

## B. NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

These notes, the second of a series gathered in the course of current work by members of the School of Scottish Studies, reflect in some degree the range and variety of the subjects covered, all of which will be represented in the series.

### *Funeral Resting Cairns in Scotland*

Martin Martin gives the impression that, at least in his native island of Skye, the custom of raising "small cairns . . . in some places on the common road, which were made only where corps [*sic*] happened to rest for some minutes", had already been laid aside by the close of the seventeenth century (Martin 1703:152).

In some of the Western Isles this practice has actually continued into the twentieth century, and almost as long even in some mainland districts of Scotland. In 1864, when Sir Arthur Mitchell sketched a group of resting-cairns in a birch wood near Torgyle in Glenmoriston, it was still "a common practice in certain parts of the north-west mainland" (Mitchell 1880:90, Fig. 63). His account continues:

The place of interment in these districts is often very far from the place of dwelling, and as the coffin is carried by men and not by horses, a halt is generally made on the way to the grave, so that the bearers may rest and refresh themselves. Where the rest is taken a small cairn is erected, generally about four or five feet high, and three or four feet wide at the base. On the way from certain districts to the churchyard there are some favourite halting-places, and at such places many of these small cairns will of course be found. I have seen several of these favoured spots . . . when a distinguished person is being carried to the grave, then the cairn is sometimes large and carefully constructed. There are two such cairns on the roadside not many miles from Fort-William, both of considerable size and pretension, which mark the halting-place of the funeral processions of two gentlemen who were well-known and highly esteemed.

This pair of large, carefully-built cairns, also sketched in 1864 (Mitchell 1880:91, Fig. 64), recalls another pair of about the same age, at a halting-place at the crest of the road from Kinlochmoidart to the burial island of Eilean Fhianain in Loch Shiel, the more recent of which commemorates the laird of Kinlochmoidart who died in 1868.

Such resting-places were known as *suidhe*, literally "a seat", a term also used of a hill where a saint or hero was supposed to sit in contemplation (Watson 1926:260). Thus in Wester Ross the name *Carn an t-Suidhe*, "cairn of the resting-place", one of the spots where the Applecross men are said to have rested when carrying Saint Maelrubha's body home from Kinlochewe (Watson 1926:262), may well represent a pre-Reformation tradition; while at *Uisge an t-Suidhe* in Islay coffins were rested at the ford on the north shore of Loch Indaal up to last century (oral). Some of the places called Acharn, e.g. near Kinlochaline in Morvern, and in the Perthshire parish of Kenmore, may also recall funeral resting-places since in these instances the topography suits the interpretation suggested—*Ath Chuirn*, "cairn-ford", or "ford at the cairn" (Watson 1926:477; Johnston 1934:78).

One of the most renowned of the West Highland burial-places, Eilean Fhianain, served the whole of Moidart and Sunart, and also the nearer parts of Morvern, Ardnamurchan and the head of Loch Eil. "All roads lead to this island, and these 'ways of the dead' are marked by, literally, hundreds of resting-cairns" (Donaldson c.1930:368-70). Our photographs (Plate IX), taken in Moidart in 1959, show some of the cairns at the Bealach Cara, on one of these routes, at the crest of the track from Glenuig to Kinlochmoidart. Several of the cairns at this point commemorate people who are still remembered locally.

Moidart is, of course, a Roman Catholic district, but the resting-cairn custom also continued in some Protestant areas of the West Highlands and islands up to this century, and it would be interesting to know how widely this applies to other parts of Scotland. Some of the routes followed until recently on the Argyll (Protestant) side of Loch Shiel have been briefly described by Mr. Alastair Cameron (Cameron 1957:13).

In the North-East the same custom was certainly still remembered in the Strathdon district of Aberdeenshire about 1892, when Walter Gregor received this account from a Mr. Michie:

At times the dead body had to be carried a long way over the hills to the graveyard. When the funeral procession halted for a rest and refreshment, the coffin was laid on the ground. When the coffin was lifted each one attending the funeral cast a stone on the spot where it lay. In after times each passer-by had to add a stone to the heap (Crombie MSS).



FIG. 1.—Funeral resting-cairns at Bealach Cara, Moidart, beside track from Glenuig to Kinlochmoidart. South view towards Loch Moidart and Eilean Shona, 1959 (*see* p. 203).



FIG. 2.—Larger, carefully-built resting-cairn with cement cross, at Bealach Cara, Moidart, 1959 (*see* p. 203).

(Both photographs by Prof. Ian Whitaker.)

More usually in North-East Scotland, including Fife, a “risting-”, or “licker-stane”, was already provided at the halting-places, and the coffin rested on this without coming in contact with the ground—a rather different conception. In at least one instance, in 1611, the “Licker-stane” was described as simply “ane heape of steans” (D.O.S.T.: s.v. “Likar stane”), so this practice seems to have been essentially the same as that found in parts of Ireland, where “the coffin was laid down on a stone-heap while prayers were recited, and in some places refreshments provided. The passer-by added his stone to the resting-place heap” (Nic Néill 1948:59).

The rather different Hebridean and Highland procedure of forming a cairn *after* a coffin containing a body had rested on the ground seems to be connected with another Irish observance, also found among primitive peoples in many parts of the world: the raising of a heap or cairn wherever a death has occurred in the open (Nic Néill 1948; Frazer 1913:15). Indeed it would seem that this death-cairn custom was also still very much alive in the Highlands in the early eighteenth-century for, besides remarking that there “are small Heaps of Stones, thrown together on the Place where every particular Man fell in Battle”, Burt informs us that “some of these Monuments have been raised in Memory of such as have lost their Lives in a Journey, by Snow, Rivers, or other Accidents” (Burt 1754:II, 101-3); and he particularly describes how even in the town of Inverness the Highlanders “cannot forgo the practice of the Hills, in raising Heaps of Stones over such as have lost their lives by some Misfortune; for in Oliver’s Fort, no sooner was the Body of an Officer removed from the Place where he fell in a Duel, than they set about the raising such a Heap of Stones upon the Spot where he had laid” (Burt 1754:II, 211-12). Later in the century, in 1797, Maclean of Coll was fully aware that Hebridean or Highland “cairns were not erected merely where a person was interred [presumably an obsolete practice], but often to commemorate the spot on which he died; and also at all the places where his body rested, from the place of his death to the place of his interment” (Otter 1825:I, 308).

These contrasting practices, found both in Scotland and Ireland, were undoubtedly influenced by the Roman Catholic belief in Purgatory and praying for the dead; but some of the evidence collected by the Irish Folklore Commission shows that the underlying concept is the much older one of warding off the

dangerous influence of the place touched by death. As a Connacht informant put it: "Anywhere a coffin rested will have *Féar Gortach* [the malign "Hungry Grass"] ever after". Some Irish cairns represent protective offerings at such spots where coffins had rested, others at the place where a death had actually occurred (Nic Néill 1948: 49-63); and the same motives must lie behind the parallel customs in the Highlands of Scotland.

Whether the cairns at the top of the storm-beach at Currach Bay, Iona, are to be linked with these ideas does not seem to be known. Too pointed for prehistoric burial-cairns and too regular for clearance heaps, their purpose was probably already forgotten at the time of Pennant's visit nearly two centuries ago, though he seems to have been told that they represented "penances of monks" (Pennant 1774:II, 259). Theoretically they might mark the first resting-place for funerals reaching Iona by sea when weather conditions were adverse in the Sound; but the absence of similar cairns at the usual landing-points would require explanation. Another theory is suggested by an early seventeenth-century description of St. Patrick's Purgatory in County Donegal. This refers to a group of cairns at the north end of that islet in Lough Dearg, each one of which served to commemorate a person buried elsewhere—"trusting, by the prayers and merits of those who daily resort to this Purgatory, to find some release of their pains in the other" (Pinkerton 1857:72). If this were the purpose of the Iona cairns, they may commemorate people lost at sea; but they may equally well be "death-cairns" in the stricter sense of marking, not interments, but the places where a number of people had died, conceivably in some Viking raid.

