-207). The "champion's bargain" motif serves much the same purpose in *The Green Knight* as the "playing episode" in our story and in the Welsh Romany variant; it gets the hero moving to his rendezvous.—Furthermore, it is not impossible that the two motifs are actually related. When the Green Knight's head is struck off, the other knights kick it away as it rolls around, in fact play a kind of football with it. It is not as far-fetched as it may at first sound to suggest that the douce and bloodless game of skittles played by Green Sleeves and the Prince in Peter Buchan's version of 313 could be a more civilised descendant of this macabre ball game.

As George Henderson says: "There was abundant possibility for the beheading incident, which ultimately takes its rise out of old Celtic custom, finding its way to Brittany, and of being further transmitted, whether orally or in writing, both on the Continent and in Britain. It at length meets us in the Norman-French romances. Everything we know of as regards the beheading game favours a Celtic origin. But that it is exclusively Gadelic need not at once follow from the silence of Cymric testimony." (1899, p. 205).

It will be remembered that in the Welsh Romany variant of 313, the Green Man of Noman's Land threatens Jak with beheading if he does not find the castle in a year and a day.

The Journey, which is described in *The Green Knight* with marvellous poetic skill, brings the hero to the castle where, without at first realising it, he again meets his adversary. The old crone who acts as one of Gawain's hostesses at once reminds us of the ancient dames in Geordie's story, and in *The Green Man of Noman's Land.* At the end of the poem she turns out, somewhat unconvincingly, to be Morgan la Fay, and almost every critic who has ever discussed *The Green Knight* has pointed to this as the one weak spot in an otherwise masterly work (e.g. Kittredge 1916, pp. 132-6). Various attempts have been made to account for the awkward and

contrived nature of this dénouement; if we postulate a folk variant of our tale as one of the sources of the *Green Knight*, the explanation becomes perfectly simple. The unknown poet had found an old hag in the story, and decided to keep her, because the contrast between the beauty of the heroine and the ugliness of the crone appealed to him. Having kept her, however, he felt that he had somehow to account for her.

When we get to the "Tasks" episode, we are on more difficult ground. At first sight it may seem that there *is* no "Tasks" episode. I do not think that this is the case. The poet of the *Green Knight* (or an unknown predecessor) has incorporated in his plot at this point the Temptation motif which one finds in other mediæval romances, e.g. the old French romance *Ider*, and the Middle English *Carl of Carlisle*. And he has incorporated it precisely because the theme of the Temptation is itself closely related to the "Tasks" episode in the 313 tale-type. Here we may appositely call Professor Kittredge as an expert witness:

> "As the Temptation appears in the English poem, it is a trial of Gawain's fidelity to his host and of his loyalty to the chivalric ideal of 'truth'. Primarily, however, the Temptation is a story of quite a different character—not ethical at all, but connected with a long chain of folklore. For we may unhesitatingly recognize its central incident as one of those tests or proofs to which supernatural beings are wont to subject mortals who venture into their other-world domain." (Kittredge 1916, p. 76).

The task set the young knight is the defence of his chastity, in accordance with the knightly code of "truth", and his obligations as a guest. There is delicious irony in the situation. In spite of his fame as a lover, Gawain is obliged three days running to withstand the wiles of a woman more beautiful than Arthur's Guinevere. Beside this, the hardest task given to "Jack the Feel" by the Green Man of Knowledge appears the merest bagatelle!

The Temptation motif occurs, as I have said, in other mediæval poems, but nowhere is it handled with such consummate skill and delicacy as in the *Green Knight*. The turn given to the story is most subtle; Gawain is being tested, but is not aware of it; nevertheless he is in mortal peril. He survives because of his courtesy and fidelity, but yet shows enough human weakness to accept the green girdle which is supposed to ensure his invulnerability. The tasks episode has been refined and

Christianised to accord with the code of *amour courtois*, and yet for all that (as Kittredge points out) its primitive origin is plainly visible.

The green lace or girdle which Bercilak's wife gives to Gawain has also served as a flimsy trophy for rival critics. To students of Aa.-Th. 313 it is a familiar-looking object, for it is uncommonly like the Green Scarf worn or carried by the swan-maiden heroine in certain Irish versions of this tale-type.

There is one difference—and it is a vital one—between the Temptation or "fairy leman" theme as we find it in the *Green Knight*, and the "fairy leman" theme as we have encountered it in various versions of 313. In the poem, the heroine is the adversary's *wife*, not his daughter. The reason may be partly that the Temptation motif was traditionally associated with the host's wife (*Ider* and *The Carl of Carlisle*)—although there are two French romances (*Humbaut* and *Le Chevalier à l'Epée*) in which the woman is the host's daughter. The principal reason is probably that from the unknown poet's point of view, the heroine had to be Bercilak's wife, if Gawain's courtesy and loyalty were to be tested *à l'outrance*.

In the *Green Knight*, the escape sequence is admittedly missing—but so it is in the Welsh gypsy variant. The lack of it does not materially affect our argument. We are not claiming more for our unrecovered English Jack-tale than that it served as *one* source for the writer of this unique masterpiece. In any case, as we shall see in a moment, it has been argued cogently that the central unifying theme linking together all the widely scattered versions of the 313 tale-type is really the "swan maiden" or "fairy leman" theme.

There is, finally, one odd link between the English poem and one of the Gaelic versions of 313 in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission. The Green Knight's name is Sir Bercilak de Hautdesert; the name of the "adversary" in an Irish version of the tale is *Rí na Fásaighe Duibhe*, which means "King of the Black Desert" (personal communication from Seán Ó Súilleabháin). Loomis derives Bercilak from the Irish *bachlach* ("herdsman" or "churl") in *Fled Bricrend* (1927, p. 59).

Forty years ago Professor Kittredge pointed out that the author of the hypothetical French *Green Knight* (generally held to be the prime source of the English poem) may well have been influenced in shaping his plot by "knowledge of the great class of quest tales" (1916, p. 139). We have perhaps

assembled enough evidence to show that the author of the actual *Green Knight* which we possess may well have been familiar with a folk version of such a tale circulating in his own countryside.

The adversary in our tale is "The Green Man of Knowledge"; in the mediæval romance he is the "Green Knight". In Irish versions we get "Green Leaf" and "Green Levery". In Peter Buchan's version, the name is "Green Sleeves". What is the significance of the colour green? First of all, as everyone knows, green is the fairy colour. However, there may be more to it than that. John Speirs, who has explored a number of verdant avenues in the mythological hinterland of the "Green Knight", advances a theory which certainly deserves very serious examination:

"The Green Knight whose head is chopped off at his own request and who is yet as miraculously or magically alive as ever, bears an unmistakable relation to the Green Man—the Jack in the Green or the Wild Man of the village festivals of England and Europe. He can be no other than a recrudescence in poetry of the Green Man. Who is the Green Man? He is surely a descendant of the Vegetation or Nature god of almost universal and immemorial tradition (whatever his local name) whose death and resurrection are the myth-and-ritual counterpart of the annual death and rebirth of nature—in the East the dry and rainy seasons, in Europe winter and spring. The episode (the First Fit of our poem) in which the Green Knight rides into the hall of Arthur's castle to have his head chopped off is exactly a Christmas pageant play or interlude —a castle version of the village Folk Play—become real. The central episode of the traditional Folk Play, Sword Dance and Morris Dance was (as Chambers shows) a mock beheading or slaying followed by a revival or restoration to life (often by the Doctor who administered to the corpse the contents of a bottle—the elixir of life).

"A recent book by C. J. P. Cave, *Roof Bosses in Mediaeval Churches*, demonstrates the vitality of the Green Man in mediæval England. Mr. Cave's photography has revealed carvings on the roofs of cathedrals and parish churches which could previously only be clearly distinguished through field-glasses, or in some cases, because in shadow, have never been very noticeable till this day. The photographs reveal a face with leaves sprouting from the corners of its mouth, its eye-lids, eyebrows and ears, the face of the Green Man." (Speirs 1957, pp. 219-220).

E. K. Chambers, whom Speirs quotes in the above passage, makes no bones about it either; he maintains that "the green man of the peasantry, who dies and lives again, reappears

as the Green Knight in one of the most famous divisions of Arthurian romance" (1903, p. 186).

Against this we must set the warning words of G. L. Kittredge.

Referring to *Fled Bricrend*, he reminds us that "the challenger in the Irish story is neither green nor in any way associated with trees or vegetation, except that the hair of his head is bushy! He appears as green in no extant version of the Challenge until we reach the English romance. Whoever gave him that colour first, whether the English poet or some French predecessor, was influenced, of course, by current folklore, and that folklore may have descended to the innovator in question from primeval ideas about the forces of nature. So much we must grant, but that is all." (1916, p. 199).[8]

That the Green Man has in fact led Speirs and others up the garden has been suggested with wit and erudition by M. J. C. Hodgart in an essay *In the Shade of the Golden Bough* (1955). Nevertheless, the information at our disposal inclines me to the idea that in certain versions of 313 the figure of the adversary has at some stage, and for some mysterious reason, become identified with the Green Man of the pub signs, the mummers' plays and the church roof bosses. One might hazard an explanation along the following lines: when the "playing episode" or "beheading game" attached itself as a lead-in to versions of the 313 tale-type, the decapitation motif, with its overtones of death and resurrection, *may* have led by association to the identification of the adversary with the Green Man of the fertility rites, who (like John Barleycorn) is killed and springs up again. One thing is clear anyway. The explanation of this odd phenomenon is not interred with the famous "lost French romance". We might still find it in the living folk tradition of town and countryside. Norman Douglas, in his collection of *London Street Games*, quotes this description of the game "Green Man Rise-O", written by a schoolboy:

The way we play the game of greenman one of us lay down and cover his self with grass and the others run out and hide then they say green man green man rise up then he gets up and trys to catch them. . . . (1916, p. 104).

Here, at any rate, we have a veritable "flight"; Jack takes to his heels, with the Green Man in hot pursuit.

The Green Knight is believed to have been composed in Lancashire in the last third of the fourteenth century (Tolkien and Gordon 1925, pp. xx and xxiv). The poet seems to have

been familiar with the geography of North Wales, for he describes Gawain's itinerary through these parts in detail. If, therefore, an unrecorded English folk version of our tale was used by the author—and I suggest that there is a strong *prima facie* case that this is so—the version concerned was circulating in the area of the Welsh marches before the arrival of the gypsies in Britain.

Where did the Romanies of Talyllyn get their "Green Man" nomenclature? For the linguistic reasons already advanced, we are inclined to believe that it was in fact from a hypothetical English folk version. But before we find ourselves assuming that they derived plot and incidents from the same source, it is as well to remember that the language in which they told their version of the tale to Sampson was Romany, an Indian language related to Sanskrit, and that many gypsy folk-tales have also been found in India.

A version of 313 is, indeed, to be found in a Sanskrit collection of the eleventh century A.D. This is the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* ("Sea of Streams of Story"), written by Somadeva Bhatta of Kashmir, translated by Tawney (1880: Vol. I, p. 355; 1924-28: Vol. III, p. 218), and based on a much earlier collection *Brihat Kathā* ("The Great Story"), which may have been written as early as the first century B.C. There are two "translations" of the older collection: one by Kshemendra, and this one by Somadeva. Somadeva's work is a sophisticated literary paraphrase of the older collection, and contains new material, probably itself adapted from popular oral tradition. The tale of Śringhabhuja, which is in its essentials our present story, includes the following incidents:

A prince wounds a Rākshasa (man-eating ogre) with a golden arrow when the ogre is in the shape of a crane. He follows the trail of blood to a forest where he meets the ogre's daughter Rūpaśikha. She falls in love with him, asks father if she can marry him. He is given tasks to do: (1) has to pick heroine out from among her hundred sisters, (2) has to sow sesame-seeds in an unploughed field, and collect it again (does this with the help of ants, which the girl creates), and (3) has to invite ogre's brother to the wedding. (Brother pursues him; hero makes his escape by throwing down magical objects given him by the heroine—earth, water, thorns, fire). After wedding, pair flee. Ogre follows, but heroine outwits him by means of two transformations.

Although the "obstacles" motif of the Magic Flight episode has somehow got incorporated among the tasks, there can be

little doubt that we are dealing here with what is substantially the same tale-type. The use of ants to accomplish task (2) at once calls to mind our task (3) in Geordie's story. Their appearance in both could be the purest coincidence; on the other hand it might indicate a curious link between versions of 313 separated in time by more than seven centuries. The swan-maiden episode does not occur in the story of Śringhabhuja, but it is to be found in many other Oriental versions: indeed, it has been contended—by the American folklorist W. W. Newell (1891)—that this episode is really the central one binding together all the hundreds of Indo-European versions. He claims that "it is only in Hindu mythology that the idea at the basis of our tale is represented in a clear and simple form. This mythology presents us with a race of female beings of divine nature who appear on earth as water-birds, and have at the same time their proper dwelling in heaven. These beings (Apsaras) are connected with the principle of water; as such, they have the power to bestow fertility, and are the objects of worship. . . . Their power of flight lies in their bird-form, the loss of which compels them to remain among mankind" (Newell 1891, p. 63; cf. notes by Penzer on Tawney, Vol. I, 200-2).

In the same essay Newell examines a number of the Oriental variants of 313 and advances the theory that there existed, "probably before our era, a Hindu folk-tale of very great length, in which the several sections of the tale were fully and clearly narrated". Be that as it may, the gypsy nomads who reached the innermost fastnesses of the Welsh mountains after possibly a millennium or more of wandering, must have had countless opportunities of picking up versions of 313 during their truly fabulous migration—even if they did not carry with them from the outset a version of the tale which Somadeva was to retell for the Queen of Kashmir's entertainment.

There remains the question of possible Romany-tinker culture contacts. Here I do not think we need delay long. The tinker clans of the Central Highlands and the North-east have very little Romany blood in them; most of their culture they share with the ordinary Scots country folk.[9] One cannot exclude the possibility that story elements carried by the gypsies have entered the Scots tinker version, but there is precious little in the facts at our disposal which makes it sound likely.

Summing up, then, we believe that our text of 313 has a long and proud Lallan Scots pedigree, but that a subsidiary Gaelic strain may well have entered it at some stage in its development. In any case, it is clearly a mistake to assume that the traffic has been all one way. The presence of a *Green Man* in Buchan and a *Fear Uain* in Barra does not necessarily mean that Gaelic nomenclature has come over into Scots; it could mean the reverse. In this connection, the existence of the Welsh Romany variant with its tell-tale *Grīnō Mūrš* offers fresh ground for pertinent speculation.

Nor can we leave it at that. Where folk-culture is concerned, the erection of boundary marks, either geographical or temporal, is at best only a convenience. The world-wide distribution of this tale-type makes it likely that we are dealing here with one of the basic *Märchen* of the human race; it is by no means out of the question, therefore, that versions of 313 were being told in Scotland and Ireland when there was one Gaelic language spoken—in different dialects—from Bantry to Buchan, via Derry and Dunadd. Furthermore, the presence of distinctively "Irish" motifs in a Welsh Gypsy version which seems to owe its nomenclature at least to an English variant prompts two reflections, at least:

(1) that we are unlikely to do justice to the complexity of folk-tale diffusion if we do not allow for extensive interpenetration between contiguous folk-cultures, and

(2) that an ancient Celtic substratum likely underlies much of the folklore of England, as well as that of Lowland Scotland.

We have tried to chart a small sector of a comparative study which, if it could ever be completed, would fill volumes. The net in whose meshes are entwined the savage myth of Jason and the Argonauts, Geordie Stewart's bucolic fantasy and Somadeva's elegant court entertainment, is submerged deep in time, and reaches out to the ends of the earth. Indeed, when one remembers the antiquity of this story, the extraordinary unity in diversity which its countless transformations display, and most of all the hold which it has maintained on human imagination everywhere, it may not seem out of place, even in a profane context, to quote the words which Dante uses to describe his vision at the end of the *Paradiso*:

> *Un punto solo m'è maggior letargo*
> *Che venticinque secoli alla impresa*
> *Che fè, Nettuno ammirar l'ombra d'Argo.*[10]

[1] The 313 tale-type may be found in the following issues of Béaloideas: i (1928), pp. 270-273; ii (1930), pp. 19-22 and 172-190; iii (1932), pp. 31-35; v (1935), pp. 117-120; vii (1937), pp. 233-238; viii (1938), 214-222; ix (1939), 106-113; xi (1941), Suppl. p. 25; xii (1942), Suppl. p. 159; xx (1951), p. 132. "The tale is one of the most popular of all Irish folktales; on 17 March 1943, there were 66 MS. variants in the material catalogued in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission—when the catalogue is complete the number will run to several hundred, at least." (Béaloideas xii, 1941, 160.)

[2] This motif appears too in Irish folksong; cf. a verse from "The Verdant Braes of Skreen", collected by Herbert Hughes (1909, Vol. I, p. 2) in Co. Derry.

Oh I will climb a high high tree
And rob a wild bird's nest,
And back I'll bring whatever I do find
To the arms that I love best (she said)
To the arms that I love best.

[3] It has a close rival in one of Campbell's variants, where the hero's adversary is "a black dog" who "comes in with a looking glass on every paw". Hero plays cards with the dog and loses; he has to serve the monster for seven years. The end of this version departs completely from the usual pattern; after the forgetfulness episode, the dog re-appears and insists that the hero shall marry his daughter. Finally at the wedding the dog dances with the priest!

[4] In the Cruel Stepmother (= Aa.-Th. 706) there occurs the sentence: "it was supposed, and not without some good show of reason, that his name was Malcolm, brother to Fingal, King of Morven". The conclusion is irresistible that in the matter of nomenclature—and in that only, I feel sure—Peter has been letting his fancy roam a little.

[5] Cf. another story told by Miss Margaret Craig: "Rashin Coatie" (= Aa.-Th. 510) in Lang (1876-78, 365). Further examples of folk-tales in Scots will be found in the "Fireside Nursery Stories" section of Robert Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (Chambers 1841).

[6] Personal communication from Seán Ó. Súilleabháin, summarising content of booklet edited by Rev. J. M. O'Reilly and published Dublin 1905.

[7] In this connection, the titles of two of the unpublished Irish versions referred to in Béaloideas II, p. 189—*Sgéal Green Levery*, a version in Kerry Gaelic, and *Green Lave* (= Leaf), from Co. Waterford—are extremely suggestive. *Green Lave* at once calls to mind Buchan's *Green Sleeves*. Maybe the "Pikeys" and "Diddykayes" of London (who still have stories for the collecting) might be able to supply a missing link in the chain.

[8] F. R. Loomis, *doyen* of mythological critics, who regards the champion's bargain between Cuchulainn and Curoi in *Fled Bricrend* as a solar myth, explains the Green Knight's colour as follows (1927, p. 59); the counterpart of the Green Knight in the Irish saga is Curoi, disguised as a *bachlach* (uncouth herdsman). Curoi, in FB, wears a dark grey (or dun) mantle (*brat dub lachtna*), the word for grey being

lachtna. But another word for grey, *glas*, can also mean green, and this ambiguity accounts for the Green Knight's leafy hue! (As we have seen, it is more likely that the two meanings of *glas* account for the "grey men" in Anglo-Irish versions of 313.) . . . Loomis seems to be on firmer ground when he links the Huntsman-Host, Temptation and Battle at the Ford episodes in the *Green Knight* with the first part of the tale of *Pwyll* in the Mabinogion, and equates Arawn, who wears a grey mantle and rides a grey steed, with the wintry huntsman of the *Wilde Jagd* (1956, p. 82).

[9] When I was in Sutherlandshire in the summer of 1957, I tried to establish which of the secret languages of the travelling folk the North Highland tinkers have. What they have is the *Beurla-reagad* (= *Beurla nan Ceard*, "lingo of the tinkers"), a very old Gaelic backslang related to the Irish Shelta. One day, a tinker boy said to me: "Tha fiar gu leoir ann an so air son nan *grais*" (= "there's plenty of grass here for the *grais*"). This is ordinary Gaelic, with the addition of one Romany word, *grai*, meaning "horse". My first reaction was to suspect that these Sutherland Stewarts knew more Romany than they were letting on, but the boy later admitted that he had learned the word from me when I was sounding old Alec the storyteller on his knowledge of the Lowland Scots cant and Romany.

Grai, incidentally, is one of the comparatively few Romany words —probably not above 15 per cent. of the vocabulary—found in the cant of the Lowlands.

[10] Translation: One point of it alone holds me longer spellbound than twenty-five centuries on the enterprise which made Neptune marvel at the shadow of the Argo.

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OLD LAND DENOMINATIONS AND "OLD EXTENT" IN ISLAY

PART TWO *

W. D. Lamont

SECTION IV: THE OLD ISLAY DENOMINATIONS

1. Irish and Islay Cowlands: Our principal reason for investigating the ancient Irish social economy was to discover whether it throws any light on the significance of the Islay Cowland. Now there certainly were in Islay the following holdings: 1 Cowland, ½M land, 10/- land explicitly equated with 3 Cowlands, 1M land explicitly equated with 4 Cowlands, 20/- land explicitly equated with 6 Cowlands, and 30/- land explicitly equated with 9 Cowlands.[1] We have therefore the following direct correlations, apparently, with the Irish system:

IRELAND (24 System)	Cowlands	ISLAY
Bailebiataigh	24	?
Bruighfer's lands	9	30/- land: 9 Cowlands
Bo-Aire Febsa's lands	6	20/- land: 6 Cowlands
	4	M land: 4 Cowlands
Og-Aire's lands	3	10/- land: 3 Cowlands
Fintan's Seisreach	2	½M land: 2 Cowlands
Ballyboe	1	3/4d land: 1 Cowland

But is this correlation more than accidental? If it is really significant, we ought to be able to give a reasonably confident affirmative answer to the following questions: *Firstly*, was the Islay Cowland, like the Irish, an area reckoned as 7 soums with a rent or tax of 1 cow? *Secondly*, is there any evidence that the 6-Cowland group was the minimum ploughland in Islay as in Ireland? *Thirdly*, is there any evidence that this 6-Cowland group was the ancient Islay Quarterland? We shall deal with these three questions in the order given.

2. Meaning of Islay Cowland: Our first question—whether "Cowland" meant the same thing in Islay as in Ireland—cannot be answered by any direct evidence from Islay itself; but it can, I think, be answered with reasonable assurance from evidence as to general practice in Celtic Scotland.

* For Part One of this article see *Scottish Studies 2* (June 1957).

As recently as the late eighteenth century, lands in the Isles and West Highlands were generally regarded as having so many cows' grazing or "soums". In this connection "cow" had a technical sense. It meant, not a single animal, but a cow and followers—frequently a milk-cow, calf, 1-year old, and 2-year-old; and in some cases also a 3-year-old (in all 4 or 5 animals). Further, the cow soum in this technical sense was the standard soum in terms of which the grazing of other animals was stated. How this might work out we shall see in a moment.

Pennant, touring the Isles in the early 1770s, notes the souming rules and practices. While there was no exact pattern followed in every detail in all the islands, it is remarkable that, when he refers specifically to "cows", the souming follows with great regularity the 7, 14, etc., pattern (Walker 1808, pp. 55-7; Pennant 1790, pp. 225, 315, 320-1)—the pattern of the Ballyboe in ancient Ireland.

Unfortunately he provides no confirmation that this practice obtained in Islay. But, on the other hand, he goes into detail in the case of Rum; and we can, by other means, correlate the Rum and Islay systems. In Rum, he says (Pennant 1790, p. 320) there is "an absurd custom" of allotting a certain stock to the land. The official rule (often broken in practice) is "28 soums to the Pennyland", 10 sheep being equated with 1 cow, and 2 cows with a horse (strictly, a mare).

From the rest of the information he gives, it is evident that his "28 soums to the Pennyland" should read "28 soums to the Markland". Both these old denominations were used in Rum; and there, as elsewhere, when their literal meaning ceased to have any practical importance, they were liable to be confused with each other even in formal documents.[2]

Now 28 soums to the Rum Markland is highly relevant to the Islay problem. In Rum the Davach was a 6M land (*Orig. Par. Scot.* 1854, pp. 335-7; and if, as we shall try to show below in sub-section 4, the old Islay Quarterland was the 6-Cowland group with an Extent of 20/-, then the old Islay Quarter and the Rum quarter-davach were both 20/- lands. The term "Cowland" is not found in Rum records. If it was ever employed, it probably disappeared as a consequence of the Norse imposition of the Pennyland system. But *if* the ancient Irish system of exacting 1 cow in every 7 had obtained in Rum, then 28 soums would be equivalent to 4 Cowlands: i.e. the Markland of Rum would be a 4-Cowland group like

the Markland of Islay. The argument may be put in the alternative form: *If* the souming rules in Islay were basically the same as those in Rum, following the 7, 14, 21, 28 pattern when stated in terms of cows' grazing, then the Markland of Islay being equivalent to that of Rum (since each was one-sixth of the Bailebiataigh or Davach) the Islay Markland must have been 28 soums; and the fact that it is called a 4-Cowland group would indicate that " Cowland" did mean the same thing in Islay as in ancient Ireland.

Admittedly, we reach this conclusion only with the assistance of some important "ifs"; but the general bearing of the evidence at our command is very strongly in favour of the view that the Islay Cowland was equivalent to the Irish Ballyboe.

3. The Old Islay Ploughland: At the end of the eighteenth century James Macdonald said (Lamont 1957, p. 183) that the *Leortheas* was supposed to be synonymous with the "ploughgate"; and some of our authorities think that the term is derived from the Gaelic word *leòir* (sufficiency) (McKerral 1944, p. 44; Lamont 1957, pp.196-8). This may, perhaps, represent the position in the eighteenth century; and it is interesting to observe that, if we are correct in our correlation of the old Irish and Islay systems by means of the Cowland unit, the Islay Leor-theas is approximately the same as Fintan's Seisreach. The exact equivalent of the Seisreach would be the ½M land in Islay. But we have seen that, in adjusting the older denominations to the "33/4d to the Quarter" system, the Markland was sometimes raised, and the Poundland lowered, to the mean of 16/8d. Consequently some old ½M lands, as well as old 10/- lands, would appear in the revised system as the Leor-theas at 8/4d.

But, however this may be, we can pretty definitely reject the view that the Leor-theas was the ancient Islay ploughland. One of the older denominations superseded in the system as described by Macdonald was the *Horsegang*. While it may be ancient, we only come across it in the eighteenth century Rentals, and there it usually appears as one-sixth of the Quarter at 33/4d (Smith 1895, pp. 508, 545, 547). This might be taken to imply that this Quarter was the old ploughland worked by a 6-horse plough. But there is no tradition of such a plough in Islay; and I think that the evidence we are about to adduce indicates that the normal ploughland was the 6-Cowland group containing 4 Horsegangs, and that when

the new "Quarter" is equated with 6 Horsegangs, this merely shows how, in some particular cases, the new large Quarters were made up.

The best clue to the nature of the Islay Horsegang is probably found in what we are told of the system obtaining in the Argyllshire parish of Kilmartin. Normally, in that parish, there were 4 tenants on a farm, though some of the larger farms had 6 or even 8 tenants. On the 4-tenant farm there was a single plough—the old home-made implement drawn by 4 horses abreast—and each tenant's portion of the farm was called a Horsegang (Sinclair 1792, pp. 97-103). Fortunately we have a record of the souming rules for Kilmartin at the same time. With the 4-tenant farm as the lower limit, and the 8-tenant farm as the upper, the stocking rule was:

Cows (besides some young cattle) .	from 24 to 48
Sheep	„ 30 to 60
Horses	„ 8 to 12

Now if the souming rules were in principle the same in Kilmartin as in Rum, the official souming capacity of the 4-Horsegang farm in Kilmartin, stated in terms of the "standard cow soum", was:

24 Cows	24	standard soums	
30 Sheep	3	„	„
8 Horses	16	„	„
Total . .	43	„	„

This works out at almost exactly the souming capacity of 1½M lands (20/-) in Rum (Rum 42, Kilmartin 43), and a difference of 1 unit as between these two places in the eighteenth century is of little moment. We have already, in sub-section 2, shown the strong probability that the Rum and Islay Marklands were equivalent in this respect; and it would therefore appear that the Kilmartin 4-Horsegang farm was equivalent to the Islay 20/- land of 6 Cowlands.

We have some further data for making a rough check on this equation of the Kilmartin 4-Horsegang and Islay 20/- lands. It seems that the most common Extents in Kilmartin were of the 40/-, 20/- type (*Orig. Par. Scot.* 1854, pp. 335-7). Further, we are told (*Orig. Par. Scot.* 1854, pp. 91, 93) that the parish of Kilmartin was almost co-extensive with the old "barony of Ardskeodnish" which was a 100M land. In this parish there were about 48 farms (Sinclair 1792, pp. 97-103) and this

gives an average of 2M to a farm. But as some of these farms were of 6 or 8 Horsegangs, the 4-Horsegang would be less than 2M in Extent; and as the most common Extents are of the 40/-, 20/- order, it is reasonable to assume that 20/- was normally the Extent of the 4-Horsegang farm.

As to direct evidence from Islay itself, I have so far found only one item of special interest. The lands of Kennabols and Eolobols are shown thus (Smith 1895, pp. 535, 550, 557):

	1722	1733	1741
Kennabols . }	1 Qr	4 Horsegangs . .	1 (?) Horsegang
Eolobols . }		2 Horsegangs . .	10/-

Most unfortunately, something has gone wrong in the entry for Kennabols in 1741, for the rent actually charged shows that the lands are the same as in the earlier years. Still, we do have the 2 Horsegangs of Eolobols explicitly equated with a 10/- land.

With regard to our *second* question, then—Was the 6-Cowland group in Islay the old minimum ploughland group, as it seems to have been in ancient Ireland?—the answer is much the same as the answer to our *first* question as to the equivalence of the Ballyboe and Cowland. While absolute proof is not possible, we can with reasonable assurance answer in the affirmative.

While it is not our business here to consider the system of Lowland Scotland, it is interesting to note that the Extent of the Islay Horsegang (5/-) would, on our theory, be equal to that of the Oxgait of which there were 8 in the "Twa pund land of auld extent".

4. The 6-Cowland Group as the Old Islay Quarter: Apart from the circumstantial evidence provided in the preceding pages and the inference which may naturally be drawn from it, there is nothing which could show that the 6-Cowland group was the old Quarterland other than some direct reference to it as such. And we can hardly expect such references subsequent to the establishment of the new system of Quarterlands at 33/4d.

It so happens, however, that there has been some confusion about the proper Extent of some lands on the "33/4d to the Quarter" system, a confusion which is explicable only on the assumption that it originated in confusion between an old Quarter at 20/- and the new Quarter at 33/4d. Three such cases have come to my notice.

The first of these has already been referred to in the immediately preceding sub-section—the lands of Kennabols and Eolobols. These were old Church lands; and they appear in McIan's 1507 Rental as Kennabols, 33/4d; Allabollis, 16/8d. The explanation of these Extents is found in a charter of 1587-8 (Smith 1895, p. 89) where the first is called a Quarter and the second an Eighth, without any Extents attached. McIan, in listing the Church lands in 1507, was probably responsible for adding the "appropriate" Extents of 33/4d and 16/8d, which were of little practical significance to anyone then because Church lands were not in these cases subject to Crown dues. These McIan Extents were accordingly entered for the lands when they were transferred to lay ownership in 1617 (Smith 1895, p. 354). But thereafter the assessment did become important; and presumably the tenants concerned complained about it, for we find that by 1722 the two lands are together given the reduced Extent of 1 Quarter. There is not the slightest ground for supposing any alteration in their area between 1507 and 1722; and since they appear in 1733 as 4 and 2 Horsegangs respectively, the obvious inference is that their original denominations as a Quarter and an Eighth meant a Quarter at 20/- and an Eighth at 10/- (and it is as a 10/- land that Eolobols is actually entered in the local Rental of 1741).

The second case is also an old Church land included in the same charter of 1587-88. It is Nerrabolls, and is described in the charter as a 5M land. But in 1722 it is reduced to 1 Quarter at 33/4d. The explanation here is almost certainly that Nerrabolls was originally known as 2 Quarters with an Extent of 40/-, and was given the Extent of 5M later on through confusion between the old and the new Quarter, this Extent being still later reduced to 33/4d. This suggestion is not mere speculation. The *reddendo* (Smith 1895, p. 91) for Nerrabolls, as set out in the charter, was the ancient one of "60 ells of coloured cloth, or 8d for each ell", a *reddendo* apparently fixed when the land had belonged to the Monastery of Derry, and certainly very old since the ell of coloured cloth was 2/8d in 1329, 4/4½d in 1330, and 2/4d in 1331 (*Exch. Rolls*, i, 219, 290, 365). 60 ells at 8d each amounts to 40/-; and so Nerrabolls was apparently 2 Quarters at 20/- each.

The third case provoked some acrimonious controversy in the local Islay "Parliament" in the eighteenth century (Smith 1895, Index; Ramsay 1890, pp. 13, 25-6). A large area called

Scanlastol had been chopped up in the McIan Extent to fit his Quarterland system, parts of it being subsequently joined (for fiscal purposes only, it would seem) to different lands at different times. By 1614 (Smith 1895, p. 204) it had apparently settled down to an Extent of £2:16:8d (4¼M). Locally, however, it seems to have been traditionally regarded as a 3 Quarters land, and was so assessed by the local Parliament for some years, at 7½M. The tenants then apparently heard that, according to the old records, this was extortionate, and made a spirited protest. The complaint was rejected. They were told that Scanlastol was and would continue to be regarded as 3 Quarters until documentary evidence was produced to prove the contrary. It is likely that there was an important element of truth in both the claims. Scanlastol probably *was* 3 Quarters—but 3 old, not McIan, Quarters.

Here we must leave the matter to the judgment of the reader, inviting him to decide for himself whether the circumstantial evidence does or does not favour the view that the 6-Cowland group, the 4-Horsegang ploughland, and the old Islay Quarter were one and the same thing. I shall merely summarise, in concluding the discussion of the denominations, the position which seems to me most near the truth.

