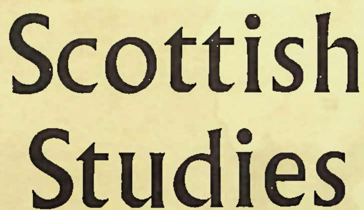


Scottish Studies

VOLUME 6 PART I

1962

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh
Director: B. R. S. Megaw

EDITOR
J. Wreford Watson

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
W. F. H. Nicolaisen

VOLUME 6
1962

OLIVER AND BOYD LTD
EDINBURGH

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Butt K. H. Jackson
K. L. Little A. McIntosh
B. R. S. Megaw S. T. M. Newman
S. Piggott

Cover Design : George Mackie

This journal is published twice a year. The annual subscription is £1 : 0 : 0 (U.S.A. and Canada $3.50), single copies 12s. 6d. (U.S.A. and Canada $2.00).
All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, The School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh. The Editor will be pleased to consider for review publications coming within the scope of Scottish Studies.
All business communications should be addressed to Oliver & Boyd Ltd., Tweeddale Court, 14 High Street, Edinburgh.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
OLIVER AND BOYD LTD., EDINBURGH

VOLUME 6 (1962)

PART 1

R. L. C. Lorimer	Studies in Pibroch	1
Anne Ross	Severed Heads in Wells: An Aspect of the Well Cult	31
L. G. Johnson	Laurence Williamson	49
James Ross	Bilingualism and Folk Life	60
Margaret C. Storrie	Two Early Resettlement Schemes in Barra	71

NOTES AND COMMENTS

W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Notes on Scottish Place-Names: (18) *Lane* in Galloway	85
B. R. S. Megaw	The 'Moss Houses' of Kincardine, Perthshire, 1792	87
W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Council for Name Studies: Great Britain and Ireland	93
Hamish Henderson	Bynames among the Tinkers	95
Anne Ross	The Blackness 'Black Douglas'	96
John MacInnes	Two poems ascribed to Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724–1812)	99
Iain A. Crawford	Kelp Burning	105
John L. Blake	Pasture improvement schemes in the Isle of Lewis	108
BOOK REVIEWS	ANGUS MATHESON: J. L. Campbell (trans.), *Stories from South Uist told by Angus MacLellan*; REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN: F. Marian McNeill, *The Silver Bough*, Vol. III; IAIN A. CRAWFORD: V. Gaffney, *The Lordship of Strathavon*.	113
John MacInnes	Corrigendum	120

PART 2

Editor	The Evolution of Rural Settlement in Scotland: An Introduction	121
G. W. S. Barrow	Rural Settlement in Central and Eastern Scotland: The Medieval Evidence	123
Malcolm Gray	Settlement in the Highlands, 1750–1950: The Documentary and Written Record	145
R. Alan Gailey	The Evolution of Highland Rural Settlement: With particular reference to Argyllshire	155
A. B. Taylor	The Scandinavian Settlements in the North and West of Scotland: Documentary and Place-Name Evidence	178
H. Uhlig	Some Remarks on Comparative Research in Settlement Structures	181
Kenneth Jackson	*Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh* / The Hag of the Red Stream	184
H. A. Moisley	Population Changes and the Highland Problem, 1951–1961	194
Elizabeth Sinclair	Scottish Folklore Bibliography for 1961	201

NOTES AND COMMENTS

W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Notes on Scottish Place-Names: (19) Further minor elements in Scottish river-names: *lake, latch, linn, rið* or **rið, runner, spout, stank, stream*	210
B. R. S. Megaw	Farming and fishing scenes on a Caithness Plan, 1772	218
Hamish Henderson	An Aberdeen 'White Paternoster'	223
Anne Ross	Note on votive pottery associated with wells	228
John MacInnes	Personal names in a Gaelic song [*Oran Mór Sgorabreac*]	235
Iain A. Crawford	*Feannagan Taomaidh* (Lazy Beds)	244
Marta Holmes	An unrecorded type of belted plaid?	246

BOOK REVIEWS	MICHAEL APTED: W. Douglas Simpson, *The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall*; IAIN A. CRAWFORD: I. F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*; R. KERR: Åke Hultkranz, *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, I: General Ethnological Concepts*	252
INDEX		261

STUDIES IN PIBROCH

I. THE "4:6:4:1 (OR 2)" METRE IN PIBROCH RECONSIDERED IN TERMS OF JOSEPH MACDONALD'S "ANTIENT RULE"

R. L. C. Lorimer*

Meaning regarded as an end of desire is value
And unifies succession in time.

