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A "GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION" OF SCOTLAND PRIOR TO THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS

F. V. Emery*

The response to a projected "Geographical Description" of Scotland, in the form of parish descriptions written mainly in the 1720's, is printed in the first volume of *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Macfarlane 1906). When Sir Arthur Mitchell edited these papers in 1906, however, he did not give a clear statement of their extent and distribution, why, when, or by whom they were written. As a result, their value as a source for the historical geography of much of Scotland is unfortunately not as evident as it might be, and the replies have often been overlooked. This paper is designed in the first place, therefore, to serve as a geographical introduction to the Scottish replies. Further, it is intended to defend them against the faint praise with which Sir John Sinclair damned them seventy years later, when he went so much further in his *Statistical Account of Scotland*. His selective review of earlier, and generally abortive, attempts to complete such surveys in European countries led Sinclair to disparage his predecessors (Sinclair 1798). He was specially hard on those who had tried to do the same kind of thing in Scotland, and (although he had not looked at them closely) he dismissed the Macfarlane descriptions with the verdict that "hardly any of them (were) entitled to be printed". Printed they are, nevertheless, and it is hoped to suggest the unfairness of his libel by a comparative study, from the geographical standpoint, of the Macfarlane collection and Sinclair's *Statistical Account*.

As a preliminary, the collection itself needs some clarification, as to its precise nature and composition. It is unsafe to assume that Macfarlane, the Scottish antiquarian, had anything directly to do with the projected "Geographical

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Description" of Scotland. In fact, his name is associated with it simply because he had the descriptions transcribed together in one manuscript volume. This he did in 1748, long after the project had faded away, and it was a service Macfarlane did for many other historical records at that time. If not Macfarlane himself, then, who was responsible for advancing the idea of a "Geographical Description"? It is suggested here that its organisation was not the work of any individual, but of the Church of Scotland acting through its General Assembly. Two circumstances support this suggestion. In the first place, such letters as survive were written (by authors of descriptions) from the country to Mr. Nicol Spence, and Spence was Sub-Clerk of the General Assembly from 1701 until his death in 1738; he was also Agent for the Church of Scotland, 1706-38 (Wilson 1863:291-2). The "compilers" or "promoters" referred to in this letter from James Fraser, minister of Alness in Ross-shire, were surely a committee representing the interests of the Church: "Sir. There follows a Geographical Description of this parish of Alness. It is perhaps too large, but I could see nothing that I could leave out, according to the printed directions; and perhaps it may not be amiss to leave room for the compilers to abridge . . . I reckon the printed rules and general recommendation will not answer your design, without you have particular correspondents in the several parts of the nation" (Macfarlane 1906:211-12). Unfortunately, there is no record of such a directing committee for 1720-21 in the Acts and Proceedings of the Scottish Church; on the other hand, neither was there any reference to the committee that produced the "New" *Statistical Account of Scotland* after 1832.

A second point in favour of its being a Church project is that the Macfarlane collection was overwhelmingly the work of parish ministers and Elders of the Church. Although Sir Arthur Mitchell in his introduction identified only seven authors who were clergymen, it is possible from internal evidence to ascribe no less than eighty-two descriptions—a good third of the whole—to ministers of the Church. The remainder were by landowners or schoolmasters who might feasibly be regarded as lay members. If this origin is accepted for the 1720-21 project, then it is brought into direct line with the "Old" and "New" *Statistical Accounts*. In each case, the collection of geographical and statistical data from every part of Scotland was made relatively easy by the distinctive structure of the Church. Ministers and Elders in the parishes could be

instructed in the task of compiling descriptions, and then co-ordinated through the regular meetings of their Presbyteries—all in a direct, controlled progression upward from the smallest units, through the counties to the national level of the General Assembly.

It must also be stressed that the collection copied by Macfarlane included replies for two quite separate projects. The majority were written for the Church plan of 1720-21, but twenty-six of the total of almost two hundred and fifty were compiled for William Maitland (1693-1757). In 1741 Maitland distributed questionnaires as a means of getting material for his *History of Scotland*, having already written a folio *History of London* (London 1739). Despite the full official support of the Church—the Assembly urged ministers to help him “by drawing up, and sending to him, answers to his printed queries concerning their respective parishes” (Wilson 1863:172)¹—Maitland had to give up this source of information. He wrote only the first volume of *The History and Antiquities of Scotland* (London 1757) before his death in 1757, and is best known for his *History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1753). In the Macfarlane collection, most of the replies for Maitland are dated between 1742 and 1744, relate chiefly to the county of Angus, and must not be confused with the “Geographical Description” of twenty years before.

The first of three aspects by which the Macfarlane papers and the Statistical Account may be compared is that of their purpose and origins. The earlier volume was more geographical by intention than that of Sinclair, who wished to create “a sufficient idea of the political situation of Scotland”. Such an exercise in political economy would lead him, he hoped, to the principles of what he termed “statistical philosophy”.² On the other hand, the Church in 1720-21 aimed firstly at compiling a new and more accurate map of Scotland, and then to accompany it with a written description. “It would be both diverting and instructing,” wrote a contributor from Fortrose, “to have a clear and distinct account of all the parishes in our kingdom, and none should be averse to contribute their endeavours” (Macfarlane 1906:203; from Lewis Grant, 14 July, 1732). He sent descriptions of four places well-known to him in Ross-shire, and his preoccupation with “ranging the bounds and distances” illustrates the sort of reply that was to be used for drawing maps. Outlining the form and situation of parishes, he gave the location of churches and settlements,

woods and marshes, the distances between country houses, the courses of the rivers and lochs. Such accounts were to help in checking and, if need be, correcting the existing maps, notably those by Pont and Gordon in Blaeu's atlases. Vastly inferior as a method and soon to be outmoded by Roy and his surveyors, it does show that there was dissatisfaction with existing maps and an attempt to provide something better, based on first-hand reports.

Besides the written bearings and directions which are included in accounts of parishes (e.g. in its extreme form, six Aberdeenshire accounts, 1723, pp. 97-99), the Macfarlane papers contain one sketch-map. It is part of New Deer (Aberdeen) drawn in 1723 at a scale of just over one inch to the mile, and shows chiefly the river Ugie and its tributaries, roads and bridges, settlements and antiquities. A similar sketch-map was evidently sent with the account of Kilpatrick-Durham in Kirkcudbrightshire, in the early 1720's, although there the scale was shown more exactly by circles drawn with the parish church as their centre. A third map, showing the parish of Peterhead, was placed with the description written in 1723, but again this is not reproduced in the Macfarlane collection; if it became lost, as seems likely, one wonders what else is missing from the original papers. More important, a fourth map should be included here: it was drawn by the schoolmaster of Monymusk (Aberdeenshire) and accompanied his description in 1722. It can be traced only in a piece of sharp practice carried on in the columns of *The Edinburgh Magazine*. In the monthly number for June 1760 the editors pretended to launch a set of descriptions supposed to have been sent by correspondents in the cause of "the geography of our country". An accurate account of every parish, added the editors sententiously, "is certainly the very best method for delineating a map free of errors". In fact, these descriptions were nothing more or less than the Aberdeenshire part of the original 1720-21 papers, slightly amended but mostly reproduced word for word. The only important exception and new feature was the map printed in *The Edinburgh Magazine* with the account of Monymusk. What we see there is the engraving forty years later of a sketch-map intended for the "Geographical Description" of Scotland. One of the more interesting features it showed was the position of improved and unimproved land at that time.

Not only was the 1720-21 scheme more geographical in design than the *Statistical Account*, it also grew out of previous

designs of a similar nature in Scotland. The same Scottish origins cannot be as firmly ascribed to Sinclair, who owed much to German surveyors of political units. He admitted that during his stay in Germany in 1786, he made up his mind to follow the German method of issuing "Inquiries respecting the Population, the Political Circumstances, the Productions of a country". On the other hand, the Scottish Church in 1720-21 had much in common with the earlier national aims of Sir Robert Sibbald for a *Scottish Atlas* and geography of the country. Indeed, it specified in greater detail Sibbald's survey of the counties. The printer and publisher Andrew Symson, one of Sibbald's best correspondents, and author in 1684 of a "full account of Galloway", can be said to personify this link. Symson (1638-1712) had this to say in a letter to Edward Lhwyd at Oxford, written in May 1708³: "But if it be only the names of places that you desire, I hope God willing to give you a large account thereof in a Book which I intend to publish under the Title of Villare Scoticum, wherein I intend to give an account of all the parishes in Scotland, as spelled of old and as now, together with all the Severall titles and places of our Nobility Knight (*sic*) Baronets etc. which shall furnish you abundantly with Pictish names." Evidently Symson had spent a considerable amount of time at this task, for it is recorded in William Nicolson's diary for 9 June 1704 that Symson's son Mathias brought with him to Carlisle a copy of the "Villare Scoticum" (Gray & Birley 1951:124). There is nothing to show that it was published by Symson, and one presumes it remained in manuscript at his death—one of the earliest parish-by-parish surveys of any country.

Other models for the Church project in Scotland included the *New Description of Angus* by Robert Edward (1678), which was the commentary for an excellent map of Angus at a scale of $\frac{1}{8}$ inch to one mile (Edward 1793). The purpose of the 1720-21 venture was to extend such studies to the whole of Scotland. It coincided, too, with other activities showing the widespread zeal for improvement which was to transform Scotland later in the eighteenth century. It coincided, for instance, with the experimental programme of Robert Maxwell, secretary of the Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture. This Society, the earliest whose activities were national in breadth, also turned its attentions to manufacture, and was to play "an important part in the development of eotechnic economy in Scotland" (Clow 1952:41).

Turning now to the actual achievement of the 1720-21 project, the surviving record shows that it was only partly completed. From the table it can be seen that in only seven counties were there replies from more than half the present total number of parishes. Not all these counties were small, however, and the replies from Caithness, Banff and Aberdeen, and some of the southern counties, are considerable by any

TABLE I

County	No. of Parishes described	Duplicates or Triplicates	Dates	Percentage of Civil Parishes described in each County
Selkirk . .	7	...	1722	100 per cent
Kincardine . .	18	4 (2)	1722-25	95 "
Caithness . .	8	1 (2)	1724-26	80 "
Aberdeen . .	62	{ 32 (2) 4 (3)	1721-33	75 "
Stirling . .	14	...	1723-24	66 "
Dumfries . .	24	...	1723-26	55 "
Banff . .	11	1 (2)	1724-42	50 "
Angus . .	24	...	1724-44	46 "
Sutherland . .	5	...	1725-26	42 "
Clackmannan . .	2	...	1722	40 "
Perth . .	24	4 (2)	1722-27	33 "
Ross & Cromarty	8	...	1723-32	28 "
Moray . .	4	1 (2)	1723-24	21 "
Nairn . .	1	1 (2)	1726	20 "
Ayr . .	10	...	1723	18 "
Fife . .	8	1 (3)	1724-44	13 "
Renfrew . .	2	...	1725	13 "
The Lothians . .	5	...	1722-26	10 "
Orkney Is. . .	1	...	1726	10* "
Kirkcudbright . .	2	...	c. 1723-40	7 "
Inverness . .	1	...	n.d.	6 "
Lanark . .	1	...	c. 1723	3 "
Berwick . .	1	...	1725	3 "

No replies:—Argyll, Peebles, Roxburgh, Wigtown and the Islands.

* of the "Mainland".

reckoning. Certain places were described twice or even three times, and the total number of parishes that figure at least once is two hundred and forty-three, which was a good quarter—in fact, 27 per cent—of all those parishes in Sinclair's *Statistical Account*. This is rather more than one might expect from Sinclair's own reference to them as "short memoranda respecting a number of parishes" (Sinclair 1798).⁴ Why should the outcome, at any rate as it stands, be so disappointing? The first of several contributory reasons was surely the reluctance or inability of the informants. A contemporary

broadside against the abuses of Church patronage throws some light on the nomination as ministers of "such raw illiterate or enthusiastick Candidates as had got any little Education in Literature very imperfectly"; many Elders were depicted as "Men of Sobriety and regular Lives but of mean Abilities" (Anon. *c.* 1730:11). Sinclair's correspondents at the end of the century were of a greatly improved standard of education. Indeed, it is reasonable to compare the replies of the 1720's not with Sinclair, but with other ventures in its own historical context. The endeavours of Edward Lhwyd in Wales brought replies from only 140 parishes, or 15 per cent of the whole.⁵ Again, a contemporary plan for a new geographical description of Ireland, based on replies from correspondents, resulted merely in the publication of *A Topographical and Chorographical Survey* of the one county of Down, in 1740.

After numbers, distribution: the map (Fig. 1) shows the geographical pattern of the response. Although the coverage was far from complete, in their full range the replies did come from almost every part of Scotland. In the far north, Caithness was well represented (even Sinclair, with local pride, noticed this), likewise the northern parts of Sutherland, while on the southern border there was a good response from Dumfries and Selkirk. As to the detailed distribution of where the replies were most numerous, the eastern counties of Scotland were outstanding, especially Aberdeen and Kincardine. So, too, were others in the Central Lowland—Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton and adjoining parts of Perthshire. This reflects the comparatively high population and progressiveness of those regions as early as 1720. On the other hand, replies were not forthcoming from the main bulk of the Highlands in Inverness and Argyll, nor the Western Isles. In Perthshire, the silent uplands stand apart from the informative region south of the Highland line, suggesting the handicap of distance and poor communications, remoteness and lack of development. A map showing the success or otherwise of Sibbald's project a generation earlier has the same gaps in Argyll, Inverness, Ross & Cromarty, and a good series of replies from east-central and southern Scotland. Such a map, by the present writer, is given in *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 74 (1958) p. 9.

A glance at the length of time involved helps one to understand the mechanism of both the 1720-21 design and the *Statistical Accounts* while giving some idea of the difficulties they faced. The diagram (Fig. 2) shows the former to have been active

for eight years, with a post-script in 1732. The most prolific years were 1722-23, followed by a steady decline; the column for

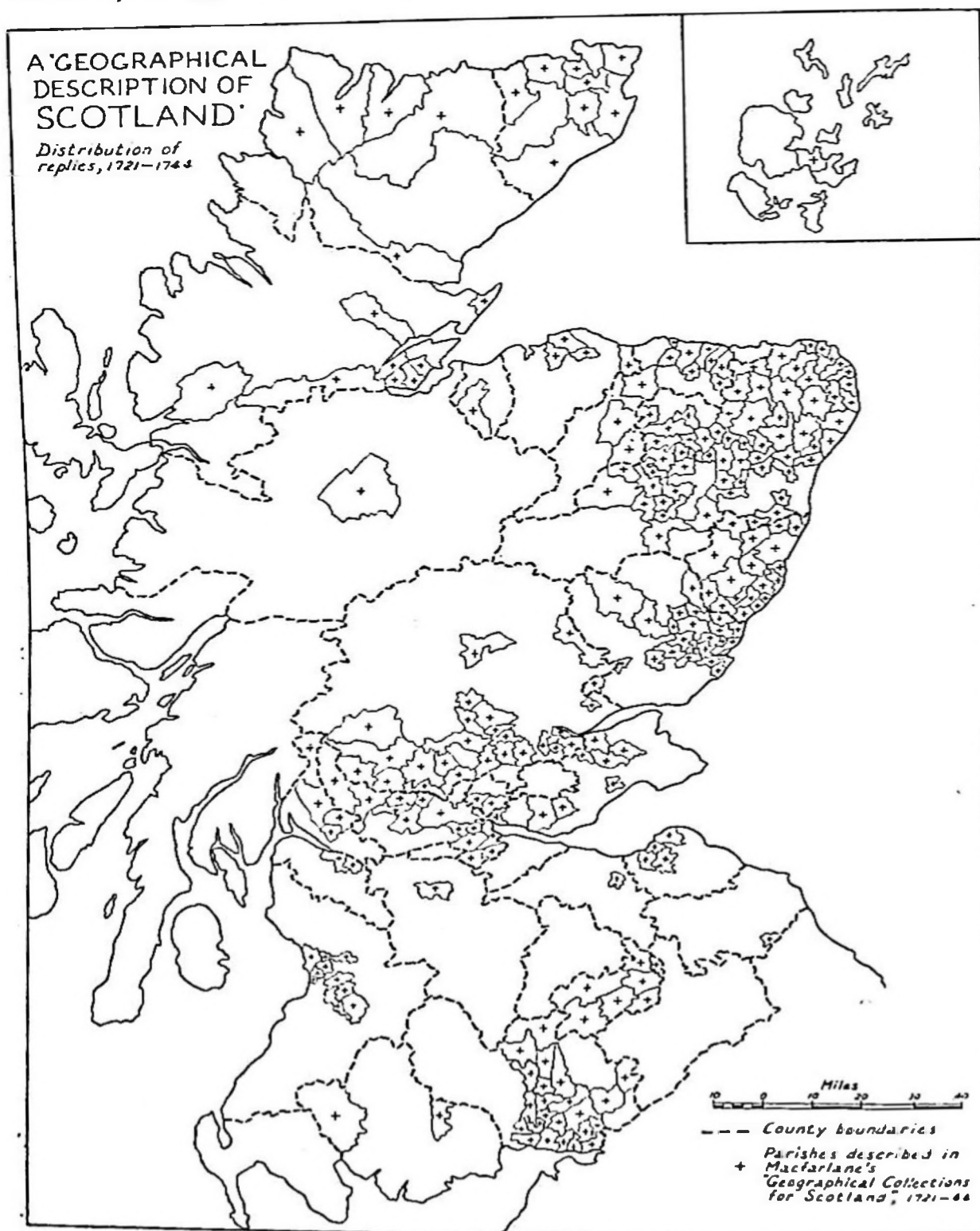
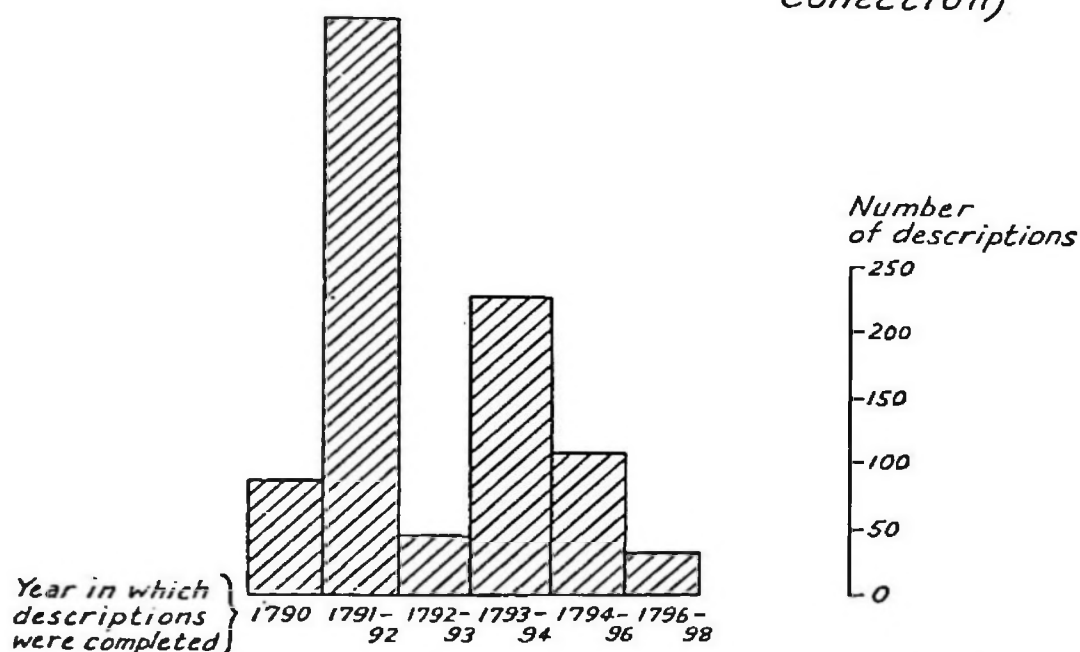
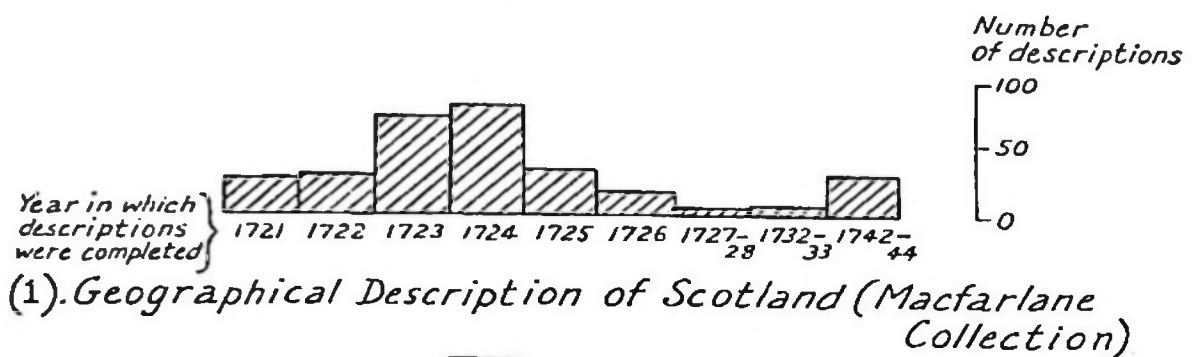


FIG. 1

1742-44 shows the separate replies for Wm. Maitland.⁶ Severe difficulties facing the sponsors are summed up in that decline; long delays were inevitable and common to all such enterprises. In Scotland, Maitland was discouraged and gave up in the

1740's; Dr. Webster had the utmost difficulty in finishing his population *Lists* in twelve years, 1743-55; Pennant in the 1770's had to be content with a bare handful of parish descriptions.⁷ Even Sinclair himself had to endure eight years' delay before the last description came in.



*Time taken to complete the
GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND, and the
(OLD) STATISTICAL ACCOUNT.*

FIG. 2

It is worth following Sinclair in his many devices to speed up the rate of progress. Within two years he had replies from more than half the parishes, and then in June 1792 found himself with four hundred "deficient clergy", as he called them, who for reasons of old age, sickness, disinterest or suspicion, were slow to reply. He was forced to circulate no less than sixteen letters, which changed in tone from earnest flattery to cold scorn and impatience. Among other things,

Sinclair relied heavily on thinly-veiled threats of a monetary nature; he threatened to billet soldiers from his private militia—"Large parties of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles"—on the deficient clergy; in the autumn of 1795 he sent forth what he called "Statistical Missionaries" to the most stubborn regions; and finally a note in red ink concluding: "from the Draconian colour of his ink, any Statistical delinquent may see, what the rear rank has to look for". With his exceptional energy, persistence, and financial means, with improved means of communication, Sinclair still found it a hard struggle to complete the sort of parish survey that the Church contemplated in its "Geographical Description" in 1720-21. A similar fate awaited the second or *New Statistical Account* in 1832, which followed a longer progress even than Sinclair's.⁸

A final word about method and content. Sinclair in 1790 turned to the printed questionnaire as "the most natural" means of fulfilling his task. The Church in 1720-21 had simply circulated a sheet of "directions" or "rules" with a "general recommendation" to the ministers. It gave the requirements—a geography of the parish, its church, population, natural features, settlements, roads and economy. Perhaps the most clear-cut set of replies were for the united parishes of Gretna and Reidkirk in Dumfriesshire, written *circa* 1722 (Macfarlane 1906:381-7). "To the first article" the minister, James Black (who was Moderator of the Church at that time), replied by describing the location, limits and bounds of the parish; then secondly the old and new houses of the gentry; the borough and its market rights; rivers and brooks, with their fords, bridges and products; moors and mosses; inns; battles and antiquities; "To the 7th article", the landforms, hills and ridges; settlements and highways; numbers of "catechisable persons", with baptisms and burials for the last seven years; and finally details of the ministers, past and present. It seems, too, that a parish-by-parish format would have been preserved in the final work, had the "Geographical Description" been completed. Sinclair, by contrast, did not at first intend retaining the separate identity of each parish description, and kept as his final goal the preparation of county and national surveys.⁹

The content of the 1720-21 papers, like those in the *Statistical Accounts*, varied in quality; at their best, they compare favourably with the Accounts, e.g. this extract from the description of Fetteresso in Kincardineshire (*c.* 1722) (Macfarlane 1906:247-8): "lying about the 57 degree of Northern

Latitude and the 17 degree of Longitude, is of a pretty large extent for one parish, containing in length from the water of Carron the south boundary of it, to the Northern limits of the same full six miles: all along washed with the German Ocean, from whence to the skirts of the Grampian Hills westward it is in breadth full three miles . . . As this spot of ground cannot be called levell, neither are there any hills in it that deserve that name being rather gentle risings and fallings which render it in the main, fitter for pasturage than tillage, though there be not wanting of abundance of corns as wheat, rye pease, barley and oats much more than the inhabitants can consume, especially the three last; and upon the sea coast, where it is also accommodate with four fishing villages viz. Cowie, Muchalls, Elsick and Skaterow, which do not only supply it with fishes; but afford to be carried twenty or thirty miles up the countrey south and westward: besides a great quantity to be salted for exportation. There is no place better accomodat for fireing, having many inexhaustible mosses, wherein are digged the best of peats, . . . wherby the inhabitants are not only supplied . . . but likewise serve to accomodate the parishes of Dunnotre Catarlin, Keneff and Bervie, fully serves the town of Stonhive and over and above send many to Aberdeen.” A Highland example, less polished but carefully expressed, depicted the united parish of Boleskin and Abertarf (Inverness-shire) (Macfarlane 1906:220): “9^{no} In this end of the parish belonging to Stratharig the countrey was once covered with woods but now only at Lochness side where are birks, arns, oaks, ash, holly tree and some firrs . . . This countrey is very rocky, yet in Shealings and Strath there is a good pasturage, the land yields bear, black and white oats in many corners and only close on the Lake of Ness, beans, pease or any grain growing in Murray land. here the catle are horse, nolt, sheep and goats, deer roe and hare in hills and woods. The earth and soil is gravelish and on a hard channel. This Stratharig is reckoned the second highest countrey in the highlands and so, very subject to frost mildew near the Strath of rivers and storms of snow.”

There are many references to the former extent of woodland in the descriptions, e.g. a ridge of small hills “which in old time was all growen over with wood” (Alyth, Perthshire, 1727) (Macfarlane 1906:114; cf. pp. 154, 164, 220). Antiquities, too, were often described and supplement the awakening field-archæology of that time, e.g. a number of *brochs* figure in

accounts of northern parishes, such as Durness (Sutherland 1726)—“ . . . a mile above Mussall stands an old building made in the form of a sugar loaf and which a double wall and winding stairs in the midle of the wall round about, and little places for men to ly in as is thought and all built of dry stone without any mortar. Its called by tradition Dundornigil.” (Macfarlane 1906:194; cf. pp. 209 Lochcarron ROS, 330 Larbert STL). The Caithness descriptions were specially good, and illustrate a variety of geographical features—“The shire or county of Caithness being the most northerly of the Isle of Brittain has ten parishes, whereof the five that ly most southerly bordering on the countreys of Southerland and Strathnaver viz. Lathron, Watten, Halkirk, Thurso and Reay or Rhae speak the Irish tongue, at least the greater part of the common people do, and these parishes must have Irish ministers. But the other five northerly parishes viz. Wick, Canesbay, Donatt, Oldrig, and Bowar speak only the English language” (Geographical Description of the Parish of Canesbay, *circa* 1726) (Macfarlane 1906:151). On the island of Stroma this account runs: “It pays in victuall and money toward 1300 merks of yearly rent, yet there is not one plough in it but is all delved with the spade or foot which makes it yeild good cornes and plentiful increase, tho much subject to blasting as lying naked in the midst of a tempestuous sea” (Macfarlane 1906:152). In Lathron (*c.* 1725) it was noted that there were “some houses upon the brinks of both these waters (Berndale and Langwall) upon which the sun doth not shine, because of the high hills about, from the 22 of November untill the 8 of January” (Macfarlane 1906:165).

New influences and trends in all parts of Scotland are well brought out. In Fetteresso the farmers “have very ingeniously imployed the many springs they have to the watering of their land, to the greatest pitch of improvement” (Macfarlane 1906:249). At Muckells, in the same parish, in a very exposed situation, “the present possessor has much added to the beauty and profit of the place by inclosing severall large fields with very substantiall stone walls, whercin he hath both hay and very good feeding for cattell” (Macfarlane 1906:255). New estates were often described: e.g. at Levenside in Bonhill (Dumbartonshire 1724) Thomas Cochran had “a fine new house adorn’d with gardens and orchycards and a great deall of old and new planting” (Macfarlane 1906:353). At Palgown (Kirkcudbrightshire) the great house “is surrounded with

pretty groves of Scots Pines black cherries, and other kinds of planting, which make a fine umbello to the house and from the front a walk down to the lake" [Loch of Troul] (Macfarlane 1906:401). There, in the barony of Garlies, the land was "so inclosed and divided for the orderly improvement of the sheep and black cattle, that the whole farmers of these grounds have considerable advantage thereby". Again, drainage was becoming usual: "There was lately a loch in Gladsmuir which Lamington has now taken care to drain and inclose and to set it round with sallows" (Gladsmuir, E. Lothian 1723) (Macfarlane 1906:374). New settlements were also mentioned: "The Kirk stands in the end of a pleasant and fine village called Gratnay Green, where Coll. Johnston has a fine house with all regularitys conforme. the whole village with a tolbooth being lately built anew by him after a new modell" (Macfarlane 1906:371). Nor were the older market centres without their descriptions: "The village of Fallkirk . . . has the plesant Kersses (a plot of ground, I doubt much if any in Scotland excells it) upon the North and Northeast, which with the windings and turnings of Carron at full sea, makes the prospect that way very delightfull . . . It has a very handsome Tolbooth with a beautifull steeple, where are a clock and large bell, this stands in the center of the village. It has a well and pond near to the Tolbooth. It has a hospital near the west end of the town . . . Upon the north side stands the church . . . Hard by the Tolbooth stands the flesh market in the head of that street called Owers Street, covered above, and locks all night. A mile almost north of this town is a Pow in Carron called the salt Pow near to Abbotshaugh, where the merchants unload their goods and carries them to this place. This village has an excellent weekly market upon Thursday . . ." (Macfarlane 1906:319-20, written in 1723). In some places there were signs of quickening growth, as in the village of Airth on the Forth, also in Stirlingshire (1723), with its ship-building, timber mills, and harbour or "Pow": "This village . . . has a weekly market upon Saturday 2 yearlie fairs. There's building a tolbooth and fleshmarket. There's several good houses already built, and others building" (Macfarlane 1906:327). Similar developments were going on at Langholm in Dumfries (1726) (Macfarlane 1906:389). Trade and industry were prominent in coalfield parishes; Alloa had "a commodious harbour for shipping, ships of 500 tun of burden, can very easily come into the harbour, where a great many excellent coall is exported

for many parts of the kingdom and to many forreign countreys, very much esteemed of for a good coall, as also upon this water Brathie is two saw mills near the shoar which makes a fine timber trade in this place. There are a rope walk and duche manufactorie, where all sorts of ropes and saills for ships are made, . . ." (1722) (Macfarlane 1906:308-9). In the parish of Larbert, the southern "coalshore" of the Forth used "a good harbour for small boats and barks yea sometimes at spring tides there comes ships here of 60 tun burden. Quarrell has a coal fold here for his coalls from which they are carried to the greenbrae to big ships, and by small boats and barks to Leith and the North countrey," (1723) (Macfarlane 1906:330). The neighbouring parish of Airth had a freestone quarry, salt pans, coalpits with "a fire engine to work the coall" and a pottery. The three descriptions of Dunfermline—two in 1723, the other in 1744—referred to its industries (pp. 287-294), but an item of particular interest figured in the account of Aberfoyle on the Forth (Perthshire, 1724): "In this paroch are plenty of oak and birch woods and three miles north from the church . . . is a new set up iron work wher is made very good iron partly of tar [?oar] got in the country and partly of iron scraps got from Holland by the managers of the work. The charcoal made use of for refining the iron is made of birch timber, cut out of a large birch wood near the iron work" (Macfarlane 1906:343).

Of a more general geographical kind were those descriptions not of single parishes, but of groups of parishes which were known by regional names as "Countries" in their own right. Almost a century earlier Robert Gordon had distinguished the several "Countreys" of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and at least two of them were described in the 1720's. Sixteen parishes in "the Country rather than the Presbytery of Garioch" were depicted by Robertson and Gordon in 1724; then Alexander Hepburn gave a regional picture of Buchan in 1721, following earlier authors such as Gordon (1662) and two of Sibbald's correspondents there in the 1680's (Macfarlane 1906:2-19, 38-45). They provide a good comparative study of Buchan, marked off inland by hill and river lines such as the Ythan. Hepburn first ranged through the outermost parishes, and then described "the midland parts", but through both there appeared his regional division of coastal and inland Buchan: "The sea . . . yeelds a great quantity of salt water weeds, which . . . fattens the ground and make it yield plentifully. The soil

near the Coast for the most part, is deep clay, and very fertile; it produces abundantly Barley, Oats, Wheat, Rye and Pease but the Inhabitants labour most for Bear and Oates . . ." (Macfarlane 1906:45-6). Hepburn felt the local loyalties that prompted many to describe the geography and "present state" of their own "countries". Such men justified the attempt to compile a "Geographical Description" of Scotland. The chief merit of the 1720-21 parish accounts for historical geography is their extending of the earlier sources, and the depth or perspective they give to the later sources. Naturally they require to be checked for their accuracy in matters of fact, but where this is possible—as in comparing the parish figures of population in Caithness with Dr. Webster's estimates—the results are encouraging. Their value is heightened since they were compiled at a significant and formative period; they showed the onset of changes that were to modify the nature and aspect of much of Scotland in the eighteenth century. The outcome of such changes—in clearance, plantation, and enclosure, new houses, villages and towns, new methods, ambitions and responsibilities in agrarian or industrial affairs—was to be recorded finally in the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*.

NOTES

- ¹ The Church's recommendation is given in the *Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1739-1752*. Vol. I (Edinburgh 1838) 23.
- ² Sinclair's previous publications pointed in this direction: cf. Sinclair 1785-90.
- ³ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Ashmole 1817a, fo. 499; this letter was written from Edinburgh.
- ⁴ The percentage would be slightly lower, nearer 25 per cent, for the total number of parishes in the 1720's. This was roughly 960 as opposed to 938 in 1798. In the Table the present disposition of parishes is followed; thus where two parishes in 1723 have since been united to form a single parish, the descriptions are simply counted as one.
- ⁵ Lhwyd circulated his *Parochial Queries* in 1696; the printed collection is not a satisfactory version or portrayal of the response; it gives a total of 200 replies in Wales, which really should be 143, or, in terms of the present civil parishes, 163 (15.3 per cent of the whole). Only one county, Flint, (60 per cent) has more than half of its parishes described. Cf. F. V. Emery, "A Map of Edward Lhuyd's *Parochial Queries* in order to a *Geographical Dictionary*, etc., of Wales (1696)". *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1959:41-53). London.
- ⁶ Fourteen descriptions cannot be dated precisely or approximately.

- ⁷ In the late 1780's replies were made, in the form of parish descriptions, to queries distributed by the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. Five descriptions were printed in the first volume of their Transactions; they were under seven heads—a geographical and topographical picture; nature of the soil and population; state of the roads; mines, minerals and fossils; police, trade and manufacture; antiquities; various. Sinclair thought them "most valuable".
- ⁸ The scheme was announced to the Assembly in 1832, and ministers urged to co-operate; in 1836, the Assembly pleaded for a speedier response, but not until 1845 was the *Account* completed (Wilson 1863:249).
- ⁹ Cf. Sinclair 1817 and 1825.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations in this article were supplied by the author, and drawn by Miss M. E. Potter at the School of Geography, Oxford.

SCOTLAND'S "STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS" OF PARISH, COUNTY AND NATION: c. 1790-1825 and 1835-1845

Arthur Geddes *

In his Advertisement to his *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* (1825-6), Sir John Sinclair wrote, "That great undertaking, namely, the publishing, 1. An account of every Parish in Scotland; 2. An account of every Shire or County in it; and 3. AN ANALYSIS OF THE WHOLE, is at last accomplished; and thus a more full and accurate inquiry into the state of that country has been completed than of any other hitherto known." Sinclair had coined the English word "statistical", which he had found in German describing the political strength of a country, but which he used "to ascertain the quantum of happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants and the means of their future improvement". He wrote that the engraving of "The Pyramid of Statistical Inquiry", which accompanies his *Analysis* (1826: vi), explains the nature of the three-storeyed plan of 938 parishes, 33 counties and the nation as one, "which has at last been happily brought to a termination". Yet it is all the more interesting to read in Sinclair's introduction to the first of the 21 volumes of *Parish Accounts* (1791: v), that only as he read these did he realise their full value. "It is now about twelve months since I first had the honour of circulating among the Clergy of the Church of Scotland a variety of Queries, for the purpose of elucidating the Natural History and Political State of that Country. My original idea was to have drawn up from their returns a general Statistical view of North Britain, without any particular reference to Parochial districts. But I found such merit and ability, and so many useful facts and important observations in the answers which were sent me, that I could not think of depriving the Clergy of the credit they were entitled to derive from such laborious exertions; and I was thence induced to give the Work to the Public in its present shape."

The plan or questionnaire "submitted to the clergy for

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their consideration" includes the name (and its origin), situation, extent and description of the parish; climate, diseases and longevity; state of property; mode of cultivation, in detail, and seasons; quantity and value of crops and produce, rents and prices, with local consumption; wages and services, exacted or abolished; commerce, manufactures, fisheries; towns and villages; police, inns, roads and bridges; harbours, ferries, ships and seamen; state of the church, stipend, manse, glebe and patron; the poor; the schools; the population with its increase or decrease, birth place, age, religion, occupation and residence; dovecotes and particulars of stock; minerals and springs; coal and fuel; eminent men; antiquities and records; characteristics of the people, advantages and disadvantages and "means by which their situation could be meliorated". It can be seen that the perspective was primarily rural, including villages, still rare in Scotland, and small burghs, mostly still of little more than village size.

The County Reports followed the Parochial Accounts from c. 1793 to 1814 and the *Analysis*, or synthesis, in 1825-6. Appropriately, Sinclair dedicated his *Analysis*: "To the Clergy of the Church of Scotland; this work, founded on their patriotic labours, to ascertain the circumstances of their native country, with a view to its future improvement is, with every wish for their present and future welfare, most respectfully inscribed by the Author." Dr. James Playfair had issued an excellent summary in 1819, yet this memorable terminal volume deserves to be recalled and emulated.

To encourage the ministers Sir John had arranged that the profits should be devoted to the society for the "Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy"; in spite of this, he had to appoint "five statistical missionaries" over as many of the more remiss districts, including the Isles. Naturally the quality of the Accounts varies. For example, that of the Isle of Harris (Sinclair 1794:342-92) is a classic, freely quoted by Sir Laurence Gomme (1890) and, from a differing point of view, in my own studies; while the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis (Sinclair 1797:241-88), though sound enough, suggest the stimulus of a "statistical missionary" (Geddes 1955).

Continuity is all-important. By 1825 Sinclair was writing, "It would be extremely desirable to have the investigation repeated: . . . and the state of the country, as it now stands . . . explained." Ten years later the Second Parish Statistical Account had been concluded and the Accounts were printed

in 1836 though republished, by counties, unaltered, in 1840. Although the second and third storeys of the early pyramid were not repeated in 1845, the Second Accounts did contribute the materials for summaries and synthetic works for county and nation (Dawson 1853, 1862). In the Third Statistical Account, the Parish Accounts are pulled together by the Introductions to the county volumes which thus combine the first and second storeys, yet the apex of the new pyramid, a national volume, should surely be envisaged and organised. Sinclair remarked that "As a foundation for the intended Analysis"—synthesis would be a better term—"it was found necessary to make 5,000 extracts" from the parochial volumes. It was not without pride that on the title-page of his *Analysis*, Sinclair quoted from le Comte d'Hautrive's *Elemens d'Economie Politique*: "L'Écosse est le pays, ou l'esprit d'observation est aujourd'hui le plus perfectionné." Scotland has a reputation to renew, not only for observation but for synthesis, by the example of Sinclair's culminating national volume.

True to the spirit of the First Accounts, the organisers of the Third have sought to obtain local knowledge from local writers, feeling that the interest of the community in their parish would be awakened not merely by the reading but by the writing of the Accounts. There is now a wide choice of writers. In a Sutherland parish I know, the first draft was pencilled by a shrewd crofter but was unfortunately stolen from his car in a city garage to which he had taken it: the second was begun by a local minister whose death prevented completion: and the final was written by the local doctor. Elsewhere, schoolmasters and others have played their part.

Who were the writers of the First and Second series? By 1790, schoolmasters were mostly men of university education and deserved more than their mere pittance and better recognition (Sinclair 1794:247). However, the national organisation of the Kirk was not equalled by that of the schools so, following the precedent of 1755, the Clergy were enrolled for the First, and largely for the Second, Accounts. John Sinclair himself was born at Thurso Castle, Caithness, in 1754, succeeding at sixteen to the family property which was superintended until he was of age, by his mother. He was educated at the High School of Edinburgh and at the Universities of Edinburgh, of Glasgow, where he was a pupil of Adam Smith, and of Oxford. Trained to the Scottish and the English Bar, he was elected in 1780 M.P. for Caithness. From international and

financial politics he was recalled to the problems of Scotland by the disastrous famine of 1782. From 1786 to 1787 he made a Grand Tour of Northern Europe, including France, Scandinavia and Russia, and his correspondence is still interesting (Sinclair 1831). On his return, agriculture became his chief interest, in practice on his own estate, in Scotland, and in England. It was as a lay member of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland that he conceived of the Statistical Accounts, written from 1790 to 1798. In a first portrait of 1791—at thirty-eight—his expression is thoughtful and firm (Sinclair 1831). The second, in the Scottish National Gallery, shows him some years later, with plumed bonnet, sporran and close-cut tartan trews, as Colonel of the Caithness Fencibles which he raised in 1794 and of which 19 officers were above 6 feet high and known as “the Great Chiefs, *an Tighearnan Mor*”. This picture may remind us that, though he was a laird in Caithness, where the local dialect shows a strong Norse element in its vocabulary, Sinclair was also Gaelic in sympathy. Sinclair helped to record at least one Ossianic lay by its melody, gratefully acknowledged in Simon Fraser of Knockie’s *Collection of Highland Airs* (1816). Of bilingual sympathy at home, he was thus prepared for wider understanding, nationally in Britain and internationally abroad. It may well be that the example of “The Pyramid of Statistical Inquiry” explains the outstanding worth of British colonial reports and gazetteers for districts, provinces, colonies, and for the Indian Empire, from Francis Buchanan (1780) to Sir William Hunter (1881), now worthily continued in independent India.

What were the qualities of the Scots parish ministers which made young Sir John Sinclair so rightly, so unexpectedly, feel that their Accounts of “the state of” their parishes deserved to be published in full? Although rarely natives of the parish, the ministers often belonged to the region, spoke its dialect at will and were recruited, as a representative body, from most classes of society. For famous portraits of ministers of the period, our universities treasure examples of those who held office as professors or principals. For parish ministers there is Raeburn’s famous portrait of the Minister of the Canongate skating with physical vigour, yet still with clerical gravity. Lorimer’s “Ordination of the Elders” and Reid’s “Highland Funeral”, though later, convey the solemnity of relation traditional between a true minister and his working Elders. Even when chosen by the proprietors or “heritors”, not the Crown, a

minister of independent mind, backed by his Elders, was not necessarily the laird's man, but could be frank about "feudal prejudices . . . mistaken submissiveness . . . and Gothic services" (for labour dues) and about short leases, high rents or insufficient improvement by a landlord. After all, a laird, no less than a humble tenant or cottar, could be publicly rebuked by minister and Kirk Session, for example, a notorious Laird o' Cockpen, as Kirk records tell.

The minister, and his wife, were also practical farmers, for the glebe was necessary to supply the table of the manse until farming ceased to be for mere subsistence plus rent. The annually cultivated infield of the tenantry was thick with weeds and the unmanured outfield, in the words of the grim proverb, might give little more food than it got from its threefold return: "Ane to gnaw, ane to saw, and ane to pay the laird witha' ". As agriculture improved, the glebe had become less important; the rural Lowland minister was less closely knit to farming by 1835; his Free Church rival had no glebe. On the whole, the ministers were looked up to as learned men by their working parishioners, most of whom could read (and write) and who valued religion and took their part in it as Elders of the Kirk.

As for the ministers' cash relations with the tenantry, the collection was of course voluntary and anonymous, while manse, glebe and stipend came mainly from the State which supported the Kirk but in principle was not supposed to over-rule the decisions of the Kirk's democratic organisation. Yet the fact that by 1835 the Evangelical Movement, often led by fervent catechists, was attacking the "carnal Moderatism" of the Established Church, lessened unity between minister and parishioners and thus diminished the sociological value of the Second Accounts. Lay Patronage, the prerogative of the Crown or of the lairds or "heritors" to choose or "call" a minister, was effectively disputed and this led to the Disruption of 1846, when most ministers left the "old" Established Church, sacrificed their stipends, and stood out against their patrons and with the body of their working parishioners in a national Free Church.

"The wee kirk, the Free kirk,
The kirk without the steeple;
The Auld kirk, the cauld kirk,
The kirk without the people!"

Although the auld Established Church abolished Lay Patronage forty years later, reunion with the United Free Church had to

wait until 1929. This reunion united Scots Protestants, except for the Evangelical and Episcopal minorities, into a coherent body probably of more effective force as compared to Protestants in England, whose communities are so divided between a rather state-controlled "Church" and free "Chapels". If the final one-volume Synthesis of the Third Statistical Account for Scotland, suggested here, could be complemented by one for England, for Wales and for Ireland, South and North, we should all learn more about one another's countries—and our own.

In Lothian where "the veritable Revolution in agriculture" of which ministers wrote had been completed by 1790, writers in 1835 mainly confirmed their predecessors' statements. Elsewhere change was carried through in the generation after 1790 and so the agricultural improvements and changes discussed or forecast in the First Accounts could be assessed in the Second.

With regard to "manufactures"—manufactures or handcrafts—a minister in 1790 could know what he was talking about: his wife could spin and knit and he himself, though neither weaver, smith nor mason, was competent to understand and judge their skills. By 1836 handicrafts had given way to machinery and the minister was no longer competent to deal with this or with its effect in mill and factory, foundry or ironworks. The interest of both Accounts is primarily rural. Even by 1790 the economy of the cities and ports and their society had become too extensive and complex, too specialised and too impersonal to be grasped by Sinclair himself, let alone by a parish minister. Of Edinburgh, the writer frankly confessed that the problem was beyond the scope of an Account.

One of Sinclair's teachers, Adam Smith, 1723-90, was a native of a little port in Fife, where I have seen a cartload of coals brought down straight from a small minehead to be tipped into the hold of a two-mast brig bringing timber from the Baltic or North Sea, a sample of exchange as basis of the wealth of nations. In 1751 Smith became professor of Logic, and next of Moral Philosophy, in Glasgow where, as the patron of James Watt, he was alert to the need to improve industrial machinery and power. But his sound assessments of the Commercial Revolution in his *Wealth of Nations*, written in Kirkcaldy, 1766-76, could not yet extend to the Industrial Revolution, of which the effects belong rather to the nineteenth century. And by 1835, the sheer size, dynamism and complexity

of cities and their accompanying problems, demanded a new technique of survey based on adequate economic theory, a truer social philosophy and a new ethic of urban relationships. All this lay beyond the grasp of ministers or indeed of almost any, at that time. The Third Statistical Account will be the more valuable, in that systematic urban survey is applied on social, economic and geographical lines.

All generalisation must be elastic in Scotland, Highland and Lowland, a land of which the length equals that of England and Wales, a land diversified by language and dialect and by links to England itself and over the sea to Ireland and Norway. All that can be hoped for here is an attempt to sample differences in time and place: in time, over the periods of the First, the Second and (briefly) the Third Accounts, and in place, by comparisons of Lothian for the south-east, with Aberdeenshire for the Lowland north-east and adjacent Highlands, with the Lowland south-west and with the Gaelic north-west. While Orkney is comparable to the Lowland north-east, Shetland is comparable to the Western Isles, though Norse, not Gaelic in tradition.

The ministers' words did something to describe the landscapes of Scotland and the changes, from rig and baulk to levelled and hedged fields, from windswept bareness to shelter by hedge and tree, shelter-belt and plantation, from weedy crops and weedy fallow to a clean rotation suited to the region, the farm and its purpose, and from "byre, but and ben" under one roof to cottage and to farmhouse and steadings. In addition, John Galt's "Annals of the Parish" gives an imaginary diary from 1760-90, and a self-portrait, in the setting of an Ayrshire manse family and rural parish, of a Scots minister, kindly, shrewd, and not too sententious in his descriptions of ameliorations. Similarly, Galt's "The Provost", 1822, describes social progress in small-town life and its administrative morality while "The Entail" describes the lairds. Yet we miss illustrations in the first Accounts. Pictorially the landscapes can live for us in illustrations such as those in the second edition of Graham's "The Social Life of Scotland . . ." or in vivid paintings by Wilkie, Naismith or Geikie. The mapping of Scotland was undertaken in the north under General Roy after 1745 for strategic reasons and as Accounts tell, it was also proceeding, one estate at a time, under progressive landlords; for before attempting to improve their lands, they had to map them. From these Plans, what was

often called "the barbarous medieval system of agriculture", is seen to be the breakdown of a civilised communal system laid out in the Middle Ages. Quite often the Plans record the names of the tenant "possessors".

In Lothian transformation came after 1750 by the consolidation under a single tenant, of joint farms or "fermtouns", formerly cultivated by groups of tenants greater and smaller and more or less hereditary, as rentals show (Geddes 1938, 1951; Third 1957). In the Ayrshire Lowland early fermtouns had been divided up, in many cases earlier than was remembered even by enquiring ministers in the eighteenth century, but fences and rotation came after 1775 (Ogilvie 1953, after Lebon 1946).

The change from the small Gaelic group-hamlets with four or five equal labouring joint tenants, "the little commonwealths" of the Rev. John MacLeod's First Account of Harris (Sinclair 1794:368), gave place after 1800 either to single farms or crofts or to crofting villages aligned along a raised beach or road, though still with their common pastures.

Thus rural society was virtually fixed by the size of the new farms and their farm labour team, from the large farms of S.E. Scotland averaging six to eight workers, through medium teams to West and North with small teams of three to two workers over most of the rest, but with the addition of individual crofters from Aberdeenshire northwards to Orkney. In the south-western and eastern Highlands mixed farming is practised both by small farm or family teams and by single crofters, but northwards from Mull, by the crofting townships of the north-west coast, the Hebrides and Zetland. Speaking both as one who has worked as a farm servant, and as an observer, I know of no single fact of agricultural organisation which sums up so well the differing regional types of class society in rural Scotland (Geddes 1955:map p. 15). Many Accounts show keen awareness of the significance of the number typical of the regional farm team. And as Dr. Snodgrass (1953) has shown in her Introduction to the pioneer *Third Account* of East Lothian, the consolidation in big farms created the threefold hierarchy of class: landlord, farmer and farm-servants. The effects are enduring in S.E. Scotland. In Ayrshire, on the other hand, the farmer and his farm-servant, often one of his own family, work side by side as did the brothers Robbie and Gilbert Burns. The former servant becomes an enterprising farmer at home or far afield. In the

S.W. Highlands farmer and crofter mix readily; and in the N.W. crofting townships a co-operative democracy prevails.

Of studies made before 1950, comparing the First and Second Accounts for one county, the fullest known to me is that of Dr. Isabel F. Grant (1929). Aberdeenshire was selected as a large East Coast county, including both the N.E. coastwise lowland and the S.W. upland and highland, which was little affected by Clearances for sheep, and in which the agricultural reforms were largely being carried through between the First and Second Accounts, but were still incomplete up in the straths. They bring out the fact that, in Aberdeenshire, it was improved cultivation and especially turnip-growing that chiefly brought about the demarcation of individual holdings in order to make fenced fields, a fact emphasised by the County Reports of the Board of Agriculture of c. 1810. . . By 1790-8, in about a dozen parishes reformed methods were widespread even among "the small men" and in others improvement was being carried on in a rather tentative piecemeal way. Even in the ridgy uplands knowledge was spreading and "a spot" of turnips was commonly grown. Only in the remote districts "all the old-fashioned prejudices of husbandry are still looked upon as sure and infallible rules of good management" (parish Alford in Sinclair 1795:451). Nowhere in the county was there as yet a regular rotation of crops, and "infield and outfield" still prevailed (with free access of cattle over the stubble) as shown in the Estate Plans which we have collected for the period, e.g. of Castle Forbes, for the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and the University of Edinburgh. Sir Archibald Grant, of Monymusk, is the best remembered improving landlord, by his *Essays*, by economic history, by a famous strathspey tune and by the words solemnly practised for a well-known psalm: "Hou pleasand is thy dwelling-place," Sir Archie Grant to me: / "The kailyard and the policies, / Hou pleasand, Sir, they be." By 1792, Sir Archibald had been gathered to his fathers, but his people were described as "enthusiastically content" with the results of his enforced improvements.

The gains may be estimated by increased area, by larger returns for cereals and stock, by better quality of both and by a better balanced system. Thus on Deeside, in Kincardine O'Niel, in 1792, roughly 5,000 acres of oats produced 14,000 bolls and made £7,000, and in 1836 less than half the acreage (2,000 acres), produced the same quantity. Similarly for *bear* or barley. And while 100 acres of precious potatoes and turnips

had formerly made £600 in 1836 at two-thirds the price, 700 acres of these roots totalled nearly £3,000. Whereas 500 acres of grass were valued at £200, by 1836 2,300 acres under hay and arable pasture valued three times higher made £3,200. Total for the parish, 1792, £10,000: 1836, £15,000. It is interesting to refer such comparisons, when given for N.W. Scotland (e.g. in Sutherland for Eddrachillis) to recent figures, e.g. the changes in the ratio of sheep to cattle, mapped in F. Fraser Darling's *West Highland Survey* (1955:234-5).

Between the First and Second Accounts, other occupations were profoundly altered. The First recorded the rise of rural "manufactures", notably stocking knitting and flax-spinning and weaving. The Second recorded the development of manufacture by machinery powered by water or steam, mechanofacture as one might call it, and the concentration in new towns and of course in Aberdeen itself. The rural population came to depend increasingly on agriculture alone. Round the coasts, the fishing ports developed.

All these factors led to change in the earlier population and its distribution, natural increase and trends of migration. In 1755, Aberdeenshire's population was 117,000: in 1792, 123,000. This net increase of 6,000 was variably distributed. The towns of Huntly and Peterhead had a net increase of 5,000. From 1792-1841, the population increased from 123,000 to 192,000; in 1801, 39,000 were employed in agriculture and 13,000 in trades, etc. By 1841, agricultural workers had dropped to 25,000 and those employed in "manufactures, commerce and trade" had risen to 28,000. In 1951, only 18,000 were employed in agriculture of 133,000 in "All Industries". In all Scotland in 1951, 145,000 were employed in agriculture out of 2,200,000 in "All Industries", or less than 7 per cent. Here I would draw attention to the historical population studies made for Aberdeenshire by Prof. A. C. O'Dell and Dr. K. Walton, almost unique in their intensive use of the county's population returns for 1696 (Walton 1950). As to the growth of our cities, in Scotland in the last 110 years, the rural or "landward" population, still 60 per cent in 1841, fell to 30 per cent. in 1951. Or to adopt a truer criterion, the population of the total "urban area" had swelled to 83 per cent, leaving a remainder of only 17 per cent.

Of great interest throughout both Accounts of Scotland are the changes in the standards of food, clothing and shelter among the different classes. The development of education

is noted. The increasing intensity of doctrinal differences and of Evangelism or "enthusiasm" is noted in the Second Accounts. Probably it was less marked in Eastern Scotland than in rural areas subject to migration between traditional hamlets and the great Atlantic ports along Clydeside. There, the uncontrolled exploitation of labour in ships, mines, mills and factories, and the slums with their appalling child mortality and deadly epidemics, may go far to explain the "evils" of Radicalism and the "wickedness" of Trade Unions on which the Second Account of Glasgow is eloquent. Lay Patronage meant that most of the writers of both Accounts of cities had been appointed by the Crown, i.e. by governments composed of the Lords and of the Commons before the Reform Bill of 1832 had cleared up extreme scandals; universal franchise of both sexes did not come until 1928.

In the countryside by 1799, not only the civil wars but the famines which had shaken society to its foundations had come to an end, and increased welfare tended to promote stability of family and of the individual. Although for centuries the constant tendency of population to increase had been checked by endemic smallpox and other, mainly infantile diseases, and by recurrent famines and occasional epidemics until 1755 or after, the land was "over-populated"; to put it the other way, the people lacked land, the population was under-landed. But after 1790, the increased population could find other means of support than land. In spite of this there were new elements of social instability. While both the small farm for which Prof. William Ogilvie of Aberdeen had pled, with a 19-year lease, and the part-time croft with long, traditional tenure, tended to give stability, the Accounts note some uprooting. Moreover the farm-servants, hired once, or twice a year, tended to move at each hiring. They still moved far too frequently from farm to farm until the last war brought the Scottish agricultural "Standstill Order", followed by post-war reforms throughout the farms of the Lowlands.

In this brief commentary on Sinclair's "pyramidal" achievement and its follow-up in the Second Accounts, I hope I have indicated their interest and their value for the understanding of Scotland today and the possibilities of rural planning. The impetus for the First Accounts consisted of the dynamic facts of revolutionary change, after long stagnation accompanied by breakdown and decline, and of the forward-looking reforming temper of the time. Both series show an

attempt to assess the major facts of locality, region and nation, of economy and community; both temporal and spiritual aspects are considered, not apart but together. And in the Third Account, urban life is seriously studied. Living history, by plotting the trends of change to the present, invites projection into the possibilities of the future. And these possibilities include both what may or what seems likely to happen, and what we may deliberately bring about. In Sinclair's words his purpose was "to ascertain the circumstances of our native country with a view to its future improvement . . ." and the welfare of all.

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THE THIRD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND

Its Origin and Progress

A. M. Struthers *

THE ORIGIN OF THE PROPOSAL

It was at a meeting in Glasgow on 29th November 1944 that Mr. James G. Kyd, c.B.E., then Registrar-General for Scotland, suggested the desirability of having a Third Statistical Account of Scotland. He made the suggestion in a lecture to the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow. He had been encouraged to make the suggestion by his friend Mr. George P. Laidlaw, O.B.E. (later Sir George Laidlaw). Mr. Laidlaw at that time was Chairman of a Department of Health for Scotland Committee on the Distribution of Housing in Scotland and a member of the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council of Social Service. The Scottish Council had been concerned for some time with the problems of community life in the smaller towns and in the rural areas of Scotland, and had published a short social survey of Hawick. Mr. Laidlaw brought Mr. Kyd's suggestion to the notice of the Scottish Council of Social Service and on 22nd December 1944 Mr. Kyd attended a meeting of the Council's Executive Committee of which Sir Hector Hetherington was Chairman. On the 2nd of February 1945 the Executive Committee decided to set up a Committee to examine and report on the suggestion that a Third Statistical Account of Scotland was desirable. The Committee was made up as follows:—

Mr. George P. Laidlaw, Chairman
Sir Hector Hetherington
Professor Alan G. Ogilvie
Mr. J. M. Erskine
Mr. A. J. Belford
Mr. R. F. Pollock
Mr. F. C. Mears
Mr. J. G. Kyd
Mr. James Cunnison

* O.B.E., Secretary, The Scottish Council of Social Service Inc., Edinburgh.