However enigmatic, remote examples like those at Iona are unlikely to disappear. This cannot be said of the often rather insignificant cairns near modern roads and farm tracks: they are a perpetual temptation to the road- or dyke-mender, and their recording is in many areas long overdue. The main purpose of this note, however, is to emphasise that for even the simplest of customs, outwardly identical, a variety of explanations should be allowed for. The most significant clues may survive, if at all, only in oral tradition.

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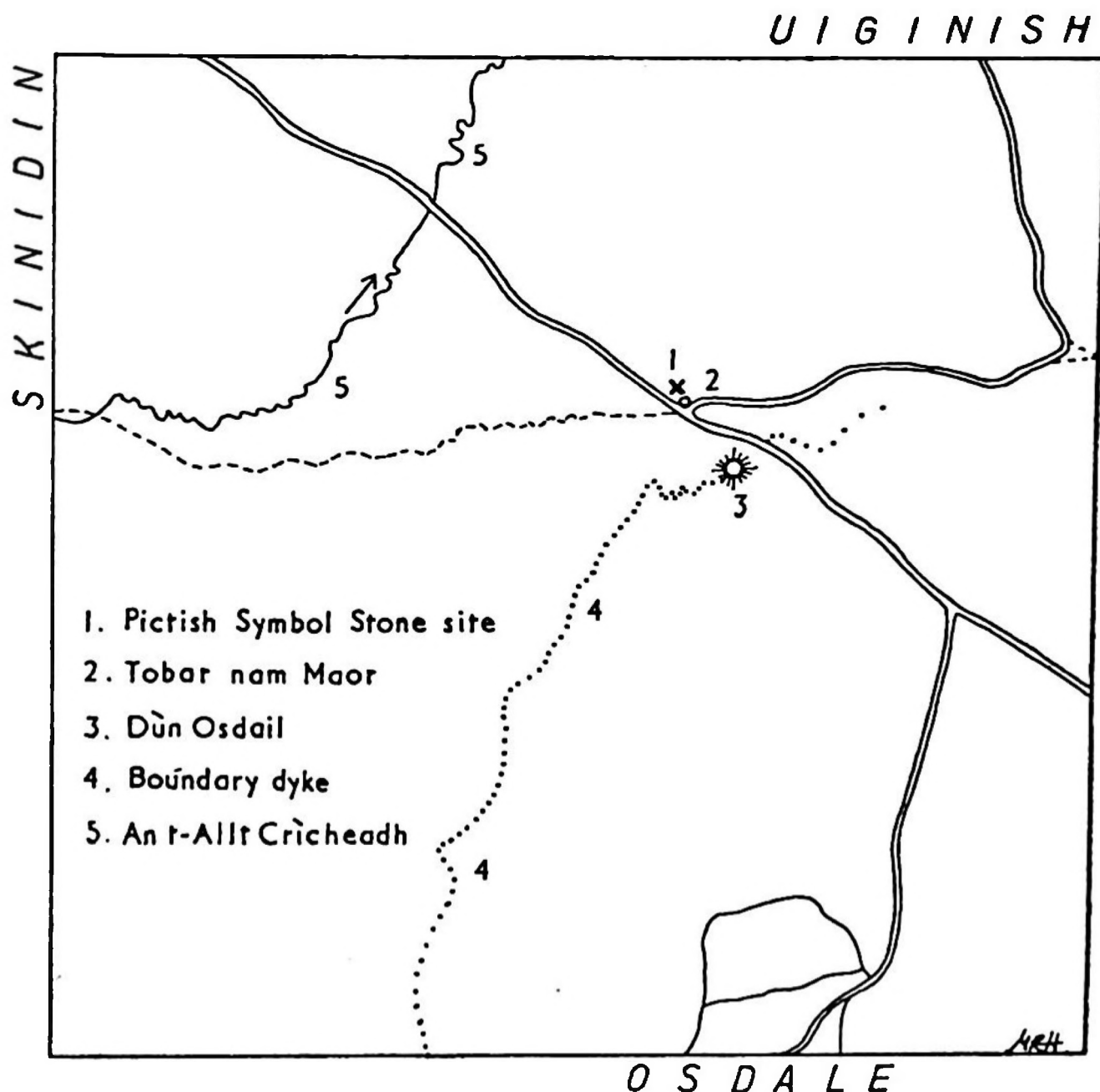
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B. R. S. MEGAW

*Tobar nam Maor "The Well of the Stewards"*

During a recent field trip to Skye, I recorded a tradition about one of the most interesting of the Skye wells. The well is singular on account of its situation and the structures in proximity to it. It is situated a few yards away from the foot of a small hill, some one hundred and thirty feet high, on which stands the broch known as Dùn Osdail. The dating of this structure is problematic, but in common with others of a similar character, it is probably to be placed in the first or second century A.D. with the strong probability of continued occupation or spasmodic occupation for several centuries after that. The well and the broch are on opposite sides of the road leading from Dunvegan to Skinidin in Duirinish. It is clear that this well must at one time have been used by the inhabitants of the broch, and its importance is emphasised by

the presence of a standing stone, bearing Pictish symbols, which originally stood on the peaty mound above the well (Pl. X). The stone, which is damaged and badly weathered is some three feet high and about one foot five inches broad. The symbols consist of the crescent with V-rod and two concentric circles, apparently the "triple disc" symbol, the outer circle of the



disc being eleven and a half inches in diameter. Not only is this well associated with a broch and a Pictish symbol stone, but as is well known locally it is situated on a boundary where the stewards traditionally met. The fact that the names of the lands which meet at this site, Skinidin, Uiginish and Osdal, are all Norse, suggests that this was a boundary in Norse times, and therefore probably in pre-Norse times. An adjacent stream, unnamed on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, is known locally

PLATE X



Symbol stone from Tobar nam Maor, Isle of Skye; now in collection of antiquities at Dunvegan Castle (see p. 207).



as *An t-Allt Crìtheadh* "the Boundary Stream", this supporting the evidence for a traditional boundary in the area. Aerial photographs reveal a boundary dyke which runs down from the farmland at Osdal right to the broch, and then appears to continue towards Uiginish in the form of a ditch. In its present form, it is unlikely to be earlier than the eighteenth century, but it may be superimposed upon an older line. The spring emerges from the bank to form a considerable pool. Pieces of white crockery were lying about the well in April 1961. Since the well is situated some distance from habitation, this is noteworthy.

An informant in Glendale stated that the symbol stone was removed from Tobar nam Maor towards the end of the last century by a late chieftain of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Sir Norman. He remembered the stone being taken by horse and cart when he was a boy of about ten years of age (he is now eighty-eight years old), to Dunvegan Castle, where it forms part of the private collection of antiquities in the Castle.<sup>1</sup> He also remembered that the stone lay flat on the peaty bank above the well. The presence of the symbol stone beside an important well may not be entirely fortuitous. A tradition from early Ireland, concerning the stone of the *Dagda* (the Good God, a tribal god of the old Irish legends), may be worth consideration here. The information is contained in one of the triads of Ireland, a collection of sayings going back in manuscript form probably to the second half of the ninth century A.D. Regarding the three wonders of Connaught, the following wonder is given: "The stone of the Dagda. Though it be thrown into the sea, though it be put into a house under lock, it returns to the [or out of] well at which it is".<sup>2</sup>

It was gratifying to be able to record a contemporary tradition about Tobar nam Maor from a man in Holmisdale, Norman MacAskill, which provides another example of a once widespread belief that a defiled well will react to such profanity by drying up or moving its position. Tobar nam Maor did both. Apparently a man once defiled the well. It immediately dried up and remained dry for seven years. At the end of this period it reappeared, flowing strongly, but in a new position, a small distance from its original place. Lights are traditionally seen at the well, further suggesting its supernatural nature.