R. M. RILKE, tr. C. M. GRIEVE

The Rev. Patrick MacDonald claims ([1803] 1927: [i]), that his younger brother Joseph MacDonald, the author of *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*, was "one of the most promising musical Geniuses of his time"; and he must indeed have been one of the most gifted, most original, and most energetic collectors of traditional Scottish music who ever lived. He was the son of Rob Donn's patron, the Rev. Murdoch MacDonald, Durness, and was born in Sutherland (or Strathnaver, as it then was called) in 1739. According to Patrick MacDonald (1784: [1]), their father taught all his children the first principles of music; and at fifteen Joseph not only "played on the violin, with an easy flowing execution, and in that expressive manner, which distinguishes real genius and feeling", but "had also made considerable progress in playing on the bagpipe". After spending a few years at the school of Haddington, he stayed for a short time in Edinburgh, and "there had an oppurtunity . . . of extending his musical knowledge, and improving his taste". Although he had come to be very fond of "the Italian music", he never lost "his passion for that of his native mountains"; and on returning to Strathnaver, where he spent over two years, he not only made a collection of traditional vocal airs, and wrote out "some of the best poems that were sung to them", but also "made a collection of the different kinds of bagpipe-music". No pibrochs had then been written down; and it must presumably have been from some traditional source that he obtained his own considerable knowledge of classical Highland pipe-music, and (as claimed on the elaborate title-page of his *Compleat Theory*) of "all the Terms of Art" that "its first

* Editor in charge of General Editorial Department, Oliver and Boyd Ltd, Edinburgh.

Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky & Mull" used in teaching their pupils. He may conceivably have obtained his knowledge from Angus Mackay, Gairloch, or perhaps even from Angus Mackay's father, Iain Dall, Padruig Og MacCrimmon's best pupil, who was born in 1666 and died in 1754, when Joseph MacDonald himself was fifteen. Joseph MacDonald in fact was the first collector of pibroch; and it was he who first wrote any of it down in staff-notation.[1] Colin Campbell did not compile his *Canntaireachd* Manuscript, the earliest complete collection of pibroch that we now possess, until 1797; and it is therefore all the more to be deplored that Joseph MacDonald's "collection of the different kinds of bagpipe-music" apparently has not survived.

In 1760 Joseph MacDonald was commissioned to be an officer in the service of the East India Company. Patrick MacDonald expressly says (1784: [1]) that, before setting out for India, he gave one of his sisters a copy of some of the vocal airs that he had collected during the last two years: but that he took with him "all his other collections and papers, relating to Highland music and poetry", and that "he employed the leisure of a prosperous voyage . . . in arranging and digesting these materials, with the view of publication"; and in a letter to his father, written soon after arriving in India, Joseph MacDonald himself laments (P. MacDonald 1784: [1]):

> O! that I had been at more pains, to gather those admirable remains of our ancient Highland music, before I left my native country. It would have augmented my collection of Highland music and poetry, which I have formed a system of, . . . and propose to send soon home.

Though he seems chiefly to have been concerned with Highland vocal music, he had not ceased to be interested in bagpipe-music, and in the same letter he also says:

> . . . I set the wrights to work, in a town on the coast of Persia, where we put in at, and got the black fellows, some of whom are very ingenious, to make me two or three whistles, *feadain meaghra*, which have answered so well as to enable me to preserve all my pipe-music. My good friend Mr. M. at London, has been so kind as to send me a fine Highland bagpipe, and a suit of Highland cloaths . . .[2] with which I expect yet to make a conquest of an Indian princess.

How many scholars of pipe-music to-day would have enough practical knowledge to be able to get some Persian craftsmen,

however ingenious, to make them some serviceable practice-chanters?

Joseph MacDonald can scarcely have had time to make a conquest of his Indian princess, for barely a year after arriving in India he died of a malignant fever (P. MacDonald 1784: 2; [1803] 1927: [i]). His work, however, did not all perish with him. In 1784 Patrick MacDonald published his epoch-making *Collection of Highland Vocal Airs*; and in the preface he declares (1784: 2) that it contains almost all the airs that Joseph MacDonald had copied out for his sister before leaving home, and that they form its "first and largest division", which is headed "North Highland Airs" and contains 86 tunes. According to Patrick MacDonald ([1803] 1927: [i]), his brother's treatise entitled *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe* was discovered in Bengal by Sir John MacGregor Murray, and when Sir John returned home he gave Patrick MacDonald "the copy he had secured". Patrick MacDonald published a printed edition of his brother's treatise in 1803, and a reprint of his edition was published in 1927. The printed text (cp. M. A. MacDonald 1953:210, 213, 215) is very corrupt. In this article, all quotations from Joseph MacDonald's *Compleat Theory* will, therefore, be taken from his own original manuscript, which has fortunately been preserved and is now in the Laing Collection in Edinburgh University Library.[3]