Between 26th February 1945 and 2nd October 1945 the Statistical Account Committee met on four occasions. At the October meeting the draft of a Report prepared by the Secretary with the help of memoranda prepared by individual members of the Committee, including Professor Alan G. Ogilvie, Mr. James Cunnison, and Mr. J. G. Kyd, was submitted and generally approved.

The Executive Committee of the Scottish Council of Social Service received the Report on 9th November 1945 and approved of it. A Memorandum based on the Report, with a Foreword by Sir Hector Hetherington, was published in January 1946. It was circulated among the bodies likely to be interested.

THE MEMORANDUM OF JANUARY 1946

A summary of the main features of the Memorandum are of interest as showing what the first Statistical Account Committee had in mind.

After a note on the origin of the proposal and on the earlier Statistical Accounts the Memorandum states why a Third Statistical Account is desirable in these words:

“The present is a time of great social and economic changes. If these changes are to take place with the minimum of upheaval and disruption, there must be an understanding of the best way to make them serve the well-being of the communities they affect. The preparation of a Third Account of each local community in Scotland would strengthen the understanding of its growth; how its industries have developed; how it has built up its social life; and how its traditions have been handed on from generation to generation. Each Account would take stock of special assets and difficulties, and would enable comparisons to be made between the existing state and that of a hundred years ago, or between communities that are similar in some respects, and would include a summary of sources of information. This would be of great advantage to those concerned with local government, with local social services, and with town and country planning; and would help to show the relation of local to national problems and difficulties.

While the primary purpose of a Third Statistical Account would be social, it would also be a permanent record of

important aspects of Scottish life which would be of great value to the historian."

The next section of the Memorandum dealt with Areas of Study. It pointed out that the area of study of the earlier Accounts had been the Parish. For the Third Statistical Account it was suggested that in general the area of study should be the Parish. This would be modified in the case of cities and large towns where the urban areas as a whole would be more convenient areas of study than the Parishes of which they were composed. The view was also expressed that it was desirable to show the relation of the Parish to its geographical setting and that Parishes which form a part of a geographical area with similar physical characteristics should be grouped together for the purpose of physical description. Such groupings would also be of value where Parishes had common features in their history, public and social services, and their industries.

The next section of the Memorandum is entitled "Content of Each Account". Each Account was to be based on the following headings:—

1. The Physical Basis
2. History of the Local Community
3. Population
4. Public and Social Services
5. Housing
6. Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce
7. Way of Life.

The only references to the County is under the heading "Public and Social Services" where, referring to the Public Services, it was stated that:

"As most of these services are administered for areas larger than the single Parish, consideration would require to be given to the desirability of their being dealt with in Group Studies or County Studies", and, referring to the voluntary social services, it was stated that:—

"It will probably be necessary to deal with these subjects both in Parish Accounts and in Group and County Accounts to show how local associations are related to wider areas."

A final section is devoted to "Machinery":

"To carry out such a large enterprise, careful consideration would require to be given to the kind of machinery that would be necessary. It would be essential to secure the co-operation of a large number of people in every Parish and Burgh in

Scotland who would be willing to give freely of their time to the study of their communities. It would also be essential to provide these local people with expert guidance and direction regarding the kind of information they might collect and how best they could gather it."

It was suggested that a number of pilot surveys might be undertaken.

"These pilot surveys would be prepared for a city or large town, a large burgh, different types of small burghs, and different types of rural Parishes. These pilot surveys would prepare the way for carrying out surveys covering the whole of Scotland. They would provide information about the best techniques and the difficulties likely to be encountered. They would also provide a number of sample accounts, which would make the preparation of others easier."

It was hoped that the enterprise would secure the support of the Universities.

"There might be a headquarters for the Statistical Account in Edinburgh, where the general lines of the survey would be settled and the results collated. For convenience of administration, Scotland might be divided into six regions, each region being associated with one of the Universities."

Sir Hector Hetherington, in his foreword to the Memorandum, explained that the purpose of the document was exposition not advocacy. At the same time he said the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council of Social Service was satisfied that the plan was practicable and important.

AFTER THE MEMORANDUM

During January and February 1946 Mr. George P. Laidlaw, the Chairman of the Statistical Account Committee, had meetings with the Permanent Under Secretary of State for Scotland, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Secretary of the Society of County Clerks in Scotland; the Principals of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; and the Secretary of the Nuffield Foundation. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on 7th March 1946 he was able to report that the discussions he had had made it clear that the proposal commended itself to many people, but that there were serious difficulties which would require to be faced. The project was of a size beyond the capacity of the

Scottish Council of Social Service and was likely to require ultimately the setting up of an independent body specially commissioned to carry it through. It was agreed that the Chairman should in the first instance consult informally with the four Universities regarding the possibility of their co-operating with the Scottish Council of Social Service in carrying out a number of Pilot Surveys. The result of the informal discussion with the Universities was that in May 1946 each University was officially asked if it would undertake a Pilot Survey if the Nuffield Foundation made a grant. The Universities agreed, the Nuffield Foundation made the necessary grant, and by February 1947 all four Universities had appointed Survey Officers. The Statistical Account Committee was reconstituted with representatives appointed by each of the four Universities.

THE PILOT SURVEYS

The Universities had agreed that Pilot Surveys should be undertaken as follows:—

The County of Fife by St. Andrews—Alexander Smith,
Survey Officer.

Ayrshire by Glasgow—John Strawhorn, Survey Officer.

County of East Lothian by Edinburgh—Dr. Catherine
P. Snodgrass.

City of Aberdeen by Aberdeen—Hugh C. Mackenzie,
Survey Officer.

The reconstituted Statistical Account Committee was entrusted with the carrying out of the Pilot Surveys on the understanding that they should be carried out in conformity with a broad pattern, so that as far as practicable the volumes will be built on the same plan. The Scottish Council, through the Statistical Account Committee, provided the means for consultation between the Survey Officers and for the exchange of experience and ideas. It was distinctly understood that final editorial responsibility in each case rested with the University concerned. The Memorandum of January 1946 was taken as the basis of the Survey Officers' work. Out of the early discussions of the Survey Officers it was agreed that County Accounts in addition to Parish Accounts should be written. The Memorandum had only envisaged County Accounts covering the section on Public and Social Services, but the

Survey Officers came to the conclusion that it was necessary to provide County Accounts covering all the items mentioned in the Contents of Parish Accounts. It was argued that the County Accounts were a necessary background to the Parish Accounts and would help to shorten the Parish Accounts by dealing with subjects which were common to a number of parishes. How the Pilot Surveys were prepared is described as follows in a Report written in March 1948.

“The procedure in making the surveys of the Counties of Ayr, East Lothian and Fife and the City of Aberdeen has been for each of the Survey Officers to prepare outlines of what they considered should be included in the County sections, which comprise: The Physical Basis, History, Population, Public and Social Services, Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce. These outlines have been discussed in draft form by the five Survey Officers and an agreed framework prepared, which has been the basis for the collection of material about the County. When any framework was being discussed by the Survey Officers an expert on that particular subject was called in to give his advice. For example, on Population, the Registrar-General has been consulted, on Agriculture, Officers from the Department of Agriculture and the National Farmers’ Union have been brought in, and, in the case of Industry, the Regional Officer of the Board of Trade, the Secretary of the Scottish Council (Development and Industry), the Assistant Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, and the Managing Director of a large distributive business. These discussions with experts have ensured that enquiries were made along the right lines and have also introduced the Survey Officers to those people locally as well as nationally, who were able to provide accurate and up-to-date information on any particular subject.

When sufficient material has been collected, one of the Survey Officers has prepared a draft of that particular section which was then circulated among his colleagues and to experts. The draft was made the subject of discussion at one of the regular meetings of the Officers. The County Accounts have now reached the stage when quite a number of drafts have been dealt with in this way.

The Survey Officers, in making their surveys, have had the advice and assistance of various Departments in the University. For example, in the case of Ayrshire and Aberdeen City, the sections on the Physical Basis are being prepared by the members of the Geography Departments. While each University

has editorial responsibility for its own survey, a measure of uniformity has been assured by the regular consultation among the Survey Officers both with regard to frameworks of individual sections and the common discussion of drafts.

With regard to the accounts of local communities the procedure has varied from County to County. In the case of Ayrshire, a set of very full statements of the kind of information which should be collected for Local Accounts was prepared and sent to all ministers, schoolmasters and others within the County. At the same time Committees were set up in the 14 burghs and in a number of the parishes to collect material. Where Committees were not set up, an individual, usually the parish minister or the schoolmaster, was made responsible for collecting material. So far, a large amount of material has been gathered in this way and accounts of several parishes have been prepared. In the case of East Lothian and Fife a shorter statement was prepared and the Survey Officers picked local people who made themselves responsible for collecting material. This procedure is working satisfactorily.

In order that the tradition of the two previous Statistical Accounts might be maintained and comparisons drawn, sets of the Old and New Statistical Accounts have been split up and re-bound in Parishes, the Old with the New, and these have been put in the hands of the local investigators."

By the end of 1948 there was anxiety expressed in some quarters at the length of the County Accounts in the three County Pilot Volumes. It was felt that they were tending to overshadow the Parish Accounts which were the essential feature of the Statistical Account. At a Conference at Dunblane of members of the Statistical Account Committee and the Survey Officers the conclusion was reached that for the future volumes of the Third Statistical Account, County Accounts should be retained, but that their length should be restricted.

PREPARATION AND EDITING OF PARISH ACCOUNTS

At the beginning of 1947 it had been thought that the Pilot Surveys would be completed in two years' time. By the end of 1948 it was clear that this was an over-hopeful view. There were difficulties in obtaining local authors for the Parish Accounts. The Survey Officers required to give far more time to editing local accounts and even to writing them than had been originally contemplated. It became clear that if there was

difficulty in obtaining Parish Accounts where there was a full-time Survey Officer the difficulties would be greater where these had to be obtained by means of letters written from an office in Edinburgh. In October 1948 it was agreed that Mr. Kyd should endeavour to obtain as many Parish Accounts as possible from all over Scotland. On his retirement he devoted practically full time service to the task of discovering parish writers and to urging them to prepare Accounts along the lines suggested in the Memorandum of January 1946. The results were disappointing not so much in quantity as in quality. The late Dr. Henry Meikle read a number of the Parish Accounts and advised that it would be impossible to contemplate publishing them without editing. With a view to easing the final task Dr. Meikle and Mr. Liddell Geddie edited a number of the Parish Accounts.

THE FINAL PLAN FOR THE COUNTIES

It had been agreed that no final plan could be prepared until the four Pilot Surveys were published. There were further delays due to publishing difficulties so that it was 1953 before the Statistical Account was able to suggest a plan. The Pilot Surveys had shown (a) That the preparation and writing of Parish Accounts, if they were to be of the quality desired by the Statistical Account Committee, required the help of University staffs. (b) That each University should have a senior member of staff to co-ordinate the work of collecting and editing the Parish Accounts. (c) The County Accounts in the Pilot Survey volumes were more detailed than was necessary. In June 1953 Mr. J. G. Kyd (who succeeded Mr. George P. Laidlaw as Chairman of the Statistical Account Committee in October 1949 and continued as Chairman till October 1956) along with Mr. Laidlaw and the Secretary met the Principals of the four Universities in June 1953 (Professor Knox was at that time Acting Principal of the University of St. Andrews). At that meeting the Principals of the Universities of Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh undertook that their Universities would be responsible for editing the Parish Accounts in their area and for the preparation of County Accounts. The Scottish Council of Social Service would maintain a central administration and deal with questions of publication.

THE CITIES

The Account of the City of Aberdeen was one of the four Pilot Volumes. The Account of the City of Glasgow was made possible by a grant from the Corporation of the City of Glasgow and will be published shortly. Progress has been made with the writing of the City of Edinburgh Account by the University of Edinburgh and St. Andrews University has undertaken responsibility for the publication of the Account of the City of Dundee.

PROVERBS AND SAYINGS OF THE AUCHTERLESS AND TURRIFF AREA OF ABERDEENSHIRE

Alexander Fenton *

The following collection of about 600 proverbs and proverbial sayings consists of items currently used by speakers in the parishes of Auchterless and Turriff in Aberdeenshire, none being admitted from literary sources. The character of the proverbs is to a great extent conditioned by the agricultural nature of the economy of the district; for example, *A coo's aye a coo by the mou* teaches that a buyer should examine an animal's teeth to ascertain its age before making a purchase, and *He'll neither lead nor ca* is a metaphor based on the behaviour of a stubborn horse.

The proverbs and sayings in the area can be divided into four broad sections:

1. *General British proverbs.* These are current here, as elsewhere, but most have been omitted from this collection as being not specifically Scots. They are recorded in Smith-Heseltine, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford 1948).

2. *Mottoes and Maxims.* A large number of these are in everyday use, especially by older ladies, and consist mainly of quotations from literary sources. These are occasionally gathered from the parishioners and published in booklet form to help church funds. The last one to appear in Auchterless — *Auchterless Parish Church. Mottoes and Quotations* (1941) is typical of its class, containing one maxim for each day of the year, thus: "January 5. A smile can light up the darkest way, and it costs nothing." Since these are almost entirely literary in origin, are rarely Scots in language and, above all, are wanting in the frequently ironic sting of the proverb proper, they are also omitted here.

3. *Proverbs also found in other Scottish collections.* A rough collation of these has been made chronologically for the seven main Scottish collections, to ascertain their distribution in

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time, and geographically from North to South for a number of regional collections, to ascertain their distribution in space. For the list of works used for collation, see under *Abbreviations*.

The three earliest books of Scottish proverbs have a common source. They are David Fergusson's manuscript collection, put together before his death in 1598, the first printed edition of his proverbs in 1641, with additional material (these two texts are conveniently edited together by E. Beveridge in the Scottish Text Society edition of Fergusson's *Scottish Proverbs*; in our list of abbreviations, the 1598 manuscript text is distinguished by the letter M, and the 1641 printed text by the letter A), and James Carmichaell's collection, put together before his death in 1628 (edited in 1957 by M. L. Anderson for the Edinburgh University Press). In these two books, the editors have numbered the proverbs consecutively throughout, their numbering being followed in our references. For other texts, our numbers refer to pages.

It will also be convenient to note here that the proverbs in Sir James Wilson's *Lowland Scotch* (1915) are from Perthshire, those in his *Dialect of Robert Burns* (1923) are from Ayrshire, and those in his *Dialects of Central Scotland* (1926) are from Fife and Lothian. We refer to these three books as Wilson A, B, and C, respectively.

Since it is hoped that the system used for this collection will supply a model for similar proverb collections by others in different parts of the country, an analysis follows of a common proverb and its tail of references:

Athing has an eyn bit a pudden has twa. Ca 216, 850 A 133 Ke 12 Ra 25 He 76, 110 Hi 90; Beaton 203, Wilson A, B. The references show that the first written appearance of this proverb in Scots is in the Carmichaell Collection of a 1628, where two versions are mentioned, number 216 being *All things hes ane end and a staff hes twa*, and number 850 being *Ilk a thing hes ane end, and a pudding hes twa*. It is next found in the printed 1641 text of David Fergusson's *Proverbs* (but as it does not appear in Fergusson's original manuscript of a 1598, it is unlikely to have been in the source from which Fergusson and Carmichaell drew), and thereafter in the collections of Kelly, Ramsay, Henderson (where it is duplicated) and Hislop. This brings us to the semi-colon, after which follows the spatial distribution, i.e. it is recorded by H. Beaton in her book *At the Back o' Benachie* for the Garioch district of Aberdeenshire, and by Wilson for Perth, Fife, and Lothian.

The fact that it can be traced without a break from the 16th century means that a fuller investigation will probably show it to be distributed throughout Scotland, along with other proverbs which can be similarly traced.

4. *Purely local proverbs.* These are generally characterised by the use of local names and by reference to customs whose significance is not clear to an outsider. Properly interpreted, such proverbs can tell a great deal. Thus, *Straein yer beets in Moat's soo* is a euphemistic way of saying that a person is dead, from the fact that the kirkyard in Auchterless lies next to the cornyard of the farm of Moat. It preserves a place-name *Moat*, the farm on which the mote hill of Norman times was situated; it preserves a dialect word *soo*, a large rectangular stack of straw (after it is threshed), or of hay; and it perpetuates the custom, not yet obsolete, of *straein one's beets*, i.e. of putting an insole of straw, pulled out straight, into one's tacketty or, more recently, Wellington boots to keep one's feet warm. The farmer who supplied this saying added, "It's a gey tough een that". The imagery clearly brought the coldness of the grave more uncomfortably close to him than the usual time-honoured clichés could. Another local proverb, *They aa like tae gang tae Auchtermair, niver tae Auchterless*, has achieved more than local currency, apparently because the suspicion is so widespread that ministers respond to a call to a rich parish more readily than to a poorer one.

Method of Collection. This was, quite simply, to write down a list of proverbs known by us to be current in the area, and to circulate it amongst a number of people likely to be interested, asking for additional proverbs. A personal rather than a postal approach was found to be necessary. In most cases information was given by word of mouth only because of a general unwillingness to write things down. One family in Delgatie, however, regularly sent long lists of proverbs and to them, and to our many oral informants, grateful thanks are due.

Finally, a few characteristics of the collection deserve comment. Irony—which in itself reveals much of the speaker's character—is frequently found, e.g. *Ye needna blame Gweed gin the Deil ding ye ower*, a remark made to a person with thick legs, and one which provides cold comfort; or *Sunday's rain's aafu weetin*, when it is made an excuse for not going to church; or *It's aye kent the mullert keeps fat hogs, bit naebody kens faa feeds them*, clearly referring to the less public activities of millers in the days when, under the system of *thirlage*, tenants of farms were

obliged by their lairds to have their oats ground at one particular mill. Irony is also evident in the numerous tags added to proverbs to qualify the truth of the statement contained in them, e.g. *Changes is lichtsome—an feels is fond o them.*

Comment on the daily round of work is common, thus *Ahin in the mornin, ahin aa day*, and *An hoor in the mornin's worth twa at nicht* ensures an early start; then during the day, when you, remembering that *Hard wirk's nae easy, an wirkin hard's little better*, take a rest, you suddenly start to your feet again at the thought, *This winna dee, an keep the tackie tee.* A hard worker is praised—*She'll work roon ye aa day an thresh yer back aa even—*, and a slacker described, with the irony he deserves, as *Brushin the side o his mither's heid.*

A few contain points of interest to the folklorist, e.g. *Fustlin maidens an craain hens is nae lucky aboot ony man's place*, with its reference to unnatural phenomena; *The cat's scrapin for win*, a proverb which may have travelled inland to this area from the coast; and *The thicker the meal-an-ale, the better the neist year's crap*, containing the only reference found, to the end of harvest celebrations (called The Meal-an-Ale, from the dish supped) in their old function of fertility rites ensuring the future bountiful growth of crops. At the same time, this proverb may be regarded as an injunction to a farmer not to spare his hand when adding whisky to the meal-an-ale.

There is, overall, a considerable dramatic quality produced partly by the immediacy of the imagery as in the aforementioned proverb, *Straein his beets in Moat's soo*, or in *Fobbin like a fat kittlin*, or in *As big's bull-beef*; partly because a great number of the proverbs are in the form of a dialogue between two speakers (here called X and Y); and partly because so many proverbs arise out of an essentially dramatic situation, the tension of which is crystallised into proverb form by one single person (Compare A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore* (London 1931) 144: "Each proverb was coined just once, in a given locality, at a given time, by one mind with some gnomic talent.") As Kurt Wittig recently demonstrated in *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh 1958), this dramatic quality has been characteristic of Scottish literature at all periods.

Comment might also be made on proverbs dealing with women and children, love, health and wealth, etc., but space does not permit. It only remains to note that on the lips of the younger generation the original sense of many of the proverbs is forgotten, as a number used with a jocular,

parodistic or merely silly intention in this collection shows, e.g. *I'll mak ye ower again, as the mannie made his mither* (the meaning is obscure; it may imply the impossibility of the task). Nevertheless, proverbs are still very much alive in the area dealt with, and no doubt will remain so for a very long time.

[See also additional note on p. 112]

TEXT

1. *Aa ahin like the coo's tail*. [Said by or to a late-comer, or when falling behind with work].
2. *Aal (old) age disna come its leen (alone)*. Beaton 203, Wilson C.
3. *Aal meen's mist bodes new meen's drift*.
4. *Aa tarred wi ae stick*. Birds of a feather. Ch 366; Angus 170, Beaton 202.
5. *Abody ates a peck o dirt afore they dee (die)*. Don't mind if there is some dirt on your food. Ke 157 He 121.
- 6a, b. *A bonny bride's easy (or seen) buskit*. Ca 78 A 34 Ke 1 Ra 9 He 3 Hi 15 Ch 2; Angus 163, Mowat 6, Beaton 202, Wilson A, B, C.
7. *A bonny picter o loveliness aa tae be wastit on ae man*. [Used ironically of an ugly girl].
8. *A brunt bairn dreids the fire*. Ca 14 A 26 Ke 55 Ra 21 Hi 67; Beaton 204.
9. *A case o the kettle cryin coomie (grimy, sooty) tae the pot*. [Said where one is as bad as the other].
10. *Accidents'll happen till a forkytail (earwig) crossin the turnpike*. Misfortune may be met with anywhere.
11. *A coo's aye a coo by the mou (mouth)*. One who buys a cow should examine its mouth first.
12. *A doo (dove) awa bit a deil at hame*. One who is pleasant to others, but not to his own family.
13. *A face that wid soor milk*. A discontented face.
14. *Afa (awful) times! canna get yer finger in o a steen*. [Said when times are hard].
15. *A fine mou for sookin blin lumps (boils)*. A large mouth.
16. *A fine nicht an sun amon't, tak aff yer sark (shirt) an rin amon't*.
17. *A fu man niver had a hungry horse*.
18. *A geein han's aye gettin*.
19. *A gee'n horse shouldna be lookit at in the mou*. Ca 112 A 12 Ke 50 Ra 11 He 28, 67 Hi 23; Beaton 201, Wilson A, C.

20. *A green Eel* (Yule) *maks a fat kirkyard*. Kc 30 Ra 11 He 5
Hi 24 Ch 11; Angus 163, Firth 159, Beaton 202, Wilson
A, B, C.
21. *A gweed servant bit a bad maister*. [Used of fire, money, etc.].
Ca 65 Ke 50 Ra 14.
22. *A gyaan* (going) *fit's* (foot)'s *aye gettin*. M 93 Ca 126 A 97
Ke 11 Ra 11 He 102 Hi 23 Ch 9; Angus 164, Mowat 4,
Beaton 202, Wilson A, B, C.
23. *A hairy man's a happy man, a hairy wife's a witch*. He 102
Hi 26; Wilson A.
24. *Ahin in the mornin, ahin aa day*.
25. *A hoose deil bit a caasey* (causeway, street) *saint*. One who
is pleasant to others, but not to his own family.
26. *Aiberdeen an time till't*. Beaton 202.
27. *A kiss withoot a beard's like an egg withoot saat* (salt).
28. *A lang road an fyow* (few) *hooses—an as unceevil fowk in them*.
29. *A lee in jest's a sin in earnest*. Beaton 201.
30. *A maybe's nae a honey bee*. "Maybe" is not a definite answer.
Ra 65 He 133 Hi 222 Ch 247; Beaton 201.
31. *A mou that wid tie wi a fit-raip* (a hobble for cattle). A large
mouth.
32. *A muckle heid an little in't*. A 632 Hi 229.
- 33a, b. *An aal fiddle plays sweetest* (or *the best tune*).
34. *An aal fire's seen kennelt* (kindled). [Used of a renewed
quarrel or love-affair]. Cf. Ca 236.
35. *Aneuch* (enough) *tae pooshin* (poison) *snipes*. Bad-tasting.
36. *A new besom swypes clean*. Ca 142 A 76 Ra 14 He 68.
37. *An hoor in the mornin's worth twa at nicht*. Ra 10 He 36
Hi 18; Beaton 203.
38. *An in-deil bit an oot-doo*. One who is pleasant to others but
not to his own family. Beaton 209.
39. *A penny hained* (saved)'s *a penny gained*. He 15 Hi 57.
40. *A rinnin hare's aye for the catchin*. [Used e.g. of an unmarried
girl].
41. *As aal's the hills*. Ch 42.
42. *As blunt's a beetle* (hammer). Ch 42.
43. *As bare's the birks* (birch trees) *at Eel even*. Poor, destitute.
Ca 169, 672, 797, 1726 A 439 Kc *Introd*. Ra 32 He 47
Hi 131 Ch 157; Beaton 202.
44. *As big's bull-beef*. Boastful, pompous. Beaton 201.
- 45a, b. *As black's a craa* (or *the ace o picks*). Beaton 201.
- 46a, b. *As black's pick* (pitch) (or *sit* [soot]).
- 47a, b. *As blin's a mole* (or *a bat*). Beaton 203.

48. *As braid's the side o a house*. [Said of a fat or broad person].
49. *As busy's a bonnet-makker*.
50. *As coorse as cat's dirt*.
51. *As deaf's a door-nail*. Beaton 203.
52. *As deep as Loch Ness*.
53. *As drunk's a piper*. Beaton 201.
54. *As Earl Marischal says, "Lat them cry"*. [MS. Diary of George Gall, Farmer, Oldtown, Atherb, 23 April, 1869. A variation on the motto of Marischal College, University of Aberdeen].
55. *As fat in the heid as a fifty shillin pot*.
- 56a, b. *As fat's a scrapit swine (or soo)*.
- 57a, b, c. *As fite's a sheet (or a cloot, or the driven snaa)*.
58. *As fushionless (pithless) as a docken*.
59. *As green's kale*.
- 60a, b, c. *As grey's a tod (or the mist, or a road)*.
61. *As happy's a bleck amon trycle (treacle)*. Beaton 203.
62. *As hielan's a peat, an as coorse as heather*. Uncouth, uncivilised.
63. *A sicht for sair e'en (eyes)*. He 105 Hi 41 Ch 25; Angus 165, Mowat 4.
64. *As ill hang't as worriet*. One evil is as bad as another. Ca 773.
65. *Ask nae questions, ye'll be tell't nae lees, shut yer mou an ye'll catch nae flees*. He 53 Hi 15.
66. *As lang as the birdies sing afore Cannlemas, they'll greet as lang aifter't*. Ra 15 He 156 Hi 42 Ch 46.
67. *As licht's a fedder*.
68. *As min (demure)'s a moose*. He 150; Beaton 201.
69. *As peer's the link o the crook*. Thin, emaciated.
70. *As prood's Lucifer*.
71. *As quate (quiet)'s pussy*.
72. *As ready to rowe (roll)'s rin*. Beaton 202.
73. *As reed's a Rosehearty ingin (onion)*.
74. *As reed's bleed*.
75. *As sliddery's an eel*.
76. *As soggy's a peat*.
77. *As soor's roddens (rowan berries)*.
78. *A stannin seck fulls best*.
79. *As the aal cock craas, the young een learns*. Ch 48; Angus 164.
80. *As thick's the motes in the sieve*.
81. *As ugly's a taid (toad)*.
82. *A sunny shooer niver laists bit an hoor*.

83. *As weel dream o the deil's the minister.*
- 84a, b. *As yalla's a deuk* (duck)'s *fit* (or *gweel* [the corn-marigold]). [Used especially of a jaundiced complexion]. Beaton 202.
85. *As ye mak yer bed sae man* (must) *ye lie on't*. Ke 16 Hi 46; Angus 163, Beaton 202.
86. *A teem* (empty) *bowie* (barrel) *maks maist soun*. [Said of a boaster].
87. *Ate it up an help awa wi't*. [Said as an encouragement to eat unappetising food].
88. *A teyler* (tailor) *new tae shoo* (sew), *gie him room, gie him room*. [Said jocularly to one learning to sew, because an inexperienced tailor is apt to use too long a thread and so needs plenty of room]. Beaton 215.
89. *At the Back o Balfuff* (*faar the grey meer foaled the fiddler*).
90. *Athing has an eyn* (end) *bit a pudden has twa*. Ca 216, 850 A 133 Ke 12 Ra 25 He 76, 110 Hi 90; Beaton 203, Wilson A, C.
91. *A tipenny cat can look at a king*. A 21 Ra 17 He 49 Hi 13 Ch 28; Beaton 201.
92. *A tongue that wid clip cloots* (*an pare aal sheen* [shoes]). Ch 294; Beaton 201, Calder II. 10, Wilson C.
93. *A win that wid blaa the horns aff a hummel* (hornless) *nowt* (ox). [Said of a boaster].
94. *A wiltert* (barbed) *thing haads* (holds) *weel*.
95. *A workin wife maks a waach* (worthless) *dothor* (daughter). Ca 56 A 15 Ke 22 Ra 14 Hi 36.
96. *Beauty's bit skin deep* (*an nae that eence ye start scrapin*). Beaton 204.
97. *Beauty's bit skin deep, an ugliness is tae the been* (bone). He 3.
98. *Be gweed* (good) *an ye'll grow bonny*. [Said as a farewell remark].
99. *Be servant tae yersel or yer bairns come o age*. Go and fetch something instead of just asking for it.
100. *Better a fortune in her than wi her*. [Said of a hard-working but poor wife].
101. *Better a livin cooard than a deid hero*. Ke 400 Ch 241.
102. *Better a teem hoose than an ill tenant*. Better get rid of something that does more harm than good.
103. *Better beets nor* (than) *sheets*. Beaton 204.
104. *Better belly rive* (burst) *nor gweed mait* (food) *be connached* (spoiled). Ca 363 Ke 63 Ra 19 He 106 Hi 58; Firth 159.

105. *Better deid than pinin.*
106. *Better finger aff, nor aye waggin (on).* Ca 284 A 176 Ke 56
Ra 18 He 71 Hi 56 Ch 56; Beaton 204, Wilson A, C.
107. *Better hain weel than work sair.*
108. *Better oot o the cweets (ankles) than oot o the fashion.* A 209
Ra 19 He 106 Hi 45; Mowat 6, Beaton 204.
109. *Better some fun than aa earnest.*
110. *Bide and see.* Be patient.
111. *Blaan (blown) aff o the earth an doon tae Ellon.* [Said in a
strong wind].
112. *Blaa yer ain horn, for neen'll blaa't till ye.*
113. *Boo the wan' fin it's green.* Teach and train people young.
M 1260 Ca 1543, 1539 A 789 Ke 63 Ra 169 He 2 Hi 64
Ch 61; Wilson B.
- 114a, b, c, d. *Brocht up in a cairt-shed (or a park [field], or a
barn).* Also *born in a barn.* [Said to or of one who always
leaves doors open].
115. *Broken breid maks hale bairns.* Beaton 204.
116. *Brushin the side o yer milher's heid.* Working very lazily,
without energy.
117. *Ca (drive, push) awa wi yer hurlbarra (handcart) though
ye sidna (should not) sell an ingin.* Get on with your own
work and not hinder other folk.
118. *Ca canny wi the butter, wir (our) ain fowk.* [Reputedly said
by a tight-fisted farmer to his family, meaning that the
butter was only for visitors].
119. *Caal (cold) kale het again ('s aye pot-tastit).* The same old
story. Ke 79 He 108 Ch 74; Beaton 204, Wilson A, B, C.
120. *Caal kale in Aiberdeen and casticks (kale or cabbage stalks)
in Strathbogie.* [Originally from a song probably referring
to George Gordon, 1st Earl of Aberdeen (died 1720), of
which the original set of words is in a MS. in the
National Library, dating from 1728, and published in
J. Maidment, *Scotish Ballads and Songs* (Edinburgh 1859),
20. There are a number of versions of the song, including
one by Baroness Nairne].
121. *Cast carl ower carl an hae tae tak the warst carl hinmost (last).*
122. *Changes is lightsome (an feels is fond o them).* Ca 394 A 214
Ke 77 Ra 21 He 75, 108 Hi 71 Ch 75; Beaton 204,
Wilson A, B.
123. *Cloot (patch) the aal, the new is dear.*
124. *Come intae the body o the kirk.* Come and join the company.

125. *Crack yer nuts an pu yer stocks an haad yer Halloween.* [Originally from R. Burns Halloween ii].
126. *Dicht* (wipe) *yer ain door steen.*
127. *Dicht yer nib an flee* (fly) *up.* Go to Jericho. Ke 390 Hi 337 Ch 409.
128. *Dingin on* (pouring down) *peer men an pike staves an the pike eyns o them naith-most.* [Said of a sharp, heavy shower].
129. *Dinna dee* (do) *as I dee, dee as I tell ye.*
130. *Dinna hing the cat in the pyock* (bag).
131. *Dinna tak mair in yer mou nor your cheeks'll haad.* Don't take on more than you're sure you're fit for.
132. *Dinna tak the doo or ye hae the doocot.* Don't be precipitate. [Usually of marriage].
133. *Dirt gyangs* (goes) *afore the besom.* [Said to one going in front].
134. *Dirt's luck.* ["To cause bad luck to the tenant of a new house, it was only necessary to sweep it clean and take away the sweepings. In the old days, the floor was of earth, and to leave the house clean was to ensure misfortune to the newcomers. 'Dirt's luck' was the proverb." (J. M. McPherson *Primitive Beliefs in the North-East of Scotland* (London 1929)). *Dirt* in this context is gen. used of the faeces]. M 1062 Ca 1173 A 367 Ke 247 Ra 23 He 13 Hi 80 Ch 89.
135. *Dreams are aye conter* (contrary).
136. *Ee* (you) *claa* (scratch) *my back an I'll claa yours.* Ke 76, 227, 290 He 108 Hi 72 Ch 76; Wilson A, B, C.
137. *Een mair, een less.* One more thing done is one less to do.
138. *Eence mair, eence less.*
139. *Efterneen thunner bodes drucht* (drought).
140. *Eneuch's as good's a feast.* A 104 Ra 24 He 110 Hi 87; Angus 167, Beaton 205.
141. X: "*Faar are ye for the day?*" Y: "*Turra, Turra, faar sorra idder?*" Beaton 205.
142. *Faar the dyke's laich* (low) *it's easy loupit* (jumped).
143. *Faar there's reek* (smoke) *there's heat.*
144. *Facts are chiels that winna ding* (be beaten down).
145. *Fair exchange is nae robbery.* Ra 25 He 111 Hi 92; Beaton 206.

146. X: "*Fa tell't ye?*" Y: "*A little bird tell't me.*"
- 147a, b. *February fulls the dyke, either black or fite* (white) (or *be it black or be it fite*). M 418 Ke 107 Hi 95 Ch 103.
148. *Fin the drink's in the wit's oot*. He 14 Hi 317; Beaton 206.
149. *Fine day for the deuks* (ducks) *bit nae for the stooks*. [A common remark of greeting on a rainy day]. Beaton 202.
150. *Finnin* (finding)'s *keepin*.
151. *Fireside sodjers niver won a war*.
152. *First come best sair'd* (served). Ra 26 He 112 Hi 96; Beaton 205, Wilson A, B, C.
153. *Fit canna be cured man* (must) *be endured*. Ra 76.
154. *Fit d' ye expect fae a soo bit a grumph?* Ch 404; Beaton 219, Wilson A, B, C.
155. *Fit folk disna ken disna anger them*. Beaton 206.
156. *Fit gweed's an umbrella fin yer sheen lets in?*
157. X: "*Fit'll I get till ma denner?*" Y: "*Sliver an sharp teeth.*" Ke 239.
158. *Fit's deen's nae tae dee*. Beaton 206.
159. *Fit's fun* (found)'s *free tae keep*.
160. *Fit's yer name fin ye're at hame?* [A jocular way of asking one's name].
161. *Fit's yours is mine an fit's mine's ma ain*. Hi 316; Wilson C.
162. *Fit the e'e disna see the hairt disna grieve for*. Ca 1291, 1592 A 704 Ke 341 He 145; Firth 158.
163. *Fit ye've niver ha'en ye niver miss*. M 569.
164. *Flee* (fly) *heich* (high) *an ye'll lan amon dirt*.
165. *Flee laich* (low), *flee lang*. He 107 Hi 68 Ch 71; Firth 158, Beaton 206.
166. *Fobbin* (panting) *like a fat kittlin* (kitten). Beaton 205.
167. *For greed, come ben!* [An exclamation at extreme greed].
168. *Fun* (found) *gear's gweed tae keep*.
- 169a, b, c. *Fustlin* (whistling) *maidens an craain hens is nae lucky about ony man's place* (or *should aa be shot, or should aa get their necks thraan* [twisted]). Ke 33 He 65, 68 Hi 16; Beaton 201, Firth 159.
170. *Gae hame an thresh yer Sunday's strae*. [Said about a minister seen going about on Saturday, when he should have been preparing his sermon].
171. *Gang tae Buckie* (an bottle skate)! Beaton 207.
172. *Gart* (forced) *girse* (grass) *is ill tae grow* (an *fite steens is ill tae chow*). [Said when one threatens to make another do a thing]. Beaton 206.

173. *Gettin throwe the meer* (muir) *o hecklepins* (the teeth of a flax or hemp dressing comb). Getting a row.
- 174a, b. *Gie him an inch an he'll tak a mile* (or *an ell*). He 114.
175. *Gie him't het an reekin!* Give him a good row.
176. *Gie's back ma lames* (broken pieces of earthenware). [Said when one repents of making a gift, as after a quarrel].
177. *Gie them a fit an they'd tak a faddom*. [A Banff proverb].
178. *Gin aa tales be true that een's nae lee naither*. [A comment on a tall story]. Hi 162; Beaton 206, Wilson C.
179. *Gin I be pottie ee're* (you're) *pannie*. You are as bad as me.
180. *Gin ye'd faan* (fallen) *in the door ye'd hae been ahin*. You were only just in time. Beaton 209.
181. *Gither yer clods or pey for yer peat road*. If you don't do your share you can't reap the benefits.
182. *Glowrin at's as gin I wis yer midder an nae breid in the hoose*. [Said of one frowning angrily].
183. *Glowrin like a deuk hearkenin thunner*. Ch 132.
184. *Greater losses at Culloden!* [Said when someone complains of a small loss].
185. *Growin loons are aye hungry*.
186. *Gweed gear gangs in little bouk* (bulk). Hi 108; Beaton 206, Wilson A, B, C.
- 187a, b. *Gweed midders hiv e'en* (eyes) *in the back o their heid* (or *in the howe* [hollow] *o their neck*).
188. *Gweed nicht, soun sleep, an a futret* (ferret)'s *wakenin!*
189. *Gyang tae pot an bile yer heid an mak blockheid broth*. [A schoolchild's retort].
190. *Haad* (hold) *on yer bonnet, the win's risin!* [Said to a boaster].
191. *Haad oot o ma licht an in o ma sicht till I see ma dother dancin*. [A nonsense way of telling someone not to block the light].
192. *Haad up, haad ower, the bed haads fower* (four)! Move over a bit.
193. *Hae faith an ye'll win throwe*.
194. *Hain* (save) *a spunk* (match) *an buy a drifter*. [A Banff proverb, = *Mony a little maks a muckle*].
195. *Hain yer ain an weer yer neeper's* (neighbours).
196. *Hair an hair maks the carl beld*.
197. *Hair an horn grows weel on shargars* (stunted or ill-thriven creatures). Neither hair nor horn are profitable as compared with beef.

198. *Han's like feet an feet like fail* (turf) *dykes*. [Said of one having large hands and feet].
199. *Hard wirk's nae easy, an wirkin hard's little better*. Calder I. 10.
200. *Hearkeners should be hang't*.
- 201a, b. *He aye has a finger in the pie* (or *he has a finger in ilky pie*). Always interfering. Ra 30 He 116.
202. *He aye turns up like the ill penny*.
203. *He canna mak saat* (salt) *till his kale*. Unable to earn a living.
204. *He canna redd* (clear) *his feet*. In debt, and not able to get clear.
205. *He canna see an inch afore his nose*. Improvident. Hi 114.
206. *He didna ken which side o's tail tae sit on*. Extremely hard-up.
207. *He disna aye ride fin he saiddles*. He doesn't always carry out a promise. Ra 30; Beaton 207.
208. *He disna care a docken* (dock).
- 209a, b. *He disna ken a bee fae a beetle* (or *a bull's fit*). Ca 787.
210. *He gi'ed him the reet* (root) *and the rise o't*. He explained the reasons for a thing.
211. *He hisna a lease o's mou—it's fae 'ear tae 'ear*. [Said of a large mouth, with a pun on *ear* and *year*].
212. *He hisna the spunk o a moose*. Ch 136.
213. *He hisna his sorrows tae seek*.
214. *He hisna the wit o a sookin teuchat* (lapwing). Hi 331 Ch 136; Calder I. 14.
215. *He kens the richt side o a penny*. Shrewd in bargaining.
216. *He kens fin he has a gweed soo by the lug* (ear.) He knows when he is on to a bargain.
217. *He kens fit's fit an fa's Donalie's faither*. [Said of a would-be shrewd person]. Ca 487.
218. *He kens fit side his breid's buttered on*. Ra 31 He 10, 117.
219. *He kens muckle that kens fan tae speak, bit far mair that kens tae haad his tongue*.
220. *He'll ca his pack till a pirn* (reel). He'll go bankrupt. M 728, 729 A 440 Ke 368 Ra 81 He 147 Hi 329.
221. *He'll neither lead nor ca*. Stubborn.
222. *He loot* (let) *the cat oot o the pyock* (bag).
223. *He needs a lang speen that wid sup wi the deil*. A 350.
224. *He niver said "Collie will ye lick?"* He didn't offer a share.
225. *Here for a day an a denner*. Here today and gone tomorrow.
226. *Here the day an awa the morn*.
227. *He's a bittie stan-yont*. Rather stand-offish.

228. *He's an ill guide o himsel.*
229. *He's aye thinkin about his belly.* Ca 793.
230. *He's feel* (foolish) *for himsel.* He acts contrary to his own interests.
231. *He's got girsy stibbles tae lie on.* Well off.
232. *He's his ain warst freen* (friend). [Said esp. of one who drinks].
233. *He's mair sense in his little finger than you have in yer hail heid.* Hi 119.
234. *He's nae as black's he's paintit.*
235. *He's nae sae blate* (backward, sheepish)'s *he looks.* He 10.
236. *He's nae tae ride the watter on.* Untrustworthy. Beaton 208.
237. *He's nae the berry nor yet the buss* (bush) *it grew on.* Beaton 208.
238. *He's set doon the barra.* Gone bankrupt.
239. *He starts at straes an lets winlins* (bundles of straw) *gang.*
240. *He's surely been by* (past) *the smiddy.* [Said of a sharp-tongued person]. Cf. Ca 1740, 1756.
241. *He's surely het at hame.* [Said of one who goes visiting on a bad night].
242. *He that grieves maist, grieves maist for wastit time.*
243. *He that has rowth* (plenty) *o butter may butter his breid on baith sides.*
244. *He that lives langest'll lauch last.*
245. *He widna mak a patch till his fadder's breeks* (trousers).
246. *He widna say Boo till a goose.*
247. *He winna even pairt wi the dirt below his nail.* Very greedy.
248. *He winna full his ain pooch.* He'll never make himself rich.
249. *He winna sell's hen on a rainy day, nor yet his dog in drift.* He is shrewd at selling when the market is good.
250. *He wis tearin in as if he was gaan tae redd fire.* Working fast.
251. *He's worth the watchin.* [Because he would cheat if he could].
- 252a, b. *Hingin be the breers o the e'en* (eyebrows) (or *be the back teeth*). On the verge of bankruptcy.
253. *His nest's weel fedder't* (feathered).
254. *Hoppin aboot like a hen on a het girdle.* Hi 340; Calder I. 12, Wilson A, B, C.
255. *Hunger's gweed kitchie* (seasoning). Ca 648, 649 A 298 Ke 127 Ra 38 He 35 Hi 158 Ch 175; Mowat 5, Wilson A, B, C.
256. X: "*I canna see.*" Y: "*If ye come tae ma mou I'll tell ye.*" [Said when it turns dark in the course of a meal].

257. X: "*I canna see.*" Y: "*Pit yer finger in yer e'e an mak starn-licht.*"
258. *I changed ma mind an bocht a scone.*
259. *I dinna ken if ma heid or ma heels is eemost (uppermost). Muddled.*
260. *I doot I doot I'll niver win oot, I wish I'd niver gaen in.*
261. *If ae sheep gangs ower the dyke the rest seen follows.*
- 262a, b. *If Mairch comes in like a lion it'll gang oot like a lamb— [and vice versa]. Ch 246.*
263. *If the cat washes ower its lugs there's gaan tae be rain.*
264. *If! If the lift (sky) should fa an smore (smother) the laverocks (larks), faar wid ee (you) be?*
265. *If ye dinna behave, ye'll gang doon the Kintore road. [A threat to a mischievous child].*
- 266a, b. *If ye sing afore brakfist (or syven), ye'll greet (weep) afore even (or elyven).*
267. *If ye wid be a lang liver, aye sweel (wash) the kale fae yer liver.*
268. *If ye wint tae be thrifty, tak a saat herrin tae yer brakfist and ye'll live on watter aa day.*
269. *I ken a trick worth twa o that.*
270. *Ilky blade o girse has its ain drap o dew. Hi 171 Ch 200.*
271. *Ilky doggie has its day.*
272. *Ilky een thinks his ain craa (crow) the fittest. Ke 91 Ra 24 Hi 90 Ch 200; Beaton 210.*
273. *Ilky little maks a muckle. [The commonly used mickle for little is erroneous].*
274. *I'll be rotten or ee (you) be ripe.*
275. *I'll dance at your weddin. [A jocular promise of reward for a favour].*
276. *Ill dee-ers (doers) are aye ill dreaders.*
277. *I'll gar (make) you claa (scratch) where you're nae yokie (itchy). He 152.*
278. *I'll gie ye a scone fin I bake. [Said by a man as a jocular promise of reward].*
279. *I'll gie ye yer supper wintin (without) a speen. I'll give you no supper.*
280. *I'll kaim (comb) your heid tae ye. I'll give you a scolding or thrashing.*
281. *I'll kiss you fin ye're sleepin (gar ye dream fin ye're deid). [A jocular promise of reward for a favour]. Ke 398 He 159.*
282. *I'll lat ye see the bonny side o the door. I'll put you out.*
283. *I'll lat ye see the hole the mason left. [Idem].*
284. *I'll mak ye ower again, as the mannie made his midder.*

285. *I'll need tae throw in ma bonnet.* [Said by one arriving late, or who has long delayed a visit].
286. *I'll need tae wash ma face an gie the soo a drink (it hisna gotten mait [food] for a fortnicht).* Beaton 218.
287. *I'll pey ye fin aa (every) man peys idder.* [Said on receiving a slight favour].
288. *I'll pit daar (dare) ahin the door an dee't (do it).*
- 289a, b, c. *I'll see ye by the hen's mait (or dish, or troch).* [Said when seeing someone out of the house].
290. *I'll see yer coffin bleckit wi herrin scales first.* I'll never do such-and-such a thing for you [A Banff proverb].
291. *I'll tak a rung an rizzle (beat) yer riggin (head) wi't.*
292. *I'm happy cos ma hert's ma ain an naebody's seekin't.*
293. *I'm nae sae green's I'm cabbage lookin.*
294. *I'm nae sure o the bit that's gaan tae ma mou.*
295. *I niver loot dab.* I never said anything.
296. *I niver loot on, bit aye loot ower.* [Idem].
- 297a, b, c, d. *I niver said cheese (or echie nor ochie, or soo's egg, or Jim Hielanman).* [Idem].
298. *I niver said soo's egg wis pork.* [Idem].
299. *"I see" said the blin man. "Ye're a damn leear" said the dummie.* A 244 Kc 87 Ra 23 He 109 Hi 83.
- 300a, b. *It blecks (or cowes [beats]) the cuddy wi the timmer leg.* It beats everything. Ch 203; Beaton 205.
- 301a, b. *It cowes the gowan (daisy) (or it cowes aa).* [Idem]. Ch 203.
302. *It dang doon (poured down) sax ooks (weeks) on eyn an niver upplet (let up) nor divalled (stopped).* It never stopped raining for six weeks. Beaton 209.
- 303a, b. *It gangs roon yer hert like a hairy worm (or like a new bit flannen).* It tastes good.
304. *It'll aa be the same a hunner 'ear (years) aifter this.*
305. *It'll aa come richt in the tail o the day.*
306. *It'll be dry on Friday tae dry the priest's sark.* [Said if it has rained all the week].
307. *It'll dry fin the drucht (drought) rises.* [Said of something one is too lazy to dry properly, e.g. a washed floor].
308. *It'll nedder rug (pull) nor rive (tear).* [Said e.g. of tough meat]. Calder I. 9.
309. *It niver rains bit it poors.*
310. *It rins in the bleed like a timmer leg.* M 890.
311. *It's a bad sign speakin tae yersel.* [Because it is thought to show approaching insanity]. He 78.

312. *It's aa een tae Paddy fither (whether) he sups his brose or drinks them.* Beaton 210.
313. *It's an aafu thing sweerty (laziness).*
314. *It's an ill win that blaas naebody gweed.*
315. *It's a peer belly that canna heat a caal drink.*
316. *It's a peety tae spile a story in the tellin o't.*
- 317a, b. *It's a sair sicht fin the moose leaves (or teets oot o) the girnel wi a tear in its e'e.* He 84 Hi 182 Ch 248; Wilson A, B, C.
318. *It's as chape (cheap) sittin's stannin.* [Said to one who refuses a seat].
319. *It's aye a feast or a famine wi them.*
320. *It's aye kent the mullert (miller) keeps fat hogs, bit naebody kens faa feeds them.*
321. *It's better tae live in hopes than dee in despair.* Ra 19 He 34 Hi 60.
322. *It's aye better tae hae tae pit on yer hat an coat tae gang an see yer freens (relations).* It's better to have to dress to visit relations than to have to stay with them.
323. *It's better than a steen ahin the lug.* It's nothing much, but it will do.
324. *It's easy pairtin wi the thing that's nae yer ain.*
325. *It's feels laachs at their ain fun.* Ke 201 Ra 36 He 22, 121 Hi 98.
326. *It's gane aa tae dirt like the mannie's muck-midden (dunghill).* [Said of something that has gone wrong or gone to ruin].
327. *It's gey kittle (difficult) work, makin a feel o a feel.*
328. *It's like the Gamrie man's herrin, it'll need mair than twa breees.* It will need a lot of washing. [A Banff proverb].
329. *It's like the laddie's heid—it wis crackit afore.* [Said when one breaks a dish].
330. *It's me that'll get the bree (blame) o't.* I'll be blamed.
331. *It's nae that I'm greedy, I jist like a lot.*
332. *It's nae lost fit a freen gets.* Ca 904 A 518 Ra 46 He 25 Hi 189 Ch 218; Beaton 210, Wilson A, B, C.
333. *It's nae muckle eese (use) tryin tae tak twa bites o a cherry.*
334. *It's the aal that wins the new.*
335. *It's the belly that haads up the back.*
336. *It's the biggest leear gets the biggest chair.*
337. *It's the hicht o bad manners an greed tae tak butler an jam on a biscuit.*
338. *It's the soor soo that sooks up the draff.* A 49.
339. *It taks aa kin o fowk tae mak a warld.*

340. *It taks a wise man tae act the feel.*
341. *It winna hurt ye tae speak.* Ke 29.
342. *I've a craa tae pluck wi ye (an ye've tae ate the fedders o't).*
Ke 397.
343. X: "*I've forgotten fit I was gaan tae say.*" Y: "*It's surely been a lee.*"
344. *I've neither time nor daylight.* I'm extremely busy.
345. *I widna ken him if I got him in ma pottitch (porridge)—I'd jist ken he sidna be there.*
346. *I winna pey a doggie tae bark for me an bark masel.* I won't pay a servant and do the work myself.
347. *I wish ye readier mait nor a rinnin hare.*
348. *I wisna shut up, I wis brocht up.* [A re ponse to one who says "Shut up!"].
349. *Jealousy'll get ye naewye (nowhere).*
350. *Jist haadin thegither by the help o the rags.* [In answer to the question, "Foo are ye?"].
351. *Kale an kale-bree an a wee puckle seys (chives), is fine for the laddies that work on the leys (lea fields).*
352. *Kale an kale-brose an a wee suppie ream (cream), sen's ye asleep as seen as they're deen (done).*
353. *Kale at hame's nae kitchie (something savoury).*
354. *Keep a calm sooch (appearance).* Don't get flustered.
355. *Keep a thing seyven year an ye'll fin a eese for't.* He 16, 52
Hi 199 Ch 224; Wilson A, C.
356. *Keepin saa's (salves) for sairs.* Keeping things unlikely to be of use.
357. *Keep the bonny side tae the laird.* Cf. Ca 441.
358. *Keep the day an the wye alike.*
359. *Keep the pottie bilin.* Keep going [Specif. said by boys sliding quickly one after the other on ice]. Beaton 211.
360. *Keep yer ain fish-guts tae yer ain sea-maas (sea-gulls).* Ke 118
He 52, 113 Hi 199 Ch 224; Wilson A, B, C.
361. *Keep yer breath tae cweel (cool) your pottitch.* [Said to one talking angrily]. Ke 229 He 130 Hi 200 Ch 224; Beaton 211, Wilson C.
362. *Keep yer taants tae tocher (dower) yer dothers (for fear that yer maidens be few).* Beaton 211.
363. *Lang may yer fit gang roon the gate (path), an niver strick a steen.*

364. *Lang may yer lum* (chimney) *reek* (smoke) *wi ither fowk's coal*. Beaton 211, Wilson A, B, C.
365. *Lang sick, seen hale*.
366. *Lang spangs* (strides) *an mony o them*. [How to run fast].
367. *Lang steek* (stitch) *an pu hard*. [Said of rough sewing]. Beaton 211.
368. *Learn young, learn fair, learn aal, learn sair*. A 570; Beaton 211.
369. *Let that flee stick tae the waa*. Say no more about it.
370. *Let the saa* (salve) *sink tae the sair*. Beaton 211.
371. *Let the win beat upo ticht leather*. Eat well before going out in stormy weather.
372. *Let weel abee* (alone). He 52.
- 373a, b. *Like Feel Jock, I'll ken better* (or *be wiser*) *neist time*. Ca 97.
374. *Like mony anither man, stannin greatly in yer ain licht*.
375. *Like the cock in the midden, scrapin hard for a livin*. [In answer to the question, "Foo are ye?"].
376. *Little gars* (makes) *a feel laach*.
377. *Little's fun till a feel*.
- 378a, b. *Little wit in the heid maks muckle traivel tae the feet, or little in the pow maks muckle wark for the feet*. A 569 Ke 230 Ra 51 He 85; Mowat 7, Beaton 211.
379. *Livin on love an chaain* (chewing) *daylicht*. Ca 1790 Ke 367 Ra 51 He 133 Ch 240; Beaton 211, Calder II. 12.
380. *Lo'e me a little, lo'e me lang*.
381. *Look afore ye loup* (jump). Ra 51 He 81 Hi 217.
382. *Lookin as gin butter widna melt in her cheek*. Ra 61 Hi 335.
383. *Ma ain han's aye sickerst* (surest).
384. *Ma belly's like tae cut ma throat*. I'm very hungry.
385. *Ma fingers is aa thoombs*.
386. *Mair by luck than gweed management*. [Said when an intricate job is completed without trouble]. He 23, 133 Hi 219 Ch 243; Angus 168, Beaton 210, Wilson A, B, C.
387. *Mair holy than righteous*. [Said of a garment full of holes].
388. *Mair siller than sense* (said the *teyler wi his lang threid*). It is also senseless to sew with a long thread.
389. *Mair tae be peetied than envied*. Hi 58.
390. *Mak a dear o a divot* (sod) *an turn the heathery side tae ye*. Make the most of the available resources.
391. *Mak a kirk or a mull o't*. Make the best of it. Beaton 212.
392. *Makin a speen or spilin a horn*.

393. *Makin siller (money) like sclate steens.* Ch 375; Beaton 212.
394. *Mak yer feet yer freen.* Take to your heels. Ch 58; Beaton 212.
395. *Mak yersel at hame, for I wish ye wis.*
396. *Ma son's ma son till he gets a wife, bit ma dother's ma dother aa her life.* Ra 55; Beaton 212.
397. *May the birdie shit in the prophet's mou.* [Said when someone forebodes bad weather, etc.].
398. *May ye aye hae a fu aamrie (pantry).*
399. *Merry go hyne (hence, away), wi a fish hyeuk in yer tail.*
400. *Money's made roon tae gang roon.*
401. *Money's made roon tae roll.*
402. *Money's made tae rowe (roll).*
403. *Mony a een despises the dish they'd fainest lick.*
404. *Motty (full of motes) saace is gweed eneuch for hairy butter.* Angus 167, Firth 159, Beaton 212. [Saace is should properly be saat (salt)'s].
405. *Mony a een speers (asks) the road tae Foggyloan (Aberchirder) that kens't braa weel.*
406. *Muckle skirlin, little oo (wool), (as the deil said fin he clippit the soo).* Ke 47 Ra 11; Beaton 202, Wilson A, B.
407. *Mull o Rora's roller rolled three times roon the park unrolled.* [A tongue twister].
408. *Nae eese bidin in Rome an strivin wi the Pope.* Adapt yourself to your circumstances.
409. *Nae eese o haein an wintin baith.*
410. *Nae fit tae bite yer ain thoomb.* Drunk.
411. *Nae sae hielan tae be sae far north.* [In answer to the question "Foo are ye?"]. Beaton 213.
412. *Nae winner (wonder) ye're aal-like (old-looking), ilky thing fashes (bothers) ye.*
- 413a, b, c, d, e. *Nae worth a docken (or a fart, or a fiddle, or a flech [flea], or a sid [the inner covering of grain]).* Ch 218; Calder II. 9.
414. *Near deid niver helpit the kirkyaird nor yet the bellman's pooch.* Calder I. 9.
415. *Nearest the door first oot.*
416. *Nedder tae haad nor bin (bind).* Irrepressible.
417. *Neither fish, nor flesh, nor gweed reed-herrin.* Wilson A, C.
418. *Niver's a lang time.* Ke 260 He 135.
419. *Niver say sids.* Don't say a word.