It is seldom that one is able to visit a well which has such interesting and complex associations of both an archaeological and a traditional kind.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Information from Norman Ross, Fàsach, Glendale.
- <sup>2</sup> The original Irish version is found in Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*; Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series 13 (Dublin 1906) 32, No. 237: "Trí hamra Connacht . . . Dirna (.i. cloch) in Dagdai, cia fochertar im-muir, cia berthair hi tech fo glass, dodeime a tiprait oca mbl". In this text *dodeime* appears to be a form of *do taeth*; cf. *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Degra-Dodelbtha), ed. Mary E. Byrne and Maud Joynt, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1959.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The photograph on Plate X is Crown Copyright and is reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. It is published in the Commission's volume on "The Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles" (Edinburgh 1928), Fig. 264, and No. 528.

ANNE ROSS

#### *Some Minor Manuscript Sources of Scottish Place-Names*

A detailed survey of all Scottish place-names must necessarily include as comprehensive a documentation of these names as can possibly be achieved. Otherwise their linguistic history, their precise location, and their proper identification will be difficult, if not impossible, to determine. This documentary evidence plus the results of extensive research "in the field" taking into account, for example, the genuine local pronunciation of a name, traditional explanations of its meaning, and an accurate description of the geographical feature to which the name applies, will then form an adequate basis for establishing the linguistic affinities, morphology and derivation of our Scottish place-nomenclature. In many cases this process will be an easy one, in others even a full range of all the factors just mentioned will not give us any satisfactory clue as to the true origin of the name. For the majority of names, however, careful evaluation of local and documentary evidence will make a reliable explanation possible where otherwise the meaning would have remained obscure.

As far as the collection of documentary material is concerned, it is natural to start with printed "national" sources, and this is precisely what the Scottish Place-Name Survey has been doing during the first nine years of its existence. Here such series as the Register of the Great Seal, the Register of the Privy Seal, the Exchequer Rolls, the Retours, the early Acts of Parliament, and many others, offer invaluable,

although mostly not very early, historical evidence which can throw light on the development of the spelling of a name before it became petrified on the modern map, or even on its contemporary pronunciation.

As a second step, less extensive printed sources like regional sheriff court books, monastic chartularies, borough records, etc. will have to be excerpted, as well as the vast amount of unprinted records available in both Register House in the Scottish capital. When all material has been extracted from these various sources—and it is difficult to give even an approximate figure as to the number of years this enormous task is likely to take, a vast body of documentation referring to early, or at least not too recent, forms of Scottish place-names will have been accumulated in the archives of the Survey, and one might be inclined to think that it would not only be unnecessary but also undesirable to look for further sources, mostly of an unpublished kind.

However, in the few instances in which a full-scale investigation of individual place-names has been conducted, it has been found that such additional minor, local documents are frequently particularly helpful in the elucidation, and especially the identification, of local names, as well as in determining the extent of land, for instance, to which a specific name applies, or the sequence of names if several have been applied to the same feature over the centuries, or the correct location of a “lost” name, i.e. one that appears in earlier documents but is now no longer used.

It is for this reason that, although the Survey is still far from having covered the full range of major printed sources, we have nevertheless never neglected and recently paid increasing attention to the odd manuscript, which has been found to be in private possession during our field-work trips to various parts of the country. Material relevant to our studies can turn up in the most unexpected form, as a short description of one or two manuscripts will show, which were put at the Survey’s disposal for inspection and photostating when the writer undertook some field-work in Upper Banffshire in the summer of 1960.<sup>1</sup> There was, for instance, a small notebook entitled “Scroll Copy” which gives the population of the parish of Mortlach in the year 1821, farm by farm, and name by name, as well as a full list of the inhabitants of Dufftown, street by street, in October 1826. Another, slightly more faded, manuscript consists of four foolscap pages and sets out according to

its title, the "State of Division of the Duke of Gordon's part of the Seat Room of the Parish Church of Mortlach among His Graces Tenants of Achendoun and Glenrinnnes, subject to Alteration when circumstances shall require it.—August 1826". As can be imagined, this is a mine of information for anyone interested in the farm- and croft-names of that particular part of Banffshire.

A third manuscript does look, at a first glance, much less likely to produce anything of interest to the place-name scholar, for this is a lengthy, but well and beautifully written account of the hazards and hardships the author suffered when fulfilling his brother's last wish by taking him from Edinburgh to Strathaven for burial, in February 1840. This most moving narrative written about thirty years later, has an appendix of eight pages in which the houses in the "Braes of Strathaven" are listed, together with their inhabitants. The author, addressing himself to another brother, introduces this section as follows: "Having said so much already, I will intrude a little further and try to refresh my memory and give you the population of the 'Braes' individually, and who were all personally known to me (with the exception of 20 marked X) in my childhood and youth."

One need hardly add that local historians and genealogists as well as students of local place-names find this part of the manuscript a profitable source. It certainly appears in a place in which the present writer would never have suspected it. Accidental as such finds may be, however, this does not detract from their value to the Place-Name Survey, and without wanting to overemphasise their importance, one would hope that they would become accessible in the future in a less sporadic way. It is definitely not saying too much when we stress that we should be most grateful if owners of similar manuscripts were to make them available to us for inspection and, potentially, photostating or microfilming, for a limited period.

#### NOTE

- <sup>1</sup> The writer gratefully acknowledges his debt to Colonel and Mrs Cumming of Glenrinnnes Lodge and to Mr A. C. W. Sinclair of Tomintoul for kindly making these manuscripts available to the Place-Name Survey of the School of Scottish Studies.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN


## How a Bothy Song Came into Being

In the Spring of 1952, while on a collecting tour in the Turriff area of Aberdeenshire, I was given the name of John MacDonald of Pitgaveny, Elgin, my informant assuring me that he knew many old songs. Not long after, I met Mr. MacDonald for the first time. He is a mole-catcher and rat-catcher by profession; in addition, he runs a flourishing local concert party, and is well known as a performer on the melodeon.

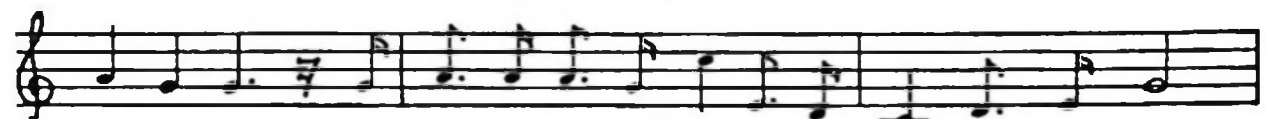
Among the first of his songs to be tape-recorded for the School's sound archive was *The Rovin' Ploughboy*, which he had listed among his favourites—he declared that it had “a lovely air”, which indeed it has. The following is a transcription of this recording (RL 935 A9):

R.L. 935.9


*Stanza 1. Briskly. J = 132*



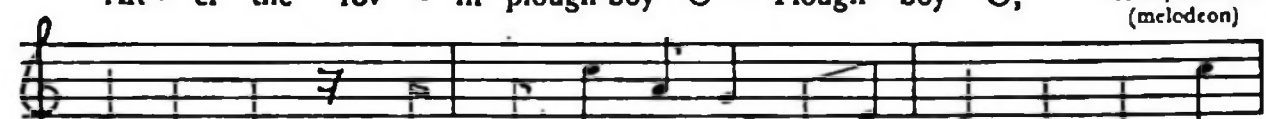
Come sadd - le tae me my auld grey mare, Come sadd - le tae me my



po - ny O, And I will tak' the road and we'll go far a - way

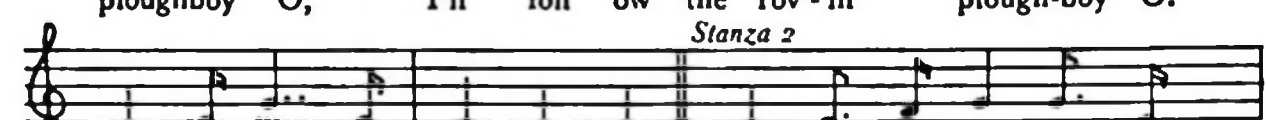


Aft - er the rov - in' plough-boy O — Plough - boy O, accompaniment (melodeon)




ploughboy O, I'll foll ow the rov - in' plough-boy O.