5. *Summary of Argument on Islay Denominations:* The ancient Islay denominations, traces of which survive in the seventeenth and eighteenth century local Rentals, most probably derived from the ancient Irish system of 24 Ballyboes to the Baile-biataigh, the 3, 6 and 9-Cowland groups corresponding to the holdings of the Og-Aire, Bo-Aire Febsa and Bruighfer, respectively. The 6-Cowland group was probably the normal or minimum ploughland, and also the old Quarterland, presupposing a larger administrative unit corresponding to the Bailebiataigh.

This was apparently the system in operation when the Old Extent was imposed in, or shortly after, 1266; but at a much later date—probably after 1493—the lands of Islay were systematically regrouped into larger Quarters with an Extent of 33/4. Initially, the new system, applied for State purposes, had little effect on local practice and nomenclature. Its influence is, however, dominant by the middle of the eighteenth century, the older denominations surviving only as scattered remnants in the Rentals. By the end of the century, when Macdonald visited the island, the new had completely replaced the old.

SECTION V: THE "OLD EXTENT" OF ISLAY

1. The Period of this Extent: While the foregoing Sections have been primarily concerned with the old land denominations, enough has been said about the Extent of the Cowland and ancient Quarterland to fix the period to which it belongs. The vital clue is the valuation of the cow at 3/4d. Though the cash allowances made to tenants in the Exchequer accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries vary enormously, the official value for Extent purposes is much more regular. In 1329-30 the value was 8/- (*Exch. Rolls*, i, 125, 219, 289). In the Isles it appears to have been about $\frac{7}{8}$M in 1408 (if the 42M of the Gaelic charter of that year is equated, not with "4 cows", but with "4 cows per markland"); and in 1541 it was £1:6:8d. Some old cow values are given in *Regiam Majestatem* (Cooper 1946, pp. 273-6, 279), ranging from 4/- to 6/-. But none of these values quite fits our case. On the other hand, Mr. McKerral (1944, p. 66) has noted that in 1264-66 a "Mark Extent" could be equated with any one of the following: 16 bolls oatmeal, 20 bolls malt, 26 stones cheese, 4 cows.

This, then, must be the period of our 20/- to the ancient Quarterland Extent in Islay. It is the true "Old Extent", imposed just after the cession of the Isles to Scotland.

2. The Total "Old Extent" of Islay: Having determined the relation of the "Old Extent" to the typical small land denominations, we shall now try to determine the total "Old Extent" of the island as a whole. This enquiry is not undertaken as a piece of merely pedantic antiquarianism; for, in trying to discover the total amount, we shall—as I hope to show—also discover interesting features of social life in Islay which profoundly influenced the Extent or assessment of the island by the officers of the Crown.

There have been two radically different estimates of the total "Old Extent", one putting it at £170:0:4d (255M and 4d), the other putting it at 360M (£240).

(i) *The 360M Estimate.* This is the Extent alleged in the *Description of the Isles of Scotland*, 1577-95, already referred to (Lamont 1957, p. 186). It is pretty clear, from some of the information given by the writer of this *Description*, that he had access to the Exchequer accounts of his own time. Further, the nice round sum he gives—360M or £240—is the kind of thing we should expect. Again, this was the estimate accepted by Sir James Macdonald of Dunyveg in 1599 (Smith 1895, p. 111).

But despite its initial plausibility, we must reject it. Sir

James Macdonald's opinion in 1599 was of little value. His family connection with the island had been very broken for a century, the old writs were destroyed, and he had spent most of his life in the Lothians. As to the writer of the *Description*, admitting his knowledge of the contemporary scene, one is forced to the view that he was mistaken. No working Rental or chamberlain's account ever accepted anything like the figure of 360M. However, as our discussion proceeds, we shall see how very nearly this writer came to the true figure, and how his mistake probably arose.

(ii) *The £170:0:4d Estimate.* However initially unpromising, this provides a genuine clue to the true figure. It is the sum which McIan took as the total "Old Extent" and tried to distribute over the island (all church lands being, of course, excluded from this total) in accordance with his 33/4d Quarterland system in 1507; and it is on this distribution of the "Fermes" that all subsequent working estimates have been based.

Further, we know exactly how McIan got his figure. It is the apparent total of three royal charters to McIan himself, plus the remainder of the lay lands of Islay set by the Crown Commissioners in 1506:

Charter of 1494, 20M	£13:6:8
„ „ 1499, 170M	113:6:8
Lands at disposal of Crown set by Commissioners in June 1506	40:0:4
Charter of November 1506, 5M	3:6:8
	£170:0:4

(iii) *Estimate Corrected to £160.* The material which explains McIan's figure of £170:0:4d also shows that this apparent total is incorrect.

In the *first* place, the 1494 and 1499 charters cannot be simply added, as they stand, to give their real total. The 1494 one, a Crown charter regranting to McIan the lands he previously held as bailie of Islay under the Lord of the Isles, is partly repeated in the comprehensive charter of 1499 which is thus artificially increased by 10M. This excess having been deducted, we get the true total for both charters as 180M.

Secondly, the 5M of the 1506 charter (Paul 1882, p. 639; Smith 1895, pp. 24-6) should not have been added, for they were already comprehended in the item "60M in Islay" in the 1499 charter. To explain:

The 1499 charter was McIan's reward for the capture and execution of Macdonald of Dunyveg and his heir. The general presumption seems to have been that this charter covered the whole lay lands excepting those assigned to certain offices and the lands belonging to Maclean of Duart in heritage. But for some reason it had not been inscribed in the *Register of the Great Seal*, and Maclean and McIan were making conflicting claims.

This was the situation confronting the Crown Commissioners when they met at Dun Add, Argyll, on 8th June 1506, to set such lands as were at the disposal of the Crown. They confined themselves to the £40:0:4d lands not in dispute. Then, two days later, they exacted from Maclean and McIan a pledge to appear before the Council in October for adjudication of their claims, and to produce their charters and writs in evidence (*Exch. Rolls*, xii, 709).

McIan (doubtless supported by Argyll) was successful. But, in addition to his two valid charters, McIan must also have produced an old one for 5M granted to his grandfather by Alexander, Lord of the Isles; for, in the following month, on 19th November, he received a re-grant of these lands by royal charter. As his grandfather's charter was tainted by the forfeiture of the Lordship, these 5M would, technically, have been at the disposal of the Crown (for disposal to McIan, of course) in June 1506 *unless* they were assumed to be covered in the 1499 charter. As this assumption seems to have operated, the 1506 charter is but a duplication of part of the 1499 one. The 5M should not be added to the true total of the 1494 and 1499 charters. The total Extent of McIan's lands was 180M (£120).

Thirdly, we can explain and discount the odd 4d in the £40:0:4d lands set in June 1506 (*Exch. Rolls*, xii, 709). Though the lands, oddly enough, are not specified, they are set to named persons,[3] and one of "£5:0:4d, is set to Duncan (should it be Lachlan?) McGillehaanich". This was apparently Maclean's land the title to which was not in dispute. If so, it represents the £5 of Synnerland, Coule, Arcallich and Foreland, *plus* the 8/4d land of Mealand whose true Extent is something of a mystery. As the 8/- has been omitted by the Commissioners and McIan, we can let the tail go with the hide and forget about the 4d.

Thus, reckoning the £40:0:4d as £40, and adding the true total of McIan's charter lands, £120, we get the corrected

figure of £160 or 240M as the total "Old Extent" of Islay. Supposing this was, indeed, the true amount, we can guess how the writer of the *Description* got the figure of 360M. At that time Extent expressed in Marks was frequently confused with Extent expressed in Pounds. If 240M were mis-stated as £240, the equivalent in Marks would be 360M.

(iv) *Distribution of Extent by Districts.* Returning for a moment to the uncorrected estimate of £170:0:4d, let us look at McIan's attempt to distribute it over the three districts:

Southward (approximately Kildalton and Oa)	£39: 6:8	(59 M)
Midward (approximately Killarow and Kilmeny)	73:16:8	(110¾)
Rhinns (approximately Kilchoman and Kilchiaran)	56:11:8	(84⅞)
	£169:15:0	254⅝M

This is a pretty creditable effort—only 5/4d short of the mark, and he has got rid of the odd 4d in the process.

Before working out the details, McIan would have in mind a round sum for each of the districts, and it is safe to assume that the round sum would be in Pounds, not Marks; for, though he was distributing on a 33/4d Quarterland system, all available evidence suggests that the "Old Extent" was conceived primarily in terms of Pounds. The old Quarterland was 20/-; and, of the lands "set" in 1506, six out of eight were £5 lands.

On this hypothesis, for McIan's primary allocation to districts the round sums nearest to his actual apportionment would be:

Southward . . .	£40	(60M)
Midward . . .	75	(112½)
Rhinns . . .	55	(82½)
	£170	(255M)

(v) *Distribution of Extent and "House" Groups of Islay.* This distribution has an interesting relation to the "House" groups of Islay as described in the fourteenth century *Tract on the Scots of Dalriada* (Skene 1867, pp. 308 ff.; Thomas 1882, pp. 249 ff.). The document gives a garbled account of the sixth century colonisation from Ireland. By way of contrast, it contains a remarkably clear statement of the territories in Islay and Jura held by the "Cinel Angus" (which may mean, in this context, the clan of Angus Mor and Angus Oig, respective heads at the time of the cession of the Isles and

during the War of Independence). There seems to be general agreement as to the identity of the districts mentioned in Islay. *Caillnae* is North Kildalton, *Odeich* is South Kildalton, *Aitha Cassil* is Oa; *Freag* is approximately Killarow, *Ardbes* is approximately Kilmeny; *Loichrois* is the North Rhinns, and *Cladrois* is the South Rhinns. By *Ros deorand* the writer must mean South Jura since, about the time this *Tract* was written, North Jura was claimed by the house of Lorne. We know that South Jura was reckoned as 22½M "Old Extent" in the fifteenth century, Macdonald of Dunyveg having 12½M and Maclean of Duart 10M.

On the assumption that these districts are all correctly identified, we can compare the number of "Houses" in each, according to the *Tract*, with its "Old Extent".

ISLAY

Tract	"Houses"			"O.E." Distribution
Caillnae,	30			
Odeich,	20	=	80	£40 for Southward
Aitha Cassil,	30			
Freag,	100 *or** 120			
Ardbes,	30	=	130 *or* 150	£75 for Midward
Loichrois,	30			
Cladrois,	60	=	90	£55 for Rhinns
			300 *or* 320	£170

JURA

Ros deorand,	30	. . .	£15 for S. Jura

In the cases of the Southward of Islay and South Jura, the number of "Houses" is just double the number of Pounds "Old Extent". And although the fact is not indicated in this table, the equation also holds for the Oa which has 30 Houses and (excluding the ancient churchland of Kilnaughton—so listed by McIan) £15 of "Old Extent". It also holds for the Midward of Islay if we take the 120 Houses of Freag as a correction, not a copyist's error.

The only exceptional case is that of the Rhinns where, according to the rule, the "Old Extent" ought to be £45, not £55. But even this may be only an apparent exception. The total of 320 Houses for Islay corresponds exactly to what we have seen to be the true sum of the "Old Extent", £160, when

* In the case of Freag, one MS. (the earliest, according to Skene) gives 100 Houses. The other two give 120 Houses. The 120 may be a copyist's error, or it may be a deliberate correction.

McIan's charter lands are correctly totalled. It may well be, therefore, that McIan has simply placed the whole burden of the miscalculation on to the Rhinns—where his own interests were least affected.

Whatever be the explanation of this anomalous case of the Rhinns, it cannot seriously detract from the force of the other evidence. The "Old Extent" of Islay as a whole, and of its principal sub-divisions, is clearly related to the number of "Houses" they were supposed to contain, the Extent of a single House working out at 10/-.

3. Mode of Assessing "Old Extent":

(i) *"House" as Ultimate Unit of Taxation.* What is a "House"? In trying to answer this question, I thought the Oa the most promising field of study. From the evidence of the local Rentals I concluded that (excluding Kilnaughton) the Oa must have contained not less than 78½ nor more than 92 old Cowlands. The House having, apparently, an Extent of 10/-, there should be 3 Cowlands (at 3/4d each) to a House, giving not less than 26 nor more than 30⅔ Houses in Oa. As the *Tract* says 30 Houses, all the evidence indicates that a "House" was the equivalent of a 3-Cowland holding.

The "House" therefore corresponds to "House" in the ancient Irish system according to which the Bailebiataigh of 24 Ballyboes was reckoned as containing eight Houses, these being the minimum holdings qualifying for full political status, the status of Og-Aire.

To this conclusion there are two corollaries. *Firstly*, it is clear that the ancient social economy brought from Ireland in the early sixth century was not wholly superseded during the period of Norse influence. How far the Bailebiataigh structure was modified in Islay we do not know; but the House was certainly an effective unit until the fourteenth century at least, and it seems to have been taken as the ultimate unit of taxation when, on the cession of the Isles, the Scottish government made up the "Old Extent". *Secondly*, the Scottish government simply accepted the ancient Irish valuation of the lands of Islay. There was no re-valuation in 1266. The rental value of the House was 3 cows; and all the "Old Extent" did was to translate this into its 1266 money equivalent—10/-.

(ii) *The 20-House Group as the Primary Unit of Assessment.* But while the House was the ultimate unit of taxation, it was not the primary unit of assessment in the sense that a count was made of the actual number of Houses in order to get the

total valuation of Islay. The number of Houses would be "read off" from the theory of the social system. Thus, in ancient Ireland, the theory would be "x Houses to a Bailebiataigh, y Bailebiataighs to a Tuath, z Tuaths to a Country" or something of the sort. Even in areas amenable to artificial division, strict adherence to the theory of the system might often be impracticable. Where there were emphatic natural divisions it would sometimes be impossible. But because public administration was greatly influenced by the theory of the social structure, the normal assumption would be that a large unit of a certain kind contained the theoretical complement of Houses. As to what this large unit of primary assessment was in Islay, the initially plausible answer is "the Bailebiataigh". Almost certainly it was so in Tiree (Campbell 1912, p. 344) where the ancient "Davach" became the "Tirunga" of the Norse occupation and the "6 Markland" of the "Old Extent". As the old Islay Quarterland was 20/-, this gives £4 (6M) to the Bailebiataigh.

But this argument is not conclusive. From the time of St Columba, Tiree was valued as a "granary". The large unit of the ordinary social economy was therefore the obvious one to take as the primary unit of assessment. Islay was in a different case. Up to 1493 the whole island (excluding church land) was held on ward service; and so the appropriate primary unit of assessment would be something analogous to the "Knight's Fee". That the Bailebiataigh had the same Extent as the Tiree Tirunga is probably a consequence, not of taking this as the primary unit in both cases, but of taking the House as the ultimate unit of taxation in both cases.

What, in Islay, would be analogous to the Knight's fee? Clearly, service would be conceived primarily in terms of the naval array, not of an army in the field. And in this connection the fourteenth century *Tract* is illuminating. Apart from stating the number of Houses in each district, the main point stressed is that every 20 Houses provides for "the sea muster" a crew of 14 benches (28 oars).

That this "standard ship" of 14 benches determined the primary unit of assessment is the inference from what we know of the Oa, where there seem to have been 4 old Bailebiataighs (two of them with less than the full complement of 8 Houses).[4] Had the primary unit of assessment been the Bailebiataigh, the district would have been reckoned as containing 32 Houses and given an Extent of £16. It was in

fact reckoned as having 30 Houses (1½ crews) and given an Extent of £15.

Further evidence is provided by the 1617 charter of the lands of Lossit.[5] The "Old Extent" was £10; and in this charter the ancient *reddendo* of the whole is preserved by being attached formally to the principal mansion—a boat of 14 oars, or, in lieu, £10. A 1615 estimate of the number of galleys, birlings, etc., in the Isles suggests that "a boat of 14 oars" then meant a boat of 14 benches (14 oars a-side).[6]

Thus, using the ancient Irish valuation of the House, 3 cows (1266 equivalent, 10/-), to give the rental value, and the standard ship of 14 benches as the primary unit of assessment, we get:

	Ships	Houses	Extent
Southward . . .	4	80	£40
Midward . . .	7½	150	75
Rhinns	4½	90	45
	16	320	£160

4. General Conclusions on the "Old Extent" of Islay: Whatever modifications Norse influence may have introduced into the ancient economic and social order brought to Islay by the sixth century colonists, the House remained as a vital element in the social structure. In 1266 it was accepted as the ultimate unit of taxation, and the ancient valuation was taken over and translated into current monetary value for purposes of the Extent.

But the Extent was not based on a direct count of Houses. It took as the primary unit of assessment the 20-House group charged with the provision of a "standard ship" of 14 benches. As there is no reference to such groups in the ancient Irish system, it is highly improbable that they were known to the original colonists. They cut right across the Bailebiataigh system with which, we gather, the Irish military organisation was integrated. These groups must have grown up some time after the settlement in Islay, and were probably created by the Gael-Gall when Islay formed part of the Kingdom of Sodor and Man. As would be reasonable for our western waters, the standard ship of the naval array, 14 benches, is rather smaller than the average in the Norse fleet where the minimum permitted was one of 13 benches, the larger ones ranging to 25 benches and over (Marwick 1949, p. 3).

Both the House system, for ordinary purposes of the social economy, and the 20-House group system, for military purposes,

were operative when the Isles passed to the Scottish Crown; and the "Old Extent" of Islay adopted the latter as the primary unit of assessment and the former's ancient valuation as the ultimate unit of valuation.

If this view is correct, then the "Old Extent" of Islay (which McIan would have got exactly right had it not been for the muddle over the total value of his charterlands) carries into the sixteenth century, not only a record of one of the first administrative acts of the new overlord after 1266, and not only a survival of the naval organisation of the Kingdom of Sodor and Man, but also a reminder of Old Dalriada in Erin and of the institutions brought thence to the New Dalriada in Alba.

SECTION VI: THE SMALLER ISLAY DENOMINATIONS

It may be useful to add some notes on all the smaller land denominations found in Islay from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. We shall take, first, the denominations found in the local Rentals of 1686, 1722, 1733 and 1741 (Smith 1895, pp. 490-559).

(1) *Quarter.* This is James Macdonald's "Cearabh", and it invariably means the McIan Quarter at 33/4d.

(2) *Eighth* or *Auchtenpart.* Macdonald's "Ochtobh", and invariably the McIan 16/8d land.

(3) *Lewirheis* (the oldest spelling). In the Rentals, invariably half of the Eighth at 8/4d. It is Macdonald's "Leor-theas" which he supposes to be synonymous with "ploughgate". McKerral (1944, pp. 44, 52) accepting this view, accepts also the suggestion that the name derives from *leòir*, "sufficiency"—a farm large enough for the tenant to provide his own complete plough. But this derivation, based on the supposed equation with a ploughgate, will not square with the facts. The term is at least as old as 1686. The 4-horse plough was in use for long after that, and was apparently used by joint tenants. The old minimum ploughland, we have argued, was the 20/- land. The Lewirheis, at 8/4d, may have been an old 6/8d or an old 10/- land, according as the Eighth, of which it was half, had been raised from 13/4d or lowered from 20/-.

In my view "Lewirheis" is a greatly corrupted form of *Leath-sheisreach*, meaning "half-ploughland", and is of Irish origin. Joyce says (Joyce 1910, p. 223), "When a *seisreach* was divided into two equal parts, each was called *leath-sheisreach* (lahesheragh)". The term *seisreach* was used in Islay, at the

beginning of the present century, for a pair of plough-horses (MacNeill 1900, p. 49). The reference is clearly to the team for the modern iron plough. The equivalent in the eighteenth century would be 4 horses; and so *leath-sheisreach* would then be two horses—or the 2-Horsegang holding of 10/-. If this was the derivation of Lewirheis, the 8/4d land on the McIan system would naturally have this name whether it had been an old 10/- or 6/8d land.

(4) *Kerrowrane.* Not mentioned by Macdonald, but frequently occurs in the Rentals. It is half a Lewirheis, and presumably means "a little quarter" (quarter of the old 20/- Quarter). In the eighteenth century the name would be applied to either an old 5/- or an old 3/4d land.

(5) *Cowland.* Fully explained in the preceding sections.

(6) *Horsegang.* Explained in section IV, 3.

(7) *Shilling-land.* "Shilling-lands" are set out in the Rentals on three different patterns.

(*a*) When *exact* Extent is given on the McIan system, the meaning is perfectly clear. 33/4d means a Quarter, and so on.

(*b*) But when the McIan Quarter is reckoned in shillings by summing the individual holdings, it is called a 32/- land because the odd pence in the individual items have been left out of account. This is what McKerral aptly calls the *false* Extent. In it, the symbol for "shilling" is usually the "index comma". Thus the *false* Extent 4/- (exact McIan, 4/2d) is written 4'; and so we find 2', 4', 8', 16', and 32' lands.

(*c*) But in some cases the *true* "Old Extent" is shown by this same symbol. Thus we get 30', 20' and 10' lands.

So far we have been dealing with denominations found in the local Rentals; but at the end of the eighteenth century Macdonald found that those below the Lewirheis had been replaced by the *Cota ban* or *Groatland* and the *Da-sgillin.*

(8) 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.

(9) *Da-sgillin* (literally "two shillings") was 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.

NOTES

[1] The reference is to "Machric". It appears in 1507 (among Church lands) as "Due Innerloskin 33/4d"; in 1617 charter of Church lands as "Lagrivug 16/8d and Innerloskan 16/8d"; in the 1686 local Rental as "Lagrevog and Inverloskane—9 Cowland"; in the 1722 local Rental as "Macharies (a reversion to the name of the Gaelic charter of 1408) 33/4d, a Quarterland"; and in the 1733 and 1741 local Rentals as "Machrie 30/-".

[2] There is no doubt that Pennant found the "Pennyland" effectively in use in Rum. He found the rent of the largest farms averaged £5:12/-, and he tells us the total rent was 2000M Scots; and since Rum was a 6M land "Old Extent" (i.e. 20 Pennylands), the Pennyland rent would be 100M Scots, or 8⅓M Sterling, or just over £5:11/- Sterling. Pennant's "largest farm" is therefore the Pennyland.

But it is difficult to understand the statement that it is the Pennyland which has 28 soums. He tells us that, in the division into Pennylands and in much of their rural economy, Rum and Canna agree. That this similarity covers rent charges is clear from the fact that the Pennyland rent in Canna was £4:14:6. But he states the souming capacity of the Canna Pennyland to be 7 cows and 2 horses (on the Rum rule this would be 11 standard soums). If we suppose that his Rum 28 soums are for the Markland, this will give about 8½ for the Rum Pennyland—much nearer the Canna figure.

This confusion between "Pennyland" and "Markland" is not confined to travellers such as Pennant. We find it in relation to charters of lands in Craignish, Argyll. A group of lands detailed as Pennylands in 1412 is detailed in 1548 as Marklands (*Orig. Par. Scot.*, 1854, pp. 97-8). Again, in Kintyre, a charter of 1329 equates 1M with 2 Pennylands (McKerral 1944, p. 63); but in the 1505 Crown Rental of Kintyre (*Exch. Rolls*, xii, 698 ff.) we seem to get something like an equation of the Mark- and Penny-land. In items 34 and 38, S. Kintyre, we get: "Leypeynbeg (presumably 'Little half-pennyland') 8/4" and "Lepeyn Cawferay 6/8".

[3] Lands "set" in 1506 (*Exch. Rolls*, xii, 709). The Commissioners were apparently ignorant of the lands they were setting, but knew the names of the persons concerned and how much each should have. Odoni McKy (£5) is clearly MacKay of the Rhinns. Archibald McKofee (£5) is clearly MacFie, maor of the Midward. Nigel McCane (£5) is clearly a relative of McIan, replacing MacKay of the Southward who would be in exile with the Macdonalds of Dunyveg. Moricio McSuyna (£5) was probably hereditary harper, of the same sept as Murdaco McOsennag and Moriauch McSchinnocht, harpers in S. Kintyre in 1505 and 1528 respectively. Lachlan McSuyna (£5) was probably the bard, though the bards in S. Kintyre were the McVurichs. The £5:0:4d land, as suggested in the text, was almost certainly that of Maclean. Gilchrist McVaig (5M) would be McBeth of Ballenaby, hereditary surgeon. "Angus son of Angus" (10M) I cannot place;

and it is surprising to find the name "McBryon" left out. The explanation may be in an instruction delivered to McIan on 10th June. He was given detailed directions as to the institution of baillie courts, the instruction ending "You are to hold your courts in proper form with all officers and ministers of court such as baillie and judge, clerk, sergeand, sutour, demster, and a lawful assize and inquest as is above written, after the order of our sovereign lord's laws". (*Exch. Rolls*, xii, 703-4). James IV was very anxious to introduce the Lowland legal system to the Isles; and "Angus son of Angus" may have been (only nominally, I suspect!) intruded into the McBryon lands to this end.

[4] None of the terms "Bailebiataigh", "Davach" or "Tirunga" is found in the Islay records or preserved amongst the place-names, though some of the numerous "Ballys" may have derived from "Bailebiataigh" rather than from the "Baile" as a "township". Nevertheless, it is to be presumed that this unit was characteristic of the ancient economy. There is a theory (McKerral 1953, pp. 61-62; Seebohm 1884, 222 n. 5) that it was an ecclesiastical as well as a civil district, having its own "parish church". If this theory is sound, there must have been 4 Bailebiataighs in the Oa, for there are 4 ancient chapels, strategically placed in the four quarters of the peninsula. But not all of these Bailebiataighs would have the full complement of 24 Cowlands, and two of them might have more. On my estimate there would be: *NE*—(chapel of Kilnaughton) 24-26 Cowlands; *SE*—(chapel at Stremnish) 21-27½ Cowlands; *SW*—(chapel of Killeyan) 17½-22½ Cowlands; *NW*—(chapel at Tokamol) 19 Cowlands. Part of what I include in the *SE* might more appropriately be put in the *SW*. For the rest, nature has pretty well settled what the areas would be.

[5] In 1617 the Bishop of the Isles gave Campbell of Calder a charter for all remaining church lands in Islay under the general name of the "Tenandry of Lossit". These lands are scattered all over the island (Smith 1895, pp. 353 ff.); and it would appear that the "lands of Lossit" in the proper sense were the compact group heading the McIan 1507 list of church lands. These are given in detail with "McIan Extents" attached; and all have typical sixteenth to seventeenth century "fermes", with the exception of the "33/4d of Lossit" itself. To it is attached the ancient *reddendo* of the *whole* of these £10 lands—"unam cymbam cum quatuordecem *lie ores*, vel pro dicta cymba decem libras monete". This *reddendo* shows that the mortification of these lands to the monastery of Iona must have been subsequent to 1266, since the Extent is connected with ward service.

There is one difficulty in trying to equate the £10 lands of Lossit with 20 Houses. The apparent meaning of the *Tract* is that each 20 Houses (£10 Extent) provides a "standard ship" of 14 benches (28 oars), while the Lossit *reddendo* seems to be a ship of 14 oars (7 benches). On this point see note 6.

[6] With regard to the difficulty indicated in note 5, two possibilities occurred to me. Firstly, that Skene wrongly translates "Da seacht seis" and "vij. vij. sese" as "twice seven benches". But Professor Angus Matheson of Glasgow University has given me an opinion on this point: "I would read *dá seacht-seis*, where *seacht-seis* (perhaps better *seacht-sess*) is a compound noun, meaning a boat with seven

thwarts; and so the naval contribution per 20 Houses consists of two vessels of (each) seven thwarts or 14 oars, i.e. a total of 28 oars, which gives the same total as Skene, although I do not agree with his translation 'twice seven benches'." Professor Matheson then gives various examples of this usage in Gaelic and Norse. We may take it, therefore, that 28 oars per 20 Houses is correct.

The second possibility is that the "14 oars" of the Lossit charter means 14 benches. In 1615 (two years before the date of this charter) the Privy Council recorded the number and type of vessels which, according to its information, existed in the Isles. MacLeod of Harris was stated to possess "1 galley and some boats of 8 oars", and the Council minuted definitions of "galley" and "birlin": "Galley = a vessel of 18 oars and above to 24 oars"; "Birlin = a vessel of 12 oars and above to 18 oars". (Masson 1891, pp. 346-8). Now if "oar" in the definitions means literally "oar", the implications are odd. For his lands in Harris and Skye, MacLeod was bound to provide "unius navis viginti sex remorum, et duarum navium sexdecem remorum". We can assume that here "remus" means literally "oar". But if we also assume that "oar" in the definitions has the literal sense, the conclusion must be that in 1615 MacLeod could not possibly meet his feudal obligations as stated in 1548 (*Exch. Rolls*, xviii, 421). The *maximum* size of galley according to the definition is 1 bench smaller than the boat of 26 oars; and apart from his one galley MacLeod has nothing more than "some boats of 8 oars" exactly half the size of the two smaller craft he is bound to supply. It is hardly conceivable that, by 1615, the size of vessels had been so drastically reduced. But if "oar" in the definition means "oar a-side" ("bench") the difficulty vanishes.

In the 1617 Lossit charter the terms of the *reddendo* are: "unam cymbam cum quatuordecem *lie ores*, vel pro dicta cymba de em libras monete". The "*lie ores*" (italicised in the charter) is clearly a vernacular substitute for something in the original formula; and if in 1615-17 "so many oars" did in fact mean "so many oars a-side", the Lossit *reddendo* would be the same as the requirement for 20 Houses.

This argument is not advanced as proof, but simply as the most likely solution. See, however, MacPhail (1916, pp. 235 ff.), a reference for which I am indebted to Professor Matheson.

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The late
PROFESSOR ÅKE CAMPBELL

By the death of Professor Åke Campbell, on the 14th October 1957, students of both oral and material folk traditions suffered the loss of an eminent authority and a sympathetic champion. Nowhere must that loss be felt more keenly than in the Uppsala Institute for Dialect and Folklore Research, in whose development he took such a leading part. But his learning and his wise counsel will be missed in many institutes elsewhere, and not least in the School of Scottish Studies in the University of Edinburgh; for Åke Campbell's advice, encouragement, and support were always available, at no small cost to himself, wherever they were needed.

His active contribution to the organisation of such institutes as the School was but one manifestation of a mind that ranged widely and deeply over the many problems of European folk culture research. His early publications were on folk-medicine, omens, and prophecy; in his maturity he turned especially to the study of land-settlement, of farms and rural house-types, and of the activities and material products of daily life in country places. His achievement will be fully appraised by his fellow-scholars in other journals: here it is sufficient to say that his eminence as a scholar was matched by great gifts as a teacher and inspirer of others.

The descendant of an eighteenth-century Scottish emigrant to Sweden, Professor Campbell had an especial interest in the development of folk life studies in Scotland. He played a major role in the organisation of the Congress of the International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore held in Edinburgh in 1937. In 1939 and again in 1948 he spent some months on fieldwork in the Hebrides, and it is to be regretted that he was unable to publish more than a part of the material then collected. In 1955 Professor Campbell was invited to become the first visitor to the University of Edinburgh under a scheme for collaboration on cultural studies, sponsored by the University and the Governments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. It is a source of great pride to the School of Scottish Studies that he accepted

Honorary Membership of the School after this visit, which was unhappily terminated by a recurrence of the illness to which, after a long and courageous fight, he finally succumbed.

In his research and in his teaching Åke Campbell created an enduring monument. He has a further memorial in the friendships he made with all manner of people; for he was a gentle, gay, warm-hearted man, and a welcome visitor in many households in many lands, both amongst students of his subject and amongst the country folk he loved. His pupils remember him with great respect, and his friends with deep affection.

S. F. S.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE NAMES

Under this heading, *Scottish Studies* will publish, at irregular intervals, a series of short notes on individual Scottish place-names or groups of names, their elements, derivations, meaning, pronunciation, early references, etc. They will usually deal with one aspect of the particular name and will, naturally, be only tentative and by no means exhaustive. At the beginning, names of rivers and burns will principally be discussed since the author has made a special study of these (Nicolaisen 1955, 1956); gradually, names of other geographical features and of man-made and inhabited places will be included. Elucidating comments and helpful questions are invited.

1. *Armaidh*

In his discussion of Scottish place-names containing an *-nt-* suffix (1912-13, p. 239), W. J. Watson mentions a river-name *Abhainn Armaidh* "in Stratherrick, that notable stronghold of Pictish names". He compares it with *Armit*, the name of a tributary of Gala Water. J. Pokorny (1938, pp. 87 and 119) includes this name, with reference to Watson, in his list of possible "Illyrian" place-names in Britain and derives it from an original **Armātis*, of a similar formation as *Sabātis* (Liguria and Campania), *Licātis* (Hérault), etc. This derivation is again taken up by H. Krahe (1953, p. 114), who not only relates it to **Armit*< *Armentī* but also to a great number of other river-names, like *Armā* in Piemont and *Erms*, tributary of the Neckar,< *Armis(s)a*. Nearer home we find as members of the same hydronymic family *Erme* (Devonsh.)< **Armīsā* and *Erfin* (Cardigansh.)< **Armīnā*. In this context *Armaidh*< **Armātis* would be pre-Celtic, but Indo-European.

Unfortunately, Watson does not give any more detailed geographical information about the name and does not reveal his source. It is not to be found on either the 1 inch or the 6 inch Ordnance Survey maps, and I have not been able to confirm it from anybody with local knowledge of the district. It seems that, quite apart from the problematic derivation of Gael. *-aidh*< **-ātis*, *Abhainn Armaidh* is a ghost-name and that that is the reason why Watson did not mention it again in his *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926). Till it

has been confirmed locally, it should be left out of any linguistic discussion of this group of names.