420. *Oat mou an bere doup* (bottom) *an mashlick* (mixture of peas and oats) *in the middle*. [A deception or cheat]. Beaton 213.
421. *Oh hoch hum, I niver saa a bonny lad bit fit I liket some*. [Said when yawning].
422. *Onything dis* (does) *at hame*. Cf. *The Hávamál* 6: *Dælt er heima hvat* (Ed. by D. E. N. Clarke, Cambridge 1923).
423. *Onything sets a weel-faar't* (good-looking) *face, though it wis only (a neuk [corner] o) the dishclood*. He 3 Hi 243 Ch 272; Mowat 6, Beaton 213, Wilson C.
424. *Or the girse grow the aal horse may be deid*. Don't delay.
425. *Ower aal a sparrow tae be teen* (taken) *wi caff* (chaff). Beaton 207.
426. *Ower sair* (sorely) *bett* (beaten) *a roadie niver grows corn*. It doesn't pay to get into a rut.
427. *Pairt smaa an ser'* (serve) *aa*. M 351 Ke 90 Ra 22 He 52 Hi 76; Beaton 214, Wilson C.
428. X: "*Penny for yer thochts*." Y: "*Tippence an ye'll get them*."
429. *Piggie* (water jug) *geed* (went) *aye tae the wall* (well) *till ae day*. One may do a thing too often. M 1246 Ke 313; Beaton 216.
430. *Pit a patch abeen a patch an that'll turn the win about*.
431. *Pit a stoot hert till a stey* (steep) *brae*. M 1205 Ca 1342 Ke 287 Ra 61 Hi 258; Firth 159, Beaton 214, Wilson A, B.
432. *Pit canna in yer pooch an try*.
433. *Pittin the gentleman on abeen the beggar*. [Said e.g. of putting blacking over dirt on boots]. Ke 186 Ra 40 Hi 174 Ch 189.
434. *Please yersel an buy berries an pismeal wi yon penny*.
435. *Pottie canna cry black airsie tae the pannie*. One is as bad as the other. Ke 69 Ra 20; Firth 159, Beaton 214.
436. *Profits winna hide*. [Said jocularly to one who buys an expensive new thing].
437. *Reed, fite, an blue's aneuch tae gar* (make) *ye spew*. [Perhaps in reference to the French tricolour, and if so dating from the Napoleonic wars].
438. *Rowe yer ain gird* (hoop). Be independent.
439. *Sane mithers hiv feel loons* (boys).

440. *Seein's believin.* Ra 61 Hi 157.
441. *Seener yokit seener deen.*
- 442a, b. *Self praise is no honour (or is very honourable).* He 48 Hi 257.
443. *Sell yer pig an buy a can.* Get something better.
444. *She disna think she's smaa drink nor yet the gruns o porter.* She has a high opinion of herself. Hi 176 Ch 151.
445. *She'd skin a loose an mak breeks o its skin an cannles o its tallow.* He 2 Hi 155 Ch 153; Firth 158, Wilson C.
446. *She geed throwe the wid (wood) an lan't wi a scrog (shrub).* She had many rich suitors but married a poor one.
447. *She'll work roon ye aa day an thresh yer back aa even.* She is a much better worker than you.
448. *She lookit for the hats an loot (let) the bonnets gae by.* [Said of an unmarried woman who was too choosy about a husband].
449. *She niver said "Hiv ye a mou?"* She offered nothing to eat. Ch 257.
450. *She thocht her aal bress wid buy a new pan.* She married a rich old man, hoping he would die so that she might marry a young man. Beaton 208.
451. *She wears the breeks.* She is master in the house.
452. *She winna sell her hen in a rainy day nor yet her cock in win.* She is a good bargainer. M 1575 Ke 373 Ra 31, 83 He 52 Hi 126; Angus 169, Beaton 219.
453. *She winna tine (lose) a preen (pin) an nae look for't.* She is thrifty.
- 454a, b. *Shinin like sharn (cow-dung) on the heid o a hill (or on a ley-rig).* Ke 378 Ra 86 Hi 346.
455. *Short an sweet like the donkey's gallop.* Hi 16.
456. *Sic mannie, sic horsie.* Ca 1364, -5, -7, -70 A 738 Ke 336 Ra 62 Ch 298; Beaton 215.
457. *Sing! sing! the cat's awa wi ma singin string.* [Said by someone asked to sing in company].
458. *Sittin swytin (sweating) supping sowens.* [A tongue-twister].
459. *Slow at mait (food) slow at work.* Ra 59 He 138 Hi 262.
460. *Snap up the speen-mait (food for which a spoon is needed), the breid'll keep.*
461. *Some fowk's aye seein fairlies (wonders).* He 22.
462. X: "*So they say.*" Y: "*O aye, they say athing bit their prayers, an they fustle (whistle) them.*"
463. *Speak fin ye're spoken till (an bark fin the doggie bids ye).* Ra 63 He 54 Hi 265, 266 Ch 303; Firth 159.

- 464a, b. *Speakin oot o a hole in your heid (or neck)*. [Talking nonsense].
- 465a, b. *Spit ower yer thoomb an say "Troth, thoomb" (or an say "Troth" three times ower)*. [As an act of good faith].
- 466a, b. *Steal a needle steal a preen, steal a coo or aa be deen (or afore ye're deen)*. M 1377; Beaton 215.
467. *Sticks an steens'll brak ma beens, bit nicknames winna touch me*. He 53 Hi 69; Wilson A, C.
468. *Still waters rin deep*. Ra 62 He 90 Hi 263.
469. *Straein (putting straw into) yer beets in Moat's soo (straw stack)*. [Dead, because the graveyard in Auchterless is next to the cornyard of the farm of Moat].
470. *Stravaigin (sauntering, strutting) aboot like a wull (roused) turkey*.
471. *Sunday's rain's aafu weetin*. [A sarcastic comment when someone will not go to church because of rain].
472. *Sup yer brose (an oatmeal dish), the breid'll keep*.
- 473a, b. *Sweer (lazy) fowk's aye bodin coorse (or ill) widder (weather)*. [I.e. as an excuse for not going out to work].
474. *Tae dream o the deid's tae hear o the livin*.
475. *Tak chowp for a change*. You must make do with nothing.
476. *Tak fit ye hiv an ye'll niver wint*. Make do with what you have.
477. *Tak mustard, it'll keep o itself*.
478. *Tak yer heels ower yer shooders*. [Said when the roads are bad].
479. *Tea begrudged an water bewitched*. Very weak tea.
480. *Tell the truth an shame the Deil*.
481. *That'll be a knife (etc.) lang ahin ye hinna a sair heid*. [Said of something with long-lasting qualities].
482. *That'll haad ye oot o langer (tedium) an in o anger*. [Said of a trying job]. Ra 58.
483. *That's the clean back lick*. The very limit.
484. *That winna mak me nor brak me*.
485. *The back o beyond faar the hens rin barfit*.
486. *The back o yer heid's a treat*. I'm glad to get rid of you.
487. *That story's obleeged tae the upmakker*. [Said of an embroidered story].
488. *The better the day, the better the deed*. He 72 Hi 58, 275; Beaton 216.
489. *The cat's scrapin for win*. [Said if the cat is seen scratching].

490. *The cat's sneezin, there's gaan tae be drift.* [Also said in fun if a person sneezes].
491. *The corn's surely risin.* [Said to a man with his cap set well back on his head].
492. *The Deil rock them in a creel that disna wish us aa weel.*
493. *The Deil's aye gweed till his ain.* Ra 66 Hc 12 Hi 278; Angus 164, Beaton 217, Wilson C.
494. *The East win's a caal win fitiver airt* (direction) *it blaa fae.*
495. *The fashion here's 'twis afore, hinmist* (last) *in shuts the door.* [Said to farm servants going in for a meal].
496. *The fat soo's airse is aye weel creeshed* (greased). M 1200 Ca 475, 1143, 1400, 1787, 1794 Ke 93 Ra 24.
497. *The feel* (foolish) *an the wise aye tig thegither—till the feel gethers wit.*
498. *The hetter war the seener peace.*
499. *The kep* (cap) *haps* (covers) *aa the faimily.* [Said of a married couple with no children].
500. *The Lord helps them that helps themsels.* A 313 Hc 32.
501. *The mair ye hiv the mair ye get.* A 333.
- 502a, b. *The mair ye hiv* (or *get*) *the mair ye wint.* Ca 1612 A 637 Ke 245 Ra 35 He 30.
503. *The meen's neen the waar* (worse) *though the doggie bark at it.*
504. *Them that burns their airse has tae sit on the blister.*
505. *Them that guides fin they hae, can guide fin they hinna.*
506. *Them that has a lang nose are aye takin till them.* If the cap fits, wear it. Beaton 216.
507. *Them that lives langest sees maist fairlies.* Ca 1603, 1447 A 798 Ke 313 Ra 67 He 34 Hi 282; Angus 164, Beaton 217.
508. *Them that's aye gyaan* (going)'s *aye gettin.*
- 509a, b. *The nearer nicht* (or *e'en*) *the mair beggars.* M 1379 Ra 56 He 92, 135 Hi 235 Ch 262.
- 510a, b. *The nearer the Kirk the farrer* (further) *fae Gweed* (or *grace*). A 650; Beaton 213.
511. *The proof o the puddin's the preein* (tasting) *o't.* He 58 Hi 286; Angus 165, Wilson A, B, C.
512. *There's a lot o killin in a cyard* (vagabond).
513. *There's as gweed fish intae the sea as ever yet cam oot o't.* [Encouragement to one who has lost a sweetheart. The line occurs in the ballad *Mormond Braes*].
514. *There's a time an a place for athing.*
515. *There's* (aye) *a midse* (middle) *in the sea.* Ke 314.
516. *There's aye a something.* Nothing is ever perfect.

517. *There's aye a weet an slippery steen at ilky body's door.* Ke 305
Ra 71; Beaton 217, Wilson A.
518. *There's aye some water faar the stirkie (steer) droons.* Ke 309
Ra 69 He 6 Hi 290 Ch 357; Angus 165, Firth 159,
Beaton 217, Wilson A.
519. *There's great stots (young bull or ox) in Ireland, bit they
canna get them shippit for their lang horns.* [Said to a boaster].
520. *There's mair in him than the speen pits in (an the been kaim
rugs oot).*
521. *There's mony a thing made for the penny.*
522. *There's mony a true word spoken in jest.* He 59.
523. *There's nae feels like aal feels.* Ca 1190, 1518 A 816 Ra 55
He 22 Hi 231, 293; Angus 165, Wilson C.
524. *There's nae motes in the moss.* [Said to one who drops his
"piece" when working at the peat]. He 13.
525. *There's nae place bit fit there's a hail shooer in files (whiles).*
There's an occasional row in every house.
526. *There's nae proof till a trial.*
527. *There's naething gotten bit far it is.*
528. *There's niver a hicht bit there's a howe (hollow).*
529. *There's niver an ill bit there's a waar (worse).*
530. *The snail an the swalla win aa alike at even.*
- 531a, b. *The souter's wife (an the smith's meer, or shalt)'s aye warst
shod.* Ca 1444 A 790 Ke 258 He 93; Beaton 217,
Wilson A, B, C.
532. *The thicker the meal-an-ale, the better the neist 'ear's crap.*
[Meal-an-ale, consisting of oatmeal, ale, sugar and
whisky, is eaten at the end-of-harvest celebration, itself
called the meal-an-ale].
533. *The truth tells best, an it tells twice.*
534. *The world's ill-pairted.* Hi 180 Ch 208.
535. *The willin horse aye gets the teuchest (toughest) rug (pull).*
He 92 Ch 350; Beaton 216.
536. *The win an the water are baith against him.* [Overwhelmed
by misfortune].
537. *They aa like tae gang tae Auchtermair, niver tae Auchterless.*
[Said of ministers looking for a rich parish].
538. *They dinna measure yer mou.* They feed you well.
539. *They niver bodit for a silk goon bit got een.*
540. *They niver see green cheese bit fit their teeth's aye waterin.*
[Said of jealous people].
541. *They're far ahin that daarna follow.* Never say die. Beaton
217.

542. *They're fond o fish that fries the scrubber.*
543. *They've up aa their back teeth.* They are astute.
544. *They widna clip butter though it wis meltit.* [Said of a blunt pair of scissors].
545. *Thicker an faister an mair o't.*
546. *Things winna bide an gyang tee.*
547. *This winna dee, an keep the tackie (tenancy) tee.* [Supposedly said by a crofter's wife when her husband sat down for a rest].
548. *Thocht can kill an thocht can cure.*
549. *Though ye're peer, dinna let the placie (one's landholding) ken't.* Always manure your land well, whatever else you can't afford to do.
550. *Thunner maks the widder or braks the widder.*
551. *Time about's fair play.*
552. *Tire an faa tee again.*
553. *Turn yer tail tae Turra.* [A way of saying "Turn round"].
554. *Twa heids is better than een (though een o them shid be bit a sheep's heid).* Ra 54 He 96 Hi 308 Ch 380.
555. *Twa puddocks an a pleuch, my sang's lang eneuch.* [Said by one refusing to sing in company].
556. *Twine the rash fin it's green.* Train children young.
557. *Water made waar.* [Said of weak tea].
558. *We're aa Jock Tamson's bairns.*
559. X: *"Were ye at the kirk the day?"* Y: *"Aye, tae the kirk o crack-aboot, an the kail-pot for the minister."* [I.e. they chatted round the fire and looked at the pot on the crook].
560. *Willie dis a lot.* Where there is a will to do things, much can be done.
561. *Wint fin ye hae, an wint fin ye hinna, that's eternal wint.* Hi 186 Ch 213.
562. *Wise ahin time.* A 137 He 89, 132 Hi 60, 132 Ch 25.
563. *Ye can caa's fit ye like, as lang's ye dinna caa's ower.*
564. *Ye canna be twa wyes at eence.*
565. *Ye canna fish twa sides o the water at eence.*
566. *Ye canna mak a feel o a born idiot.* Beaton 219.
567. *Ye canna pit an aal heid on young shooders.*
568. *Ye canna see naething for athing.* You can't see the wood for the trees.

569. *Ye can see his heid, bit nae his hicht.* [Said of a conceited person].
- 570a, b. *Ye change yer mind as aften as ye change yer sark* (shirt), *or ye change yer mind wi the win.*
- 571a, b, c. *Ye could sheet peys throwe them* (or *read the Bible, or smaa print, throwe them*). [Said of trousers, etc. worn thin].
572. *Ye'd fustle the laverocks oot o the lift.* [Said to a flatterer].
573. *Ye'd gar* (make) *a body believe the back o their heid wis afore.*
574. *Ye'd gar a body believe the meen wis made o green cheese.*
575. *Ye'd like yer breid buttered on baith sides.* You expect too much.
576. *Ye'd speer* (ask) *the breeks aff a hielanman.*
- 577a, b. *Ye'd speer the tail* (or *hips*) *fae a peer wife, syne* (then) *speer faar she tint* (lost) *it* (or *them*). Fe 63.
- 578a, b. X: "*Ye ken fit thocht did?*" Y: "*Shit* (or *pished*) *the bed an blamed the bowster.*" Ke 244, 306.
579. *Ye ken yersel faar yer ain shee* (shoe) *grips ye.* Ca 478, 986 A 256, 551 Ra 24 Hi 89 Ch 98; Angus 167.
580. *Ye'll be a man afore yer midder yet.* Ke 174 Ch 414.
581. *Ye'll be waar or ye be better.* Ch 206.
582. *Ye'll dance till a different tune gin I come till ye.*
583. *Ye'll get yer kail throwe the reek.* You'll get a row.
584. *Ye'll jist need tae be like the mannie that turned his sark an shook it an said, "A clean dud's healthsome".* [Said by a wife when she can't get the washing dried in bad weather].
585. *Ye'll live lang ahin ye're laachen at.* Wilson A.
586. *Ye'll niver learn younger.*
587. *Ye'll niver mak the warld by speed o fit.*
588. *Ye'll sleep yer heid intae train-ile.* Calder II. 14.
589. *Ye man* (must) *cweel* (cool) *in the skin ye het in.* Ke 80 Ra 49 He 131 Hi 207 Ch 233; Beaton 210.
590. *Ye man learn tae creep afore ye can craal.*
591. *Ye micht as weel speak till a steen waa.* [Said when someone won't listen]. Calder II. 12.
592. *Ye mith* (might) *gang farrer an fare waar.* Ch 57; Wilson A, B, C.
593. *Ye needna blame Gweed gin the Deil ding ye ower.* [Said of a person with fat legs]. Ke 384 He 99 Ch 410.
594. *Ye needna greet* (cry) *ower skail't* (spilt) *sowens.*
- 595a, b. *Ye niver heard a cadger wife cryin stinkin fish* (or *herrin*).
596. *Ye niver miss the water till the wall rins dry.* Hi 314.
597. *Ye pu'd a stick tae brak yer ain back.* You did a good turn which will be repayed with ill. Ca 790, 819, 1175 A 455.

598. *Ye're aa eeksie-peeksie.* Each is as bad as the other.
599. *Ye're aye at hame at mait-time.* [Said to a lazy person who likes his food].
600. *Ye're aye half deid or ye be weel sick.*
601. *Ye're better o help tae athing bit mait.*
- 602a, b. *Yer een's bigger nor yer belly (or kite).* You take more than you can eat. [Also fig.]. Hi 348.
603. *Ye're weel aff an disna ken't.* Calder II. 13.
604. *Yer face wid fley (scare) the French a mile awa.*
605. *Yer heid'll niver hain (save) yer heels.* You don't think before you act.
606. *Ye're niver ower aal tae learn.* Ra 57.
607. *Yer tongue's aye in the tilley (lifting-pan), (though it be lip-fu [brimming over] o dirt).* Said of a person who speaks out of turn.
608. *Ye think ye shid get athing your side o the dish.*
609. *Ye've aiten a coo an worriet on the tail.* [Said to one who leaves a very little on his plate, or fig. of one who boggles at a trifle].
610. *Ye've a heid like a hen, ye jist min (remember) fin ye're hungry.*
611. *Ye've droont the mullert.* You've put too much boiling water on the brose-meal, or too much water in whisky.
612. *Ye've gotten yer baikie (tethering stake) oot.* On the loose.
613. *Ye've nae mair feet nor a hen.* You're awkward.
614. *Ye've surely been at the smiddy gettin sharpit.* [Said to one who gives short answers].
615. *Ye've the butter aa your side o the dish.* You have it all your own way.
616. *Ye've the greed o ninety-nine times nine.*
617. *Ye've the heft an the blade in yer ain han.*
618. *Ye've tint the best pairt o yer heid.* [Said to one who loses his cap].
619. *Ye widna get water though I sent ye tae the sea for't.* A 769; Beaton 219.
620. *Ye winna learn an aal horse new tricks.*
621. *Ye winna play Jock Needle Jock Preen wi me.* Cf. Ca 1838; Beaton 209, Calder I. 13.
622. *Ye winna tak oot if ye dinna pit in.*
623. *Ye wis niver a mile fae a coo's tail.* [At the coast: you have never been out to sea; inland: you have never been far from home].

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Fergusson 1641 (in Beveridge 1924)
Angus	Angus 1914
Beaton	Beaton 1915
Ca	Carmichael a 1628 (in Carmichael 1957)
Calder I	Calder 1920a
Calder II	Calder 1920b
Ch	Cheviot 1896
Firth	Firth 1920
He	Henderson 1832
Hi	Hislop 1870
Ke	Kelly 1721
M	Fergusson MS. a 1598 (in Beveridge 1924)
Mowat	Mowat 1916
Ra	Ramsay 1776
Wilson A	Wilson 1915
Wilson B	Wilson 1923
Wilson C	Wilson 1926
X	First speaker
Y	Second speaker

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FOUR LOCAL ANECDOTES FROM HARRIS

Kenneth Jackson *

The stories which follow were taken down, in phonetic script, in 1951 from the recitation of Angus Macleod ("Angus the Tailor") of Malaclett, Sollas, North Uist, tailor and crofter, then aged 66. He himself learned all four in Harris, where he had relatives; the first from a story-teller in Caolas Scalpaidh, aged over 90; the second and third from the same man's widow; and the fourth from a Leverburgh man. Angus himself loved stories and story-telling, and was an enthusiastic collector of tales; a considerable number of his stories, recited by himself on to Ediphone records, are now in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies. The present writer made a collection of about a dozen of his tales, in phonetic script, including these four, for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland and deposited copies with the School of Scottish Studies, to which bodies he is now indebted for permission to print these extracts.

I

Ma cuairt air ceithir fichead bliadhna air ais agus rhoimh na sin, bhiodh mòran shoithichean seòlaidh tigh'nn a Loch an Tairbeart na Hearadh, deireadh an fhoghmhair; bhiodh ad a' fuireach ann gu toiseach an earraich. 'S ann a tìr mhóir na Roinn Eòrpa bhà 'd a' tigh'nn; bhà 'd an uair sin a' seòladh a dh' *America* 's do thìrean eile. Bhiodh ad a' reic 'ach uile scòrsa deoch. Bhiodh na croitearan a' toirt dhaibh itean còin, uighean, cearcan, agus feòil air son deoch; ach 's ann gun fhiosd a bha a' mhalairt seo a' dol air adhart. Bhiodh soithichean an toigh Cuspainn a' coimhead a mach air son *smuggling*, agus dh'fheumadh ad bhith faicleach. Bhiodh ad uaireannan a' tiolacadh casgaichean fìon 's ruma 's uisge beatha 'sna h-eileinean beaga tha 'sa' locha. Bha mòran do ghnothaichean eile aca dh'a fhaighinn o na daoine seo.

Bha duine tapaidh an Caolas Scalpaidh ris an canadh ad Coinneach Mór MacAsgaill. Fhuair e fhéin 's a chombanaich trì casgaichean 's chuir ad a' falach ad anna'n eilein ris an canar Sgeotasbaidh [*sic*]. An ceann ùine nuair a bha na bha 'ca a dh' uisge beatha air teirgeachainn, smaoinich ad dhol

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I

About eighty years ago and before that, there used to be many sailing vessels coming into Loch Tarbert, Harris, at the end of autumn; they used to stay there till the beginning of spring. It was from the mainland of Europe they used to come, and they sailed then to America and to other countries. They used to sell every kind of drink. The crofters used to give them birds' feathers, eggs, hens, and meat in exchange for drink; but it was in secret that this traffic was carried on. The Customs boats used to be looking out for smuggling, and they had to be careful. They sometimes buried casks of wine and rum and whisky on the small islands that are in the loch. They got many other things from these people.

There was a stout fellow in Caolas Scalpaidh whom they called Big Kenneth MacAskill. He himself and his mates got three casks and hid them on an island called Sgeotasbhaidh. After a while, when the whisky that they had was used up, they thought of going to fetch the three casks that were on the

a dh' iarraidh nan trì casgaichean a bha 'san eilein. Dh'fhalbh ad bial oidhcheadh. Tha e coltach gun d'fhuair sgiobair bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn fios air dhòigh air chor-eiginn an turus air a robh na daoine. Nuair a bha Coinneach Mór leathach caolais 's ann a chunnaic ad bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn a' tighinn. Dh'iomair ad gu math—bha 'd air son gu faigheadh ad air tìr mas nochdadh bàta an toigh Cuspainn—agus abraidh sìse gun do roinn ad cafag. Fhuair ad air tìr 's na casgaichean thoirt as a' bhàta nuair a nochd bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn. Cha robh ùin' aca air dad a dhianamh, oir chitheadh sgiobadh bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn ad na fiachadh ad ris na casgaichean a chuir a falach. Dh'fhalbh Coinneach Mór, chuir e dheth té dha na brògan, 's thug e dheth a sdocainn; bhuail e stràc ma seach air na casgaichean, 's cha'n aithnichea' tu ad seach clachan a' chladaich. Thànaig bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn a steach far a robh ad, dh'fhoighneachd a sgiobair dhiùbh c'àite robh na casgaichean. “Casgaichean?” arsa Coinneach Mór, “cha'n eil a leitheid a rud againne idir. Cha'n eil agaibh ach coimhead dha'n bhàt' againn, 's ma chì sibh nì 'sa' bith innte nach còir a bhith innte, thugaibh libh e”. Rannsaich sgiobadh bàta 'n toigh Cuspainn am bàta, 's sheall ad ma'n cuairt feadh a' chladaich, ach cha'n fhac' ad dad a cholas rud 'sa' bith ach clachan a' chladaich. Ghabh a' sgiobair a leisgeal fhéin agus thill e chon an Tairbeart. Cha luaithe chaidh e as a fianais na thug Coinneach Mór dheth a bhròg a rìst, thug e dheth a sdocainn, bhuail e na clachan, thionndaidh ad mar a bhà 'd rhoimhe 'n a'n trì casgaichean uisge bheatha, agus dh'fhalbh ad leotha dhachaidh; agus abraidh sìse gu robh oidhche mhór aig balaich agus bodaich a' Chaolais 'n oidhche sin.

II

Bho chionn iomadh linn air ais bha duine air ceann an iar na Hearadh; bha spréidh aige, crodh agus caoirich. Bhiodh e saodachadh chon a' mhonaidh, agus bhiodh e 'na chleachdadh aige, nuair a bhiodh e saodachadh a' chruidh, bhiodh e 'g éibheach, “Ho, ho!” agus “Fuirich a bhos!” Bha e 'na dhuine bha ghnòthaichean a' soirbheachadh glé-mhath leis, agus bha bean anbarrach math aige gos cùisean a chuir air adhart.

Bha e là bria' samhraidh a' falbh leis a' chrodh, agus mar a b' àbhaist, bha e 'g éibheach, “Ho, ho!” agus “Fuirich a bhos!” 'Ach uile h-uair a dh'éibheadh e, bha e cluinntail

island. They left at nightfall. It seems that the captain of the Customs boat got information in some way about the trip the men were going on. When Big Kenneth was half-way across the sound, they saw the Customs boat coming. They rowed hard—they wanted to get ashore before the Customs boat appeared—and you may say that they made haste. They got ashore and succeeded in getting the casks out of the boat when the Customs boat appeared. They had no time to do anything, because the crew of the Customs boat would see them if they tried to hide the casks. Big Kenneth went and took off one of his shoes and removed his sock; he gave a blow to each cask in turn, and you would not have known them from the rocks of the beach. The Customs boat came in where they were, and the captain asked them where the casks were. “Casks?” said Big Kenneth, “we have nothing of the sort at all. You have only to look at our boat, and if you see anything at all there that ought not to be there, take it with you.” The crew of the Customs boat searched the boat, and looked round all over the beach, but they did not see a sign of anything but the rocks of the beach. The captain excused himself and went back to Tarbert. No sooner had he gone out of sight than Big Kenneth took off his shoe again, took his sock off, and struck the rocks. They turned into three casks of whisky as they had been before; and you may say that both young men and old had a great night in Caolas that night.

II

Many generations ago there was a man in the west of Harris; he had livestock—cattle and sheep. He used to drive them to the hill, and it was his custom, when he was driving the cattle, that he used to cry, “Ho, ho!” and “Stop here!” He was a man with whom matters prospered very well, and he had a wife who was exceedingly good at carrying forward their affairs.

One fine summer day he was going off with the cattle, and he was calling, “Ho, ho!” and “Stop here!” in the usual way. Every time he called he heard a voice answering him; the

guth 'ga fhreagairt; bha [a'] guth 'g ràdh, "Ho, ho! Fuirich a bhos! Slàn tilleadh leat agus slàn falbh leat!" Sheas e is dh'éibh e, "Ho, ho!" a rìst. Fhreagair a' guth, "Ho, ho! Slàn gun till thu agus slàn gu falbh thu!" Chum e rhoimhe, cha robh e cuir an còrr diù a'sa' ghuth a bha 'ga fhreagairt.

Ma dheireadh rànaig e tolman uaine; chual' e ceòl agus ceilearadh agus sheas e, agus chunnaic e doras fosgailte ri taobh an tolmair. Ghabh e stoigh. Thànaig boireannach bria' agus dh'fhàiltich i stoigh e. Thànaig bodach beag a nall far a robh e agus cup' òir aige làn de dh' uisge beatha. Dh'iarr e air a' duine 'ch uile diar dheth òl, oir bha cuirm mhór aig na sìthichean an diugh agus bha na bha stoigh an deoghaidh òl as a' chupa ach e fhéin; agus dh'fhàg am bodach e agus chaidh e miosg na cuideachd. Fhad 's a bha [a'] duine ag òl cha robh duine cuir dragh air. Thug a' nighean a dh'fhàiltich e stoigh sanais dha e theannadh mion air mhion chon an dorais, a chionn nuair a dh'òladh e na bha 'sa' chupa gun doireadh ad bhuaidh' e agus gu dùnadh a' dorus agus nach fhaigheadh e mach tuilleadh. Seo rud a roinn e; bha e toirt balgam agus balgam as a' chupa agus a' sìor-theannadh air a' dorus. Ma dheireadh bha 'm balgam ma dheireadh a'sa' chupa. Ghearr e crui[nn]-léim a mach air an dorus agus thug e na boinn dhi dhachaidh, agus an cup' òir aige 'na làimh agus an balgam ma dheireadh annsa' chupa gun òl. Lean an treud sìthichean as a dheoghaidh.

Nuair a bha ad tigh'nn faisg air dh'éibh e, "Ho, ho! Slàn gu till thu is slàn gu falbh thu!" Sheas na sìthichean, ach nuair a sheas ad theich esan; cha bu luaithe a theich na bha ad air a thòir a rìst. 'H uile turus a bha ad gu breith air dh'éibheadh e 'n ao' rud, "Ho, ho! Slàn gun till thu! Slàn ruighinn dhut!" Ma dheireadh bha e fianais an taigh' aige fhéin. Chual' a bhean an iorghail a bha muigh, agus sheas i 'san dorus. Cho luath 's a chunnaic an duine i, dh'éibh e, "Fhionnghala, Fhionnghala, mach an cuman mùin!" Ghrad-chaidh i a stoigh, agus anna'n tiotan bha i mach; bha an duine tigh'nn a stoigh. Bha na sìthichean gu bhith aice. Dh'fhiach i na bha 'sa' chuman air an treud shithichean. Fhuair a' fear a bh' air thoiseach steall mùin as a' chuman; bha e air a dhalladh agus air a thachdadh còmhladh. Chuir e ma'n cuairt e fhéin is na bha còmhladh ris. Cha do chuir ad an còrr dragh air fhéin na air a bhean.

Chuala MacLeòid Dhun-Bheagain ma dhcodhainn a' chup' òir; 's ann a thànaig e choimhead air. Chòrd an cupa

voice was saying, "Ho, ho! Stop here! A safe return to you and a safe journey to you!" He stood still and called, "Ho, ho!" again. The voice answered, "Ho, ho! May you come back safe and may you go safe!" He kept going and did not pay any further attention to the voice that was answering him.

At last he reached a green knoll; he heard music and melody, and he stopped and saw an open door in the side of the knoll. He went in. A beautiful woman came and welcomed him in. A little old man came over where he was with a golden cup full of whisky. He asked the man to drink every drop of it, for the fairies had a great feast that day, and all who were inside had drunk from the cup but himself; and the old man left him and went among the company. While the man was drinking no one troubled him. The girl who welcomed him in gave him the hint to work his way to the door little by little, because when he had drunk all that was in the cup they would take it from him, and the door would be shut and he would never get out again. This is what he did; he was taking one sip after another from the cup and continually working his way to the door. Finally the last mouthful was [left] in the cup. He leaped suddenly out of the door and took to his heels homewards, with the golden cup in his hand and the last mouthful in the cup not drunk. The troop of fairies followed after him.

When they were coming close to him he cried, "Ho, ho! May you come back safe, and may you go safe!" The fairies stood still, but when they stood he ran away; no sooner did he run away than they were in pursuit again. Every time they were about to catch him he called out the same thing, "Ho, ho! May you come back safe! A safe arrival to you!" At last he was in sight of his own house. His wife heard the uproar outside, and stood in the doorway. As soon as the man saw her he cried, "Flora, Flora, out with the chamber-pot!" She rushed in, and in a trice she was out; the man was coming in, and the fairies were almost upon her. She dashed what was in the pot on the troop of fairies; the one in front got a torrent of urine from the pot—he was blinded and choked at the same time. He went to the right about, himself and those with him; and they never troubled the man or his wife further.¹

Macleod of Dunvegan heard about the golden cup, and he came to look at it. The cup pleased him so much that the man

cho maith ris 's gun dug an duine dhà e. Thug MacLeòid dhà fearann saor air son a' chupa. Tha'n cupa fhathast an caisteal Dhun-Bheagain gos a' là diugh; thà e ri fhaicinn aig duine 'sa' bith a thèid a' rathad. Sin agaibh sgeula cup' òir Dhun-Bheagain.

III

Bha fear anna' Ródal na Hearadh; phòs e boireannach a mhuinntir Shrannda. Bha i bho dhaoine cothromach, ach bha amharus aice nach robh ann ach droch-dhuine. Thànaig bràthair dhi a choimhead oirre, agus bha e dol a dh' fhuireach fad na h-oidhche. Thòisich fear an taighe air magadh air muinntir Shrannda, ach gu dé bha bràthair na mnàthadh ach agh a reic ris bliadhna rhoimhe sco, agus cha do phàidh fear an taighe riamh dhà è. Bha a chuid bigireachd a' cuir feirge air. 'S ann a thionndaidh e ris agus thuirt e, "Bu chòir dhut an t-agh breac a phèidheadh." "Nì mi sin, ach bithidh è glé-phèite dhut ma'n dig a' mhaduinn."

Thuig a bhean gu robh olc air [a] aire, agus dh'fhan i 'na dùisge. Lig i oirre gu robh i 'na cadal. Nuair a shaoil è gu robh i air cadal dh'éirich e agus mharbh e a bhràthair-chéile. Ghrad-dh'éirich a bhean agus thug i na buinn dhi, agus roinn i air a càirdean. 'S ann a mach air an uinneag aig a' rùm cadail a chàidh [sic] i; fhuair i mach gun fhios dh'a combanach. Nuair a thill esan dha'n leabaidh an deoghaidh an gnìomh oillteil a dhianamh bha e dol a mharbhadh na mnàthadh cuideachd; ach nuair a chunnaic e nach robh i rhoimhe 'sa' leabaidh thuig e gun deach i dh'iarraidh cuideachd, agus 's ann a theich e, oir bha fhios aige gum biodh an tòir air.

Fhuair e bàta agus roinn e air Dun-Bheagan; bhà e an dùil gu dìonadh MacLeòid è. Rànaig è Dun-Bheagan. Thuig MacLeòid gur h-ann a' teicheadh a bha è an deoghaidh cron a dhianamh, agus cheasnaich e è, agus cha do chòrd na freagairtean a thug e seachad dhà. Thuirt e ris gu faigheadh e biadh is deoch agus leaba gus a faigheadh e fios as na Hearadh dé roinn e cearr. Dh'fhuirich a' duine 'sa' chaisteal; fhuair e biadh is deoch agus bha e glé-sheumach orra.

Ach dh'éirich e ma'n do shoilleairich an là agus thug e chasan leis. Chuir e aghaidh air Sléite, fiach an cuireadh MacDhomhnaill dìon air. Gheall MacDhomhnaill siod a dhianamh, ach cha chumadh e 'sa' chaisteal idir e, ach chuir e còmhladh le gibeir e aig a robh toigh a miosg nam beann. Cha robh e dianamh car còmhladh ris a' ghìbeir. Bha

gave it to him, and Macleod gave him a farm rent-free in return for the cup. The cup is at Dunvegan still, to the present day; it may be seen by anyone who goes that way. There you have the story of the golden cup of Dunvegan.

III

There was a man in Rodil in Harris who married a woman from Strond. She came of well-to-do people, but she suspected that he was nothing but a blackguard. A brother of hers came to visit her, and was going to stay the night. The man of the house began to make fun of the Strond folk. Now the wife's brother had sold him a heifer the year before, and the man of the house had never paid him for it. His taunting enraged him. He turned on him and said, "You ought to pay for the spotted heifer." "I'll do that, but you'll be well paid for it before morning comes."

His wife realised that he was planning mischief, and she stayed awake. She pretended to be asleep. When he thought she was asleep he got up and killed his brother-in-law. His wife jumped up and took to her heels, and made for her relatives. Out through the bedroom window she went; she got out unknown to her husband. When he returned to bed after doing the dreadful deed he was going to kill the woman too; but when he saw she was not in bed when he got there he realised she had gone to get help, and he ran away, for he knew he would be pursued.

He got a boat and made for Dunvegan in the hope that Macleod would protect him. He reached Dunvegan. Macleod saw that he must be escaping after doing some wickedness, and he questioned him, and the answers he gave did not satisfy him. He told him he should have food and drink and a bed, until he got information from Harris about what wrong he had done. The man stayed in the castle; he got food and drink, and was badly in need of them.

But he got up before day dawned and took himself off. He set out for Sleat to see whether MacDonald would protect him. MacDonald promised to do this, but he would not keep him in the castle on any account, but put him with a shepherd who had a house among the mountains. He did not do a handsturn along with the shepherd. He went to hide every

e dol a' falach 'ach uile maduinn miosg a' fhraoich anna' sealladh toigh a' ghìbeir, oir bhà eagal air gu biodh an tòir air. Bhà eagal air a' ghìbeir rhoimhe, air son bha airm aige—biodag agus saigheadan. Dh'fheumadh e feòil a bhith aige 'ach uile oidhche nuair a thigeadh e dhachaidh.

Nuair a rànaig am boireannach toigh a h-athar dh'inns i mar a thachair. Chruinnich muinntir Shrannda 'ch uile duin' òg làidir agus roinn ad air toigh a' mhurtair, ach nuair a rànaig ad cha robh aca ach an gad aig a robh an t-iasg—bha a' murtair air teicheadh. Rannsaich ad a mach 'ch uile cùil agus cial,² ach dh'ionndrain ad an t-eathar a thug esan leis agus thuig ad gur h-ann dha'n Eilein Sgitheanach a chaidh a' murtair. Fhuair ad biurlainn, thug ad Dun-Bheagan orra.

Rànaig ad, chaidh ad chon a' chaisteil agus dh'inns ad dha'n uachdaran mar a thachair. Fhreagair esan agus dh'inns e dhaibh mar a thànaig an duine chon a chaisteil aig iarraidh dìon a chuir air, gu robh naimhdean as a dhcoghaidh. Dh'inns e dhaibh mar a roinn e fhéin agus mar a theich an duine, ach gu robh e am beachd gu dug e Sléite air; agus thuirt e riu, “S e rud a nì mi, cuiridh mi teachdaire go'n [*sic*] Domhnallach Shléite, a ghrad-liobhraigeadh a' mhurtair dhà-san, nò mara liobhraigeadh—!”

Dh'fhalbh an teachdaire agus dh'inns e dha'n Domhnallach a' seòrsa duine a bha e air dìon; dh'inns e an teachdaireachd a chuir MacLeòid uige. Fhreagair an Domhnallach agus thuirt e gu robh an duine air an oighreachd aige-san, agus MacLeòid a thighinn 'ga iarraidh; “Ach ma thig—!” Thill an teachdaire dhachaidh agus dh'inns e do MhacLeòid mar a chaidh dhà, agus a' freagairt a thug a' Domhnallach dhà. Ghabh MacLeòid an shearg, chruinnich e a dhaoine còmhla ris agus na bha [a] mhuinntir na Hearadh còmhla riu; bhà móran sluaigh ann.

Dh'fhalbh MacLeòid leo, agus rànaig ad fearann an Domhnallaich. Nuair a chunnaic sluaigh na dùthchadh a' tighinn ad fo 'n cuid armachd 's ann a ghrad-chuir ad fios dh'ionnsaigh an Domhnallaich gu robh móran sluaigh a' tighinn agus nach robh ad deiscail ar a son, agus nach robh ad deònach a dhol a shabaid air son murtair coimheach. Ghrad-chuir a' Domhnallach teachdaire gu MacLeòid 'g innse dhà far a robh [a'] murtair a' falach, agus e dha thoirt leis, agus nach cuireadh duine 'sa' bith a bh' air an oighreachd aige-san dragh air; ach gu feumadh e bhith seòlta, oir bha 'n duine anbarrach carach.

morning in the heather within sight of the shepherd's house, for he was afraid he would be pursued. The shepherd was afraid of him, as he had weapons—a dagger and arrows. He had to have meat every night when he came home.

When the woman reached her father's house she told him what had happened. The Strond men gathered every young able-bodied man and made for the house of the murderer, but when they got there they found nothing but the withy on which the fish had been³—the murderer had fled. They searched every nook and cranny, but they found that the boat he had taken with him was missing, and they understood that the murderer had gone to Skye. They got a galley and set off for Dunvegan. They arrived and went to the castle and told the Chief what had happened. He answered them and told them how the man had come to the castle asking for protection, because his enemies were after him. He told them what he himself had done and how the man had fled, but that he supposed that he had gone to Sleat; and he said to them, "This is what I will do, I will send a messenger to MacDonald of Sleat telling him to hand the murderer over to him, or if he won't hand him over—!"

The messenger set off and told MacDonald what sort of man he had given protection to; he told him the message Macleod sent him. MacDonald replied and said the man was on his lands, and let Macleod come and seek him; "But if he comes—!"⁴ The messenger returned home and told Macleod how he had fared, and the reply MacDonald had given him. Macleod was seized with rage. He gathered his men to him, and all the Harris men who were along with them; there was a great host there.

Macleod set off with them and they reached MacDonald's land. When the people of the country saw them coming under arms they quickly sent word to MacDonald that a great host was coming and that they were not ready for them; and that they were unwilling to go and fight for an alien murderer. MacDonald at once sent a messenger to Macleod, telling him where the murderer was in hiding, and saying he should take him away and no one in his lands would hinder him; but that he would have to be cautious, as the man was exceedingly cunning.

'S e rud a roinn MacLeòid, chuir e dithis dhaoine gu toigh a' ghìbeir a dh'fhoighneachd ma'n duine bha fuireach a stoigh aige. Bha 'n gibeir seachd-sgìth dhana choigreach chuir a' Domhnallach dh'a ionnsaigh. Dh'inns na daoine dhana ghìbeir a' seòrsa duine a bha aige 'san toigh, agus dh'inns a' gibeir dhaibh m' a dheodhainn, agus gu robh biodag aige agus bogha is saigheadan; mar a bha e falach fad a' là a'sa' fhraoch; mar a bha e tighinn am bial na h-oidhcheadh agus gu feumadh e feòil a bhith aige dhà. "Ach 's e rud a nì mise; nuair a thig e dhachaidh a nochd cha bhi feòil agam ach ceann caorach, agus iarraidh mi a bhiodag air air son ceann na caorach a bhristeadh. Ma feir e dhomh i éibhidh mi oirbh-se tighinn a stoigh". Dh'inns e dhaibh mar a gheobhadh ad faisg air an toigh gun duine 'ga' faicinn. Siud mar a roinn na balaich; dh'fhalbh ad gu toigh a' ghìbeir a'n dorchnachadh na h-oidhche agus fhuair ad gu sàbhailt gu faisg air toigh a' ghìbeir gun duine 'ga' faicinn.

Thànaig a' murtair dhachaidh, dh'fhoighneachd e dha'n ghìbeir gu dé dithis dhaoine a bh' aig an toigh an diugh. Fhreagair an gibeir nach robh ann ach feodhainn a bha gabhail a' rothaid. Thuir e an uair sin, fear an taighe, nach robh feòil aige ach ceann caorach, agus nach robh sgian aige a ghearradh i; ach na doireadh e dhà a bhiodag gu bristeadh e ceann na caorach leatha. Cha robh a' murtair deònach a toirt dhà, ach bha 'n t-acaras air, agus bha e smaoineachadh nach robh duine an tòir air mìlte ma'n cuairt dheth. Thug e gu h-ainneanach seachad a bhiodag dha'n ghìbeir. Fhuair a' gibeir gun fhiosd an iall a bh' air a bhogha a ghearradh agus dh'fhiach e 'n uair sin a' bhiodag air ceann na caorach; agus a' brag a thug a' bhiodag a dol throimh na cnàmhan, chuala an fheodhainn a bhà muigh, agus a stoigh a ghabh ad. Bha ad air muin a' mhurtair ma'n do thàrr e sealltainn.

Cheangail ad e 's thug ad leo e. Fhuair ad gu sàbhailt gu Ródal e. 'S e MacLeòid am briteamh. Thug e a bhinn a mach, gu bhith air a chrochadh. Roinn ad siod; 's ann a muigh a chrochadh e. Bha pèidhear do bhrògan ùr' air a' mhurtair; dh'fhàg ad air ad agus a chuid aodaich, agus an oidhche sin fhéin ghoideadh na brògan dheth; ach dh'fhàgadh crochte e gus an do dh'fhalbh an fheòil far na cnàmhan aige.

Bha gill' òg a' dol seachad oidhche dhorcha, agus chual' e bragadaich nan cnàmhan mar a bhà ghaoth cuir a' chuirp air ais's air adhart, agus ghabh a' gille eagal. Ruith e dhachaidh; cha do dh'fhan e ris an dorus fhosgladh, chaith e a' chomhla

This is what Macleod did; he sent two men to the shepherd's house to ask about the man he had staying with him. The shepherd was utterly sick of the stranger whom MacDonald had sent him. The men told the shepherd what sort of man he had in the house, and the shepherd told them about him; that he had a dagger and a bow and arrows; how he used to hide all day in the heather; how he used to come at nightfall, and he had to have meat for him. "But this is what I will do; when he comes home to-night I'll have no meat but a sheep's head, and I'll ask him for his dagger to break up the sheep's head. If he gives it to me I will call to you to come in." He told them how they could get close to the house without anyone seeing them. That is what the young men did; they went to the shepherd's house at nightfall, and got safely close to the shepherd's house without anyone seeing them.

The murderer came home, and asked the shepherd who were the couple of men that had been at the house that day. The shepherd answered that they were nothing but people who were travelling the road. Then he said, the man of the house, that he had no meat but a sheep's head, and that he had no knife which would cut it, but if he would give him his dagger he would break up the sheep's head with it. The murderer was not willing to give it to him, but he was hungry, and he thought there was no one pursuing him for miles round. He handed his dagger reluctantly to the shepherd. The shepherd succeeded in cutting the bow-string unobserved, and he then tried the dagger on the sheep's head; and the people outside heard the crack that the dagger made as it went through the bones, and in they came. They were on the murderer's back before he was able to look.

They bound him and took him away with them. They got him safely to Rodil. Macleod was the judge. He gave his sentence that he was to be hanged. They did that; he was hanged outside. There was a pair of new shoes on the murderer; they left them on him, and his clothes, and that very night the shoes were stolen off him; but he was left hanged until the flesh fell away from his bones. There was a young lad going by one dark night, and he heard the creaking of the bones as the wind swung the body back and forth, and the lad was seized with fright. He ran home; he did not stop to open the door but dashed the door and the doorposts in on the floor,

's na h-ursannan a stoigh air an ùlar 's chaidh e air chùl a athar dha'n leabaidh le bhrògan is le chuid aodaich, agus bha e fhad mhìos gun éirich. 'S ann 'na dhcoghaidh sin thug ad an corp thar na croiseadh agus thìolaic ad è.

IV

Bho chionn ciadan bliadhna bha e 'na chleachdadh a'sna Hearadh bhith cumail oidhche Shamhna 'g òl is ceòl is damhsa. Bhiodh ad a' cruinneachadh a dh'aon àite agus a' cuir na h-oidhche seachad gu toilichte còmhladh. An oidhche bha seo bha ad cruinn anna'n toigh seann-duine, bhà mòran bhoireannach ann ach cha robh fireannach ann ach fear an taighe. Bha na daoine 'òga air falbh bho 'n toigh, bhà 'd anna' baile faisg orra, agus bha dùil aca tighinn a thoigh a' bhodaich an deoghaidh meadhoin oidhche. Bha iad an deoghaidh an suipeir a ghabhail. Chuir am bodach peirceall caorach dha'n teine, thòisich e air a leubhadh. Ghrad-thug e leum as, agus dh'éibh e; dh'iarr e air na boireannaich ad a theicheadh, gu robh naimhdean gu math faisg orra, gun d'reaghadh e fhéin agus gun cumadh e air ais ad cho fad 's a b' urrainn dhà.

Dh'fhalbh na boireannaich gu sgiobalta agus chaidh ad air adhart a'sa' mhionaid, fiach a ruigeadh ad far a robh na daoine cruinn, fiach am biodh ad 'na uair air son am bodach a chuideachadh ma'n digeadh a' nàmhaid. Rànaig na boireannaich far a robh na daoine, dh'inns ad dhaibh mar a thachair; ad a ghrad-dhol fo 'n armaibh. Cha robh maill air a' chùis, ach mo thruaighe, bha ad tuilleadh is fadalach—thachair am bodach riu 's e marbh. Chaith e na saigheadan uile. Cha do thachair a' nàmhaid idir riutha.

Thòisich ad fiach a faigheadh ad ad; fhuaire ad ràimh nam biurlainnean anna' lagan, agus canaidh ad Lag na' Ràmh ris chon a' là an diugh. Dh'fhalbh ad leis na ràimh 's chuir ad a falach ad. Chaidh ad an tòir air a' nàmhaid; choinnich ad riu, thug ad blàr fuilteach. 'S e Clann Nèill bha 'sna coigrich. Theich Clann Nèill far an do dh'fhàg ad na ràimh 's cha robh aca ach an gad air a robh an t-iasg; agus theich ad gon a' chladaich. Thànaig an cath cho teth orra 's gu b' fheudar dhaibh leum a mach air a' mhuir. Canaidh ad Cath a' Bhàdhaidh ris gos a' là an diugh.

Thìolaic ad a' bodach gaisgeail far an do thuit e, mar a bhà e 'na chleachdadh dhaibh a dhianamh aig na h-amannan ad; agus gos a dhearbhadh gur e 'n fhìrinn a tha 'sa' sgeula seo

and went to bed behind his father with his shoes and clothes on, and remained for a month without getting up. After that they took the body down from the gallows and buried it.

IV

For centuries it was the custom in Harris to keep Halloween with drinking and music and dancing. They used to gather in one place and pass the night pleasantly together. One night they had gathered in the house of an old man; there were many women there but there was no man there but the man of the house. The young men had left the house, and were in a nearby hamlet, and they expected to come to the old man's house after midnight. They had had their supper. The old man put a sheep's jawbone in the fire and began to "read" it.⁵ He suddenly jumped up and shouted; he told the women to escape, that enemies were very close at hand to them and that he himself would go and keep them back as long as he could.

The women set off quickly and were off in a moment, to try to get to where the men were gathered, to see if they would be in time to help the old man before the enemy arrived. The women reached where the men were and told them what had happened, and said they should arm themselves at once. There was no delay about the matter, but alas, they were too late—they came upon the old man dead. He had used up all his arrows. They did not meet the enemy at all.

They began to try to find them; they found the oars of the galleys in a hollow, and they call it *Lag nan Ràmh*⁶ to the present day. They went off with the oars and hid them. They went after the enemy; they encountered them and fought a bloody battle. The strangers were MacNeills. The MacNeills fled to where they had left their oars, and found nothing but the withy on which the fish had been,⁷ and they fled to the shore. The fight became so hot for them that they had to jump out into the sea. They call it *Cath a' Bhàdhaidh*⁸ to the present day.

They buried the valiant old man where he fell, as it was their custom to do in those days; and to prove that this story is true *Lag nan Ràmh* is still there, and *Cath a' Bhàdhaidh* where

tha Lag na' Ràmh fhathast ann agus Cath a' Bhàdhaidh far an do leum na coigrich a mach air a' mhuir. Mu thimcheall daichead bliadhna air ais bha ad a' deanamh rathad mór ùr tromh Ródal, agus thachair cnàmhan duine riu. Dh'aithnich ad gur e cnàmhan a' bhodaich a fhuair ad. Thìolaic ad e an cladh Ródail.

NOTES

- ¹ Compare J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow 1900) 49, for urine sprinkled on doorposts and walls to keep away the fairies, etc.
- ² Angus said *tial*.
- ³ A proverbial expression meaning "the bird was flown". "The withy" refers to the practice of stringing fish on a willow withy by the gills, to carry them.

the strangers jumped out into the sea. About forty years ago they were making a new high-road through Rodil, and they came upon the bones of a man. They recognised that it was the bones of the old man that they had found. They buried him in the graveyard at Rodil.

- ⁴ There is a striking parallel to these unfinished threats in the *Dream of Macsen Wledig* in the medieval Welsh *Mabinogion*. The Roman Emperor writes a letter to Macsen saying simply, "If you come, and if ever you come to Rome . . .!" and Macsen replies with an equally laconic letter, "And if I go to Rome, and if I go . . .!"
- ⁵ Refers to the custom of divination from the marking on the bones of an animal, generally the shoulder-blade of a sheep. Cf. J. G. Campbell, *op. cit.*, 263; Carmichael, *Celtica* 2 (1954) 277.
- ⁶ "The Hollow of the Oars".
- ⁷ For this phrase compare note 3.
- ⁸ "The Battle of the Drowning".

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

9. *Dryfesdale*

Whereas there are numerous compound stream-names of English origin in Scotland, i.e. names made up of two or more different words, the class of names whose characteristic is the formation: stem+suffix, seems to be extremely small. On the whole, it looks as if the period of formation by suffixing must have been nearly over when the Anglo-Saxons reached and settled in Scotland (cf. Nicolaisen 1956:93). This situation is not unexpected and fits into the general pattern of morphological development from the simple stem via the suffixed formation to the compound name (Nicolaisen 1957:239).

Small as this section may be, it is of considerable interest to us as it provides evidence in Scotland of a name-type which even in England is considered to be "very primitive, and the names belonging to it . . . no doubt very ancient" (Ekwall 1928:XLVIII). This, of course, only applies to names of Germanic, and in particular Anglo-Saxon, origin; amongst non-Germanic river-names, on the other hand, this type is fairly common. Here too, however, it belongs to an earlier period of hydronymic formation and, as a class, forms a comparatively small section in Scottish river-nomenclature. Only 8 per cent of all Scottish river-names marked on the Ordnance Survey maps (1 inch : 1 mile) belong to this morphological group, with the following sub-division: Gaelic names 5.3 per cent, *p*-Celtic names 1.8 per cent, pre-Celtic, but Indo-European names 0.8 per cent. (For further details see Nicolaisen 1958).

Our little Anglo-Saxon group of this type of name forms only a fraction of the remaining 0.1 per cent and apparently consists of two names. The first is the river-name *Liddel Water* rox which, as the water-course of this name forms the border between Scotland and England before joining the River Esk, has been very satisfactorily discussed as an English river-name by Ekwall (1928:254; 1951:283). He derives it from Anglo-Saxon *Hlȳde* "the loud one" + *dæl* "a valley". This means that the name of the valley has now become the name of the river, the original name of which is represented by the first

element *Lid-* in *Liddell*. *Lid-* is identical with several names of water-courses in England which appear either as *Lyd* or *Lyde*, on modern maps (cf. Ekwall 1928:272-3). Because of its frequent occurrence, Ekwall (1951:293) thinks that it is very likely that "OE, *hlȳde* was a common noun for 'torrent'". In that case, *Liddell* < **Hlȳde-dæl* means either "the valley of the river *Hlȳde*" or "torrent valley" (cf. Williamson 1942:109).

This is by no means the only case in which the name of a valley, containing the name of the water-course that flows through it, as its first element, has replaced the original river-name. England offers various parallels of which we only cite a few compounded with the same element *dæl* as our name: †*Doverdale* (now a place-name in Worcestershire), < Celtic river-name **Dubra* + *dæl*; *Edale* (Derbyshire) → Noe, < Anglo-Saxon *ēa* "water, river" + *dæl*; *Grindle Brook* (Devonshire) → Clyst (on *Grendel* 963 *Cartularium saxonicum*), < Anglo-Saxon *grēne* "green" + *dæl*; and others.

While the original name of Liddell Water is based on an adjectival noun (either after passing through the stage of a common noun or not), the second and principal name under discussion is of different formation. *Dryfe Water* is the modern name of a tributary of the River Annan in Dumfriesshire. From it are derived the valley- and parish-name *Dryfesdale*, and the place-names *Dryfehead*, *Dryfeholm* and *Dryfe Lodge*, all in its vicinity. Older forms are best preserved in records of the name of the valley and parish, *Dryfesdale*, which appears as *Driuesdale* in 1124 (*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*) and 1189 (*Bain's Calendar*), and as *Drivisdale* in 1249 (*ibid.*) and 1452 (*Duke of Buccleuch MSS.*); in 1361 it is *Dryvesdal* (*Queensberry Papers*). These forms and further documentation have been collected by Johnson-Ferguson (1935:23) and Williamson (1942:298). For a place or district near the present Dryfe Lodge, *Dryf* is mentioned in 1572 (*Duke of Buccleuch MSS.*), and the lands of *Over Driff* occur in 1372 in the MSS. of J. J. Hope Johnstone). *Dryfehead* is *Driuesheuyd* in 1300 (*Registrum de Morton*).

Of the interpretations attempted, two seem to recognise the etymological basis of the name, whereas the third is much less probable. We shall deal with the last first: Miss Williamson in her otherwise excellent Ph.D. thesis derives the parish name from an Old Norse *Drifsdalr*, based on a personal name *Drifr*, which would give it the meaning of "Drifr's valley", or something similar. She takes the river-name to be a back-formation

from the parish-name. Although such a personal name is recorded (Lind 1905-15:203) and although back-formations are quite frequent in Southern England (see Ekwall 1928: XLI-XLVI and Nicolaisen 1955:1-8), there is no reason at all why the first element in the Scottish (!) name *Dryfesdale* should be a personal name.

It is much more likely to be the name of the water-course which flows through the "dale". The genitival ending *-s* preceding *-dale* should be no obstacle to such an assumption, as Southern Scotland provides other examples in which such an ending has been added secondarily to a river-name followed by *-dale*. In *Clydesdale* and *Nithsdale* the hydronymic elements are of Celtic origin, as is also the case with *Redesdale* (Northumberland) to which Miss Williamson refers in her discussion of Nithsdale (1942:298). *Liddesdale* belongs to the same category although the history of this name is slightly different; as we have seen, the river-name already contained Anglo-Saxon *dæl* "a valley" when Middle Scots *daill* was added to it in a tautological manner. The district-name is on record as *Lidelesdale* (p) in 1278-9 (Bain's Calendar) and *Ledalisdale* in 1380 (Exchequer Rolls). The latter spelling, however, was probably already a scribal archaism at the time, for in 1380 we also find *Ledesdale* (John of Gaunt's Register), followed by *Liddesdaill* in 1389 (Duke of Buccleuch MSS.), the basis of the present form *Liddesdale* (cf. Williamson 1942:109). This proves that at least the *-l-*, but more probably the whole of the former final syllable, had been dropped by that time. *Clydesdale*, *Nithsdale*, *Redesdale* and *Liddesdale* are by no means the only examples, but they do show the pattern with which *Dryfesdale*, if compounded of a river-name and *daill*, would conform. For this reason, it seems to be preferable to derive the parish-name from a river-name rather than from the name of a person. It is quite possible, of course, that the first element was later identified with a Norse personal name in a folk-etymological manner, to give meaning to a word that was no longer understood.