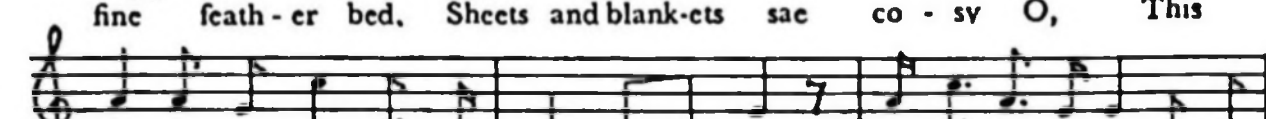
*Stanza 2*



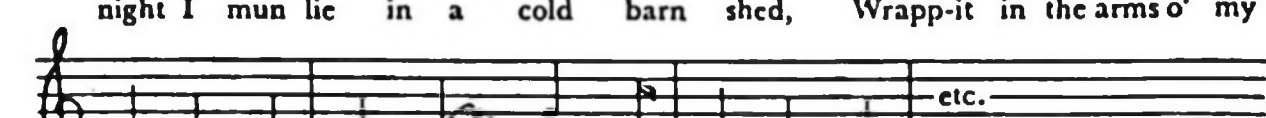
Last night I lay in a



fine feath - er bed, Sheets and blank-ets sae co - sy O, This



night I mun lie in a cold barn shed, Wrapp-it in the arms o' my



etc.

ploughboy O, Plough - boy O, O ploughboy O

Come saddle tae me my auld grey mare  
Come saddle tae me my pony O  
And I will take the road and we'll go far away.  
After the rovin' ploughboy O

*Chorus* Ploughboy O Ploughboy O  
I'll follow the rovin' ploughboy O.

Last night I lay in a fine feather bed  
Sheets an' blankets sae cosy O.  
This night I maun lie in a cold barn shed  
Wrappit in the arms o' my ploughboy O.

A champion ploughman my Geordie O—  
Cups an' medals an' prizes O.  
In bonny Deveronside there are none can compare  
Wi' my jolly rovin' ploughboy O.

Sae fare ye weel tae auld Huntly toon  
Fare ye weel Drumdelgie O  
For noo I'm on the road, and I'm goin' far away  
After the rovin' ploughboy O.

A month before the above recording was made, John had sent me a written text: this latter includes a verse which he did not sing. It goes as follows:

Whit care I for a fine hoose an' land.  
Whit care have I for a fortune O?  
I'd far raither lie in a cold barn shed  
Wrapped in the arms o' my ploughboy O.

In the MS text, this verse is No. 3, coming before "A champion ploughman . . ."

When I asked him about the origin of this song, John told me: "I learned it off a ploughman my father had when I was a laddie—it was his father composed it, he said. His name was Donald MacLeod".

Now it was immediately apparent to me that the first part of the song is nothing more nor less than a displaced fragment of a version of *The Gypsy Laddie* (Child 200). Here are a few specimens of the "parent" verses, as they appear in versions of the ballad printed by Child:

'Come saddle for me the brown,' he said,  
'For the black was neer so speedy,  
And I will travel night and day  
Till I find out my ladie.'

(Child 200 I 4)

'Yestreen I lay in a fine feather-bed,  
And my gude lord beyond me;  
But this nicht I maun lye in some cauld tenant's-barn,  
A when blackguards waiting on me.' (Child 200 C 6)

'O what care I for houses and land?  
Or what care I for money?  
So as I have brewed, so will I return;  
So fare you well, my honey!' (Child 200 G 10)

The remaining two verses of *The Rovin' Ploughboy* had obviously been added at a later stage. Was this where Donald MacLeod's father came in? My instinctive feeling was that the Aberdeenshire place-names were quite recent importations into the song—Drumdelgie, the famous "fairm-toun up in Cairnie", is now known far beyond the North-East because of the bothy song which bears its name—and I had an idea that the singer could enlighten me on this point. A tentative question brought a perfectly plain and straight-forward answer: the song, as he had heard it, was "a bittie short", and needed a better ending, so he had provided it himself.

So much for the words—but what of the tune? Was it related to any previously recorded tune for *The Gypsy Laddie*? Looking into Gavin Greig's *Last Leaves*, I found that he had collected two tunes for the ballad, the first of which seemed clearly related to the *Rovin' Ploughboy* tune. I am indebted to my colleague Miss Gillian Johnstone for the following note: "1b [the second of the three variants of Tune 1 printed in *Last Leaves*] is very reminiscent of *The Rovin' Ploughboy*; its shape is broadly speaking the same, and it has the distinctive rising octave in the second line of the quatrain".

Alexander Keith, editor of *Last Leaves*, appends the following note to the airs he prints for *The Gypsy Laddie*: "Tune 1, which does not appear to have been printed before, is the usual, almost the only, air used in the north with this ballad". (Greig-Keith 1925:128).

We have therefore a fascinating example before our eyes of the evolution of a bothy song. A fragment of Child 200 goes its own way and becomes a lyric song, some ploughman chiel or other following a time-honoured practice by substituting "ploughman" for "gipsy". (It seems a fair guess that this was Donald MacLeod's father's principal contribution.) And when it reaches John MacDonald (himself a folk poet, with a number

of songs to his credit), it acquires the local touches which give it its characteristic stamp—in effect, make it a North-East bothy song.

Interestingly enough, the process did not stop there, for when Jeannie Robertson heard *The Rovin' Ploughboy* on tape, she at once spotted the connection between it and *The Gypsy Laddie*, and when I paid her a visit in Aberdeen only a very short time after she had first heard the tape, I found that she had already set a long version of the Child ballad, got orally with a different air from her own folk, to the “Ploughboy” tune.—It only remains for somebody to use her re-created *Gypsy Laddie* as the starting point for a new lyric song, and the wheel will have come full circle.

#### REFERENCE

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1925 *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*. Aberdeen.

HAMISH HENDERSON

#### *A Folktale from St. Kilda*

Dùgan is Fearchar Mór: bhiodh iad a' falbh 'na h-Eileanan Flannach a mharbhadh chaorach—a ghoid chaorach agus 'gan toir leotha Hirte. Agus co-dhiù, là bha seo, dh'fhalbh iad a mhullach na beinneadh<sup>1</sup>, Dùgan is Fearchar. Agus bha teampull<sup>2</sup> ann an t-Hirte fo'n talamh far am biodh daoine teicheadh ma thigeadh an namhaid. Agus bha an dorus cho caol air agus chan fhaigheadh sibh a staigh ann mara deidheadh sibh a staigh ann air an oir. Agus dh'fhalbh an dà bhodach a bha seo là bha seo mhullach na beinneadh agus thòisich iad ri eubhach á mullach na beinneadh gu robh na soitheachan-cogadh . . . cogadh a's a' Chaolas Bhoighreach agus a chuile duine aca dhol dh'an teampull. Well, dh'fhalbh na daoine bochd air fad dh'an teampull a bha seo agus 'se rinn mo liagh (*sic*) ach thòisich iad ri buain fraoch; bhuaibh iad boitean a (*sic*) fraoch a' fear agus thug iad leoth am boitean a' fear air an gualainn is thàinig iad dhachaigh.