2. *Caddon Water*

The modern form of the name of this tributary of the Tweed in Selkirkshire misled W. J. Watson, when he stated that it appears to be the same as *Cadan* of *Inbhir Chadain*, Inverhadden near Kinlochrannoch, for an early *Catona*, from *catu-*, W. *cad*, G. *cath*, battle, "the warring one" (1926, p. 431). Early spellings of the place-name *Caddonlee*, derived from this river-name, are *Fantosme Keledenelee* c. 1175 and *Kalndene* 1296, according to J. B. Johnston (1934, p. 119)†. These show *Caddon* to be a compound of an original river-name with Old Engl. *denu* "valley". The first element of this compound has to be equated with *Kale Water* (Roxburghsh.; *aqua de Kalne* 1165-1214 Lib. Melrose) and *Calneburne* (East Lothian; so 1214-49 *ibid.*, now *Hazelly Burn*), which Watson (1926, p. 431) interpreted as *Calona*, "calling one". The underlying Indo-European root is **kel-* "to shout, cry, sound", as seen in Latin *calō* "to call out, to call together". The same root forms the basis of the Scottish river-names *Calair Burn* (Perthsh.)< **Calarā* and *Calann* (Argyllsh.) possibly <**Calava*. In England we have *Colne* (Yorksh. West Riding; *Calne* c. 1180, early Yorkshire charters) and *Colne Water* (Lancash.) with place-name *Colne* (*Calna* 1123-24, Pontefract Chartulary), both <**Calona* or **Calauna*. The ending *-ona* is well evidenced in Scottish river-nomenclature, cf. *Almond*<**Ambona*, *Avon*< *Abona*, *Brown*<**Brutona*, *Carron*<*Car(r)ona*, *Devon*<*Dubona*, etc. *Calona* is probably *p*-Celtic. Cf. Nicolaisen 1955, pp. 344-5; 1956, p. 128.

3. *Livet*

The stem vowel in this name of one of the main tributaries of the Banffshire Avon is long in local pronunciation [ˈli:vət], and W. J. Watson postulates a Gaelic form *Gleann Lìbheit* (1912-13, pp. 237-8) or *Gleann Lìomhaid* (1926, p. 445) for the name of the glen through which it flows. In the former publication he connected the name erroneously with Gael. *lì* "splendour", Welsh *lliw* "colour", explaining it as a goddess name **Liv-entia* "the Glittering one". J. Schnetz (1923, p. 40) accepted this etymology but rejected the concept of a divinity behind the name.—In the second publication, Watson derived

† I would be grateful to hear from anybody who has traced and verified Johnston's references.

both *Livet* and *Lyon* (Perthsh.)—he links these two names in both cases—from the base of "Latin *līma*, a file, Irish *liomhaim*, I smoothe, polish, Welsh *llifo*, grind, whet," i.e. from the Indo-European root **lei-* "slimy, slippery, etc." (Walde-Pokorny 1927, pp. 389 ff.), although Pokorny (1948, pp. 662 ff.) does not list our group of words under this root. H. Krahe (1951-52, p. 158) adopted Watson's second etymology, which had been repeated by the latter (1929-30, p. 277).—An extended form **(s)leib-* of the same root is the basis of the stem **lībo-* "to pour forth, to flood", suggested by F. C. Diack (1920-21, p. 121), who recorded (?) a Gaelic pronunciation [Lʲi:vadʃ].

It seems preferable, however, to connect *Livet* with the same root from which Pokorny (1938, pp. 83 and 121) and Förster (1941, p. 647, note 3) derived *Lyon*, as well as the river-names Engl. *Lyme* and Welsh *Llifon*: i.e. **lēi-* "to pour, to flow, to drip" (Walde-Pokorny 1927, p. 392; Pokorny 1948, p. 664). A Celtic *mo*-extension to this root is evidenced in Welsh *llif*, Cornish *lyf* "flood" (**lī-mo-*), which would provide a perfect appellative basis. *Livet* is to be regarded as an *-nt-* formation **Līmontī*, whereas *Lyon* and *Llifon* have developed from **Līmona*; the basis of *Lyme* is an unextended *ā*-stem **Līmā*.—The meaning would be "the one provided with flowing" >"the flowing one". Further details in Nicolaisen 1955, p. 402 and 1956, p. 138.

4. *Forth*

Early spellings of this name are *Bodotria* (Tacitus), βοδερία (Ptolemy), *Bdora* (Ravenna Geographer), *Foirthe* c. 1150 Rawlinson B 502, 86a 47, *Scottice Froch, Britannice Werid . . .a . 1200* (14th cent.) Colbertine MS., Paris.—The original form of the name seems to have been **Vo-rit-iā* (>Welsh *Gweryd*) or **Vo-ret-iā* (>Goidelic *Foirthe*); cf. W. J. Watson (1926, p. 53); J. Fraser (1929-30, p. 138); T. F. O'Rahilly (1946, p. 528); Nicolaisen (1956, p. 133).

The middle portion points to the Indo-European root **reth-* "to run, to roll" (Walde-Pokorny 1927, p. 368; Pokorny 1948, p. 866), Irish *rith* "race", *rethim* "I run". Watson translates the whole as "the Slow-running one", whereas O'Rahilly compares Old Irish *fo-reith* "succurrit", Welsh *gwared* "deliverance", Gaul.-Lat. *Voreto-virius*, and translates "the helping (goddess)". Without accepting the mythical meaning implied, we should like to take **Vo-* to be identical with Gael.Ir. Old Ir. *fo*, Welsh *go*, Old Welsh *guo-* "under" and equate our

name with the nom. sg. of Old Ir. *foirthiu* in *trisna foirthiu ailitherdi*, glossing "peregrina per marmora" (*Thesaurus Palaeohib.* I, 488.26), not with the meaning of "fords", as it is rendered by the editors, but as denoting an "undercurrent", so that the *River Forth* would be "the river with the strong undercurrent", a very suitable name according to local inhabitants.

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W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. OTHER NOTES

International Folk-Tales in the Archives

In the following list of folk-tales, which are to be found in the Archives of the School of Scottish Studies, the initials placed after the area in which the tale was recorded denote the collector. In cases where there are no initials, the tales were recorded by Calum Maclean.

Type	Number of variants	Area in which recorded
Aa.-Th. 2	1	Eigg
Aa.-Th. 20C	2	South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 61	1	Eigg
Aa.-Th. 62	1	Barra (K.H.J.)
Aa.-Th. 63*	1	Eigg
Aa.-Th. 124	1	Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 130	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 221	2	Lochaber, Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 222 & 313	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 248	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 300	3	Arisaig, Raasay, Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 300 & 316	2	Benbecula, Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 301	4	Benbecula, South Uist, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 303	4	Benbecula, Easter Ross, Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 312	1	Sutherland (C.B.)
Aa.-Th. 313	5	Benbecula, Moidart, Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Barra and North Uist (K.H.J.)
Aa.-Th. 325	2	Sutherland (H.H.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 326	8	Benbecula, Morar, Benbecula, Benbecula, Benbecula, Barra, Barra, Selkirk (J.E.)
Aa.-Th. 330	3	South Uist, Benbecula, Oban
Aa.-Th. 332	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 361	3	Easter Ross, Benbecula, Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 400	2	Moidart, Arisaig
Aa.-Th. 400 & 401	2	South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)

Type	Number of variants	Area in which recorded
Aa.-Th. 402	2	Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 425	2	South Uist (D.J.M.), Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 442	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 449*	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 451	4	Benbecula, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 470	3	Barra, Shetland, Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 503	7	Mull, Mull, Easter Ross, Benbecula, Raasay, Jura, Perthshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 505	1	Perthshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 506	3	Benbecula, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 511	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 513	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 514	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 516	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 517	4	Benbecula, Benbecula, South Uist, South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 531	1	Perthshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 550	1	Skye (J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 551	4	Benbecula, South Uist, South Uist, South Uist, (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 554	2	Perthshire (H.H.), Perthshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 563	3	Benbecula, Easter Ross, Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 566	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 571	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 650	2	Lochaber, Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 706	2	South Uist (D.J.M.), Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 707	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 720	2	Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Perthshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 726	1	Argyllshire
Aa.-Th. 726*	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 750A	1	South Uist
Aa.-Th. 753	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 755	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 780	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 800	2	Lochaber, Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 810	2	Benbecula, Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 812	3	Lochaber, Shetland, Glen Urquhart

Type	Number of variants	Area in which recorded
Aa.-Th. 821B	2	Lochaber, Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 851	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 852	3	Easter Ross, Jura, South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 875	4	South Uist, South Uist, Benbecula, North Uist (K.H.J.)
Aa.-Th. 901	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 910B	5	Benbecula, Easter Ross, Perthshire (H.H.), South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.H.M.)
Aa.-Th. 922	7	Barra, Benbecula, Benbecula, Lochaber, Lochaber, Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Skye (J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 930	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 935**	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 950	1	Skye (J.R.)
Aa.-Th. 952	3	Benbecula, Benbecula, Barra
Aa.-Th. 953	5	Easter Ross, Raasay, Benbecula, Benbecula, South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 956B	1	South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 966**	3	Badenoch, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 976	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 990	2	Benbecula, Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1000	1	Islay
Aa.-Th. 1005	2	Easter Ross, Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1006	3	Easter Ross, Lochaber, Islay
Aa.-Th. 1012	1	Canna
Aa.-Th. 1031	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1049	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1060	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1088	4	Barra, Easter Ross, Perthshire (M.F.), North Uist (A.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1090	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1138	3	Lochaber, Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 1159	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1174	4	Benbecula, Lochaber, Moidart, Raasay
Aa.-Th. 1210	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1286	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1319	1	Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1350	3	Benbecula, Barra, Benbecula(C.C.)
Aa.-Th. 1351	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 1353	1	Easter Ross

Type	Number of variants	Area in which recorded
Aa.-Th. 1360B	3	Benbecula, Benbecula, Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1363	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1384	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 1386	3	Raasay, South Uist (D.J.M.) Wester Ross (A.C.)
Aa.-Th. 1423	1	Benbecula
Aa.-Th. 1525	6	Benbecula, Oban, Easter Ross, Barra, Skye (J.R.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1528	1	Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1535	4	Barra, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.), Barra (K.H.J.)
Aa.-Th. 1536A	3	Barra, South Uist (D.H.M.), Skye (J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1539	2	South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1541	3	Raasay, South Uist (D.J.M.), Skye (J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1544	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1585	4	Benbecula, Strathglass, Lochaber, Roxburghshire
Aa.-Th. 1600	5	Benbecula, Aberdeenshire (H.H.), Perthshire (H.H.), Barra, Perthshire (M.F.)
Aa.-Th. 1613	1	Selkirk (J.E.)
Aa.-Th. 1645	7	Jura, Islay, Lochaber, Benbecula, Benbecula, Benbecula, Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1651	5	Raasay, Benbecula, South Uist, South Uist (D.J.M.), South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1653A	2	Raasay, South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 1698A	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1725	1	Easter Ross
Aa.-Th. 1730	4	Benbecula, Benbecula, Barra, Moidart
Aa.-Th. 1739	3	Easter Ross, Benbecula, Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1741	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1791	6	Morar, Lochaber, Benbecula, Benbecula, Selkirk (J.E.), Aberdeenshire (H.H.)
Aa.-Th. 1833A	1	Lochaber
Aa.-Th. 1845	1	Barra
Aa.-Th. 1911**	3	Benbecula, Jura, South Uist (D.H.M.)
Aa.-Th. 2025	2	Easter Ross, Barra (K.H.J.)

Type	Number of variants	Area in which recorded
Aa.-Th. 2030	6	Oban, Mull, Arisaig, Benbecula, Raasay, South Uist (D.J.M.)
Aa.-Th. 2300	1	Benbecula

The above list comprises the tales on tape, in manuscript and micro-film that have been indexed up to date. Types from printed sources have not been included. All the tales were collected since 1st December 1945. The main part of the items from Raasay, Eigg, Barra and Benbecula was recorded under the aegis of the Irish Folklore Commission.

Tales of the type 1000 to 1165 occur as a rule in combinations. These combinations are as follows:

Islay	1000 & 1006
Easter Ross	1005 & 1006 & 1049 & 1088 & 1159
Canna	Type not on Aa.-Th. index & 1012
North Uist	1088 incorporated in hero tale
Perthshire	Motif not on Motif-Index & 1088
Barra	1090 & 1031 & 1060 & 1088

I am indebted to the Rev. Angus Duncan and the collectors[1] for help in compiling the above list.

NOTE

[1] A.C. Alex. Cameron, Pool Ewe, Ross-shire
A.M. Angus Macleod, Sollas, Isle of North Uist
C.B. Professor Carl Borgström, University of Oslo, Norway
C.C. Cathal Campbell, Liniclate, Benbecula
D.H.M. Donald Hector MacNeil, Garrynamonie, Isle of South Uist
D.J.M. Donald John Macdonald, Peninerine, Isle of South Uist
H.H. Hamish Henderson, School of Scottish Studies
J.E. John Elliot, Yarrowford, Selkirkshire
J.M. John MacInnes, Raasay, Inverness-shire
J.R. James Ross, School of Scottish Studies
K.H.J. Professor K. H. Jackson, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh
M.F. Maurice Fleming, Springfield, Dundee.

CALUM I. MACLEAN

Edward Lhuyd and Scottish Studies

It is an interesting coincidence that the year which saw the appearance of *Scottish Studies* was also the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Archaeologica Britannica* vol. I (all that appeared) by Edward Lhuyd. This, as is well

known, was the first attempt at a comparative study of the Celtic languages, and remained unique for 150 years. It also contained the first printed Gaelic dictionary, an achievement which Lhuyd's Gaelic contemporaries particularly appreciated. In their congratulatory odes they asserted that he had awakened Gaelic from the grave.

Lhuyd was a pioneer of many lines of research upon dialects, folklore and natural history in the Highlands which are still far from having been exhausted. Lhuyd indeed can fairly be considered the foremost progenitor of the School of Scottish Studies. The scheme he drew up for research on the language, literature, folklore, and place names of the Highlands can be read on page 32 of the *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow* (Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXIV, 1937).

Lhuyd visited Scotland on his great tour of the Celtic countries between early September 1699 and the end of January 1700. His itinerary included Kintyre, Knapdale, Mid-Argyll, Mull, Iona, Inveraray, Glasgow and Edinburgh, returning to Ireland by Greenock and Campbeltown. He translated Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue* into Scottish Gaelic—or rather collected equivalents of words therein from Scottish informants, speakers of the dialects of Kintyre and East Inverness-shire. This collection is one of the most important accessions to Scottish lexicography and dialectology, as it contains about 3,000 Gaelic words and is the earliest extensive vocabulary of the language and the first attempt to record different dialects systematically. It is being prepared for publication.

Lhuyd's chief correspondents in the Highlands included Argyllshire ministers, particularly the Rev. Colin Campbell, Ardchattan, the Rev. John Beaton, Kilninian, Mull, and the Rev. John MacLean, who succeeded Beaton in 1702. Lhuyd recorded that Beaton had the reputation of being the greatest living authority on Gaelic and Highland history at this time.

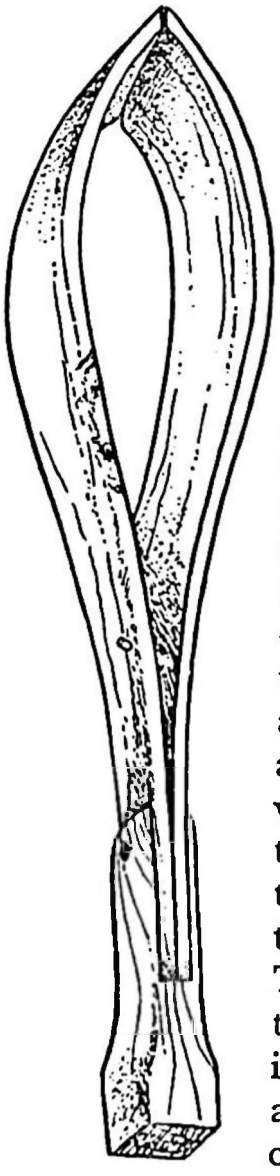
Lhuyd made a transcript in Welsh orthography of the pronunciation of Beaton reading the first two chapters of Genesis in Kirk's edition of the Gaelic Bible. Beaton, who was the last learned member of the famous medical family of Islay and Mull, had then in his possession the Gaelic MSS. of his family, and it is possible that Lhuyd purchased some of them and that these are now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. (But see under *Ollamh* in Armstrong's Gaelic

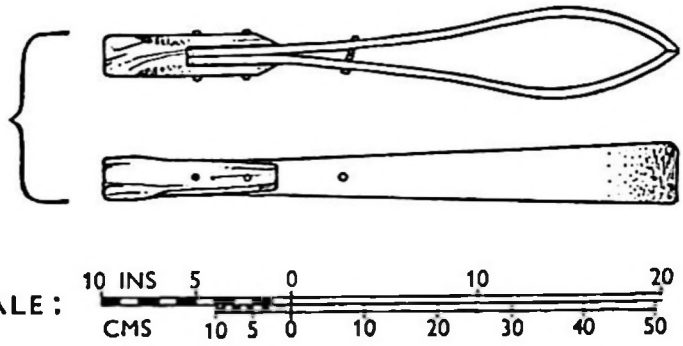
Dictionary, where it is stated that the Beaton MSS. were acquired by the Duke of Chandos and later lost).

It is possible that unpublished letters from Lhuyd to contemporary lairds and clergymen may survive amongst their papers; Dr J. L. Campbell, who is editing the material collected by Lhuyd on his Highland tour, would be very grateful to anyone who could give him information about them.

EDITOR

A Shoemaker's Vice from South Uist





In the course of a collecting tour in South Uist in 1955, my attention was drawn by Dr. Alasdair Maclean of Daliburgh to an interesting example of a shoemaker's vice that had recently been found in the eaves of an old cottage there. This implement is made of two tapering pieces of wood, 26¼ inches long with a maximum width of 3⅛ inches, which fit into a wooden handle some 9 inches long. The two wooden "blades" are adjusted by a screw, so that they become more and more bowed as the screw is driven in, with the result that their outer ends press more tightly together. The total length of this simple but most effective tool is 30½ inches. The shoemaker would place it between his knees, being seated of course, and would probably adjust the screw with his cobbler's knife.

This interesting implement—the present example cannot be dated accurately, but from the circumstances in which it is found is known to be at least forty years old—is known in

Gaelic as *glàmair*, a term applied in particular to a smith's vice, but which appears to have the more specialised meaning of shoemaker's vice as well (Dwelly 1949). The example from Daliburgh has now been donated to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (Accession No. MP 763) in Edinburgh. This type of vice seems to have been common throughout the British Isles,[1] but has not, I think, been recorded in print from Scotland hitherto. The implement is not named in Carmichael's version of the song "Cunntas na h-acainne griasachd" (Carmichael 1941, pp. 100-1) which is specifically concerned with shoemakers' implements.

NOTE

[1] I am indebted for this information to my colleagues Dr. Iorwerth Peate (Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans, Cardiff) and Mr. A. T. Lucas (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin C. 17). In the English-speaking part of Ireland they are known as "clambs" (cf. "clamp").

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IAN WHITAKER

Inhabited Caves in Scotland

In response to Stewart F. Sanderson's request for information on inhabited caves in Scotland (Sanderson 1957, pp. 243-5) there is one important category which he appears to have overlooked: caves used by climbers for overnight bivouacs. Some of these have a long tradition of use, being in some cases locally associated with cattle drovers, who were alleged to have used them as stances, although these were generally in the open (Haldane 1952, p. 36). Others are connected with Prince Charles Edward, usually without any foundation. One cave, which I have myself used in company with other climbers, is, however, reliably associated with the Prince. It is situated in the Braes of Glenmoriston near Allt Coire Mheadhoin, a tributary of the River Doe, and has been described and illustrated by Alex. Ross (Blaikie 1897, frontispiece and plates between pp. 60-61, p. 61n). This cave, then known as Coiraghoth (Coiredhogha), was occupied by the Prince from 24th to

28th July 1746 (Forbes 1895, pp. 343-4 and 1896, pp. 380-1). A clear stream runs through the cave, part of which has been roughly partitioned off by stone boulders.

Two inhabited caves mentioned in Martin's classic account (1703, p. 163) deserve attention. He relates that caves on the west coast of Raasay were used by persons accompanying their cattle at the summer grazing, and by fishermen, while Calum Maclean, a native of the island, informs me that these same caves were associated at a later date, according to local tradition, with illicit distilling and whisky smuggling. A second inhabited cave, at Uah Vearnag[1] on the north coast of Islay was said to accommodate 200 men. It was divided into two parts, the western portion being used as a bedchamber, with its own fireplace and chairs, and the eastern part containing a corn-kiln (Martin 1703, p. 241).[2]

NOTES

[1] This name is not to be identified with any appearing on the 1" O.S. map.

[2] It would be of great interest to identify the cave in question, and examine the remains of the corn-kiln.

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IAN WHITAKER

Place-Name Conference at St. Andrews, 1957

From 10th-17th August 1957, a conference on "Scottish Place-Names" was held at St. Andrews under the auspices of the British Council of Archæology. About 200 people attended. Besides excursions into Angus, Perthshire and Fife to study places of archæological interest in the region, four papers were read on toponymical subjects:

11th August: Dr. F. T. Wainwright, "Place-Names and the History of Scotland"

13th August: Professor Angus Matheson, "The Celtic Element in Scottish Place-Names"

15th August: Dr. O. K. Schram, "The Germanic Element in Scottish Place-Names"

16th August: Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Problems of Place-Name Study".

It is planned to publish these papers and some additional contributions in book form in the near future.

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SCOTTISH STUDIES

VOLUME 2 : PART 2

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A RHAMPSINITUS STORY FROM SKYE

James Ross *

GOBAN SAOR 'S A MHAC—AA.-TH. 950

Bha, o chionn taom mór bhliadnaichean air ais, fear ann an Éirinn ris an canadh iad Goban Saor. Agus 'se saor ainmeil a bh'ann. Bh'e air aithris ma dheodhain gun cuireadh e locaire a bhiodh aige dreisigeadh an fhiodha—gun cuireadh e ann an glamaradh i, agus gu faigheadh e fhéin pios fiodh agus gu snaidheadh e e, 's e caimhead air a locaire deich slatan bhuaithe. Agus shnaidheadh e i gos gun tilgeadh e i agus dìreach bha i cho freagarrach dha'n a locaire agus chuireadh e innt' i deich slatan bhuaithe agus bha i cho freagarrach dha'n a locaire agus gad a bhiodh e ma'n cuairt dha'n a locaire fad a latha 'g obair oirre.

Ach bha gill' aige agus dh'ionnsaich e fhéin an t-saor-sainneachd. Agus bha banca 'ga throgail ann an Éirinn agus 's iadsan a ghabh an obair ri deanamh. Agus thuirt Goban Saor ri mhac nair a bha iad a dol air adhart leis—"nach fhàg sinn" as esan "àit an a sheo" as esan "far a faigh sinn daras" as esan "nach mothaich duine sam bith dha agus faodaidh sinn tighean 's airgiod gu leòr a bhi againn nair a thogras sinn fhìn" as esan "am banca robaigeadh."

"Bhiodh e glé mhath" thuirt an gille.

Chaidh iad an adhart 's dh'fhàg iad an t-àite, 's chaidh am banc—bh'e ma dheireadh deiseil 's fhuair Goban Saor 's a mhac an cuid fhein air son a seirbheis. Ach bha 'm banca dol air adhart 's airgiod a dol a stigh ann 's cléirich ag obair ann. Ach 's ann a chaidh iad aon mhadainn ann 's bha dòrlach che'n airgoid air falbh, agus cha robh fios aca o'n t-saoghal ciamar a sh'fhalbh an t-airgoid. Ach bha duine air leth sgiobalta as an àite agus chaidh fios a chuir air orson ciamar bh'e a smaoineachadh a ghlacte an fheadhainn a bha a toir an airgid as a bhanca—gu dé an dòigh a bh'e a smaoineachadh a

* Junior Research Fellow, School of Scottish Studies.

bha an t-airgiod a falbh. Bha dorsan glaiste agus cha robhas a faicinn dòigh 'sam bith air an d'fhuaireadh a stigh ann, ach chaidh faotainn a stigh ann agus dh'fhalbh an t-airgiod.

"O wel" as esan "'se duine na daoine sgiobalta" as esan "a tha ris an obair, agus tha mise smaoineachadh" as esan "gu bheil àit air fhàgail an àiteiginnich" as esan, "'s feumaidh gu bheil. Agus tha mi smaoineachadh gur e'n dòigh a b'fhearr" as esan "air a dheanamh a mach far a bheil e—chan urrainn da bhi cho tearuinte" as esan "ris a chuid eile dhe'n tigh—a chuile toll as an tig ceò a mach" as esan "a stopadh—rud a chur ann, agus daoine bhi caimhead gu math ma chuairt da" as esan "agus teine math a chur na bhroinn, agus a chuile daras na nì a dheanamh cho druidte 'sa ghabhas e deanamh nach fhaigh ceò a mach as agus an t-àit as a bheil a fàiligeadh, tha mi smaoineachadh gu nochd ceò ann" as esan.

Chaidh seo a dheanamh. Fhuaireadh an t-àite ceart gu leòr 's rinn iad a mach far a robh na daoine faighinn a stigh. Ach có bha 'ga dheanamh cha b'urrainn daibh fhaighinn a mach.

Agus thuirt e 'n uair sin gun iad a ghabhail orra nì gun d'fhuair iad sian a mach, agus iad a chur baraille do—togsaid mhór do phitch air a leaghadh am beul na h-oidhche fo'n an daras a bha so, agus gum biodh e cho tiugh an t-àm an d'rachte 'ga robaigeadh—air reothadh suas, agus gu sinceadh an duin' ann agus nach fhaigheadh e as.

Chaidh sin a dheanamh. 'S dh'fhalbh Goban 's a mhac a thoirt tuilleadh airgiod as a bhanca. 'Se Goban Saor a bh'air toiseach. Nair a leig e e fhéin sios dh'fhairich e e fhéin a dol fodha ann a sheo 's dh'eubh e ris a ghille fuireach air ais. "Fiach" as esan "a slaod thu as a seo mi." Dh'fheuch an gille cho math 'sa b'urrainn e; dh'fheuch e ri shlaodadh as—ach cha b'urrainn e.

"Wel," thuirt Goban "cha bhi agams ach am bàs co dhiubh" as esan "nair a gheibhear a seo mi, agus bi 'm bàs agadsa cuideachd" thuirt e. "Agus biodh e cho math gum biodh aon neach againn air ar sàbhaladh agus geàrr an ceann dhiom" as esan "agus thoir leat e agus tiodhlaic e far nach fhaighear e agus cha bhi ac' ach colann gun cheann as a bharaille" as esan "'s cha bhi fhios aca fhathast có rinn e."

Chaidh so a dheanamh. 'S dh'fhalbh an gille leis a cheann s rinn e toll faisg air an tigh aige fhein 's leig e sios ann e. Chuir e talamh air a mhuin ann a shin. 'S nuair a chaidh iad chon a bhanca fhuair iad colann gun cheann as a bharaille 's

bha iad cho miosa 'sa bha iad reimhe—cha deanadh iad a mach có bha ris a robaigeadh.

Ach co-dhiubh, chaidh fios a chur air an duine—a chomhairliche bha seo a rithist. Dh'innseadh mar a thachair.

"O wel" as esan "bha barrachd is aon duine ma chuairt da" as esan "agus tha duine sgiobalta fhathast ri fhaotainn ma's fhaighear a mach có bha toirt air falbh an airgid. Ach," as esan "tha mucan agad" thuirt e. "Tha", thuirt e.

"Cumadh tu stigh ma tha" as esan "fad dà neo tri lathaichean iad, 's cha toir thu greim biadh dhaibh" as esan "'s bi iad glé acrach an uair sin" as esan "'s leig a mach iad, 's a fear a tha caimhead as deodhaidh na mucan, leanadh e iad, 's iongantach leam mar a trog iad an t-fhàileadh aig a cheann far a bheil e air a thiodhlacadh agus fainichear an uairsin co th'ann nair a gheibhear e."

"O ro-mhath" thuirteadh ris, 's dh'fhalbh e 's chaidh na mucan a chumail a stigh. Chaidh a leigeadh a mach an ceann tri latha 's dh'fhalbh iad agus collas orra bha uamhasach le acras—a ruith 's a snòdach. Bha 'n duine 's e na fhallus as an deodhaidh. Ach chunnaic mac Ghobain Saoir a tighean iad agus thuig e gu dé bha dol a thachairt. Dh'fhalbh e agus thòisich a mhuime ('s i mhuime bh'ann, cha robh mhàthair beò) thòisich i air caoineadh nair a chunnaic i na mucan a tighean 's eagal oirre gum biodh an gill' air a thoirt air falbh 's air a chur gu bàs.

Dh'fhalbh e agus thug e mach furm a bh'aig agus bròg a bha feumach air a càradh agus sgian-ghriasachd agus pios leathair. Agus chuir e furm a bh'aig air uachdar far a robh ceann athair agus shuidh e air. 'S thòisich e air gearradh na bròige 's nuair a bha na mucan faisg air thug e sgrìob mhór air a mheur 's thug e droch ghearradh orra 's thòisich an fhuil air ruith a mach aisde. 'S thainig na mucan 's iad a snòdach ma'n cuairt da.

"Gu dé tha ceàrr air a bhoireannach" thuirt a fear a bha 's deodhaidh nam muc ris. "Tha," as esan, "tha i cho gòrach," as esan "gheàrr mise mo mheur 's mi gearradh bròige ann a shco, 's tha i smaoineachadh gu bheil mi dol a thràghadh" as esan.

'S bha 'n duine 'na fhallus as deodhaidh na mucan. "Tha thu air do shàrachadh as deodhaidh nam biastan sa" thuirt e ris.

"O tha," as an duine.

"Tha mi creidsinn" as esan "gun cuireadh tu feum air greim bidhidh."

"'S mise chuireadh sin" thuirt e.

"Thalla a stigh" thuirt e ri mhuime "'s dean biadh dha'n duine."

Dh'fhalbh a mhuime stigh, 's chaidh an duine stigh a ghabhail biadh. 'S bha seòmbar aig mac Ghobain fo'n talamh an àiteiginn 's nair a fhuair e stigh e dh'fhalbh e agus chuir e na mucan—a chuile h-aonan dhiubh—an comhair an cinn sios dha'n an t-seombair a bha seo 's dhùin e àite bh'aig air an uachdar 's cha robh aonan ri fhaicinn dhiubh. Ruith e stigh an uair sin far a robh 'n duine 's e gabhail biadh a stigh 's thuirt e ris gun do theich na mucan a chuile gin riamh dhiubh 's thug iad sios orra rathad a chladaich—"'s chan eil fhios agamsa cà 'n deach iad na cà 'n do stad iad."

Thainig an duine mach 's chaidh e dhachaidh an deodhaidh an t-àite shiubhal 's dh'innis e mar a thachair, gun do theich na mucan air 's nach robh fàireadh ri fhaotainn orra.

Chaidh fios a chur air a chomhairliche rithist.

"O wel" as esan "'se duine sgiobalta tha ris an obair, ach ni sinn an gnothaich air" thuirt e. "Tha saighdearan agad a dol a mach air bhileidean uaireannan" thuirt e.

"Tha" thuirt an duine ris.

"O wel" as esan "cuireadh tu saighdear dha'n a chuile tigh th'air an oighreachd agad. Agus" as esan "a fear a gheibh muc le bhiadh" as esan "cumadh e bìdeag dhith", as esan "agus bidh sin" as esan "na dhearbhadh c'àit a bheil na mucan. Agus" as esan "faodadh tu deanamh air an duine sin" as esan "nair a thilleas a saighdear a bheir dhuit a mhuc. Bidh 'n duine" as esan "air a ghlacadh."

Ach chaidh saighdear a chur chon a chuile tigh 's chaidh fear a chur go mac Ghobain mar a chaidh a chur go càch. Agus dh'fhoighneachd mac Ghobhain dheth dé bhiodh e air a shon le shuipeir. "O," as esan, "tha mise coma ach ruith an taighe fhaotainn."

"An toigh leat muc" thuirt e.

"O 'se mo roghainn biadh i" thuirt a saighdear.

"Wel ma tha gheibh thu do leòr dhith 'n ceartair" thuirt e.

Fhuair iad a mhuc 's dh'ith iad na bha dhìth orra dhith. Chaidh a leabaidh a shealltainn dha na'n t-saighdear, far an d'rachadh e chadal. Ghabh mac Ghobain go tigh a' nabaidh—"tha saighdear agad" as esan. "Tha" as a nàbaidh.

"A bheil fhios agad carson a tha e agad" as esan "a chaidh a chuir 'gad ionnsaidh?"

"Chan eil sian a dh'fhios agam" thuirt e.

"Tha" as esan "gu bheil tuilleadh sa chòir ann dhiubh" as esan "'s iad a fàs doirbh am beathachadh" as esan "'s a chuile fear" as esan "nach bidh shaighdear air a chuir leis na creagan" as esan "air a bhàthadh a màireach" as esan "bidh e" as esan "air a chur a mach as an fhearann 's cha bhidh ploc fearainn aige."

"Mas ann mar sin a tha" as a nàbaidh "cha bhidh mise gun fhearann."

"Wel thoir fios dha do nàbaidh" as esan. "'Se fios a fhuair mise fios a thoir dh'thusa agus thusa thoir fios dha do nàbaidh agus ruitheabh air a chéile mar sin" as esan "gos a faigh a fear ma dheireadh fios."

Dh'fhalbh e 's thug e fios dha nàbaidh 's dh'innis e dha mar a bha. Thill e fhéin dhachaidh 's fhuair e poca mór mór. Bha saighdear bochd 'na chadal 's thug e buille dha as a cheann an toiseach gos nach deanadh e cus air a shon fhéin is lùb e 's chur e 'm broinn a phoc e 's dh'fhalbh e air a mhuin leis 's dh'fhalbh mac Ghobain le shaighdear fhéin 's dh'fhalbh a chuile fear leis na saighdearan. Bha creagan móra shios fo'n an àit as a robh iad 's a mhuir ghorm fòdha 's thilg iad a mach air na creagan a chuile fear aca.

Agus nair a fhuair mac Ghobain a fear ma dheireadh shios dhiubh—"na gabhaidh oirbh a nise" as esan, "gu faca sibh saighdear riamh" as esan "air neò theid a chuile duine agabh a chrochadh" thuirt e.

"Nach robh dùileam gur ann. . . ."

"Siuthad thus" as esan "na gabhaibh oirbh e. Rinn sibh murt a chuile duine agaibh 's ma ghabhaibh sibh oirbh gu faca sibh saighdear riamh chan eil fhiosam gu dé thachras dhuibh."