The manuscript itself appears to be only a rough draft; and though the meaning always is fairly clear, there are a good many sentences which are not strictly grammatical and therefore require careful exegesis. According to one of the statements on the title-page, the manuscript contains, *inter alia*, "an Account of the Rules and method by which the Pipe Composition and Time were Regulated. . . . The Whole Carefully collected & preservd in its Antient Style and Form without Alteration or Amendment". And one of the entries in the draft index at the end of the manuscript reads: "The Antient Rule for regulating Time & Composition". All this plainly implies that it was from his traditional sources that Joseph MacDonald originally obtained his own knowledge of this "Antient Rule"; and he evidently regarded it as a fundamentally important part of the traditional musical theory of classical Highland pipe-music.

At the beginning of his discussion of the "Antient Rule", Joseph MacDonald alleges (1760-2: [33]) that "the first Composers of Pipe Musick" had "never heard of any other

Instrument or known any of the Rules ever invented of Musick"; but that is certainly an exaggeration, for although the pibroch-composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably had very little knowledge of any non-Celtic music, they must often have heard Scottish and Irish harp-music, and may well have been familiar with many of its rules. Joseph MacDonald then goes on to say:

> here it may not be improper to discover the general rule by which they Taught and regulated the Time. . . . This Rule we may more properly call the Rule of Thumb. In effect it was much the same, for it was by the four Fingers of the Left hand that all their Time was measured and regulated; E.G. An Adagio in Common Time of such a style must not exceed or fall short such a number of Fingers, otherwise it was not regular. . . . They were sure to have no odd Numbers in any piece they designd to be regular. Their Adagios when regular commonly consisted of 4 Quarters. In each Quarter there were such a number of Fingers; (which we count as Bars) 2, 4, or 8 as the Quarter was long or short; or the Bar was subdivided into more Fingers according to their length, and thus they Adagios and Grounds[4] counted upon their 4 Fingers, and measured by their Ear—and when the Finger and Ear corresponded all was well.
>
> The ordinar Length of a Pipe Adagio being 16 Fingers, [?] composd about 16 Bars, 4 in each Quarter.

In normal eighteenth-century usage "to discover" means "to reveal, disclose". Consequently, Joseph MacDonald's opening remark, that "here it may not be improper to discover the general rule", strongly suggests that it may originally have been communicated to him as a professional secret, and under such restrictions that although he apparently saw no harm in writing it down, in English, in the rough draft of a book addressed to learned musicians, he would not necessarily have considered himself to be free to divulge it to every common piper.[5]

As Mr. Archibald Campbell has pointed out (1948: intro. 7), "by Adagio he means, clearly, what we call the ground or urlar" of a pibroch; and by "such a number" he seems to mean, as we should put it, "such and such a number". Unless we suppose that Joseph MacDonald had himself been misinformed —and there is no evidence that he had—the traditional account of the matter seems, therefore, to have been that the old hereditary pipers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had taught their pupils to regulate the metrical structure of the pibrochs that they composed by counting out the time on the

four fingers of the left hand. The conventional unit of measurement was, therefore, a "finger"; and, although in certain tunes one of our bars might be subdivided into several of these fingers, it was normally the case that one of these fingers had about the same length as one of our bars. No pibroch, moreover, was normally regarded as regular unless the ground consisted of four quarters, each of which contained two, four or eight fingers; and since the ground normally contained sixteen fingers, each of its four quarters normally contained four.

Whether because Joseph MacDonald was still so young when he died, or because it is not always clear, at first sight, exactly what he means,[6] his account of the traditional rule of composition has not yet been taken so seriously as it clearly deserves to be taken. If in this article we succeed in vindicating the truth of his important statements that "their Adagios when regular commonly consisted of 4 Quarters", and that "the ordinar length of a Pipe Adagio" was "16 Fingers . . . 4 in each Quarter", the two-hundredth anniversary of his death will thus, in some measure, have been fitly commemorated.