Is bha na daoine a's an teampull. Ach bha rùm gu leòr gu h-ìscal a's an teampull. Agus nuair a thàinig iad a nuas a —<sup>3</sup> cha do rinn iad càil ach chuir iad am boitean ris an dorus agus chuir iad maidse leis agus thac iad a chuile duine riamh bha 'san àite. Ach fhuair aon nighean—bha i cóig bliadhna diag—fhuair isc mach a measg a' cheò a bha seo agus chaidh i ann an uamha dh'fhalach gus an dàinig am bàtà là airne mhàireach<sup>4</sup>



Agus coma co-dhiù là bha seo an déidh dhiu na daoine mharbhadh, chaidh iad a ghabhail ceum—Dùgan is Fearchar. Agus . . . “A ghoistidh! a ghoistidh,”<sup>5</sup> as an dala fear ris an fhear eile, “tha mi faotainn àileadh teine seo!” “Ho! isd amadain! Chan ’eil,” as eisein, “ach teine dh’fhàg thu as do dheaghaidh.” Agus dé bh’ann ach bha an nighean a theich bha i fo’n a’ chreag a bha seo fòtha agus cha do rinn i càil ach a h-aodach a chuir ma mhullach na poiteadh a bh’aic air an teine le biadh fiach gun cumadh i an ceò gun a dhol a suas.<sup>6</sup> “Och”, as eisein, “a ghoistidh, ghoistidh, ’se an teine dh’fhàg sinn as ar n-deaghaidh”.

Well, dh’fhalbh iad an uairsin is ghabh iad ceum agus là airne mhàireach thàinig a’ soitheach a bha seo—soitheach a’ bhàillidh. Agus bha nighean, bha i a’s an toll a bha seo, cha dàinig i mach leis an eagal agus dh’fhan i a’s an toll gos a robh am bàta beag gu bhith aig a’ chidhe agus nuair a bha am bàta gun a bhith aig a’ chidhe, thàinig i mach as an toll agus chaidh an dithis acasan a sìos a choinneachadh an eathar, ’eil thu faicinn? Agus nuair a mhothaich iad dh’an nighean, as an dala fear ris an fhear eile, “ ’S fhearr dhuinn falbh agus a marbhadh”. Well, cha d’fhuair iad . . . cha d’fhuair iad an t-seansa . . . cha d’fhuair iad an t-seansa marbhadh. Chaidh iad . . . leum na daoine mach as an eathar is fhuair iad greim air an nighean a bha seo agus dh’inns an nighean dhiu a’ naidheachd.<sup>7</sup>

Well, rugadh air an dala fear aca—rugadh air Fearchar agus chuireadh e Stac an Aramair a measg nan eòin agus chuireadh Dùgan a Shòaigh, an eilean eile tha an iar air Hirte, measg nan caorach<sup>8</sup> agus a measg nan ian. Well, a’ fear a chuir iad a Stac an Aramair, ghearr e as deaghaidh an eathair agus chaidh a bhàthadh—cha do thog iad idir e—ghearr e mach air a’ mhuir is leig iad leis gun do bhàsaich e. Ach Dùgan,<sup>9</sup> chaidh a chuir a Shòaigh agus bha e ann bliadhnachan beò; bhiodh e ’g ithe nan caorach is ag ithe nan eòin. Tha na h-asnaichean aige fhathas ann a shiod: dh’fhiach mi fhèin na h-asnaichean ’na mo làimh.

#### TRANSLATION

Dugan and Big Farquhar: they used to go to the Flannan Islands to kill sheep—to steal sheep and bring them back to St. Kilda. Well, one day they went up to the top of the hill,<sup>1</sup> Dugan and Farquhar. And there was a temple<sup>2</sup> in St. Kilda, underground, where people used to flee if an enemy came. The

doorway was so narrow that you could not get in unless you entered sideways. And these two fellows went to the top of the hill one day and began to shout from the top of the hill that there were warships in the Kyle of Boreray and everyone to go to the temple. Well, all the poor people went to this temple and what did my bold lad(s) do but begin to cut heather; each of them cut a bundle of heather and carried his bundle on his shoulder and they came home.

The people were in the temple, but there was plenty of room down inside it. And when they (the two men) came . . . they immediately placed the bundle against the doorway and they lit it with a match and they choked every single person in the place. But one girl managed—she was fifteen years of age—she managed to get out in the smoke there and she went to a cave to hide until the ship arrived on the following day.<sup>4</sup>

At any rate, one day after they had killed the people, they went out for a stroll—Dugan and Farquhar. And . . . “My friend!”<sup>5</sup> said one of them to the other, “I get the smell of fire here!” “Oh quiet, you fool! It is only the fire that you have left after you”. What was it but the girl who escaped; she was underneath the rock below them and at once she placed her clothes over the top of the pot that she had on the fire with food in it, so as to keep the smoke from ascending.<sup>6</sup> “Och my friend”, said he, “it is the fire that we left after us”.

Well, they went off then and they took a stroll and the following day the ship came—the factor’s ship. And the girl, she was in the hole there; she did not come out through fear and she remained in the hole until the small boat was almost at the pier, and when the boat was almost at the pier she came out of the hole and the two men went down to meet the boat, do you see? When they observed the girl, one said to the other, “We had better go and kill her”. Well, they did not get a chance to kill her. The men leapt out of the boat and they caught hold of the girl, and the girl told them the tale.<sup>7</sup>

Well, one of them was seized—Farquhar was seized and put out on to Stac an Aramair among the birds, and Dugan was sent to Soay—on another island west of St. Kilda—among the birds and among the sheep.<sup>8</sup> The man whom they sent to Stac an Aramair, he jumped after the boat and was drowned: they did not pick him up—he jumped into the sea and they left him until he died. But Dugan,<sup>9</sup> he was sent to Soay and he was there alive for years: he used to eat the sheep and the birds. His ribs are there still; I myself have handled the ribs.

This story was recorded in Glasgow in March 1961 from Norman MacQueen, a native of St. Kilda. Clearly the story occupies a central place in the traditions of the islanders; all the St. Kildans whom we have recorded know it, more or less in the form in which Norman MacQueen tells it here. Another version was recorded from Donald MacQueen, also in Glasgow, an uncle of Norman MacQueen. Donald MacQueen begins thus:

“A skiff came to St. Kilda from the mainland hundreds of years ago. Two men came on the skiff with oars of iron . . . They landed and said that they were taking command of the island, and the St. Kildans, they could not say anything”.

In conversation, Norman MacQueen said that Dugan and Farquhar used to row to the Flannan Islands with oars of iron and told that on one occasion a sailing ship tried to arrest them but failed utterly despite the fact that the St. Kildan boat was laden with sheep.

Substantially the same version of the story (omitting, however, the detail of the oars) was taken down in 1862 from Euphemia MacCrimmon, “the oldest woman in St. Kilda”, (she declared her age to be 60 in 1860) by Anne Kennedy, niece of the minister of the island. This along with answers to a “string of questions . . . on points of antiquarian interest” was embodied in a letter from Miss Kennedy to Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, who published it in May 1874 (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 10 [1875] 702-11).

Whether or not the story preserves any recollection of an actual event, St. Kildan tradition avers that the population which the island carried up to 1930 were all descendants of colonists who arrived subsequent to the massacre. That these came from Skye, Harris and Uist, as the islanders claim, seems to be corroborated by St. Kildan surnames.

It is more than likely that several strands of tradition have been woven into the story of Dugan and Farquhar. The theme of the massacre of a community by asphyxiation in a cave appears in the famous tale of the murder of the MacLeods of Eigg by the MacDonalds. Here again one person survives. This “sole survivor” motive is a fairly common one. The reference to “oars of iron” is curious; it may reflect a distorted memory of the islanders’ first acquaintance with iron-shod oars.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Oiseabhall* in Donald MacQueen's version.
- <sup>2</sup> Now called the "Fairy Cave" in English according to Donald MacQueen. In Euphemia MacCrimmon's version, "Teampull na Trionaid . . . Trinity temple or church."
- <sup>3</sup> Phrase in recording unintelligible.
- <sup>4</sup> "The following day" really refers to the day after that on which Dugan and Farquhar smell fire. Both the MacCrimmon and Donald MacQueen versions tell how the woman who had escaped came back to the deserted village for food and fire. Both make it plain that there was a considerable interval between the massacre and the arrival of the ship.
- <sup>5</sup> *Goistidh* < M. E. godsib. Apparently used here merely as an intimate form of address. Cf. the development of *gossip* in English and Scots.
- <sup>6</sup> Donald MacQueen relates that the girl "used to kindle a fire during the night and used to place a pot over the fire to keep it alive all day; she did not light it all day in case smoke should be visible and they should see it." In Euphemia MacCrimmon's version the girl flees not to a cave but "to another temple". This is identified by Thomas as St. Brendan's.
- <sup>7</sup> In Donald MacQueen's version the girl emerges from hiding calling out, "Thàinig Dia! Thàinig Dia!" "God has come! God has come!"
- <sup>8</sup> The wild Soay sheep.
- <sup>9</sup> The traditional site of Dugan's dwelling on Soay is called *Taigh Dhùgain*, Dugan's House, by the St. Kildans.