"O ma's ann mar seo a tha gu dearbha cha ghabh."

Chaidh fios a chur air na saighdearan orson gun tilleadh iad 's cha do thill saighdear, 's chaidh foighneachd dhe na daoine. "Cha fhaca sinne saighdear riamh" thuirt a chuile duine dhiubh riutha, "cha robh saighdear a rathadsa."

Cha robh fios gu dé dheante. Chaidh fios a chuir air a chomhairliche rithist.

"O wel" as esan "tha mise faicinn an duine th'ann nach gabh gnothach deanamh air, agus tha mi smaoineachadh" as esan, "ga brith có 'n duine th'ann" as esan "'s math an airidh e air rud sam bith th'e a faighinn air—'se duine sgiobalta a th'ann" as esan. "Agus 'se'n aon dòigh air a faigh thu mach e" as esan "cuir fios air a chuile duine th'air an oighreachd agad,

agus dean litir, agus cur suas na do làimh i," as esan "'s abair riutha fear a bha deanamh na h-obrach ma ghabhas e ris, gu bheil litir ann a shiod a gheibh e gu faigh e a nighean agad ri phòsadh, agus sin agad an aon dòigh a tha mise a smaoineachadh a ghabhas gnothach deanamh air an duine."

Chaidh a litir a dheanamh 's bha tigh mór ann 's chaidh an cruinneachadh ann 's dh'innis' an duine mór dhaibh gu de fàth air an do chruinnich e iad. Thuirt e 'n duine a bha ris an obair gu robh litir a siod 's gu faigheadh e nighean aige ri pòsadh na'n aidicheadh e. Dh'éirich mac Ghobain as a measg 's ghabh e null 's spion e litir as a làimh 's fhuair e nighean an duine ri phòsadh—an deodhaidh dha bhi robaigeadh a bhanca 's na mucan aige cur as da 's na saighdearan aige cur as daibh. Bha mac Ghobain air fhàgail as deòdhaidh sin.

The above story was told by Somhairle Thorburn, Glendale, Skye, in June 1957. He heard it more than forty years ago from his father Somhairle Beag, who was a well-known local story-teller. A previous recording was made in August 1954. The diction of the two renderings is different, but the content is the same. In the sound-recording archive of the School of Scottish Studies, these renderings bear the numbers RL 37 and RL 628 respectively.

GOBAN SAOR AND HIS SON—TRANSLATION

There was, a great heap of years back, a man in Ireland they called Goban Saor. And he was a famous joiner. It was said about him that he would put the adze that he used to dress wood into a vice, and that he would take a piece of wood and fashion it, looking at the adze-head ten yards away. And he would fashion the wood [into a handle] and fling it and he would fit it into the adze ten yards away. And it would fit the adze exactly, as though he would be round the adze all day working at it.

Anyway, he had a son and he learnt the joinery also. And there was a bank being built in Ireland and it was they who contracted to do the work. And Goban Saor said to his son as they were getting on with it—"Shall we leave a place here," said he, "where we shall get an entrance which nobody will see and we can come and have plenty of money whenever we like," said he, "and rob the bank?"

"That would be very good," said the son.

They carried on and they left a place and the bank was at last finished and Goban Saor and his son got their reward for their services. The bank was in business with money going into it and clerks working there. But one morning when they went there, a good deal of the money had gone, and they did not know how in the wide world the money had gone.

But there was an unusually clever man in the place and he was sent for in order to find out how he thought the people who were taking away the money from the bank could be caught—in what manner he thought the money was being taken. The doors were locked and they couldn't see any way of entry at all, but it had been entered and the money had gone.

"O well," said he, "the work is being done by a clever man or men, and I think there must be a place [of entry] left somewhere, and it must be so. And I think," said he, "that the best way to discover it—it cannot be as secure as the rest of the building—is to block every hole out of which smoke can come and to put men around watching closely. Put a big fire inside it and fasten every door and opening as closely as possible so that no smoke can come out, and the place in which the fault is —I think that smoke will appear there," said he.

This was done. They found the place right enough and they discovered where the men were getting in. But who it was they could not make out.

And he said then that they should not let on that they had found anything at all out, and that they should put a barrel, a large hogshead of melted pitch, under this entry at nightfall, and that it would be so thick by the time the bank would be robbed—frozen up, that the man would sink in it and be trapped.

That was done. Goban and his son went to take more money from the bank. Goban Saor was leading. When he lowered himself he felt himself sinking there and he shouted to his son to stand back.

"Try," said he, "to pull me out of here."

The son tried as best as he could but he couldn't. He tried to drag him out but he failed.

"Well," said Goban, "death will be my lot anyway," said he, "when I am found here, and you will be killed too; let us be content that one of us should be saved, and cut my head off; take it with you and bury it where it won't be found, and they will be left with a headless body in the barrel," said he, "and they will never know who did it."

This was done. The son went with the head and he made a hole near his own house and he buried it there. He put earth on top of it. And when they went to the bank they found a headless body in the barrel and they were as bad as they were before—they could not make out who was at the thieving.

Anyway the man—this counsellor—was sent for again. An account of what happened was given to him.

"O well," said he, "there is more than one man at it anyway, and there is a clever one to be caught yet before it can be discovered who was taking the money away. But," said he, "you have pigs?"

"Yes," said the other.

"You will keep them inside then," said he, "for two or three days, and you will not give them a bite of food, and they will be very hungry then and release them. And the man who looks after them let him follow them, and I shall be surprised if they do not smell the buried head, and when it is found, it will then be known who it is."

"Excellent," was the reply, and he went and the pigs were kept in. They were let out at the end of three days and they went—with an appearance that was dreadful with hunger—running and sniffing. The man was in a sweat after them. But Goban Saor's son saw them coming and he understood what was going to happen. He went, and his foster mother (it was his foster mother, his mother wasn't alive) began to weep when she saw the pigs coming, thinking that the boy would be taken away and put to death.

He went and took a stool which he had and a shoe which needed mending and a cobbling-knife and a piece of leather. And he put the stool over the place where his father's head was, and he sat on it. He began to cut the shoe and when the pigs were near him he slashed his finger and cut it badly and the blood began to flow out of it. The pigs came sniffing round him.

"What is wrong with the woman?" said the man who was after the pigs to him.

"She is so foolish," said he, "I cut my finger while I was cutting a shoe here and she thinks that I am going to bleed to death."

And the man was in a sweat after the pigs.

"You are exhausted after those beasts," said he to him.

"O yes," said the man.

"I believe," said he, "that you could use a bite of food."

"I would indeed," said he.

"Go inside," said he to his foster mother, "and prepare food for the man."

His foster mother went in and the man went in to take food. And Goban's son had a room under the ground somewhere and when he got him inside he went and flung the pigs—everyone of them—head first down into this chamber and he shut something he had over them and not one of them was to be seen. He ran inside then to the man who was taking food and he told him that the pigs had run away, every one of them and they took themselves down towards the shore—"and I don't know where they have gone or where they have stopped."

The man came outside and he went home after searching everywhere and he related what happened, that the pigs had run away and that there was no sight of them to be seen.

The counsellor was sent for again.

"O well," said he, "it is a clever man who is doing the work, but we will beat him. You have soldiers going out to billets sometimes," said he.

"Yes," said the man to him.

"O well," said he, "you will place a soldier in every house in your estate and the one who gets pig for his food let him keep a bit of it and that will establish where the pigs are. You can go straight to that man when the soldier returns with the pig's flesh. The man," said he, "will be caught."

A soldier was sent to every house and one was sent to Goban's son as well as to the others. And Goban's son asked him what he would like for his supper.

"O," said he, "I shall be satisfied with whatever is in the house."

"Do you like pig?" said he.

"It is my choice of food," said the soldier.

"Well you will get enough of it in a little while," said he.

They got the pig and they ate as much as they wanted of it. His bed was shown to the soldier, where he could sleep—and Goban's son went to his neighbour's house.

"You have a soldier," said he.

"Yes," said the neighbour.

"Do you know why you have him," said he, "why he has been sent to you ?"

"I have no knowledge," said the other.

"It is because there are too many of them and they are

growing difficult to feed," said he, "and everyone whose soldier isn't thrown over the rocks and drowned to-morrow he will be evicted from his holding and he won't have a clod of land."

"If that's the way it is," said his neighbour, "I won't be without land."

"Well, take word to your neighbour," said he. "The word I got was to take word to you and for you to take word to your neighbour and inform each other in that way until the last one is told."

He went and took word to his neighbour and told him how things were. He returned home and got a great big sack. The poor soldier was asleep and he gave him a blow on the head first so that he couldn't do too much for himself; then he bent him and put him inside the sack and he went with him on his shoulders, and Goban's son went with his own soldier and everyone with the soldiers. There were great cliffs down below the place where they were and the blue sea underneath and they flung over the rocks every one of them.

And when Goban's son got everyone of them down he said—"you must pretend now that you have never seen a soldier or everyone of you will be hung."

"But did I not think that . . ."

"Let that be," said he, "don't give anything away about it. You have committed murder every one of you and if you admit that you have ever seen a soldier, I don't know what will happen to you."

"If that is the way it is, indeed we will not."

The soldiers were sent for but no soldier returned, and the people were asked about it.

"We haven't seen one soldier," said everybody who was asked, "no soldier came this way."

There was no knowing what to do. The counsellor was sent for again.

"O well," said he, "I can see that whoever it is cannot be beaten, and I think that he deserves anything he gains by it; he is a clever man. And I can tell you," said he, "that the only way to find him out is to call all your tenants together, and compose a letter and hold it high in your hand and tell them that should the man who was doing the work own up to it, that there was a letter for him to the effect that he will get your daughter's hand in marriage, and that is the only way I think he can be beaten."

The letter was written and there was a big building into which they were gathered and the laird told them why he had called them together. He said that there was a letter there for the man who was doing the work that he would get his daughter's hand in marriage should he confess. Goban's son rose from among them and he went and snatched the letter from his hand and he got the man's daughter to marry—after he had been robbing his bank and killing his pigs and his soldiers.

Goban's son was left alone after that.

SYNOPSIS OF ABOVE VERSION (*A*)

1. A clever builder and his son build a bank and leave a concealed means of entrance in the wall. They steal money from the bank.

2. A wise man advises the laird to light a fire in the bank to discover the secret entrance.

3. Wise man suggests that a hogshead of pitch should be placed underneath the hole as a trap. This is done and one of the thieves is trapped, and beheaded on request by the other.

4. Pursuit of the accomplice; each phase undertaken in accordance with the wise man's advice. (*a*) A herd of pigs is used to locate the head. Hero's foster-mother screams as they approach but he deliberately cuts himself as a diversion. He tricks the escort and kills the pigs. (*b*) Soldiers are billeted throughout the district to report on the appearance of pig-flesh at mealtimes. Hero persuades the tenantry to kill the soldiers. He is then pardoned by the laird.

GOBAN SAOR

This character appears in different contexts in Scots Gaelic and Irish tradition. In the Scots tradition he is sometimes called Cupan Saor or Boban Saor. He is generally portrayed as a clever character, both in the sense of being a highly skilled craftsman and in being able to outwit his opponents. Current tradition in Skye from another storyteller (RL 43: Murdo Maclcod) speaks of his skill with an axe. Another reciter from North Uist (RL 137: Donald Macdougall) tells how, in conjunction with his son, he outwitted a nobleman in Ireland for whom he built a castle.

It is Goban Saor's capacity as a builder that receives most emphasis in both modern and early tradition. Traditions existed that Gobbán Saer built the round towers of Ireland

and that he built a wooden church (duirtheach) for St Moling. These traditions impressed George Petric so much that he speaks of "this celebrated Irish architect" as flourishing in the early seventh century (1845: 380).

While it is difficult to make genuine claims as to his historicity, the great antiquity of the modern traditions concerning Goban Saor must be acknowledged. The opening section of the present tale for instance, in speaking of Goban's marvellous powers of fitting a haft to an implement from a distance is closely paralleled in the legend related in the ninth-century Cormac's Glossary under the entry *Nescoit*, describing the activities of the three artisan deities of the Tuatha De Danann at the second battle of Mag Tuired:

. . . intan tuccad cath Muige Tuired boi Goibniu goba isincerdcha oc denam nanarm do Tuathaib Dé Domnann 7 boi Luchtine saer oc denam nacrand isnagáib 7 boi Credni incerd oc denum semand isna gáib cetna. Dicunt autem Scoti Góibniu goba faiciebat hastas fri teora grésa 7 baſeth in gres dédinach. Dogníd tra Luctine nacranna friteora snassa 7 baſeith insnass dédinach. Sic et Créidne faiciebat na semanda. dodobghad Góibne asintenchar nagáei conglendais isinursain. doleced Luchtine na crandu inandíaid 7 ba lór dianindsma . . .

When the battle of Mag Tuired was being fought, Goibniu the smith was in the forge making weapons for the Tuatha dé Danann and Luchtine the wright was making the shafts for the spears and Creidne the bronze worker was making rivets for the same spears. The Scots say that Goibniu smith made the spears in three processes and the last process was the perfecting one. Luchtine also made the shafts in three whittling processes and the last process was the perfecting one. So also Creidne made the rivets. Goibniu threw the spearheads from the tongs so that they stuck in the door post. Luchtine flung the spearshafts after them and it was enough to fasten them . . .

The tradition occurs again in the text, *The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, edited by Stokes. The tale describes how the weapons of the Tuatha Dé were renewed during the battle:

Ar cia no clotis a n-airm-sium andiu atgainidis armarach, fobith roboi Goibnenn Goba isin cerdchai ag denam calc 7 gai 7 sleg, ar dognith side na harma sin fria teorai gressai. Dognit (h) dono Luchtine soer na crondo fri teora snasau 7 ba feith an tres snas 7 ata ind(s) mad hi cro an grai. O robidis arm de isin leth ina cerdchai dobidcet-som na crou cusna crandoib 7 ni bo hecin aitherrach indsma doib.

For though their weapons were broken and blunted to-day, they were renewed on the morrow, because Goibniu the smith was in the forge making swords and spears and javelins. For he would make these weapons by three turns. Then Luchtaine the wright would make the spear-shafts by three chippings and the third chipping was a perfecting one and he would set them in the ring of the spear. When the spearheads were stuck in the side of the forge he would throw the rings with the shafts and it was needless to set them again.

The attributes of the two artisan figures Goibniu the smith and Luchtaine the wright appear to have been merged into the one character called Goban Saor. The first element in the compound name is related to *goba*, or *gobha*, (smith) and the second is modern Gaelic for carpenter.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that O'Rahilly (1946: 314-17 and 525-7) maintains that the triumvirate of artisan figures, Goibniu, Luchtaine and Creidne, was the result of a process of multiplication which took place in early Irish tradition, based on the various attributes of one "Craftsman-god". In the Goban Saor of the present tale we have to conclude either that a reverse process, or a coalescence of attributes, has taken place since that period, or that we have in reality a continuation of a more general craftsman figure such as O'Rahilly visualises. A solution to such a problem could only be attempted by a study of early Irish mythology.

It remains to be asked why such a character should become involved in a "clever thief" story. Some light may be cast upon this by an unusual tradition about Luchtaine preserved in the *Lebor Gabala*:
"Luichne saer ba sìr barr berg," "Luichne the carpenter was an enduring, perfect, plunderer" (Vol. 4: 246).

THE TALE

The international folk-tale of which this is a variant first appears in written form in Herodotus, who related it as he heard it told in Egypt of the rich King Rhampsinitus. It occurs again throughout the late mediaeval and early modern period in the popular compendium of tales known as *The Seven Sages of Rome*. The great popularity of this group of tales and the fact that it was translated into many languages would suggest that it may have played an important part in the continuity of a tale such as this. Its development in the *Seven Sages*,

however, remains simple and stereotyped, with limited development of the search episodes and emphasis on the wickedness of the thief rather than on his cleverness (K. Campbell 1907: lxxxv). A synopsis of the *Gaza* story in the Rolland metrical version of 1578 (Black 1932: 91-8) will show the pattern of the *Seven Sages* type.

1. A knight in Rome who gives up most of his time to worldly pursuits and thus loses his wealth, suggests to his son that they should break into the Emperor Octavian's treasury. They do this by opening a hole in the wall.

2. Similar to the third episode in the Skye version. The trap is a barrel filled with "pick, birdlime and sic-like wair."

3. Pursuit of the accomplice. The body of the father is dragged around the city so that his family may be identified by their weeping. The son wounds himself and thus deludes the soldiers. The body is then hung on a gallows and the son makes no attempt to recover it.

The printed Gaelic language versions vary fundamentally from the general *Seven Sages* type (J. F. Campbell, 1860: 320-53; Ó Laoghaire 1895: 62-81; Ó Tiománaidhe 1935: 25-47; Ó Lubhaing 1935: 303-8; Hyde 1901: 490-508; AN STOC Jan.-Feb. 1931: 9).

In all these versions there is no suggestion of any moral condemnation of the thief. They differ again from the *Seven Sages* in that the quest for the second thief becomes multi-episodic. In all versions other than *A*, a certain amount of expansion also occurs at the beginning of the story. In the Irish versions there is an introduction which normally deals with the adventures of the three sons of the *Barr-Scolog*, who is a brother of Aristotle. The story then follows the career of the youngest son who takes an apprenticeship with a tradesman. He persuades his master to steal a pig belonging to the King and initiates the sequence of episodes which is the essential Rhampsinitus story. In the J. F. Campbell version, the hero is the son of a widow who advises him to go to the Black Thief to learn the trade of thieving. After some adventures with the Black Thief he hangs him by means of a trick and takes lodging with a carpenter. He then persuades the carpenter to steal butter and cheese from the king's storehouse. *A* appears to be the only Gaelic-language version which does not have this introductory development, and is also the only one which establishes a prior relationship between the thieves and the treasury.

Elaboration of the pursuit of the second thief is to be expected in a tale of this kind. Episodes can be attached to the story in a purely additive way without any interference with the structure of the plot. This section has never any fewer than two episodes in any of the Gaelic versions, while the Campbell and Hyde versions have four. Were one to insist on the importance of the written texts of the *Seven Sages* in the continuity of the story one would have to assume that these episodic accretions were a modern development. Herodotus, however, has two such episodes, while the mediaeval French *Dolopathos*, which is acknowledged as being earlier than the *Seven Sages*, has no fewer than five. The elaborate version of this story found in the *Dolopathos* is instructive in revealing the antiquity of some Gaelic motifs. The text analysed for this purpose is the Old French metrical version by Herbert (about A.D. 1200) edited by Brunet and Montaiglon. It is accepted that the *Dolopathos* is based directly on oral tradition (K. Campbell 1907: xx).

As in all the Gaelic versions, each episode of the story directed at trapping and identifying the thieves is undertaken by the king in accordance with the advice of a counsellor. In the *Dolopathos* he is an old blind thief, and this characteristic of blindness is also found in three of the Gaelic versions. In Ó Laoghaire, the counsellor is called *Dall Bán an Churraigh*, in Ó Tiománaidhe, *Seandall Glic* (both names indicating blindness) and in Campbell, *Seanaghall*, which is probably a mistranscription of the phonetically equivalent *seana dhall*—"an old blind man."

The *Dolopathos* is similar in its introductory development to the Skye version, except that in the former the theft is committed by a knight, who used to be the guardian of the treasury, and his son. Very close agreement is maintained in the method used to discover the secret entrance, i.e. lighting a fire in the building. The *Dolopathos* then proceeds in the standard way, a vat of resin is placed underneath the hole, the father is caught and the son beheads him. The vat of pitch or glue occurs in all except Ó Tiománaidhe, where the glutinous substance is spread.

Again four of the five quest episodes in the *Dolopathos* are closely paralleled in the Gaelic versions. The carrying of the headless body around to evoke signs of sorrow occurs in all except *A*, in which the initial quest is for the head. A variation on the carrying motif occurs, however, in the Hyde version, where the body is left by a stream where women are accustomed to wash clothing. The thief prevents the widow going to the

stream and steals the body. The second quest episode in the *Dolopathos*, the repetition of the first with a different kind of evasion by the thief, is not paralleled in the Gaelic versions. The third, the hanging of the body with soldiers to guard it is found in Ó Tiománaidhe and Campbell. This is perhaps one of the most well known motifs, being found in Herodotus and in the *Seven Sages*. In Ó Tiománaidhe the young thief persuades the old thief's widow to impersonate an angel while he pretends to be the devil, thus frightening the guards away from the body. In Campbell, as also in Herodotus, the guards are made drunk. The episode of the king's daughter being used as a decoy as in Herodotus is again common in the Gaelic versions although not found in *A*. The fifth quest episode in which a child is used to detect the thief by handing something to him is also found in Campbell.

In brief notes such as these, it is not possible to make any statement as to the ancestry of the above version of the Rhampsinitus story. It is certainly different in important respects from the other published Gaelic versions. These versions, however, cannot be accepted as giving a good indication of the form of the story in current or recent tradition.

While it seems to be rare in current tradition in Gaelic Scotland, the above being the only example in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies, it is not so in Ireland and a large number has been collected by the field-workers of the Irish Folklore Institute.[1] An analysis of these is a prerequisite to any statement about the ultimate source of any given example. In such a widely disseminated story it is doubtful even whether any statement of that kind could be made in the absence of analytic studies of its occurrence in neighbouring ethnic groups. Huet's story of the type (Huet 1918) reveals interesting differences between selected groups of African, European and Asiatic versions, but does not provide the information which a geographically limited and more analytic study could give.

The above notes show, on the one hand, the great antiquity in the native tradition of the character Goban Saor, and on the other, the antiquity in a more general tradition of the various motifs in the printed Gaelic-language versions. This establishes that they are not dependent on any of the known literary versions of the *Seven Sages*, thus agreeing with Killis Campbell's views on a number of European traditional versions (1907: lxxxviii-xc).

NOTE

[1] For the Irish references and for the information relating to unpublished versions in Irish, I am indebted to Mr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin of the Irish Folklore Commission. Two other Irish stories similar to the introductory phases of the above have been examined, Béaloideas 11 (1941) 101-2, and Douglas Hyde, *Leabhar Sgeulaigheachta*, Dublin (1889) 7-12. They do not, however, develop into the Rhampsinitus story proper.

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Gaelic Folklore:
NATURAL OBJECTS WITH SUPERNATURAL POWERS

Norman MacDonald *

The Celts, in common with other ancient races, regard the world of nature as the world of the numina. Each hillock, rock, stream, loch, and the very sea itself, is the domicile of a preternatural being who can either be friendly, or unfriendly, according to its mission in life, or the whim of the moment. But, in addition to all that, the Celts cherish a belief which is common to several oriental peoples, i.e. that so-called dead matter is in reality very much alive, and possesses psychic and cosmic properties, and in some cases intelligence, which transcends that of humans.

Celtic folklore affords numerous proofs and instances of this.

We take our first illustration from running water. All running water is sacred. All evil spirits recognise as sacrosanct streams and wells, particularly those marking a boundary between townships or crofts; these they can never cross in pursuit of their terrified victims. The burn over which "the living and the dead pass," has, on account of its great psychic power, been the salvation of multitudes besides Burns's *Tam o' Shanter.*

A married couple in Skye, well known to me in boyhood days, were, on a bright moonlight night, returning home late from a ceilidh which they attended in a neighbouring township. Crossing the intervening backland, a billy-goat suddenly appeared before them, as if from nowhere. Their own instinct, and the creature's wild appearance and behaviour, told them that it was not natural. Moreover, no crofter or farmer in the whole district kept goats in those years. The uncanny animal dogged their footsteps all the way, and sometimes stood in their path, staring them hard in the face. When my informants

* Minister of Kilarrow, Bowmore, Isle of Islay.

eventually reached the burn which tumbles in a cascade over the steep boundary brae, the weird billy-goat vanished as mysteriously as it appeared. It made no effort to cross the burn which in that particular place marks the march between both townships.

Hallowe'en is the only night of the year on which the adolescent population is given its freedom. The games played of old, on Halloween, were not as a rule wantonly mischievous. Games they were, and in addition to being very amusing, a few of them were aetiologically occult. Here is a very popular method of divining the name of one's future marriage partner.

On Hallowe'en, the boy or girl, or both together, must go to a boundary well, or rivulet, go down on hands and knees, take a mouthful of water and walk to the nearest ceilidh house, without attempting to speak or laugh en route, else, the water is either swallowed or spilled, and the spell is broken. The party has to stand at the outside door until he hears a name mentioned in song, tale, or conversation, and the name in question is that of the spouse to be.

Nobody but an utter rascal, or insane person, would ever defile, or otherwise violate a well. Whenever a well has been so desecrated, it was known as if in angry protest to abandon that particular locale, for another spot in the vicinity.

Certain metals, like iron and silver, have psychic attributes which prove to be most effective in warding off such evil entities as ghosts and witches. Should anyone have the temerity to shake hands with a ghost, he may find his hand seriously injured thereby. As a safeguard in such a contingency, a person ought to have an iron object in his right palm, when offering it in greeting to a ghost.

Witches which have transformed themselves into the shape of bird, animal, or monster, may be rendered utterly harmless, or compelled to revert to their true identity, if fired at from a gun which has a small silver coin for ammunition.

A silver coin was also inserted inside the hoop of a churn, to prevent a witch spiriting away the substance—"toradh"—from the cream.

From remote antiquity certain species of wood were known to have psychic powers. In the Old Testament, we read about Moses' staff and the many wonders it performed. That shepherd's rod became his sceptre, once he assumed leadership in Egypt, and never was there a sceptre which figured so much in folklore. Indeed, the very custom of wielding a sceptre,

or wand, must have arisen, to begin with, from people's implicit faith in its occult, psychic force.

In our own land, rowan and hazel trees were widely used in counteracting the machinations of witches and wizards. Hence the prevalence of so many rowan trees growing in front of houses and byres. A rowan twig placed under a basin of cream in a milk house kept witches at a safe distance, and on Hallowe'en, we, as children, burnt hazel nuts on the hearthstone, to ascertain what budding romance was fated to end in wedlock, or "on the rocks."

It is not surprising, therefore, that wood, even when it is not to be used in connection with the dead, gives out its own "manadh" or omen, a day or two in advance, when nothing more serious than a change of location is impending.

An old woman told me that she was standing one day on a lawn, at the back of her own dwelling. She heard a continuous noise, which resembled wooden boards striking against each other, coming in her direction from a nearby track. The cause thereof puzzled her, for no one was in sight. Next day, she happened to be in the same place, when, to her astonishment, a man came in view walking along the said track, carrying two or three long planks on his shoulder. The planks were so pliant that their ends beat with each step their bearer made. The woman immediately recognised the sound, because it was exactly what she had heard the day before.

Tools of trade, or of household crafts, were known to be impregnated or animated by their owner's industrious zeal. Thus, the good housewife saw to it that the special cord which made her spinning wheel go round was removed from the wheel on Saturday night. If this important duty was neglected, there was a danger that the spinning wheel would automatically go on working on Sunday. An old friend of the writer remembered having seen a spinning wheel working in this inexplicable manner, all through the Sabbath, although no one was near it. A classic example is Saint Maol-Rubha's bell.

About the latter part of the seventh century, Saint Maol-Rubha, a native of Ireland, who had made Applecross in Ross-shire his headquarters, brought the gospel to Strath, in the Isle of Skye.

When Maol-Rubha landed at a place called Aiseag, in Strath, he found a rock there which made an excellent pulpit, and a tree nearby in which he hung up his bell. Whenever the saint arrived from Applecross, on the mainland opposite, he

rang his bell from the tree to summon his followers to worship. As long as Maol-Rubha was alive, the bell was left in that position, and when he died, it continued of its own accord, without human intervention, to ring every Sunday whenever the accustomed hour for worship drew nigh.

This carried on for many centuries, until at last the tree, so says tradition, grew round the bell and it was hidden from sight. However, that made no difference at all to the ringing which was heard as clear and as strong as ever, all over the wide district, each Sunday at the appointed hour.

Even after the ancient church at Aiseag was abandoned for the new one, which was built at Kilchrist, about two or three miles away, the bell from the heart of the tree at Aiseag never failed to remind folk at a particular hour each Sabbath of their sacred duty. At last, the parish minister, a Reverend Mr. MacKinnon, decided to have the old tree transplanted to the new church at Kilchrist. This was very carefully done, but alas, never again was Saint Maol-Rubha's bell heard throughout the parish of Strath. To this day, people solemnly aver that the tree should never have been removed from its original place, which was so hallowed by him, who was the first to bring the Good News there.

Material objects, too, may become possessed by their owner's strong emotions and wishes, as is exemplified in a short story collected by the late John Gregorson Campbell: "A young woman, residing in Skye, had a lover, a sailor, who was away in the East Indies. On Hallowe'en night she went, as is customary in country frolics, to pull a kail plant, that she might know, from its being crooked or straight or laden with earth, what the character or appearance or wealth of her future husband might be. As she grasped a stock to pull it, a knife dropped from the sky and stuck in the plant. When her lover came home, she learned from him, that on that very night and about the same hour, he was standing near the ship's bulwark, looking over the side, with a knife in his hand. He was thinking of her, and in his reverie the knife fell out of his hand and over the side. The young woman produced the knife she found in the kail-stock, and it proved to be the very knife her sailor lover had lost."

This point in my thesis is well borne out by the tale: Scian In Aghaidhe Na h-Urchóide, "Knife Against Evil" (Ó Heochaidh 1954: 172-4). A summary will suffice.

"On a certain day in January, some fishers were out at

sea setting their net. After the net was a while there, the weather changed, and they went out to bring it back to land. On their return journey, the wind arose, with a wild sea behind them. The first wave went past without causing great damage. The second wave was much worse, but immediately a third arose which looked as if it would send the boat to the bottom.

"A young man, who sat in the stern, noticed a knife, which was used for cutting bait, on the floor of the vessel. He picked it up and said: 'I am throwing you against the evil.' No sooner did the knife pierce the wave, than the sea calmed and the crew were able to reach their homes in safety.

"Late that same night, the young fisherman was asleep in bed. Someone outside his window, calling him by name, awakened him. 'Who is that, calling me?' he asked. 'Oh, get up, come to the door, and you will see,' replied the voice. The fisher dressed quickly, went to the door, but not knowing his visitor, asked 'Who are you, where did you come from?' 'I do not wish to give my name,' was the reply, 'but I would like you to come with me where you will engage in some doctoring work. I have a good animal here and shall be obliged if you will accompany me on its back.' 'I have no knowledge of the healing art,' explained the other, 'I never did anything but fishing.' 'If you come along,' pleaded the stranger, 'I know that you can do what is required, and it will be a great service for me.' 'I will not leave my home until morning, unless you promise to bring me back here without hurt or mishap.' 'I will give you my hand and promise that what you ask will be done.'

"The fisher mounted the horse, sat behind its owner, and both went off. It was not long until the travellers entered the sea and they continued thus for two hours, but at last they reached a rock. A door opened in the rock, and both rode in. The riders kept advancing until finally a large castle came in view. On arriving there, the two wanderers went from chamber to chamber, until they ultimately came to a beautiful room where there were many people feasting and merrymaking. They left this room and came to another where lay a most beautiful woman. The fisher looked at her, and to his great astonishment saw the knife which he threw into the large wave, sticking out of her side, near the heart.

" 'Now,' continued the host, 'since dinner-time, to-day, many a man has tried to pull this knife out, but all of them failed to remove it. You try to withdraw it now, if you please.' No sooner did the young man take hold of the knife, than he

dislodged it with ease. Weapon in hand, he addressed the woman: 'I will not leave this house until you promise that you will never pursue any of my people while at sea.' 'I promise,' she said, 'that I will not do the like again, nor will anyone else belonging to me.' He thereupon left her and came back to the banqueting room. There were many acquaintances among the happy guests. They all pressed him to partake of food, but one old lady went forward and said: 'Young man, take my advice, do not taste anything here or if you do, you will suffer for it.'

"Acting on the lady's advice, our hero withdrew. On reaching the outside door, horse and rider were there awaiting him. He again jumped up behind his leader and arrived home safely."

In addition to the knife's latent psychic power, we perceive how much it was dominated by the strong wish of him who threw it, when only he could extract it from the side of her who had caused the storm. The practice of raising storms at sea was commonly attributed to witches.

Standing stones were held in great awe throughout Gaeldom. In my Islay parish, there are three monoliths forming a triangle, although a considerable distance separates the one from the other. In ancient times, anyone seeking sanctuary had only to run to either stone, and if he was able to place his hand on the monolith before his pursuers got up to him, he was safe. No one would dare arrest him there. Any large boulder, especially one found on the seashore below high water mark, is believed to have healing virtue; at least, several diseases can be transferred to it from the human body.

Well water is not the only element which is capable of taking offence. The common earth, too, has its own delicate sensibilities, which can retaliate, if abused.

A young Islesman was walking briskly home, one very dark night, at the close of the village ceilidh. So murky were the heavens above, that no star shed the faintest glimmer of light on his path, which led through an uneven stretch of land, full of ruts and holes. As he strode merrily along, all of a sudden, his boot struck a hard knoll, or rise in the ground, and before he knew what had happened, he was stretched out full length on the field. Having been somewhat of a cross nature, he quickly got up and launched out a volley of oaths at the object which tripped him.

No sooner did he cross his own threshold, however, than

he heard the most startling noise on the roof, clods and stones being hurled with terrific force against the door and all round the dwelling.

He ran out to ascertain the cause of this fury and pandemonium, but quicker still, he was obliged to retreat under cover, else he would have been blinded and brained within a couple of seconds. Chunks of sod and rock, the size of a fist, were falling in heavy showers in all directions. This continued without ceasing, until at last the man was fully persuaded that there was something censorious about the eerie proceedings. He thereupon remembered how he had cursed the ground where he stumbled shortly before. So alarmed was he that the place would not stand up any longer to such incessant bombardment, that he went to the door a second time and begged the powers that be to desist, solemnly promising that he would never again swear or curse the earth. As if the invisible agents invoked had heard his confession and request, the storm without ceased and troubled him no more.