The etymology of this river-name was hinted at by both Johnston and Mackenzie. The former first (1892:92) stated that it is probably from "O.E. *drifan*, Dan. *drive*, to drive" and later (1903:107; 1934:161) suggested a basis "N. *drifa*, 'to drive, like spray', or *drifa*, 'snow, sleet'." The latter thinks that "ON. *drifa*, to rush, to drive, seems applicable" (Mackenzie 1931:111).

We prefer the Anglo-Saxon form of the verb and connect our river-name with Old English *drifan* "to drive, to move with force or speed, to rush". From the morphological point of view, *Dryfe* can be explained as an agent noun of this verb, formed by suffixing Old English *-e* to the verbal root. A Germanic ending *-an* was originally used in the formation of masculine agent nouns, usually in connection with the reduction grade of the root vowel and under the influence of Verner's Law, but in younger formations often without these, cf. Gothic *nuta* "fisherman" from *niutan*, Old Norse *fari* "traveller" from *fara*, Old High German *boto* "messenger" from *biolan*. Anglo-Saxon examples are *wiga* m. "fighter, warrior" from *wigan*, and *sceaða* m. "criminal, enemy; damage" from *scieððan* (for a fuller account see Kluge 1926:9).

It is furthermore a well-known feature of Germanic word-formation that feminine formations in *-ōn* take their place beside strong and weak masculine nouns as, for instance, Gothic *frouwa* beside *frauja*, Old High German *hërra-hërro*, and Old English *wicce* "witch" beside *wicca* (Kluge 1926:20-1). This juxtaposition of masculine forms in *-an* and feminine ones in *-ōn* is also to be found in the category of agent nouns from strong verbs, like Old Norse (poetic) *fara* f. beside *fari* m., and Old English *wand(e)-weorpe* f. "mole" from *weorpan* "to throw".

This is where our *Dryfe* < **Drife* f. comes in, together with several English river-names discussed by Ekwall: **Leek* (now place-name in Staffordshire, and others) < O.E. **Lece* f., from **lecan*, "the slow flowing one; the leaker"; †*Midwin* (now Ouse in Sussex) < O.E. **Midde-Winde* f., from *windan*, "the middle winding one; the (middle) winder"; ?*Ouse* [*Burn*] (Northumberland) < **Gēose* f., **gēosan*, "the gushing one; the gusher"; *Rend* [*brook*] (Gloucestershire) < **Hrinde* or **Hrinda*, from *hrindan*, "the thrusting one, the thruster"; *Salwarpe* (Worcestershire) < **Salu-Wearpe* f., from *weorpan*, "the throwing one, the thrower"; *Sheaf* (Derbysh.-Yorksh.) < **Sceaðe* (*Scheth* 14th cent.), from **sceaðan*, "the dividing one, the divider"; *Smite* (several) < **Smite*, from *smitan*, "the gliding one, the glider"; *Sway* (now place-name in Hampshire) < **Swega* or **Swege*, "the swaying one, the swayer" (Ekwall 1928:246-7, 291, 318, 339, 350, 360-1, 373-4, 385-6, in this order; Nicolaisen 1955:64-6).

On this evidence of the general pattern of English hydronymy, it would seem that the original meaning of our Scottish **Drife*, from *drifan*, was something like "the rushing one, the

one that flows with force and speed; the *fast flower*". This semantic aspect of the name is well borne out by the peculiar characteristics of the stream. As one writer puts it: "In fair weather small and singularly limpid, it [the Dryfe] swells after heavy rain into rapid and roaring freshet, and occasionally, over breadths of rich loamy soil, cuts out a new channel" (Groome 1883:377b).

We have therefore no hesitation in assuming the first element of *Dryfesdale* to be a primary river-name *Dryfe* < Anglo-Saxon *Drife* f. "the rushing one", a relic of the earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement in southern Scotland. It takes its place beside *Lid(dell)* < **Hlȳde* as the second instance of an uncompounded Scottish stream-name of English origin, differing from it only in so far as it is of deverbative derivation, whereas the basis of **Hlȳde* is an adjective.

The modern Scottish surname *Drysdale* is derived from the place-name *Dryfesdale* which occurs as *Drisdail* in 1552-3 (Calendar of Scottish Papers), thus indicating the local pronunciation of the name as we find it to-day. For early occurrences of the personal name and for further details see Black 1946:223-4.

10. The Type "Burn of—" in Scottish Hydronymy

A special variant of Scottish stream-names containing the common Anglo-Scottish element *burn* is the type *Burn of—*, in which the defining element represented by the dash is in the majority of cases the name of a place, hill, valley or loch, or a primary river-name. Of the 261 names of water-courses of the *burn of—* category which are to be found on the Scottish one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, 165, or 63.2 per cent belong to this main group (cf. Nicolaisen 1957:234-5). By far the largest sub-section is formed by names containing the name of a human settlement, with 97 examples. Fifty-four names belong to what we (*ibid.*:223-4) listed as category C.(a), i.e. names describing the surrounding terrain through which the stream flows. Only 3 names—a mere 1.15 per cent—refer to characteristics of the water or the water-course themselves. This semantic distribution suggests that the group of names under discussion is a rather recent innovation in Scottish river-nomenclature.

A few significant examples may illustrate this special name pattern. It must be borne in mind, however, that they were taken straight from the map and may therefore appear in a slightly petrified form which is no longer part of local and popular usage. The names will be arranged according to the classification outlined in *Scottish Studies* 1 (Nicolaisen 1957:216-33).

C. (a) Streams named after the *terrain* through which they flow.

Burn of Achlais STL (Gael. *achadh* "a field"); *Burn of Clashgour* MOR (Gael. *clais* "furrow, narrow valley"); *Burn of Coirebreac* BNF (Gael. *coire* "corrie"); *Burn of Drumcairn* ANG (Gael. *druim* "ridge"); *Burn of Frakkafeld* SH (O.N. *fjall* "rough hill"); *Burn of Loin* ABD (Gael. *lòn* "marsh, morass"); *Burn of Swartaback* ORK (O.N. *bakki* "hill, bank"); *Burn of the Boitan* SH (O.N. *botn* "bottom" > "valley").

E. Water-courses containing the NAME OF NAMED OBJECTS

(a) names of human settlements:

Burn of Birse ABD; *Burn of Deskford* BNF; *Burn of Edramucky* PER; *Burn of Geosetter* SH; *Burn of Houstry* CAI; *Burn of Laxobigging* SH; *Burn of Oldtown* ANG; *Burn of Sweenalay* ORK.

(b) hill-names

Burn of Hamarifield SH; *Burn of Longshank* ANG; *Burn of Lunklet* SH; *Burn of Melmannoch* KCD; *Burn of Monboys* KCD; *Burn of Redshank* ABD.

(c) valley-names

Burn of Crockadale SH; *Burn of Duglenny* KCD; *Burn of Glendui* ABD; *Burn of Heldale* ORK; *Burn of Laxdale* SH; *Burn of Sevdale* SH.

(d) loch-names

Burn of Marrofield-Water, *Burn of Ola's Loch*, *Burn of Petta-water*, *Burn of Sandwater* (all SH).

(e) primary stream-names

Burn of Allanstank ABD; *Burn of Boyne* BNF; *Burn of Brandy* ANG; *Burn of Breitoe* SH; *Burn of Brown* INV/BNF; *Burn of Cattie* ABD; *Burn of Garrol* KCD; *Burn of Turret* ANG; *Burn of Tynet* MOR/BNF.

Apart from their semantic significance, the examples cited, although not chosen with that purpose in mind, indicate a very special geographical distribution of this name-type. A closer analysis of this scatter is quite rewarding. The following is a full list of the number of names found in the various areas

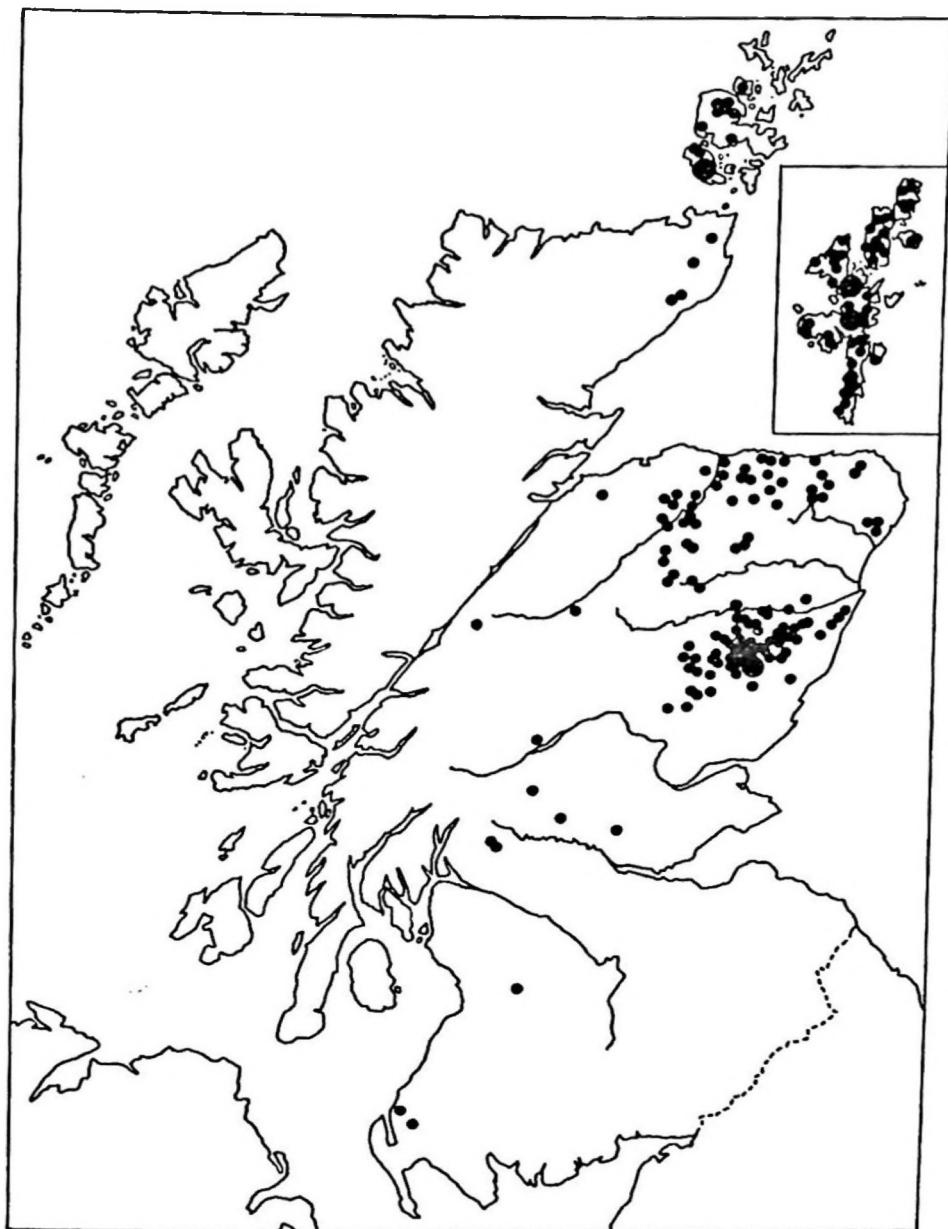
and counties, as extracted from Table II of the writer's preliminary study of Scottish hydronymy (Nicolaisen 1956).

Extreme North: Shetland 95, Orkney 20, Caithness 5
North: Sutherland, Ross-shire, North Inverness-shire,
Nairnsh.: None
North-East: Moray 7, Banff 22, Aberdeen 28, Kincardine
20, Angus 54
Central: South Inverness-shire 2, Perth 3, Stirling 2,
Clackmanann (1)
East: Fife, Kinross: None
West: West Inverness-shire, Argyllshire, Buteshire, Dun-
bartonshire: None
South (of Forth-Clyde line): None, except Ayrshire 1,
Wigtownshire 1

This distribution reveals the two main strongholds of this type of name: the north-east on the one hand, and Orkney and Shetland on the other. Central Scotland has a few scattered names which belong to this category, and only two isolated strays occur in Ayr- and Wigtownshire, respectively, in an otherwise empty South of Scotland. The north, the east and the west are completely free from the *Burn of*— type, and it is of special importance to notice that there is a vast gap between the two main centres, so that any explanation based on geographical contact or proximity is out of the question.

Although this may sound like stating the obvious, it is best to commence our interpretation of this situation by saying that the sequence *Burn of*— consists of two English words and represents an English genitival construction, used and understood both lexically and grammatically in modern Scottish English. Morphologically, the compound formation of these names also points to a late stratum of Scottish hydronymy, and we have already emphasised that the semantic aspect of this group of names—preponderance of “names from names” and of defining elements describing the surroundings of the named water-course—suggests that it is a fairly recent innovation (Detailed proof in support of this argument is to be found in Nicolaisen 1957:238-9). We may, then, initially define the type *Burn of*— as a fairly recent Anglo-Scottish creation.

As a second step, examination of the negative evidence contained in the above summary of the geographical scatter of these names may be of value. Why is our name-type absent from the otherwise so thoroughly Scottish area south of the



Geographical distribution of Scottish stream-names of the type *Burn of* —. The two main clusters in Shetland and in Angus, Kincardine, and Aberdeenshire are representative of more names than can be shown on a map of this scale. It is interesting to see how few names there are in the uplands of Aberdeenshire between the Dee and the Ythan, particularly in the Don-valley. Can this be due to a different (later?) period of linguistic Scotticisation in this area?

Forth-Clyde line, especially from its southern, south-eastern and eastern parts? The answer seems to be that, although *burn* is a most prolific hydronymic element in this area in names with the normal Germanic word-order in which it is preceded by the qualifying element, *Burn of*— names do not occur because they are later than the period in which the main body of Scottish names of Germanic origin was created in this part of Scotland, and because there has never been any name pattern belonging to some other model language of sufficiently dense distribution, as to suggest and stimulate imitation by, and borrowing into, Scots. Both the time-factor and the absence of a suitable substratum have apparently contributed towards this lack of the type under discussion, from southern Scotland.

As far as Fife and Kinross are concerned— and, in a way, Clackmannan whose only example *Burn of Sorrow* shows only superficial morphological connection with our type, but is otherwise semantically quite distinct—similar circumstances appear to account for the blanks in our distribution map. It seems that names of the type *Burn of*— are not coined in the river-nomenclature of Anglo-Scottish origin unless there is a given pattern of different linguistic provenance suggesting imitation; such a pattern must have been absent or not suggestive enough when Scots reached these three counties, or it may just be that the linguistic contact between substratum and superstratum was not close enough to make either translation or adaptation of earlier name models possible.

The absence of our names from the counties along the Scottish west coast from Sutherland to Bute, and their relative scarcity in central Scotland must be explained differently. These are the parts which are either still Gaelic speaking or in which Gaelic was spoken comparatively recently. Here Gaelic was not superseded by Scots but by English, and the *Burn of*— type has never reached them. How strange this kind of name looks, even in Perthshire, is demonstrated by one of the three examples from that county, the *Burn of Edramucky*. It flows into Loch Tay from the north near *Edramucky* (parish of Kenmore), flanked in the west by *Allt a' Mhoirneas* and in the east by *Allt a Tuim Bhric*, both tributaries of the same loch.

This means that names belonging to our category are excluded from or are almost completely lacking in (a) areas which have been Anglo-Scottish ever since the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Scotland, (b) districts which were anglicised at a very early stage, (c) the Gaidhealtachd proper, in the modern

as well as in the historical sense, which has never been reached by Lowland Scots.*

With this evidence in mind, we turn to those areas in which our names occur in great number, e.g. North-East Scotland on the one hand, and Orkney and Shetland, together with parts of Caithness, on the other. We examine the north-eastern group of names first. There are 131 of them altogether, forming roughly one half of the names of this type mentioned on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps. In the great majority of cases the defining element is of Gaelic origin, and it is in the underlying Gaelic stratum that we shall have to look for the model. The most common type of Gaelic stream-name is the one in which *allt* "burn" is followed by a common noun or a proper name in the genitive preceded by the definite article. There are literally hundreds of examples to choose from, of which we only mention *Allt a' Chaoruinn* ROS "burn of the rowantree", *Allt an Lochain Duibh* INV "burn of the little black loch" (it flows out of *Loch Dubh*), *Allt an t-Sneachda* ABD "burn of the snow". *Allt an t-Sniomh* LEWIS "burn of the twist", *Allt na h-Innse Buidhe* ARG "burn of the yellow haugh", *Allt na Muic* SUR "burn of the pig". In the same category we find names in which the defining element is qualified by another noun which results in the dropping of the definite article before the first noun, according to Gaelic grammatical rules, like *Allt Bad nan Clach* SUR "burn of the clump of the trees", *Allt Creag a' Chait* NAI "burn of the craig of the cat", *Allt Uamha na Muice* ARG "burn of the cave of the pig".

The development from this original Gaelic pattern to our modern Scottish name-type happens almost in front of our eyes:

First stage: Gaelic *Allt an t-Sluic Leith* "burn of the grey hollow".

Second stage: (a) *Burn of Slock Lee*—where *Burn of* translates Gaelic *Allt (an)* and the Gaelic defining element is anglicised (in the nominative!). (b) The whole name is translated: *Burn of Blackpots* and *Burn of Oldtown* (both in Angus) are strongly suggestive of being full translations of Gaelic **Allt na(n) Linneacha(n) Dubh(a)* and **Allt an t-Sean(a)-bhaile*. They may, however, belong to stage four.

Third stage: *Burn of*, followed by any—usually anglicised—Gaelic element, if it has been part of an original

stream-name in *allt* or not, as for instance, *Burn of Knock* KCD, *Burn of Corrhathnich* MOR, *Burn of Badenhilt* ABD.

Fourth stage: *Burn of*, followed by any defining element, regardless of its linguistic origin, cf. *Burn of Berryhill* ANG, *Burn of Cauldcots* KCD, *Burn of Davidston* ABD.

This is, of course, not the only way in which Gaelic names of the *Allt an*-type are adapted when *burn* infiltrates into Gaelic river-nomenclature. In names like *Ishag Burn* PER, *Lochbroom Burn* PER, *Strath Burn* CAI, *Strone Burn* PER, the defining elements precede *burn* in their anglicised forms, and the definite article has been dropped. This word-order is extremely common amongst hybrid names of this kind.

The Gaelic name-type does, however, reveal quite clearly the source of the category of name under review. The north-eastern names of the *Burn of*- class did not come into being by spontaneous genesis, but as the result of a bilingual contact situation between outgoing Gaelic and incoming Lowland Scots. In this respect, the *burn*—*allt* relationship does not stand alone, and names like *Braes of*—, *Bridge of*—, *Mains of*—, *Milton of*—, and particularly *Water of*— (Gaelic *Abhainn an*—), are probably to be explained in a similar way. A detailed study of the meaning and linguistic origin of the defining elements in names involving the usage of the preposition *of*, and of the geographical distribution of these names, is still a task for the future.

Concerning a *terminus post quem*, place-names of Anglo-Saxon origin first begin to appear in charters related to the North East round about 1220, and it can be assumed that the north-eastern *Burn of*- names are later than the thirteenth century; how much later can only be shown by more detailed research into every single name and by compiling a complete list of early occurrences of this type of name in old documents.

The situation in Orkney and Shetland, although similar in some respects, differs in many ways from that in the North East. There is, first of all, the time factor. According to what we know about the settlement of these parts from the Scottish Lowlands—Fife and Kinross in particular—, *Burn of*- names cannot be earlier than the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. This would put the beginning of the occurrence of these names a few hundred years later than that of their north-eastern counterparts, although it is more than

probable that stream-names of the *Burn of*— category were still coined in the north-east when they were first introduced into Orkney and Shetland.

The second point of difference is the absence of a Gaelic name-type which might have served as a model. These two points, in addition to the geographical separation, demand the conclusion that there is no connection between the two areas in which our type of name occurs and that polygenesis is the only possible explanation. In both cases possibilities for such a name formation were inherent in the language, only the stimulus which realised these possibilities in actual place-nomenclature, was different in each case. Whereas it is comparatively easy, however, to point to the kind of Gaelic construction which underlies the north-eastern group of names, nothing equally as tangible suggests itself, as far as Orkney and Shetland are concerned.

The evidence, as we find it on the one-inch maps, is that 95 Shetland stream-names, out of a total of 135, are of the *burn of*— variety (the others being 39 *burn*- and 1 *water*-name) and that in Orkney 20 out of 26 names of water-courses belong to this category (5 of the others ending in *burn* and one in *pow*). Five names of the same formation come from the county of Caithness, in all of which the defining element following the preposition *of* is a place-name.

Confirmation of the fact that these names are used in everyday speech is given by Marwick (1947) for Orkney and by Jakobsen (1936) for Shetland. On the island of Rousay Marwick mentions, amongst others, *The Burn of Turbitail*, which in its lower course is known as *The Burn of Gue* and *The Burn of Vacquoy* (Marwick 1947:92). It is not unknown for a stream-name to have different names for the various parts of its course, but Marwick does not state whether there is any name in use which applies to the whole length of the water-course, from its source to its mouth. Note, too, the use of the definite article. The *Burn of Oldman* in the same island was formerly known as *The Burn of Peeno*. As *Oldman*, the name of a small hill croft on the south bank of the burn, was transferred from the West-side "over a century ago" (Marwick 1947:82), the modern stream-name cannot be much older than a hundred years, probably less.

For Shetland, Jakobsen quotes evidence of a similar use of the definite article. From Fetlar he mentions *de burn o' Winja depla* and from Yell *de burn o' Winjaro* (1936:117). There are

de burn o' Hogro in Conningsburgh (*ibid.*:223), *de burn o' Kjāda* (or *Kjāda-burn*) in South Yell (*ibid.*:226), *de burn o' Krōgri* in Weisdale (*ibid.*:227), *de burn o' Mōgetū* in Sandness (*ibid.*:231), *de burn o' Rimen(a)-marta* in North Yell (*ibid.*:233), *de burn o' Laksobiggin* in Delting (*ibid.*:234), and *de burn o' Rū* and *de burn o' Arisdale* in Yell (*ibid.*:234 and 238).

In some cases *burn* may have translated and replaced a Norn *-o*, *-wo* < Old Norse *ā* "a stream" (cf. Jakobsen 1936:6), but in other instances no such substitution of a Norn term by Lowland Scottish *burn* seems to have taken place. The construction: definite article + generic element + preposition *o'* + defining term, does not exclusively apply to stream-names. Other geographical features bear names like *de Hill o' de Waters* (Yell) which according to Jakobsen (1936:5) probably represents an older **Vatnahul* or **Vatnabrekk*, or *de Loch o' Cliff* in Unst (*ibid.*:221). *Hill o' Dale* (Delting) may be for an older **dals-fell* (*ibid.*:6); other Norse-Scottish hybrids are *de rigs o' Lodda* (Whalsay), as well as *de Fālds o' Fjēl* and *de Fālds o' Rū* in Unst (*ibid.*:7). Not uncommon are names in which both the generic and the defining elements are of Norse origin as, for instance, *de Hjōgs o' Taft* in Delting, *de Hjōgins o' Velli* in Fetlar (both Jakobsen 1936:8), *de Brekk o' Klōden*, in Fetlar, *de Bergens o' Lunna* in Lunnasting (*ibid.*:9), *de Klobb o' Swinin* in the same parish (*ibid.*:221), *de Kruk o' Haverswala* in Quarf, South Shetland (*ibid.*:223) and *de Muggi o' Windos* in Yell (*ibid.*:231).

Although this list is by no means exhaustive, it becomes clear that the type *(de) burn o'*— is only part of a larger group of fairly modern names in which the same construction is used. Its origin lies perhaps in the translation of Norse genitival compounds, including semi-translations in which only the generic term is rendered in Lowlands Scots. From there it probably spread to other names in which only the grammatical construction was transferred into Scots, whereas the elements remained untranslated, and to new names utilising either Scots or Norse elements or both.

To summarise the contents of this note, it can be stated that in both areas in which the type *(the) Burn of*— occurs in Scottish hydronymy, it has no independent genesis but came into being imitating a (Gaelic) word-order pattern in North-East Scotland and translating a (Norse) grammatical relationship in Orkney and Shetland. It is a good example of different linguistic substrata influencing the same incoming language.

Thus a new name-type is added to Scottish place-nomenclature, the direct result of language contact at different times and in different places. How different this new category is from the names discussed in the previous note; more than a thousand years lie between the *Dryfe* and *The Burn of Oldman*.

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations are the same as used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey and as listed more fully in *Scottish Studies* 1 (1957) 240.

ABD	Aberdeenshire	NAI	Nairnshire
ANG	Angus	ORK	Orkney
ARG	Argyllshire	PER	Perthshire
BNF	Banffshire	ROS	Ross-shire
CAI	Caithness.	ROX	Roxburghshire
INV	Inverness-shire	SH	Shetland
KCD	Kincardineshire	STL	Stirlingshire
MOR	Morayshire	SUT	Sutherland

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W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. OTHER NOTES

Book Review

The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, selected and edited by Iain Ross. 70 pp. 5s.

John Knox: Historie of the Reformation in Scotland. Selected and edited by Ralph S. Walker. 72 pp. 5s. Saltire Society Classics, 1940. Oliver and Boyd.

The place of Scottish history and literature in the curriculum of our schools is not altogether happy. For good reasons (quite apart from Scottish Education Department circulars) Scottish history is treated as a sub-department of British history and Scottish literature as a sub-department of English. A snippet or two of the Scottish Chaucerians perhaps, Burns and Scott certainly, figure: there is time for little more.

Even the teacher who would like to improve on this in the genial weeks after the Leaving Certificate examinations has been hampered in the past by the dearth of suitable texts. To remedy this deficiency, and also to encourage the common

reader who seeks guidance in territory which is hardly known to any but the specialist, the Saltire Society has published, and again reprinted, a series of little handbooks. They contain selections from standard authors, with short informative introductions, and where necessary glossaries. They are simply but attractively produced and, in the best Scottish tradition, they represent good value for a modest outlay.

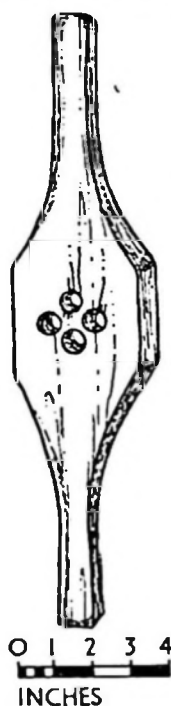
The two volumes noted here spring from the stormy tides of the Reformation. *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* ran through edition after edition until its Lutheran flavour became distasteful to the strongly Calvinist Presbyterians and to the Episcopalians alike. This well-balanced selection illustrates the various kinds of material in the *Ballatis*, from the fine metrical version of the Credo through the Psalms of David to the songs "changit out of prophane ballatis in godlie sangis for auoydance of sin and harlatric". Although these texts may provoke curious speculation on the part of students of Revivalist hymns or barrack-room ditties, one doubts whether the common reader will wish to go much beyond this selection, and indeed some dozen or so of the poems.

Knox's *Historie* is another story. The passionate arguments, the fierce invective against theological or political enemies, and the whole-heartedness of the man's writing—whatever one may think of his doctrine—are bound to engage the attention. Knox was a master of the swiftly sketched scene. "The Gray Freirs gaiped, the Black Freirs blew, and the Preistis panted and fled, and happie was he that first gat the Hous." Every reader who is led on from that, and similar, passages to Professor Dickinson's admirable edition for the scholar, has justified the production of the Saltire Society Classics.

STEWART F. SANDERSON

An Instrument Used in Twisting Ropes

The sketch shows an instrument for adjusting the tension in rope-making, used as follows. Lengths of binder twine were laid out in groups of two, three or four, according to the thickness of rope required, three groups, each of five or six small strands, being most commonly used. The end of each group of small strands was then passed through one of the holes of the tension adjuster, and the ends were bound together.



One man fixed the whole bunch on to a *thraa-hyeuk* or *thraa-crook* (wimble), a second held the tension adjuster, and three others fixed their wimbles, one into the end of each group of small strands. Twisting then began, the three men at one side pulling fairly firmly against the single man at the other, the man with the tension adjuster standing between. The small strands in each group were thus twisted in one direction, and the three groups twisted together in the other. Meanwhile the man with the tension adjuster pressed it up against the twisting of the single man, moving slowly backwards from him as the rope lengthened, faster or slower according as the tension had to be slacker or firmer, till he was as near the three men at the other end as room would allow. The wimbles were removed, the tension adjuster drawn off, and the loose ends knotted to prevent unravelling. Two or three men at each end of the rope then pulled it strongly to make sure it would not kink when released, if the tension was rather firm.

It will be seen that a two-strand rope required four men, a three-strand rope required five, and a four-strand rope required six. An arrangement is sometimes found whereby three wimbles fixed in a frame can be driven by one handle, so that one man can replace three. This apparatus is called a *threeple* (treble) *thraa-hyeuk*.

The tension adjuster shown is $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches in overall length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in maximum width, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in thickness, and the diameter of the holes is approximately $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. It is inscribed "J. Milne, Ardmiddle Mains", and is now owned by Mr. J. Hunter, farmer at Brownhill, Pitglassie, Turriff, Aberdeenshire, who used it up to about 1945.

Mr. Hunter also spoke of another form of the instrument,

in which the holes were replaced by notches, two at one side and one at the other.

Further information on similar devices elsewhere would be welcomed.

ALEXANDER FENTON

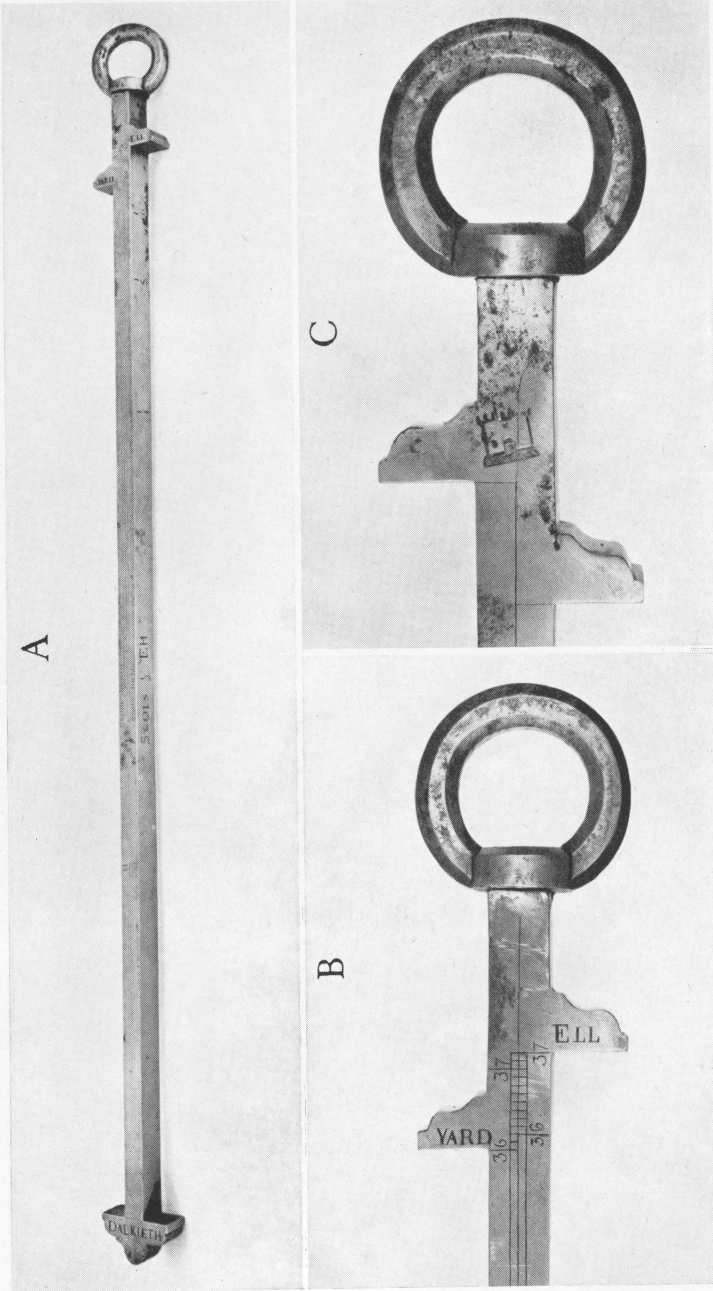
An old Scottish Yard and Ell measure

An interesting eighteenth century standard measure of length (cf. Plate I), which has recently been presented to the national collections at the Royal Scottish Museum, shows two systems of measurement—the yard, with its divisions into feet and inches, and the ell, with its divisions into Scots feet and Scots inches.

By the seventeenth article of the Act of Union, in 1707, the English weights and measures were made statutory throughout the United Kingdom. But the habits of the Scots were slow to accept such a radical change and it is not surprising that, except for direct exchange of goods between the two countries, the article did not take effect. The Scots, accustomed in regular payments and local trading to their own units, continued to measure their cloth in ells and their grain in bolls as their forefathers had done. Another century was to pass before the old measures lost ground and only in 1826 were the "Imperial Standards" recognised and adopted throughout Scotland.

The standard yard and ell measure is dated 1744 and so belongs to the time when accurate measurement in either of the two systems might be required. It takes the form of a burnished iron bar of rectangular section, 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, with a heavy swivel suspension ring at one end. Near the lower end (remote from the ring), engraved lines indicate the zero of scales marked along the faces of the bar and projections on either side, having their inner faces filed to flats corresponding with the zero markings, permit a measuring rod to be easily set with its end at the zero of the scales. At the upper end (near to the ring), there are two similar projections having flats arranged such that on one side a yard stick would just fit if its end were placed against the zero flat, and on the other such that the ell stick would likewise correctly fit in place.

A double scale extends along the length of the bar. One shows divisions of the "English Yard", every inch being



A. General view of Standard Yard and Ell Measure.
 showing division of the inch into tenth-parts.
 B. Comparison of final inch of Imperial Measure and Scots Measure.
 C. Impression of Stamp in the form of a castle on a mound.

marked and the upper flat exactly opposite the 36th inch. The other, marked "Scots Ell", is divided into Scots feet and Scots inches, showing the upper flat exactly opposite the 37th inch. The Scots inch, however, was slightly longer than its English equivalent, (being 1.0016 imperial inches) so that the two scales are unrelated except at the zero mark. A curious feature is the division of the last inch in both scales into tenth-parts.

Other two faces of the bar are engraved to show, on one side, half-, quarter-, eighth- and sixteenth-parts of a yard and, on the other, similar divisions of the ell.

Across the lower projections the word DALKIETH is engraved and on the reverse side the initials "H.H. DG." with the date "1744" are stamped, the D and G being inter-laced. This would suggest that the measure was associated with the town of Dalkeith in 1744 and that the responsible authority for guaranteeing accuracy in weights and measures was the Dean of Guild whose initials were H.H.

The upper projections are engraved "yard" and "ell" respectively and below the ring there appears the impression of a stamp in the form of a castle, with portcullis gate, on a mound. Doubtless this also was an authoritative stamp but, as yet, its significance has not been traced. It may have been impressed by the maker, unknown, or it may relate to the town of Dalkeith, or, perhaps, a higher authority in Edinburgh.

The instrument is carefully made and clearly the work of a good craftsman and its preservation in good condition is probably due to its having been kept in its original oak-fitted case, with long sliding lid.

R. W. PLENDERLEITH

Some North Uist Harrows

In the course of a recent field trip to North Uist I observed several interesting types of harrow still in use, or only recently abandoned, which elsewhere in Scotland have long been obsolete. Whilst they do not conflict with my classification of Scottish harrow-types (Whitaker 1958), it is perhaps worth recording their survival in some detail, to supplement Beveridge's observation (1911:315-6) that wooden harrows survive in the remoter districts of North Uist.

A triangular harrow (Plate II:2 and 3) with sides 2 feet

10 inches long and tines manufactured out of 8-inch smith-made bolts was discovered at Drim-seidinish (Grid reference 08/885634). It had been made by Donald Maclean ("Domhnall Ruadh") towards the end of the war, to replace a rectangular harrow that had been purchased by a lady-collector. The wood used was larch, and it is probable that it formed part of an older implement. It was used up to about 1956, and was, of course, drawn manually. It is now extremely unusual to see a harrow of this type, even cast away as lumber.

Two very much heavier harrows (Plate III:1 and 2), rectangular in shape, each being roughly 3 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 6 inches, and joined at the corner were seen in a field at Garbhac Cuartalain (08/815600). They were attached by a new piece of manilla rope to a swingle-tree, at either end of which were rope traces leading to a stout piece of webbing. From their appearance it seemed that the harrow was drawn manually, no hoof-marks being visible in the damp earth, but the weight of the combined harrows must have been considerable. It was unfortunately not possible to make further enquiries on this occasion.

A rectangular ash harrow (Plate II:1) measuring 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 10 inches was observed at Balelone (08/724737). It had a piece of chain attached to one corner by which it was drawn, almost certainly by a horse. The tines were rectangular in section and measured 9 inches long. A similar wooden harrow was also seen at Huna (08/715723).

There is an interesting rectangular harrow from North Uist preserved in the Highland Folk Museum at Kingussie¹ (accession no. A 51), which was collected by Dr. I. F. Grant at Locheport—one wonders if it was the predecessor of the triangular harrow described above. This was drawn by a woman and measured 2 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 7 inches. Parts of 21 (out of an original 24) tines survive, three being circular-sectioned wooden ones, whilst 18 were of iron, oblong in section and forced into the original circular holes in the bulls. They varied in size from 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, no two being quite alike, and it was stated that some were made from old horse-shoes. The shortage of iron for tines was a common theme of Gaelic folklore in the past (cf. Macdiarmid 1910:31-2).

NOTE

¹ I am indebted to the Curator, Mr. George Davidson, for the description of this implement.

PLATE II

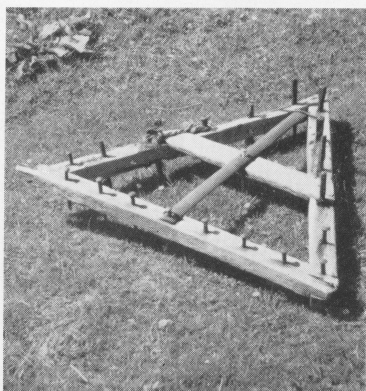
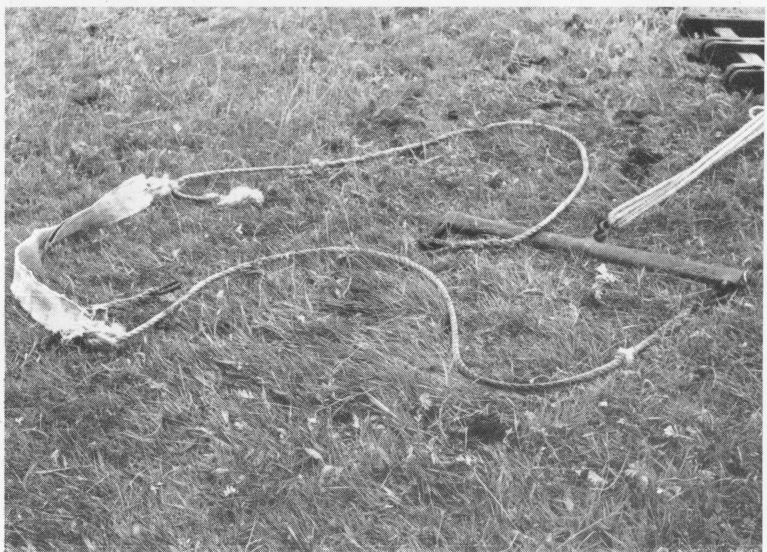
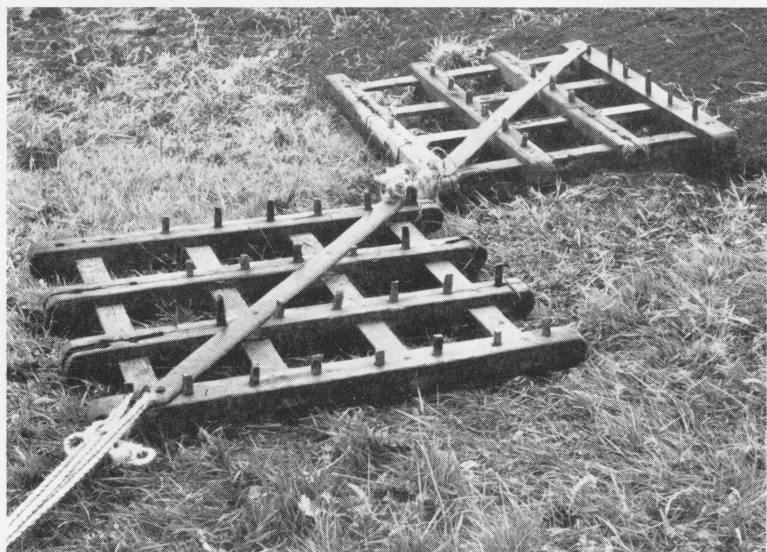


FIG. 1 (above)—Harrow from Balelone, North Uist.
FIGS. 2 and 3 (below)—Harrow from Drim-seidinish, North Uist.



FIGS. 1 and 2—Harrow from Garbhac Cuartalain, North Uist.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate II: Fig. 1. Wooden harrow with 24 tines: Balelone, parish of North Uist (08/724737). Photo: Ian Whitaker, June 1958.
 Figs. 2 and 3. Triangular wooden harrow, originally with 20 tines: Drim-seidinish, parish of North Uist (08/885634). Photo: Ian Whitaker, June 1958.
 Plate III: Figs. 1. and 2. Linked wooden harrows, with traces: Garbhac Cuartalain, parish of North Uist (08/815600). Photo: W. F. H. Nicolaisen, June 1958.

IAN WHITAKER

*Proposal for a Scottish Folk Song Society*¹

Six years before the first meeting in the summer of 1898 to discuss the foundation of an English Folk Song Society, and nearly five years before the death of Professor F. J. Child in September 1896, a letter was sent to William Macmath²:

11 OSBORNE AVENUE
 NEWCASTLE ON TYNE
 8 *Jan*y 1892

DEAR SIR

Will you kindly inform me whether you would be disposed to promote a Society such as is roughly sketched on the enclosed sheet. Your name has been given to me as a gentleman interested in such matters, and, it gave me very much pleasure to hear from you that I can add your name as a supporter. The following gentlemen are on the list who have agreed to support.

Sheriff Boyle Hope of Edinburgh
 Sheriff Mackay of Edinburgh
 Sir I Crichton-Browne of London

As soon as I can get a sufficient number of names I will consult them as to holding a meeting in Edinburgh to discuss the matter. The difficulty will be to get an energetic Secretary who has the

necessary literary and musical qualifications resident in Edinburgh. If happily you can aid the Society proposed, it will give me much pleasure to have any suggestions with a list of the names of influential gentlemen who take an interest in ballads, in folk song, or classical music.

Kindly reply as soon as convenient, and return me the enclosed

I am

William McMath Esq
16 St Andrew Square

Yours very truly

Adress as above: or
North Eastern Bank
Newcastle on Tyne.

J. Dick³

In his reply William Macmath wrote that he was fond of old Ballads, and was sometimes credited with knowing something about them. Any knowledge he had, however, extended only to the words. He had no knowledge at all of Music, and this was a fatal objection to his putting himself forward as a prominent Promoter of the proposed Society. He could be counted upon for little beyond payment of the subscription.

J. Dick answered at once (20th Jan.) that a want of the knowledge of music was in his opinion no drawback to giving active support. "Everyone of our old ballads were sung: and without a tune they are imperfect. It is almost certain that many of the tunes are lost, but a number are known and can be set to the ballads. In the past the drawback to printing music was its cost. In the present day it is set up by moveable type as cheap as the alphabet."

He followed this with another letter (5th Feb.). Sir George Grove of the Royal College of Music, Andrew Lang and J. A. Fuller Maitland of *The Times* had been secured as adherents, and Sir George Grove was trying to get the backing of the Right Honourable A. J. Balfour. He had noticed that the Earl of Balcarres had recently issued a sumptuous catalogue of his collection of Ballads and asked Macmath if he knew whether the Earl took any interest in the airs or melodies, or would appreciate an invitation to assist. His own duty would, he hoped, cease after a meeting had been called. To get the matter talked about Mr Inglis of the Board of Manufacturers would read a paper on "Auld Lang Syne" at the meeting of Antiquaries on the following Monday. Macmath was invited to attend, an invitation quite superfluous as Macmath was a member of the Antiquaries and had intended to be present.

Macmath sent two names to Dick (6th February). Those of Jas. Barclay Murdoch, Capelrig, Mearns, Glasgow,⁴ and the Rev. William Findlay, The Manse, Saline, Dunfermline.⁵ He gave Dick the name of I. P. Edmund of Wigan who could tell him about Lord Crawford and Balcarres. He concludes, "The thing that would be best for the prospects of the proposed society would be your settling in Edinburgh and taking charge of it in person! One man, in the right place, can carry a Society on his back," a proposal which Dick found entirely out of the question.

However, he sent Macmath a copy of the following letter:

copy
Private

4 CARLTON GARDENS S.W.
6 Feb'y 1892

DEAR SIR

I am in hearty sympathy with your object and if you succeed in forming a society likely effectively to carry it out I should be glad to join. Perhaps you will communicate with me again when matters are further advanced

Yours respectfully

J. Dick esq

Arthur James Balfour

On 21st September, 1892, Dick wrote Macmath to say he would like to call on him in Edinburgh. Macmath was free between 10 and 1 on 23rd September, but on the 26th Dick wrote regretting that he had been recalled on business and could not wait in Edinburgh. He added that Mr. William Bain of the Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, had the matter of the proposed Society in hand. On the 29th, Macmath answered saying he was glad that Mr. Bain had the Society in hand.

That is the end of Macmath's correspondence with Dick. The story may have been continued elsewhere.

NOTES

¹ The original correspondence is in Broughton House, Kirkcudbright. The Trustees and Mrs. M. G. Brown (County Librarian) have been very co-operative on every occasion.

² 1844-1922. F. J. Child's principal Scottish collaborator in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Child does not seem to have noticed that William Macmath by his thorough scholarship through many years, and his relentless pursuit of Scottish Ballad MSS, had enlarged his material so considerably that the complete work should have been called *Scottish and English Popular Ballads*.

- ³ James C. Dick, editor of *The Songs of Robert Burns, now first printed with the melodies for which they were written. A study in tone-poetry* (London 1903), and of *Notes on Scottish Song by Robert Burns written in an interleaved copy of The Scots Musical Museum* (1908), two of the most valuable and least-known works about Robert Burns's songs. The rarity of the first of these volumes has never been satisfactorily explained.
- ⁴ Murdoch helped Child with the Motherwell MS. See Advertisement to Part IV of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.
- ⁵ Findlay lent his own MS. to Macmath to copy the ballads in it. These were printed by Child in his collection.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERIE

VIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 1958

The VIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences was held in Munich from 24th to 28th August, 1958, under the patronage of the President of the Federal German Republic, Professor Theodor Heuss, and of the Prime Minister of Bavaria, Dr. Hanns Seidel. The Congress was attended by about 400 scholars from thirty different countries, the Scottish Place-Name Survey being represented by the writer.

Apart from five plenary sessions, the main business of the Congress was conducted through the medium of separate meetings of the various sections of the Congress. A total of almost 150 papers was read to these sections, ranging from questions of methodology and systematics and problems of hydronymic research to results of investigations in the fields of Germanic, German, Romance, Slavonic, Greek, Indo-European, Pre-Indo-European and Non-Indo-European onomastics. A further section dealt with the international standardization of geographical names. Both place- and personal-names were discussed in most of the sections, although there was some emphasis on the former.

The writer had been invited to read a paper to Section II (River-names) for which he chose the subject of "The Historical Stratification of Scottish Hydronymy". This lecture was, on the whole, a survey of the various linguistic strata in Scottish river-nomenclature with significant examples, stating their relative chronology, their geographical distribution and their links with the original homes of the people who created them. Another lecture with some bearing on Scottish toponymical studies was delivered by Professor Alf Sommerfelt of Oslo, on "Norwegian Place-Names in the Celtic Districts of Great

Britain and Ireland". Both papers will be published in the Transactions of the Congress.

The VIIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences will be held in Florence in 1961.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

Photographs of Traditional Scottish Life

Interest continues to grow in the School's collection of photographs of traditional Scottish life mentioned in the last issue of *Scottish Studies* (pp. 211-12). Many more are still needed.

Among the more recent accessions to the collection is a fine group of photographs of Skye and St Kilda taken by the late Rev. Canon R. C. Macleod of Macleod, given by Miss Susan Martin. Plate IV shows a group of St Kildans, with Macleod's factor, packing bales of homespun cloth for transport to the market. The photograph was taken about 1900 near the store at the landing place east of the island church, and part of the village dyke can be seen in the background. Rent was paid in kind by the St Kildans until the evacuation of the island in 1930, the most valuable export being tweed woven by the men of the island. The amount sold to the factor, who had a virtual trading monopoly with the islanders, varied in value from £52 to £446 between the years 1881 and 1910.

IAN WHITAKER

Scottish Proverbs: Additional Note

A considerable group of proverbs has been found in the extensive manuscript collection which the late Mr. James E. Crombie of Dyce, Aberdeenshire, left to the Folklore Society. The whole collection is being indexed in the School of Scottish Studies at the present time. It includes valuable folklore material of all kinds (riddles, weatherlore, rhymes, children's games, etc.), principally gathered by the Reverend Walter Gregor in the North-East of Scotland about the turn of the century.



Rent Day, St Kilda, about 1900. (See page 112.)

A decorative border composed of concentric, stylized geometric shapes. It features a central yellow square, surrounded by a light blue square, and an outer yellow square. The corners of these squares are cut off, creating a star-like effect. The outermost layer consists of black and white diagonal stripes. Four black dots are positioned at the corners of the page, outside the main decorative frame.

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Scottish Studies

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SCOTTISH STUDIES

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TWO SCOTTISH VILLAGES

A Planning Study

BY STUDENTS IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE,
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROFESSOR R. H. MATTHEW AND P. J. NUTTGENS

INTRODUCTION

These studies, the first of a series, were carried out in 1956-57 by a group of nine architectural students drawn from all years, the majority being in their First Year. The two villages—Ormiston in East Lothian and Ratho in Midlothian—were chosen partly because of their accessibility, but principally because they were in many ways complementary, both in their historical development and in the problem they present for a planning analysis. The studies are theoretical in the sense that the question posed was what might have been done under intelligent planning control in this century, rather than what has been done, or what might be done now; and as such were an exercise in the understanding and criticism of recent typical development. They are published exactly as presented by the students at the end of the course.

In both cases the fullest co-operation was offered by the Planning Authorities concerned. Mr. F. P. Tindall, Planning Officer for East Lothian, and Mr. J. Baillie, Planning Officer for Midlothian, with members of their staff, gave facilities, information and guidance; their help is here gratefully acknowledged.

Ormiston

SITUATION

The village of Ormiston is situated at the west of the County of East Lothian, approximately 12 miles east of Edinburgh, 8 miles west of Haddington, and 3 miles south of the burgh of Tranent. Although not to-day on a main route (the road through it is classified as a B road by the Ministry of Transport) it lies only half a mile to the north of the main route from Haddington to Dalkeith. The Parish of Ormiston surrounds

it, the greater part of its area lying to the south of the village.

The village runs along a well-drained sloping gravel ridge, at a height of 275-85 feet above sea-level. Immediately to its south and below it, the Tyne Water flows eastwards to join the Birns Water, where the two become the River Tyne. The Tyne Water is liable to serious flooding and on numerous occasions has damaged land on both its banks in the vicinity of the village.

The geology of the district is important in the village's development. On the east a band of calciferous limestone runs from the sea inland towards Pathhead; and from it lime was formerly extensively quarried and burnt for agricultural purposes. The village itself, however, stands in the East Lothian coal belt, and there are numerous outcrops of coal in its vicinity, the exploitation of which has dictated the present form of the village.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of Ormiston village can be summarised under four phases, which are discernible in its present shape and appearance.

Phase I: Early times to eighteenth century

The original village owed its existence both to its geographical setting and the social organisation of the time. Conveniently situated at a crossing of the river which gave access from the inland parts to the coast, it began as a mill settlement, the mill lade being fed from a burn that ran slightly to the north of the present stream to join it at the bridge. Such small settlements were common from the twelfth century, when the social organisation of the parish made the meal and corn mill a centre for the surrounding agricultural district. Preston Mill, Beanston and Sandy's Mill were similar settlements of this period; Haddington Mill has been dated back to 1113; and it can be assumed that Ormiston formed one of many similar mill groups in East Lothian.

The settlement itself consisted simply of the mill with its accompanying buildings and land. The recently demolished Ormiston Lodge and Ormiston Cottage dated also from the early Middle Ages. The centre of the parish, however, was the Church, which stood in the grounds of what later became Ormiston Hall, about a mile to the south of the mill.

The milltown remained in this form throughout the Middle Ages and over the period of the Reformation, suffering, in common with most parts of Scotland, from the serious decline in farming and general prosperity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The land was farmed on the runrig or rundale system of joint occupation; long uneven ridges drained by deep ditches stretched away from the village, and the land was manured only in the nearer or "infield" parts of the farm. The remainder of the land lay fallow when the soil was exhausted, or formed permanent rough pasture and moor. It is recorded that at the time the next phase of development of the village began, about two-thirds of its land was "of a moorish sort" and only one-third remained healthy and productive. In the village itself there resided ten tenants and their cottagers (Cockburn 1804:141).

Phase II: Late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The transformation of Ormiston was the work of one of the great pioneers of agricultural reform in Scotland—John Cockburn of Ormiston (1679-1758). His father, Adam Cockburn, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, had already begun the process by building a new church outside the grounds of his house in 1696 and by granting in 1698 an eleven year lease of the farm of Muirhouse (Murrays) to Robert Wight, as an encouragement to the latter to enclose and improve his land. This he did, making boundaries of ditches and hedges at his own expense. His son, Alexander, continued the work, taking over another farm, and receiving leases of 9 and then 38 years until 1734 when 19-year leases were adopted as the most useful term. The Wights prospered and were thought of so highly that their land at Ormiston became a model for other enthusiastic improvers, and Andrew Wight, son of Alexander, was commissioned in 1773 by the Board of Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates to report on the condition of agriculture in Scotland. His survey was published in four volumes from 1778 to 1784 under the title of *The Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*.

John Cockburn extended his father's work on a scale that involved him eventually in bankruptcy. He sat as Member of Parliament for Haddingtonshire from 1707 to 1741 and occupied for many years a post as Lord of the Admiralty. From his long residence in England he learnt much of the

agriculture of the south, becoming an enthusiast for gardening, hedging and cultivation of turnips and potatoes. He set energetically about revolutionising his estate, controlling most of it by letter from London and by periodic visits, and only retiring to the estate itself in 1744. Land was enclosed, innumerable hedges and trees were planted; English systems of rotation and ploughing were introduced; new farm buildings were erected; Ormiston Hall, previously a gaunt two-storey block, was rebuilt and extended; the Ormiston Society or Agricultural Club was founded and met in the village inn from 1736 to 1747, numbering at one time 122 members. In addition, Cockburn entirely rebuilt the village and reorganised its economy.

The exact date of the planning of the village is not clear. It is sometimes, as in *The Farmer's Magazine* (Cockburn 1804: 143) given as 1726; but Cockburn's letters indicate that the village was only being planned in 1735 (Colville 1904:36), and the house which was built for the surveyor who drew the plan was under construction in 1739 (Colville 1904:42). Cockburn seems to have started this scheme in 1734 or 1735. A letter of 1735 indicates that the new houses are about to be built (Colville 1904:36). He employed Lewis Gordon of Gordonhall, said to have been a civil engineer brought up from London to lay out the village; by 1742, however, a "Mr. Yool" seems to have been in charge of its continued growth (Colville 1904:80). Cockburn himself did not build the houses, but feued the land in convenient lots and encouraged the feuars to build by providing them with timber and stones. He had firm ambitions about the character and quality of the village, refusing to allow anyone to build in the main street any houses "but what are two Storeys high". He would not have "paltry little houses" or allow the village to be "confusedly built", arguing reasonably that good handsome houses not only "set off the place" but add to the value of the rest by encouraging business (Colville 1904:79). Numerous references are made to the trees and hedges in and about the town (800 trees had been planted in the hedgerows of the town by the beginning of 1784, and more followed in the succeeding years), and to trees and thorns in the hedgerows; but the double row of trees in the main street which to-day forms such an important feature of the village (Pl. V), does not appear to have been part of the plan (see Plan by Gordon 1742, Fig. 1).

The layout of the new village was not untypical of its time.

One of the first of the planned villages that grew out of the agricultural revolution, Ormiston is neatly and coherently laid out to the east of the old miller's row, while retaining many of the characteristics of the earlier Scottish town and village plan. The houses, informally built on formally organised feu lots, range along both sides of a long almost triangular open space; while behind the houses long "rigs" at right angles to the street reach away into the open fields. In this it bears

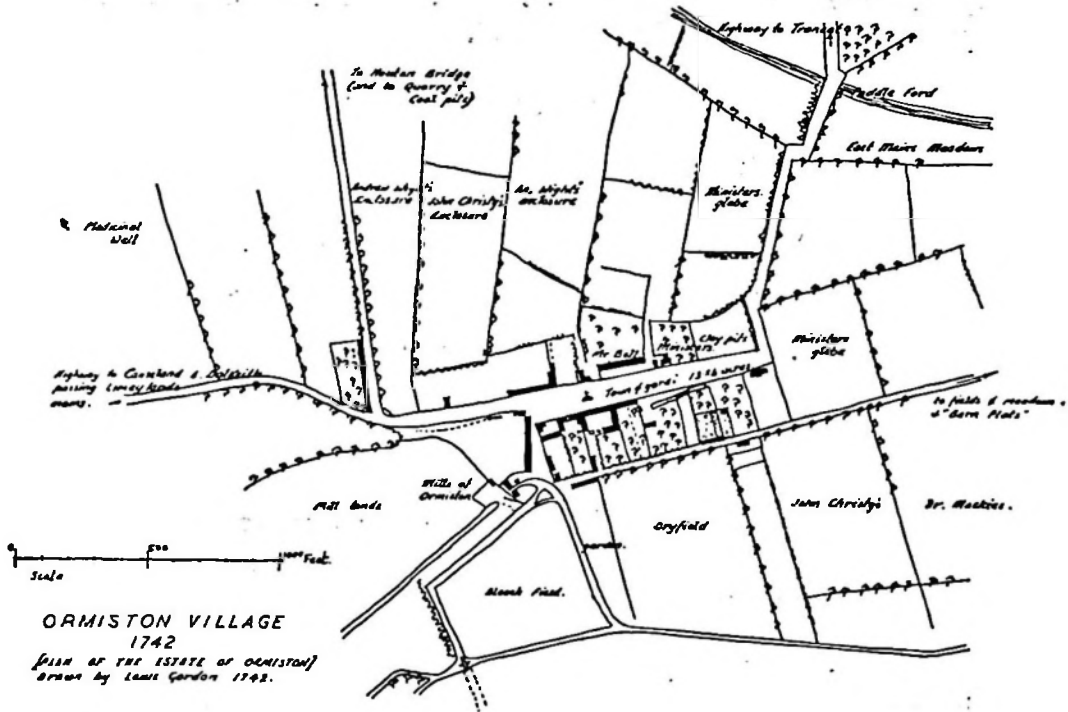


FIG. 1.

similarities to the market-town layout of Haddington. Characteristic too are the closed ends of the village, at both of which the principal road turns off at right angles to the street. The closure of the western, broader end is emphasised by the rebuilt blocks of the older settlement. Building proceeded slowly, and some sites on the north side were never filled.