JOHN MACINNES

### *A Smith's Beam Drill*

At this crucial stage in technological history, when the village workshop is being superseded finally by the mass production factory, it is essential that all traditional techniques be recorded in detail. The village smith has been, in fact, a living repository for much of the records of nearly 3000 years of iron technology and thus the preservation of this material is of historical importance. This note describes an almost vanished item in this corpus—the beam drill.

Like the pole-lathe, the beam drill belongs to that compendium of village craftsmanship whose origins may, as with the nail making "oliver" (Graham 1961), be relatively recent, or may be one of the many techniques which reached optimum efficiency in Roman times, and have evolved very little since. The earliest brace and bit, developed perhaps from the bow and pump drills, seems to appear in Assyrian contexts (Thebes) during the early 1st Millennium B.C. and becomes quite common by the Roman period. For metal working in particular, the necessity must have occurred, quite early, for exerting

greater force on the brace than one man could apply unaided. The weighted lever is the obvious solution to the problem and one can only presume that this device was adopted early and persisted until the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries although little archaeological or documentary evidence exists and the argument is thus dangerously teleological. The existence of prehistoric beam drills, used in the manufacture of perforated stone axe-heads has been adduced from nineteenth century finds at Swiss lake-dwelling sites (Forrer 1907:101). These finds are not satisfactorily dated and the illustration (see Fig. 1) shows an essentially hypothetical reconstruction of museum

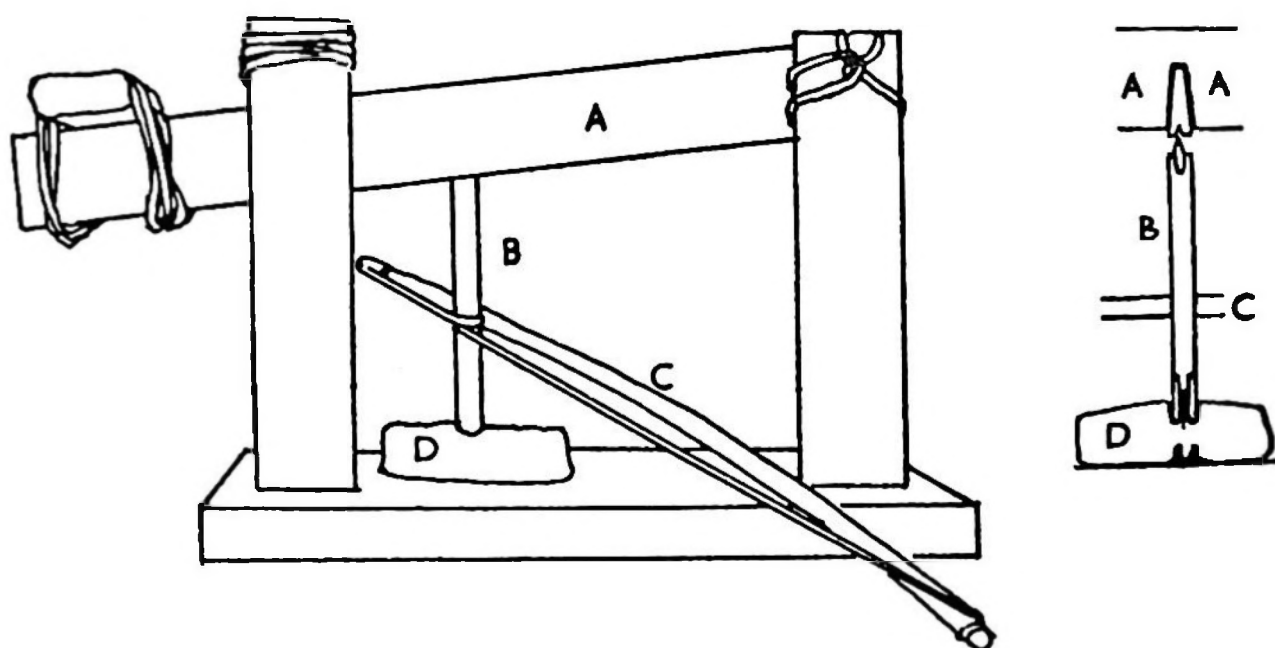


FIG. 1.—Prehistoric (Swiss) Beam Drill, after Forrer 1907: 103 Pl. 29.

material rather than an archaeological deduction from objects found associated in situ, and merely indicates possibilities.

Certainly the beam drill was not uncommon in Britain in the nineteenth century (Jobson 1953:138); an example exists in the Shibden Hall Museum, Yorks, and there is a local name in Suffolk (*sway*).

The particular example illustrated existed in the smithy at Kingston, East Lothian until recently and my attention was drawn to it by Mr. A. Fenton of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (The National Museum has acquired the complete contents of this smithy which was last used as such in 1934). The Beam (see Fig. 2) hinges at the struts on the left and is operated by the rope, bar, and chain arrangement shown. At the opposite end of the Beam varying weights can be suspended thus altering the pressure on the brace. The brace