The earth, on the other hand, can reciprocate very strong human attachment. An Arab herdsman, or shepherd, having removed his flocks to a new area, becomes psychically conscious of the sorrowful yearning of the rock on which he was wont to sit while herding in the old pasture. Gaelic poetry is full of the same sentiment. The firm bond of friendship between exiles and the "hills of home," is the theme of many of our best songs.

Never was a lover more eloquent in appraising his beloved's virtues, than is Duncan Ban MacIntyre in his praise of Ben Dorain and Coire Cheathaich. Here, Mountain and Corrie are described in the most endearing terms. The bard, in extravagant eulogy, refers to their laudable qualities, and when old age has caught up with him in the southern city, making it quite impossible for the erstwhile nimble-footed hunter to tread his beloved hills again, he composes his heart-moving "Farewell to the Mountains." The poem ends in an invocation of a thousand blessings on the selfsame scenes, which from the earliest days, have won his affections and inspired his immortal epics.

In the same strain, John MacFadyen, when sailing round his native Mull and gazing across from deck, on familiar vistas, sings ever so nostalgically:

Gum bheil cagar maoth 'nam chluais
Bho gach bruaich air na bha

"A kind whisper greets mine ear from each hillock on which I have so often sat."

The sea, in its own way, shows a similar friendly spirit. If it takes its heavy toll of humanity, even then, the sea is just another mother claiming her own, and bringing those home on whom she has set her heart. "The sea", says the Gaelic proverb, "will search the four russet corners of the earth, until she finds her children", i.e. those bodies of the drowned that have been reclaimed and buried in a churchyard. Hence, the fear of the sea breaking its bounds or conspiring with a neighbouring river to flood the place, and sweep the dead from their earthy resting places down to their true home. Such an event was by no means uncommon in the Highlands.

The Celt is a firm believer in the psychic and cosmic influences of the moon. All work which pertains to sowing and planting should be done under a waxing moon. A waning moon is supposed to have a retarding effect on all growth in its initial stage. Neither is it a propitious phase for slaughtering animals for butcher meat which, in consequence, has a tendency to shrink in process of cooking.

A common saying regarding a pregnant woman whose accouchement was eagerly awaited—"wait until the new moon comes, and you will see a speedy delivery," and sure enough, on the day of the new moon, the woman was delivered.

The following relevant passage, I have translated from a Gaelic article, *An Clachan A Bha Ann*, by Kenneth MacLeod.

"One night coming home from the ceilidh, I saw a light in a house in which I rarely saw a light at a late hour, and fearing that there was something wrong, made straight for the door. At the same moment, a woman I knew came out—an old midwife who was as full of runes, charms, and incantations, as the whelk of the good shore is of food—and I knew without asking, what business brought her forth from her own home at midnight. 'You have guessed it,' said she, although I did not open my mouth, 'a baby boy was born here to-night under a waxing moon, and I was coming out to see how the tide is—the sea, the sea, my lad, what is its portent?' 'There is a flowing tide just now,' I replied, 'it is no news to you whose cottage is at its shore.' 'The luck and blessing of good news be upon you, man who came—

Saint Columba my beloved
Was born at a flowing tide,
Under a waxing moon,
And a beautiful jewel was he.

Seeing you are young and active, you will now go to Saint Columba's Well, and in the name of the Trinity, take therefrom this bowl full of water, you will then go to the nearest creek and in the name of the Trinity, put three drops of sea water in it and bring it back to me immediately.'

"Whether or not there was any delay about my errand, the midwife was waiting for me on the doorstep, and no sooner did I give her the bowl than she blessed its contents in the name of the Trinity, in Michael's name and in Clement's, and poured three palms full of it on the babe's head:

> Cascade water on your head,
> Misfortune will never rest on you,
> Neither sea nor fresh water will drown you,
> Nor sorrow be your lot on land.

'A byname,' she explained, 'is his until he is baptised, until then he shall be called Maol Domhnaich, and peradventure, the holy name and the needle which I placed in the little darling's shirt will protect him from evil spells and tricks of fairies.' "

Here we have further evidence of popular belief in the psychic protective power of so small an article of iron or steel as a needle. It was common, too, for mothers when going on a brief errand, to place the tongs beside a child in its cradle to prevent the fairies from stealing it, and anyone can keep the door of a sithean-fairy hillock open long enough to ensure his escape, if he places an iron nail at its foot, when going in.

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THE HARROW IN SCOTLAND

Ian Whitaker *

It is curious that whereas there was a profusion of local types of plough in Scotland before the introduction of the improved versions which were pioneered here (Jirlow & Whitaker 1957), there seems to have been no parallel multiplicity of harrow-types, and there was similarly no strong movement towards improving such harrowing implements as were used in the eighteenth century.

The harrow has been used for three distinct agricultural processes: to break up adhesive soils under fallow, and to tear up the roots of persistent weeds such as couch-grasses—both of which activities require a strong implement—and also to cover the seeds of grass and clover, which on the contrary demands a harrow that rides lightly over the soil, that the seed may not be pushed down too deeply. This lighter harrow can also be used for destroying the weaker annual weeds in fallow which yield to less drastic treatment. The earliest references to the use of a harrow in Scotland, as, for instance, that of Don Pedro de Ayala writing in 1498 (1862: 172), only mention the use of the harrow in covering grass-seed, but since two distinct types of harrow are described by the Tudor writer Fitzherbert in 1523, one for oxen and one for horses (1882: 24-5), it may be presumed that at about the same time in Scotland there were at least two different harrows, one heavy type for reducing fallow, and a lighter one for use after grass had been sown.

The earliest form of harrow was simply a weighted thorn-bush, drawn over the earth by a horse (fig. 1), a rudimentary implement with which we are familiar through the description of the English agriculturalist Gervase Markham (1653: 61). This improvised harrow, if such it can be called, was known in Angus until the end of the eighteenth century (Headrick 1813: 259). Scarcely better was the bush-harrow (presumably

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from Clackmannan) depicted by Graham (1814: plate after 435); this comprised a rectangular wooden frame measuring 6 feet by 5 feet, formed of wooden spars 4 inches by 3 inches, with two cast-iron or wooden wheels at the foremost (horse) end. Brushwood was loosely plaited over three somewhat weaker cross-beams (3 inches by 2½ inches).

In the Outer Isles, where the provision of suitable timber was always an inhibiting factor in the manufacture of implements, two intermediate harrow-types are reported. Martin, writing of Lewis, said (1703: 3):

> "They have little Harrows with wooden teeth in the first and second rows, which breaks the Ground, and in the third row they have rough Heath, which smoothes it: This light Harrow is drawn by a Man having a strong rope of Horse-hair across his breast."

In St. Kilda a wooden harrow with wooden teeth at the front and "tangles of sea-ware" with the roots hanging behind to scatter the clods is reported in 1727 by Buchan (1727: 25).

Both these Hebridean versions, however, must be regarded as local modifications of the principal type of harrow used throughout Scotland: the rectangular or four-sided harrow. The introduction of this form cannot be dated precisely, although the rectangular harrow is clearly referred to obliquely by the poet William Dunbar in his poem "The flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy" (l. 179) written about 1504 [1]:

"Hard hurcheon, hirpland, hippit as ane harrow" (Dunbar 1873: II, 17; cf. note by W. Gregor, *ibid.*: III, 48). By the eighteenth century, however, we know definitely that there were two sizes of rectangular harrow in current use: a larger version for breaking up fallow and destroying the stronger weeds, usually called a *brake-harrow* (or *break-harrow*), and a smaller one, for which there appears to have been no special term. This would commonly consist of three or more wooden beams (variously called *bulls* [2] or *bills*), placed along the axis of draught, joined at right angles by three or more cross-beams (sometimes called *slots*, sometimes *stretchers*). The bull (and occasionally the cross-beam) would be perforated with small holes into which wooden, and latterly iron, teeth (generally called *tynes* or *tines*) were inserted.

The brake-harrow might consist of three bulls—as reported from Lanarkshire (Naismith 1798: 77)—or of four bulls, as in Angus and the Highlands of Caithness (Headrick 1813: 258-9; Henderson 1812*a*: 58); more commonly, however, the

heavier brake had five—as, for instance, in Clackmannan (Erskine 1795: 35; Graham 1814: 243)—or even six bulls, as is recorded from the lowland part of Caithness by Henderson 1812*a*: 58). The actual dimensions of the brake-harrow are not normally specified, although Lord Kames described a four-bull version with 16 tines measuring 6½ feet square (Home 1815: 46-7), and a brake 6 feet square was used about the same time in West Lothian (Trotter 1811: 39).

Two smaller brakes might be joined together side by side, a special double coupling iron offering strength but pliability having been invented by Lord Kames (Robertson, J. 1799: 96). In East Lothian a device incorporating four joints was used to couple the brakes together (Buchan-Hepburn 1794: 90). It is probable that the brakes thus used were ones with three bulls only, a point specifically commented on by Johnston writing of the Selkirk brakes (1794: 34). Another method of giving greater weight to the brake in particularly adhesive soil (used in Angus) was simply to place additional weights on the harrow as required (Headrick 1813: 258-9). Some of the brakes used, however, were already too heavy without any additional weights being added. The Caithness brake required four horses to draw it (Henderson 1812*a*: 58), and in both Angus and Banffshire from two to four horses were yoked abreast to draw the brake (Headrick 1813: 258-9; Souter 1812: 128). On the other hand the double brake-harrow used in Selkirk and East Lothian could be drawn by two horses only (Johnston 1794: 34; Buchan-Hepburn 1794: 90; Somerville 1805: 67). The custom of joining harrows together is probably oldest in southern Scotland; thus we learn from the records of the Regality Court of Melrose that a man from Appletree-leaves (parish of Hawick, Roxburgh) killed a mare in 1654 by making her draw three harrows joined together; in Newstead (parish of Melrose) the harrow at that time was drawn by two horses (Romanes 1914-15: I, 218, 282). In Clackmannan two single brakes, each of 5 bulls, were drawn by two horses each, and were followed by a third of only 4 bulls (Erskine 1795: 35; Graham 1814: 243). This practice of using a lighter harrow after the brake in order to shake out rooted weeds was also followed in East Lothian (Buchan-Hepburn 1794: 90; Somerville 1805: 67).

The brake-harrow was clearly not used in all parts of Scotland, even in the late eighteenth century, and the fact that it was but seldom employed is specifically noted in descriptions

of the agricultural practice of Dumfriesshire, Argyll and the Black Isle (Singer 1812: 131; Smith, J. 1798: 60; Sinclair, J. 1794: 24). In these areas, and perhaps elsewhere, just the ordinary rectangular harrow would be used. This implement has been well documented in the magnificent series of reports to the Board of Agriculture drawn up on the initiative of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. Thus in the question of the number of bulls used in the standard harrow we have the following data:

2 bulls	Shetland	(Gentleman 1814: 19)
2-3 bulls	Orkney	(Shirreff 1814: 64)
3 bulls	Arran	(Headrick 1807: 316)
	Clackmannan (by poorer farmers)	(Erskine 1795: 34)
3-4 bulls	Stirling	(Graham 1812: 109)
4 bulls	Dumfriesshire	(Singer 1812: 130)
	Selkirk	(Johnston 1794: 34)
	Lanarkshire	(Naismith 1798: 76)
	Midlothian	(Robertson, G. 1793: 44)
	Clackmannan	(Erskine 1795: 34; Graham 1814: 242)
	Fife	(Thomson 1800: 126)
	Perthshire	(Robertson, J. 1799: 96)
	Caithness	(Sinclair, J. 1794: 204; Henderson 1812*a*: 57)
5 bulls	Kincardine	(Robertson, G. 1813: 235-6, 1829: 429)
6 bulls	Wigtown & Kirkcudbright	(Smith, S. 1813: 100)

The overall measurements of these harrows might vary thus:

3-4 feet square	Nairn & Moray	(Leslie 1813: 112)
3½×3 feet	The Lothians	(Robertson, G. 1829: 135)
4×3½ feet to 5×4½ feet	Banffshire	(Souter 1812: 129)
4 feet square	Midlothian	(Robertson, G. 1793: 44)
	Fife	(Thomson 1800: 126)
	Nairn & Moray	(Leslie 1813: 113)
4′ 4″×3′ 9″	Clackmannan	(Erskine 1795: 34; Graham 1814: 242)
4½×4 feet	Black Isle	(Sinclair, J. 1794: 24)

As with brake-harrows, the ordinary harrow was often joined in couples, and several different methods were in vogue for linking the two parts together; some attachment was necessary since otherwise the harrows tended to ride up on each other, or to spring over large pieces of earth. In the Carse

of Gowrie and in Stormont (Perthshire) the harrows were fitted with riders: a horizontal bar was fixed on three timber pins, each 6 inches long, and this modification was later adopted in Kincardineshire (Robertson, J. 1799: 97; Robertson, G. 1813: 235-6). The more usual method of linking the harrows, however, was by a bar (sometimes called a *bow*) fastened to each part by long bolts and eyes. The bar was probably originally made of wood, as suggested by a report from Roxburgh (Douglas 1798: 51), but later modifications, especially that by Easton of Springkell (parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire), were of iron (Singer 1812: 131). The bolts and eyes attachment is only reported from Southern and Central Scotland, however: from Dumfriesshire, Roxburgh, Berwick (Kerr 1809: 155), Dunbarton (Whyte & Macfarlan 1811: 71), Stirling (Belsches 1796: 40) and Clackmannan (Graham 1814: 242). In the North-east a hinge-device was used to the same end in Moray and Nairn (Leslie 1813: 112). It is probable that in other parts of the country two harrows were drawn together by two horses, but were not directly attached to each other. That they were drawn in pairs by two horses (whether or not attached to each other) is reported from Wigtown and Kirkcudbright (Smith, S. 1813: 100), Dumfriesshire (Singer 1812: 130), Berwick (Kerr 1809: 155), Lanarkshire (Naismith 1798: 77), Stirling (Graham 1812: 109), Clackmannan (Erskine 1795: 34, Graham 1814: 242), Angus (Headrick 1813: 259) and Kincardine (Robertson, G. 1813: 235-6). Alternatively as many as three horses might be yoked together, each with its own harrow, with, in Clackmannan an extra boy to drive them (Erskine 1795: 34; Graham 1814: 242); in Midlothian there was just one driver with long whip reins (Robertson, G. 1793: 44; Kerr 1809: 155). When three harrows were thus harnessed together, however, the two tines in the bulls nearest the horses were omitted in two of the harrows in order to prevent injury to the nearside horses' legs when turning. In some peripheral areas the single harrow was still preferred, being reported as late as 1812 from Dumfriesshire, where the tendency to improve such details was marked (Singer 1812: 130); it was used in the parish of Firth, Orkney, well into the nineteenth century (Firth 1920: 107).

The ordinary harrow weighed about 72 pounds, although Lord Kames recommended a rather heavier one of 6 stones 14 pounds Dutch (Thomson 1800: 126; Home 1786: 18). A specially light harrow for use solely with grass seed was widely

employed in the South and East of the country; it is reported from Wigtown and Kirkcudbright (Smith, S. 1813: 101), Dumfriesshire (Singer 1812: 131), West Lothian (Trotter 1811: 39), Fife (Thomson 1800: 127) and Angus (Headrick 1813: 259).

The number of tines in the ordinary harrow also seems to have varied rather widely; on this problem we have the following data:

15-25 tines	Stirling	(Belsches 1796: 39; Graham 1812: 109)
16-24 tines	Banffshire	(Souter 1812: 129)
20 tines	Selkirk	(Johnston 1794: 34)
	Lanarkshire	(Naismith 1798: 76)
	Midlothian	(Robertson, G. 1793: 44)
	Clackmannan	(Erskine 1795: 34; Graham 1814: 242)
	Fife	(Thomson 1800: 126)
	Nairn & Moray	(Leslie 1813: 113)
	Black Isle	(Sinclair, J. 1794: 24)
25 tines	Kincardine	(Robertson, G. 1813: 235-6)

The method of setting the tines into the bulls or cross-beams was similarly not standardised; this would to some extent depend on the material used (see below), but local variations also occur. In Angus, for example, the tines of brake-harrows were wedged into holes in the bulls (Headrick 1813: 258-9), whilst in Perthshire they were inserted from below, although the tines of ordinary harrows were pushed in from above (Robertson, J. 1799: 96). In Roxburgh the oblong-sectioned tines were "nicely mortised" into the bulls (Douglas 1798: 51). In Peebles the tines were square in section (Findlater 1802: 121), but here, as also in Selkirk (Johnston 1794: 34), Lanarkshire (Naismith 1798: 76), Perthshire (Robertson, J. 1799: 96) and Angus (Headrick 1813: 258-9) there was a forward bevel of 70°-75° so that the tine was shaped like a miniature plough-coulter, protruding some 6-8 inches below the bulls. Sinclair, however, urged that each succeeding row of tines should be ½ inch shorter than those to the fore (1814: I, 220).

One of the principal faults of the rectangular harrow was that the tines tended to follow each other in the same grooves, and this problem engaged the attention of many agriculturalists (e.g. Robertson, G. 1793: 44; Leslie 1813: 113), although others maintained that the problem was of little importance (Kerr 1809: 154). One solution was to draw the harrow from one

corner (fig. 2), so that the maximum number of ruts was made by the tines, a method that was adopted in Peebles, Berwickshire, Midlothian and Perthshire (Findlater 1802: 121; Lowe 1794: 38; Robertson, G. 1795: plate; Robertson, J.

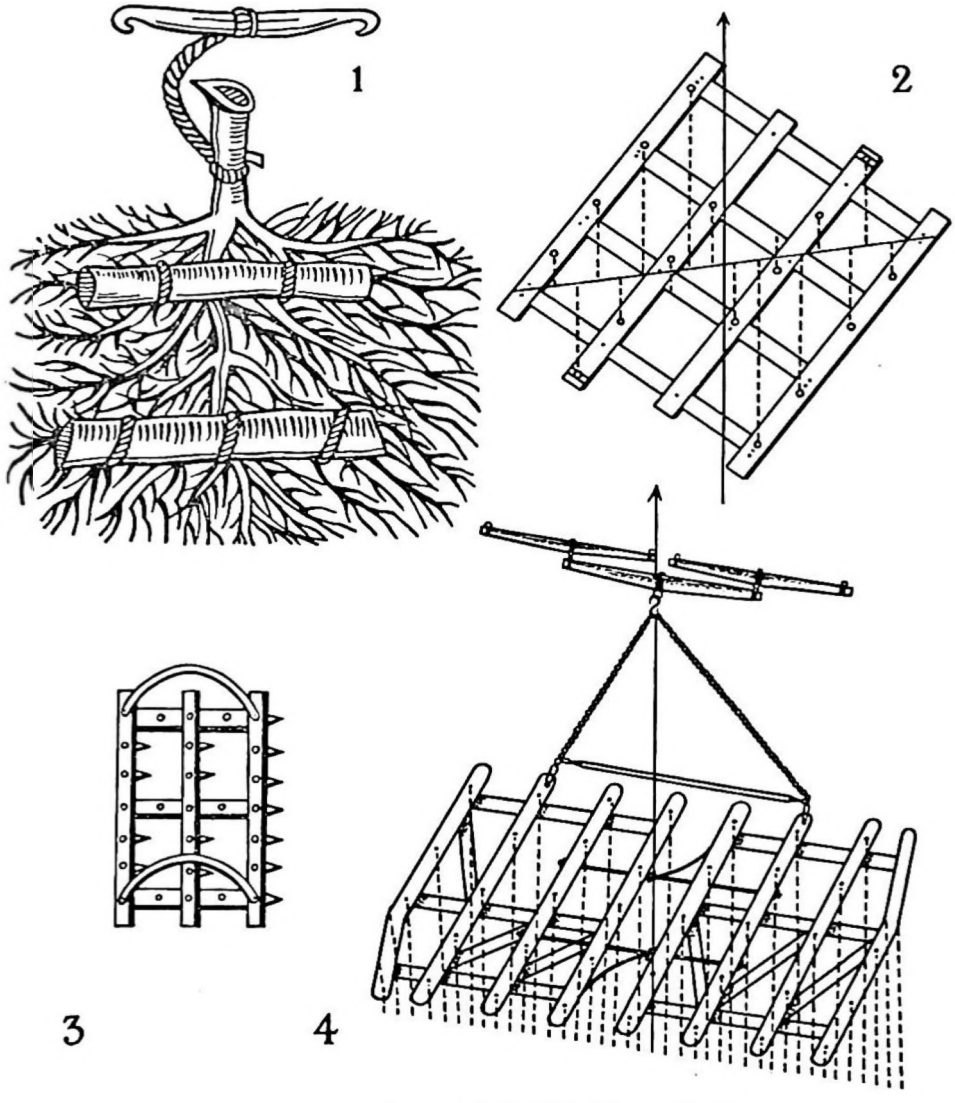

Fig. 1.—Bush-harrow (after Markham 1653).
Fig. 2.—Harrow—Midlothian (after Robertson, G. 1795).
Fig. 3.—Hand-harrow—Dunbarton (after Ure 1794).
Fig. 4.—Double harrow from Langlee, Roxburgh (after Douglas 1798).

1799: 97). An alternative answer to the problem was the harrow invented by General Robertson of Lawers (Monzievaird and Strowan parish, Perthshire); this had five bulls, each with five tines, the foremost cross-beam being 4 inches shorter than the

rearmost (Robertson, J. 1794: 51). Leslie suggested a similarly shaped harrow with bulls 2 feet apart at the fore, and 4 feet apart at the rear, with 16 tines, but there is no evidence that this was ever developed (Leslie 1813: 113). Alternatively a simple rectangular harrow with eccentrically placed teeth was used in Lanarkshire (Naismith 1798: 77).

There were, of course, a large number of local modifications to this main type of harrow, most of which have never been recorded in print, and probably not in manuscript: they are of little general interest, being mainly jetsam cast up in the turbulent sea of agricultural improvement. We might, however, mention the use of hind-handles to free the harrow of accumulated weeds, which is recorded from Stirling (Belsches 1796: 40), although it was undoubtedly also a general modification in England (see Dickson 1805: 41 and Plate XI fig. 3). Another modification which was developed at Lornshill (parish of Alloa, Clackmannan), but probably spread elsewhere, was the so-called *gingle-harrow*.[3] This consisted of four three-bull harrows, joined together two by two, each harrow having nine tines (Graham 1814: 435 and plate).

The cross-beams were originally mortised into the bulls (Robertson, G. 1793: 44), but this method materially weakened the bulls, so that later the beams were screwed or nailed to the upper side of the bulls (Smith, S. 1813: 100; Plate I, 1). It was the outermost bulls that tended to be most easily damaged, and one method of obviating, or at least lessening, this was evolved at Langlee (parish of Jedburgh, Roxburgh); the outermost bulls of the double harrow were curved inwards, thus giving more and closer ruts (Douglas 1798: 378; cf. fig. 4).

Both the brake-harrow and the smaller harrow were originally made entirely of wood. Later the tines were made of iron, although the introduction of this material, especially in the peripheral regions of the country, was rather late. Iron tines are specifically reported from Blainslie, parish of Melrose, Roxburgh, in 1664 (Romanes 1914-15: II, 102). In Galloway thorn hardened in smoke had been used, but by 1810 other wood was being utilised in the manufacture of tines (Smith, S. 1813: 40). In Midlothian a wooden-tined harrow was employed into the nineteenth century for covering spring grass-seed sown among wheat (Mackenzie, G. S. 1810: 250*n*). As for the North-east, iron tines were first adopted in Moray about 1764, although in Aberdeen some farmers had wooden-tined

harrows thirty years after that date, and in Banffshire ash tines were still reported in 1812 (Donaldson, J. 1794: 21-2; Anderson 1794: 78; Souter 1812: 129). In Argyll wooden tines were still to be seen in 1798, and they are specifically mentioned as being current in Gigha at that time, although by 1811 it is reported that iron tines had been adopted in Islay, Gigha and Colonsay (Smith, J. 1798: 60; Heron 1794: 51; Macdonald 1811: 159). An all-wooden plough was still used in Inverness-shire in 1808, and at this time farmers in Wester Ross still had a prejudice against iron tines, which, they said, "tore up the roots" (Robertson, J. 1808: 103; Mackenzie, G. S. 1810: 250). Similarly wooden tines were in use at this time among the peasantry of Sutherland and the Highlands of Caithness, where it is specifically mentioned that the tines were of birch (Henderson 1812*b*: 58, 1812*a*: 58). In the lowland part of Caithness, on the other hand, iron tines were in use by 1794 (Sinclair, J. 1794: 204). The wooden tine survived longest, perhaps, in Orkney, where it was generally noticed in 1760 and again in 1814, although in 1798 in the parish of St. Andrews and Deerness it was reported to be falling out of use[4] (Hepburn 1760: 10; Shirreff 1814: 64; Sinclair, J. 1798: 260). Firth, in his splendid account of life in the Orkney parish of Firth in the nineteenth century, alludes to the wooden-tined harrows there (Firth 1920: 106). The use of cows' horns as tines, as occurred in Ireland (Evans 1949: 91), is not reported from Scotland.

For the bulls and cross-beams birch seems to have been preferred, being recommended by Lord Kames and by Nicol the forestry expert[5] (Home 1786: 17; Nicol 1799: 53). Birch or allar (alder), or even fir, was used in Banffshire, although ash was preferred for the brake-harrow, whilst in the highlands of Caithness birch was used for the bulls, but in the lowland area of the same county ash was employed (Souter 1812: 129; Henderson 1812*a*: 57-8). In the earlier period very little bark would be removed from the bulls, the trees merely being roughly shaped with an axe (Robertson, G. 1829: 135).

Apart from the rectangular harrow, we have one other important harrow-type with a scattered distribution throughout Scotland. This is the triangular harrow. It was reported as having occurred in the past in several counties: e.g. Stirlingshire, Moray and Nairn (Graham 1812: 110; Leslie 1813: 112). In West Lothian a strong brake-harrow, drawn by three to four horses and shaped like an equilateral triangle, each side

being 6-10 feet, was used in reclaiming work. There were no tines on the side farthest from the horses (Trotter 1811: 38-9). An anonymous writer in the agricultural journal, *The Scots Farmer*, mentions a triangular harrow drawn by six to eight cattle, which may have had a similar purpose (Anon. 1773: 464). This same writer also mentions a triangular French harrow, which is curious, since a triangular harrow formerly used in the hundreds of Stevns and Bjeverskov in Denmark was always called "the Scottish harrow" (Anon. 1773: 465; Pedersen 1950: 25-6).

In Angus a triangular harrow equipped with a pair of stilts, with which the driver could press it into the earth, was reported by Headrick (1813: 258-9), and this implement certainly seems to have been similar to a Norwegian type used in Nordland (Visted & Stigum 1951-2: I, 156). I think it is probable that the triangular turnip drill (as for instance used in Dumfries: see Singer 1812: 131) was evolved from the triangular harrow, but the evolution of the drill lies outwith the scope of this article. Mention must be made, however, of the tiny triangular harrow still to be found in the Hebrides and known as *cliath-chliata*, which is an equilateral triangle with sides a mere 2½ feet long (Sinclair, C. 1953: 73).

A circular harrow with ten teeth was advocated by Leslie (1813: 112-13), but this implement does not seem to have been widely used. Other eccentric varieties include the rhomb-shaped harrow developed by Law of Woodend and Dawson of Frogden (parish of Linton, Roxburgh), the bulls of which were strengthened by diagonals (Douglas 1798: 51). A harrow with inter-crossing bulls placed diagonally was evolved in Berwickshire, but was abandoned as not strong enough (Lowe 1794: 38, plates between 38-9); this may be the same type referred to by Trotter as in use in West Lothian (1811: 38).

A barbarous custom in connection with harrowing, widely reported from the west, was the tying of the harrow to the horse's tail, which drew out the ire of agricultural writers; thus Macdonald (1811: 181):

"The common practice of harrowing in the Hebrides is, as we have hinted, so abominably inhuman, that it literally harrows up the soul of the stranger who sees it; and nothing is so unaccountable as the apathy with which a nation, far from cruel or unfeeling in other respects, could for ages have tormented the most generous and useful of domesticated animals, without being ashamed of a custom so savage and detestable. We have seen, in 1808, young

handsome colts, two or three years old, chased by dogs, boys, and men, into quagmires, bound down after their strength had been completely exhausted, their fine long tails firmly fastened by strong hair ropes, or sometimes by rough heather ropes to the harrow, and then lashed unmercifully through peat-moss and newly ploughed land, until they have actually fallen broken-hearted to the ground. Indignant at this shocking treatment of the unfortunate young creatures, we endeavoured to explain to their tormentors the simplicity and cheapness of harrow harness. . . . The persons who treated their animals so brutally laughed at our squeamish tenderheartedness, declared that *this* was the only method of taming young colts, and went on as usual."

It is specifically reported that this method was used to break-in young horses in Wester Ross (Mackenzie, G. S. 1810: 250), but the practice is also reported from Argyll and the Hebrides generally (Smith, J. 1798: 60; Buchanan, J. 1793: 154; Macdonald 1811: 159), as well as more precisely from Bracadale in Skye (Pennant 1790: I, 332). The advantage of this method was that the horse would stop immediately any large stone offered any resistance, so that the wooden tines were less frequently broken. The practice was also common on the west coast of Ireland (Evans 1949: 87, 1957: 149). Oxen seem to have been less often used for harrowing, and in Aberdeen even when a farmer had 10-12 plough-oxen, he would also keep horses for harrowing (Anderson 1794: 78; Alexander 1877: 34). Cows were used for harrowing on the island of Swona (parish of South Ronaldsay, Orkney) when it was visited by Low in 1774 (Low 1879: 29).

In the more remote parts of the country a hand-drawn harrow was used, and these survive in some places to the present day. In Dunbarton a small harrow-type evolved, some 2-2¼ feet long by 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 3 inches wide, having three bulls (each 2 inches by 1½ inches), with 27 tines and handles at each end bent like a hoop (fig. 3; Ure 1794: 40-1; Whyte & Macfarlan 1811: 71). A hand-harrow was also used in the parishes of Assynt, Eddrachillis, Durness and Tongue in Sutherland, where the scattered nature of the plots under tillage made the hand-plough (*cas chrom*) and hand-harrow the more convenient implements (Henderson 1812*b*: 58). In Lewis the harrow was drawn by barefoot women (Macdonald 1811: 812-13), and indeed women still drew harrows there well into the present century, to the detriment of their health (Mackenzie, W. L. 1917: 440, 448; Stevens 1925: 82). In the

Hebrides a hand-harrow was used alternately with a wooden rake, being specifically reported in this connection from Duirinish (Skye) in 1840 by Dr. Archibald Clerk in a statement to the Crofters' Commission (Clerk 1884: 30) as well as from Barra rather later (Buchanan, D. 1942: 136-7). In St. Kilda the harrow, reported first by Martin (1698: 28) was entirely superseded by the wooden rake (Sands 1877: 190).

In latter years the wooden-framed harrow has been replaced in Scotland by harrows made completely of iron, but it is not possible here to document this transformation. "Four iron harrows" are mentioned as early as 1606 in an inventory from Easter Rarichie (parish of Nigg, Ross and Cromarty), and an iron harrow is again mentioned in a diary relating to Stove on the island of Sanday (parish of Cross and Burness, Orkney) in 1766-74 (Macgill 1909: 168; Marwick, H. 1930: 69). In both these instances, however, I think that iron-tined harrows are referred to: a classic instance of the danger of using documents without reference to the material objects they describe. In the Ross-shire example this conclusion is supported by the mention of four harrows with iron nails in another and later inventory, from Braelangwell (parish of Kincardine?) in 1751 (Macgill 1909: 138), whilst we have already seen that in Orkney even wooden-tined harrows survived to an unusually late date. In fact the northern islands off the Scottish coast are so conservative in these matters that a hand-drawn harrow may still be photographed in Quarff (parish of Lerwick, Shetland), just as Thomas Kent photographed the man we depict in Plate I, 2 in the late nineteenth century (cf. Donaldson, G. 1958, Plate I).

The curious feature about the history of the harrow in Scotland remains, however, the very small degree of experimentation that occurred. As long ago as 1652 Norfolk farmers were experimenting with a combined plough and harrow (Blith 1652: 219-20); if one excepts the idiosyncratic Orkney plough (Marwick, G. 1936; Jirlow & Whitaker 1957: 78-80), there was no parallel movement here. There was no wooden chain-harrow, such as was found throughout Scandinavia (Visted & Stigum 1951-2: I, 159), and it was left to an English inventor, Woodrooffe of Rugeley, to introduce the iron chain-harrow for grass-seed (Stephens 1889: 238).

FIG. 1.—Eastern Inverness-shire harrow (twentieth century).

FIG. 2.—Hand harrowing, probably in Shetland (late nineteenth century).

(see pp. 156 and 160)

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to my wife, Margaret Whitaker, for this reference.

[2] cf. Danish *harvebul*, Swedish *harvbill*.

[3] The term *jingle-harrow* as used in the wapentakes of Manley and Corringham in Lincolnshire denotes a rather different implement: "Harrows, the bulls of which are curved to run free of each other"—Peacock 1877: 145.

[4] I am indebted for this reference to the detailed index of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* prepared for the School of Scottish Studies by Mr. Robert Kerr.

[5] I am grateful to Professor M. L. Anderson for pointing out this authority to me.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate I: Fig. 1. Ash 4-bull harrow with 20 iron tines, from Lynemore, parish of Kincardine, eastern Inverness-shire (Grid Reference 38/066242), recently deposited in the Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie. Photo: Ian Whitaker, 1954, at which time it had been out of use for more than a decade.

Fig. 2. Hand-harrow with 3 bulls, probably from Shetland. Photo: Thomas Kent, *circa* 1890.