Long before replanning Ormiston, Cockburn had recognised the need for local industries and manufactures to increase the prosperity of his estate and his tenants. The village was intended to house manufacturers and tradesmen as well as other tenants and cottars, and to become a thriving productive and marketing centre. In 1726 Cockburn founded a brewery

and a distillery. Furthermore, he fostered the growing of flax and founded a bleach field and starch work, obtaining aid from the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland. From Ireland he imported an expert in bleaching, who built himself a house in Ormiston and leased the bleachfield and its accompanying buildings; from Holland he brought in a lint-dresser to instruct his tenants in the technique. A school was founded where girls learned to spin yarn, and quite a large quantity was produced in the village. Within a few years its quality had been widely recognised.

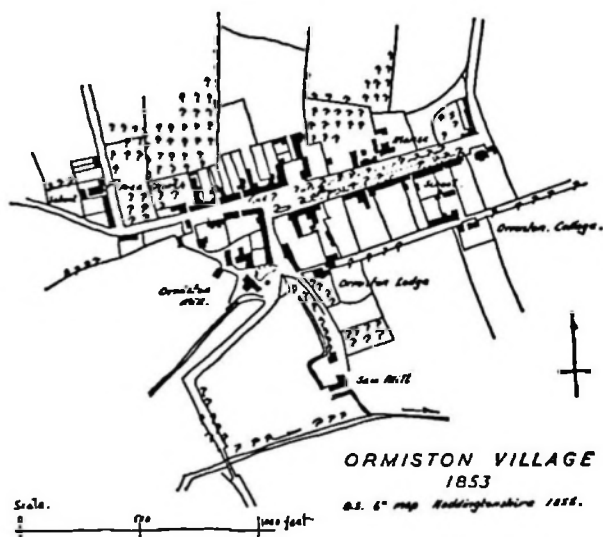


FIG. 2.

Nor was this all. He secured the services of a trained joiner and trained gardeners, and he encouraged the growth of fruits and vegetables. He intended to make Ormiston a marketing centre, and obtained a Charter for this purpose. The market cross still remains as a symbol of this intention. He had an intense interest in the wellbeing of his tenants, founded the village inn and imported an English publican to improve the drinking habits of the Scots. This inn became a centre for the estate and for the meetings of the flourishing Agricultural Club.

The natural growth of Ormiston was interrupted by Cockburn's bankruptcy. In 1747, the estate, which for some years had been in mortgage to the Earl of Hopetoun, was sold to him, and Cockburn's experiments lost their driving force. Although the Earl of Hopetoun continued to maintain the estate carefully (his gardeners regularly looked after the trees

in the village), the market scheme came to nothing, the linen trade declined, and the village ceased to grow. By 1792, the distillery and starch-work were surviving, and the village is described as two rows of two-storey houses sheltered by trees, and containing 500 to 600 persons (Colvill 1792:169). By 1811 the starch works and distillery had gone. Trade had clearly decreased, and farming was the principal occupation; though it was noted that in 1845 there were 7 licensed drinking-houses in the village (Bannerman 1835:152).

Through the nineteenth century it remained practically

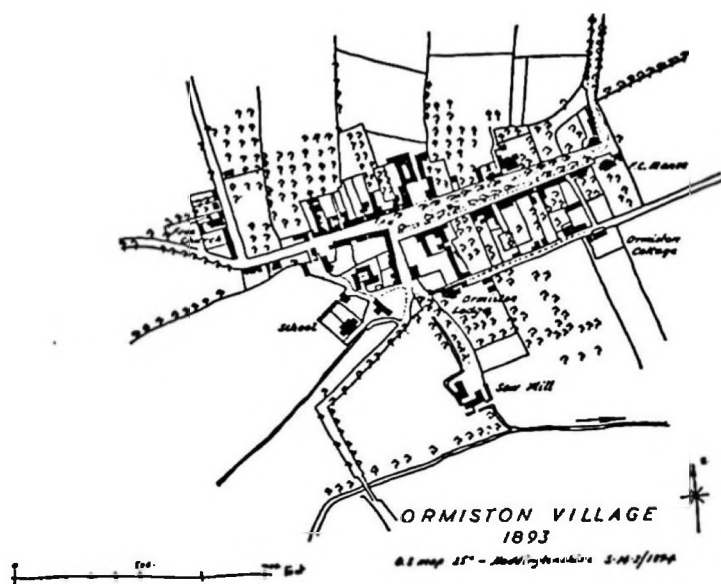


FIG. 3.

unchanged in shape and size. On the 1855 O.S. 6 inch map (surveyed 1853) the village remains much as it was planned (Fig. 2). Ormiston Mill (a flour mill) stands at the southern entry to the village; the School forms part of the south row of the main street (it was later turned into the Public Hall); otherwise the village at that date was the same as that shown in the 25 inch O.S. map 1894 (surveyed 1892) (Fig. 3). In fifty years the School had moved to a new site, the farm had extended its outbuildings. But it remained a simple small village, some distance from the parish church, with manse, public house and hall, school, mills and smithy. Its charm and healthy situation made it a comfortable settling place for old and retired people, who started taking over houses by 1821.

Phase III: Early twentieth century

The next phase in the growth of Ormiston was due entirely to the opening up of a number of coal mines in its vicinity. Coal had been mined in a small way for many years by families or small companies, several of which survive to this day, and Cockburn refers in his letters to the workmen employed in coal production. But it was not until the late nineteenth century that systematic exploitation and the capitalising of modern collieries began. At Ormiston the first one was the Ormiston Coal Co. at Limeylands, founded by John Clark in 1903. Oxenford I followed in 1912, Tynemount

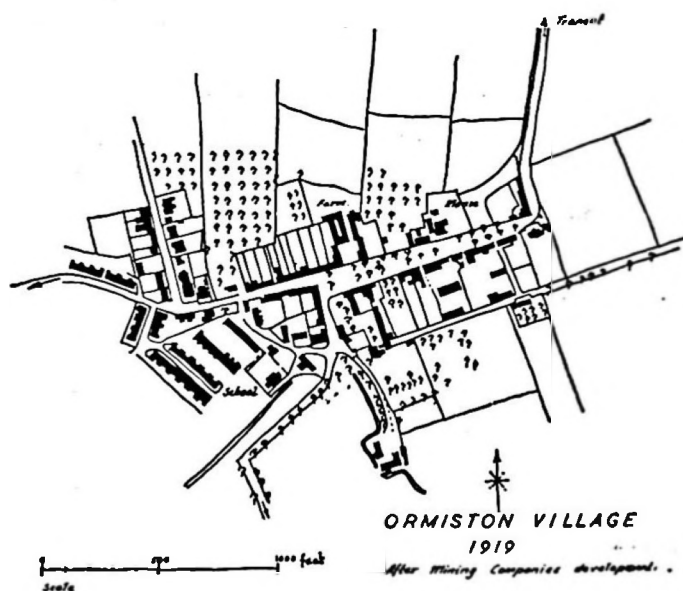


FIG. 4.

in 1922, Oxenford II in 1929. Workers were imported and miners' houses were erected, the first group or row still being known as Clark's Buildings. The old miller's row was rebuilt. These houses were two storey blocks, with a 2-room house on each floor; they were scaled to satisfy the cubic requirements of the bye-laws and therefore contained high rooms with a small floor area. No roads were constructed or separate gardens defined; the blocks were simply placed on the ground at the back of the old milling settlement, and kept close together to avoid possible danger areas from mining subsidence and its attendant compensation payments (Fig. 4).

The Coal Companies' developments continued through the 1920's and 30's. A street of single-storey miners' houses

(Linlithgow Terrace and Hopetoun Crescent) was built behind the earlier blocks; some blocks on the south side of Cockburn's village behind the main street and a group of officials' houses to the north (George Street) were laid out. Under the Miners' Welfare Act of 1920, a fund was established by a levy on the output of coal and the royalties on its sale. From this Welfare Fund, the Miners' Institute (containing billiards' room, reading and meeting rooms), the recreation park (for football, tennis and children's play) and the bowling green, were established, and handed over to the District Council. The local authorities added to them with the public school and the now necessary police station.

Phase IV: County Council Development

After 1918, although the Coal Companies built some houses here and at Prestonpans, the main responsibility for housing miners in the county fell on the local authority. The County Council, with Lord Polwarth as Convener and George Cruikshank as County Clerk, pursued a vigorous policy in the early 1920's of promoting better health standards, principally aiming at the prevention of disease by the provision of adequate water supplies and better housing. Building started slowly under the Housing Act of 1919, but these early improvements created a demand that led to the rapid expansion of the Council's building activities. Although before the 1939 war none of the council houses were built specifically for miners, the miners nevertheless comprised the majority of the tenants. At Ormiston, development was hindered on the north by the danger of subsidence, and on the south by the flood-plain of the Tyne Water, while the land to the east was reported by the Mineral Valuer as unsuitable for housing. Drainage difficulties also limited the spread to the north west. The village, therefore, was expanded westwards in a series of partly planned but ill-organised streets and terraces. The first group was a street of architect-designed houses on the brae facing south, above the Recreation Park; what is reputed to be the first curved street of council houses to be approved by the Department of Health in Scotland was built north of this. Several rows of builders' houses followed to the west, but still no overall plan was adopted. A further group of architect-designed houses was put up to the north of the expanding scheme (see plan, Fig. 5).

The school was enlarged in 1929 as a Junior Secondary School when the Parish Education Boards were abolished and the County took over their duties. The sewage works was

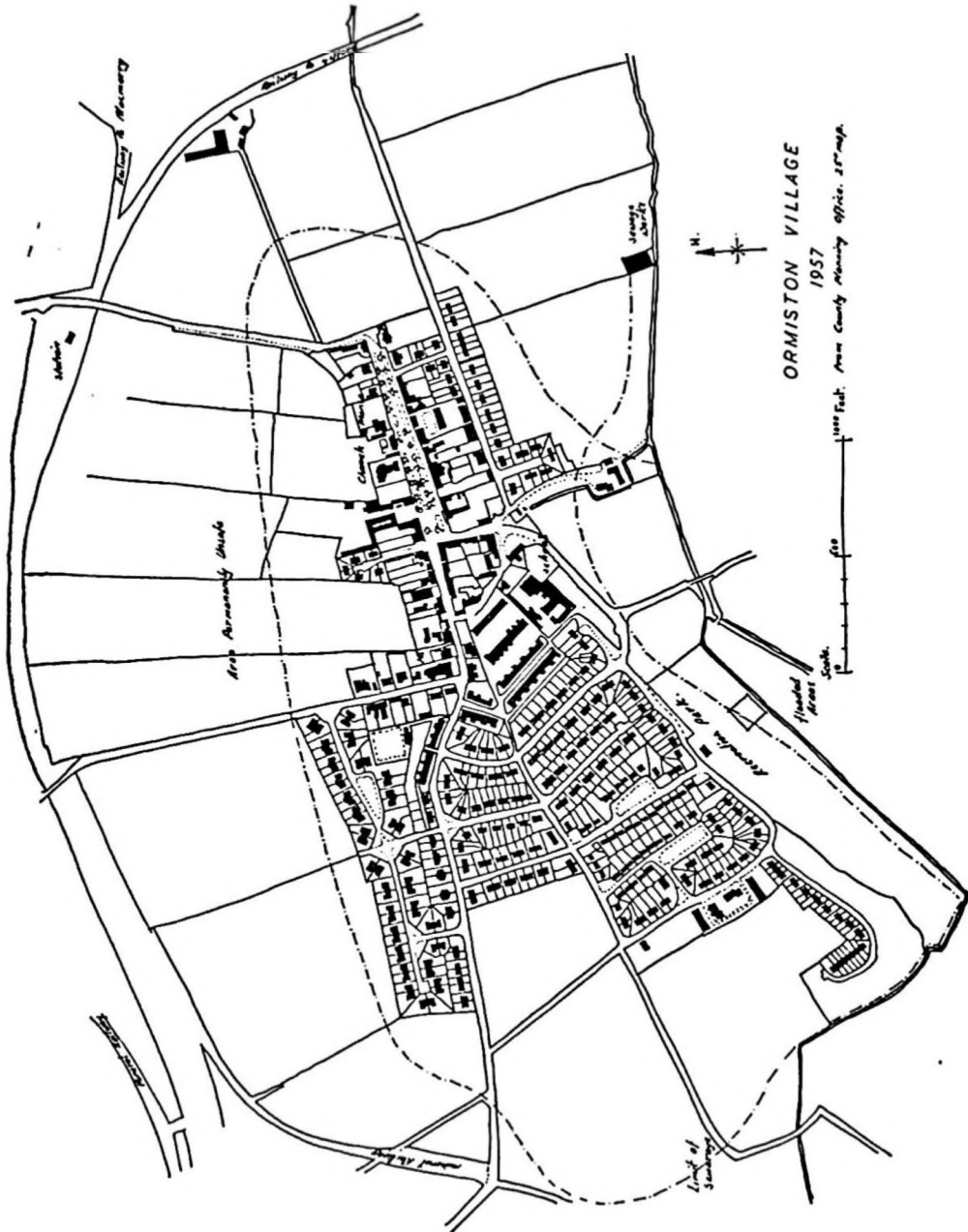


FIG. 5.

constructed in 1933. In 1936, as a result of the union of two churches, a new church for 500 people was built in the main street.

After the 1939-45 war, two streets of prefabricated houses

were erected, some green areas were preserved, and a further scheme of permanent houses at the extreme west of the village was begun.

Several houses in the eighteenth-century village were cleared away; Ormiston Lodge and Ormiston Cottage were recently demolished; and a number of Council houses were erected on the lane south of and parallel to the main street. Altogether 214 houses were built before the war, and 182 afterwards, of which 45 are prefabricated.

But although Sir Frank Mears was appointed Planning Consultant for East Lothian in 1938, little real planning was done until the post-war planning office began to function. Its survey revealed that a number of mines in the vicinity of Ormiston were due to close in the near future, and a decision was taken to develop the small village of Macmerry, which is on the A1 road and nearer to the important mines. Ormiston, therefore, has ceased to grow and is unlikely to expand for some time. The activities of the Planning Authority have recently been directed towards protecting the older buildings and preserving the trees. Beech House, at the north-east corner of Cockburn's village, has been restored and divided into flats; another house on the south of the main street is being adapted under careful contract by a joiner as a workshop; and the Market Cross has been restored by the Ministry of Works. The trees have now been given to the County Council by the estate and will when necessary be replanted. Advice is taken from the Forestry Commission.

POPULATION AND OCCUPATION

This history of the village indicates the population trends and occupations of the inhabitants. They can be briefly summarised as follows:

Population. In 1792, according to the *Old Statistical Account*, there were 500-600 people in the village (Colvill 1792:169). This presumably remained fairly constant, since in the middle of the nineteenth century the population of the whole parish was 760 (Bannerman 1835:142). The big increase at the turn of the century is shown in the 1911 figure for the parish—1598; and this increased to 1841 in 1931, and 2234 in 1951 (parish figures). Figures for the village itself are only given from 1931 onwards when there were 1221. In 1951 the village population numbered 1914.

Occupations. During Phase II of the village's development, it is clear that for a short time occupations were mixed—farming, local industry, trades—with farming becoming the predominant work after the failure of Cockburn's marketing scheme. At the turn of the present century the influx of the miners entirely changed the social structure of the village, and it has tended to become a one-industry settlement. To-day three-quarters of the manual workers are engaged in mining; most of the rest are concerned with farming or market gardening (a good trade is done in strawberries). In addition there are a local joiner and a builder, a slater and plasterer and a number of service trades. The Co-operative Society has two shops, there are three private grocers, a butcher, a hardware merchant, two small general shops, two barbers, one public house and a Post Office, and a bank that opens twice weekly. Two doctors, a District Nurse, and a Health Visitor attend the villagers, a Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic is held fortnightly and an Orthopædic Clinic twice weekly, and the Coal Board, which took over the old officials' houses, has an office in one of them. The School has recently been downgraded, and is now a Primary School.

ANALYSIS AND PROPOSALS

The first phase of the village having been virtually obliterated, it is convenient to consider the present shape of the village under the three succeeding phases.

1. *The eighteenth-century village* (Pls. V to VII)

In appearance this is the most satisfactory part of the village. The houses, while pleasant in scale and detailing, are not in themselves outstanding architectural examples. The more notable are the Manse, a three-storied stone and slate building, a group of single-storey harled and pantiled agricultural workers' houses, and Beech House, a three-storey stone and slated house at the eastern end of the street—all on the north side; a more continuous group of two-storey houses, including the stone house at present being restored by the joiner, and a group of harled, slated and lime-washed houses, on the south side. The Church, designed by J. Aikman Swan, dates from 1936; the Market Cross, dating from the early eighteenth century, is under the care of the Ministry of Works.

The characteristics may be summarised as follows:

(a) The main street tapers towards the east as it slopes gently downhill. At its upper end the broader part is punctuated in the centre by the Market Cross, raised on a pedestal and dominating the space.

(b) The houses on each side are neither uniform nor regular. They vary in treatment and materials and in height. While the south side is fairly continuously developed, it is composed of houses as dissimilar in style as the simple eighteenth-century harled houses, the nineteenth-century schoolhouse now used as a public hall, the oriel-windowed stone house built by John Clark (the founder of the coal Company), the Co-operative Stores, and a harled semi-detached house built between the wars on a gap site. The north side has noticeable gaps in its development and the houses vary in use and style even more than those on the south. There is the eighteenth-century block with a pend, originally the inn and now the Post Office, the farm house of Market-gate farm, the new church, the three-storey eighteenth-century Manse, the single storey cottages, the widely spaced inter-war bungalows, and the three-storey Beech House at the end.

Nevertheless both sides have a marked street-character and unity. On the north side this may be due in part to two factors: (i) the staggering of the houses so that the larger blocks do not dwarf the smaller ones, except in the case of Beech House which clearly marks the end of the street and the corner, and (ii) the fairly continuous stone walling along this side.

(c) A more important factor which contributes to the unity of the street is the double row of trees. On both sides of the road a well-spaced row of tall mature trees makes the dominant theme of the village design. They shelter the houses but are tall enough not to obscure them, and are set close to the road, leaving a space for grass and good footpaths along the fronts of the houses. This grass ends naturally at the road and the footpaths without curbs of any kind. The footpath access is particularly successful. Occasional naturally formed paths lead across the belts of grass to the road.

(d) The village was not originally developed in depth away from the street, but such pends as there are, in particular the pend at Oak House, give access to pleasant enclosed areas of land, and might be capable of interesting development. Where depth development subsequently occurred (as in

Stanley Place), it happened accidentally as a result of the boundaries of the property associated with the street frontage, and was not well considered.

(e) Both ends of the street are "closed"; i.e. the road alters direction or width and, without ever looking like a cul-de-sac, suggests the end of the settlement. At the east end it turns at right angles downhill to the north, and a memorial to Robert Moffat, the missionary, though subsequent to the planning of the village, is well sited on the corner. At the west end the road forks, one narrower road proceeding due west, the other leading off at right angles to cross the river and join the main Haddington-Dalkeith road. The block of sub-standard empty miners' dwellings on the corner effectively closes the vista at the crest of the shops, while the Market Cross on its little built-up mound breaks the vista down the west road, forces the main road to bifurcate, and forms a visual centre to the village.

In general, it appears that Cockburn's foundation has a marked village character, and it is suggested that some of the factors that contribute to its success as such are the small scale of its houses, the simplicity of its plan form, the topographical unity and completeness, the freedom with which houses have been built (at varying dates) within a general scheme, the landscaping and the planting of trees.

2. *The mining village* (Pl. VIII)

The miners' rows are not beautiful, but it is felt that their close-packed simple character given interest by external staircases and access galleries need not have detracted from the æsthetic value of the village as much as has in fact happened. The lack of planning, except in the most rudimentary way, has turned them into stranded blocks in a waste of mud and asphalt; and the problem created by the need for washing lines, back sheds, etc., will require a planned solution such as that at present proposed by the County Planning Officer. They are dismal in colour, but this could be corrected. Their positioning bears little relation to the older part of the village and they are reached only by tracks across the ground.

In view of the considerable amenities added to the village by the mining companies, it is regrettable that a major opportunity to make a coherent extension to the village was lost. There appears to be no logical connection between the siting of the miners' Institute, the bowling green and recreation park other than the purely adventitious availability of sites.

3. *The Local Authority Extensions* (Pls. VII and VIII)

Certain parts of these extensions were planned, but there was no comprehensive layout, and four distinct sections are noticeable. One group (the first and last in date of the Council houses) is laid out to face south on the brae above the river; the second (incorporating the post-war prefabricated houses) follows a course dictated by the layout of the miners' row; the third is a planned and slightly more imaginative scheme along and to the north of the road to Limeylands; the fourth is a monotonous development along the original back lane parallel to and south of the main street.

Apart from the prefabricated dwellings and some short terraced blocks, the houses are generally semi-detached. They line service roads with considerable waste of space, and show little evidence of grouping or organisation which might have linked them logically with the older village. The small green spaces have emerged often merely as untidy corners left to satisfy sight-lines. Only in the third group has an attempt been made to form a coherent scheme with green spaces, and to achieve a reasonable scale in the houses by projecting a wing lower at the ridge than the remainder of the house. Here planting in the front gardens seems to have been more careful and successful than in the other groups. In general, however, landscaping and planting have not been considered, and the contrast with the old village in this respect is overwhelming.

A further contrast is afforded by the widespread nature of the Council housing and the low density of the scheme—the density being considerably reduced by the wastage in road widths. Most of the service roads are far wider than they need be. The low density (about 10-11 houses to the acre is common), the random development of the scheme, its size, lack of scale and ill-designed housing, have resulted in a noticeable lack of relationship with the earlier village. At the same time its bulk and population have unbalanced the original concept of the village without contributing to what might have been a unified but socially and æsthetically diverse village settlement.

Nevertheless, it is felt that some well considered laying of paths and planting might improve the scheme and go some way towards establishing a character more allied to the nucleus of the place; and this is reinforced by the impression that much of the attraction of Cockburn's village does in fact depend upon the trees and the road and footpaths, rather

than upon the comparatively undistinguished houses in the main street.

GENERAL PROPOSALS

There are two main aspects of this village development which we have thought useful to study. Firstly, the village as it stands to-day is, despite its misfortunes, still capable of improvement by means of planting and landscaping, attention to fences, paths, etc. Some suggestions of this sort will form one group of proposals. Secondly, the unsatisfactory spread of the village with its low density in its later phases, suggests that it might be profitable to consider in what ways the village as it stood at the beginning of this century could be developed at higher densities and in a more compact form. Some suggestions have been drafted, from two points of view. On the one hand, assuming for the sake of the study that the Council development had not taken place, it is interesting to speculate on what *might* have happened if a concentrated plan based on developing the existing village in depth had been adopted. On the basis of such a plan it is possible to show the actual wastage of ground at present and the overall shape which the village might have assumed. On the other hand, it may be that such proposals are still practicable. Although the present trend of employment has halted the building of houses in completion of the Council scheme already begun at the western edge of the settlement, it is always possible that at some future date it may be necessary for more houses to be erected. By selecting as a sample a section of the village lying along the south of the main street, at present characterised by gap sites, a noticeable decay in both buildings and gardens, and unused waste spaces, it is possible to show how such an area could still reasonably be developed should the occasion arise, and could contribute to the rehabilitation of the old village (Figs. 6 and 7). In this plan all the 18 usable dwellings are retained and restored where necessary, and an additional 42 houses are provided, giving an approximate density of 20 houses per acre. This is very reasonable. It may be noted that with the exception of two short blocks of maisonettes over shops, all the houses are given small private gardens. One major area of open space is provided, and three smaller ones, one of which faces a group of four old people's houses. Fifteen garages are also provided—a ratio of one garage to four houses.



FIG. 1.—High Street, Ormiston.



FIG. 2.—High Street, Ormiston.



FIG. 1.—Beech House, east end of High Street, Ormiston.



FIG. 2.—Pend and Close off High Street, Ormiston.



FIG. 1.—The Manse, Ormiston.



FIG. 2.—County Council housing, Ormiston.

PLATE VIII



FIG. 1.—Miners' rows, Ormiston.



FIG. 2.—Recent building. A shop at west end of village, Ormiston.



FIG. 1.—Entry from south, Ratho.



FIG. 2.—Main street looking east, Ratho.

PLATE X



FIG. 1.—Backs of houses on south side of main street, Ratho.



FIG. 2.—Back lane south of main street, Ratho.



FIG. 1.—Ludgate, Ratho.



FIG. 2.—Canal and bridge, Ratho.

PLATE XII



FIG. 1.—Looking north towards Kirktown from the Ludgate path, Ratho.

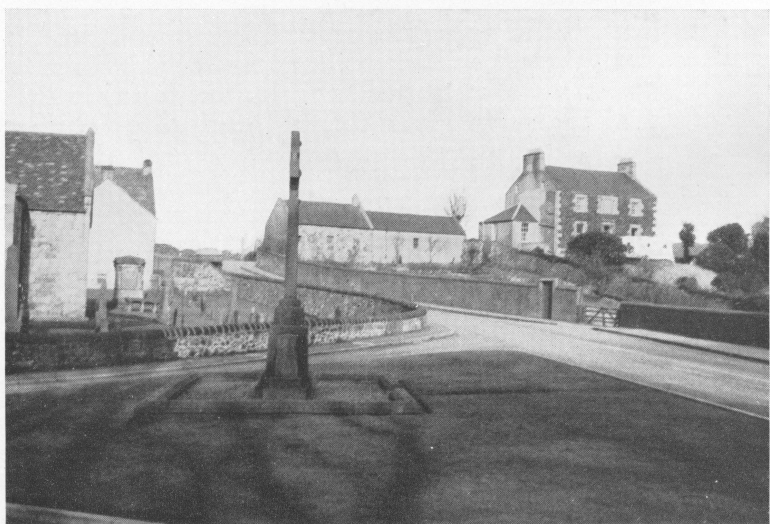


FIG. 2.—Kirktown of Ratho.

On the basis of the density worked out for this area, a further map (Fig. 8) has been drawn, suggesting in broad outline how the village might have grown after 1919. The density is maintained at 20 houses per acre and allowance is

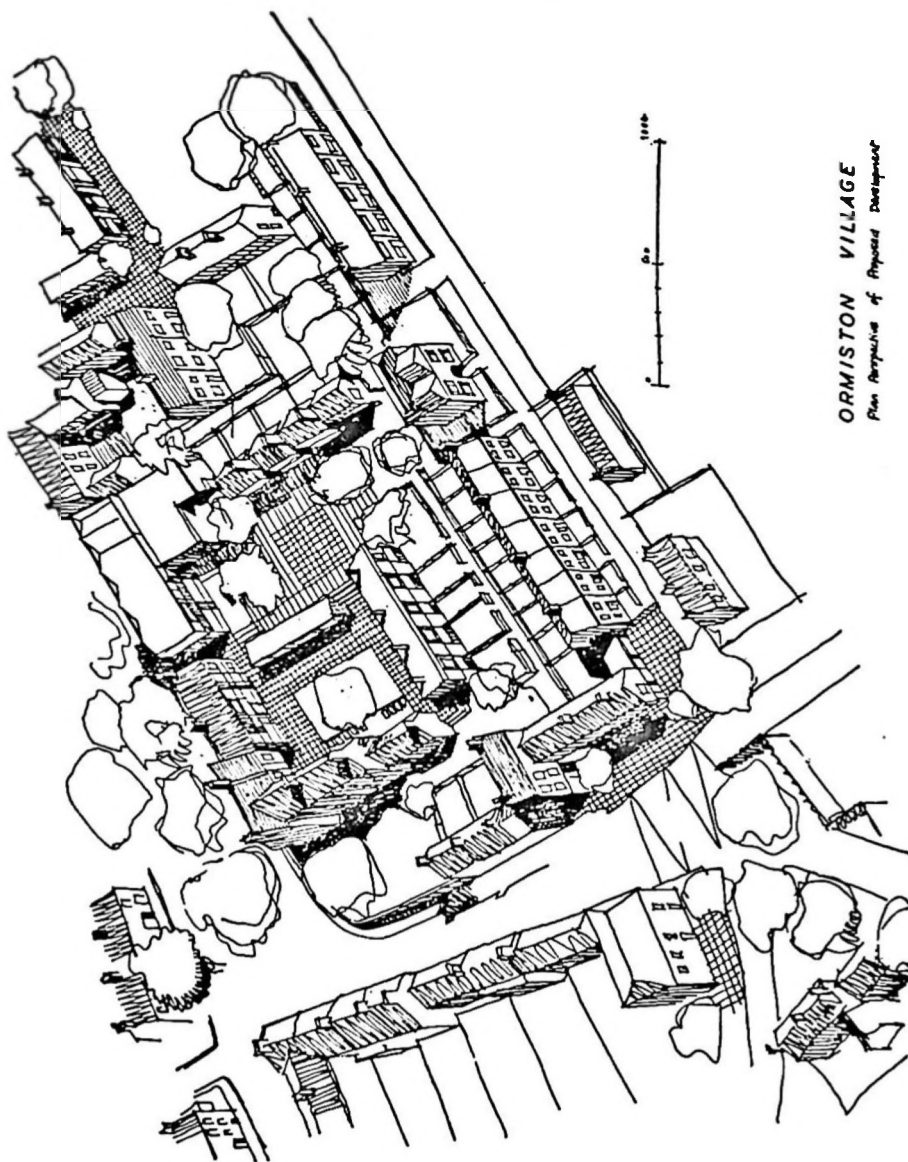


FIG. 7.

made for roads, paths, etc. It shows how, within the limiting site factors, a compact but not crowded village might have grown, retaining the centre of the eighteenth-century village as its centre of gravity. Calculation showed that 332 houses had been removed (or assumed not built) and approximately 353 houses gained within the greatly reduced area.

It is at least clear that Ormiston still needs attention in order to unify the present disorganised series of schemes; and it may be that the redevelopment of the original heart of the village—Cockburn's planned precinct—which remains the most satisfying part visually and practically, would go some way towards giving it new life and its true significance as the centre of the place, socially if not geographically. This part has already been modified, though not satisfactorily, by both the mining companies and the local authority. At present

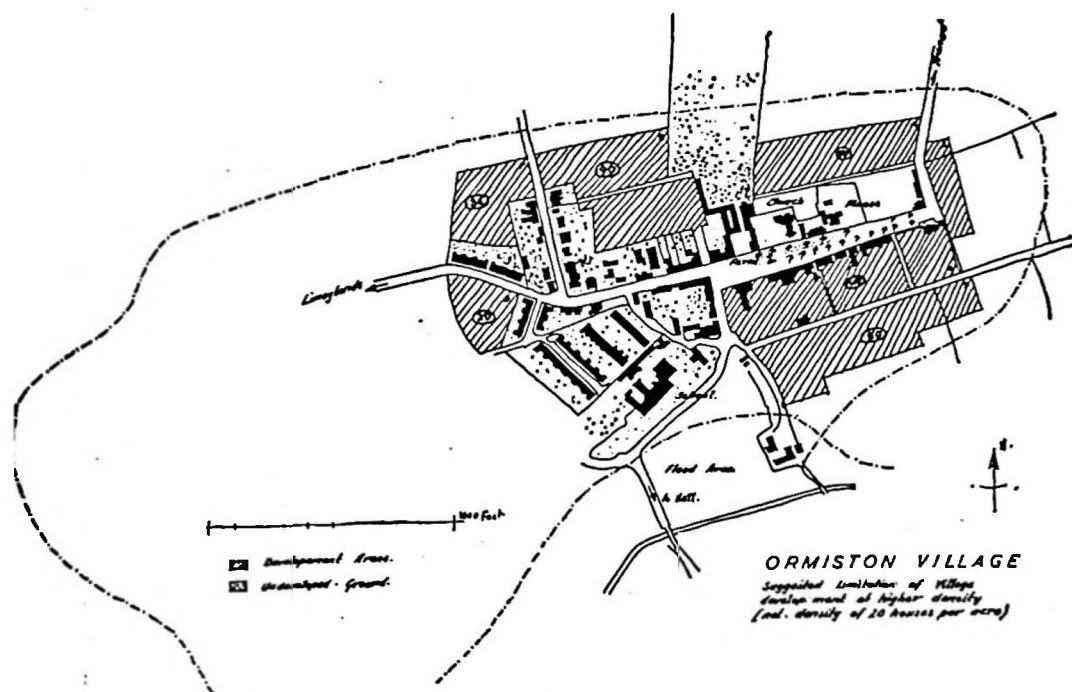


FIG. 8.

an attempt is being made to preserve the older houses; presumably the closed up miners' block in one part of the site and the sub-standard miners' dwellings elsewhere, will at some time have to be demolished. The sample plan aims to keep all the pleasant (and some less pleasant) existing usable dwellings, and to build concentratedly in the available spaces behind and about them.

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Ratho

SITUATION

The village of Ratho is situated in the County of Midlothian, about 8 miles west of Edinburgh, on a minor road that joins the two main routes to Glasgow, via Bathgate and Midcalder respectively. Immediately to the north of the village proper, and dividing it from the church and a group of buildings beside it (the Kirktown), lies the disused Union Canal, which was constructed between 1818 and 1822 to link Edinburgh to the Forth and Clyde Canal just west of Falkirk. The drainage of the immediate surroundings is affected by the canal. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south the Gogar Burn runs eastwards, turning north through Gogar Bank and Gogar (2 miles east of Ratho) to join the river Almond. The Almond passes some 2 miles to the west of Ratho village on its north and north-easterly course to the river Forth.

The main part of the village lies on a ridge sloping downwards from west to east, at about 320 to 250 feet above sea-level. To the south-east the ground falls away to the Gogar Burn; to the south-west and west it rises slightly to separate the village from the valley of the river Almond. Immediately to the north it falls rapidly to the canal at about 225 feet, and this is banked on its north side where the ground falls

slightly further, rising rapidly again to 250 feet at the manse in the Kirktown.

The ridge itself is an outcrop of whinstone (intrusive basalt rock) which is exposed at several places in the vicinity in the general area of carboniferous sandstones. The whinstone has been extracted from numerous quarries near the village, the major quarries being Ratho Quarry (now disused), Hillwood Quarry and Craigbank Quarry, now used for road-stone.

West of the village there remain some groups of trees, many of which were planted for shelter and ornament in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The name "Ratho" is probably derived from the Celtic word "rath", meaning a fort or mound. The early history of the village is obscure, but it is mentioned in records of the early fourteenth century as the Barony of Ratho. The church of St. Mary retains features that date from Norman times. A charter granted by the King to Alexander Fowlis, who bought the land in 1568, refers to "the 36 oxengate of the town and lands of Ratho . . . with tower, mansion . . . houses, biggings, yards . . . called Ratho Myre".¹ Thirty-six oxengate suggests an acreage of about 468 acres (1 ploughgate—104 acres—containing 8 oxengate); and since an oxgate was theoretically the extent of the individual holdings of the joint tenants under the old Scottish system of farming, each supposed to contribute an ox to the common plough, it might be assumed that the "toun" of Ratho was populated at some time by about 36 families—probably less, in view of the likelihood of one or more families holding several oxengate of land. In any case, the acreage of the town was approximately that of a davoch (416 acres), which was the measure of a typical farm group; so that Ratho was probably a very typical ferm-toun of the Lowlands before the agricultural revolution. It was linked with the Kirk and Kirk-toun by a roadway, once known (according to the Minister who wrote the *Statistical Account* of 1839) as the Lud Gate or Lord's Gate—the "access to the House of God" (Clason 1839:97).

The Kirktown was and still is simply a small group of houses near the Kirk—an arrangement commonly found in rural Scotland. Its separation (in this case very slight) from the village proper illustrates the difference between the Scottish

and English villages. In the latter the church normally forms a dominant feature or focus. In Scotland, the villages and kirks were not founded necessarily on the same site; for the kirk served the parish as a whole, which was usually one of scattered farms and farmtowns, and was normally somewhere near the centre of this agricultural parish. The village on the other hand was originally only one of several farmtowns in the parish, any one of which might have been later developed, as Ratho was, to form a village at the time of the agrarian revolution. The interaction of one upon the other is probably to be found in the likelihood that the farmtown at Ratho was developed rather than one of the other "touns", because of its closeness to the Kirk and its consequent position at the convergence of routeways leading to the Kirk.

This general arrangement is confirmed by a Plan of the County of Midlothian made by John Laurie in 1763, which shows the village in roughly its present situation, with however only 10 buildings in the village itself, and one beside the Kirk. These rather scattered buildings straddle a road which does not exactly follow the line of the present road, but passes northwards on the west side of the Kirk. The number of buildings shown may not be accurate on such a small-scale plan.

The ownership of the surrounding land changed frequently, and has been divided among a number of estates, including Dalmahoy, Hatton, Bonnington, Ashley and Ratho Byres. Mansion houses in the parish include Dalmahoy House, Ratho House, Milburn Tower, Bonnington House and Norton House. Ratho Hall faces the village from the slope north of the canal.

The present village owes its form to the radical improvements of the agricultural improvement era, when the farms were enclosed and enlarged, the fields fertilised with lime and the buildings re-erected. In Ratho, according to an Appendix to the *General View of the Agriculture of Midlothian* of 1795 much of the improving took place in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, before which the land was largely "whins and swamps". The planting "with belts and clumps of trees" dates from this time. The village itself must have been rebuilt in connection with the altered road at about the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in accordance with the general redistribution of labour.²

The construction of the Union Canal (1818-22) presumably also influenced the layout of the village. It certainly brought

considerable benefits to the people. Where previously it had been one of the most inaccessible places in the three Lothians (Robertson 1793:267), the canal now brought to the village fertilisers and fuel (mainly from Polmont) and passengers.

By 1839, the time of the *New Statistical Account*, the village consisted of one street with two rows of houses, bending northwards across the Canal. The houses were mainly one-storey, built of whinstone from the local quarry, with freestone lintels and roofs of slate or tile. The village had been, says

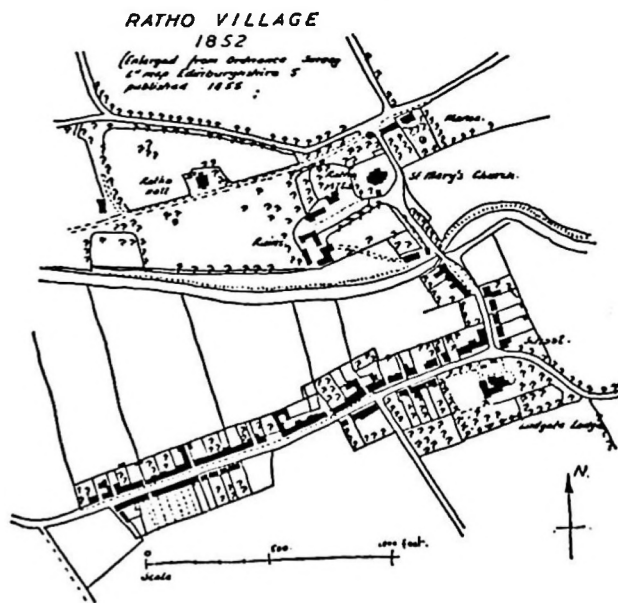


FIG. 9.

the Minister, "much extended and improved recently by the erection of a number of neat cottages . . . and other alterations upon the street". A few old huts on the south side, then being demolished, still connected the village with olden times. The Minister also notes the increasing taste for flowers, pots, shrubs and "other means of beautifying the exterior of the cottages" (Clason 1839:97).

This village of the early nineteenth century is in fact the core of the village as it can be seen to-day (Pls. IX-XIII). The Ordnance Survey map of 1855 (Fig. 9) shows the same plan and many of the same whinstone houses with freestone dressings. The church had been extended in 1683 and again in the early nineteenth century; the manse "in the Kirkstoun" was built in 1803. There were, says the 1839 *Account*, three schools in the village (the parish school with a master and

85 scholars, and two sewing schools with 22 pupils each), a Post Office, a Freemasons' meeting place and a Distillery. Although there was no proper Inn, there were 8 public houses in the parish, which, the Minister sadly remarks, "is too many". The nearest market was Edinburgh.

The village grew slightly during the remainder of the century. The O.S. map of 1895 (Fig. 10) shows the same arrangement; Ludgate Lodge (now called The Lodge) had arrived at the east end of the village, the school nearby had

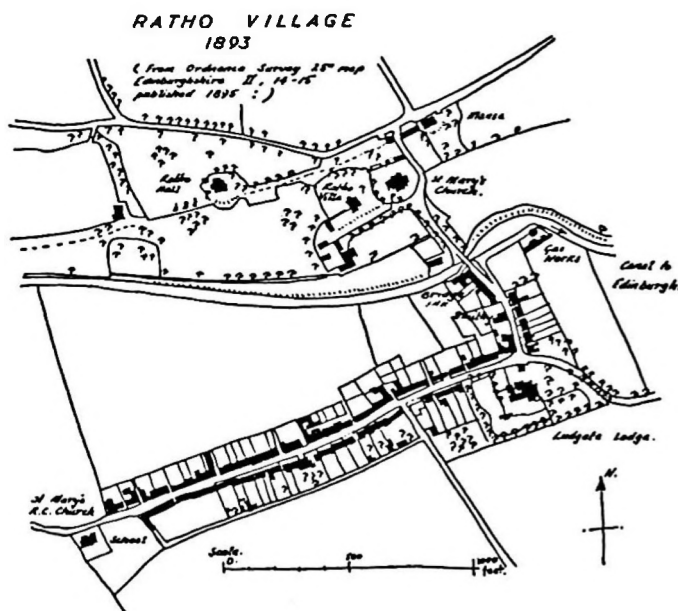


FIG. 10.

grown, and another been built at the western end. The Catholic Chapel had been erected, the houses on the south side of the street were more tightly packed; a smithy stood on the Ludpath, the Bridge Inn beside the bridge (Pl. XI, fig. 2), and a Gas Works east of the bridge by the canal.

The main part of the subsequent development of the village has been the County Council housing to the north west and south of the main street. Thirty-two council houses were erected on a new road (Hillview Cottages) before the second world war. Since the war 12 prefabricated houses and another 152 permanent houses have been built, which can be summarised as follows (Fig. 11).

Post-war permanent houses: 120

(Craigpark Avenue and Crescent; North Street and Hillview Cottages, west end)

Agricultural Workers: 16

(Hillview Cottages, south side; Craigpark Avenue, south end)

Scottish Special Housing—General needs: 16

(Craigpark Avenue, west end)

Apart from the group of 20 at the west end of Hillview Cottages, the post-war County Council development has taken place in a widely spaced scheme to the north of the village, with the backs of the houses to the Canal.

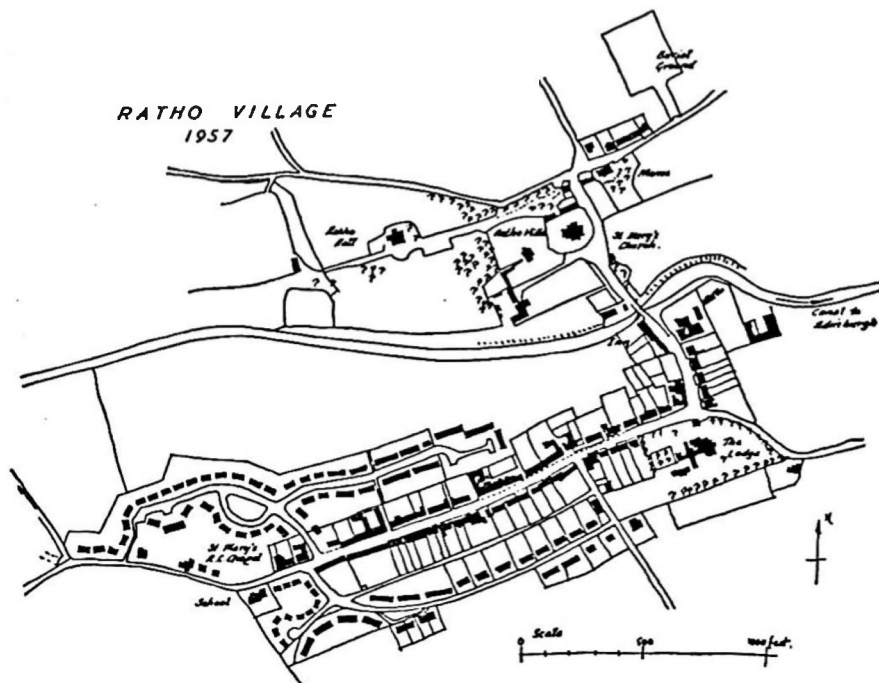


FIG. 11.

In addition, a large number of the old houses on the north side of the main street have been condemned and partly demolished, and a scheme is in hand to rebuild this group as terraced housing, using the old stones and tiles where possible, and incorporating a group of shops and a community hall.

The housing lists for June 1956 show 109 houses in addition to the County Council property.

POPULATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Available figures show that the population of the parish of Ratho was about 1145 in 1760 (only some of whom would have been in the village) but decreased to about 825 in 1793

(Robertson 1793:266), as a result of the enlargement of farms and the completion of the work on Dalmahoy House. From then, however, it increased to 1315 in 1831 and by another 149 to form a total of 1454 in 1839 (Clason 1839:93). The reasons given for this are improved agriculture, resulting in the need for more farm workers, the cutting of the canal, the opening of stone quarries and, in the latter decade, the building of new mansions and the greater subdivision of lands in the second stage of the agrarian changes.

In 1839 Ratho was almost entirely an agricultural parish. In addition, the distillery employed 11 people and produced 42,000 gallons a year; one sandstone and four whinstone quarries were in operation, but only one whinstone quarry, employing 10 people, was regularly exploited (Clason 1839:93).

At this time, the population of the village itself was 539 (Clason 1839:96). Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland* gives it as having risen to 689 by 1846. It must have subsequently increased slowly. Available figures for recent years, from the Housing records, show the population as 760 in 1954, 850 in 1955 and 920 in June, 1956, with an additional 18 to 20 people in the Nursing Home at the Lodge.

From such figures as are available for the district, a general view of the occupations in the village can be obtained. Craigpark, Hillwood and Norton Quarries (producing whinstone for roadwork) employ between them 61 workers, some of whom must live in the village. There are 16 agricultural workers' houses with, presumably, 16 agricultural workers in them, four police personnel, a number of teachers, nurses (The Lodge Nursing Home) and various service trades. The Co-operative Society has a large farm in the neighbourhood and a store in the village. There are dog kennels to the east of the village, a mink farm beside the canal, and Ratho Golf Course lies a short distance to the east. Travel to work figures show an estimated 150 men and 150 women travelling daily to Edinburgh from both Ratho village and Ratho Station, about a mile to the north. The latter has been developed on a bigger scale than the village and now has a larger population, many of whom work in Edinburgh.

ANALYSIS AND PROPOSALS

The Council housing of both pre-war and post-war years is not very successful; and it has been thought useful to suggest a way in which the village might have grown from its shape

and size in the early part of this century. The layout and design of the Council houses is poor, scattered and unsightly; but essentially its fault lies in its lack of sympathy with the original charming if not particularly distinguished village nucleus. The widely spaced groups to the south and the winding streets to the north are so out of character as to give the inevitable impression of a housing scheme tacked on to a decrepit village, rather than an extension of an existing village—as it could easily have been. Indeed the plan of Ratho suggests that the necessary additional houses might have formed not merely an extension of the village, but rather the completion of the village pattern. The advantages of such an attempt are obvious. The village might have been improved rather than disfigured and made visually more attractive and socially more satisfactory, by the integration of the new with the old and the revitalising of the latter in the process.

Several parts of the village show this possibility. The Kirktown could be unified and better grouped by some small rows of houses to close the view up the hill from the village proper (Pl. XII, fig. 2) and make a coherent group at the junction of the roads, thus following the traditional development of the Kirktown nucleus as a place in itself. Since the Kirk is a building of architectural importance, some improvement of the surroundings is in any case necessary to give it the setting it deserves. The derelict gas works area facing the canal is an attractive site, and, properly developed, could form one of the most pleasant terraces in the village; and this could link behind the houses on the Ludgate to a group at the eastern end of the main street, forming a green on both sides of the curving road and finishing the village appropriately. This in turn could be connected to the road to Dalmahoy by a narrow roadway beside the existing trees on the south facing slopes. The old back lane, south of the main street (Pl. X, fig. 2), might be utilised rather than remain as at present an untended track, with houses on its south. In this way considerable lengths of roadmaking could have been avoided. Furthermore, the north side of the main street (Pl. IX, fig. 2) could be developed, following the original pattern, with short blocks stretching northwards at right angles behind the street terraces, and views across the canal to Ratho Hall through pends and lanes and between the blocks. The clearance on this side gives an opportunity to form an open space with hall and shops near the entry road

Alternatively the Lodge might be turned into a Community Centre, and the grounds be open to all in the village.

Using some of these opportunities, a plan has been drawn

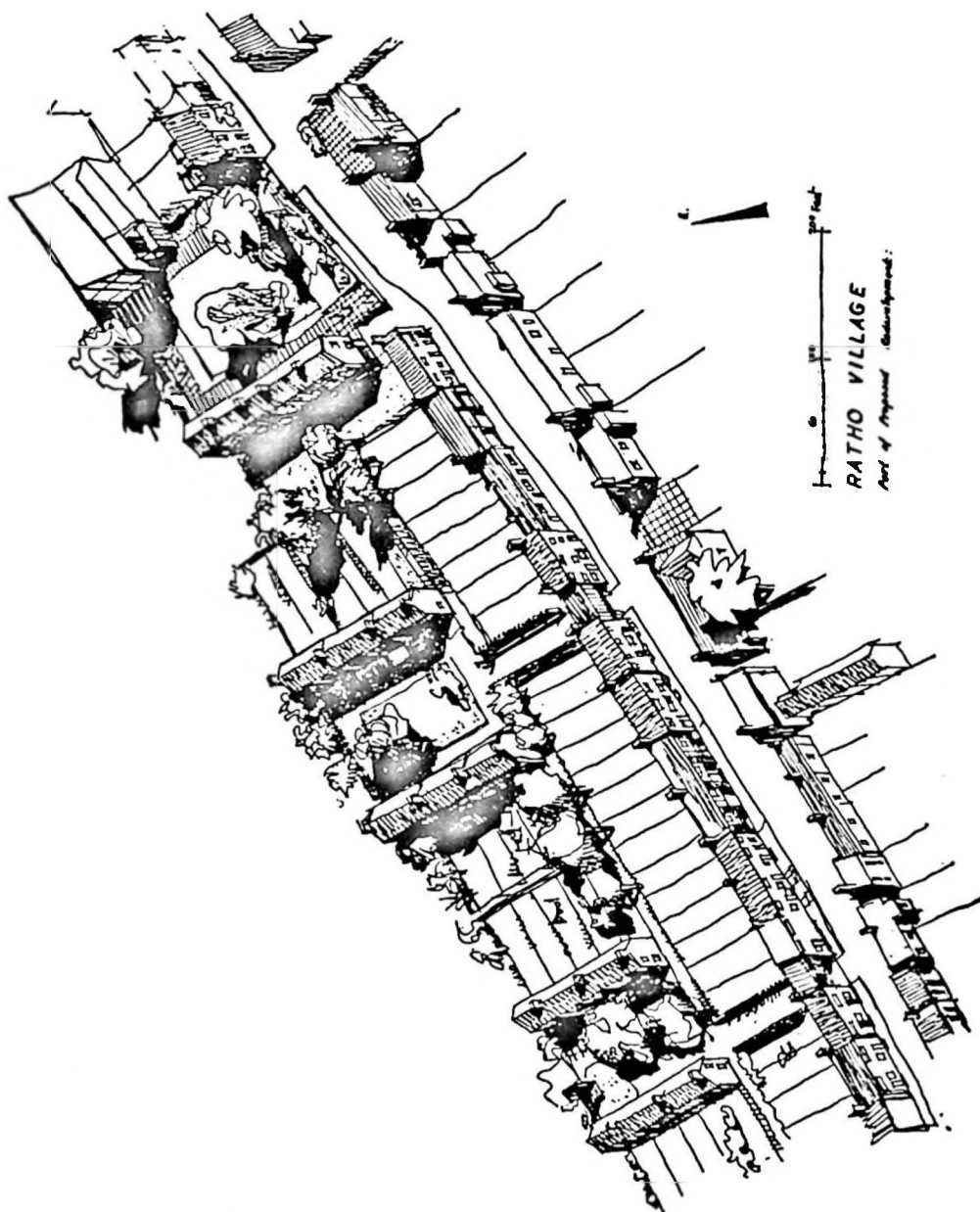


FIG. 13.

which seems to achieve the aim of completing the village pattern without destroying it, and adding a number of amenities which the village did not previously possess (Figs. 12 and 13). The number of houses obtained is slightly more than

the total of houses which have in fact been erected, while using only a fraction of the area of land. Approximately 202 houses replace the existing 196 houses, with 33 new houses in the clearance area on the north side of the main street, 5 shops and 2 blocks of 3-storey flats (giving 25 flats in all). By such a plan, moreover, entirely adequate and frequently generous gardens could be made, with additional open spaces, and yet without the wastage of inevitably derelict land that the normal housing scheme seems to ensure.

NOTES

- ¹ Quoted in Clason 1839:82.
- ² A *Plan of the Parish of Ratho* by Jas. Anderson, was published in Edinburgh in 1819. No copy of it, however, could be discovered. It is listed in *The Early Maps of Scotland*, by a Committee of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. 2nd edition, revised (1936):106. Edinburgh.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The illustrations in this article (sketches and plates) were supplied by the Department of Architecture, University of Edinburgh.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN ARGYLLSHIRE DROVER

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE
WEST HIGHLAND CATTLE TRADE

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The last of the true Argyllshire drovers died at Minard, on the shores of Loch Fyne, in April 1957. Other men are still alive in the district who went with cattle to the Falkirk Trysts. But they were not drovers in the sense that Dugald MacDougall was; they simply acted as cattle-men, taking the beasts by road and track to a distant market. Dugald was much more. In his young days—he was born in 1866—he worked with four uncles who were farmers and cattle-dealers in the parish of Kilmichael Glassary. The Spring and Summer found him out in the islands buying young cattle. Autumn brought the big trysts at Falkirk, and from about 1886 until the late 'nineties Dugald MacDougall took part in most of the droves that went to the October tryst. He came, moreover, of a family of drovers. His uncles, his grandfather, his great-great-uncles followed this business in successive generations. He was the repository of a droving tradition that dated from the eighteenth century and that was localised in Mid-Argyll. His forebears lived in North Knapdale, a secluded parish on the west coast which has the closest links with the islands of Islay and Jura, the breeding grounds of some of the finest Highland cattle. They bought cattle in these islands and in the neighbouring parishes, and sold them after grazing them to English and Lowland buyers at the Falkirk Tryst. This same pattern of business was followed by successive generations of the family for over a hundred years, coming to an end with the subject of this article at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the six months before he died the old drover was thinking and talking a great deal about his droving years. He was ninety years old at this time. His memory was good

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and his powers of expression unimpaired. In November 1956 he made a remarkable sound recording. He had never previously used, or even seen, a recording machine, yet he answered a series of questions on his life and experiences with a fullness of detail and a spontaneity of expression that give his account a unique value. It lasts for forty minutes and is in English, but he could equally well have spoken in his native Gaelic. Indeed the language he uses is Gaelic in its essential thought-forms and colour as well as more obviously in its cadences and pronunciations.† The facts of a drover's life are there, probably more fully than in any extant oral source; but the account is more than a piece of informative social history; it acquires from the old man's telling and the artless changes of his mood a compelling and moving quality.

The facts of Dugald MacDougall's life are soon set down. He was born in 1866 on a small farm called Craig Murail in the low hills north of Lochgilphead. An aunt at Bellanoch brought him up, and when she married the miller at Kilmartin he lived with them at the mill-house near the ruins of Carnasserie Castle. He had a job for five years in the estate office of the Malcolms of Poltalloch, and then at nineteen years of age he joined his four uncles, who were called MacLellan and had two farms in the district. These were his droving years. In 1899 or thereabouts he moved to the farm of Craiganterve, near Ford at the southern end of Loch Awe. Craiganterve is still remembered as having been the best farm in the district, and a model for the whole neighbourhood, during his tenancy. He was here for forty-four years, saw his family grow up, became an elder in the Church and served as Clerk to the Kilmartin Parish Council. After he retired to live with his daughter at Minard, he was often to be seen taking a walk along the road, a spare figure, slightly bowed, with a handsome kindly face, a curly grey beard, and a surprisingly full head of white, wavy hair.

Dugald's reminiscences were of the native West Highland cattle. For centuries these small, hardy, black cattle had been bred for export on the mainland, but especially in the islands, of Argyll. The trysts at Crieff, Falkirk and Glasgow already feature in the rentals of the Lochfyneside estate of Campbell of Knockbuy in the seventeen-thirties,¹ a period when Crieff

† Inverted commas, when used here, indicate excerpts from Dugald MacDougall's account, unless referred to another source. Few modifications have been necessary, and those, slight ones to make plain the drover's meaning. Words I have inserted are in square brackets.

was pre-eminent and when droving and cattle-stealing were still liable to be confused, not least in the minds of the drovers. From his home, not a mile distant from where Dugald lived in his later years, Archibald Campbell, 2nd laird of Knockbuy, carried on a successful cattle-dealing business in partnership with his kinsman, Campbell of Inverawe, with a turnover of 2,000 cattle in the year 1739-40. These beasts, purchased in the islands of Islay, Jura and Mull, and from the West Highland mainland as far north as Moidart, were grazed on the parks about Knockbuy (the present-day Minard) until they were ready to be driven to the Lowland trysts and ultimately into England.²

The "spirit of improvement" had already, it seems, communicated its quickening influence to the shores of Loch Fyne and the lairds of Mid-Argyll, and Knockbuy appears as one of the earliest of the pioneers of stock-breeding in the Highlands. The enclosures at Minard were an indispensable part of his plan for raising the standard of his Highland cattle by breeding only from the finest beasts. His success was marked. ". . . the Galloway gentlemen," he writes in February 1744, "acknowledge these several years past my cattle were inferior to no highlanders grazed with them; which demonstrates Argyllshire is as capable as Galloway for that purpose, though the latter has run away with the profit for many years back, which proper attention and application might alwise preserve to the Shire of Argyll." The Duke should follow suit he urged in a letter to Campbell of Stonefield. Whether indeed the ambitious programme of agricultural and industrial reforms launched by the dukes of Argyll in the next decades was inspired, at least in part, by the advice and practice of Knockbuy, or not, there is no doubt that having a neighbour as active and enterprising as Archibald Campbell must have served to keep the ducal improvers on their toes.³

Smaller farmers had little interest in improvements, and the bulk of Highland cattle continued undersized and puny. But the movement which Knockbuy had so early pioneered in Mid-Argyll gained impetus. By the end of the eighteenth century many lairds in the West Highlands subscribed to and practised the new principles of selective breeding; none to more effect than Campbell of Shawfield, whose estate in Islay bred animals that took pride of place among the Highland cattle (MacDonald 1811:422 ff., 623 ff.)⁴. It is no wonder that Dugald MacDougall's droving ancestors dealt largely in the product

of the Islay grazings, nor that Bakewell himself declared, too late, "that he wished he had laid the foundations of his improved breed with the kyloe or West Highland cow, for it wanted only size to be perfect" (Sinclair 1831: pt. 1, 264; Smith 1805:243).