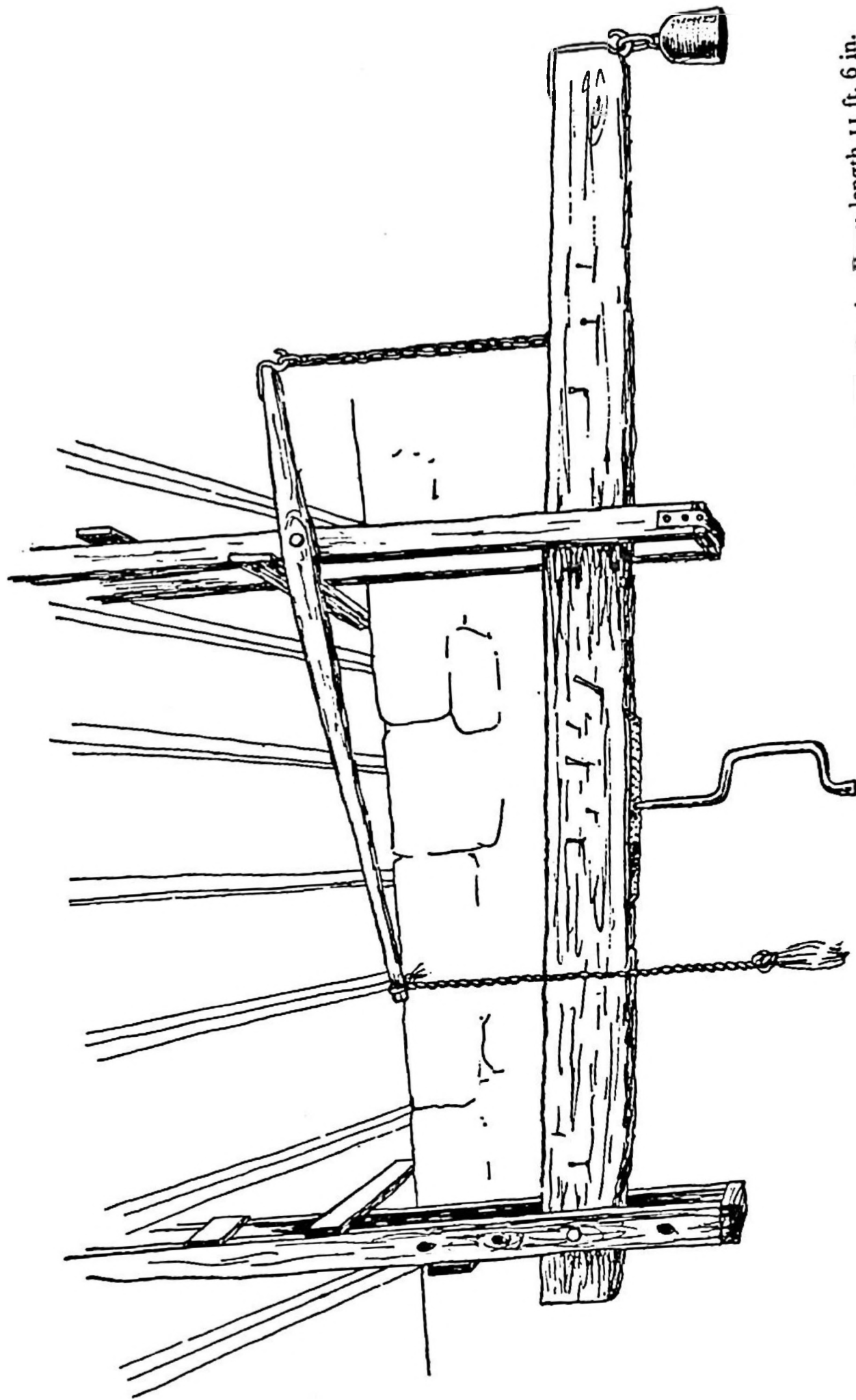


FIG. 2.—A Smith's Beam Drill, now in possession of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.—Beam length 11 ft. 6 in.

itself can engage at any point on the metal plate. The whole structure is, of course, suspended from the smithy roof conveniently above the work bench.

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IAIN A. CRAWFORD

### C. OTHER NOTES

#### *The Lammas Feasts in Cramond Parish*

In John Wood's book, *The Antient and Modern State of the Parish of Crammond*, which he published in 1794, he described the celebration of an annual festival called the Lammas Feast which had been held in the parish up to the year 1758. He dealt very briefly with this and referred the reader to an account which had appeared elsewhere.

It was therefore a surprise to find, when his note-book and a number of letters came to light recently, that he had had in his possession a very graphic account by a man who had himself taken part in one of the more notable skirmishes which were sometimes fought between the herds on Lammas Day.

Unfortunately this account, which covers four very closely written foolscap pages, ends as abruptly as it starts, without a clue to the name of the author. It is therefore presented as an anonymous piece of eighteenth century reporting.

As for the antiquity and first institution of the herds in the west end of cramond parish and corstorphine parish Meeting together on lambas day on lenie hill and the herds on the east end of cramond and corstorphine parish Meeting on clermiston hill is of antient practice and hath been handed down and kept in practice from century to century as for the towries on the above Mentioned hills which will be about two Miles distant

from each other and in view of each other they were comonly taken little Notice of through the year till about a Month before lambas when they were rebuilt and put in good repair their hight about ten or twelve foot about three yards wide at the bottom built round with divets and Stones till near the top when Several round divets were cut with a hole in each of them and laid one above another on the top of the towries and on lambas Morning the rod whereon our colours was fixed was put downe the hole on the top of our towrie and was seen by the easteren party letting them know that we were to Meet them on cramond Muir that day and after the herds had all got dinner their antient took them down of the towrie and went down the hill with flying colours the piper playing before him and the herds Marching behind him in order blowing their horns till they came down to lenie port where their company Increased and became Stronger by the young Men that their Met them before they Marched to battle the form of the herds dinning table on lenie hill near their towrie was about thirty foot long three foot broad the table was Made with divets with the green side up and all the seats round the table of the same form and around all the table were cut out ground about an foot and an half deep and the same breadeth that the herds Might sit easie at dinner the table contained from year to year and Needed little reparation the common entertainment of the herds lambas feast on lenie hill was Sweet creame butter chease which they had in abundance Not only to feast themselves but also poor boyes that came that day to attend them the herds hiered a tylor the night befor lambas who ornamented their colours with ribbons Seued on a large table Naptkin and afterwards put on a long rod or fork Shaft the ribbons were all borrowed from the young girls round the country Side they were aquanted with in these dayes about fifty years ago their was no ribbons worn on the heads of farmers wives nor their daughters nor their Servant Maids in the west end of cramond parish Save a belt ribbon which Some young girls wore I have heard it said that in a centery back young Maidens whose character was blameless in the eys of the world were Married with their own hair ornamented Nothing on their head and widows and young women that had been guilty of furnication were Married with toys seued round with lace which Some old women wear yet at this day the order of the herds marching to Meet one another on cramond Muir was the piper went playing before the antient



with flying colours next the herds in three men rank with horns blowing after and when they Met on the road that yet goes through cramond muir the east party stood on the east Side of the road and the west party stood on the west Side of the road and they Saluted each other the reason of a battle betwixt the two parties was when they were Near equal in Strength that the one would not low their colours to the other but when one party was Stronger than the other the Stronger party asked the weaker party what they were for and if they said they were for peace then the antient of the stronger party ordered the antient of the weaker party to low his colours and after lowing his colours they shook hands and ordered their piper to play up and they took a dance together and parted in peace some times they ran a race before they left the Muir and after that each went to their respective places and Spent the afternoon in joyality in running races and playing at the bab and penyston which were games practised in these dayes as for the Number of men and boys some times more some times fewer perhaps about thirty young Men on the western Side and as many boys and as for the Number of the races Some times two Some times three and the common thing that the herds received that day from their Masters to Spend was two pence they gave a halfpeny to the races and hapeny to the piper and drunk or plaid at the bab the rest Some times the young Men contributed and Made a race the length of the foot races about a Mile out and in the prizes about sixpence the first threepence or a pair of garters the second and a little mell to the third and if any More running they had Nothing I shall now give you an account of the bloody battle fought on cramond Muir I am not sure on what year it was fought I think it was on the year Seventeen hundred and thirty four I heard it said at that time that the time that the battle lasted was observed by a gentleman who was rideing through the Muir when the battle began to continue half an houer it was said at that time to be Mr Stewart of binnie for their were near as Many of our party fled as were of us that stood and hazered our lives in the high places of the field it was said that the above named gentleman rod after these of our Side that fled and Made them to return back thretining them that if they did Not that he would Shoot them for I heard it Said at that time that it was in Some Mesure oweing to that gentleman that we gained the victory that day when we were Marching to cramond Muir the place apointed for battle I

was in good spirits for their would have been on our Side about thirty Stout young men and as Many boys and that day the east party was first on the field of battle and they Sent out a Spy to Meet us and to take a view of us on our March to them and So Soon as he met us he began boasting like goliath of old telling us that their was a man among them that would bet any two of us betwixt and kirkliston new bridge I tould him that he was Not sure of what he spoke till once he made it to appear he also boasted that our company was weaker than theirs and that we would be made to low our colours I tould him that he was Not Sure of that neither till he Made it to appear so when we Met on the spot of ground where the battle was fought the spy that Met us whose name was grive pointing out from among their company to me said that I was one that wanted Matching they all fixing their eyes on me I spoke up and said that if we Matched we would match altogether so their antient asked our antient whose name was John Muir what he was for he returned him that answeare that he was for any thing that his company was for so their antient tould ours that we were weaker than them and they would oblidge us to low our colours so I then took a veiw of them and turning took a veiw of our own company I thought we were an eqwall Match to them I then spoke up to our own company and desiered them Not to low our colours one of them then took hold of our colours and expressed himself in the following Manner come let us go to Mutton hole I then seing the fork Shaft taken hold of whereon our colours was fixed to carrie them of was lifting my stick to knock him down that was taking hold of them at the same instant grieve whom I above Named haveing his eye on Me cried out that I was the first that lifted a stick then the battle was Set on in array with great furey sure I am Not in Military order on knocking down another if their were any by standers their they Might have Seen at the on Set 20 or 30 knocked down in a minnet and at the same instant their were four of them striking against Me and I alone striking against them when one of them drew out from before Me and came behind my back and Strook Me on the head which made Me fall to the ground and after lieing on the ground he strook Me on the left arm and hand which Made My hand swell being the hand that I held my stick in so Soon as I found them Not striking on Me I sprang up to My feet My stick lieing on the ground at My foot I took hold of it and the first Man that I ran to and Strook at was John Muir our own