TIDAL NETS OF THE SOLWAY

Werner Kissling*

The bed of the Solway, north and eastwards of a line drawn from Southerness Point on the Scottish shore to Silloth on the English shore, far up into the recesses of the Firth, consists largely of low banks of sand which are dry at low water in ordinary tides. With twenty-seven tides a fortnight, the wet surface of this level stretch of sand and mud is exposed twice a day, leaving numberless shallow pools and channels, until once again the whole is flooded and levelled by the next high tide. Thousands of worms, sandeels and small shellfish live on these sandbanks, depending on the cyclic rise and fall of the water, while fish of all kinds, mainly salmon and flounders, come and go with the tides; salmon on their way to the mouths of the various rivers which empty into the Solway linger about these banks until they are tempted to move up the rivers; flounders coming with the flow to feed return with the ebb into the deeper water. Their movements, coinciding with the states of the tide, have for generations past attracted man to the perilous mud flats of the Solway.

The devices in use to-day for capturing fish in the tidal waters of the Solway have been used from time immemorial. Some consist of fixed stake nets and traps of various types in which the fish collect with the ebb and flow of the tide, others of portable means of intercepting them. These require great strength and skill and, above all, local knowledge as to the depth of the channel, irregularities of the ground, the reach of the tides, irregular currents and so on.[1] As the tide is moving up river, inundating the flats, and again when it is ebbing from the banks, the fishers take up their positions in the channel with their "haaf" nets (Pl. II fig. 2) to intercept the salmon. This mode of fishing (p. 169) which seems suited to the Solway, survives both on the Scottish and the English side, where it is

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still widely used. Netting by "fixed engines" on the other hand, an ancient right and usage within the waters of the Solway, is carried on legally only with certain types of nets and on the Scottish side alone; for the rights to fish with stake nets on the English side were lost in 1865. In modern times, however, a clear distinction between a salmon net proper and a white-fish net has brought at least some measure of protection for the salmon.

STAKE SALMON NET

The stake salmon net, which can be used irrespectively of whether the tide is ebbing or flowing, is stretched on stakes and has at least one enclosed "chamber" into which the fish are guided from different directions by arms, known as the ebb-arm, the flood-arm and the cross-arm. The cross-arm or "leader" is extended across the direction of the tide. When a salmon strikes the cross-arm, it is swept along the net until it reaches the chamber and finally the inner pocket from which it cannot find its way out (Pl. III fig. 1).

The position of the stake salmon net is as close as possible to the natural tidal bed of a river where it winds seawards across the flats, thus leaving the channel clear for the fish to run to the upper reaches of the river. The stakes are sunk in the ground and the "head" is placed near low-water mark. In the case of deep-water fishing, the "stake nets" may be attached to buoys and float at anchor.

Stake salmon nets vary greatly in length and height. They may be a hundred yards or more long and from eight to twelve feet high. The method of using them, however, is the same in all cases.

In the Solway, with its rapid tides and long stretches of shallow water, stake-net fishing is the most convenient and efficient method for catching both salmon and flounders in large quantities. From the commercial point of view, therefore, the "paidle" net, which may be described as a miniature stake net but which must be set *bona fide* for the purpose of catching white fish, remains an important net. It is by means of fixed tidal nets that a large supply of fish for the market is ensured.

"PAIDLE" NET

This small stake net has one pocket into which fish are led by various arms, the plan of the net being to all intents and purposes the same as that of the stake salmon net (Pl. III fig. 2).

The pocket of the net, however, is different, its mouth opening at the bottom into a small barrel-shaped trap known as a "paidle," devised for catching flounders (Pl. III fig. 3). The advantage of the paidle into which the fish are finally drawn, is that it keeps the fish together and facilitates their removal from the net. The paidle is about three feet long and two and a half feet high.

For generations fishermen have set nets of this type on flounder feeding grounds in the Solway to catch white fish; some formerly chose their sites to capture fish of all kinds, including salmon. This, however, was made illegal (1886) and for a time the use of the net was almost completely abandoned. The paidle net, to-day, is lightly built and kept throughout appreciably lower than the salmon nets. The average height of the net is about five feet; the pocket is about eight feet long by four and a half feet broad. The netting, formerly made of Russian hemp, a strong material sufficient to stop a running fish, is now lighter, generally of cotton twine. The pocket may be covered or not. A cover may be more important in some places than in others, but is bound to add to the efficiency of the net. If covered, the pocket will be a more deadly trap for fish of all kinds, not excluding the occasional salmon which is liable to enter it. For a flounder net maximum efficiency is essential if the fisherman is to pay his way.

The position of this flounder net, in which fish may be caught on the flood as well as on the ebb tide, is on a channel bank with the "head" reaching over the top of the bank at a point where the fish coming over it drop into deeper water. As they run against one of the leading arms, they are swept into the pocket and finally into the paidle.

The paidle net survives on the Scottish side of the Solway alone.[2]

"POKE" NET

The simplest type of tide net, and no doubt an early one,[3] is used in the neighbourhood of Annan for trapping salmon. Sir Walter Scott's novel *Redgauntlet* contains numerous allusions to "nets of flex and stakes of wood" among the "Lakes of Solway,"[4] which are described as "improved modes of erecting snares, opening at the advance of the tide and shutting at the reflux." The type of net is easily recognised. In the past perhaps best known in the form of a "raise" or "rise" net, its lower part rose with the mouth of the net wide open to the top when

the tide flowed, but was flattened by the pressure of the ebb to form a bag or "poke" in which the fish were trapped.[5] A poke net, to-day, works on the same principle.

The net is made of sturdy hanks of cotton, suspended between a pair of iron stakes or "stours," five and a half to six feet high, forming a four-foot pocket (Pl. IV fig. 1). The pairs of stours are set in groups of five which constitute a "clout," each fisher being allotted fifteen clouts or seventy-five pockets.

Licences are issued annually by the District Fishery Board and usually given to retired fishermen or fishermen's widows, and the position of the licensee's nets is determined at the end of January, prior to the opening of the season, by the ancient method of "casting the mell," which is still practised in some districts in a more or less modified form. Each fisher, of whom there may be a dozen or more, builds a small heap of sand upon the shore. One, who is selected to be the neutral man, turns his back while the others stand at random beside the sandheaps carefully noting each other's position. The fishermen then stand aside. The neutral man, who does not know his own position nor that of any of the others, kicks down one of the sandheaps. This gives the man whose heap it was the first choice of place at the fishing ground, the positions of the others depending on the order in which the sandheaps are kicked over.

THE "HAAF" NET

A large type of "pock" or "poke" net, which must be held and worked by the fisher standing up to his breast in the channel, is known as the "haaf" net. Available sources of information on the use of this net in the past throw no light on its origin. *Haf* is Norse for "the open sea" and survives in the dialect of Barra, where "fishermen still call the Atlantic the Haf" (Maclean 1956: 21), and elsewhere in the Hebrides and in Shetland. It is at least a plausible guess that the net came over to this country with the Norsemen, but there is no evidence. Another explanation of the name links it with Icelandic *hafr*, a poke-net for herring fishing, Norwegian *haav*, connected with the verb *hevja* meaning "to lift or raise."

My attention has been drawn by Mr E. C. Truckell to two entries in the Dumfries Kirk Session Book (1649 and 1653), the first referring to "fishers and halffers," the second to "halff netts." In 1692 Symson describes the "halfe net" as having almost the "forme of a semicircle" (Symson 1907:

79-80), which seems to indicate a slightly different meaning of the name by which the net was then known. An eighteenth century description, however, speaks of "haaving" or "hauling" with a "pock" net "fixed to a kind of frame, consisting of a beam twelve or fourteen feet long, having three small sticks or rungs fixed to it" (*Stat. Acc. Scot.* 1791: 15). Both of these sources refer to localities on the Solway, and observations on the use of the net are identical.[6]

The net, to-day, differs in no important respect from that used in the past. It is fixed to a beam or a cross-bar and to three "rungs" at right angles. There is one of these at each end and one, the midrung, not quite in the centre and projecting through the cross-bar (formerly known as the "haaf-bawk"[7]) by which the frame is held.

Standing in the running tide as deep in the water as his breast-high waders will allow[8] (Pl. IV fig. 2) the "haafer" sets his net against the stream and holds it firmly with his left hand on the centre of the beam, pressing it down and out and keeping it at arm's length, while reaching out with his right arm to grip the handle (Pl. V figs. 1, 3). The correct position for the fisher is to stand with one foot forward, so that he is able to lean against the fishing frame and yet, if necessary, quickly withdraw his weight and regain his balance.

He then pulls up six meshes on his thumb so that a small bag or "poke" forms at each end of the net (Pl. V fig. 3). When a fish strikes against one of the pokes, the haafer, feeling a pull at his thumb, instantly takes one step backwards, and presses down on the midrung. His haaf then floats to the top. ". . . from each corner of the net they have a warning string coming, which they hold in their hand, which gives them warning when the least fish comes in the net, and presently they pull the stakes (for so they term the frame of timber) from the ground, which are instantly wafted to the top of the water, and so catch the fish . . ." (*Stat. Acc. Scot.* 1791: 15). If a salmon is caught in the right poke, he flings it with his right hand over into the double yarn, then turns with his back to the tide, knocks it over the head with his "mell" (a mallet) (Pl. V fig. 2 and Pl. VI fig. 2) and throws it out of the double yarn. Then he lets the current swell the poke out, draws it in again to reach the fish, puts his finger into the gill, balances the fish over his shoulder, still holding onto the gill, and slips it head first into a bag slung over his shoulders (Pl. VI figs. 1, 2; Pl. VII figs. 1, 2).

FIG. 1.—20-foot tidal bore, River Nith at Glencaple.

FIG. 2.—"Haafers" taking up position, Glencaple.

FIG. 1

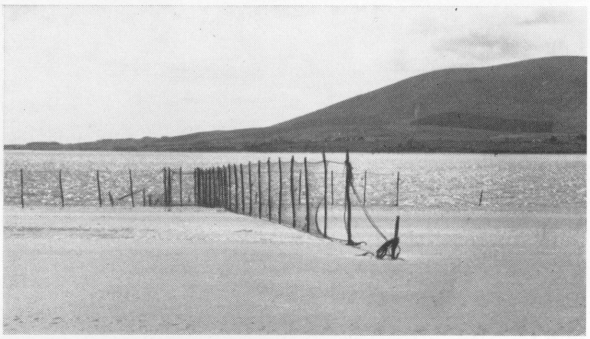

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 1.—Stake salmon net (two chambers), estuary of River Cree.
FIG. 2.—"Paidle" net (one chamber), estuary of River Nith.
FIG. 3.—Removing the catch from the "paidle".

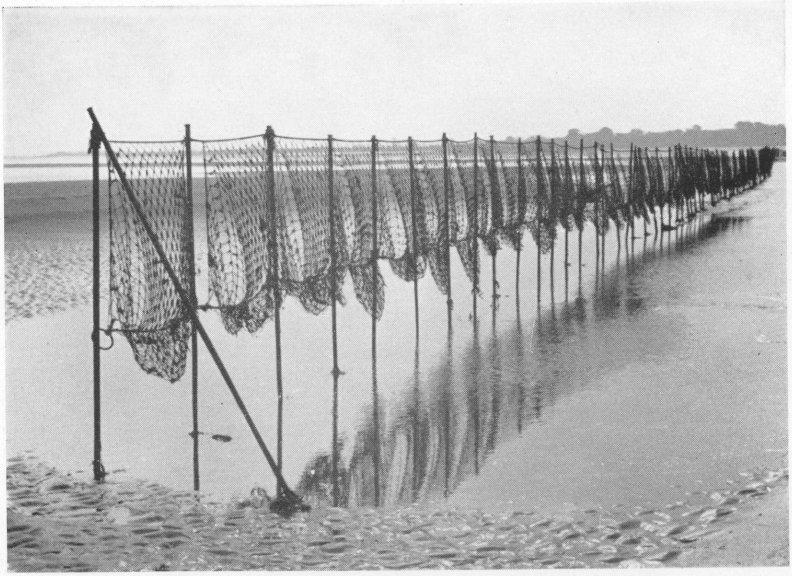

FIG. 1.—"Poke" nets, estuary of River Annan.

FIG. 2.—"Haafers" in the running tide, River Nith.

FIG. 1.—Waiting for a fish.

FIG. 2.—The kill.

FIG. 3.—The correct position for the "haafer".

FIG. 1.—Fighting a salmon in the ebb-tide.

FIG. 2.—Preparing to kill with the "mell".

FIG. 1.—Passing the finger into the gill.

FIG. 2.—Bagging the fish head first.

FIG. 1.—Salmon "yair", net up, River Dee, Kirkcudbright.

FIG. 2.—Salmon "yair", net down, River Dee, Kirkcudbright.

When more than three are fishing in the same place, the haafers stand in a row (Pl. IV fig. 2). They "pile" for positions before restarting in any place or fishing ground. The method is apparently derived from the ancient practice of "casting the mell" which is retained among the fishermen of Annan (p. 169). As the tide rises and becomes too strong, the haafers move in from the deep end, one by one, to "set down" on the "shal end," or go behind the "backs," and as the tide ebbs they move farther and farther down and continue till low water. After bagging the fish, the haafer resumes his position in the row without delay.

Haafing is laborious and requires much endurance, but the reward attracts a growing number of part-time fishers from the neighbourhood to haaf side by side with the regular fishermen.[9] The latter generally manage to practise haafing and to attend to one or other of the stake nets as well. Some take up their positions standing on a "brow" (slope of a flat bank) at the foot of a channel (leading into the Solway) when the tide is starting to "bound" and salmon are coming up the river with the rising flood. This needs courage and great circumspection. A man may stand just too long to escape the pressing flood and be washed away before he can manage to get up the brow. An experienced fisherman who was trying to extricate his mate from such a perilous position by holding out the end of the haaf "back" to pull him up the slope once found himself unable to do so without fetching help, so heavy was the man with his waders filled with sand and water. Bad visibility is dreaded. The story is told how having to wade through a "gut" (old channel) on their way back from their positions in the channel on a foggy night, one group of fishermen decided they would leave the fishing as soon as they saw the tide come within reach of a nearby stake net. That night a lot of fish were running and the catch was promising. "Coming out from the deep, over to the 'shal' end, my father[10] suddenly thought of the stake net, and as he went to have a look at it, found it in four feet of water. Immediately he gave the alarm. With their waders on to save time (normally they take them off) and holding on to one another's haaf back, the men advanced forming a human chain, the tallest first, the smallest last. This worked; four of them, washed off their feet, but clinging to their haaf backs, were pulled to safety by the other five men. But their troubles were not over. Keeping close together in thick fog, they started for the road but after half an hour they came

back to the water's edge. Again they tried and then decided, as the tide was almost spent, to wait until the fog had lifted. An hour or so later they discovered that they had walked round in circles."

Fishing, in shallow water, on the "shal", or "fording," is practised either by a group of fishers or individually—the solitary fisher having the best of it—with a full haaf back or with a miniature haaf—or "lifting" net. With the haaf back on his shoulder, always on the move, the fisher looks for the "break" of a salmon and prepares to run to get in front of it before it escapes into the deeper water.[11]

THE SALMON "YAIR"

A more convenient mode of fishing salmon with a type of stake net which is dying out, the salmon "yair", is still in operation during the summer in the estuary of the Dee at Kirkcudbright. The net consists of two leaders, wattled with twigs, forming a V-shaped enclosure into which the fish enter with the flow of the tide. It must therefore be placed as close as possible to the tide-way. The fisher operates the net from what are called the "yairs," a sort of scaffold with projecting platform, erected at a point where the two leading stakes come close together, pulling up each salmon onto the platform as he feels it entering his net (Pl. VIII figs. 1 and 2). This net is believed to be the only example of its type left in the country.[12]

The yair is supposed to have been introduced by the monks of Tongland Abbey.

It is not, of course, intended to make a complete list of all the types of net in use in the Solway to-day or of those which have been used in the past, the writer's aim being rather to place on record the various modes of fishing which are of interest before they disappear through replacement by more modern and standardised methods. "Greedy devices" they may have been in the eyes of those who used "only the boat-net and the spear, or fishing rod," to quote once more from *Redgauntlet*, but who can doubt that further "improvement" of the methods used in the name of efficiency and dictated by commercial interests on a larger and larger scale will far surpass in "greed" even the most offensive of those used in the past, and this without the compensation of their predecessors' claim to the picturesque? Our sympathy must always be with the "haafer" whose efforts compare favourably with those of the more "manly" angler.

[1] At Glencaple, close to the mouth of the River Nith, on the north shore of the Solway, where the tidal range is considerable and the tidal current strong, the flood tide (from 16 feet upwards) under certain conditions comes in as a bore (Pl. II fig. 1) which may move at a rate of five knots or even more. The following passage in the *Irish Life of Adamnan*, quoted by Maxwell (1896:2), refers to the Solway:

> "The strand is long, and the flood rapid—so rapid, that if the best steed in Saxonland, ridden by the best horseman were to start from the edge of the tide when it begins to flow, he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the strand and so impetuous is the tide."

[2] In Morecambe Bay, on the flat shores of Lancashire, white fish are caught in stake nets which have no elaborate traps, pockets or mazes (baulk nets, stream nets and tail nets). The nets are from a hundred to three hundred yards long and up to three feet high. From this it may be inferred that fish are intercepted only when the tide is ebbing. Evidently varieties of an altogether different type of net and different methods are employed under similar physical conditions to those in the Solway.

[3] No evidence is at hand as to the time when the earlier wicker or stone fish-traps, remains of which are occasionally washed out of the sand at many points round the Scottish side of the Solway, gave way to stake nets. The early charters as far back as the 1120's make references to Solway fisheries and these presumably employed the more ancient fish-traps.

[4] The pools left by the tide in the hollows on the sands at the head of the Firth.

[5] Scott's acquaintance with this net is suggested by the attention he paid to its position in the lakes, not in the river channels—a point of difference in the way nets of this type were used. See also *Stat. Acc. Scot.* 1791: 16-17.

[6] In Morecambe Bay, to-day, a variation of the type is called a "heave" net (so termed in the Lancashire River Board Licences Order).

[7] "The pole whereby the net is raised out of the water." (The *English Dialect Dictionary* Vol. III.)

[8] In the old days, still within memory of the older men, the haaf-net fisher used to wrap a folded blanket round his waist, reaching down to his knees, in the manner of a kilt. One end of the blanket might be fastened to a stake, so that a man could roll himself into the length of it and keep it tight as he worked his way towards the stake ("whapping" post). It may therefore have been possible for the people to go into the water till it came "up to their breast and sometimes to their shoulders . . ." (Symson 1841: 64).

[9] Speaking about the toilsome and dangerous life of the Irish shores, E. E. Evans stresses that "these various activities are carried on not as a rule by specialized fishermen but by farmers and peasants to whom the sea offers an accessory source of life and interest . . ." (Evans 1949: 152).

[10] I am indebted for this story to the son of Robert Wilson, fisherman, Glencaple, Dumfries.

[11] A singular mode of fishing, called "shauling" is recorded in the parish of Dornock, at the end of the eighteenth century: it was done with "leisters"—a kind of four pronged fork, with the prongs turned a little to one side, having a shaft 20 or 24 feet long. These were thrown by the fishers, sometimes upon horseback, killing at great distances, when the waters turned shallow (*Stat. Acc. Scot.* 1791: 15).

An earlier record from a survey carried out by Timothy Pont at the beginning of the seventeenth century, mentions the same method, practised on the shores of Ruthwell, Annandale, when the tide was starting to flow: "Also, which is both profitable and pleasant, the inhabitants . . . watch for salmon entering the channels of the Solway, and when they see them ascending the flood, they enter the river on horseback and easily transfix and land them with spears of three prongs." (quoted in Maxwell 1896: 253-4).

The method survives to-day in the custom of "tramping" flounders, which is still practised on the sandbanks, mainly in the estuary of the Nith. Bare-foot and bare-legged the people wade into the shallow water, feeling the fish slide between their toes and stabbing them one by one through the head with hay forks (leisters being illegal).

[12] In the past, more salmon yairs are known to have existed. There was one at Spittal, on the east side of the River Cree, Kirkcudbright. The river here is several miles broad at high water, though at low water it is contained in a narrow channel. Extreme velocity of the tide-stream is at times experienced in this passage where there used to be a ferry (to Wigtown).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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THE LATE Fr. ALLAN McDONALD, Miss GOODRICH FREER AND HEBRIDEAN FOLKLORE

J. L. Campbell *

At the time of the death of the late Fr. Allan McDonald of Eriskay in October 1905, it was well known that he had compiled a large collection of South Uist folklore during the twenty-one years he was a parish priest at Dalibrog and Eriskay, and that this collection had been acquired by the late W. B. Blaikie for publication in the *Celtic Review*, as is stated on page 192 of Volume 5 (1908-9) of that Journal. But apart from a few folk-anecdotes which appeared in the *Celtic Review* [1] shortly after his death, the collection vanished.

The reason why no attempt was made to publish it by Fr. Allan McDonald's contemporaries is explained in the following pages. Writing his obituary for the *Catholic Directory*, Mgr. Canon A. Mackintosh remarked of Fr. Allan that "he gave (all too freely it may be said) of his gleanings and valuable assistance to other workers in the Celtic field." The chief beneficiary of Fr. Allan's generosity in this respect was Miss Goodrich Freer. The rediscovery of Fr. Allan McDonald's MSS., for which I began a search before the last war, which was greatly aided by various friends such as Mgr. Canon MacMaster, the Rev. J. McBride, Professor Angus McIntosh and Professor Angus Matheson, has made it at long last possible for an assessment to be made of Miss Freer's methods, and of her indebtedness (almost total) to the collecting work of Fr. Allan McDonald. But for the fact that part of the material he collected was collected with her encouragement, and was put by him at her disposal for arrangement and publication one would be justified in saying that she had made an unabashed use of his folklore collections in the interest of her literary career, but I doubt very much indeed if he intended that it should be published in a way which implied that she was the collector, for to have done so would have been becoming

* The author of this article has traced most of the literary remains of the late Fr. Allan McDonald with the help of various friends, and is engaged in preparing them for publication.

accessory to a deception of the public, a thing which it was entirely contrary to Fr. Allan's nature to do.

At any rate, the harm was done, and done before Fr. Allan's death. In a letter written on 6th January 1902 to Fr. Allan, Alexander Carmichael remarked that:

"Mr. Henderson (i.e. Dr. George Henderson) says that Miss Freer has made such free use of your MSS. in her various publications that she has not left much of much value. This is very vexing, for both Mr. Henderson and Mr. Blaikie were very desirous that all your MSS. should be published in full and under your own name."

Carmichael's statement that Miss Freer had not left much of much value is fortunately not correct: she had been entirely unable to make use of material recorded only in Gaelic, and in consequence had left untouched many folk-tales, folk-songs, traditional prayers, proverbs and all lexicographical material. But as far as Fr. Allan's collection contained material that appealed to the popular interest in general folklore, it had been gutted.

Miss Freer took a good deal of trouble to arrange and classify this material. But her method involved very serious defects. She was not acquainted with the language of the people with whose folklore she was dealing, still less with their oral tradition as a whole. And, while we need not reproach her for not having instituted comparisons with Irish or Scandinavian folklore, because a straightforward presentation of Hebridean folklore would have been valuable enough, the limitation of her method involved the neglect of anything that could not have been understood by her or presented as sensational (in the same way Mrs. Kennedy Fraser was only interested in Hebridean folk-song insofar as it was suitable for adaptation to the concert platform). Eventually, as will be seen, Miss Freer got herself into the position where the greater her status as an expert on Hebridean folklore appeared to be, the more difficult it was to sustain.

Certainly it would have been far better if Fr. Allan McDonald had published his collection himself. There is a refreshing charm about his style which is lost in Miss Freer's condensation, and as a man on the spot, fully acquainted with the background of the tradition and the language of the people, he would have avoided the misleading generalisations and the errors of translation introduced by Miss Freer. It was unfortunate that Blaikie and Carmichael only became interested in his collection after the harm had been done, but now that

The Outer Isles and the earlier volumes of *Folklore* are out of print, the opportunity to publish Fr. Allan McDonald's own words may yet occur.

. . . . . .

In July 1884 Fr. Allan McDonald, a native of Fort William who had been educated for the priesthood at Blairs and Valladolid, was appointed by the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, the Rt. Rev. Angus Macdonald, as parish priest of Dalibrog, a parish which comprised the southernmost third of South Uist and the Island of Eriskay, with a congregation of 2300 souls, all Gaelic speakers except two or three, and many, especially of the older generation, knowing little or no English.

Fr. Allan, as he is always known locally, applied himself to his parochial duties zealously. He soon mastered the local Gaelic dialect, in which all his own verse and prose compositions were later to be written. Having a sensitive and intelligent mind, he could not fail to see that he was living in the midst of a local oral tradition of great interest and antiquity; and, probably with the encouragement of the Rev. Alexander Campbell, an old priest born in Uist in 1819 or 1820 and living there in retirement, he began to note down local traditions, songs, proverbs, sayings and customs in 1887, often giving the actual Gaelic words of the reciters. By December 1892 he had filled two large quarto notebooks with such material, the first containing 480 items, the second 105. These dates are important, for they prove that Fr. Allan had already collected a large quantity of folklore before any outside influence was brought to bear on, or outside interest taken in, him. A large part of his second notebook is taken up with Fingalian stories taken down in Eriskay, and later printed in the *Celtic Review* by the late Rev. Dr. George Henderson (1905-9). In the winter of 1892-3 Fr. Allan's health broke down from overwork, and Bishop Angus Macdonald made Eriskay a separate parish, and transferred him there so that his burden of work would be less heavy.

Five more quarto notebooks were filled by Fr. Allan while living in Eriskay. The first two of these, Nos. III and IV, have unfortunately disappeared, but we can safely assign them to the period 1893-5, and, as will be seen, some of the material they contained survives, though in a condensed form. Nos. V and VI are extant, the first covering the period January 1896 to January 1897 and the latter February 1897 to March 1898. A seventh notebook contains various material collected

between 1895 and 1899 besides a number of his own compositions, including his famous Gaelic poem on Eriskay. Three more notebooks contain hymns, waulking songs, and lexicographical material respectively. The total amount of material collected cannot be very much less than 350,000 words and it amounts to one of the most important local collections of folklore ever made anywhere.

It was not long before Fr. Allan's interest in these matters became known. Letters to him from Alexander Carmichael, the well-known editor of *Carmina Gadelica*, are extant from April 1893, and he also corresponded with, and enjoyed the friendship of the late Rev. Dr. George Henderson, at one time lecturer in Celtic at Glasgow University, whose extant letters to Fr. Allan date from June of the same year; and in both cases it appears that the correspondence had already been going on for some time. These, and other scholars were in the habit of frequently consulting Fr. Allan, who had easy access to some of the best reciters, on questions of folklore and lexicography.

Towards the end of 1893 the Society for Psychical Research, which was participating in a "Census of Hallucinations in every part of the World", sent out 2000 copies of a circular, at the expense of the then Marquis of Bute, to clergymen and schoolmasters, etc., living in the Highlands and Islands, for the purpose of discovering to what extent belief in second sight still survived. Only sixty recipients troubled to reply, of whom half answered in the affirmative. Six months later another circular, written by the Marquis of Bute himself, elicited 210 answers of which 64 were in the affirmative.

Associated with this inquiry was a Miss Goodrich Freer, a lady who in the Hebrides is usually referred to as an American, though she described herself to the Gaelic Society of Inverness in 1896 as "born south of the Tweed". Miss Freer had access to the replies to the Marquis of Bute's circular; in the autumn of 1894 she visited the "districts specially indicated" at the request of the Society for Psychical Research, to which she read papers on the rather meagre results of the inquiry, on 7th December 1894 and 6th December 1895, under the pseudonym of "Miss X". On 30th April 1896 she delivered a lecture to the Gaelic Society of Inverness on the subject of "Second Sight in the Highlands". The audience, many of whom could hardly have been totally ignorant of the subject, must have felt somewhat disappointed, when, instead of producing any interesting anecdotes about second sight, Miss Freer subjected

them to a long and rather naïve address about the Society for Psychical Research's circular issued through the Marquis of Bute's liberality, with a few clichés about psychic Gaels and materialistic Saxons thrown in, and an exhortation to further the inquiry itself. They might well have asked what qualifications she possessed to direct and organise research of this kind.

If the answers to these circulars have been preserved, they are not now accessible to students. But it is probable enough that Fr. Allan was one of the few who replied, and replied in the affirmative, for he had already noted a number of anecdotes about second sight. It is certain that Miss Freer must have met him on her trip to the Hebrides in 1894; and from her point of view the trip was a great success. The Society's inquiry into second sight in the Highlands and Islands seems to have petered out, but the visit was to provide Miss Freer with a mine of important literary and folklore material. Within a few years article after article was to come from her pen: "Christian Legends of the Hebrides" (*Contemporary Review* 74: 390-412, September 1898); "The Powers of Evil in the Outer Hebrides" read to the Folklore Society on 15th February 1899 and printed in *Folklore* 10: 259-82, in September 1899; "Eriskay and Prince Charles" in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 169: 232-41, of February 1901; "More Folklore from the Hebrides" read to the Folklore Society on 6th February 1901 and printed in *Folklore* 13: 29-62, on 25th March 1902; and finally her book *The Outer Isles* published in London later the same year. All were substantial articles, implying authoritative knowledge and profound research. They were vitiated by one thing, that is, that all the folklore material in them relating to Eriskay and South Uist (and also other material relating to Barra and Lochaber) was taken practically verbatim from the notebooks of Fr. Allan McDonald.

This was not done without a measure of consent on the part of the original collector; nor without a measure of acknowledgment on the part of Miss Freer. Nor can it be denied that part at least of Fr. Allan's collecting was inspired by her interest and encouragement. But the free use of his material under her own name coupled with acknowledgments that leave the reader with the impression that he was simply her collaborator in work which she initiated, goes beyond the bounds of what is permissible and eventually left Fr. Allan with his collection sucked dry of some of its most interesting contents and without

the public recognition which he merited and which would have been his, had it been published under his own name.

In order to demonstrate Miss Freer's methods I must again remind readers that a considerable part of his collection, including some very interesting items, had been made before he had met Miss Freer in 1894. It is therefore obvious that the folklore these volumes contain cannot have been collected by Miss Freer herself, nor could she have accompanied Fr. Allan while he was collecting it. It is also demonstrable that Miss Freer was not in Eriskay between September 1897 and June 1898 and that material taken down between those dates must have been given to Fr. Allan alone.[2] In any case Fr. Allan's informants imparted their material to him in Gaelic, which Miss Freer did not understand.

Miss Freer's methods in publishing this material were as follows:—(1) Admitting indebtedness to Fr. Allan in apparently generous acknowledgment, but concealing the fact that what she was printing was actually his material or a précis of it; (2) referring to Fr. Allan as "a priest," "my informant" and as "Fr. Allan," this giving the impression that there were three different people involved; (3) quoting verbatim remarks of reciters entered in Fr. Allan's notebooks in a way that implies these remarks were made to her; (4) constantly using the first person plural, implying that she and Fr. Allan had gone folklore-collecting together; (5) using Fr. Allan's comments on customs, etc., as if they were her own.

The following examples, taken for the most part from folklore collected by Fr. Allan before he met Miss Freer, show what I mean:

Fr. Allan, Notebook I No. 67:

"A man Campbell was going to mass early one Sunday morning to Kildonan. On the strand he found a woman and her daughter actively 'a deilbh buidseachd,' framing witchcrafts, by crossing threads of varied colours in various manners, just as is done when threads are arranged for the loom. He tore up the whole apparatus and chid them with their breach of the Sunday and their malice. The witches entreated him not to mention what he had seen them doing, and they promised him immunity from injury. After mass he told all the people about the matter, and shortly afterwards, when about to sail to the mainland a crow stood on the mast, and after they started from shore a storm arose in which he perished. This occurrence did not take place within the memory of the present generation."

Miss Freer, *Folklore* 10 (1899) 282:

"I will conclude with a warning against lightly meddling with matters so serious as these. A man named C. was going to Mass early on Sunday morning to Kiloanan." (*sic:* this is what the word looks like in Fr. Allan's writing, but anyone who knew Uist would have known "Kildonan" was meant.) "As he crossed the strand, he found a woman and her daughter actively engaged in framing witchcrafts by means of pieces of thread of various colours. He tore up the whole apparatus and rebuked them for malice and for breach of the Sunday. They entreated him not to reveal what he had seen, and promised their protection in return for his silence. Nevertheless after Mass he told the story. Shortly after, when he was about to sail for the mainland, a black crow settled on the mast of the boat and a storm arose in which he perished. The story is not only true, but of recent occurrence."

The whole story suffers through Miss Freer's condensation, and her last remark is the entire contrary of what Fr. Allan himself wrote, and produces a misleading impression as to the contemporaneity of witchcraft in South Uist.

Fr. Allan, Notebook I No. 170:

"On Hallowe'en six plates were placed on the floor each with separate contents and the girls of the house were blindfolded and led to the spot where the plates were laid down, and the first she touched foretold her fate

Uisge glan	A husband against whom nothing could be said.
Salann	A sailor
Min	A farmer
Ùir	Death
Uisge salach	A disreputable husband
Eanghlas bhainne	Foretold adultery. Cf. page 97" (on which page Fr. Allan noted the story of the Adultery of Cú-Chulainn and Bláthmat as recounted by Rhys.)

Following the first five Gaelic entries are the English equivalents in Miss Freer's handwriting, "Pure water, salt, meal, earth, dirty water". A question mark in her hand follows *Eanghlas bhainne*, and after it Fr. Allan has added the explanation "milk and water mixed".

In *Folklore* 13 (1902) 53, this divination is given by Miss Freer as follows:

"On Hallowe'en six plates were placed on the floor each with separate contents, and the girl (*sic*) of the house came blindfolded. The first she touched foretold her fate. 1. Pure water portended an

unexceptionable husband. 2. Salt, a sailor. 3. Meal, a farmer. 4. Earth, a death. 5. Dirty water, a disreputable husband. 6. An empty plate, no husband."

The sixth divination given by Miss Freer here is quite in keeping with the others; but it is certainly not what Fr. Allan McDonald, from whom she copied this item, noted down. The impression given is one of bowdlerisation.