Already by the seventeen-sixties professional drovers appear in the Knockbuy rentals as substantial tenants. They were prosperous enough by the late seventies to rent two or three farms at seventy or eighty pounds sterling.⁵ Possibly here in Argyll, as in Galloway (Haldane 1952:51, 65), this professional class superseded Knockbuy and the other drover-lairds in their cattle-dealing functions, and by their increased specialisation enabled the Scottish supply of cattle to keep pace with the mounting demand in the South. Too often, however, the insufficiency of their capital hampered them. When allied to a lack of moral scruples, it caused an alarming frequency of bankruptcies among drovers and brought the whole class of drovers into disrepute (Haldane 1952:49-52). But there appears to be something more solid and reliable about the late eighteenth century Mid-Argyll drovers than there was about their contemporaries in Galloway. If the *Statistical Account* does not applaud their virtues, it is equally silent about their failings. The regular appearance over a fairly long period of the same names in Knockbuy's rental against farms wide in extent and highly rented, inspires confidence in such men as Charles Young, John McKellar and John Macfarlane. In a shire where lairds as active and experienced in cattle-dealing as Knockbuy had blazed the trail, and where their power was considerable, it may be that drovers as a class acquired habits of regularity and honesty in advance of the rest of the country.

Dugald MacDougall begins his account with a story which he heard as a little boy from his grandfather MacLellan who had Gallcoille farm in North Knapdale and carried on business as a drover and cattle-dealer. It was a story which, he confessed, he heard many times before he could understand it and it concerned two uncles of his grandfather, who were drovers in Knapdale, "bought the cattle at the farms where they were reared, you know, and . . . took them away to the markets of the South and to the markets where they could get them sold. It was to the markets of the South they had this lot." They bought on credit . . . "they didn't pay them. The bargain was that they would give so much for them, and pay

them when they came back after selling them in the markets of the South. But they found that the price that they could get for them there wouldn't meet the price that they had to pay the people at home. They were going to drop money themselves, and they were going to be the occasion of the people at home dropping money too, because they would be disappointed not to get the price at which they sold them." Many drovers at this period—the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century—would not have scrupled to fail their creditors. "Well, they considered. The one spoke to the other, what [was] the best thing they could do. And the other brother advised him and he said, 'the only thing that I can do, that I can think we ought to do, and keep our own credit, and do the best we can for the people at home, is take them back, every one of these animals, to the owner that had them when he sold them, and deliver them to the owner at his own farm, where we bought them, and tell them that that's the best thing we can do. We can't pay the money that we ought to pay, but there's your animals as we found them.' So they had so much confidence in them after that that they would give them any cattle they wanted without paying for them; they could take them away to sell and pay them when they came back." The rustic innocence of these droving brothers evidently found a ready response in a community more fearful of defaulting drovers than insistent on the uttermost farthing.⁶ This engaging story forms a fitting preface to Dugald's account.

These may have been the first drovers in the family, the men who founded the long tradition followed by Dugald's grandfather, then by his four sons, Dugald's uncles, and finally by Dugald himself. As cattle-dealers, they required grazing lands. The uncles had two farms, Barmolloch and Ardnackaig. Ardnackaig is situated on the west coast of North Knapdale, upon the Sound of Jura. Barmolloch is an upland farm three miles south of Ford, with hilly land on either side, but a prospect northward of a broad glen opening out into the wooded parkland of Ederline. Here, on the good Barmolloch pastures the brothers summered their cattle. Hugh MacLellan was the business head and had charge of the buying and selling. Dugald went with Hugh in the Spring of the year to buy young cattle in Islay and Jura.⁷ The Islay trysts in May and June offered the finest cattle in the West, a consequence of Shawfield's careful breeding.

The black cattle of the West Highlands could fetch the

highest prices at Falkirk. But changes were afoot that did not always please the older farmers. "There was more black ones in these days, black ones. But they got, when they got like everything else, into fancy things, they did away with the black ones. There's hardly any left of the black cattle." This departure from a sober black for coats of many colours—brindled, dun, brown, yellow and red—Dugald viewed as a regrettable piece of frivolity, but cross-breeding was something far more serious; "they wouldn't go in for crosses, not by any [means]. One of the uncles especially had a great horror o' crosses. Nothing but the pure Highland native cattle, you know, bullocks and heifers." In this objection they were in good company, for the learned Dr. Smith had laid it down as axiomatic that "crossing the true Highland breed with any other ought to be avoided. . . . The native cattle are always the hardiest cattle and the best feeders." The improving lairds had reached the same conviction after experimenting with crosses between the native cattle and Galloways and other breeds. In the end they found the English buyer much preferred the West Highland beast (Smith 1805:250).

The Barmolloch drovers brought the Islay cattle over the ferry at Port Askaig to Jura, and drove them by the eastside road to the ferry at Lagg.⁸ Here they were loaded into the ferry-boat. Dugald recollected that the bottom of the boat was thickly heaped with a protective layer of birch branches. The ferryman was called Lindsay, and he had a blind assistant. The cattle were carried to Keills and unloaded on to the jetty. There was no need for them to swim ashore, as the jetty sloped down to the water, and boats could be discharged in any state of the tide. Its corrugated surface, made of thin slabs of stone set vertically, would offer a ready foothold to the cattle as they scrambled ashore.

The herd made its way by Tayvallich and Bellanoch to Crinan Moss and Kilmichael and up the glen to Barmolloch. Here they remained to graze until they were ready to be sold at the Falkirk Tryst.

The Barmolloch men had other cattle grazing, bought at the local trysts at Lochgilphead and Kilmichael. The Kilmichael tryst was the more important, held on the last Wednesday of May in a field still called the Stance Field, situated within a curve of the River Add below the late eighteenth-century bridge at Kilmichael.⁹ To refresh his memory, Dugald turned to a faded copy of Orr's *Scottish Almanac* for 1916, a thin paper-

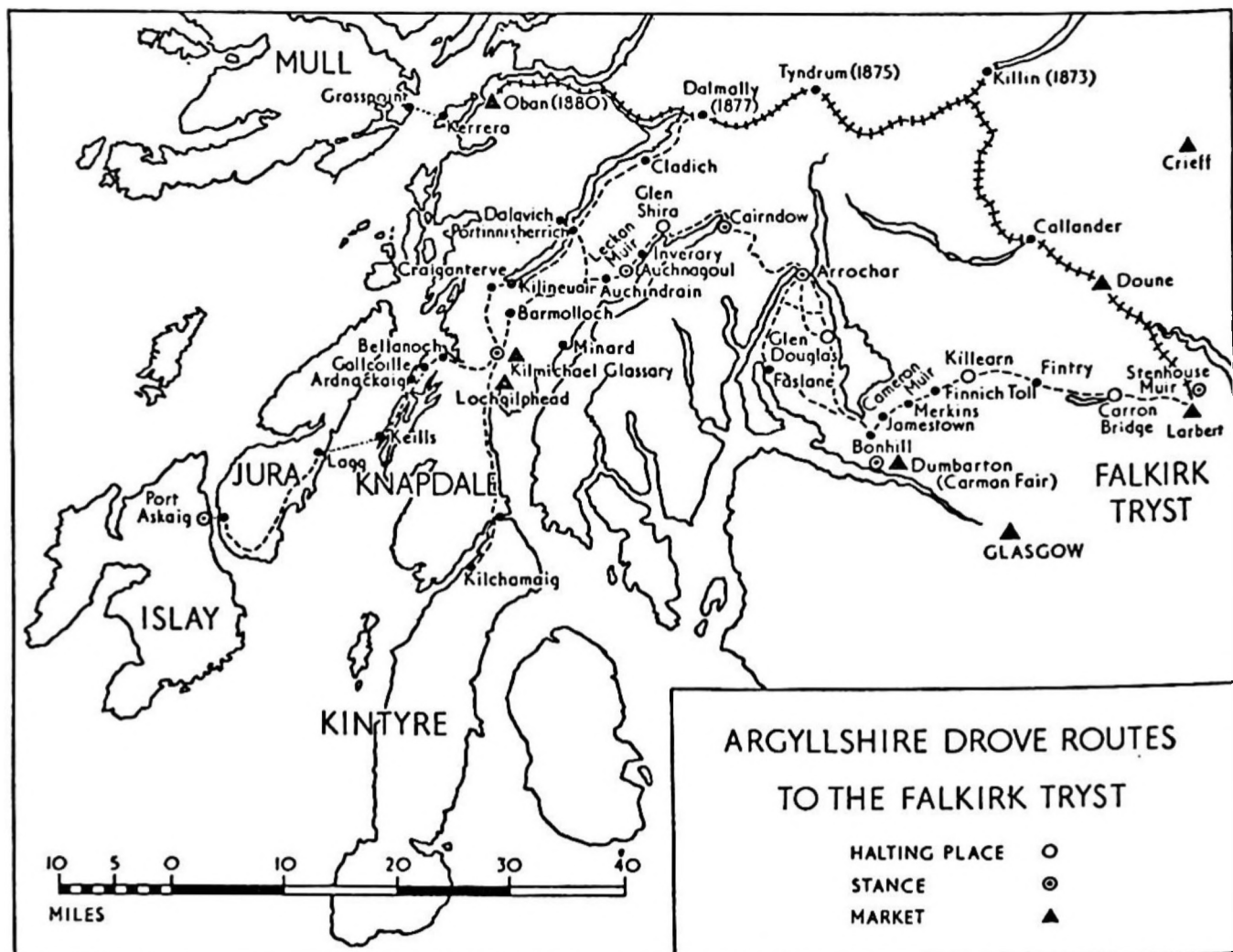
backed pamphlet containing miscellaneous information: "The Rising and Setting of the Sun, the Phases of the Moon, with its Age, the Times of High Water at Glasgow, and a General Tide Table; also a Table of the Probable Weather that will occur during the Year, and a List of Fairs, Holidays and Fast Days kept in some of the Principal Towns in Scotland." Information yet more exotic is to be found in its pages; a list of the Imperial Parliaments, the names, birthdays and marriages of all nine of Queen Victoria's children, and a splendid catalogue of the Sovereigns of Europe, no less than twelve in number if one includes Tsar Nicholas II and Sultan Mohamed V who succeeded his brother Abdul (deposed). Seven closely printed pages at the end of the almanac give details of the trysts of Scotland, classified according to their month. None, as Dugald explained, bears a specific date. "There was no date; it was the day of the week, yes. . . . And you can see from this old almanac, you can see it there, the days of the week." Here he reads aloud from it: "Tuesday before last Wednesday . . . Wednesday fortnight after Kilmichael in May, yes. And the Falkirk Tryst was the second Tuesday of October, and the day following he says in this almanac too." ¹⁰

For a century and a half the Falkirk Tryst occupied a unique place in the economic development and social life of Scotland. It was the annual meeting place of English buyers and Scottish drovers, a gathering geographically almost as widely representative as the General Assembly. Here was congregated the cattle-surplus of all the Highland counties, beside beasts raised on Lowland farms. The export trade was worth about a quarter of a million pounds in the closing decade of the eighteenth century, and still it was expanding (Haldane 1952:205 ff.). By Dugald MacDougall's time, the traffic had shrunk to a slender current compared with the full spate of the mid-nineteenth century. It was still, however, the principal cattle-market in Scotland, and its three trysts, in August, September and October, saw many Highland cattle sold to English and Lowland buyers.

The Barmolloch men attended the biggest of the trysts, held in October. There were other trysts where they sometimes did business, Dounc in Perthshire and Carman Fair at Dumbarton, with its stance on the top of the hill above Renton. "I was at that fair once, and there was only one house, a shepherd's house, up there. And the market-day the shepherd got a licence; he could sell spirits to the dealers or them that

came with the cattle. That was the only house that was in it at Carman, up at the top of the hill, yes." Kilmichael was the regular local market, and usually, "when they were taken away from this district, as most of the older cattle were, it was to the Falkirk Trysts".

By early October the cattle were in superb condition. "After the summering and that they were splendid big animals



. . . oh grand big bullocks, just full of flesh and hair when they were sold at three and a half years old in October." The heifers were sold off a year younger, but the bullocks were kept as long as there was grazing for them. The Barmolloch droves numbered fifty or sixty cattle. They could be handled by two men and their dogs. The seven day journey of nearly a hundred miles of road and track began early enough to allow the cattle a rest for three days at the end of it before the Tryst commenced. The route which they followed was one which had been long used by drovers from Mid-Argyll. First the drove made for the old hill track leading from Loch Awe

over the high moorland north of Loch Fyne to the farm of Auchindrain near Inveraray. Many of the drovers coming from Mull and Nether Lorne ferried their beasts across Loch Awe at Portinnisherrick (Haldane 1952:90) and joined this track on the Leckan Muir. (They were from remote, unvisited regions to Dugald, who spoke of the northern Argyll and Inverness-shire islands as "Mull and these places".) The Barmolloch droves would emerge on to it two or three miles from its starting point at the mediæval church of Kilineuair. It was a narrow track, about six feet wide, but dry and clean and well-drained, with a firm bottom of stones.

The first day with its unaccustomed fatigues and steep gradients was the hardest on the cattle. The road rises almost from sea level to a loch-strewn terrain a thousand feet higher, apparently desolate but for sheep and predatory birds. It clambers to its summit at Loch a' Chaoruinn; here the drovers could ease off and look back over the winding track to the waters of Loch Awe, and in the distance, beyond the String of Lorne, the great hills of Jura and Mull.

A good drover was careful not to press his cattle too hard, especially at the outset. "They were in full bloom, and full of flesh and hair. If you sweated them, the hair drooped down and never got up again into the same [condition]. The great secret was to take them there as good-looking as they were when they left home. One would think there was nothing but drive and force them on with a stick, but that wasn't allowed at all. They'd go quite nicely when they were left alone. The man that was in front—they didn't all stay behind—he took maybe twelve or so of the first cattle on, and the rest followed; and if these went into a gap, or found an open gate, and went in, you had only to get twelve out, whereas if you were all behind, you would have the whole sixty or fifty, and that spent time to get them back out again. There was an art in doing it right, properly; even suppose one would think it was a simple thing, there was an art in doing it properly too, to give man and beast a chance, yes."

The old track can still be travelled on foot, but the surface has become pitted, eroded, and in places, water-logged. To the neglect of half a century and the effects of harsh weather was added more active ill-usage. The *Argyllshire Advertiser* announced on 20th August 1924, under the heading "Motor Cycle Feat", that a local motor-cyclist had recently driven "a machine of the well-known B.S.A. manufacture" from Ford to

Inveraray "by the old hill-road". This no doubt praiseworthy individual initiated the trials which damaged the road beyond repair. Yet so late as 1914 or thereabouts a small boy called Archie Campbell, now living at Arrochar, travelled this road with his father, who was taking a drove of thirty young cattle from Oban to Mr. Macfarlane's farm of Stronafyne at the head of Loch Long.

The route which the drovers followed from Auchindrain coincides fairly well with the present road through Inveraray, round the head of Loch Fyne, over the Rest and Be Thankful Pass to Arrochar, and thence by Tarbet and Loch Lomondside to Balloch. But in recent years the old road over the Rest has been superseded by a new road with easier gradients. Along the west shore of Loch Lomond, too, the older road can frequently be seen escaping from the macadam bondage of the new, to make a brief excursion.¹¹ After Alexandria the drovers crossed the river at Bonhill. "It was a wooden bridge that crossed [the Leven] at Bonhill, a wooden bridge. It's a fine concrete bridge now." Here they turned to the left as if making for Jamestown and then took the old hill road over the Cameron Muir. "There was an old toll over there. It was Finnich Toll they called it. It was getting into disuse when I went there at first." And so on to Killearn. From there the drovers' road led through Fintry, past Spittal Hill farm, and across the Kirk o' Muir; "there's a big reservoir they tell me, converted now on the right hand side up there, a great big water works that wasn't there when we were going at all". Carronbridge came next, and Denny, Dunipace and Dennyloanhead, and finally, Larbert, the end of the long journey.

Halting-places for a night's grazing existed all along the drovers' route. There were stances where custom gave the drover free, unhindered access for his beasts, though a charge was made for the use of them. When there was no stance, accommodation could be obtained on farms for a payment of about ten shillings a score in Dugald's time. The Barmolloch drove must have reached the neighbourhood of the main Inveraray road on the first day, with a full dozen rough miles behind. Accommodation could be got on the stance at Auchnagoul or on farm land in the vicinity.¹² The old rights of free grazing at Inveraray, which are mentioned in the Kirk Session records, had apparently escaped in the eighteenth-century improving movement.¹³ "The old town muir to be inclosed" reads a note of November 1758 written in the instructions to

the Chamberlain of Argyll by the 3rd Duke (Fergusson n.d.). The loss of customary stances and the multiplication of turnpike tolls during the early nineteenth century added to the problems of the drovers and contributed to the decline of the Falkirk Tryst (Haldane 1952:212 with note 4; 242-4).¹⁴

On the second night the drove might be in Glen Shira (as Duncan MacColl, Crarae, remembers) but more usually it reached the stance at Cairndow, an extensive area extending up the hillside on the east side of the head of the loch. "There's a place—I can see the opening yet—where we went. . . . The stance came down to the road, but halfway up the hill it was fenced off. They couldn't get out of it altogether, but they had plenty of room, yes, they had plenty of room. But it will likely be getting into disrepair now like every other thing. . . . It's never used as a stance now." Sadness and nostalgia for the past sometimes gently intrude into Dugald's recollections, but never for long. He quickly remembers his theme, and in imagination gathers his drove from the night's pasture and sets out briskly on the road.

On the third day the drove made its progress through Glen Finglas and over the Rest down to Loch Long and the stance on Stronafyne at Arrochar. The stance lies on the slope of the hill east of the head of the loch, behind the village. On the lower side it was limited by a wall, but above only by steep rocks. The drove road is still to be seen leaving the main road near the Roman Catholic church and re-emerging on the road to Tarbet a mile farther on. Mr. MacFarlane was the farmer at Stronafyne, and he was himself accustomed to buying young cattle from the islands at Oban for selling eighteen months later at the Falkirk Tryst. The route taken by the Stronafyne drove lay along the shores of Loch Long to Faslane, where Mr. MacFarlane's brother farmed, and then through Glen Fruin to Balloch and Larbert. After the decline of the Falkirk Tryst his droves went by the same route to the market at Stirling and continued to do so until 1916.¹⁵ Dugald MacDougall was himself familiar with this route, as an old friend of his, Dugald MacIntyre, recalls. The latter was taking the Poltalloch drove to the Falkirk Tryst in one of the last years of the Tryst, probably in 1900. He met Dugald MacDougall with the Barmolloch drove at the stance at Cairndow. Both were making for the Tryst, but Dugald MacDougall had cattle to pick up on the way and left a day before Dugald MacIntyre. But the latter reached Larbert first, for his friend had travelled

by the Loch Long-Glen Fruin route, picking up cattle from farms in Glen Douglas and probably, too, from Faslane. Farming connections of this kind continued frequently over many years and played no small part in deciding both the route and the halting places of the droves, and from year to year it might be varied in detail.

After a night on the Stronafyne stance, Dugald would usually take the road down the shores of Loch Lomond as did the Poltalloch drover. The road was rougher and slightly more undulating than it is at present, but easier on the feet of cattle than the modern road metal. Passing Firkin three miles south of Tarbet, where droves might be seen leaving their night's grazing, he carried on to where the road, in its winding course, turns away from the loch by the inn at Inverbeg and climbs steeply into "a fine glen they call Glen Douglas". "There's farms up there, and it's there we put the cattle that night." These were farms with which Barmolloch had business connections and where the drove would be reinforced with more beasts for the Tryst. Doune of Douglas farm is two miles along the glen and its spacious, well-walled enclosure by the river may often have provided the drove with a night's shelter and grazing. Higher up still is Invergroin, situated in the valley bottom, where a droving track from Arrochar drops down into Glen Douglas from between the great masses of Ben Reoch and Tullich Hill, to pass by Doune of Douglas, climb the slope to the south and descend to Luss by Glen Mallochan.

An experienced drover planned his journey carefully, and often put in a short day to rest his drove after a strenuous one and to refresh his beasts before a long trek.¹⁶ On the fifth day, after the relative ease of the previous one, Dugald brought his cattle down to the lochside road at the Inverbeg Inn. Here was a stance opposite the inn which had formerly been used when the ferry plied across the loch to Rowardennan, taking the Argyllshire cattle on the shortest route to the Tryst. Sometimes they were swum across, with two experienced cattle which were kept by the inn to lead them. But the ferry has gone beyond the memory of man, and survives only as a tradition in the locality. An old woman who died at Luss about 1952 at the age of 103 recollected her parents speaking of its existence.¹⁷

For Dugald and his uncles and their contemporaries the road to Falkirk Tryst stretched ahead through Luss and across

the River Leven. With his drove refreshed and eager for the road, Dugald made for Killearn, more than twenty miles distant. He preferred the Bonhill crossing and the old hill-track across the Cameron Muir rather than the bridge at Balloch and the Gartocharn road which was taken by the Poltalloch drove. Less than four miles beyond Bonhill and situated on the hill-road was the Merkins farm, where Mr. Anderson allowed the drove to stay on many occasions. Eighteen miles was sometimes enough for a day, but if the drove was going well Dugald carried on farther before halting. His younger, lighter beasts were more than a match for the Poltalloch four-year-olds, which took nine days on the journey. By the sixth night the Barmolloch drove was at Carron Bridge with "Laird Thomson as we called him". The old man, whom the drovers accorded a courtesy-title in virtue of his owning his land, never refused grazing to any of the family of his friend, Dugald's grandfather. It was but a short journey after this. By the evening of the seventh day the cattle from the Barmolloch farm had joined some thousands of others on the stance at Stenhouse Muir on the outskirts of Larbert, where the Falkirk Trysts were held. Dugald and his companions could leave them to rest after the arduous trek whilst they sought the hospitable house of Mr. Wilson, the blacksmith.

When the tryst opened on the Tuesday, buyers moved around the field to view the cattle, and the drovers showed off their stock to the best advantage. They kept the cattle "in a close bunch, and got them to move round like that. And the buyer was standing outside, and he was seeing them all as they were coming round. And if possible, if there was one that wasn't so good, it was try to keep that one in the middle, let the rest keep him out of sight. The buyer saw them all, but they were all on the outside." In the long run it was the quality of the cattle that counted, and the Barmolloch droves could compare with any cattle at the tryst. Buyers learned to know the reliable drover with good beasts and formed a business connection that might last for years. Dugald remembered well "a Mr. Carr from Yorkshire" who regularly bought their heifers to rear calves; "he took a one calf off them. Likely it would be a cross—it might be a shorthorn bull—and let them rear the calf and then fatten them off to kill them. . . . That was his rotation, buy more heifers when you sell off the ones you bought."

The bullocks were fetching around sixteen pounds, but

this was not clear profit; the expenses of the week's drove were to be deducted, and the buyer's luck-money, which amounted to a few pounds on the transaction (a custom still maintained and one which appears to have flourished in Knockbuy's day too).¹⁸ The buyer, when he finally accepted the drover's price, clapped the latter's outstretched hand. And "that", commented Dugald, as he smote his hands together with a resounding smack, "that was the bargain sealed; and it was as good as suppose it was in a lawyer's book when they struck hands".

When the cattle were sold, the Barmolloch men left for home, with money in their pockets for the next year's stock. But as the train carried them, at a speed considerably faster than they could walk, to Glasgow for the Ardrishaig steamer, the MacLellan brothers must have wondered how much longer the Falkirk Tryst could go on. In 1873 the railway line fingered its way up from Callander as far as Killin; two years later it had reached Tyndrum, Dalmally in 1877, and on 30th June 1880, Oban and the coast.¹⁹ The progress of the railway meant the decline of the drover's craft. Cattle were conveyed from the most distant points to Larbert in a day. In the last years of the century, droves of a hundred and fifty or two hundred cattle were being driven from Kilchamaig farm on the west coast of Kintyre by Loch Awe to Dalmally. Here they were loaded into ten trucks, specially ordered by Turner, "the Kintyre cattle-king", for transporting to Larbert.²⁰ But the older-fashioned drovers continued to walk the cattle all the way, and Dugald and his uncles were at the Falkirk Tryst in the last years of the eighteen-nineties.

With the coming of railway communications, a new phenomenon made its appearance in Scotland's country towns, the auctioneer and the auction sale. Oban was a mere two days' trek from Barmolloch. Even the MacLellans took to selling at the new Oban market in their latter years. The end of the Falkirk Tryst came in 1901, and since then the race of drovers has virtually disappeared in Argyll. At Barmolloch, Dugald's cousins discontinued the old uncles' cattle-dealing business. The tryst ground at Larbert has been turned into a golf-course. The drove-roads are a thing of the past.

Yet it is still common to meet men of middle age who took part in droving cattle to local auction sales before cattle-trucks became widely used. The Poltalloch cattle took two days on the road to Oban, spending a night at Guilfail, and beasts

from Eilean Rìgh in Loch Craignish were swum across to join the drove, whilst until the late war droves from Kilberry were making the three-day trek to Oban.²¹

Dugald MacDougall came of a long-lived family. He himself, at the age of ninety, could well have been taken for a man twenty years younger, and that in spite of the rheumatic pains in his legs. These he would refer to, with a wry smile, as "the disabilities of age and the end of the journey". His four bachelor-uncles, the MacLellans, all lived beyond four-score years. His grandfather "was ninety-four or ninety-five when he died, and he wouldn't have died then but he fell". On a wild, stormy day in August 1956, in his ninety-first year, Dugald went to Oban to be presented to the Queen. It was a proud moment for him. He told her about his droving days and the many trysts that he attended. Three months later he made the recording. By the Spring he was dead. Dugald MacDougall was as full of wisdom and kindness as he was of years. The week he died he set his affairs in order with his usual serenity, like a drover coming to a tryst.

NOTES

My thanks are due to Mrs. Ann MacDougall for making it possible to record her father and for permission to publish the material; to Dr. Iain MacCammond for help in recording; and to Sir George Campbell of Succoth, Bt., whose original suggestion led me to the drover's house. For access to the Kilberry and Knockbuy papers, and for permission to use them in the preparation of this article as well as for her kindness in drawing my attention to much relevant material in them, I am indebted to Miss Campbell of Kilberry. I am grateful to my wife for the initial maps (based on Haldane) and to Miss Isabel Catto for assistance with the transcription. The photograph on Pl. XIII is by J. Munro.

¹ Typical entries are:—"two coves to the Grieffe drove, £33.6.8." (1728) "allowd this day 24 Decr. 1735 of the price of Coves given in to the Drove, £12.7.4."; "by a cove given to McKinley with the Drove went to Glasgow, £16.0.0." (1728); "allowd her son [Widow McIllevin's] a crown I owed him when out at the Falkirk Tryst and payd today 2 lib 14 sh. 4d." (1732).

² Knockbuy Papers, accounts dated May 1739 to 20th March 1740. The outlay on buying 3323 cattle was £5482.17.2½. 1342 were kept for wintering and the rest sold. Knockbuy's accounts for the 1981 cattle which were sold are of interest. The number lost by accident or sickness during the long journeys is remarkably small; only ten proved totally unsaleable.

	Numbers	£. s. d.
Sold to my L. Ross at 30 Sh each	9	13.10. 0.
Sold at the July Tryst 1739	147	294. 0. 0.
To my L. Elphinston	10	17.10. 0.
Sold by Inverawe in England of Conjunct Cattle	666	1607.13.11.
Sold at Creif by Knockbuy of Do.	1127	2254. 0. 0.
Sold by Castle Stewart of the 9 that were left lame on the English road at Ninive [[?] Moniaive]	7	9. 0. 0.
To 4 Stotes of the Conjunct Catle put in Knockbuy's own drove to make up his numbers	4	9. 0. 0.
To 2 Stotes that dyed, one at Falkirk, Sold by James Campbell, the other in Larigdochart, Sold by Do. McKeck, both for	2	1. 5. 0.
Dy'd at Portaskaig 2, of the Mull Stotes 2, in Lincoln Shyre 1 left rot'n, in all	5	
Dy'd at Ninive	2	
Lost of the Numr gon to Creif marcat	1	
	1980	4205.19. 5.
Sold lame for 10 lib Scots inde	1	— .16. 8.
	1981	4206.16. 1.

Knockbuy reckons the total outlay on buying and transporting the 1981 cattle at £3809.4.10½. The nett profit is stated as £387.11.2½.

- Sinclair 1791-98, Argyll parishes; Sir James Fergusson; Knockbuy rentals and papers; Kilberry rentals; Report 1884 (for Duncan Forbes's account, 1737); Colville 1958.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Dukes of Argyll are found playing an important and often a leading role in the economic development of the county. Duncan Forbes's visit to Tiree and Mull in 1737 on behalf of the 2nd Duke marks an extension to these islands of a policy of agricultural reform that bore hard on the higher tenants, the tacksmen, but laid the foundations of improvement by granting longer leases to working farmers. The enterprises of the 3rd Duke (1743-61) and the 5th Duke (1770-1806) created at Inveraray a new castle and town, a noble park, and roads, bridges and plantations. From 1770, new leases for farms on the estate incorporated certain improvements as a condition of tenancy, and officials known as "improvers" were employed to advise the Duke and the tenants. But in some directions Archibald Campbell, whose long life (1693-1790) spanned the greater part of the eighteenth century, was ahead of his noble neighbours, and especially in cattle-breeding. His experience in enclosing land at Minard, in breeding selectively for better types of horses and cattle, and in making use (from 1740) of such techniques as "speaving" poorer beasts (an idea that he picked up from Galloway land-owners) is discussed by him in a letter that he addressed to Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff Depute and Justice Depute of Argyll, on February 1744. The original of this highly interesting letter is among the Stonefield papers at Register House, and a copy exists at Kilberry Castle. It was written with the intention that it

should be brought to the notice of the new (i.e. 3rd) Duke. Knockbuy stresses the importance of enclosing ground as "absolutely necessary" to any improvements in stock, and advises that the enclosures at Inveraray should be employed as a kind of nursery, supplying "the Gentlemen of the Shire" with carefully bred animals, which "would soon spread a breed of fine black cattle over the whole shire". A similar plan might be applied to horses. Knockbuy's recommendations range widely over the economic field. It would be interesting to learn precisely what direct influence they had on the Duke. It is surprising that he makes no allusion to potatoes. As early as 1735 this new crop, which was to play so great a part in the future development of the Highlands, appears in Knockbuy's rentals as an item in the payment of rents, and in 1736 the entry against the name of one tenant on the Kilberry estate (Knockbuy was one of the guardians and executors for the heir Colin, 7th of Kilberry)—"to John McVretnie for Seed Butatos £4"—makes it clear and beyond doubt that potatoes were being cultivated. Archibald Campbell married Grizel, daughter of the 5th Kilberry, and their grandson eventually succeeded to Kilberry in 1798 on the death of Colin, the last of the old line of Kilberry.

- ⁴ MacDonald notes: "So lately as 30 years ago the general average of the cattle of Skye and Mull brought as high prices as those of Islay; but for the last ten years these two islands have sold their cattle at an average of £6, while that of Islay has been £8.10.0.: and the highest price obtained for whole parcels or droves have been frequently in the proportion of two to one." (1811: 423-4).
- ⁵ Tenants with the specific title of drovers first appear in the rentals in 1764, when Tunns is "sett to Patrick McKellar, Drover, a seven years tack . . . £25.0.0." In 1781 Charles Young, drover, rented Achaghoile at Minard, for £58.13.6d. and Upper Carron for £15.2.0. In the same year John McKellar, drover, rented Achabhialich and Kilmichaelbeg for £73.5.6. In 1760 these two farms had been in the hands of nine tenants at rents totalling £35.15.10. Much of the increase in rent would be due to the introduction of sheep. They first make their appearance in large numbers in 1762, when the laird commenced sheep-farming. I have no direct evidence that the drovers took up sheep-farming, but it is not unlikely that they used their higher ground for sheep. Lowland sheep-masters made several attempts to rent farms from Knockbuy in the seventies, but he resisted their offers, as he was not sure of their financial standing (Knockbuy Papers). He proved wise in the event, as most of them appear to have gone bankrupt in the period of the American War of Independence. (Sinclair 1794 [XIII]:655). On one occasion a drover prevented a sheepmaster gaining entry to a farm:—"North Moninirnich set to Lanarkmen but possessed violently by Patrick McKellar, Drover, who suspended my charge of removal which I have not discussed. The rent Patrick paid before was £28.2.0. but the new rent is £41 besides fox-money." (Knockbuy Rentals 1770).

Knockbuy, on the evidence of his letter of 2nd February 1744, was already looking ahead to the day when sheep stocks in Argyll might be made more profitable. But there was one great obstacle.

. . . "Till the fox is destroyed on the continent of Argyllshire, as in the Isles thair of, their can be very little improvement to be made of our sheep." Nevertheless he advises breeding from good rams and commends the proprietors "to be att pains to understand the methods us'd by the most considerable sheep stockers in the Low Country".

- The only good cattle raised in North Knapdale, at the period when the drover brothers were operating, were those of the tacksmen. The cattle of the small tenants were "scraggy and impoverished beasts" (Sinclair 1793 [VI]:263). They must have been poor indeed if a three or four year old weighing 360 to 400 lb. was esteemed good (Smith 1805:251). But the brothers would be dealing in the island cattle also. It should be noted, in further explanation of the story told by Dugald, that agreements made at this period between drovers and farmers were often of a fairly elastic type. Farmers might sell to drovers at a certain price but stipulate that the drovers should pay them more if prices at the tryst were higher than those agreed upon (Haldane 1952:28).
- 7 A story which Dugald told about his uncle Hugh MacLellan, unfortunately not recorded in sound, described Hugh coming with cattle over the Colintraive ferry. The cattle were frightened by the noise of their hooves on the wooden pier and scattered. They were lost for some time. Hugh sent a telegram home to Barmolloch: "Cattle retreated. Hugh defeated. Send reinforcements." Hugh MacLellan, I am told by Mrs. Ann MacDougall, was not a man to be easily beaten.
- The road to Lagg was building and still incomplete in 1805. The chief proprietor, Campbell of Jura, challenged the right of Campbell of Islay to use the new road for the passage of his cattle to the ferry at Lagg, alleging that his droves were entitled to use the old hill-track only. Campbell of Islay, when he sold his estate in Jura to this proprietor, had made it a condition that the ferry charges from Islay to Jura and from Jura to the mainland should not be altered without his assent. He had not, however, foreseen what the consequences of his own improvements might be. MacDonald, in a footnote in the Appendix to his *General View*, 618-9, brings these out significantly: "In former times, the cattle exported from Islay for the mainland markets, were never strong enough for the journey until the middle of June, the driest and best season of the year. They were then driven by herdsman thro' Jura by a hill-road (the shortest possible way) which went between the back of the farms, which are all on the eastern shore, and the mountainous ridge which occupies the middle and western parts of the island. They had freedom of pasturage gratis . . . during this journey. [This was one of the rights he reserved at the time of the sale.] In consequence, however, of the late improvements carried on in Islay, the cattle of the proprietors and tenants are much earlier ready for the market than June, and indeed, are exported all the year round; and they are also much heavier and more unwieldy than they were in former times, and consequently cannot travel along the hill road."

The following items, from the Knockbuy cattle-dealing accounts in 1739-40 refer to Islay:—



Dugald MacDougall at about 80 years of age.

Bought from Shawfield 343 Stotes at 30 Sh. pr.

peice and one at Ilay at 16 Sh. 8 p.

344 515. 6. 8.

Bought from Sundries in Ilay in May, 1739

369 532. 8. 5½

Their fferrieing from Ilay to Jura

5. 2. 4½

Their proportion of £13.15.11 of Charges

3.15.11.

- 9 Information from Col. George Malcolm of Poltalloch and Mr. John MacLachlan, Poltalloch. The latter recalls that a right to free grazing existed also on the greens at Kilmartin and Ford.
- 10 Some of the trysts appear in this almanac of 1916 as still regulated by the Julian Calendar. Strontian, for example, falls on the Friday following the third Thursday in June, Old Style. For drovers and farmers accustomed to the New Style the day would be a Tuesday instead of a Friday. Gaelic speaking Argyllshire people know Falkirk as *An Eaglais Bhreac* "the speckled church", and one man over ninety applied this term to the Falkirk Tryst itself.
- 11 The divergence of the new road from the old is particularly noticeable a quarter of a mile south of Inverbeg Inn; the latter crosses a crumbling eighteenth century bridge and climbs the slope of the hill whilst the new road follows a course nearer the loch.
- 12 I omitted to question Dugald MacDougall about the first night's halt, but his daughter believes that it was at Brenachaille farm which lies beside the old hill-road a mile from its junction with the main road. Another informant, Dugald MacIntyre, made use of this stance for a Poltalloch drove about 1900, and thinks it probable that Dugald stayed there on occasions. However, drovers often varied their halts, and Duncan MacColl, now of Crarae, for many years farmer at Claonairi, near Inveraray, believes that he sometimes used the stance on the farm of Auchnagoul, which lies on the slope above the Bridge of Douglas. The last drove he recollects there was from Turner's farm at Kilchamaig near Whitehouse, Kintyre. Archie Campbell, Arrochar, mentioned in the text, also tells of staying a night at Auchnagoul with the drove from Oban. He recollects, too, that Auchindrain, which lies at the junction of the hill road and the Inveraray main road, was used by drovers and that the drovers' payments helped the crofters there to pay their rent.
- 13 Information regarding the right of grazing cattle at Inveraray from Mr. Donald McKechnie, Bridge of Douglas, who further informs me that this right applied to the Cross Green and survived well into the nineteenth century.
- 14 The drovers won their action against the Earl of Breadalbane for interrupting the stance rights on the Moor of Rannoch in the Court of Session in 1848, but the decision of this court was reversed on appeal to the House of Lords.
- 15 Information from Mr. Archie Campbell, Arrochar, aged 56.
- 16 Dugald MacIntyre, Lochgilphead, aged 81 or 82, who took Poltalloch cattle to Falkirk, describes this as common practice.
- 17 Informant, Robert Kerr, aged 69, inn-keeper at Inverbeg. He was brought up in Glen Fruin and was formerly the policeman at Luss.
- 18 In 1739 Knockbuy purchased "from Duchra, including ½ Crown Lucks penny, 41 cattle £63.10.10".

- ¹⁹ Information from Mr. Alan Cameron, editor of the *Oban Times*.
- ²⁰ Information from Duncan Currie, Tibertich, retired shepherd aged, 78. Mr. Currie went with Kilchamaig cattle to the Falkirk Tryst, and was present at the last market in 1901. He saw railway trains and Glasgow for the first time, and with immense enjoyment, on this occasion. His father, at one time a Mull shepherd, had accompanied droves of cattle from Falkirk Tryst into England.
- ²¹ Informants, Miss Campbell of Kilberry and Mr. John MacLachlan, Poltalloch.

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SOME TRADITIONAL TECHNIQUES IN MODERN SCOTTISH FARMING

Ian Whitaker*

The popular conception of the Scottish Gaidhealtachd—the Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands—is that of a backwater, still largely “unspoilt by civilisation”, which is perhaps only now being brought “into line” with modern technological developments.¹ Such a view, in its over-simplification of a complex situation, is all too often coloured by a certain romanticism and is, of course, wide of the truth. The most prominent feature of life in the Gaidhealtachd is the crofting system. There are many sides to the present-day problems affecting crofting, and these can and should be studied from the viewpoints of several disciplines: in particular by the geographer, the economist, the rural sociologist and the anthropologist; each of them has a valid contribution to make. A paper of this nature, however, precludes a satisfactory investigation from all these angles. I propose, therefore, to limit myself to a study of one or two aspects of farming in the Gaidhealtachd and the Northern Islands from a strictly anthropological point of view.

At the outset it must be admitted that, seen from the strictest principles of agricultural economics, the crofting system is extremely uneconomic. Any system of smallholding which is not bolstered up by agricultural co-operatives, whether of the Scandinavian variety or like the Soviet *kolkhoz*, is bound to be wasteful to a greater or lesser degree; Scotland is no exception to this rule. The cost of modern agricultural machinery is beyond the means of the crofter, and in any case the size of the average holding could not justify the individual ownership of all the improved types of implement now in use on larger farms to the south.² The essential point is the absence of a co-operative system. The crofting economy is one of the

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most individualistic forms of society still surviving, and it is important that there has never, with one brief exception (Crowley 1956), been any attempt to support it by the creation of an agrarian political movement devoted to the interests of the smallholder. The reasons for this lack of a political organ lie, in my view, in the system of values which distinguish the Gaelic crofter from, say, the smallholder of the Danish islands. Scottish crofting, in both the Gaidhealtachd and to a slightly lesser degree in Shetland and the Orkney Islands, appears to be founded on the principle that the crofter can manage perfectly well on his own without any governmental or other control of his activities although, of course, inducements in specific directions in the form of cash subsidies are not to be ignored. This value-system peculiar to the region pervades the whole crofting problem, yet it is frequently ignored by the Southron pedlars of panaceas who so often seize upon the crofter as requiring salvation at the hands of the planners.³

To an anthropologist it is a truism to suggest that the value-system of a community must be taken into account when considering the mechanics of the community's economy or its network of social relations; yet the innumerable people who every year refer to the "habitual or inherent laziness of the Hebridean" fail to realise that the same Hebridean's set of values differs from their own.⁴ Time is not money in the Gaelic value-system, and money is anyway not necessarily the most desirable acquisition. For this reason the retention of implements that are technically less efficient than their mass-produced counterparts is not necessarily a reflection of laziness or conservatism or primitiveness or even of poverty: it is only that the benefits that their replacement by equipment that is technically more efficient might bring, are not benefits in the scale of values of the crofter. I must apologise if I labour this point, but it is, I think, the root of the so-called "crofting problem". As the historian Collingwood observed (1946:xii), ethical theories (and indeed value-systems) differ, but none is therefore erroneous, because any ethical theory is an attempt to state the kind of life regarded as worth aiming at, and the question always arises, by whom?

There are, therefore, specifically cultural reasons for the retention of implements and, indeed, of the whole crofting system. It is not my purpose here to discuss the extent to which they can be reconciled with the value-system which is generally accepted by the rest of the country; I merely wish to point to

its existence, which itself explains the retention of various farming techniques that elsewhere are considered outmoded, and as such have been replaced by the inventions of modern agricultural science.

Perhaps the most archaic implement still in use is the *cas chrom*, or crooked spade, used in some parts of the Hebrides instead of a plough. The use of the spade as the principal implement of tillage was universal throughout the peripheral parts of Scotland until the invention of improved types of plough, although latterly local types of wooden plough were evolved, and used side by side with the spade (Jirlow & Whitaker 1957:71-5). In the northern islands, that is in Orkney and Shetland, tilling with a spade, or delving, was frequently done by a team, which might vary from eight to four people, all standing shoulder to shoulder (Plate XIV: fig. 1; O'Dell 1939:59-60; Waterston 1946:115 and plate opp. p. 113; Jamieson 1949:193-5). The crofter of the land being tilled stood on the left, and he set the pace, the team working at an even speed and delving from right to left. The spade used was long in the shaft, and very light (Shirreff 1814:36). In 1804 it was estimated that some nine-tenths of the tillage of Shetland was performed with the spade, the plough being quite unknown in some parts of that county, such as Mid and South Yell and Foula (Friend 1804:12; Sinclair, Sir J. 1791:574; Low 1879:97). In Orkney it must be supposed that the plough was more widely used by that time, but in the eighteenth century delving was probably more common (cf. Hepburn, 1760:10). Even in the island of Stroma, technically in Caithness, the plough was unknown as late as 1774 (Low 1879:15; cf. Macfarlane 1906:152; Pennant 1771:154).

On the mainland, as in the Hebrides, the *cas chrom* was used rather than a more orthodox type of spade.⁵ The manual implement did, of course, allow the cultivation of much smaller plots of land than would a horse-drawn plough, and in addition more stony soil could be tackled without the danger of smashed mouldboards (Newte 1791:410). For this reason the *cas chrom* was still being used at the end of the last century in the steeper parts of Knoidart, Arisaig and Moidart, and it is questionable if even the most up-to-date ploughs could till some of these areas as effectively (Anon. 1898:67). In the past the *cas chrom* was used for the first two ploughings of land reclaimed from peat-mosses in Wester Ross, and even later when horse-drawn ploughs were used a man with a *cas chrom* might often follow

the plough, turning over those parts which the horse-drawn implement missed, or slices of earth which had fallen back into the furrow (Mackenzie, G. S. 1810:238, 249-50). Nevertheless the superiority of the *cas chrom* to the plough in rocky terrain cannot explain the almost complete absence of the plough in some areas: thus in Assynt in 1812 there were not above six horse-drawn ploughs (Henderson 1812:57); and in the parish of Uig and Lochs in Lewis there was not a single one (Macdonald, J. 1811:151; cf. Walker 1904:127). In later times when evictions were taking place and there was appreciable land-hunger, the crofter would not tolerate the wastage at the edges of fields ploughed by horses—the part known in the Gaelic of Bernera, Lewis, as *ceann-sguire* (Macdonald, D. 1946:43). The principal economic advantage of the *cas chrom* is that it delves deeper than the plough, which seldom reaches more than four inches in some places, and therefore results in “an impenetrable solidity of ploughpan”, remedied only by double ploughing or by the *cas chrom* (Mackenzie, W. 1930:31). This deeper tilling is alleged to result in appreciably better crops—the eighteenth-century economist Walker determined that a boll of bere, a grain akin to barley formerly much cultivated, yielded twelve-fold when raised with the plough, but sixteen-fold when raised with the *cas chrom*. At the same time he admitted that the third crop after the plough was always better than the third crop after the *cas chrom*, and he also calculated that the plough (at that time operated by three men) tilled the same area in a given time as twelve men working with the *cas chrom* (Walker 1918:119; cf. Wylie 1930:21).

This brings me back to the question of values. In the past time was not considered to be a commodity with any monetary worth, even assuming that it could in fact be realised in the form of wages, and this factor certainly accounts for the continuing use of the less efficient *cas chrom* or a more orthodox spade-type in the south right up to the period when a money-economy was introduced. In Midlothian delving with a spade is reported as late as 1706 in a field sown with hemp (Foulis of Ravelston 1894:422); in Renfrewshire the spade was generally used some eighty years previously⁶ (Macdonald, A. 1835:193); whilst in Dunbarton, a county which retained several archaic forms of implement, such as the harrow, right into the nineteenth century, the isolated smaller patches of land were certainly still being tilled by spade to the very end of the eighteenth century (Ure 1794:39-40; Whyte & Macfarlan

1811:71; cf. Whitaker 1958:159). The spade in use was, however, not the *cas chrom*, but a more normal type akin to the *cas dhireach*,⁷ which was recorded from more northerly parts into this century, but now seems to have fallen entirely out of use. The *cas chrom* has survived longest. Although the agriculturalist James Macdonald wrote in 1811 that "It would be cruel and unwise to insist upon tenants relinquishing this tool all at once" (1811:131), it seems to have survived in the Gaidhealtachd almost as long as the Gaelic language itself. Thus in Fortingall in Perthshire it was used in the wilder parts in the eighteenth century (Stewart, A. 1928:166, 177); only in Arran does it seem to have been lacking (Headrick 1807:316-17). Of course in many parts where hand-tillage survives the *cas chrom* has been abandoned for the less effective orthodox spade—this is the case in Barra, Eriskay, probably also in South Uist, Benbecula, North Uist and Bernera, as well as in the greater part of Harris and Skye (Buchanan 1942:136; Hobson 1949:77; Pochin Mould 1953:83; MacNeice 1939:68, 70; Caird 1951:89; Mackenzie, W. 1930:93; cf. Martin 1703:43). Nevertheless I have received three first-hand accounts of the use of the *cas chrom* in the spring of this year (1958) from Scarpay (Harris), from the north end of Raasay, and from Àrd Dorch, Strath, Skye.⁸ I am sure that we are witnessing the death of this age-old implement, and with it is going one of the important features of the Gaelic value-system: the concept that time does not matter.

I must, however, pass on to another aspect of farming in this region, which is also on the verge of extinction: the transhumance cycle known in Scots as the shieling system. Basically speaking it is a movement of the cattle away from the infields round the settlement up into the hills, where they spend the larger part of the summer. This allows the grain crops to ripen without danger of being trampled down by cattle, and at the same time affords the cattle fresh untouched pasture away from the often overgrazed area near the crofts. In the period of extreme land-hunger, when the size of the croft was below subsistence level, there was some cultivation at the shieling as well (Mackellar 1889:141), but this was exceptional, and to some extent vitiated the purpose of the shieling.

In the historical period there is no doubt that the shieling system was widespread throughout the Gaidhealtachd. Earlier than 1500 documents do not give complete coverage for the whole country, although there is ample evidence that shielings

PLATE XIV

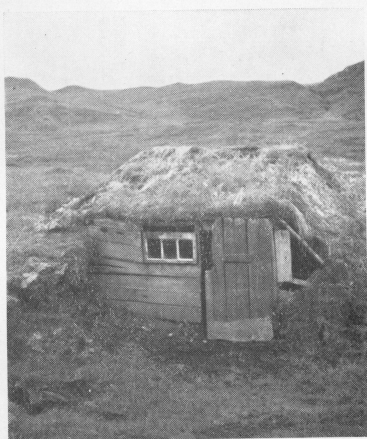


FIG. 1 (above)—Delving, Shetland, late nineteenth century.
FIGS. 2 and 3 (below)—Henhouses, Braes district of Skye.

were to be found over a much wider area than in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Ailred of Rievaulx in his *Life of St. Ninian* mentions shepherds' huts, which he calls in Latin *tuguria*, in Galloway (1874:16, 148). Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba* says that the cattle on Iona were grazed on the eastern part of the island, milk being taken by packhorse

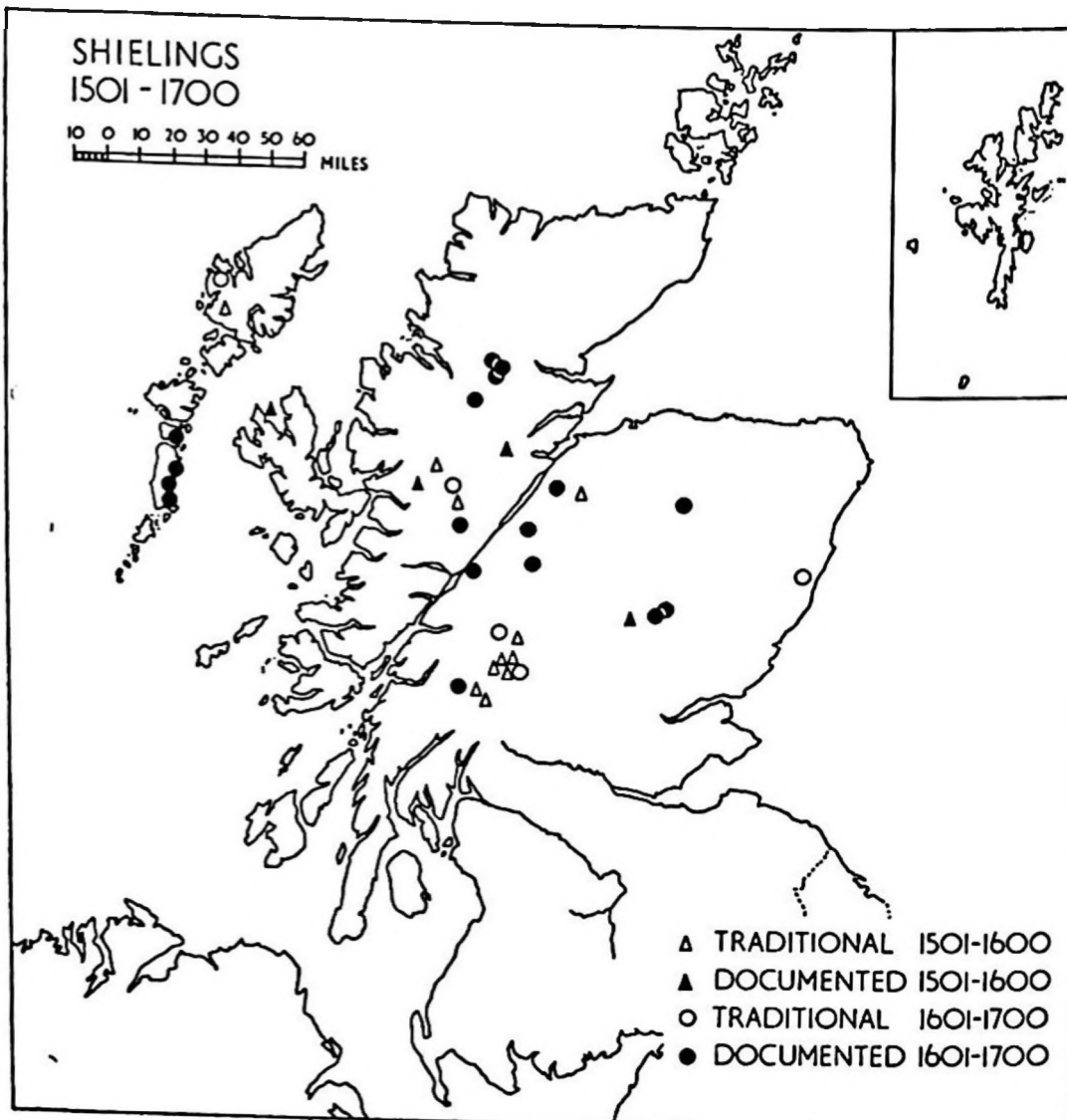


FIG. 1.

to the monastery (1874:96, 212). A shieling named Ásgrimserg—probably the modern Assery between Forsie and Loch Calder in Caithness—was the scene of a murder in 1158, according to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, and there was another in use at Þórsdalr (Thurso Dale) that same year (Taylor, A. B. 1938:333, 337, 402-3, 405). There are several Scottish charters of the 12th century relating to southern Scotland which mention among grants of land a unit or denomination called in Latin *scalinga*, which is believed to be either a shepherd's hut or a shieling

(cf. Innes 1837:101, 1843:18, 1846:259; Lindsay, Dowden & Thomson 1908:153); and indeed there are some signs of transhumance having been practised in the Pentland Hills outside Edinburgh (Fenton 1951a:89, 1951b:107).