antient his back being to Me and being So ordered that I being at Some distance from him the end of My stick strook on his shoulder or back which made him look back I then seeing his face said o John is that you I after ran to Robert cunningham at that time farmers son in clermieston and Strok him on the head which Made him fall in a whin bush and Made a women cry out and call Me a Murdering doge for wemon were comeing running for fear of their children as the cry was flying through the country Side that many was lieing dead on the spot where the battle was fought after that the eastren party were flying and running from the field where the battle was fought and the cry was Made through our camp that our colours was carried of by our enemies for the fork shaft brok near the end that our colours was fixed on which gave one of them an oportunity of running of with them it was said at that time that the person that ran of with both our colours and theirs did Not Stop till he was east at wardie So after finding it true that we heard Noiced through our camp that our colours was carried of Not withstanding we haveing the glory of the victory it Made our anger Still to increass and after consulting together we agreed to take 4 pair Shoes of their feet and haveing loused the buckles of thomas hodes yet alive we changed our Minds thinking it too cruel we then agreed and took four of their coats of their backs the above Named persons being one of the four which we carried to leny port in triumph and kept till we received our colours So we Spent that afternoon rejoicing in the victory that we that day had obtained over our eniemies and did ron no race but drunk the Money that we had collected for them and getting our heads dressed that were wounded Mrs robertson at plowlands being the only doctress that clipt the bloody hair from Severall of their wounds and dressed them My head was Not cut tho I got a Stroak which Made Me fall to the ground Some dayes after the battle we heard that our colours were lieing at cowet bridge within a Mile of edinburgh we wearicing to get our colours back in order to get the ribbons that was on them which were borrowed from the young lasses in the Neighbourhood returned back to them which would have been about one pound sterlin value about five or six of us agrees all able young men to go east and get our colours and on our jurney east we held a council of warr Least any of the Men of the place or washer wives should fall on Us or refuse to give us our colours we agreed to Stand closs to one another with our backs to

each other that None were to come behind our backs to knock us down and we all resolved to fight while we were able to stand but we received our colours without any resistance Made and ordered them to come west for their coats I remember the year after I went to cramond Muir with the wester herds and we were stronger than the easteren herds and we Made them low their colours to the ground and I trampled on them with My feet which was very Mortiefying to them I heard it said that severall years before that time that the easteren herds hiered two souldiers that were Marching on the road to go to cramond Muir to feight with them against the westeren herds and the same year the westeren herds got the victory and the souldiers got their Skins well pand which Made them Swear that they would Never go to a club battle again I knew a Married Man who went to cramond Muir with the westeren herds one year and carried their colours and that his wife Might Not know put a gravet in his pocket least there should be a feight and the gravet about his Neck Made rid with blood and the Same year their was a bloody battle which gave him an ocasion to put it about his name was James fortown I have heard it said long ago that they have been carried from the feild of battle on both Sides in blankets but I Never heard of any that died &cc the Mceting together of the whipmen for any thing I know is also of antient date the reson of their Meeting together once every year is to keep up brotherly love and good order among the whipmen the young whipmen were received into Memberships about twelve or fourtain Years of age when they could drive a plough or go alonge with a full plowghman and drive two loaded horses for in these dayes about forty or fifty years ago before the toll roads were Made cols and lime were carried in Sacks on horse backs and when a Young whipman was received into Membership he was bound to carrie in his bonnet (for their was No hats worn among the vulger in those dayes) an knife ilson lingle an Ncedle and thread or lingle and if his Neighbours horse threw of their load being alone if they within cry of their Neighbour they were bound to return back and help their Neighbour on with his Load if one Man came on the coal or lime hill and Several of his Neighbours before him they were bound to wait and help him and bring him alonge with them they were bound Not to Speak ill of their Master behind his back but to be faithfull in his Service behind his back as well as before his face when carts began to be in fasion after the

tollroads were Made if a whipman couped his cart he was fined if tome of eight pence if full of four pence commonly the whipmen in these dayes had their Meetings at publick houses on the roadsides every Meeting of whipmen had one bailie and two officer which were chosen on the day of their Meeting before they parted and were to containue that year to observe good order in that qwarter wherein they were Members and if any of that qwarter wherein they were Members were gwilty of any fault the bailie ordered his officer to Summon him before him against their Next Meeting and he was finned according to the rules of that law the whipmen perscribed &c on the day that the whipmen Met being once a year in the Summer Seson they hiered a piper and were very Merry in the afternoon Some times the Servant girls that lived Near the place of their Meeting would have come and the young lads and them would have danced together for it was a very rare thing to hear of furnication committed in these dayes when a gentleman whipman was ridding by the whipmen on his jurney the bailie of the whipmen with his bonnet in his hand and his officer at his back with the pint stoup and cap with ele and the piper playing the baillie of the whipmen saluted the gentleman and desiered that favour of him to drink with the whipmen commonly the gentlemen Stopt his horse and took the cap in his hand and drank the bailie and whipmens health and after throwing them a Sixpence or Shilling they wished him a good jurney with a loud hosa the blowing of horns are of antient date as we read in Scripture and Still continues in practice by posts when comming through towns horns in the Night Seson are heard a great way of and in the winter Seson were bloan at every farmers house about eight at Night when the suppered the horses and coves and as their was No watches in those dayes nor clocks in the west end of cramond parish the stars were their rull by Night to witt the Seven Stars the evening and Morning Stars and the cock crowing in the Morning these were all the rules that we then observed and were Never far disapointed I had almost forgot to Mark down the Names of two of our Men which ought to be kept in record written on parchement in letters of gold to witt James lersman James letham the first fought with a Strong lithe oak Stick with a knot on the out end of it the second fought with two catch Shafts on of which he lifted from one of his Neighbours Sides after he was knock down he fought with one and kept of the stroaks that his eniemies gave with the other these two Men

waxed vailent in fight and Made Severall to fall to the ground  
and like davids vailent Men of old ought to be Named amongst  
the first three

DAVID SIMPSON

*Book Reviews:*

*Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs.* By Thomas Crawford. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1960. xvi+400 pp. 35s.

Mr. Crawford has done a rare, difficult, and valuable thing. He has written a critical work on the poems of Burns without being deflected into biography or dithyrambics on Burns the Man. There are signs that something similar may happen to Byron; which is salutary, since after all the reason why the men are remembered is that they wrote the poems.

There are various ways of doing it, but Mr. Crawford is doubtless right in pushing ahead empirically, in the light of the critical methods in vogue and the main themes that occupy attention nowadays. The result is a book with which anyone can agree or disagree in detail as he reads; and that is the best thing a critic can do for his reader and his subject, for the attention is on Burns, not on any "original" "revaluation" or pretentious theory which would focus attention on the critic rather than on the subject. It is a book for students of Burns by a student of Burns, and one is grateful for it, and for the obvious fact that this student admires his author. To deal properly with it, then, one would have to go over it in detail and discuss one's agreements and disagreements with points as they arise, but that could be done satisfactorily only in long sederunts with Mr. Crawford. That one feels like that is the best proof that Mr. Crawford has done what he set out to do; in a review one had best confine oneself to general impressions.

Mr. Crawford is indubitably right in treating Burns as a poet in his own time and place. He has tried to work back beyond "Romantic" ideas and to establish his critical position first in the late eighteenth century and then in the present day. In this he has not been quite successful. Eighteenth-century literature was primarily social. For success, a writer had to be a social being and also a forcible individual. Burns was both, and, as Mr. Crawford, like Jeffrey before him, points out, he was not isolated but grew up in a society which was neither unintelligent nor illiterate. He must be studied not only as an individual bundle of emotions *plus* a philosophic mind, but