Fr. Allan Notebook I No. 37 (taken down on Eriskay in 1887):

"The sea is considered much more blessed than the land. A man will stay all night alone in a boat a few yards from the shore without fear, yet he would not stay an hour in the darkness alone on the shore so near him. The boats of course are always blessed and holy water is kept in each boat as a rule. On one occasion going to Eriskay after nightfall I was made aware of this idea of the sea's blessedness. I asked the man who came for me what place on shore would his companion be in, who was awaiting us. 'He won't be on the shore at all, by the book. He will be in the boat itself. The sea is holier to live on than the shore.' "

Miss Freer, *Folklore* 10 (1899) 260-1:

"The sea is much more blessed than the land. A man will not be afraid to stay all night in a boat a few yards from shore, but he would not stay an hour alone in the dark on land.

"A priest told me that one day he was crossing the dangerous Minch, which lies between Uist and Eriskay, on a dark night to visit some sick person. He asked the man who had fetched him where his companion, who was awaiting them, would shelter on the shore. 'He won't be on the shore at all, by the Book! It is in the boat itself he will be. The sea is holier to live on than the shore.' "

Fr. Allan Notebook I No. 83 (taken down in 1887 or 1888):

"It is customary on New Year's Eve for the children to go and ask their Hogmanay. From the fourth line of the subjoined rhyme it seems that the custom was kept formerly on the Eve of Xmas, as the Spaniards keep their 'Noche Buena'.

> "'*S mise nochd dol a Chullaig*
> *Dh'ùrachadh eubh na Calluig*
> *A dh'innse 'mhnathan a bhaile*
> *Gur e màireach latha Nollaig.*" etc.

Miss Freer, *Folklore* 13 (1902) 45 (the translation of the Gaelic is of course by Fr. Allan, and unacknowledged):

"Hogmany (*sic*) Night has naturally its especial customs. The children go round to the houses on New Year's Eve to ask their Hogmany. It appears from the fourth line of their rhyme as if the

custom obtained formerly on *Christmas* Eve, as among the Spaniards,[3] who keep then their *Noche Buena*.

> "I tonight am going a Hogmanying,
> Going to renew the shout of the Kalends,
> To tell the women of the township
> That tomorrow is the Day of Christmas".

Fr. Allan Notebook V No. 162:

"Yew, *iubhair beinne*, is kept in a house as preservative against fire. Was it ever used for 'Palms' on Palm Sunday? If so, the custom is the same as the Spanish one of placing palm branches on balconies against lightning." (Noted from Dougal MacMillan, Eriskay, on 11th November 1896.)

Miss Freer, *Folklore* 13 (1902) 32:

"Branches of yew are kept in the house as a preservative against fire—it may be a survival of keeping the Palm Sunday boughs. (In Spain they are placed in balconies against lightning.)"

The way that this item of folklore is presented by Miss Freer illustrates several of the shortcomings of her method.

(1) A botanical error made by Fr. Allan is copied. *Iubhair beinne* is not yew, but the creeping juniper that grows in some inaccessible places in the isles. No doubt by now this item has been incorporated into the general folklore of the yew-tree by copyists!

(2) "Kept in *the* house" is substituted for "kept in *a* house," and thereby a custom, learnt of from only one informant and probably by no means universal, is generalised and presented as part of a system of Hebridean folk-belief.

(3) Fr. Allan's speculation upon the origin of the custom, and his allusion to a foreign parallel, are included as if they were Miss Freer's own comments.

Fr. Allan VI 106:

"When a person is asked to go late at night for water and is unwilling to go the following proverb is quoted: *Is iasgaidh òm na mhaduinn.* I don't know what *òm* is." VI 247 (36): "*Is iasgaidh om* ((pronounced) like *com*) *'na maduinn*, better do it at once."

Miss Freer, *Folklore* 10 (1899) 72:

"Another mysterious entity who appears only in a proverb is '*Ōm*', of whom it is said: 'Om is most active in his morning.' The phrase is used to anyone who wishes at night to put off doing something till next day."

Though Fr. Allan was puzzled by this expression himself, the difficulty could have been solved by consulting Nicolson's *Collection of Gaelic Proverbs*. *Is èasgaidhe nòin na madainn*, "noon

is more lively than morning", p. 234. The same expression is found in Irish, see Dinneen's Dictionary under *éascaidh*. In Scotland it appears to have been corrupted in transmission, for Mackintosh recorded it as *is ea-sgith nò no madain*, "people are readier to act at night than in the morning" (the same sense as that given by Dinneen). No such "entity" as "Om" exists in Scottish Gaelic folklore; his name may be safely deleted from the list of Highland hobgoblins.

Fr. Allan, VI 258 (from Miss Christina MacInnes, Coilleag, Eriskay):

"The raven is not liked because he did not come back to the ark but remained eating the carcases he found floating and lying about, and he acquired such experience then in finding out carcases, that ever since he always knows where a carcase is and has meat (flesh) always. This knowledge of his is proverbially known as *'fios fithich'* the raven's knowledge."

Fr. Allan, I 480:

"When Cuchulainn was dying it is said that the host of his enemies despatched a crow *feannag* to see if he were dead. His dying attitude was so lifelike being propped up by spears," (as related, so Fr. Allan tells us, in a narrative in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* [Carmichael 1873: 25-39]) "that

The *feannag* returned and said
Chaog an t'sùil,
'S cham am bial.

And thereby intimated that his life was extinct."

Miss Freer fused these two items together, suppressed the reference to Alexander Carmichael, and produced the following:

Folklore 13 (1902) 35:

"Knowledge of the whereabouts of the lost, if dead, is called raven's knowledge. When Cuchullin was dying the host of his enemies despatched a crow (*fiannag*)" (*sic:* this is what Fr. Allan's handwriting would suggest to a person ignorant of Gaelic) "to see if he were dead. His dying attitude was so life-like, propped up with spears, that the raven (*sic*) returning, could only say:

The eye looks askance
And the mouth is awry."

On p. 33 of this article in *Folklore* 13, Miss Freer states that "the sort of story which, in *Æsop's Fables*, is attributed to the fox, is in the Outer Hebrides where foxes are unknown, related

to the cat." But as anyone with first-hand knowledge of Hebridean folklore is aware, the islanders know perfectly well what a fox is, and it figures in folk-anecdotes in the oral tradition; and in fact, Fr. Allan took down the story of the fox, the wolf and the butter in Notebook VI, No. 45.

One of the most striking proofs of Miss Freer's ignorance of Gaelic and her unreliability as a "folklorist" is her treatment of the word *toradh*. The original passage occurs in Fr. Allan Notebook I, Item No. 86:

"A plant called *caoibhreachan* was considered lucky and a sufficient protection against witchcraft. They say it is impossible that any milk or *toradh* can be witched out of a house, where the *caoibhrichean* is kept under an upturned vessel."

Miss Freer has, *Folklore* 10 (1899) 275:

"The marsh-ragwort (*caoibhreachan*) is valuable against the *torradh*" (*sic*) "and the Evil Eye generally.

"Of all forms of evil influence none is more dreaded than this *torradh*, or the charming away of milk from cattle."

And in the glossary to *The Outer Isles:* "*toradh*, a form of evil influence, the charming away of milk from cattle."

Thus is Gaelic folklore given to the world! *Toradh* means nothing more than "produce"! Milk is the produce of cows; *toradh* is what the witches tried to charm away, not the charming away itself.

In a long passage on "Divination" (*Folklore* 13 (1902) 47) that is copied from Fr. Allan (Vol. I, Items 146 and 350, Vol. V, Item 103) Miss Freer (to whom the innocent reader would think the whole passage had been told) betrays herself completely by not realising that "Catriana MacEachan" who is referred to in Vol. V, Item 103, was the same person as the "very old woman" referred to as a Campbell in Vol. I, Item 146! Two informants are given when only one existed (Campbell 1955).

These instances could be multiplied wholesale. Each of the four of Fr. Allan's folklore notebooks which I have seen (I, II, V, VI) have ticks against the material which Miss Freer copied, along with marginal and indexing comments in her writing. Volume VII, fortunately, never came into her hands and remains unmarked.

Miss Freer concluded her last talk to the Folklore Society, given on 6th November 1901, with the following words:

"The above miscellaneous gatherings are, so to speak, the

flotsam and jetsam of the wild seas of the Outer Herbides. They present, I believe, considerable material for the commentator and the comparative folklorist, but the task of discussion is one for which the present writer lacks—among other things—at this moment, leisure, though she looks forward to the attempt on some future occasion."

The "above miscellaneous gatherings" in fact represented much of the contents of Fr. Allan McDonald's notebooks; and the disinclination of the lecturer for the "task of discussion" may very well have arisen from the fact that she had utilised his material to a point where the illusion that it actually represented the proceeds of her own inquiries would be more than a little difficult to sustain, and could hardly have been sustained if there had been a Gaelic-speaking questioner, familiar with the Hebrides, in her audience that evening.

When it is added that in her preface to this paper in Vol. 13 (1902) of *Folklore* Miss Freer claimed copyright in the material printed and asserted that Fr. Allan had been a common source for both Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* and for herself, it is not surprising that Fr. Allan's friends rebelled.

As early as 13th August 1901 Alexander Carmichael had written Fr. Allan complaining of the way Miss Freer had received his wife when she (Mrs. Carmichael) called on her in London. "Ella" (his daughter) "was told when in London that Miss Freer is not what she seems, and draws upon her imagination a good deal for her facts". On 7th October of the same year he wrote "We hear from various sources that Miss Freer is not genuine and some call her a clever imposter. I never got my wife to believe in her."

The assertion that Fr. Allan was a source for *Carmina Gadelica* angered Carmichael greatly. He had explicitly denied this in the preface to *Carmina Gadelica* which appeared in 1900. In March 1902 he wrote: "I thought much, very much, of Miss Freer. I think less, much less, of her now." On 1st June 1902 Dr. George Henderson wrote: "Has Miss Freer republished your articles?" (i.e., the articles from *Folklore* in her book *The Outer Isles*; "Your articles" means the articles she prepared from Fr. Allan's notebooks) "I think she is rather bold in writing her name over them with such meagre acknowledgement to you. Of course I know you well, but I don't admire that sort of thing."

Fr. Allan, to whose kindly and generous nature Dr.

Henderson alludes, had in fact been taken advantage of. It must have been a painful moment for him. The person who he had believed to be a friend and an encourager of his work had in fact made use of him to advance her reputation as a folklorist and her career as a writer.

Fr. Allan wrote a disclaimer, as regards his material being used by Carmichael in *Carmina Gadelica*, which was printed in *Folklore* **14** (1903) 87. Carmichael had not used it (in his first two volumes anyway) though he had often consulted Fr. Allan about meanings of words and about variant readings. He did not need it. There the matter ended for the time being. Miss Freer had married and gone to live in Jerusalem, where she interested herself in the folklore of the Arabs. Fr. Allan died in 1905. He did not collect any folklore after the end of 1899; his manuscripts disappeared for nearly forty-five years until traced by the writer of this article with the help of various friends. Amy Murray, who visited Eriskay in the summer of 1905, wrote in her book *Father Allan's Island* (p. 203) that he "had been little pleased with the working up one pair of hands, at least, had given them" (i.e., his folklore collections). There can be no doubt of what he meant by this, for the only hands besides Miss Freer's through which his notebook had passed were those of his friends Alexander Carmichael and Dr. George Henderson.

Miss Freer died in America in 1931. She did not preserve Fr. Allan McDonald's letters to her, or the copies she made of the material she chose from his notes to use in her lectures and articles: and most of her letters to him are now lost. She received a very favourable obituary in *Folklore* **41** (1930) 299, as, amongst other things, an important contributor to Hebridean folklore. The death of Fr. Allan McDonald, the real collector, in 1905, passed unnoticed by that journal.

SOME ERRATA TO MISS FREER'S ARTICLES IN "FOLKLORE"

(*a*) Vol. **10** (1899) "The Powers of Evil in the Outer Hebrides."

p. 265	for *diathol*	read *diabhol*
268	,, *dessil*	,, *deiseil* (and elsewhere)
273	,, Seacoch	,, Leacach
273	,, Stuolaval	,, Staolaval
275	,, *Lus Columcille*	,, *Lus Chalum-chille*
	(*lus* does not mean "armpit", as she implies)	
281	for *eolas*	read *eòlas*
282	,, Kiloanan	,, Kildonan

(*b*) Vol. 13 (1902) "More Folklore from the Hebrides".

p. 31n	for *sluath*	read *sluagh*
35	,, *deachanch*	,, *deachamh*
35	,, *fiannag*	,, *feannag*
36 l. 2	for "raven"	read "crow"
36	for *Mhurchadh bheg*	,, *Mhurchaidh bhig*
36	,, *nid*	,, *niod*
36	,, *uisiag*	,, *uiseag*
36	,, *glaissean*	,, *glaisean* (and elsewhere)
37	,, *fuoitreag*	,, *faoiteag*
38 line 1,	for "aphis"	,, "harvestman" (*Phalangium*)

41 It is implied, in the remarks about the Beltane bannock, that Fr. Allan McDonald's grandmother came from South Uist: This is not the case: in the original, he says she was from Strathspey.

43 for *galium verum* Fr. Allan has "rue".

44 ,, "Son of the fall of the Rocks", read "Son of the hall of the Rocks".

44	,, *mîn*	read *mìn*
49	,, *raum*	,, *rann*
50	,, *Mohr*	,, *Mór*
56	,, *Dioja*	,, *Dioga*
56	,, *chelusgan*	,, *cheeusgan*
56	,, *M'hor*	,, *Mhór*
57	,, *barrin*	,, *barran*
57	,, *Greinn Gulmain*	,, *Greim Gulmain*
62	,, Tochar	,, Iochar

NOTES

[1] "An Sithean Ruadh." *Celtic Review* 3 (1906-7) 77-83; "Calum-Cille Agus Dobhran a Bhrathair" 5 (1908-9); "Tarbh Mór na h-Iorbhaig" 5 (1908-9) 259-66; "Piobairean Smearcleit" 5 (1908-9) 345-7; "Cluich na Cloinne—Children's Games" 7 (1911-12) 371-6; "Children's Rimes" 8 (1912-13) 166-8.

[2] In making comparisons between Fr. Allan's work and that of Miss Freer, I am much indebted to Miss Sheila J. Lockett's assistance in cataloguing Fr. Allan's MSS.

[3] Fr. Allan had studied for the priesthood at Valladolid, hence the references to Spanish customs.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

5. *Shin*

This name applies to a river and loch in Sutherland and also forms the second part of the place-name *Invershin* at the junction of the rivers Shin and Oykell, shortly before the latter flows into the Dornoch Firth. The map name *River Shin* is an adaptation and part translation of a Gaelic *Abhainn Sin* (Watson 1926: 474). Apart from the mention of *Shyne flu* on Speed's map of 1610, early spellings of the river-name are not known to the writer—although they would be very desirable—but, as so often, the place-name which contains the river-name provides us with early forms: *Inuerchyn*, *Innerchen* 1203-14 Reg. Epis. Morav., *Innershÿn* 1570 Ortelius' Map, *Inershin* 1610 Speed's Map, *Innerschyne* 1616 Retours, *Innersinn* 1653 Gordon's Map. In the documentation of Scottish river-names the value of such compound names with the elements *Inver-* or *Aber-* followed by the name of the stream the mouth of which they indicate, cannot be overrated, and Erskine Beveridge's collection of these names (1923) has proved to be most useful from this point of view. Some of the above forms of Invershin have been taken from this collection (p. 110). Johnston (1934: 294) has a spelling *Shyn* for the loch-name, of the year 1595, but as he does not indicate the source of this form, we must regard it as tentative for the time being. Similarly, the form *Chinenes* which MacBain (1922: 16) mentions as a spelling of the modern place-name *Shinness* on Loch Shin, occurring in the year 1630, requires verification as to its source. A little information about the two latter names can, however, be gleaned from some early maps of Scotland, conveniently gathered together by Shearer (1905). Shinness appears as *Sinenesh* on Gordon's Map of 1653, and for Loch Shin we find the following spellings: *L. Shyn* 1570 Ortelius, *L. Schin* 1583 Nicolay, *L. Shyn* 1610 Speed, *Loch Sine* 1653 Gordon. These spelling variants are, on the whole, of no great significance, as they seem to be more or less interchangeable. Speed, for instance, has *Shyne* for the river, *Shÿn* for the loch, and *-shin* as the second element of Invershin.

There are several explanations of this name. Two of them can be discarded without much discussion: Mackay (1897: 107)

takes Shin to be "a contraction of *Sithean*, round green mounts, or small round hills," which is unsuitable from both the phonetic and the semantic point of view. There is every indication that Shin is an original river-name and that the name of the loch, as well as the two place-names *Invershin* and *Shinness* are derived from it. The same objections apply to Johnston's connection of the name with Gael. *seun, sian* (1934: 294; and in earlier editions) from which he derives a meaning "Loch of the charm" for the loch-name. The improbability of such an explanation makes any further comment superfluous, quite apart from the fact that it is very unlikely that *Loch Shin* represents a Gaelic *Loch an t-seuna.*

A third explanation is less easily dismissed, as its phonetic basis is perfectly valid. In this instance, *Shin* is said to be identical with Gael. *sin*, genitive of *sean* "old" (so Watson 1926: 474; Mackenzie 1931: 95) and the name is compared with the Irish river-name *Shannon* which appears in Ptolemy as *Σήνου* (gen.) and in Old Irish as *Sinann* (for the old forms cf. Hogan 1910: 603). According to Watson and O'Rahilly (1946: 4-5) the nominative **Sēnos* should be read as **Senos* or **Senā* "the old one," and Watson postulates a similar basis for our river-name *Shin.* Earlier (1905-6: 236) he had suggested the root "*sĭ, sei*, 'bend,' as seen in *σῖμος* 'snubnosed'; *sĭmius, sĭnus*," for both the Shannon and the Shin, but seems to have dropped this suggestion at a later date. If Ptolemy's *ή* may be read as *e* and if the basis of *Shannon* is Old Irish *sen* "old"—as is also implied by Connellan's faulty analysis as "*sin* 'old'+ abhainn" (1870: 455-6)—there are still semantic difficulties to overcome, for a meaning "the old one" is not as easily explained as may appear at first glance. O'Rahilly (1946: 4) equates the river-name with the name of a goddess and translates "the ancient (goddess)," but it is not at all apparent that river-worship was as common amongst the insular Celts as O'Rahilly maintains, and it is certainly not permissible to deify the Shannon on this evidence alone, unless there are other, non-linguistic, reasons for such a concept. A mere explanation as "the old (river)" which Watson seems to have in mind would be more than curious if there is no proof that the river actually changed its course (cf. Ekwall's discussion [1928: 148] of the cognate Welsh word *hen* "old" in names like *Ennick*, etc.). This applies to both the Shannon and our Sutherland Shin.

In favour of a derivation from Gael. *sean* "old" it may be

said that the practice of naming a water-course by calling it "old" or "new" is, of course, not completely unknown in Scotland. Aberdeenshire has a *Wester* and an *Easter Shenalt*, compounded of Gaelic *sean* "old" and *allt* "burn." There is an *Allt Ur* in Inverness-shire which seems to mean the opposite, containing Gaelic *ùr* "fresh, new, etc." (but in this case a meaning "fresh burn" or "vigorous burn" is possible). The *River Noe* in Argyllshire is usually said (cf., for instance, Watson 1926: 54) to represent a Gaelic *Abhainn Nodha* "new river," and the *River Nith* in south-west Scotland has sometimes been equated with Ptolemy's Νοοvιος, with the same meaning. The relationship between *Nith* and *Novios* is not at all clear, however, in spite of several attempts at linking the two. Finally, there is an *Old Burn* in Peeblesshire which would qualify here if the first element in this name were genuinely identical with English *old*. These are the examples which the one inch Ordnance Survey maps supply; there may be more not recorded on them, but although the concept of "oldness" and "newness" is present in Scottish river-nomenclature, the most convincing example being probably *Shenalt*, it is anything but common, considering that there are more than 8000 Scottish river-names marked on these maps. Moreover, the name which would represent the exact counterpart, if *Abhainn Sin* meant "old river"—*Abhainn Nodha*—proves that the use of the genitive *sin* would be at least unusual in this type of name, in which case morphological objections would make this Gaelic derivation even more improbable.

These three interpretations, the last of which has to be given serious thought as we have seen, are based on the assumption that the two names—Shin and Shannon—are of Goidelic origin. The possibility that the name of the Shannon might be non-Goidelic and even pre-Celtic was first mentioned by Pokorny (1936: 324 and 1938-9: 127-8) who took the ή in *Σήνου* to represent *i* and, basing his argument on the early Irish and Latinised forms, postulated an original **Sinnŏnā* bearing in mind the possibility of a further inflection **Sinnū*, gen. *Sinnonos*, manifested in *Σήνου*. In a later defence of his theory against O'Rahilly (1953: 114) he considered emending the hypothetical basis to **Sinnūnā*, but the arguments supporting either of these two bases do not concern our immediate problem. What is of importance to us is that Pokorny takes up Stokes's (quoted in Watson 1905-6: 236) and Zimmer's (cf. Meyer 1913: 91 note 1) suggestion again which compares

Sanskrit *sindhu* "river." He thinks of a new formation **sindhn-*> *sinn*, from an oblique case of this *u*-stem (**sindh-u*, gen.-abl. **sindh-n-es*, loc. **sindh-n-i*) which he also finds in the Continental river-names *Sinnius* (tributary of the Po in Northern Italy), *Senne* (in Brabant) and *Sinn* (trib. of the Fränkische Saale in Germany).

The latter—evidenced as *Sinna* since 800 (Krahe 1949-50: 49)—provides an identical equivalent of our Scottish name *Shin*, and both seem to have developed from an original **Sindh-nā* "river" and are to be ascribed to a linguistic stratum that is earlier not only than the Goidelic names of Ireland and Scotland, but also than any Celtic names in the British Isles and in Western and Central Europe. Shannon and Shin *are* connected, as Watson pointed out (1905-6: 236; 1926: 474), but at a much earlier stage than he imagined, and it is precisely this wider context, linking *Shannon*, *Shin*, *Sinn*, *Senne*, *Sinnius*, which refutes O'Rahilly's argument (1946: 5) that a basis "*sindhn-* is intrinsically improbable and wholly unnecessary." For a discussion of our river-name in this particular context of early, pre-Celtic hydronymy in the British Isles and on the Continent, see Nicolaisen 1957*a*: 255-6.

Summing up, we should like to suggest the following interpretation of *Shin* and the names connected with it: *Shin* is a primary pre-Celtic, Indo-European river-name, identical with *Sinn* (Germany)<**Sindh-nā* and cognate with *Shannon* (Ireland), *Sinnius* (Italy) and *Senne* (Brabant). It means simply "water-course" or "river." The place-name *Invershin* was coined by the Gaels and denotes the junction of the Shin with the Oykell; it contains Gaelic *inbhir* "a confluence, a river-mouth," and the already existing pre-Gaelic river-name *Shin*. In a similar way, an originally Scandinavian *nes* "a headland" was added to *Shin* when Norse or, later, English speaking settlers named the place that is now *Shinness*. In this case *Shin* is probably the loch-name, developed, as usual, from the name of the river that flows through or out of it.

6. *Tain*

This note is not intended to make an original contribution to the study of this name, but is only meant to inform the Scottish reader of the recent results of research carried out by Continental scholars, that has a bearing on the etymology of *Tain*. The name in question now denotes a town in Easter Ross-shire.

This, however, is secondary usage and it was primarily applied to the small river which flows past the town into the Dornoch Firth and still bears the same name. According to Watson (1904: 32) and others, the Gaelic name of the place is *Baile Dhubh(th)aich* "St. Duthac's town," which seems to be a definite indication that *Tain*, as a place-name, is not Gaelic. In view of the fact that there is another *Tain* in the parish of Olrig in Caithness, Watson considers Norse origin, but as the latter is only a place-, not a river-name, it is by no means certain that—in spite of the modern spelling—the two names are of identical origin, and the Caithness Tain will have to be left aside for the time being.

Early forms are quoted, amongst others, by Watson (1904: 32), Mackenzie (1941: 101), Johnston (1934: 306) and Förster (1941: 750), none of them quoting the original source of these spellings. Förster, however, refers partly to the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Brichan 1855: 416) and Watson's two forms are also clearly taken from this book. There the following old spellings—mostly probably for the name of the town—are given: *Tene* 1227 Reg. Epis. Morav., *Thane* 1483 Acta Parl. Scot., *Tayne* 1487 Reg. Mag. Sig., etc., *Tayn* 1574 Book of Assignations. Watson quotes the first two of these, Mackenzie has *Tene* for 1237 and *Thayne* for 1255 and Johnston's list comprises *Tene* 1226, *Thayn* 1257 and *Tayne* c. 1375. *Tene* is obviously the same in all cases, but Mackenzie's and Johnston's other forms are completely unaccounted for. The discrepancy between *Thayne* 1255 and *Thayn* 1257, which probably mean the same early occurrence of the name, proves the necessity of a reference to the source of any place-name spelling cited.

Before we mention what we consider to be the best etymology for this name and discuss its implications, a short survey of the derivations which have been suggested so far will be necessary. We shall list them in chronological order. The first known to us occurs in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Brichan 1855: 430) and identifies Tain with Norse *thing* "a place of judgment," but for phonetic reasons this equation is not permissible, as both Old Norse *i* and *ng* remain in Gaelicised names (s. Watson 1904: LVII and LVIII), cf. the nearby Dingwall. A curious process of naming is implied by the explanation given by the Rev. William Taylor (1886: 9-10), who correctly thinks that the name originally belonged to the stream but holds *Eathie* to have been the old name of the burn because of the—

now practically obsolete—place-name *Inver-Eathie* at the mouth of it. According to him the Gaelic form of the latter is "Inbhir-Àthai," which is accepted by Watson (1904: 38) who bases *àthaidh* on *àth* "a ford" and takes it to be the old name of the Tain river. If Taylor were right this would mean that the river-name Tain was younger than the Gaelic name of the water-course and that the town-name derived from the river-name was even more recent, a sequence that would be highly improbable in this form. Watson's explanation is acceptable on the basic assumption that Tain is an original place-name, not a river-name. Although secondary river-names of this kind are not uncommon (cf. below p. 202), it looks rather as if it is the other way round in this case, and as if the second element of *Inver-Eathie*—or *Inveraithie*, as Watson has it—did not denote the water-course but the particular quality of the place at which the *inbhir* is situated, giving the whole name a meaning of "river-mouth at the ford" or "ford-mouth" or the like. Johnston (1892: 230) refers the name to Norse *thing* "a meeting," as above, but later (1903: 279) declares this etymology to be doubtful and substitutes rather hesitantly an Old Gaelic *tàin* "water." In the third edition of his book (1934: 306) he holds it to be Old Norse *teinn* "twig, osier" (with a cross-reference to the R. Tone in Somerset which he takes to be the same as Anglo-Saxon *tān* "twig"); this can be safely disregarded. Old Irish *tàin* "water," however, is still in the running as a possible basis, this time backed by Mackenzie's adoption of that etymology. According to Mackenzie (1931: 101) "*tain* is apparently a Celtic name for 'water' which became obsolete at an early period in history," and he also finds it in Contin and Edderton (Ross-shire) which in his opinion mean "water-meet" (*con* "together") and "common, or central water" (Irish *eadar* "common, between"), respectively. There does not seem to exist any evidence, however, that there ever was an Early Irish word *tàin* of this meaning, and so it is not at all surprising that "its presence in Sc. names has been ignored by Gae. etymologists," as Mackenzie complains. Dwelly (1948: 925*a*) lists an obsolete Gaelic *tain*, *-e* f. "water," together with *folach-tain* "water-parsnip". Dwelly's two words represent, as it appears, the most recent stage of a long line of copied and re-copied entries, the origin of which is traceable to at least the year 1768, although the Irish "*tain* 'water', *folach-tàin* 'water-parsnip or water-sallad' " recorded then (O'Bryen 1768: 460*b*) is in all probability already based on some earlier printed

dictionary or manuscript material. The source is, however, not Lhuyd on whom O'Bryen otherwise draws, for the "Irish-English Dictionary" which forms part of the first and only volume of his *Archaeologia Britannica* (Lhuyd 1707) does not contain *tain* in this meaning. We can safely regard Gaelic *tain* "water" as a ghost-word and exclude it from the list of possible etymons for our name Tain. It seems to have been wrongly derived from the compound word which accompanies it in these entries. The majority of other Gaelic-English dictionaries have *folachdan* or *folachdain* for "water-parsnip, water-salad," instead.

In one respect Mackenzie is right, however: Tain does mean "water." This is borne out by the results of research recently carried out by Continental scholars. The important difference lies in the fact that we have to ascribe Tain to a much earlier stratum of Scottish place-nomenclature than the scholars mentioned above have done; and for this reason none of the Gaelic or Norse etymologies adduced by them has been convincing or even satisfactory. In his extensive monograph on the name of the *River Thames* and names cognate with it, Förster (1941: 750-2) derives Tain [tẹ̄n] via *Tān* from Middle English *Tain*; this represents—with early loss of the final *-e*—an Old Gaelic **Taine* < Celtic **Taniā*. This is the identical equivalent of the English river-name *Tean* in Staffordshire (Förster 1941: 745-50) whereas the Somerset *Tone* to which Johnston (1934: 304) refers is to be explained as an *ā*-stem **Tanā*, based on the same root with an *n*-extension. Besides *Tain* and *Tean*, a third example of a river-name **Taniā* is to be found in German *Zenn*, the name of a tributary of the Regnitz near Fürth. This was pointed out by Krahe, who also discussed the early spellings and the sound development of this name (Belschner-Krahe 1944: 376-7; Krahe 1949-50: 48-49). The geographical distribution of these three names—NE. Scotland, SW. England, Bavaria—does not permit any derivation from Gaelic or Norse linguistic material and points to an early Celtic or Western Indo-European stratum in the river-nomenclature of these three countries, the same stratum to which *Shin* belongs which we discussed in the preceding note.

Förster (1941: 728-9) suggests the root IE. **tā-*, *tə-*, etc. "to melt, to dissolve, to flow" as a basis and this has now been accepted by Pokorny (1957: 1054). Our names appear to be formed from an *n*-extension to that root, which is also the basis of *Water of Tanar* (Aberdeensh.), *Glentanner Water* (Selkirksh.),

as well as *Tanaro* in Northern Italy, all <**Tanaro-/-ā*. We already mentioned *Tone*<**Tanā*, and the Welsh river-name *Tanad* may also belong here as an original **Taneto-*. Other river-names in the British Isles and on the Continent are formed from different extensions of the same root, like *Team* (Durham), *Thame* (Oxfordsh.), *Tame* (Yorksh.), etc.<**Tamā*, *Tamar* (Cornwall)<**Tamarā*, Italian *Tammaro*<**Tamaros*, etc., or *Taw* (Devon), *Tay* (Scotland)<**Tauā*. The *Tyne* in Northumberland and its namesake in East Lothian show the same *n*-extension as our name but a different form of the root: **Tīnā*. This does not exhaust the list, and we suggest (cf. also Nicolaisen 1957*a*: 256-63) that—for geographical reasons and because of the ancient type of stem formation and suffixes implied by these names—this hydronymic family is to be ascribed to the earliest Indo-European linguistic stratum in these islands, and that *Tain* is not only pre-Gaelic and pre-Norse, but also pre-Celtic.

7. *Gaelic* lōn *in Stream-Names*

This element enters into about thirty names of water-courses mentioned on the one inch Ordnance Survey maps of the Isle of Skye, with one additional example from Sutherland. These are a few of them:

Lòn na Muice→Varragill R. (Portree), "burn of the pig."
Lòn Beinne Thuaith→R. Haultin (Snizort), "burn of *Beinn Tuath*."
Lòn Loch Mhòir→R. Hinnisdal (Snizort), "burn of *Loch Mòr*."
Lòn an t-Sratha→Abhainn Dhubh (Snizort), "burn of the strath."
Lòn Airidh-Ùige→R. Conon (Snizort), "burn of the sheiling of *Uig*."
Lòn Horro→Kilmaluag R. (Kilmuir), "*Horro* burn."
Lòn Mòr→R. Haultin (Snizort), "big burn."
Lòn Ruadh→R. Hinnisdal (Snizort), "red burn."
Lòn Glas (1)→Kilmartin R. (Kilmuir), "green (grey, blue) burn."
(2)→Lòn Cleap (Kilmuir), "do."
Lòn a' Mhuilinn, upper course of the latter, "burn of the mill."

In these hydronymical compounds, *lòn* always combines with Gaelic defining elements; only once it precedes an Old Norse river-name in an explicatory or pleonastic manner. This, and the significant word-order, mean that it is used in Skye river-nomenclature as a Gaelic term, and native Gaelic

speakers from other parts of the Highlands and Islands have assured the writer that it is not only part of the Skye vocabulary, in the particular meaning of "(slow moving) burn"; according to map evidence its usage in the formation of river-names seems to be restricted to that island, however, and especially to its north-eastern parts (for other examples, not necessarily on any Ordnance Survey Maps, cf. Forbes 1923: 254-8).

Now, the original meaning of Gaelic *lòn* is "marsh, mud, meadow". This is also borne out by Skye place-nomenclature, for *Lòn Bàn*, north of Talisker, and *Lòn Buidhe*, to the north-east of Heast, are the names of swampy moorland districts, and another *Lòn Bàn* between Ceann na Beinne and An Sgùman in the south-west corner of the islands, apparently denotes both a marshy place and the small stream that flows out of it into Allt na Buaile Duibhe. In this meaning, *lòn* is probably to be connected with Early Irish *con-luan* "hounds' excrement," Breton *louan* "sale" (<**lut-no-* or **lou-no-*) and to be derived from an Indo-European root **leu-* "dirt, to dirty" (Pokorny 1954: 681; MacBain 1911: 232).