Certainly there is scarcely an upland part of the historical Gaidhealtachd that does not have some tradition of use as a

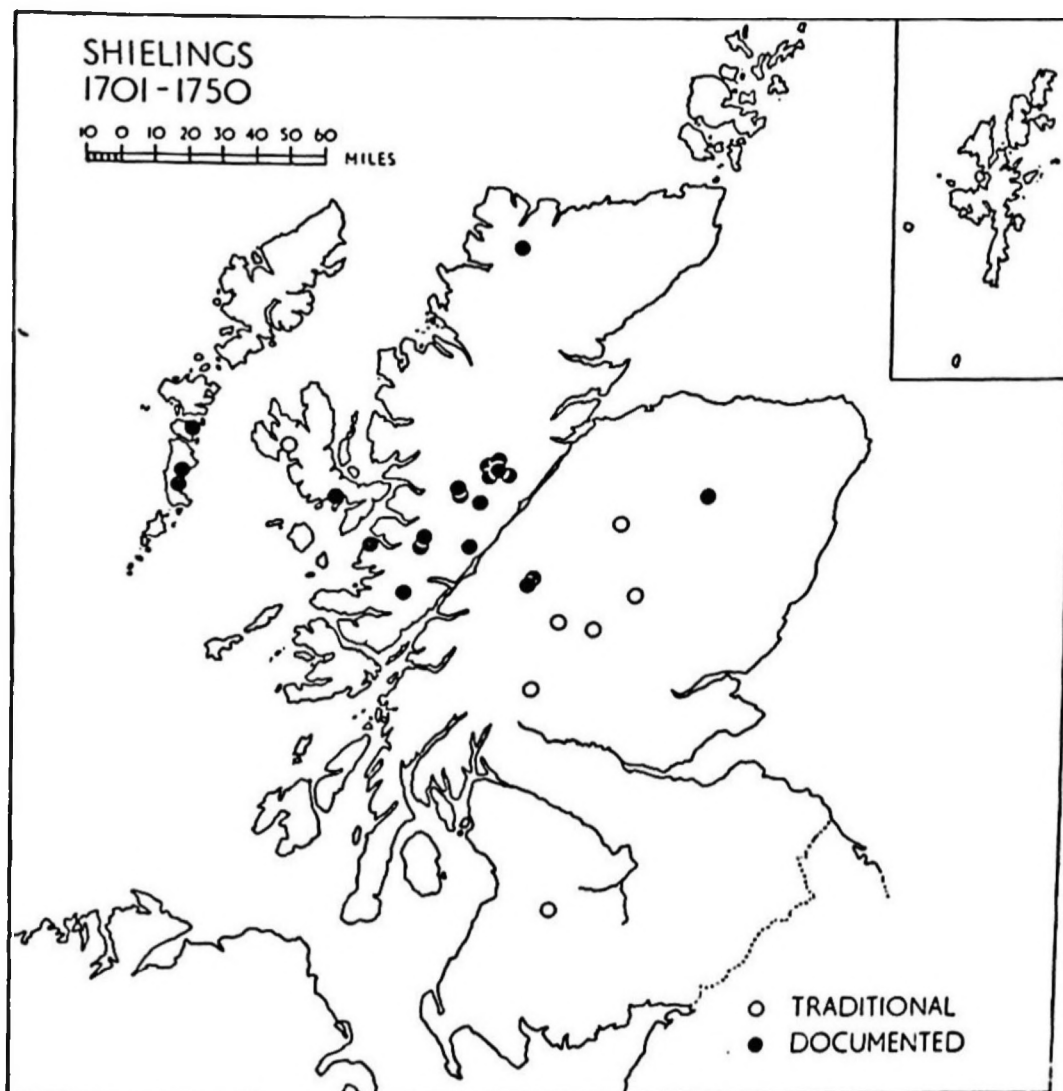


FIG. 2.

shieling associated with it. On our first map (fig. 1) ⁹ I have marked some of the sites for which we have definite traditions that can be dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by reference to some historical personage, and I think we can take these points as definite shieling-sites at this period. There are also marked other sites for which we have more legally acceptable documentation, from charters, grants of land and so forth. Of course our map is by no means complete. Precise references to the sites of shielings are comparatively rare, and for every datable instance we have six with no exact date, and for each

one with a precise geographical location we have several that cannot be placed on the map, being described as "in Glen Lyon" or "by the Moor of Rannoch" and so forth. This map, and the succeeding ones, are also restricted by the fact that they are drawn up from one man's reading; were the whole of Scottish topographical literature to be systematically scoured

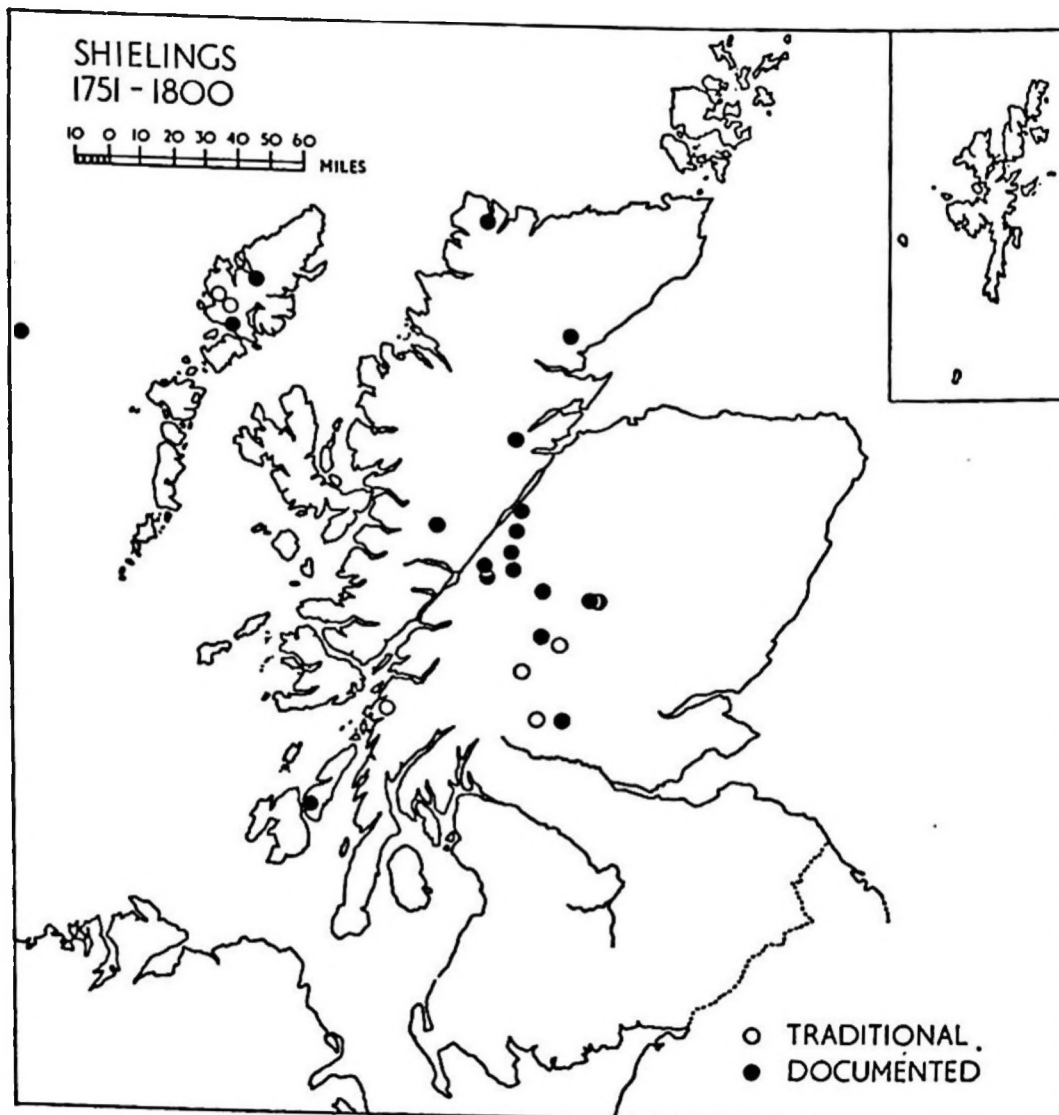


FIG. 3.

there would be many more sites marked on our map. These maps are therefore to be taken as indications of the scatter of shieling sites, and not as a final list of all such places. You will see that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were shielings in Perthshire and Angus, as well as a considerable concentration in central Inverness-shire.

In the period 1701 to 1750 (fig. 2), which is well documented because of the many accounts of experiences during the '45, there were still many shielings in use in Perthshire, and even

in Aberdeenshire, as well as one rather dubious instance reported from Ayrshire (Lebon 1952:105). Indeed, during the mopping-up process after the '45 the absence of the Highlanders at their shielings meant that they were not subject to Government coercion during the summer months (Dickson 1895:278).

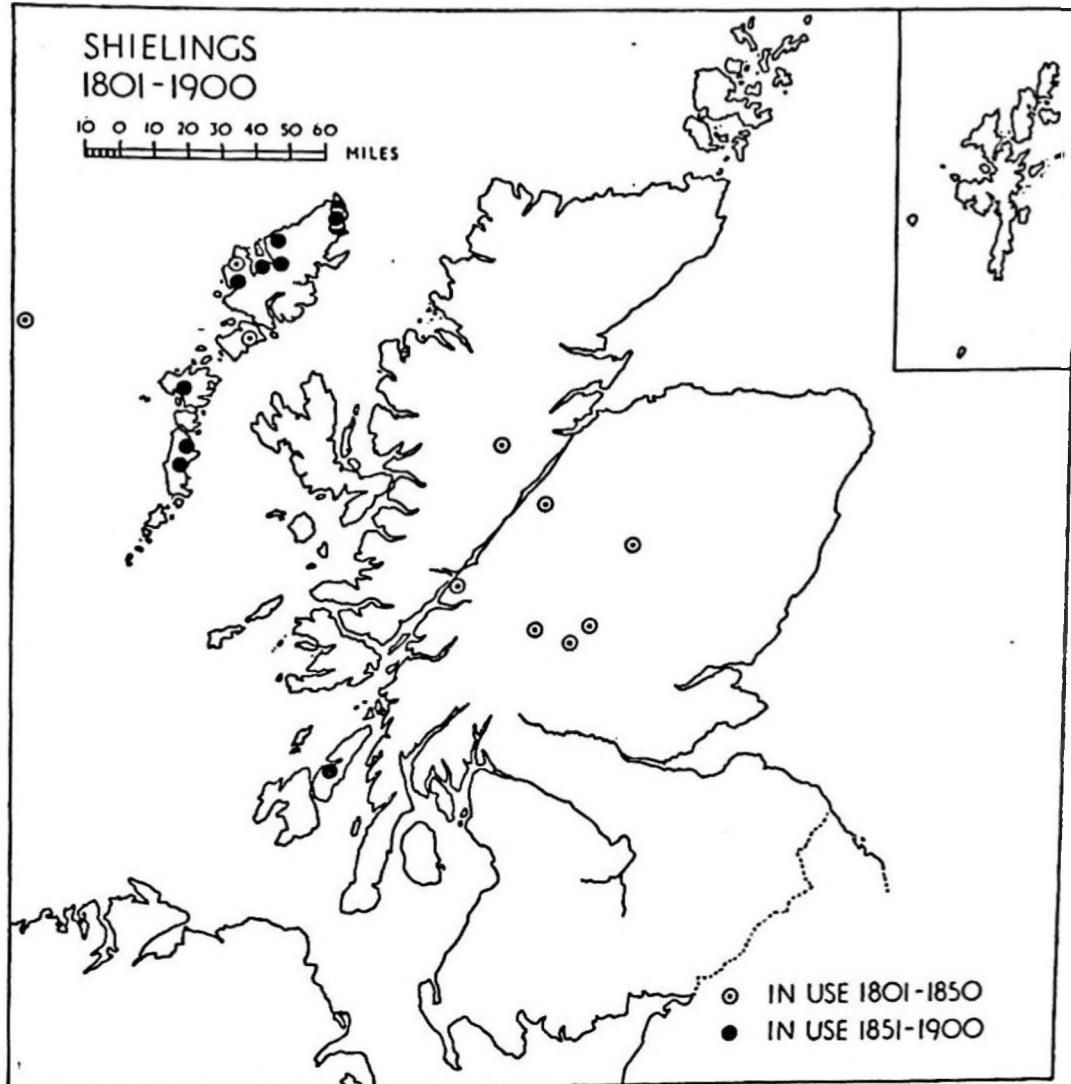


FIG. 4.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, however (fig. 3), the scatter of shielings has begun to shrink appreciably, although there is better documentation from central Inverness-shire and Perthshire, explicable by the greater number of travellers' accounts relating to this period. In the nineteenth century (fig. 4) there are still some mainland shielings reported in the first half, but by the second half they are only to be found in the islands, and more particularly in the Outer Hebrides—the Long Island. In the first half of the present century (fig. 5) this trend has continued, although in fact there

has been a continual shrinkage of the shieling area not easily demonstrated cartographically, so that now only in Lewis is the transhumance cycle in operation at all. It is significant that in Lewis the shieling survives because it provides the opportunity for social intercourse—the move is still the occasion for some slight festivity. In Lewis shieling huts are still being built; I have seen one which was built as recently as

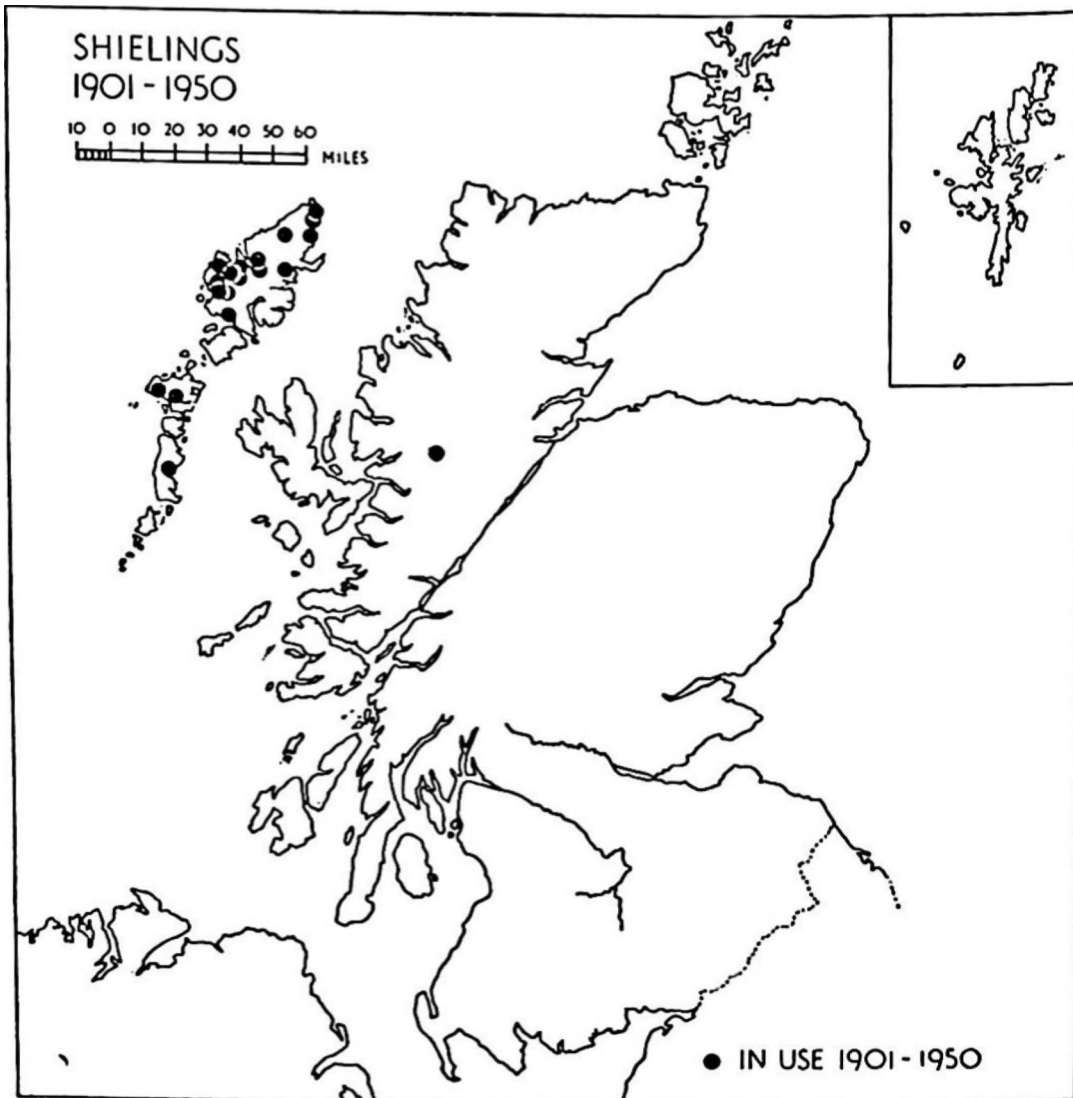


FIG. 5.

1950. With the abandonment elsewhere of the migration to the shielings there has been a parallel decline in the composition of songs associated with the shielings,¹⁰ which cannot fail to be reflected in a changing song-culture; for as one writer has said, "The sheiling was the nursery ground of the love-song" (Gunn 1891:60). The absence of the people from their crofts in the cramped surroundings of the shieling must have played a significant part in the dissemination of their folk-lore,¹¹ a factor now absent from all but Lewis.

One form of modified migration does still survive to a much larger extent than the shieling system: I refer to the custom of pasturing cattle and sheep on otherwise uninhabited islands (fig. 6). This practice, of course, can only occur in the littoral regions. It is one that does, however, stretch back at least to the early sixteenth century, if not earlier (cf. Dowden 1903:3).

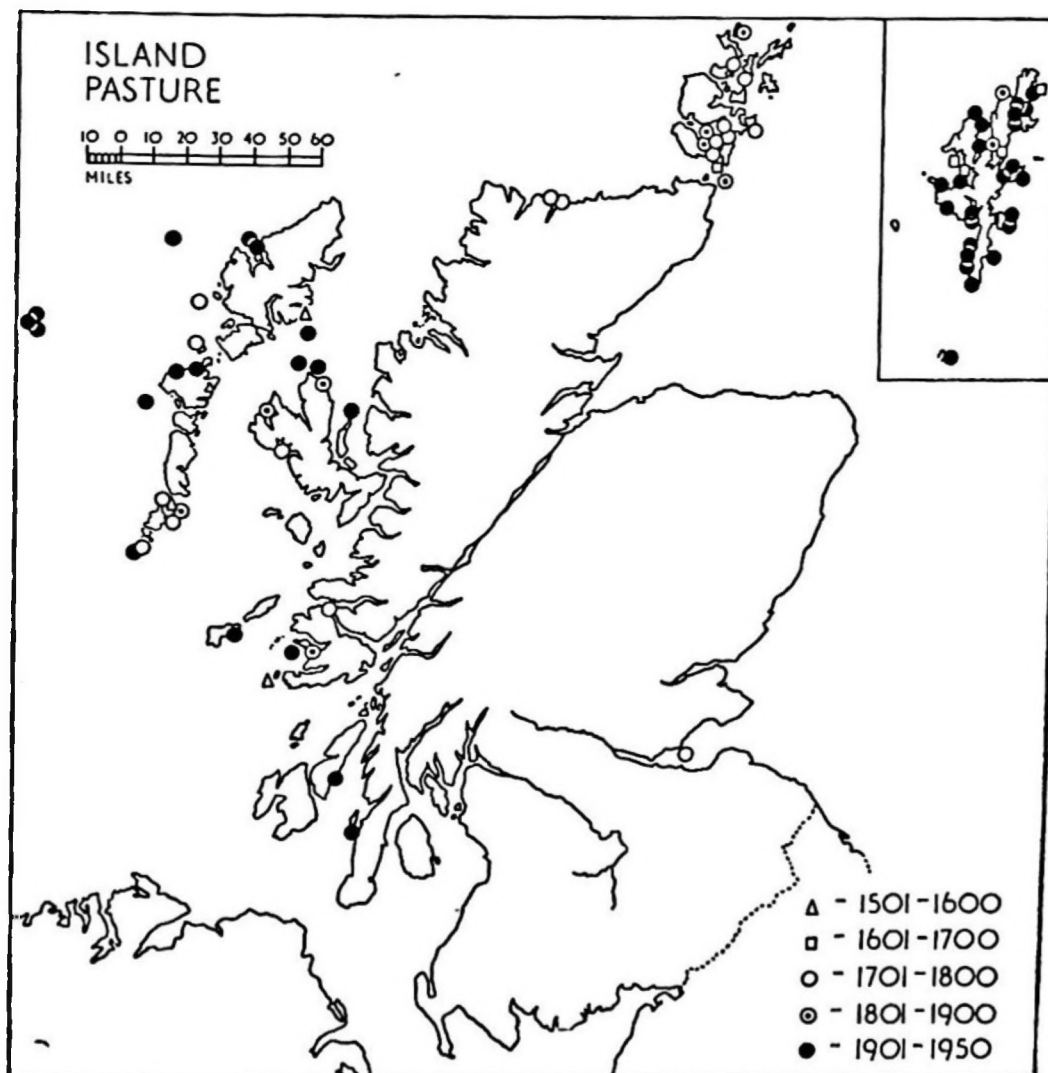


FIG. 6.

It has been particularly widespread in Orkney and Shetland, where in fact there is no evidence of a shieling system in later times, although it is well documented in place-names from the Norse period.¹² In Orkney and Shetland even quite small holms have been used for a very few cattle or sheep, generally placed there in the spring and removed, often with considerable difficulty and only after some excellent seamanship, towards the autumn. In areas where upland summer pasture such as was elsewhere used for shielings is not to be

found, it is an interesting alternative, and an important one since it obviates overstocking. Even in the Hebrides, however, where appropriate inland areas for summer pasture are to hand, the use of outlying islands has continued well into the present century, and in some parts to the present day. The retention of these islands for pasture, especially when more accessible inland pasture is available, is partly explained by the fact that whilst the livestock is on the islands no continual supervision is required, since there is no danger of straying. But some peninsulas might also satisfy this requirement. I think that here, as in Lewis, there is a better reason for their retention: the social factor. In this case it is the menfolk who superintend the transport of cattle or sheep to the islands, and usually the move affords them an opportunity to be away together, as a unit, for some days, in the same way that other communities in these areas are divided whilst the men depart for lobster-fishing, sealing or fowling. In fact maritime transhumance is probably as old as the shieling system itself. It is reported from Raasay in 1703, from Ailsa Craig in the Firth of Clyde in 1772, as well as from the Long Island (Martin 1703:163; Pennant 1790:217; MacLeod, D. 1895:172; Martin 1698:40). Sealers used huts on North Rona in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and fowlers used the islands of St. Kilda, other than Hirta, until it was evacuated in 1930; Sula Sgeir is still used by the men of Ness to the present day (Darling 1940:261; Atkinson 1949:281-319).

Another form of transhumance, or rather of the movement of livestock, akin to the shieling system of which it is a mirror image, is the wintering of livestock in less inclement regions. This is probably also age-old, although the earliest reference I have come across myself relates to Melrose in 1669 (Romanes 1915:411). As a matter of fact it was not until the eighteenth century that it was discovered that sheep could be left out in the Highlands over the winter without being folded at night time. This discovery was apparently made by an incomer, said to be lazy (!), the landlord of an inn at Tyndrum (Ramsay of Ochertyre 1888:222*n.*), and this did much to prepare the way for the ruthless introduction of extensive sheep-husbandry in the Highlands. Another form of livestock movement worth mentioning is the summering of hens in special henhouses, a mile or so from the croft, which is still practised in Lewis, Harris, North Uist, and the Braes district of Skye (Pl. XIV, figs. 2 and 3; MacGregor 1935:289; Jaatinen 1957:74; O'Malley 1948:94).

The retention of the blackhouse in the Scottish islands can also be explained by reference to the survival in those areas of a different value-system. In the corpus of Gaelic folk-song and poetry I do not think there is a single item eulogizing the humble homestead. Mary Macleod (Màiri Nighean Alastair Ruaidh) and others praised the glories of the chief's castle (Watson 1934:20-5), but there is a conspicuous absence of the cottage-panegyric type of writing which, for instance, characterises the English rural muse. In the traditional Gaelic value-system no special importance was attached to a neat well-built house; only the successive efforts of local health authorities have finally spelt the end of the open-hearthed house with mud floor, the living room of which might well be shared with cattle. The elegy of the seventeenth-century poet, Cathal MacMuireadhaigh in the Red Book of Clanranald, illustrates this point rather well:

Be not erecting lime houses
 Let grass huts be your dwelling at the shore.

Nar beithe ag tégar threabh naoil
 más férbhoith do thegh a ttraígh
 (Cameron, A. 1894:226-7).

I have tried to show you that we cannot examine the retention of outmoded implements without reference to the value-system of the people by whom they were used. A culture is much more than an assemblage of quaint artefacts, and the traditional Gaelic society was much more than a few backward old men and women, sitting by the open hearths of primitive mud hovels, spinning with outmoded distaff and spindle and mumbling their primeval runes. It was a way of life with its own code of values, its own purpose, its own ethical system. Once you modify the one by the introduction of a money-economy, truly one of the gifts of the Greeks, the collapse of the rest was probably bound to follow. I do not imply that these technically less efficient practices should be retained—the Hebrides are not a living museum of aboriginal folkways—but I merely wish to suggest that to study the one aspect of traditional Gaelic culture without reference to the other is impracticable, not to say unscientific.

NOTES

- ¹ Cf. the title of an otherwise excellent paper (Curwen 1938): "The Hebrides: a cultural backwater".
- ² The specifically Orcadian aspects of this problem are covered in an interesting series of discussions: Hamilton 1926; Irvine 1927:16; Sinclair, J. 1927:21-2; Bain 1927:31-2. For a highly relevant pioneer analysis (of somewhat similar continental communities see Warriner 1939; cf. Ashby 1935:200-1; Bridges 1937:207).
- ³ This aspect is entirely glossed over, for instance, in the exhaustive West Highland Survey: Darling 1955; it is, however, dealt with admirably by Collier, who wrote, "The 'problem' of the Highlands really arises out of a clash of social philosophies" (1953-4). The importance of examining differing value-systems has also been recognised by agricultural economists: Ashby 1953:413-14.
- ⁴ E.g. Goodrich-Freer 1902:195: "It takes two men to do a day's work in the Highlands and two more to look on." A thoroughly unsympathetic discussion is that of MacGregor 1949:231-40, but he is unusual for this type of writer in that he does perceive the co-existence of two (or more) value-systems.
- ⁵ For detailed descriptions of the *cas chrom* see Sinclair, Sir J. 1795:152n.; Robertson, J. 1808:102; Macdonald, J. 1811:151; Henderson 1812:57; Robertson, C. M. 1910:272. At Smearisary in Moidart delving by a team using spades survived at least until recently (personal communication from Mr. Raymond O'Malley); he describes the process thus:

"As many persons as can be collected stand in a straight line, 2 or 3 feet apart, each holding a spade. They score the turf lightly in front of them, dig in their spades, and at a given signal all together press. The whole furrow rolls over bodily. The next furrow is rolled into the trench thus created and so on. It is slow and laborious compared with ordinary ploughing, but gives a deeper tilth and (I imagine) a heavier crop" (O'Malley 1948:22-3).
- ⁶ Middle Scots references to delving suggest that this practice co-existed with ploughing through a large part of Lowland Scotland, as well as in more northerly areas, where they were specifically bracketed together in Harris and Taransay in 1549 by Munro (1908:296, 300). In the south, however, it was only the man who had insufficient oxen to make up at least part of a ploughing team who had recourse to this method of tillage. Thus it was ordained by the first parliament of Alexander II in 1214:

"And al that hes les than 5 ky and wonnis in felde lande that may nocht eyr na mak teilth wyth oxin thai sal wyth thar handis and thar feit delf the erd til eyr and saw in al that thai may for til wyn thar sustinans to thaim and thairs" (*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*: 1 (1814), 397 (red), col. 2.)

Similarly in an Act of the reign of James I (1424) the status of labourer was defined by possession of half an ox or by tillage each day of a specified area:

"It is statut & ordanyt that ilk man of sympil estate that of resone suld be a laborar haf other half ane ox in the pluch or ellis delf ilk

werk day 7 fut on lenth & 7 on breyd under the payn of ane ox to the king" (*ibid.*:2 (1814); 8, col. 2.)

From a somewhat later period the Asloan manuscript (written in the reign of James V) provides two interesting references to delving:

"With spaide and gavillok & mattok wicht

Thai delvit quhill thai the barrall gat" *The sevyne sagis*, ll. 1744-5 (Craigie 1923-5:2, 55).

"To delf the erd ane spaid in his richt hand" *The buke of the chess* l. 1370 (*ibid.*:1, 124).

⁷ For a discussion of the *cas dhireach* see Henderson 1812:57; Jirlow & Whitaker 1957:73.

⁸ I am indebted to my colleagues the Rev. Angus Duncan and Messrs. John MacInnes and Calum Maclean respectively for this information. In Skye the use of the *cas chrom* seems to have been localised for some decades, being reported from elsewhere in Strath in 1940 by Perry (1944:39), as well as from the neighbouring islands of South Rona and Soay somewhat earlier (MacGregor 1930b:212, Gordon, S. 1931:37). It was photographed in use in the 1930's in South Uist: cf. Quigley 1936, plate 79 opp. p. 71; Shaw 1955, plate 4a.

⁹ Apart from material collected personally during fieldwork, the following literary sources were used in the compilation of the distribution maps:

Fig. 1 (Shielings 1501-1700): Bellesheim 1890:372; Blundell 1917:125; Douglas 1826:65; Fergusson 1895:260, 269-71, 1899:91-2; Fraser 1905:179; Fraser-Mackintosh 1875:179, 1892:38; Gillies 1938:257; Gordon, J. 1907:534, 544, 563-4, 570; Gordon of Straloch 1907:234; Innes 1855:364; Macgill 1909:160, 272; Mackay 1896:72; Mackenzie, A. 1909:4; Macpherson, A. 1893:20; MacRa 1914:219; Martin 1698:22-3; Millar 1909:66; Monro 1908:285; Morrison 1932:83, 137; Muir & Thomas 1862:226-7; Ochterlony of Guynd 1844:333; Stewart, A. 1928:60-1, 195-7, 356-8; Stuart & Stuart 1848:499.

Fig. 2 (Shielings 1701-1750): Buchan 1727:48; Cameron, J. 1895:92; Elphinston 1895:252-3; Fergusson 1904:200, Fergusson of Kilkerran 1951:235; Grant of Rothiemurchus 1911:187; Lebon 1952:105; Macbean 1916:87; MacDonald, Capt. A. 1895:329, 345-6; MacDonald, J. 1873:415; MacDonald of Glenaladale 1895:339; Maccachain 1916:250, 255; Macfarlane 1906:194; Macphail 1916:303-5; MacPherson, D. 1896:39, 41; Martin 1703:85; Murray of Broughton 1898:290, 296; Stewart, A. 1928:193; Taylor, H. P. 1948:166; Tolmie 1946:206.

Fig. 3 (Shielings 1751-1800): Boswell 1936:107; Carnegie of Stronvar 1896:614; Forbes 1886a:143-4, 161, 1886b:298-9, 315; Fraser-Mackintosh 1890:273; Grant, A. 1809:75-9, 1811:47, 50; Grant, K. W. 1919:150-1; MacLeod, D. 1892:161-2; Marshall 1794:46; Mason 1954:3; Millar 1909:127, 238; Morrison 1932:141, 204; Pennant 1771:102, 1790:246; Pococke 1887:127; Sinclair, Sir J. 1792:410; Sinton 1910:326; Stewart, A. 1928:194; Thomas 1862a:128-9, 1870:161.

Fig. 4 (Shielings 1801-1900): Beveridge 1911:318n.-9; Caird 1951:89, 93, 95; Lauder 1873:4; Leslie 1958:40; Mackellar 1890:165; Muir 1861:188, 1885:43; Napier and Ettrick 1884:158-9, 368-9, 459; Scott-Moncrieff 1952:126; Stewart, A. 1928:194; Stewart, J. 1911:285; Thomas 1862a:130, 1862b:135-6, 139, 1870:162, 164.

Fig. 5 (Shielings 1901-1950): Beveridge 1911:318n.-9; Carmichael

1941:39; Curwen 1938:272, 278; Duff 1929:284; Geddes 1936:303, 1955:61-2, 83, 128; Gordon, S. 1941:119; MacGregor 1935:17, 28-9, 213, 252-4, 295, 1949:12, 298; MacIver 1934:48; MacNeice 1939:203, 222; Pochin Mould 1953:265; Stevens 1925:76.

Fig. 6 (*Island Pasture 1501-1950*): Anon. 1908a:73-4, 1908b, 1908c; Beveridge 1911:52; Blundell 1917:18; Charlton 1913:191, 1936:59; Evans & Buckley 1899:11, 16-7, 32, 34, 50; Goodrich-Freer 1902:403, 407; Harvie-Brown & Buckley 1888a: li, 1888b:51; Hill 1890:200, 224; Johnson 1930:4, 53; Kay 1908:31-3, 38; Low 1879:12, 18, 20, 22, 39, 43-4, 48-9, 1915:139-40; Macfarlane 1906:190; MacGregor 1930a:221, 1930b:136, 1935:250-1, 286-7, 1937:101, 1953:70, 225, 281; Mackenzie, W. 1930:32, 71; Martin 1703:50, 98, 170, 253; Monro 1908:278, 289, 294; Monteith 1845:4, 6, 37-8, 42, 50, 57, 71-2; Morisone 1845:338; Nicolson 1930:299; O'Dell 1939:45; Stucley 1956:87; Venables & Venables 1955:39, 358-60.

This paper was already in proof at the time of publication of Dr. Gaffney's interesting survey of shielings in Banffshire and Western Aberdeenshire. He shows, for example, that the dissolution of the shieling system in Strathavon was completed by 1791, and he also discusses the process of bringing the shieling area into permanent cultivation: Gaffney 1959: 32-4.

- ¹⁰ An analysis of other concomitants of diminishing transhumance (in a different cultural setting) is to be found in Whitaker 1956.
- ¹¹ Cf. Macdonald, A. 1889:27: "Than the circumstances in which the Highlanders of old lived while in the midst of such ideally pastoral conditions as their life on the sheilings essentially afforded none more productive of poetic sentiment can well be imagined. It is not too much to say now that passing a considerable portion of each year in such conditions must have tended to render the Highlander the contemplative, freedom-loving being he is."
- ¹² Cf. the place-names in *-ary* and other derivatives from Old Norse *erg* (itself probably a loanword : cf. modern Gaelic *àiridh*): see Marwick 1923:23, 1927:74-6, 80, 1947:88-9, 1952:165; Macbain 1911:10; Matras 1956. A national survey of shielings and their names is projected in collaboration with my colleague Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate XIV: Fig. 1. Delving, probably taken in Shetland at the end of the nineteenth century. Photo: the late Thomas Kent.
- Figs. 2 and 3. Henhouses near Gedintailor, parish of Portree, Skye (Grid Reference: 18/523357). Photo: Ian Whitaker, 1958.

TRADITIONAL BELIEFS IN SCOTLAND

Calum I. Maclean*

In the year 1722 the last witch to die in Scotland because of the powers ascribed to her was burned at Dornoch, Sutherlandshire. She was accused of having transformed her daughter into a horse, and having had her shod by no less a person than the Fiend Incarnate himself. The only concrete evidence of her guilt was the fact that the daughter had a deformed hand, deformed reputedly because her mother had not restored her properly to her original form. The witch herself met her death with great composure and warmed her hands at the "bonny fire" (McPherson 1929:283).

A grim and ugly chapter in our country's history was thus closed. All one can say in extenuation is that ours was not the only European country that had pursued the practice of witch-hunting to a senseless extreme. The belief that certain persons had the power, acquired either as the result of a compact with the Devil or some other magic means, of transforming themselves into animal form still lingers. The legend about the farmer's wife who transformed one of her two manservants into a horse and rode him over long distances nightly (G. Henderson 1911:109-14; Campbell 1902:48-9) is still current in local tradition; it was recorded even as late as last June from a tradition-bearer who had not quite come to regard the whole story as purely fictitious. Some months ago I came in contact with another man who, in a mood of simulated seriousness, I suspect, maintained that he himself had shaken a bridle in the face of an old woman, whose daughter he was courting, and turned her into a sleek, black mare. He had her shod by a blacksmith and then saddled—after which he rode her to the far end of a neighbouring parish and back. In this case the story-teller had merely assumed the role of the other farm-servant who cleverly got

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hold of the bridle, shook it in the face of the farmer's wife and turned the tables on her. A noted Shetland story-teller (S.S.S. R.L. 797.5; 798.1), who is still very much alive, appeared to be quite familiar with a woman who once lived in his neighbourhood and who habitually changed her daughter into the form of a crow. Within the last twelve years several accounts of similar transformations have been noted down, transformation into a cat, a hare, a goat, a cow (I.F.C. MS. 1027:181-91, 213-4, 215-20; MS. 1013:385-6, respectively), a crow and in one instance into a clump of heather.¹ In most cases the transformed persons were girls who were jilted (or their resentful mothers) who waylaid the men against whom they bore a grudge. In most cases the informants stated that they fully believed the accounts that had come to them, and in one case the instance of transformation was witnessed and reported by a person of noted piety, a full member of the kirk.

In the whole field of folk-belief transformation from human to animal or any other form is one of the things that would first tend to be disregarded as fantastic and completely irrational. Strange as it may seem, the belief does not linger solely in the minds of the few surviving members of the community who are unlettered and have received no formal education. Two instances of transformation were recounted by an educated young man, who later rose to the position of bank manager (I.F.C. MS. 1027:180-1). The above belief is one that we, in this age, would have expected to have disappeared completely over a century ago.

In the last century it was, of course, a common belief that the witch changed herself into the form of a hare and was said to "mount on the cow's back, and sit for a time, and the milk departed, whilst she never wanted milk, though she had no cow at all, or, if she had one, though she was 'ferra'." (Gregor 1881: 189). Other means of abstracting milk were by a hair-rope made of hairs from the tails of all cows within reach, by milking a couple end or the pot-hook, or by placing a pot beside the fire at the very moment the calf dropped from the cow and thus drawing the milk into the pot (*ibid.*:189). The belief that certain women have the power to abstract milk from cattle, or steal the "milk-profit" with the result that there is no yield of butter, is still current in oral tradition and still finds a certain amount of credence.

The most noted covens of witches reputedly in league with the Devil were the Auldearn Witches, who flourished in the

middle of the seventeenth century. In their confessions—which may or may not have been forced—they revealed that they were on rather familiar terms with His Satanic Majesty. In the Highlands proper there was no persecution of unfortunate witches on any scale comparable to that in other parts of the country, but the belief that witches are in league with the Devil lingers up to the present day. Actually, there is no native Gaelic word for witch; the usual word is a late borrowing from Scots English, *bana-bhuidseach*, *buidseachd*. The older folk in the west tell of a certain woman who was asked to repeat the Lord's Prayer at a catechising meeting—*coinneamh cheist*—and she used the past instead of the present tense in the opening phrase of the prayer: *Ar nAthair a bha air nèamh*. On being asked by the catechist why she insisted on so doing, she replied that her Master was in Heaven at one time, but is no longer there (I.F.C. MS. 1027:204-7). The persistence of the story to the present indicates, of course, the persistence of the belief that the Devil was overlord and master of the witches. In certain communities, especially communities affected by the evangelicalism of the last century, it is sinful to tell stories that are lies. The above story was told as being perfectly true.

Whether witches such as the Auldearn coven were in league with the Devil or not, and whether they were solely interested in the means of making woe, there is no doubt that they could and did participate in beneficent rites and had tremendous prestige, even though they were in a position to terrorise the whole neighbourhood. Even when women with extraordinary powers used their gifts for good purposes such as healing, they came, nevertheless, under the ban of the Church for healing by "unwarrantable" means (McPherson 1929:241), but even then sober and respectable elders of the kirk had recourse to charms when disease struck their cattle. Even to this day "charmners" are remembered as people with tremendous prestige, e.g. in the Central and Eastern Highlands they still speak of Grigor Willox of Tomintoul (*ibid.*:260-1), who possessed two powerful objects, a kelpie's bridle and a mermaid's stone, both of which had descended to him through relatives. Willox's work was devoted entirely to good purposes, the curing of illness, the breaking of spells, the detection of theft and the return of stolen property. Closer to our own day we get much insight into the life and character of "charmners" in the Highlands from Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*. Far

from being a "heathenish and motley crew", the reciters whom Carmichael met and whose charms he noted down were men and women of great sensibility and refinement.² They were also respected members of the community, often the "elite" as far as cultural standards and values were concerned.

Less than ten years ago it was my privilege to meet a person of the very same stamp as those from whom Dr. Alexander Carmichael noted down the charms and incantations of *Carmina Gadelica*. I had heard a great deal about her³ before I went to visit her. She was over eighty years of age and lived in a little thatched house along with an unmarried son. In that little community her prestige was enormous and she was held in esteem and affection by all. Whenever a person or animal was struck with sudden illness, someone was sent to her house so that she would make a *snàithle*, a thread, to counteract the Evil Eye and cure the illness. She always knew when the Eye had been cast on some person or animal, for the messenger was invariably told that she had been expecting him. She could tell the sex of the culprit and whether he or she had been alone or in company when the Evil Eye fell on the victim. When the *snàithle* was duly made, it was then taken and placed in the clothing of the person affected or tied on the horn or tail of the stricken animal. Never once was a *snàithle* made by her without efficacy. People came to her from all surrounding parishes. She never accepted any money in return for services, for she maintained that the acceptance of money would render the charm completely valueless, but she would accept small valueless tokens such as a pin or button. For over fifty years she had cured people stricken by the Evil Eye. All came to her irrespective of creed or denomination and she never refused to help anyone. In appearance she was a beautiful old lady with very bright blue eyes and a ready smile. She had all her faculties and a most alert mind.

It was on my third or fourth visit to her that she asked me if I would like to write down the Charm for Counteracting the Evil Eye. There was, of course, no harm in repeating it to a member of the opposite sex. She could not, however, repeat the charm to one of her own sex. I wrote it down from her recitation. It was very close to the version in *Carmina Gadelica* Vol. II, p. 52.

She had another charm, the Charm for Toothache, and, strangely enough, this was the English and not the Gaelic version of the international motif (Tillhagen 1958:162; Gregor

1881:48; W. Henderson 1879:172): Peter sat on a marble stone weeping. Christ came by and said, "What aileth thee, Peter?" Peter said, "My Lord, My God and my tooth." Christ said, "Arise, Peter, and be well. Whoever shall carry those words in My Name shall never feel the toothache."

In the case of this charm the above words were written out on a piece of paper and given to the sufferer to carry in his or her clothing.

These, as far as I am aware, were the only charms she had. She made much less use of the toothache charm than the other. Her mind, however, was full of legends, old songs, prayers and other lore. I have seen a *snàithle* she did make. It was of grey worsted thread about a foot long and folded in lengths of about three inches. It was wrapped in a small sheet of white paper.

My last visit to the old lady was paid in the company of a noted tradition-bearer, who, at that time, complained of a sore leg. He wished to have a *snàithle* made to see if it would effect a cure. He and the old lady had a long conversation embracing many topics, and, in the midst of it, he asked, almost casually one would have thought, whether a *snàithle* could be made for his sore leg. Without any hesitation she got up and lit a small lamp, and with it disappeared into the other end of the house. It had darkened by this time. Ten minutes later she re-appeared with two threads wrapped in separate pieces of white paper, one of which he was to sew on the inside of his shirt next his breast and the other he was to carry in his pocket. The whole ritual of making the thread and pronouncing the charm over it was carried out in seclusion and secrecy.

Not only did the *snàithle* she made cure man and beast but its usefulness had also advanced with the progress of modernisation. A local haulier acquired a new motor-lorry. On its very first trip to a coastal port to fetch goods, the lorry stopped and, skilled mechanic though he was, the driver completely failed to get it started again. The engine appeared to be in perfect order but would not start again. The driver was at his wit's end, when who should come by in her car but his sister, the local district-nurse. Between them they came to the conclusion that some malignant eye must have lighted on the new lorry. The nurse, although she had become slightly too sophisticated to believe in the efficacy of charms, was induced to go to the old lady for a *snàithle*. She went as stealthily as she could to the old lady's house and got the

charmed thread. As soon as it was wound round the radiator-cap of the lorry, the engine started up again and off it went. Something similar happened again in the case of a new car brought to the district by an American emigrant on a visit to home. The car was loaned to a relative for a drive round the district. The engine stopped unaccountably and the poor man was distracted because he imagined he had ruined the other man's property. In desperation word was sent to the old lady for a charmed thread. As soon as it was obtained, the car started off again.

In the year 1933 a medical practitioner in one of the Inner Hebrides discovered a thread with three knots on it around the wrist of a patient. The Charm for Sprain (*Eolas air Snìomh*) had been used. The charmer was subsequently contacted and the charm noted down. It was the Gaelic version of the international charm. The three knots represented the Trinity. In her recently published book, *The Silver Bough*, Miss McNeill states that she had "seen and handled the buinneagan, or witch-balls, that were the property of a Highland 'wizard' (now dead) and were said to have been 'worked' by him with dire effect between the two World Wars" (McNeill 1957:145).

As to the fairies, belief in their actual existence has not entirely gone. Tunes and songs of fairy origin are still played and sung in different parts of the country, while in very many areas fairy knolls are pointed out and have been entered on Ordnance Survey maps. The belief that certain individuals and families received the gift of music or poetry or some other accomplishment from them is still common. Among people in rural areas there seems to be a good deal of reluctance to dismiss the belief entirely, and informants will not commit themselves either way. What is commonly reported is that fairies were last seen over fifty years ago or so. One informant in 1947 was quite convinced that he had heard fairy music inside a hill. The same gentleman was quite adamant that he had seen a mermaid sitting on a floating lobster-box combing her flowing tresses. Within the last ten years, however, fairies were actually seen by a couple of young school-children in the west.⁴ They were described as small people about three feet high and were dressed in green. The peculiar feature of the children's description was that the fairies in this case did not walk, dance or run but went around a hillock with a hopping motion. The children ran away home and were

visibly upset and terrified by their experience. They gave perfectly consistent accounts to all who questioned them.

Closely allied to fairy belief is the belief in the existence of the "host of the air" *sluagh*. Some writers maintain that it has its root in a natural phenomenon, the whirlwind that raises dust and straws when there is a perfectly still, calm evening (Gregor 1881:65). In Gaelic it is called *oiteag sluaigh* and in the north-east a "furl o' fairies' ween" (*ibid.*: 65). The spirits of the dead travel unseen through the air and they are the *sluagh* but in the west the fairies are not associated with it. One of Alexander Carmichael's informants described the aerial throng: "They fly about in great clouds up and down the face of the earth like the starlings and come back to the scenes of their earthly transgressions. No soul of them is without clouds of earth, dimming the brightness of the works of God, nor can any win Heaven till a satisfaction is made for their sins on earth." In Scandinavian tradition there is a similar belief (Christiansen 1938:332), while in Ireland the *sluagh* are the fairies, for there fairy belief is closely interwoven with the spirits of the dead (Hartmann 1942:157-63).

The *sluagh* may remove a person or animal. Mortals are sometimes obliged to travel in their company. As they pass, they are accompanied by an unintelligible murmuring, *monabar*. They drop whatever they lift, if a bonnet, a left shoe, a naked knife or earth from a molehill is thrown at them. The legend is told about a mortal who, travelling unseen with the *sluagh*, rescued a person stranded on a cliff edge. Many years later the rescuer remonstrated bitterly with the rescued person for not giving him a pipe of tobacco. It was only then that the man stranded on the cliff realised how he had been saved. A mist had suddenly enveloped him and he felt himself being carried bodily to the top of the cliff and to safety (I.F.C. MS. 1030:94-6). There is another story about a young man who wished to accompany a person who travelled with the *sluagh*. They were to go to a certain spot to await the host. The man who had previous experience of travelling with the *sluagh* induced his companion to return home, saying that he himself had no other alternative but to go where he was going, but he would much rather if he had not to do so. It would not do his companion any good if he once started going with the *sluagh*.⁵ Another mortal who had seen the *sluagh* said that in the throng there was the spirit of a female weaver who, in this life, had misappropriated

thread and that thread became entangled about her legs and impeded her movements as she travelled through the air.

The most recent case⁶ of reputed abduction by the *sluagh* occurred in the winter of 1951-52. An old lady of over seventy years of age went to a neighbouring house to *céilidh* one dark evening. At eleven o'clock she left to return home, a mere distance of seventy yards. By midnight she had still not put in an appearance, and her relatives went to the house where she had been and were told that she had left for home an hour before. She had had an electric torch to light her way. Search parties were organised. There were no traces of the old lady in the immediate vicinity of her home. She was finally found at four o'clock the following morning at a spot a distance of over two miles away. Between her home and the place where she was found there were two lochs, many bogs and streams swollen with heavy rainfall and high fences. Obviously a woman of her age and frailty could not have clambered through the wire-fences unaided, nor could she have avoided the many bogs, streams and the two lochs that lay in her path. She had no torch when she was found. The informant (who, incidentally, was the person who found the old lady) stated that, before reaching the spot where she was, he heard murmuring voices, *monabar*, away to his left in an easterly direction and the sound appeared to proceed northwards. He at first thought that the old lady had been found and that some party was bringing her home along the main road. He called in the direction whence the sound came, but received no reply. He carried on and found the old lady. She was soaking wet and in her hair there were water weeds. She was never able to explain how she got there. The finder was joined by others, but on the way home they had to break down two fences to get the old lady past. Despite the fact that the area where this occurred had for a long time been open to modern ideas, sophisticated trends and influences, and was for a long period previously a base occupied by a large contingent of Service personnel, the general opinion there is that the old lady was carried off by the *sluagh*.

Certain customs now tend to become respectable, but in essence they differ little from what might be regarded as "superstitious and primitive" practices. When a noted lady or personage breaks the champagne bottle over the prow of a ship during the ceremony of launching, it is nothing more than a modification of a heathenish practice. The late Dr.

Gregor notes that when new boats were brought home to the fishing villages of the North-East, there was an initiation ceremony. He reports that at Portessie the fisher folk gathered beside the boat, and one of them "flang bere in ower the boat, sang oot the boat's name, and three cheers wiz gi'en" (Gregor 1886:11). The modern champagne is hardly more than a sacrificial offering to the Old Man of the Sea. There was also a similar agricultural custom in the North-East when ploughing commenced after harvest. A piece of bread and cheese was placed on the beam of the plough (Gregor 1881:181).

Even despite the introduction of modern agricultural machinery and the almost complete disappearance of sickle and scythe, the Harvest Maiden or Clyack Sheaf is still cut and brought home. Several informants in different parts of the country stated that they hung it on their walls; some said they did so until recently, others declared that they still did it. As recently as 1954 I saw a Clyack Sheaf on the wall of a house in Laggan, Badenoch.⁷ I should venture to say that the practice is more widespread than is generally thought. It is also pleasant to notice that the practice of giving an extra sheaf of corn to horses and cattle on Christmas or New Year's Day has not stopped either.

Certain beliefs and practices connected with the main events in human life, birth, marriage and death, are still adhered to over a wide area, e.g. the giving of silver coins to newly born infants and the avoidance of marriage in the month of May. Last year 42,672 marriages were registered in Scotland. The figure for the month of May was 1,164. The next lowest figure was for November—2,130. In 1956 out of a total of 43,971 marriages only 1,193 were registered in May—the next lowest month being January with 2,618. The previous year the figure for the month of May was 1,345 out of a total of 43,212; the next lowest figure being 2,451 for November. In 1954 out of a total of 41,975 marriages only 1,246 were registered in May, while the figure for the next lowest month, November, was 2,516. In the year 1946 as many as 45,851 marriages were registered in Scotland. The figure for the month of May on this occasion was 2,177, while the figure for the next lowest month, February, was 2,806. In the year 1936 there were 37,914 registered marriages but the figure for May was 1,147, while February, the next lowest, had 2,119. It will be seen that the figure for the month of May has been consistently the lowest, and, except in the case of the

year 1946, it was almost 50 per cent lower than that of any other month.⁸

Death is still foreshadowed by omens such as strange lights and sounds, even by the howling of dogs. The corpse is touched to prevent dreams about the dead, and (in certain cases even yet) the coffin is taken out of the house through a window to prevent the return of the departed. There have been fairly recent instances of chairs and tables supporting the coffin before it was borne away, being turned over in case the dead should return. The sunwise, *deisecl*, approach to the graveyard is still observed in places.⁹

In the course of a short paper it is impossible to say very much about beliefs and customs that have survived to this day. Beliefs, for instance, about lucky and unlucky things and actions are still very much alive. The belief that it is unlucky to hear the cuckoo on an empty stomach is international and widespread, and is commonly met with in this country still. Perhaps the most widespread beliefs in Scotland to-day are those connected with lucky and unlucky numbers. In a recent issue of *John Bull*, a noted British racing motorist maintained that he was not superstitious, but he did like to have the number 7 on his car, and he and his wife were married on the seventh day of the month. He revealed, of course, an attitude of mind that is fairly common: a little superstition may not be a bad thing, though it is discreditable to be and be considered superstitious. On certain streets in Scottish cities no houses are given the number 13 and in some hotels, even large ones, the thirteenth room is numbered 12A. At a recent piping competition in Scotland's third city the thirteenth piper bore the number 12A. When the 13th day of the month is a Friday, it is considered a very unlucky day. The belief, of course, has a Biblical origin; there were 13 persons present at the Last Supper and the 13th betrayed Christ. The covens of witches had 13 persons in them. It is unlucky for thirteen people to sit down at table together. Should that happen, one of them will die within a year (Macgregor 1922: 43). It may be that beliefs with Biblical associations have stood more chance of survival than any others in this country, and that for reasons which are quite obvious. There is another popular and persistent belief that it is unlucky to walk underneath a ladder. In the first place it is a sensible and practical belief, for the danger that tradesmen may drop something on one's head is real enough, but it really has its origin in the

legend that, at the Crucifixion, the Devil in human form stood underneath the ladder while the bodies were being removed from the Cross (*ibid.*: xi).

Should we imagine that all traditional beliefs are gone from our midst, we need only consider how often in our daily lives we use such expressions as "Touch Wood", or "Keep fingers crossed". Beliefs and customs hardened by long usage are extremely difficult to eradicate. In the early years of the century it was commonly believed that with the advance of knowledge and education most traditional beliefs and customs would eventually disappear, that they would be dispelled by the light of science and rationalism. If beliefs and customs have decayed, it is due to social rather than intellectual reasons. Ignorance and superstition have to a great extent become coterminous, and because of reasons of social prestige, people with any measure of pretentiousness will disclaim any knowledge of or adherence to popular beliefs and customs. In many ways the sophisticated city-dwellers are as prone to what is vulgarly called "superstition" as country people. The city dweller may be less simple, but he will go on touching wood and avoiding walking under ladders as well as being reluctant to sleep in a room numbered 13. In this country superstition has descended to the level of a term of abuse that is hurled by one religious sect against another or by natives of one part against their benighted countrymen in another. Such a state of affairs is unfortunate indeed, for it renders the collection of material for the study of custom and belief rather difficult. But it is only to be hoped that traditional beliefs and customs will, by some means or other, become respectable, and in this country of ours some strange things have become respectable. What was written in the year 1913 by the late Sir James Frazer still holds good: "We should deceive ourselves if we imagined that belief in witchcraft is even now dead in the mass of the people. On the contrary there is ample evidence to show that it only hibernates under the chilling influence of rationalism and that it would start into active life if that influence were ever seriously relaxed" (Frazer 1913: viii).

NOTES

¹ Recorded from the late Angus Maclellan, Benbecula.

² Carmichael frequently refers to the fine character of many tradition-bearers. *Vide: Carmina Gadelica* (2nd ed.; Edinburgh) Vol. 1 (1928), XXI, XXII, XXIV; Vol. 2 (1928) 377, 379, 381; Vol. 3 (1940) 164-5 *et pass.*; Vol. 4 (1941) 190-1, 236-7 *et pass.*; Vol. 5 (1954) 168-9.

- ³ I do not disclose the identity of this person nor the locality in which she lived. I have generally adhered to this throughout.
- ⁴ Information received on 26th December 1953.
- ⁵ Information received on 16th March 1950.
- ⁶ Information received on 20th June 1958.
- ⁷ Since the time the above paper was written the writer saw the Last Sheaf in a house at Craignish, Argyll (14th October 1958). A week later he met two farmers in Western Perthshire, who had brought home the Sheaf a short time previously.
- ⁸ I am deeply indebted to Mr. Gardiner of Statistics, Register House, Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to these figures. They appear in the Quarterly Returns of the Registrar-General published by H.M. Stationery Office, Edinburgh.
- ⁹ Observed at a funeral in South Uist on 11th June 1954 and two days later at a funeral at Arisaig, Inverness-shire.

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THE LAND O' THE LEAL

William Montgomerie

Lady Nairne's recension of this song was written in 1798, on the death of the eldest child of Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Campbell Colquhoun of Killermont. The song remained anonymous, till Lady Nairne's death in 1845, in R. A. Smith's *The Scottish Minstrel* (Edinburgh 1821-4).

In the *Universal Magazine* of 12th February, 1809 (p. 120) appeared a letter signed by R. H. [Robert Hone]:

. . . During a visit to a gentleman in the neighbourhood of the county where Burns first "warbled his woodnotes wild" I was anxious to obtain every information respecting that highly favoured but ill-fated son of the muses. Amongst others the following anecdote was related to me. Burns being in the company with some of his boon companions the conversation turned on the old song, to the tune of Hey tutti tait to which Bruce led on his troops at the battle of Bannockburn, the words of which are as follows:

"I'm wearin awa John, I'm wearin awa John,
I'm wearin awa to the Land of the Leal.
There's a needle in the wa John, keep it to your sel John,
I'm wearin awa to the Land of the Leal.
You'll eat and drink to me John, you'll eat and drink to me John
You'll eat and drink to me John, sugar sops and all."

Burns on a sudden sank into a deep musing, and taking a blank leaf from his pocket-book he wrote the following: which for pathos and simplicity will not yield to any of his productions:

I'm wearin awa John, like snaw wreaths when it's thaw John,
I'm wearin awa to the land of the Leal.
There's nae sorrowing there, there's neither cauld nor care John,
The day's aye fair John in the land o the Leal etc.

This seems to have been the first reference in print to the folk song which was the inspiration of Lady Nairne's song. Two correspondents in the same issue dismissed Mr. Hone's contribution, and that seems to have been the last heard of the matter during the 19th century. But the song was still alive in oral tradition.

Gavin Greig (1856-1914) recorded the most complete version of the folk song from Mrs. Jaffray, Mintlaw, in 1910 (MS. LII. p. 1 [Ab. 762]):

BE KIN' TAE YER NAINSEL, JOHN

There's three speens i' the creel, John, There's
three speens i' the creel, John, Gie the tane to the lassie an' the
tither to the laddie an' the cuttie tae yer nainsel, John.
Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel, John, Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel,
John. We're a- wear-in' a- wa tae the lan's o' the leal, Sae be
kin' tae yer nainsel, John.

There's three speens i' the creel, John,
There's three speens i' the creel, John,
Gie the tane tae the lassie, an' the tither tae the laddie,
An' the cuttie tae yer nainsel', John.
Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel', John,
Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel', John,
We're a' wearin' awa tae the lan's o' the leal
Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel', John.

There's three kye in the byre, John,
There's three kye in the byre, John,
Gie the tane tae the lassie, an' the tither tae the laddie,
An' the quakie tae yer nainsel', John,
Sae be kin', etc.

There's three carts and three ploughs, John,
There's three carts and three ploughs, John,
Gie the tane tae the lassie, and the tither tae the laddie,
And the tither tae yer nainsel', John.
Sae be kin', etc.

There's thirty acres o' ploo'd land, John,
 There's thirty acres o' ploo'd land, John,
 Gie the corn tae the lassie, and the bere tae the laddie,
 And the tatties tae yer nainsel', John.
 Sae be kin', etc.

Ye'll mak' a drink tae me, John,
 Ye'll mak a drink tae me, John,
 Wi' a wee bittie butter and a little pucklie sucer,
 An' a wee drap o' the dram, John.
 Sae be kin', etc.

It's I'm in gaun tae leave ye, John,
 It's I'm in gaun tae leave ye, John,
 Sae be kin' tae the lassie, and be kin' tae the laddie,
 An' be kin' tae yer nainsel', John.
 Sae be kin', etc.

Noo my wife she's deid and gone,
 Noo my wife she's deid and gone,
 But I maun hae anither, I've plenty for tae keep her,
 An' be kin' tae my nainsel', John
 Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel', John
 Sae be kin' tae yer nainsel', John
 We're a wearin' awa tae the lan's o' the leal,
 An' be kin' tae yer nainsel', John.

James Brebner, Auchechoch, sang a shorter song (MS. L. p. 31 [Ab. 760]) noted down by Gavin Greig:

There is three nowte in the byre, John, There is three nowte in the
 byre, John; There is ane for the laddie and ane for the lassie, Sae be
 kin' to yer nainsel John. Sae be kin' to yer nainsel
 John, Sae be kin' to yer nainsel', John, For I'm wearin' awa' to the
 land o' the leal, Sae be kin' to yer nainsel', John.

There is three nowte in the byre, John,
There is three nowte in the byre, John,
There is ane for the laddie, and anither for the lassie,
And the stirkie for yer nainsel John.

Sae be kin' to yer nainsel, John,
Sae be kin' to yer nainsel, John,
For I'm wearin' awa to the land o' the leal,
Sae be kin' to yer nainsel, John.

There is three horse in the stable, John, etc
There is ane for the laddie, and anither for the lassie,
And the styagie for yer nainsel, John,
Sae be kin' to yer nainsel, John, etc.

There is three sheep in the faul', John, etc
There is ane for the laddie, and anither for the lassie,
And the lambie for yer nainsel, John,
Sae be kin' to yer nainsel, John, etc.