The semantic change from "marsh" to " water-course" may be spontaneous, as the similar development of Anglo-Saxon *brōc* "marsh" >Engl. *brook* "burn" indicates; cf. German *Bruch* which still retains the original meaning. In Skye, however, as well as in other parts of the Long Island and of the mainland, a strong Norse influence on the language and on the place-nomenclature is obvious, and Old Norse provides us with exactly the term which would fit the pronunciation and meaning of *lòn* in its Skye usage: *lōn* f. and n. "quiet water," Norwegian *lōn* "slowly flowing water" (cf. Falk-Torp 1910: 654). For this reason, we should like to suggest that Old Norse *lōn* has at least influenced the semantic change of Gaelic *lòn*, as used in Skye, although it is quite possible that alternately Gaelic *lòn* "marsh" facilitated the incorporation of Old Norse *lōn* in the Skye vocabulary as a loan-word and that the Germanic rather than the Celtic word underlies our present hydronymic element. *Lòn* is, however—and this must be stressed again—not used in the same way as *gro* (<Old Norse *grōf* f. "brook; pit, cave") in Lewis, i.e. as a Norse word in Norse stream-names, but rather like *grain* (<Old Norse *grein* "branch") in southern and south-eastern Scotland, i.e. like a fully adopted loan-word in a new linguistic medium, which in the case of *lòn* would be Gaelic, in the case of *grain*, Anglo-Scottish.

There seems to be one further trace of Old Norse *lōn* in the river-nomenclature of the British Isles, apart from its localised and limited Skye usage. Ekwall (1928: 19-20) lists a name *Asland*, which apparently applies to the lower part of the Douglas, a tributary of the Ribble in Lancashire. The oldest spellings for this name are *Asklone*, *Askelone* and *Askelon* 1195-1217 (1268) in *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*, and Ekwall identifies the second element *-lone*, *-lon* with Anglo-Saxon *lane*, *lǫne* f. "lane, passage, path" and also with Scottish dialectal *lane* "a sluggish stream of water," which occurs frequently in stream-names in Kirkcudbrightshire and Ayrshire, as well as Dumfriesshire. We should like to suggest, however, that, as *As-* (*Ask-*, *Aske-*) in *Asland* definitely stands for Old Norse *askr* "ash-tree," the second element is also of Norse derivation and is, in fact, identical with the word *lōn* discussed above. This seems to be preferable to the assumption of an Anglo-Norse hybrid name.

However great the temptation may be to include also Scottish *lane* in this word-family, it is not permissible, for phonetic reasons, to do so, unless a folk-etymological connection with English *lane* is presumed to have modified the pronunciation of the genuine product of Old Norse *lōn* in Galloway Scots.[1]

8. *Lugton Water*

The river of this name flows out of Loch Libo in Renfrewshire, crosses the border into Ayrshire, and, after passing *Lugton*, *High Lugton* and two townships called *Lugtonridge*, joins the River Garnock near Kilwinning. Very early spellings of the name of the river have, apparently, not come down to us, but it is mentioned in 1578 in the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (Thomas 1886: charter 2803) as *aquam de Lugdonre* which according to the index stands for *Lugdoure*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Timothy Pont has *Ludgar fluuius* and *Lugdurr* (Dobie 1874: 23 and 5); the latter spelling was adopted by Blaeu in whose atlas (1662) the name appears as *Lugdurr fl.* A further seventeenth century reference is to be found in the "Noates and Observations of dyvers parts of the HIELANDS and Isles of SCOTLAND" which form part of *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Mitchell 1907: 591) and are probably to be attributed to James Gordon, who, in his turn, seems to have copied largely from Timothy Pont. Here our river is called *Lugdoun water*.

As regards the names of settlements, *Lugton* and *High Lugton* are not mentioned on Blaeu's map of the district, but the two *Lugtonridges* appear as *Little Lugdrig* and *Luderigs*, for which Pont (Dobie 1874: 24) has *Ludgar-litle* and *Ludgar meikele*. In 1791 we find *Luggtonrigge* (quoted in Evans 1878: 67).

An analysis of these forms—and the writer would be very grateful if readers could inform him of earlier occurrences of these names—shows that the spellings which contain the element *-ton* (< Anglo-Saxon *tūn* "a farmstead") represent the latest stage in the development of the name. *Lugdoun water* of Macfarlane's Collections will probably have to be classed here, although it is not unambiguous, as the initial *d-* of *-doun* may have been influenced by the earlier forms in *-durr*, if *-doun* has not been misread for **-dour(r)* by one of the copyists anyhow. It is highly unlikely that *-doun* stands for Gaelic *dùn* "a hill, a fortress," cognate with *tūn*.

In the RMS. form (*de*) *Lugdoure*, Blaeu's *Lugdurr fl.* and Pont's *Lugdurr* the second element has to be equated with Welsh *dwfr*, *dŵr* "water" of the well-known Celtic family Gaelic †*dobhar*, Middle Irish *dobur*, Cornish *dofer*, Breton *dour*, Gaulish (*Uerno-*)*dubrum*, < Celtic **dubron*. Pont's *Ludgar fluuius*, as well as *Ludgar-litle* and *Ludgar meikele* also belong here, with obvious metathesis of the medial consonants. Here the two farms are named after the river, with the differentiating addition of *litle* and *meikele*, referring to the difference in size. This distinction is also made by Blaeu, although the qualifying element occurs only in one name: *Litle Lugdrig*, in opposition to *Luderigs* (plural!). In these later forms of the farm-names Scottish *rig(g)*, English *ridge* < Anglo-Saxon *hrycg* "ridge" has been added to the name of the water-course, which in these trisyllabic names with strong initial stress survives as *Lugd(r)-* and *Lude(r)-*, respectively. In both instances the final *-r* of *dwr* has been amalgamated with the initial *r-* of *rig*. In the first case, the spelling indicates that the vowel of the middle element has completely disappeared, whereas the dropping of the *-g-* in the second form is probably due to a scribal error and cannot have any phonetic significance. *Lugdrig* and *Luderig(s)*, then, stand for an older **Lug-dur-rig(s)*.

We have analysed the last two elements in this compound as Early Welsh *dwfr* < **dubron* and Scottish *rig* < *hyrcg*; what, however, is the first component? *Lug-* is undoubtedly the identical equivalent of Welsh *llug* "bright" and Breton *lug*; these words are to be derived from an Early Celtic **leuko-*/*-ā* or

**louko-/ā* and are identical with Greek λευκός "bright, shining, white." The Indo-European root is **leuk-* "to shine, bright; to see" (Walde 1927: 408-12; Pokorny 1954: 687ff.). This means that the earliest form of our river-name could be postulated to have been **Leuko-dubron* "bright or white water," a form which Watson (1926: 435) assumes to be the basis of the alternative form *Lugdour* for the *River Lugar* in Ayrshire, as given twice in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections (Mitchell 1907: 587 and 588). However, *Luggar* appears in the same text and on the same page as the second *Lugdour*, denoting exactly the same river, and a form *Lugar* identical with the modern spelling occurs already about 1200 in the Liber S. Marie de Melros, and we are quite justified in taking the basic form of *Lugar* to have been **Leukarā* or **Loukarā* (cf. Watson 1926: 433), with the *r*-extension that is so typical of Celtic and West Indo-European river-names in general. *Lugdour* (= *llug* + *dwfr*), if genuine, must be a later, secondary development, perhaps due to popular etymology and its tendency to interpret names as compounds consisting of two words, even when the second element is only a suffix. An alternative explanation is that it may be the result of elliptic shortening from **Leuk-* [*-aro-*]*dubron* (cf. Nicolaisen 1956: 62).

If we base our argumentation completely on the name-forms which have come down to us, the old name of Lugton Water has to be etymologised as an early Celtic **Leuko-dubron* "bright water," which belongs to the same category as the many Calders < **Caleto-dubron* "hard water" or the Fender Burn in Perthshire, < **Uindo-dubron* "white water" or the Latinised Gaulish *Uerno-dubrum* "alder water," mentioned above. In that case, the modern place-name Lugton is a syncopated form of **Lug-dur-ton*, with loss of the second syllable, and Lugtonridge and Lugton Water are named after the place of that name.

There is, however, another possibility, namely, that in *Lugdurr* and *Lugdoure* Early Welsh *dwfr* "water" was already an explanatory addition to the original river-name, denoting its particular hydronymic significance, just as *Lugdour* is found beside *Luggar* for the tributary of the Ayr. Another example seems to be Allander Water, which flows into the River Kelvin. In this instance, *-der* < **dubro-* was apparently added to a pre-Celtic river-name **Alaunā*, identical with Ale Water in Roxburghsh., Allan Water in Perth- and Stirlingsh., the older name of the River Alness in Ross-sh., the Northumberland

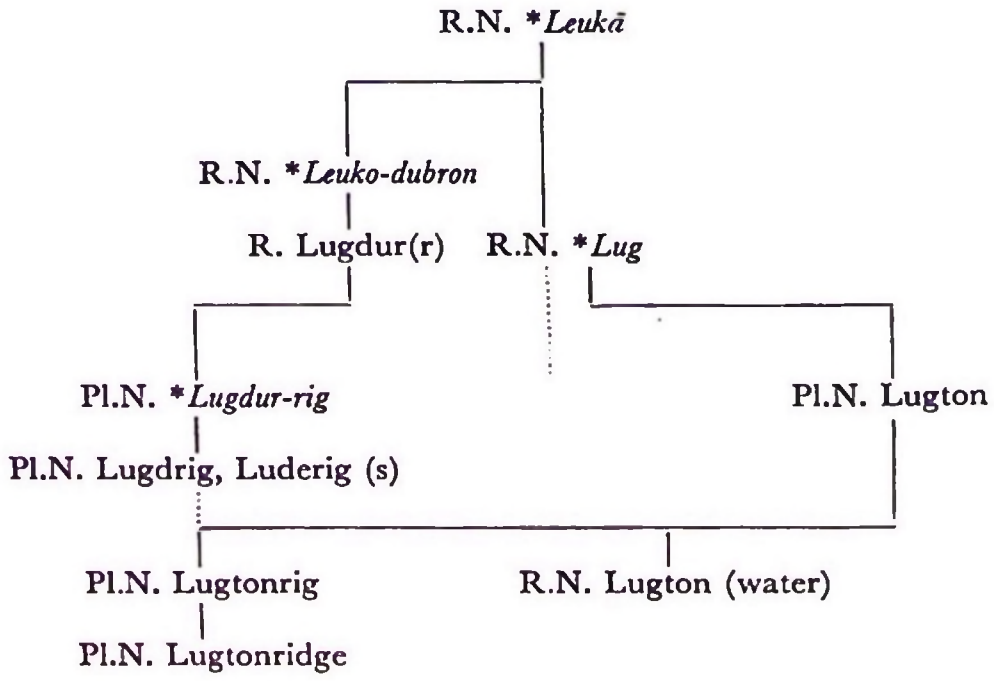
Alne, and others (cf. Nicolaisen 1957*a*: 226-7). Such a pleonastic usage of geographical terms meaning "water" is very common and usually occurs when a name belonging to a linguistic substratum is taken over and used by new settlers speaking a different language altogether or a different dialect of the same language. In modern Scottish river-nomenclature, *burn* and *water*, and in the Gaelic speaking areas *allt* and *abhainn* are applied in exactly the same way; cf. out of hundreds of examples some of the modern compounds containing the river-name Calder: *Allt* Calder (Inverness-sh.), Calder *Burn* (Midlothian), Calder *Water* (Lanarksh.), *River* Calder (Renfrewsh.).

As regards our name, a simple, uncompounded form **Lug* would have to be postulated to have been used alongside *Lug-dur*, and Lugton would appear to be a compound with this form. If that is so, **Lug* < **Leukā* (or **Loukā*) can be taken to be the original form of our river-name, simply meaning "the bright one." This hypothesis is supported by the fact that there are other uncompounded river-names in Scotland and in the British Isles which are to be derived from the same root. We have already mentioned Lugar (Ayrshire) < **Leuk-arā* (as an alternative, the *o*-grade **Louk-* has always to be borne in mind, as both *eu* and *ou* became *ou* in later Celtic and in Brythonic, with a later development to *u* [Jackson 1953: 305]). Then there is Lugate Water in Midlothian, a tributary of the Gala Water, which probably goes back to an original **Leuk-antī*, with *nt*-extension of the root; and Luggie Water, which flows into the Kelvin in Dunbartonshire, is supposed to represent an early **Leuk-ouiā* (Watson 1926: 443-4), sharing this derivation with the name of the river Lugg (Welsh *Llugwy*) on the Welsh-English border (cf. Ekwall 1928: 168-9, and others) and the Welsh rivers of the name of Llugwy or Lligwy (Thomas 1937: 33). There are also *Leuca* of the Ravenna Geographer (7th cent.) which Ifor Williams equates with the Welsh river Loughor (Richmond and Crawford 1949: 37), on which, according to him, stood *Leucarum* of the Antonine Itinerary (6th cent.), presupposing a river-name like **Leucara*. In that case, our Ayrshire names **Lug* < **Leukā* and *Lugar* < **Leukara* stand in the same morphological relationship to each other as *Leuca* and *Leucarum* of the ancient sources, i.e. one being a simple *ā*-stem and the other showing a characteristic *r*-extension (cf. also Jackson 1953: 38 n.3).

Because of this wealth of uncompounded *p*-Celtic river-names in the British Isles formed from the root **leuk-*, it is more

than likely that the original name of Lugton Water is to be classed amongst them, but definitive proof for this hypothesis could only be given if some early form of the river-name were to come to light which shows it in its uncompounded form. Whatever the original form of the river-name may have been, however, on the modern map and in modern usage the name of the place, containing the name of the water-course, has replaced the primary river-name. This is a substitution which is not uncommon in the make-up of the river-nomenclature of any country. On the whole, it seems to be a fairly recent development. Other examples from Scotland are, for instance, the Aberchalder Burn in Inverness-sh. (containing the river-name **Calder*), the Burn of Aberlour in Banffshire (containing **Labhar*), the Invergeldie Burn in Perthshire (containing a river-name **Geldie* < Gaelic **Gealaidh*), Inveruglas Water in Dunbartonsh. (originally **Douglas*), and others. In other cases, a place-name completely unconnected with the river-name has now come to denote the water-course as well, so that there is no trace of the primary river-name left. In this respect, our *Lugton Water* is representative of a typical modern trend in the semantic development of any hydronymy, i.e. to name a river after its—very often artificial—surroundings, rather than after qualities of the water or the water-course itself, as was the practice in earlier phases of geographical naming (cf. Nicolaisen 1957*b*: 238-9).

Diagrammatically, the genesis of our name, as we see it, would present itself as follows:



The alternative development, as mentioned above, would be to delete all references to **Leukā* and **Lug* and to start from **Leuko-dubron*, linking *Lugdur(r)* with *Lugton* as its syncopated derivative.

NOTE

[1] In connection with this problem I have benefited greatly from discussing it with Mr. David Murison and Mr. A. J. Aitken, editors of *The Scottish National Dictionary* and *The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* respectively.

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W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. OTHER NOTES

Scottish Proverbs

Review: *The James Carmichaell Collection of Proverbs in Scots.* Edited by M. L. Anderson. Edinburgh University Press. 1957. vii+149 pp. 20s.

The popular proverb, this age-old vehicle of folklore in a pregnant sense, long cherished by the medieval preacher and teacher, gained literary respectability, chiefly through Erasmus, in the age of Humanism, when the major vernacular collections were first made all over Europe. The Elizabethan passion for proverbs is well known, and Stewart Scotland was no exception: indeed the ease with which, in the earliest Scots collection in the Bannatyne MS. (1568), 69 proverbs went into rhyming lines testifies to no ordinary wealth that could be drawn upon. The earliest separately published collection was apparently one by Archbishop James Beaton in 1610 (now lost). The earliest surviving printed collection is the 1641 edition of David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, who died in 1598, which by way of constant plagiarisation and re-edition became the basis of all subsequent printed Scottish collections. Curiously enough, the very earliest known collection of Scottish proverbs has been found among the papers of an Englishman, Sir Adrian Fortesque (1532), though of course many others are to

be found scattered through the pages of earlier Scottish writers, notably Henryson. The richest repository of such and any later proverb material in Older Scots is, naturally, the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.*

Even for British proverbs Fergusson's printed collection has in many cases been the earliest and best authority, as Smith's and Tilley's Proverb Dictionaries show. In 1924 Beveridge edited for the Scottish Text Society a reprint of the Fergusson Collection together with an anonymous MS., which has been known as the "Fergusson MS.", as it covers much the same ground. Now, with the publication of a contemporary compilation which Fergusson's colleague in Haddington, James Carmichaell, built up on the same basic material, a much fuller collection of 1637 items, larger by 648 items, and more authentic in many respects, has been made accessible. In transcribing and editing the very difficult MS. Professor Anderson has made an outstanding contribution to the illustration of Scottish cultural history. Indeed, working in the true antiquarian spirit of the founders of the S.T.S., though his book is not of that series and does not quite reach its present editorial standard, he has given us much more than the required text. The Introduction includes a fascinating account of the literary detective work by which Professor Anderson has identified the compiler, recounts the bibliographical fortunes of the MS., traces Carmichaell's procedure in its compilation, and shows its relation to other Scots proverb collections. Not least, it gives an admirable biographical sketch of James Carmichaell (?1543-1628), who, on the strength of this very collection, surely deserves to be much better known.

The transcription is generally excellent, though some readings must remain conjectural or debatable. While *v* and *u* have been silently modernised to *u*, *v* and *o*, modernisation would have been more appropriate with regard to Carmichaell's sometimes odd word-division (e.g. in item 34 *a bus be set scheif = a bus-beset scheif*, 239 *auld debtis = auld debt is*, 351 *dame blakis = Dame Blak is*, 453 *a brode = abrode*, 988 *unfore served = vnforeserved*, and possibly 374 *Better a sche on the schoulder, nor shoulder all bair = Better asche* (= ashes) *on the shoulder . . .*). Less pardonable are a number of errors and misreadings: P. 10 *Hoc volumen dedit a Guglielmo Hog = dedit D. Guglielmus Hog*, No. 58 *Ane evill word meits hane oter = ane vther*, p. 117 The Bannatyne MS. . . . S.T.S. 5, 22-3, 26 = S.T.S. III. 8-10 (fol. 134*b*-135*b*). Clear misreadings occur in these items:

54 *de auris* = *de tauris*, 362 *Come forsuth caire by my buith* = *Bonie forsuth came . . .*, 913 *the mussel midin* = *the muckl(e) midin*, 1273 *Quhat wowis fuiles pay ye* = *Quhit wall is fuiles papyer*, 1360 *maist* = *maister*, 1587 *gie* = *gefe* or *gife*, 1866 *il wult* = *il reult* (= ravelled). Serious as these blemishes are, they do not fortunately, lessen the reader's enjoyment of this most entertaining proverbial pageant of which I regret space does not allow me to unfold as much here as might be desired.

Some background study shows the interest of the collection in embodying evidence for venerable archaisms rubbing shoulders with quite recent modernisms. Two ancient saws, one a reminder of human limitations, the other an appeal to divine justice, point to a very distant Germanic origin. These are *Mak not twa mewis* (= sons-in-law) *of ane dochter*, which we find as early as A.D. 1000 in Notker's OHG. *Tu ne maht nieht mit einero dohder zeuuena eidima machon*, and *He sits abune deals akers*, which figures in the annal for 1130 of the Peterborough Chronicle as *Hæge sitteð þa aceres dæleth*. In others, a word or phrase is archaic enough to make an item if not equally old, yet certainly very much older than Carmichaell. (Cf. *Olied*, *Over*, *Raid*, *Raik* in the final suggestions.) Modernistic touches, apart from consciously colloquial spellings like *ca* call, *fa* fall, *fw* full, *ga* gave, consist lexically in the appearance of slang words here recorded much earlier than in OED., notably of *rino* "ready money" (OED. 1688) in *We are all bursin with your charge, a plak in the rino and tua pennies a frist*, of *cut* "strumpet" (OED. 1725, though earlier in "to call sb. cut") in *Cut duells in everie toun* and *There is caill in cuts wimbe*, and of *lark* "to sport" (OED. 1813) in *Ye are larked and toyed like Sandie balop* (= trouser flap).

The Notes are very useful and especially valuable in tracing some items to specific historical events and in quoting many, though not all, Scottish literary parallels. Such parallels, when numerous, would I think simply show the proverb to be part of a broad popular tradition rather than, as suggested, demonstrate Carmichaell's extensive reading and borrowing from contemporary literature.

A more widely comparative frame of reference, which naturally was beyond the intended scope, could doubtlessly throw still more light on many curious items. Some, like *Of evill dettours men taks aits* (= oats, not as in later Scots versions "oaths") or *He is fallen in the ditch, the ditch he digged for others* would appear as common European adages. Others might have

originated in various popular tales or writings. I wonder, e.g. about *The clink of my silver may staik for the reik of your rost*, which coincides with one of Till Eulenspiegel's tricks, and about the provenance of the heroic couplet *Of all the world we have na mair adoe Bot saul to keip and honour to luke to*, and of *Go seik your fathers sword* (be a vagrant), which might have come from a West Highland tale like that recorded in this volume, p. 209. Further clarification would be especially welcome on the legal, biblical, superstitious, or anecdotal origins, on the literal, the figurative and the allusive meanings, and on the situational context of many of these sayings. Occasionally, thanks to the careful notations of variants by Carmichaell, the collection affords highly interesting evidence for the changes and remouldings which a proverb may undergo by verbal association with others. Thus, starting from two common European sayings (1) "The dearest ships anchor close in the harbour" (the small ones are out at sea) and (2) "A threatened man lives long," we find not only *A deir schip stands lang in the heaven* (said of maidens long unmarried) and *A schored* (threatened) *man leives lang*, with the variation (3) *A schored tree stands lang in the wod*, but as a new creation of quite different application (4) *A schored* (propped up) *ship stands lang in the heaven*, and later, in Ramsay's collection, (5) "A short tree stands lang", with which compare "Tall trees are soonest blown down" (Swedish) and "The greater the tree the harder the fall" (English).

A collection of lexically so complex and various a structure depends for its evaluation on a fully explanatory glossary. The Glossary provided is nearly as complete as could be wished, but in not a few cases it has to fall back on provisional explanations, pending further research. Meanwhile, what little I have been able to do has prompted me with the following suggestions, with which I conclude this (I hope) friendly incursion into a most stimulating publication.

Carvailes "light sailing vessels:carvel nails, dowels." *Cuile* "cool:1216 maintain (friendship)" (OSc. *culȝe*). *Fordel, the laird of*, 1748:a pun on OSc. *fordell* "advantage, profit." *Maw* "mow":so also 1385. *Not* "need:nought" (for *nocht*, cf. *wrot* 609, *brot* 640, *nyt* 1656). *Olied* "active, energetic:willing, compliant" (ON. *oflettr* lit. "too easy," in same sense). *Over* "domineer":*May over* "to be stronger than" (OE. *maȝan ofer* sb.). *Raid* "errand:advice" (OE. *ræd*). Include *Raik* n. "revenge" 956 (OE. *wracu*). *Rame* "shout":*raine* "rain." *Rash-ring* does not occur (a mock wedding-ring of rushes was given to maidens

in amorous exploits). *Skail* "empty:(of a home) break up." Include *Spring* n. "dance-tune" 254. *Still* "hold still:keep quiet, soothe (a baby)." *Sture* "cloud of dust:stit (the earth), plough for the second time." *Winter and sommer* (*a taill*) "spend a long time over:tell (a tale) all over again" (Kelly 219). *Wirdie* "a word or two:worthy" (*to win wirdie* "to become respectable"). *Weils* "all very well:weal (or well) is."

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H. H. MEIER

An Old Version of "The Laird o' Cockpen"

The Laird o' Cockpen he's puir and he's duddy,
Wi Drinking and daffing his head is aye muddy;
But now he's determined to ha'e a bit wife,
Gin she should torment him the rest o' his life.

At the back o' the knowe this body did dwell—
For mucking the byre he thought she'd do well—
MacLeish's ae dochter though blin o' an e'e,
And canna brag muckle o' her pedigree.

His head was weel kamed and pouther'd wi' meal—
Said he to himsel', "I'm a gey bit spruce chiel"—
His waistcoat was red and his breeks o' plush blue,
Wi' a great hole ahin' where his sark-tail hung through.

His house, though but sma', was plenish'd fu' weel,
And wi' plenty o' whiskey he caredna the de'il:
While puddin's weel flavour'd wi' pepper and saut—
Sae whae could refuse the Laird wi' a' that?

He's mounted his cuddy and canter'd away
Until that he cam' to the end o' the brae—
"Gae tell Mistress Meg to come to the house-en',
She's wanted to speak wi' the Laird o' Cockpen."

Noo, Meggie she happen'd to be feeding' the swine—
"What the de'il brings the buddy at sic a like time?"—
But she thumpit the grumphies and garr'd them stan' roun',
Syne kilted her coaties and cam away doun.

And when he saw her he bowed fu' low,
And said he was come for to make her his joe—
"Weel, just step your ways in till my auld mither ken,
And, faith! I'll gang wi' ye this nicht, to Cockpen."

The auld wife consented, sae did the auld man;
The Laird started up and took Meg by the han';
Mess John said the blessin', and bade them Gude sen',
Syne, aye to be fruitfu', and plenish Cockpen.

They mounted the cuddy, and away they did ride,
And happier never were bridegroom and bride;
And though they ha'e nocht but a butt and a ben,
Maist ance every year comes an heir to Cockpen.

"The foregoing version of this old song, having been reconstructed from memory, is not here given as absolutely correct: but I think it is substantially as I heard it recited in the Galloway village of Crossmichael when I was a youth—well over sixty years ago. I had forgotten it until it was recalled to my memory on seeing two stanzas of it quoted in the MS. of a Lecture on Scottish Song, by the late Mrs. McMillan, of Glenhead, two or three years ago, after reading which, it all came gradually back to me; and now, in case it should be forgotten again, I have thought it better to have it—imperfect though it may be—fully recorded, whether this is an ANCIENT VERSION or merely a later parody on the better-known song, I am not prepared to give an opinion. That must be left to some one better qualified to judge. Mrs. McMillan gave it as 'The old version' but certain expressions lead me to think that it may be but a parody.

Maxwellknowe
Dalbeattie, 14th April 1936. T. F."

The above song and note have been copied exactly as found in Thomas Fraser's MS. notebook with the title "Miscellaneous

mostly verse" (Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, Shelf No. S. 8). Mrs. M. G. Brown, County Librarian of Kirkcudbright —who has been helpful on many occasions—has sent me a note on the writer of the notebook:

> Thomas Fraser was a very well-known individual in this area and it was his collection of books which formed the nucleus of the Hornel Collection. He was an extraordinary man—largely self-educated—who started life as a grocer's apprentice and later became a quarrymaster. He had such a passionate love of books that he ultimately invested the savings of his lifetime into a publishing firm, Fraser, Assher & Co., with the object of printing books relating to South-West Scotland. He printed some of Alexander Anderson's poems, "The Gordons of Craichlaw" and some other books of that nature before he became bankrupt. E. A. Hornel entrusted him with the purchase of books he wished to obtain for the Hornel Library and until the time of Fraser's death, they were very close friends.

A variant of this song, much influenced by Lady Nairne's version, was printed in *Scottish Studies 1* (1957) 171-2. Differences in the two are typical of folk-song, and Thomas Fraser was remembering imperfectly a song he had heard "well over sixty years ago." He does not quote the expressions which suggest parody to him. There are, in both versions, the rhymes "dwell—well" and "away—brae" where "well" and "away" have an English spelling and pronunciation, demanded by the rhyme. A fault in the Findlay version, the rhyming of "snug—bride", could have been caused by faulty memory. All that can be deduced from the above text is that the form does not suggest that it antedated Lady Nairne's song by many years. It lacks the formalism of a much older song. I have noticed the fourth line of stanza three in a folk-song recorded in the early nineteenth century, but this proves little.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERIE

Photographs of Traditional Scottish Life

To supplement its documentary and sound recordings, the School of Scottish Studies is gradually building up a photographic archive in which help from the general public would be most welcome. The purpose is to assemble, for permanent preservation and research, visual illustrations of all aspects of Scottish folklife, from a Hebridean waulking to a feeing fair,

or from agricultural implements to obsolete dress. Already more than two thousand photographs have been collected, but many more are needed to cover the wide range of subjects systematically.

Help is needed in two ways:

(*a*) The gift, or loan for copying, of old photographs which record features of traditional life and crafts which have mainly disappeared. Family albums frequently contain views which yield details of great interest, often in the background. A few late Victorian photographers specialised in scenes of everyday rural life—among them Thomas Kent, of Kirkwall, and G. W. Wilson, of Aberdeen—and their work provides excellent documentation of past methods of agriculture. Kent's collection seems unfortunately to have been dispersed at his death, and the School has only a limited selection given by Miss Marion McNeill—one example is Plate I: 2 in this issue. It would be interesting to hear of other surviving examples of his or similar work, and whether these might be borrowed for copying.

(*b*) Photographs can still be taken now of implements and techniques that are tending to disappear, as well as of processes not easily described in words, such as the various stages of stacking peat. Naturally the need to document disappearing features of our cultural landscape is pressing, for often it is the ordinary everyday activities that are forgotten by photographers until it is too late. The scope of this category of photograph is endless. The School cannot hope to cover so wide a field systematically, and would be particularly glad to hear of any collections of photographs of this type, and from amateur and professional photographers who would be prepared to allow their photographs to be copied for preservation and study in the School's archive. Copyright would, of course, be retained by the photographer.

In addition to photographs old and new, the archive includes reproductions of illustrations from miscellaneous sources, such as engravings, drawings and printed material difficult of access in journals, newspapers, etc.

The general public can be of great assistance to us by lending old photographs for copying, or by themselves photographing domestic implements, and other day to day activities. All photographs of relevance to the study of Scottish folklife are welcome.

IAN WHITAKER

Scottish Contribution to the Inventaria Archaeologica

One of the aspects of Scottish archaeology in which the School of Scottish Studies has been concerned since its inception is the assembling of the basic museum material in indexed *corpus* form. The work has progressed slowly owing to the lack of funds for any but part-time workers, but the School is now making its first published contribution to international scholarship in this field. The International Congress of Pre- and Proto-historic Sciences sponsors a European project, the *Inventaria Archaeologica*, for the publication of the most important associated finds in prehistoric archaeology, in the form of uniform record cards containing a succinct statement of the details of the find, with parallels and dating evidence, accompanied by scale drawings in line. The fifth British set (of ten cards) comprises the most important hoards and grave-groups of the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Scotland, edited by Professor Stuart Piggott and Mrs. Margaret Stewart working on behalf of the School, and with original drawings by the School's Illustrator. C. D. Findlay. The *Inventaria* now comprises about a dozen fascicules which in addition to the British cards include material from Germany, France, Austria and Belgium; and are all obtainable at ten shillings each set, from Garraway Ltd., 11 Kensington Church Street, London, W. 8.

EDITOR

Edinburgh University Folk-song Society

On 18th April 1958 the first meeting of a newly founded Edinburgh University Folk-song Society was held in the S.R.C. Hall, Old College. The aim of the Society was described by its President, Stuart Macgregor, a fifth year medical student, as the provision of a forum for discussion, and of a "folk-song workshop" in which student balladmakers and singers could learn their craft, swop songs and extend their knowledge of the traditional music of Scotland and other countries.

In order to encourage its members to learn direct from authentic traditional singers, the Society had invited Jeannie Robertson of Aberdeen—described by A. L. Lloyd in the first number of *Recorded Folk Music* as "one of the finest ballad singers in Western Europe"—to be guest artist at this inaugural meeting. Jeannie contributed three of her already famous

classical ballad versions, "Son David" (= the "Edward" ballad, Child 13), "Harlaw" (Child 163) and "The Twa Brithers" (Child 49), together with several other North-East folk-songs. Among the other singers were two young Americans, Christopher S. Wren of Marlow, New Hampshire, and Danny Botkin of New York, both of whom have done a considerable amount of field collecting on their own account in the United States. Danny Botkin, a physicist, is the son of the distinguished American folklorist Professor B. A. Botkin, author of "The American Play-Party Song," and of a classic work on the Southern slave states, "Lay My Burden Down."

Also present at the first meeting was a Glasgow school teacher, Norman Buchan, who gave an account of his work in popularising Scots folk-song among Rutherglen school children.

The second meeting of the Society was devoted to examples of "the Love Song"; these were provided by singers from Japan, Hungary, Canada, the U.S.A. and the Isle of Lewis. The third ("North American Folk-song") was the proper occasion for a little friendly rivalry between the two Americans already mentioned, and Pat Fulford, a Canadian girl at present studying at the College of Art.

The fourth, held on 23rd May, was a public *ceilidh*, at which Mr. Calum Maclean, School of Scottish Studies, acted as *fear an tighe*. The guest singer was his fellow clansman Norman Maclean, a Celtic student from Glasgow University, who has done a good deal of song collecting among his mother's people in Benbecula, South Uist and Lochaber.

HAMISH HENDERSON

International Congress for Folk-tale Research

An "International Congress for Folk-tale Research" is to be held in the Federal German Republic in August 1959. The Congress is to serve the discussion of all types and methods of folk-tale research, and is to deal with questions of organisation and international co-operation in this field of study. The official languages will be German, English and French. Place and programme of the Congress will be announced later. All enquiries should be sent to Professor Dr. Kurt Ranke, Universität Kiel, Federal German Republic.

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Items in bold type denote titles of contributions; the names of contributors appear in small capitals

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1926 *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

Note the following :—

(i) Quote full pagination of articles.

(ii) Author cited for more than one publication in any one year, put (*a*), (*b*), etc., before individual references.

OSBORNE, R. H.

1956*a* "Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1951." *Advancement of Science* 12:424-434.

1956*b* " Scottish Migration Statistics: A Note." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 72:153-159.

(iii) Early author edited by later one, put name of author together with that of editor and year of definitive edition.

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1957 *The James Carmichael Collection of Proverbs in Scots.* Ed. M. L. Anderson. Edinburgh.

(iv) Reports without specific authorship, cite by shortened title in text, followed by full title in list of references:

a, in text:—(Census, Gt. Britain, 1852:4-9);

b, in list of references:—

CENSUS, GT. BRITAIN,

1852 *Census of Great Britain*, 1851. Population Tables I, Vol. II, Scotland.

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