Miss Bell Robertson (1841-1922) who could not sing, but contributed to Gavin Greig the texts of 383 ballads and folk songs, got her traditional material through her mother, Jean Gall, from Bell's grandmother, Isobel Stephen, a folk singer. The text Bell Robertson sent to Gavin Greig (F.S. N-E CXVII. p. 2) is "older than Lady Nairne's day" (F.S. N-E CXVI. p. 3):

Fy, gar heat a sup drink, John,
Fy, gar heat a sup drink, John,
Heat it wi' butter and meal,
For I'm wearin' awa', etc.

Gie Jock the coo, John,
Gie Jock the quey, John,
Keep the calf to yersel',
For I'm wearin' awa', etc.

Gie Jean the yowe, John,
Gie Jean the hog, John,
Keep the lammie to yersel', etc.
For I'm wearin' awa' etc.

Gie the lad the cup, John,
Gie the lass the plate,
Keep the riven dishie to yersel', etc.
Aye be kin' to yer nainsel, John,
For I'm wearin' awa', etc.

Bell Robertson told Gavin Greig that her mother knew Lady Nairne's song, or part of it, but that when she wished to put a child to sleep she always sang the other. The tunes were the same and so was the refrain. She began:

I'm wearin' awa', John,
Like snaw fin' its' thaw, John,
I'm wearin' awa to the land o' the leal,
Fy gar heat a sup drink, John,
Heat it wi' butter and meal, etc.

Bell Robertson never heard her mother say where she got her version of the song, but felt sure her aunt had got hers from her mother who would have been a girl about 1780.

Mrs. Strachan, Cuminestown, gave Gavin Greig the following extra verses:

There is three spunes in the creel, John,
There is three spunes in the creel;
There is ane for the laddie, and anither for the lassie,
And the auld kail cutty for yer nainsel, John;
Sae be kin', etc.

There's three pounds in the kist, John,
There's three pounds in the kist,
There's ane for the laddie, and anither for the lassie,
And all the owerplus to yer nainsel, John;
Sae be kin', etc.

(MS. L. p. 34 [Ab. 760])

A correspondent who signed herself "A Kinninmonth Lassie" sent Gavin Greig one further stanza:

There's hennies in the hen house, John,
Gie the hennies to the lassies,
And the deukies to the laddies,
And keep the cockies to yer nainsel, John.

(MS. XLIX. p. 111 [Ab. 759]).

Gavin Greig's collaborator, the Rev. James Bruce Duncan (1848-1917), U.F. Minister at Lynturk, in the Strathdon district of Aberdeenshire, collected 550 versions of texts and 800 records of tunes. His executor allowed me to examine Mr. Duncan's MSS, and to make extracts from them. From the

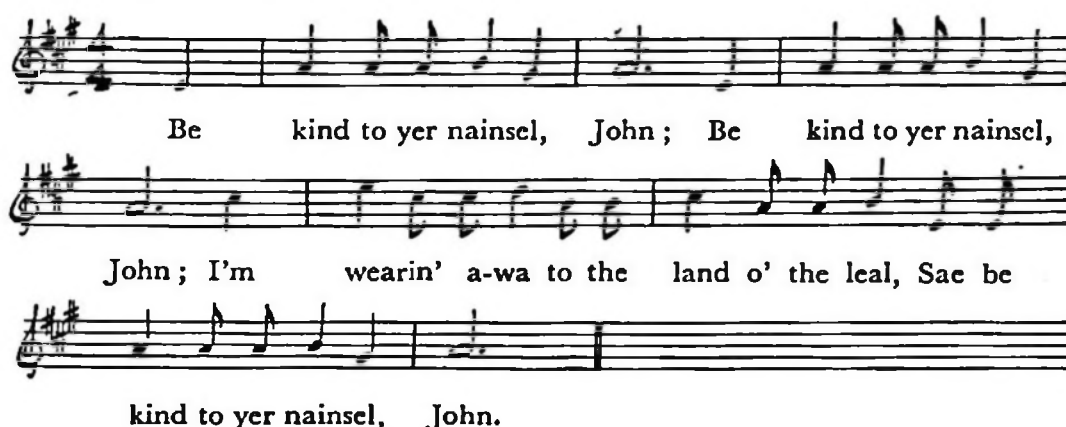
MS. *Folk Song Airs*, with his permission, I print below three versions of this tune.

The first version (p. 55) noted from the singing of Mrs. G., learnt from her step-grandmother, Mrs. Duncan, Craigculter, was written down in 1905:

(For) I am wearin' awa, John, I am wearin' - a
wa, John; I'm wearin' awa to the land o' the leal, So be
kin' to your nain sel, John, O.

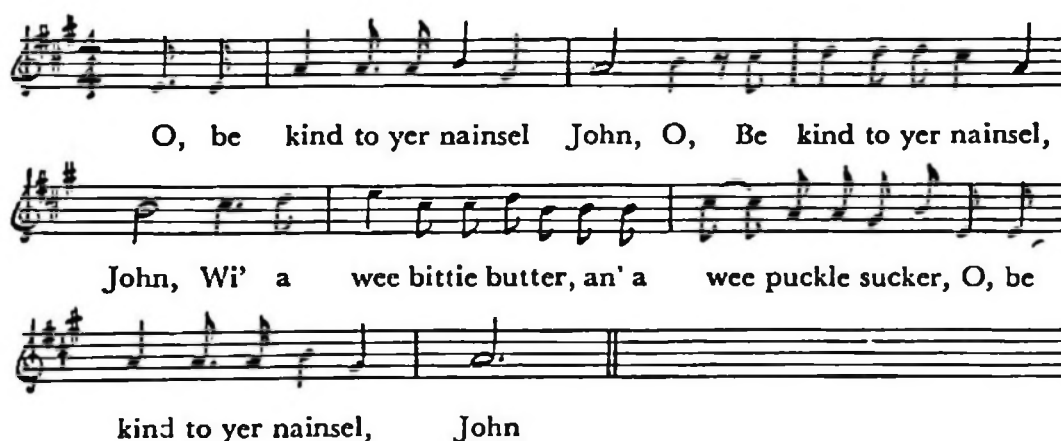
Mrs. G. states that she heard the song from her step grandmother nearly 60 years ago, and that it was sung to her father as a child by his stepmother's mother—say about 1822, when she was already advanced in years, being known as "Aul' Jean Strachan". Most probably she had learnt the song long before: old people usually sang only songs learnt in youth. That would take the song back to the end of the 18th century. Now Lady Nairne's "The Land o' the Leal" goes back to 1798, and contains these coincidences with this: (1) the use of the expression "The land o' the leal" for heaven; (2) the combination of this with the words "I am wearin awa" and (3) the address to the husband as "John" and (4) the use of all these in an address from a dying wife to her husband. Even the first coincidence could hardly be accidental, and the union of the four accidentally is impossible. Then the dates include the supposition of this folk-song borrowing from Lady Nairne's words that were otherwise probable; and the alternative is that she took the expressions above from the popular song, being struck with their beauty, and gave them a more serious setting. That was in harmony with her ordinary practice. It is true that she does not mention this when stating the origin of the song ("I wrote it merely because I like the air so much"); but that was in old age, and she might have forgotten or thought the circumstances unimportant, as the practice was so common. But this discovery of the suggestion of Lady Nairne's song, and the origin of its most striking expression, is exceedingly interesting though no editor has known of it.

Mr. Duncan's Second Tune, First Version (No. 80A, p. 55), learnt by Mrs. Petrie from her mother, was noted in 1906:



Be kind to yer nainsel, John; Be kind to yer nainsel,
John; I'm wearin' a-wa to the land o' the leal, Sae be
kind to yer nainsel, John.

The Second Tune, Second Version (No. 80B, p. 55) from Mr. Anderson, was noted by Miss Jessie H. McDonald in 1905:



O, be kind to yer nainsel John, O, Be kind to yer nainsel,
John, Wi' a wee bittie butter, an' a wee puckle sucker, O, be
kind to yer nainsel, John

In Robert Hone's letter in the *Universal Magazine*, 1809, the song is called "the old song, to the tune of Hey tutti tait", and when Lady Nairne stated in old age that she wrote it "because I liked the air so much" she was not referring to an air that came to her merely as an air; it would have words, and it is natural that the old words to the air should have echoes in her version. Robert Burns is full of such echoes, and for the same reason. Miss Bell Robertson, whose opinion in such matters carries weight informed Gavin Greig that her version was "older than Lady Nairne's day".

On the evidence it can be stated that it is more probable that Lady Nairne based her version on the folk song, than that the folk song is a parody of Lady Nairne's version.

NOTE

MSS. XLIX, L, and LII refer to the relevant numbers of the collection of Gavin Greig's manuscripts, now in the library of King's College, Aberdeen, where they are catalogued as Nos. 759, 760, and 762, respectively.

F.S. N-E is Gavin Greig's "Folk Song of the North-East". Two series 1907-11. CXVI and CXVII are two sections of this publication which is not paginated conventionally.

I record here my thanks to Mr. Duncan's Trustee who, at great personal inconvenience, allowed me to examine Mr. Duncan's MSS at my leisure for several days on more than one occasion; and to the staff of King's College Library, Aberdeen.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

11. *Ljóðhús*—*Lewis*

This paper is not a complete study of the place name *Lewis*. It attempts to examine *Ljóðhús*, its Old Norse counterpart, and to discuss briefly some of the implications of this form of the name.

Ljóðhús appears first in the fifth of a series of verses composed by the skald Björn Krepphendí or Cripplehand about the war-cruise of Magnus Barelegs in the Western Isles of Scotland in 1098. These verses may have been written on the voyage or soon after, and it is customary to date them "*circa* 1100". They survive through being quoted by Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla* over a century later. The earliest manuscript of Snorri's work, *Kringla* (c. 1260), has *um lióðhus* "over, all over *Ljóðhús*"—the latter being the form as normalised for the Old Norse of this period. To show the name in its context, the first four lines of Björn's verse may be translated thus:

"The fire played up to heaven over *Ljóðhús*. Far and wide did the folk seek to flee. Flames shot up over the homesteads."

The name also occurs in other contexts in thirteenth-century Old Norse manuscripts—seven contexts, to be precise—and these show the name with different cases of the noun *-hús*. Twice the name appears with the genitive plural ending *-a*; and three times with the dative plural ending *-um*. (A full list of the O.N. forms will be deposited in the place-name archive of the School of Scottish Studies.) O.N. *hús* is a neuter noun, meaning "house" or "homestead". Björn's *Ljóðhús*, taken by itself, might be either accusative singular or accusative plural. But these other forms show that it was accusative plural—the nominative plural being also *Ljóðhús*.

The first element *Ljóð-* meant either "song" or "people". In the latter sense it appears in other compounds; Fritzner's *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* gives *Ljóðbiskup* "bishop of the people", and *ljóðheimar* "home of the people", i.e. "the world". *Ljóðhús* therefore seems to mean "homesteads of the people, dwellings of the people".

In this sense the name has parallels in Norway, not as an

island name but as a settlement name. There are several examples in Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne* (1897-1919). As one instance one may take *Løs* [løs], Borre, which appears in *Biskop Eysteins Jordebog* (c. 1400) as *i Liod husum* (Rygh vi: 117). Rygh takes the name to mean "a place where people gather together, perhaps a market".

There is another apparent parallel in *Lödöse*, the old market town in West Gothland which appears in *Sverrissaga* and *Brennu-Njálssaga* as *Ljóðhús*. In a note in Rygh vii:211, however, it is recorded that the Swedish Committee on Place Names considered that *Lödöse* was from O.N. *lauðr* "foam" or "scum" and *oss* "a river mouth"; it was suggested that the form *Ljóðhús* in the two sagas was the result of the influence of the Norwegian settlement names. Without venturing to comment on this theory one might nevertheless suggest that in using the name *Ljóðhús* for part or parts of an island on the west coast of Scotland the early Norsemen had at the back of their minds a settlement name well known to them in Norway.

No doubt they used the name in the Western Isles long before the visit of Magnus Barelegs in 1098, perhaps as early as the early Norse voyages in the ninth century. But the sense of a settlement name seems to linger on in the verse quoted from Björn who, in referring to *Ljóðhús*, presents a picture of groups of homesteads being pillaged one after another by his dauntless patron.

One may now consider the relationship of the Old Norse name to the modern name—Gaelic *Leòdhas* ['ljo:əs] or ['ljo:s], of which the English rendering is *Lewis*.

The English form goes back as far as:

Lewes 1382 RMS i:742.

Lewys 14th (16th) Fordun i:44.

The Gaelic form goes back still further:

i crichaib Leódús ("in the territories of *Leódús*") 12th Book of Leinster fol. 171b; *i crichaib Leodús* 12th *ibid.* fol. 172a.

a Leodus 12th (14th) *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* 152.

Subsequent to these two Middle Irish forms there are numerous other forms surviving from the following four centuries. Some of these may be renderings of how a Norse-speaker pronounced the name, some of how a Gaelic-speaker did so, and some may be scribal variations of forms in preceding written sources. Here are some of these forms, the list not being exhaustive:

Leothus c. 1173 Reginald of Durham 251
Leodus c. 1257 Chronicle of Man 5
Lodhus c. 1257 Chronicle of Man 16, 17
Lodws c. 1257 Chronicle of Man 20
Lodoux 1292 Acts of Parliament i:91
Leogos 1297 Stevenson's *Documents* ii:188; *Leogus* 1582;
 Buchanan's *Historia* 11
lediz, ledres 1467 Portolan chart of Benincasa; and other
 portolan charts of this period.

Here is variety indeed. I feel that I must leave it to a Celtic scholar to trace the development of the name, through such of these forms as are phonologically significant, to Modern Gaelic *Leòdhas*. I should add that the loss of a medial consonantal sound in *Leòdhas* has a parallel in the Norwegian place name *Løs* from O.N. *Ljóðhús*.

Another question that arises is whether *Ljóðhús*—

- (a) is an original O.N. name, "invented" by an early Norse sea-farer; or
- (b) is a Scandinavianised form of an Old Irish name represented by the twelfth century form *Leodus*; or
- (c) has some other derivation.

As to hypothesis (a), the early Norse seafarer might have given the name *Ljóðhús* to a single settlement in a single bay, and this name might have been transferred with the passage of time to the whole island or to the greater part of it. Satisfactory parallels for this, however, are difficult to find. In any event, while the early Norsemen often "invented" names for the smaller islands, their commonest method of naming the larger islands and larger land districts seems to have been to devise a Scandinavianised form of a native name; e.g. O.N. *Skíð* from O.Ir. *Scith*, O.N. *Katanes* from some O.Ir. territorial name containing the tribal name *Cait*. Hypothesis (a), then, is not impossible, but seems improbable; and one may properly look at Hypothesis (b).

As to Hypothesis (b), neither Watson (1904:263) nor MacBain (1922:72) could offer a Celtic derivation of the name that satisfied them. If this is accepted, then *Leodus* must be taken as being derived from *Ljóðhús*, and not *Ljóðhús* from an earlier form of *Leodus*. We may therefore move on to Hypothesis (c).

Hypothesis (c) is a temptation to speculation, but there are certain facts which seem worth recording because they perhaps point the way to the derivation of *Ljóðhús*. The Irish

scholars MacNeill (1912:102) and O'Rahilly (1946:538) have established a connection between Ptolemy's *Ebudae* and the Old Irish name for their inhabitants. To quote O'Rahilly:

"Ptolemy in his account of Ireland speaks of five islands called *Ebudae* lying to the north of Ireland, and he gives their names as *Ebuda* (two islands so called), *Rikina*, *Malaïos*, and *Epidion*. . . . The corresponding Irish name is applied, not to the islands, but to their inhabitants, viz. **Ibuid* (<**Ebudi*), gen. **Ibod*. It has been preserved in the phrases *Tuath Iboth* and *Fir Iboth*" ["the tribe of the **Ibuid*"].

It seems just possible that there may be some connection—a pseudo-semantic one—between *Ljóðhús* and these two early tribal names. *Ljóðhús* is not a translation of *Tuath Iboth* or *Fir Iboth*. Let us suppose, however, that an early Norse seafarer attempted to translate each part of either of these two tribal names separately. O.N. *Ljóð*- "people" might have been his translation of *Tuath* or *Fir*. O.N. *-hús* "a settlement" is not a translation of *Iboth*; it might, however, have been a mistranslation through confusion with M.Ir. *both* "a dwelling" or "settlement". When he had translated the two parts, the result would remind him and his fellows of the settlement name *Ljóðhús* that they knew in Norway, and this would assist in giving currency to his new place-name.

There are other errors in the translation of compound place-names into Old Norse. The name *Orkney* offers an example. O.N. *Orkneyjar*, found in many of the sagas, is derived from O.Ir. *Insi Orc* "the islands of the tribe **Uirc*"—a name meaning literally "pigs". We would have expected the O.N. form, however, to be **Orka-eyjar*, shortening to **Orkeyjar*, and giving a modern name **Orkey*. It is all the more surprising that the O.N. name was not **Orka-eyjar* when we find in *Orkneyingasaga* 273 that the mound of Maeshowe was called *Orkahaugr* "the mound of the **Orkar*"; and that the element *Ork-* or *Orka-* is found in several place-names in Orkney and Shetland. Except for one or two scribal errors, however, the intrusive *-n-* appears in all spellings of the name in Old Norse sources. *Orkneyjar* meant "scal-islands"—a not unsuitable name indeed, but an erroneous rendering of the native name. It would appear that the Norsemen who coined the name *Orkahaugr* knew that they were dealing with a tribal name, but not so the Norsemen, probably of an earlier period, who coined their own form of *Insi Orc*.

It cannot be claimed that the formation of *Orkneyjar* is an

exact parallel of that suggested for *Ljóðhús*, but it has been discussed at some length to illustrate the risks to which the less familiar elements in native compound names were subject in the process of transference to the Old Norse tongue.

The particular process of "translation-cum-mistranslation" suggested above is therefore offered as a possible, but by no means unchallengeable, explanation of a connection between *Tuath Iboth* or *Fir Iboth* and *Ljóðhús*. While the exact nature of the connection may be uncertain, it is difficult to avoid the view that a connection of some kind exists.

Summary. The Old Norse name for Lewis (Gaelic *Leòdhas*) was *Ljóðhús*, a Norwegian settlement name in plural form meaning "homesteads of the people". The first recorded occurrence of *Ljóðhús* is in a verse, *c.* 1100, by the Norwegian skald Björn Cripplehand, but the name may be as old as the ninth century. It was probably derived, by some process of faulty translation which cannot be explained with certainty, from *Tuath Iboth* or *Fir Iboth* ("the tribe of the **Ibuid*"), names given in certain early Irish writings to a tribe in the Western Isles of Scotland. It was rendered *Leodus* (with uncertain accentuation) in certain Irish manuscripts of the twelfth century. The subsequent phonological history of the name awaits further study, there being a varied series of forms of the name in later records as a basis for this.

NOTE

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A. B. TAYLOR

12. *Nevis*

Although dealing with one of the most important geographical names in the whole of Scotland and, indeed, in the British Isles, this little note is not intended to give a final answer to all the problems which *Nevis* offers. It is only meant to clear up one or two misconceptions as to the meaning and formation of this name, perpetuated in the form of "question and answer" by the public press (see, for instance, *The Sunday Post*, Edinburgh, 17th August 1958, p. 6).

At least four geographical features bear this name. There are, on the one hand, *Ben Nevis*, the highest mountain in Britain, the *Water of Nevis*, the river which skirts its southern flank, and *Glen Nevis*, the valley through which the river flows; and there is, on the other hand, *Loch Nevis*, a sea-loch between Morar and Knoidart, opening out into the Sound of Sleat. All these features are in Inverness-shire. There is, in addition,

Knocknevis, a hill about one mile south of Clatteringshaws Loch in Galloway.

According to Johnston (1934:262), early forms of *Nevis* are *Nevis* 1532, *Neuess* 1552, *Nevis* 1769, but he does not specify if these are forms of the river- or the mountain-name, nor does he indicate from which sources he derived this information. The local pronunciation has been recorded by several writers. MacBain (1922:47 and 149) has *Nibheis* (English *Nivesh*), Watson (1926:471) gives the alternatives *Nimheis* or *Nibheis*, as “*mh* can hardly be distinguished from *bh* in pronunciation after *n*, which makes the syllable nasal in any case”, and Diack (1920-1:113) distinguishes between [N'evaʃ] and [N'ivaʃ] for the river, glen and mountain on the one hand, and [N'ēvaʃ] for the loch on the other (*ibid.*:114). Neither MacBain nor Watson makes this distinction, the validity of which seems to be doubtful, and it is also to be assumed that the velar quality of the vowel in the unstressed second syllable of Diack's transcriptions does not represent the true pronunciation because there is nothing in the Gaelic form to warrant it. Johnston's *Néevush* (1934:262) is presumably intended to imitate the second form which Diack gives for the river and mountain.

Any interpretation of the name can rule out Livingstone's *ni-mhaise* “no beauty” (1888:266) and Taylor's “snowy mountain” (n.d.:4 and 336) which he queries himself in the second reference cited. Livingstone suspects that the latter derived the name “from the Latin *nix*, *nivis*, snow” which, of course, would not be permissible. As Watson's alternative spellings of the Gaelic name indicate, any attempt at an etymology has the choice of either of two roots. He himself (1926:472) chooses the first, *Nimheis*, which he regards as a genitive to a nominative *Nimheas*, earlier *Neimheas* (gen. *Neimheis*), going back to an even earlier *Nemess*. This he connects with the Irish river-name *Neim*, *Nem*, an old name of the Blackwater River (cf. Hogan 1910:554b), and Old Irish *neim*, Scottish Gaelic *neimh*, *nimh* “poison”, which would give a meaning “the venomous one”. In spite of the poetry quoted by Watson in support of such a meaning, we feel that this is not really convincing. If we compare *Neim*, *Nem* and the Luxemburg stream-name *Nims*, older *Nemesa* in Ausonius, as Watson does (1926:522; cf. also Diack 1920-1:114), and the Lithuanian river-name *Niemen* = *Nemunas*, derivation from the root **nem-* “to bend” would be more applicable, for *Abhainn Nimheis* is

certainly a winding river. As far as the Celtic languages are concerned, this root is, however, better known in a different context, as Gaulish *νεμητον* "holy grove" and Old Irish *nemed* "sacred place; privilege, privileged person" show. Only a *t*-participle from the reduction grade **nm-* comes anywhere near our meaning, cf. Gaulish *nanto* "valle" and Welsh *nant* "valley, burn" < **nm-tu-* (Pokorny 1954:764.)

For this reason, we prefer to base our derivation with MacBain (1922:47 and 149) and Diack (1920-1:113) on the root **nebh-* "moist, water", rather than **nem-*. Pedersen has shown (1909:255 and 387) how *b(bh)* underwent nasalisation > *mh* in early Irish in the case of Old Irish *nem* (-es-stem) "heaven", Gaelic and Irish *neamh*, Welsh and Cornish *nef* (see also Pokorny 1950:315), so that the "popular etymology, as if from *neamh* 'heaven'," which Diack (1920-1:114) mentions as "still current in the district" in the case of *Loch Nevis*, is not very far off the mark. A translation as "loch of heaven" is, however, more than unsatisfactory. The original meaning of the root becomes much clearer when we compare Greek *νέφος*, -ους "cloud, mist" and Sanskrit *nábhas-* "mist, haze, heaven, etc.", and thus the *River Nevis*—and the loch, for that matter—can be explained as "the moist one; the one that abounds in water", or possibly as "the misty one". This etymology avoids reference to "water-divinities" or "nymphs" whose names Diack (1920-1:114) and MacBain (1922:47 and 149) see in *Nevis*. Both compare the Gaulish river-name *Nebis*, now *Neyva* in Spain, and Diack (*ibid.*:113) and Förster (1923:89) add *Neviasca*, also in Gaul. The *o*-grade **nobh-* of our root is evidenced in the *River Naver* < **Nabaro-/-ā* in Sutherland, as well as in *Afon Nevern* (Pembrokeshire) < **Nabernā*, *Nabalia*, fl. Batavorum (Tacitus), and *Nablis* = Unstrut (Germany: Venantius Fortunatus), which are probably pre-Celtic.

Whilst the stem *Nev-* can be explained quite satisfactorily in this way, the ending poses a bigger problem. MacBain (1922:47 and 149) thinks of **Nebestis* or **Nebesta*, particularly the latter, and Förster (1923:89) suggests an Early Celtic **Nevaskā*, probably on the strength of the Gaulish *Nevisca*. It is not clear if these forms are to be considered as containing *t-* or *k-*suffixes, respectively, extending an *-es-stem*, or if *-st-* or *-sk-*suffixes are envisaged. The latter are extremely rare in Scottish river-nomenclature and in the hydronymy of the British Isles in general, and it looks as if, on the whole, we are in the same position as regards the *River Thames* which contains

a similar suffix: the stem can be etymologised, but the ending remains doubtful.

At the beginning of this year, Krahe devoted an article in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* to the discussion of some river-names with an *st*-suffix, particularly of some belonging to an Indo-European but pre-Celtic stratum of European hydronymy. He demonstrates (1959:16-17) that this ending must have been employed as a morphological element in the creation of this early nomenclature, although not as commonly as the better attested formations in *-a*, *-ra*, *-na*, *-nt*, *-ma*, *-sa*, etc. He explains its rarity by assuming that the element must have fallen out of use fairly early in most districts covered by names belonging to this early period, except in the Baltic and Slavonic areas; this explanation is certainly most satisfactory as far as the situation in the British Isles is concerned which, as we hope to have proved (Nicolaisen 1957), also shows survivals of this pre-Celtic river-nomenclature. As, however, the root **nebh-* could be ascribed to a Celtic stratum without any difficulty, it is not absolutely necessary to regard *Nevis* as being of pre-Celtic origin, although this derivation is undoubtedly an attractive and plausible alternative, in view of the fact that *-st-* formations are extremely uncommon in later Insular Celtic, i.e. Brythonic and Gaelic, names of Scottish water-courses.

However, even without being able to suggest a concrete original form of the name, this note has, we hope, helped to throw light on its meaning and etymological connections. These make it quite certain that *Nevis* is primarily a river-name and that the glen as well as the ben were named after it. This was already stated explicitly by MacBain (1922:47), and others like Diack (1920-1:113), Förster (1923:89) and Watson (1926:471-2) have implied it; but it seems to be worth stressing again, as the order of naming has been misunderstood several times since. *Beinn Nibheis* is the ben of the River Nevis, just as *Gleann Nibheis* is the glen of the River Nevis. *Ben Lawers* (Perthshire) is another case in point. It is named after the stream which is now called *Lawers Burn*, entering Loch Tay at *Lawers*. Whether the name *Loch Nevis* is also based on an original river-name as Diack alleges (1920-1:114), can only be decided when more documentation has come to hand. *Knocknevis* in Galloway could possibly point towards a name like **Nevis* having been replaced by the modern Clatteringshaws Loch.

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B. OTHER NOTES

Book Review

The Silver Bough. Volume I. Scottish Folk-Lore and Folk Belief. By F. Marian McNeill. William Maclellan, Glasgow. 1957.

The title, *The Silver Bough*, was, according to the author, chosen as a reference to Sir James Frazer's "stupendous work", and one may perhaps agree with the author that the choice "may seem pretentious". The idea was that as the Golden Bough was part of the tree of classical mythology so the Silver Bough was of Celtic growth, and the author's hope was that

in this survey of folklore and mythology the reader might discern "the scent of apple blossom". This key-note is more fully developed in the introductory chapter, is further emphasised in the Notes with quotations from every type of book; it pervades, in fact, the whole book, evoking a romantic almost nostalgic feeling in trying to resuscitate a world and a way of living where the "really vital things, wine, music and love, and prayers to those that sit above", are still alive. It is the reflex of a glorious past in Scottish folklore, and "as Scotland is essentially a Celtic country", in the wonderland of Celtic tradition. The appeal of a book of this type depends upon the writer's ability to evoke in his readers the same vague mixture of reverence and regret. To judge the book as an objective study is accordingly difficult, if not unfair, and a competent criticism would besides involve specialist knowledge of a wide field of studies, and a knowledge sufficient to determine the value of the facts and sources referred to, as well as the conclusive solutions offered to many complicated problems. A reviewer is constantly in the position that he has to ask whether the facts referred to are real facts and not only the writer's interpretations, and in addition has to examine the relevance of such facts to the theory proposed.

A full answer, too, would require extensive specialist knowledge of many much-discussed subjects, such as Celtic mythology, and to such knowledge the present reviewer can lay no claims. As a folklorist, i.e. one who is primarily concerned with traditional ideas, customs and belief, he has mainly to keep to points where tradition is involved. But in passing by the Druids, he may still doubt the author's interpretations of the well known passages in ancient writers and, even more, such sweeping statements as that "all pagan religions are a form of nature worship" or "druidism was already groping towards a spiritual interpretation of the universe", while it is also fair to stress the reservation, "of the druids of Scotland and Ireland our knowledge is comparatively scanty". In writing about possible traces of druidism, and following her source "Druidism Exhumed" (1871), she refers to the "druidical fields" that down to present times the peasants are reluctant to till. The same attitude is equally familiar to people in non-Celtic countries; the reason given is that the fields belonged to "the Good People". A recent case—1958—from Mayo, Ireland, shows how persistent such belief is, when the official road builders were forced to make their road

twist round one of these localities. To look for the background of such belief in ancient Celtic religion, of which besides very little is known, seems hazardous, and when such reverence for localities not subject to human power is found in almost every country, the attitude seems to presuppose a far wider background. Here, as in other cases, it seems that what is known and accessible—traditional conceptions still being held—may help us to understand ancient pre-Christian religion, or the elements in it that spring from some human general way of thinking.

The chapter *The New Faith*, is suggestive and interesting, and it may well be right that "the mystical nature-worship of the Druids was much less incompatible with Christianity than with the polytheistic systems of non-Celtic peoples", yet the Celtic Sungod and Seagod figure constantly. Why, by the way, did the Norseman, the son of Earl Sigurd, get the strange name Hindius (p. 45)? He was called Hundi—i.e. whelp, but on being baptised he received the name Hlodver.

An extensive chapter with the heading *Magic* covers a wide group of conceptions and customs with different origins, and leaves the reader with the impression of some well planned, orderly garden, where every growth carries the impress of its origin. We are, however, rather faced with a wilderness of interrelated conceptions, where it is extremely difficult to trace the origin of the separate elements, and where the constant interplay of what is national and what international makes it difficult to trace any possible survivals from a national, pagan background. The ideas about "sun-wise" and "anti-sunwise" are held by people far apart, and the musings of D. H. Lawrence: "Conscience is sun-awareness, and our deep instinct not to go against the sun", may be suggestive, but is no explanation (p. 159). The *toradh*, the "virtue" a Norwegian farmer would say, the influence of the moon "in pagan religion second only to the sun-worship" is well attested everywhere. One doubts the statement (p. 59), "The moon-title Ra, or one of its many variants, is found in many languages, and survives in Celtic speech as Ur, Er and Ara." The same signs and omens recur everywhere, and are also in other countries, connected with some special "quarterday", but such connection is not decisive. The important thing is the vital importance of the omen, and omens of death, or of matters of love, appear at any time. A term like "Earth-magic" is extremely vague and the quotations given in the Notes, do

not clarify it. The "Need-fire" is a well-known device everywhere, and was known in the Middle Ages, and one may doubt the assertion that when a wheel was used in producing it, the wheel was "of course the symbol of the revolving sun". Considerably more familiar is a stray reference to an old man from Aberdeen "whose head was full of rituals". He would have felt in sympathy with the old Norwegian farmer, speaking about old people he had met in his youth: "They had so many rituals, indeed they had one for everything that happened to them." Vague also is a term like "Magic objects", where the separate items are familiar. The red thread used when reciting the sprain-charm, is recorded in Germany about the year 900. The salmon or white serpent of wisdom, was sampled by Sigurd the Volsung, as by Fionn Mac Cumhail, Pliny knew about the true virtue of the Orchis, and Thor, the god, was saved by the rowan. The "snake stone" was as eagerly coveted by Norwegian farmers, as hard to get, and as useful to possess. Curiously the "Standing Stones" are placed within this group. The account is interesting, and anyone who has seen, e.g., the Callanish stones, has felt the stupendous impression of size and a definite plan, and cannot fail to wonder why they were raised. One is also grateful for some fine photos of charms and amulets.

The next chapter is devoted to the *Fairies*, a subject far more uniform than that covered by *Magic*. The author is aware that fairy-belief is universal, as also of the fact that the *sidhe*, or by whatever name they were called, differ from the literary fairies of children's books. She touches briefly upon the vexed question of origins, and brings in "the folk-memory of a short-statured though not genuinely pigmy, race of Neolithic and Bronze Age folk", qualifying her words by "some anthropologists maintain", but hinting at the same time of certain "people of dwarfish race" living apart "somewhere in Caithness in the eighteenth century". These again she, with a cautious "probably", equates with the modern Laplanders, who, by the way, are not "merely a stunted branch of the Finnish race", but more likely a Nomad tribe of Siberian origin that at some time in their wanderings strayed towards the west, and on every point, except partly in language, differ from the people of Finland. To illustrate the nature of these Laplanders, the author quotes some passages from the books of R. Crottet, a very able writer, and a true artist. His stories are told as genuine oral tradition, the strange thing is that they

have hardly a single point in common with the extensive collections of folklore recorded from the Laplanders of the same district by Scandinavian and Finnish scholars. Again it is in harmony with the keynote of the book, when such books are quoted; and on the same lines is the free use of descriptions and accounts given in ancient Irish literature, as e.g. from the Voyage of Bran, where the obvious characteristics of an individual poet, and his imagination, both in setting as in atmosphere makes it hazardous to utilise them as sources for mythology and folklore. In many ways the Secret Commonwealth of the Rev. R. Kirk is more close to popular conceptions. The notes upon the popular belief in the fairies are disappointing. The explanation that they are the Fallen Angels, is not exclusively Hebridean, and the distinction between "good and evil fairies", is a later systematisation. In folkbelief there is always a certain risk involved in having dealings with "them", an attitude which is inherent in the function of such belief which was to explain happenings that seemed inexplicable, and to sanction a definite code of behaviour. The utilisation of the vast mass of first-hand evidence collected in Ireland, and also in Western Scotland in recent times, would have added towards an understanding of these conceptions, well described as "the most vital living link with a distant past". The essential point in any discussion of origin is the interplay between international and national elements, and the author, in summing up, wisely declines to accept any single explanation. It seems to me, however, of more importance to stress the essence of this attitude to "the other world" in noting its affinity to a religious attitude, and experience, a survival from an epoch when such experience was familiar to everybody, and not circumscribed by official words and rites, a period where more roads than one led on to "the other world". Something of this kind of interpretation is probably the gist of the author's summing up, who is "content to be illogical", and "to leave it at that".

The subject of the final chapter, *The Witches*, is essentially different, the background being the official teachings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With some faint reservations the author seems to accept the theories of Miss M. Murray, as "a rationalisation of phenomena", of the survival of a definite "cult of the Horned God". Of interest are the extracts from the trials of witches, and a gruesome picture of a *corp creagh*.

As will be seen this review was written by a reviewer who on many points was in disagreement with the author, but this fact does not detract from his appreciation of an attractive book, and a will to give an understanding, comprehensive review of Celtic mythology and folklore, akin in many ways to what her predecessors have written upon this fascinating subject. She has at all events managed to convey to her readers "the scent of appleblossom"; in how far it is Celtic or not, remains an open question.

REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN

Some Items from an Aberdeenshire Parish

On a recent visit to the parish of Auchterless in Aberdeenshire, a number of items were collected, five of which are noted below. Further information on any of these items would be welcomed.

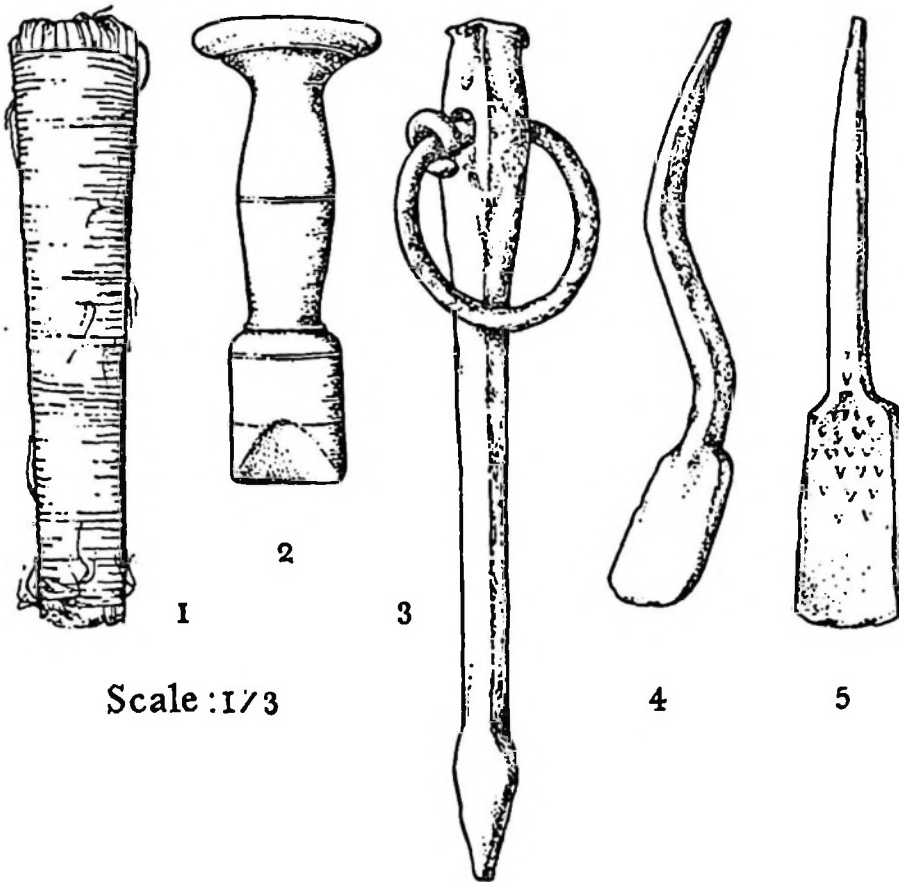
1. A straw *knitting sheath* from the farm of Brownhill. It was made by George Merson (died 1938), father-in-law of Mr. Hunter, the present farmer, in the following way. A band of straw was pulled out straight, a piece of binder twine tied round it about half-way along its length, and the straws bent back upon themselves over the ring of twine so as to leave a tube-shaped opening in the centre. The loose end of the twine was brought through the bent-back straws, and wound very tightly round the outside of the straw until a cone had been formed, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and tapering from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the top, to 1 inch in diameter at the foot. The loose straws were then trimmed straight across with a sharp knife. This sheath shows little sign of wear.

Although knitting sheaths were formerly widely distributed throughout the British Isles, they have now become of museum interest. Older ladies may still occasionally be seen using them in the North-East of Scotland, and young and old use them in Orkney and particularly Shetland, where knitting is a flourishing industry, though the use of machines has made knitting by hand on any large scale obsolete. Mary Thomas (1938:22) mentions straw sheaths as being in use in Cornwall and Devon at the time she was writing. They are made of practically any convenient material. A bunch of hay or straw, bound round with string or tape, is a common form (Risom 1893:378; Muirhead 1895:141; Mackinnon 1897:120). An

informant from Huntly in Aberdeenshire spoke of a binding of criss-crossing red and blue tapes. Another from Orkney says that a bunch of feathers (called a "buss o' pens") was often used, and that in the early years of this century the usual device there was a goose wing bone cut at both ends and sewn in a double square of cloth about 2 inches by 3 inches in size, and pinned on to the bodice. She herself likes to use simply a safety pin stuck firmly into the bodice at the right side, a little above the apron band. I have myself seen a sheath of goose-quills in Foula, Shetland. Wooden knitting sheaths, called knitting sticks, seem to have been common in England, but no record of their use has come to hand in Scotland, although one made from a piece of *bourtrees* (elderberry wood) is mentioned in the late eighteenth century, the soft pithy core making a good bed for the needle. I have not been able to trace the source of this reference. Sheaths in Northumberland are described in Heslop 1892:628: "The *sheth* . . . is sometimes made by tying a small bundle of straws together, or by a quill sewn into a fabric; but the old 'knittin *sheth*' was a small piece of fine grained wood, perforated for a distance of a few inches with a hole large enough to admit a knitting needle. These *sheths* were often of curious shape and elaborately carved." A number of knitting sticks, mainly of English origin, may be seen in the National Museum of Wales (listed in Peate 1929:115-6, and illustrated in Mary Thomas 1938:19), dated in some instances to the first half of the eighteenth century, and made not only of wood, but also of ivory, silver, bone, and bead-covered cardboard. Mary Thomas notes that tin knitting sticks were made as an experiment in America during the 1914-18 war. The type of sheath now used in Scotland is an oval leather pad, perforated with a number of holes of a suitable size for receiving the end of the needle (needles used with sheaths are, of course, pointed at both ends), stuffed with horse-hair, and fixed to a leather belt for tying round the waist.

When in use, the sheath was tucked into the apron band at the right side (Risom 1893:378; Wilson 1928:27; Milne 1955:1). It was never fixed at the left side as Peate (1929:53) suggests. It could be used with two needles or four, and the main advantages of using it were that it was possible to knit when walking along, the right hand could be freed at any time, and a considerable knitting speed could be attained, as described in Mary Thomas (1938:20). "The right needle

was place into the bore, and the right hand, thus freed of supporting the needle, was placed close up over the needle point, the forefinger acting as a shuttle, making the least possible movement and attaining a speed of 200-odd stitches a minute." I have seen a knitter in Foula using a sheath and going so fast that the spencer she was making seemed to flow from her needles.



Scale : 1/3

Some items from an Aberdeenshire Parish.

The name *sheath* in this sense is peculiar to Scots and the English dialects of Northumberland, North Yorkshire, Oxford, and Cornwall, as far as the available records show. A curious name for it, now localised in Morayshire, Banffshire and Aberdeenshire is *wisker* ['wēskar]. Outside the North-East of Scotland the only reference to this name is for Northumberland in Heslop 1892:783, where the form *whisker* appears, and this also is the form in the earliest recorded reference, in Jamieson 1825, who describes it as a "sheath, at a woman's side, used

for holding the end of a wire, while she is knitting stockings". The word is of the same origin as English *whisk*, a bunch of feathers for dusting, etc., from Old Norse *visk*, a wisp, as of straw. Its development in the North-East of Scotland in this specific sense may be a result of the considerable trade in knitted stockings which developed there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (as described in, for example, Keith 1811:577-80, Alexander 1877:xviii, Grant 1921:277-89).

2. A *beetle* [bitl], given by William Merson, farmer, North Pitglassie. This is a wooden implement, 6½ inches long, shaped in the middle so as to be held comfortably in the hand, as shown. It was widely used by the previous generation of farm servants for polishing horse-harness. Polish (Jamieson's Blaik was a brand mentioned) was spread on the harness, rubbed in with the wedge-shaped end of the beetle till all the cracks in the leather were filled up, and the final polish was given with the rounded end, heat sometimes being applied to get a better shine.

The name *beetle* in this sense is peculiar to the North-East of Scotland. In other parts the word refers to a pounder or mallet, shaped like a pestle, and considerably larger, used nowadays for mashing potatoes, etc., but also in earlier times for bruising grain, pounding cloth in the process of washing, and so on.

3. A *baikie* ['beki] from Brownhill. It consists of a peg of iron, 1 foot long, flattened to a heart-shaped point at one end, and bearing a ring, 3 inches in diameter, at the other. A wooden peg or stake is what is most frequently used as a baikie. The peg was driven into the ground, and used in recent times for tethering calves which had been newly put out to the field and still had to learn about coming for milk when the handle of the bucket was rattled, and for ewes about lambing time. A chain with a swivel-hook at one end was fixed in the ring of the baikie, and the chain or rope round the animal's neck was attached by a spring-clip to the swivel-hook. A reference from the Parish of Turrieff, dated 1916, mentions a *knocklesnorum*, described as "a swivel fixed to a baikie of such a kind that two or three sheep might be tethered without risk of the tethers getting twisted".

Full-grown cattle are never tethered in this way in this area, but are allowed to roam freely through the fields. As is to be expected, the tethering of cattle is only found in areas which are poor in grass—for example, I have seen cattle

tethered outside in Foula, Shetland (where the rope went round the horns, and not round the neck), and in the Faroe Islands. A record of the tethering of cattle in Aberdeenshire does, however, exist for the late eighteenth century in Anderson (1794: 113-14), who, speaking of the grass lands around Peterhead, says: "As no person there has more than one, two or three cows, they have adopted a very economical mode of applying the produce of these fields to the feeding of milk cows without the aid of inclosures, merely by tethering the cows on these fields in a regular and systematic method, moving each tether forward in a straight line not above one foot at a time, so as to prevent the cows from ever treading upon the grass that is to be eaten: and as it is always fresh, and gives a deep bite to the cows, they feed upon it greedily, and eat it clean up without the smallest waste; care being always taken to move the tethers forward at stated intervals. . . . And by the time they have thus got to one end of the ridge, the grass on the other end of it is ready for being again eat. . . . One gentleman . . . has a few sheep upon longer tethers that follow the cows to sweep up any refuse that may have been left; and occasionally he makes the horses pasture on the same fields, so that the tufts of grass produced by the dunging of one species of animals is eat up by those of another kind and nothing is lost." This was by way of a local experiment in feeding, and with the widespread development of enclosed fields, it must soon have been replaced by the modern method of letting animals graze loose in one field for a time, and then changing them over to another to let the grass in the first recover. Cattle appreciate a change of grass like this, and thrive better from being changed round from time to time.

The name *baikie* though well enough known to older people, now survives mainly in the proverbial expression; "ye've gotten yer baikie oot" (see Fenton 1959: 66; a similar saying, *to poo the baikie*, to indulge a little, is recorded for Caithness in Nicolson 1907: 64). Curiously, the earliest reference to the word is also in a proverb: "better hand louse nor bund to ane ill baikie", dating from *a.* 1598 in Fergusson's MS. collection of *Scottish Proverbs*.

In origin, it is probably from the Gaelic *bacan*, a tethering-stake, derived from *bac*, to hinder or restrain, this etymology receiving support from the fact that the form *baikine* is found for *baikie* in the first published collection of Fergusson's *Scottish Proverbs* in 1641.

In the sense of "a stake for tethering animals out-of-doors", it is found in Morayshire, Banffshire, and Aberdeenshire in the form *baikie*, and in Caithness in the form *backie*. The more general Scots meaning is that of a stake for tethering cattle indoors, in a byre.

4 and 5. The blades of two thistle-cutters, number 4 from Brownhill, and number 5 from Smiddy Croft, Pitglassie. Both are made by local smiths, one from an old *risp* (coarse file). They were fixed on the end of shafts four or five feet long. The thistle-cutter now in use at Brownhill is much lighter, factory-made, and having a shaft 5 feet long, the blade being 2 inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the cutting end, tapering slightly in to where it joins the shaft.

Thistles are cut about July, on any day when it is too wet for hoeing or haymaking, or at any slack period before the beginning of harvest, as exemplified in a diary kept by Mr. Hunter's father, who writes, under 7th July 1924: "A some showery kind of a day did not get much hoeing. . . . I cut some thistles on steep brae of grass."

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ALEXANDER FENTON

The Reports on the Parishes of Scotland, 1627

The publication of Dr. Emery's most valuable account of the predecessors of the first *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Emery 1959) calls to mind the Reports made to the Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks in 1627, which might perhaps be included as an addendum. Like many of the articles later published in *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* these reports were also part of a church scheme for the compilation of a detailed topographical account of the whole of Scotland, the principal purpose of which in this instance would have been to pinpoint the areas in need of pastoral attention. An order was sent to the different presbyteries of the Kirk calling upon the clergy to report on existing parochial establishments, and on the state, amount and use of ecclesiastical property in each parish, but the actual order does not seem to exist, although it must have been issued in 1627. Accounts survive from forty-nine ancient parishes, but what proportion this represents of the total material submitted is not known.

The accounts of the parishes of Scotland in 1627 were eventually edited by Alexander Macdonald and published by the Maitland Club in 1835, but perhaps on account of the rarity of the book they do not seem to have received the attention they merit. They contain many interesting items, apart from much valuable matter for the ecclesiastical historian.

Thus the minister of *Chingilkirk* (Channelkirk) in Berwickshire complains: "I have no sowmes grasse mosse nor muire to cast elding and diffott into my great hurt and skaith . . ." (Macdonald 1835:5), showing that peat must have been the principal fuel in use there at that time. Of *Lochquharret Maynes* (Loquhariot) in the parish of Borthwick, Midlothian, it is reported: "It hes sum lyme staine quhairof they mak sum use in thair guidding" (*ibid.*:37), and at *Middiltoun* (Middleton) in the same parish this commodity was first utilised some two years previously. The farm of *Schank* (Shank) was limed with material brought over from Esperston (*ibid.*:39, 43), and there are references to the recent introduction of lime from other parishes in Midlothian, as well as to the different crops in cultivation, often with the individual farm itemised. The following parishes (apart from one or two cases, normalised in their modern spelling) are covered by reports:

Berwickshire:	Bunkle and Preston
	Channelkirk
	Coldstream
	Hume (included with Stichill under Roxburghshire)
	Langton
	Legerwood
	Longformacus
	Mordington
	<i>St. Bothanes and Strafontanes</i> (now Abbey St. Bathans)
	Swinton
Clackmannanshire:	Tillicoultry
Dumfriesshire:	Dalgarnock and Closeburn (now Closeburn)
East Lothian:	Bara (now Garvald and Bara)
	<i>Bothanes</i> (now Yester)
	Dirleton
	Humbie and Keith (now Humbie)
	Oldhamstocks
	Ormiston
	Pencaitland
	Salton
	Tranent

Kirkcudbrightshire:	Lochrutton
	Terregles
	Urr
Midlothian:	Borthwick and Loquhariot (now Borthwick)
	Cockpen
	Cranston
	Crichton
	Currie
	Fala and Soutra
	Heriot
	Inveresk
	Kirknewton
	Newbattle
	Newton
	Temple
Perthshire:	Dull
	Forgandenny
	Kenmore
	Killin and Strathfillan (now Killin)
	Lecropt (now Dunblane and Lecropt)
	Weem
Renfrewshire:	Greenock
	Houston
Roxburghshire:	Ednam
	Stichill (together with Hume, now in Berwickshire)
Shetland:	Nesting
Stirlingshire:	Logie
Wigtownshire:	Kirkcowan
	Kirkinner and Longcastle (now Kirkinner)

The distribution of these surviving reports is particularly rewarding to anybody concentrating upon south-eastern Scotland: thus twelve out of the twenty-two parishes of Midlothian (apart from Edinburgh) are represented, and of the seventy-eight rural parishes of Berwickshire and East and Midlothian, thirty-one are included in the *Reports on the state of certain parishes in Scotland*. Altogether they present a body of information which deserves closer study.

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IAN WHITAKER

Agricultural Implements Drawn by Women

A propos of the harrow customarily drawn by women in Lewis, mentioned recently by Dr. Whitaker (Whitaker 1958: 159) it seems to be worth recording that I saw a woman drawing the plough for her husband at Gunnista, in the north of Bressay, in April 1907; the strip which they were ploughing was said to be held in rotation, which was probably correct, since rotational runrig, according to tradition, survived in Shetland longest on Bressay^{1a} and is still remembered to have been "in use in Brough in Bressay some thirty years ago".^{1b}

I append a note of the few similar instances found in my files:—

On the Huntingdon road, within a mile of Cambridge, a *didakai* woman was seen by Mr. R. C. Lambeth drawing the plough "for at least two seasons" (*ca.* 1936-7).²

For Portugal, an *aradinho* is figured, used in making irrigation channels on maize fields, and intended for traction by girls (Dias 1948:137, fig. 51).

One instance of the practice, common in this century among the poorest classes in the Rif (Spanish Stock Report, 1920, Vol. 2, 523; Dantín Cereceda, 1914:218) of yoking a woman to the plough with ass, mare, or cow, was noted (woman and ass) in S.W. Andalusia for the sierra behind S. Lúcar de Guadiana (*ca.* 1870);³ in this instance, however, the woman seems to have been mainly used to maintain the interval between the furrows.

A Tennessee farmer was said in a court of law in 1937 to have used his wife and step-son to draw the plough after losing his mule (*Yorkshire Evening Post*, 15th June 1937).

The North African practice of yoking woman and ass to the plough is as old as Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XVII, 3). P. George (*cit.* Haudricourt and Delamarre 1955:260 f.) noted in 1946

for Tunisia that women and children were being used to draw the plough under stress of famine conditions.

Among the Sherpas of Khumbu (Eastern Nepal) "ploughs are often dragged by teams of five or six men and women" (v. Fürer-Haimendorf 1956:274).

Traction by men has probably been commoner and more lasting. Recent instances are:

A light hoe-, or drill-plough, with single wheel (cf. the Portuguese *aradinho*) was in common use until 1939 at least on the potato-fields of Jersey: "one man guides, another pulls it".⁴

In the Haut-Bourbonnais at the same period, there was a light plough drawn by two men or by a single ass.⁵

In 1947 a man was seen drawing a plough in the Nile Delta neighbourhood.⁶

NOTES

- ^{1a,b.} I am indebted here to Prof. A. C. O'Dell and to Mr John Jamieson, Agricultural Adviser for Shetland, for letters of March 1959.
- ² Verbal communication by Mr. Lambeth, Curator of the Cambridge and County Folk Museum (1939), kindly confirmed by letter (1959).
- ³ Private communication by letter from my late friend, D. Joaquín Caballero, Gibraleón.
- ⁴ Extract from an unpublished account of the Jersey ploughs (1939) by the late Mr. J. Paull Ross, w.s., St. Helier.
- ⁵ From a descriptive letter of 1939 sent by Dr. Léon Chabrol, Vichy.
- ⁶ Verbal report by Mr. D. Wardle, Hornsey.

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ROBERT AITKEN

International Congress of Celtic Studies, 1959

The International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in Dublin from 6th to 11th July 1959, was organised in two main sections—plenary sessions devoted to the theme of the Scandinavian impact on the Celtic cultures, and specialised parallel sessions where more purely Celtological matters could be discussed. The Congress covered a wide field of scholarship: amongst them archæology, history, languages, literature, onomastics, folklore, art and law.

The plenary sessions were addressed by Professor K. H. Jackson, Professor J. H. Delargy (deputising for Professor Einar Ól. Sveinsson), Mrs. Nora Chadwick, Professor Magne Oftedal, Dr. Melville Richards, Miss Françoise Henry, Professor Alf Sommerfelt, Mr Prionsias Mac Cana, and Professor D. A. Binchy, who between them surveyed the whole field of Scandinavian-Celtic cultural inter-action.

Among other papers of particular interest to Scotland were those given by Professor W. Croft Dickinson, "Some Scandinavian influences on legal procedure?"; Dr. Anne Ross, "Archæology and the vernacular tradition: the value of iconographic evidence for a study of pagan Celtic religion"; Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Norse place-names in S.W. Scotland,"; Mrs. Isabel Henderson, "The Pictish symbol-stones and the Hiberno-Saxon style"; Dr. Ian Whitaker, "The sheiling in the Scottish Gaedhealtachd"; Professor K. H. Jackson, "Some results of the Gaelic Linguistic Survey of Scotland"; and Mr. James Ross, "Aspects of Gaelic-English bilingualism in the parish of Duirinish, Isle of Skye".

The programme of the Congress also included excursions to Clonmacnoise, and to Tara and the Boyne Valley, the latter terminating with a dinner in the memorable setting of the King's Inns.

The Congress, which was held under the patronage of Dr. Eamon de Valera, President of Ireland, owes much of its great success to the very high standard of the papers and discussions which distinguished the formal sessions. Special recognition must be made also of the part played by Professor Myles Dillon, the President of the Congress; Dr. Brian Ó Cuív, the Secretary; and all those who had worked hard, and often unobtrusively, during the preceding months. But Congresses do not succeed on intellectual merit, nor on efficient organisation, alone; and the participants remember with gratitude

the very generous hospitality of University College, Trinity College, the Minister for External Affairs, and, in their private capacity, many warm-hearted Irish friends, who made it possible for their guests to talk together late into the hot summer nights.

This Congress, the first of its kind, was attended by scholars from most European countries and from the U.S.A. Its great success has encouraged its members to plan a second Congress, to be held in Wales in a few years' time.

EDITOR

International Congress for Folktale Research, 1959

The International Congress for Folktale Research was held in Kiel and Copenhagen from 19th to 29th August. The University of Edinburgh was represented by Mr. C. I. Maclean and Mr. Hamish Henderson. The conference was attended by folktale scholars from America and practically every European country except Russia. The opening paper was delivered by Dr. Kurt Ranke, Kiel. He dealt with the classification of the basic forms of folktale material in a masterly survey. All papers were of interest to folktale students and all had some bearing on problems that face us here in Scotland. Particular mention must be made of papers by Dr. Ágnes Kovács and Dr. Linda Dégh of Budapest. To us in Scotland it was of special interest to learn that there are still in Hungary narrators of the stamp of the late Angus MacMillan, Benbecula, who can tell tales lasting from nine to twelve hours.

Most scholars gave reports dealing with folktale types in their particular countries, and some type-lists revealed a surprising similarity to the tale-types occurring in Scotland; one example that could be cited is that of Israel. The American contingent made an impressive contribution with papers by Stith Thompson on "Revision of Aarne-Thompson 'The Types of the Folktale' "; Archer Taylor on "What bird would you choose to be?"—a mediæval tale; Richard M. Dorson on "Folk Narrators in a Coastal Village"; Wayland D. Hand on "Abergläubische Grundelemente in der amerikanischen Volks-erzählung"; and Luc Lacourcière on "Les contes de la langue française en Amérique du Nord". Dr. Katherine M. Briggs read an interesting paper on "English Fairy Tales". C. I. Maclean contributed a report on "Folktale Studies in Scotland"

There were, of course, various excursions and also receptions

by the Lord Mayor of Kiel, the Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, the Premier of Denmark and by the Organising Committee of the Frilandsmuseum in Copenhagen. The chief value of the Congress was in the number of personal contacts established. At Kiel an informal meeting was held by the American, English, Irish and Scottish delegates to discuss the recognition of folklore as an academic discipline in British Universities. A small corresponding committee was formed with Mr. Hamish Henderson representing Scotland.

Four North American scholars, Professors Luc Lacourcière of Quebec, Stith Thompson of Indiana, Wayland D. Hand of California and Frances Gillmore of Arizona visited the School of Scottish Studies either on the way to or from Kiel and Copenhagen.

EDITOR

BOOKS RECEIVED

Apart from the books reviewed in this issue or to be reviewed later, the Editor has received the following publications which he would like to bring to the attention of the readers of this Journal:

Aitken, A. J. (editor); *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, Part XVIII, KNOT-LAW. London 1959.

Hildeman, Karl-Ivar; *Medeltid på vers*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenskt Visarkiv 1. Stockholm 1959.

Owen, Trefor M.; *Welsh Folk Customs*. Cardiff 1958.

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