As the Piobaireachd Society (henceforth cited as P.S.) have pointed out (1930:3:94), Thomason's *Ceol Mor* (with supplement) contains 287 pibrochs, and Thomason himself classified 109 of these 287 tunes as "Four-lined Airs", in which each measure consists of four equal lines, of which Lines 1 and 2 are always identical or nearly so. About two-thirds of these "four-lined airs" have sixteen bars in a measure, and the rest have thirty-two; and it is at once apparent that all such tunes are completely consistent with Joseph MacDonald's "Antient Rule". Here, for example, is the *Urlar* of *Cumha Phadruig Oig* (Iain Dall's *Lament for Padruig Og*) divided into four quarters, and marked off in fingers: [7]

Out of the 287 tunes contained in *Ceol Mor* (with supplement), Thomason, however, classified 139 as "Three-Lined Airs", in which each measure consists of three unequal lines of six, six, and four (or less commonly, three, three, and two, or twelve, twelve, and eight) bars each; and according to P.S. (1930:3:94) nearly all of these three-lined airs can further be classified as either "primary" or "secondary". The first of these terms is said to have been coined by Thomason, the second by the late Mr. Angus Campbell, Kilberry; and according to P.S. they may be defined as follows: (1) A "Primary 6:6:4 Pibroch" is one which is made up of two phrases, A and B, each of two bars, arranged

A A B
A B B
A B

and (2) A "Secondary 6:6:4 Pibroch" is one which is made up of four phrases, A and B, each of one bar, and C and D, each of two bars, arranged

A B C D
C B A D
C D

And, finally, P.S. also say (1936:6:167) that there are "at least eleven excellent tunes" which belong to "a distinct and orthodox class of piobaireachd in metre 4:6:4:1 (or 2)".

Now—although, of course, it is necessarily true that all "6:6:4" tunes have sixteen bars in a measure, and that all "4:6:4:2" tunes likewise have sixteen—it is obvious that no tune in any of these metres can be regarded as regular in the sense defined in Joseph MacDonald's statement that no pibroch was regarded as regular unless the *urlar* consisted of four quarters, each of two, four, or eight fingers. Hence—if the account of these metres given in P.S. is indeed a true account of them—it follows (1) that out of 259 pibrochs which have eight (= 2^3), sixteen (= 2^4) or thirty-two (= 2^5) bars in a measure, there are only 109 in which each measure consists of four quarters of two, four, or eight bars each, but as many as 139 in which each measure consists of three unequal lines of six, six, and four (or three, three and two, or twelve, twelve and eight) bars each, and 11 others in which each measure consists of four unequal units of four, six, four, and one (or two) bars;

and (2) that out of 259 cases there are, therefore, 109 in which the traditional account of the matter preserved by Joseph MacDonald is right, and 150 in which it is wrong. All this seems, on the face of it, so unlikely that the question arises whether the accepted account of these three metres, in fact, is true. The pibrochs in the "4:6:4:1 (or 2)" metre are so much less numerous than those in the "primary" and "secondary 6:6:4" metre that they may conveniently be taken as a test case; and since they have never before been studied at all thoroughly, they will here be examined in some detail.

According to P.S. (1936:6:167), the chief characteristics of the "4:6:4:1 (or 2)" metre are briefly as follows:

> The metre may be described as three lines, generally in common time, the first line consisting of four bars, the second of six, and the third of four; with one, and occasionally two, extra bars of low A "Eallach's" tacked on at the end. In every case the first two bars of each line are the same, and the first and third lines are always similar, and sometimes identical, a fact responsible, perhaps, for the addition of the extra bar or bars as a distinguishing mark.

Some of these statements are so vague that one cannot help wondering whether those who drafted them can themselves have had any clear and definite idea of the metre they were trying to describe.

In *canntaireachd* (for some account of which see below, pp. 25-7) the conventional figure here termed a "low A 'Eallach' " is called "hiharin"; and it will henceforth be so designated. Unless the present writer has completely misunderstood them, P.S. must mean (1) that in this metre each measure strictly contained only fourteen bars: but (2) that Lines 1 and 3 were "always similar, and sometimes identical", and therefore were liable to be confused; and (3) that, so as to prevent this from happening, one or two extra bars, the contents of which were "Hiharin hiharin" or "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", were, "as a distinguishing mark", conventionally "tacked on at the end". Even at first sight, this appears to be a most unconvincing explanation.

Mr. Archibald Campbell (1948: intro. 14) calls this the "4:6:4:2 (or 1)" metre. Although he seems to have been almost as puzzled by it as P.S., his account of it is not quite so indefinite as theirs, and he says that it is:

> . . . a sort of variety of the Primary form, practically a Primary piobaireachd with phrase A played once only in line 1, and two

> extra bars, or one extra bar, added at the end of line 3 to make up the numbers. These extra bars, or bar, usually consist of "eallachs", or drumming on low A. But phrase B is subject to alteration almost every time it occurs.

As Mr. Campbell himself adopts (1948: intro. 14) exactly the same definition of a "primary 6:6:4" pibroch as P.S., this must mean (1) that in this metre each measure is made up of two phrases, A and B, each of two bars, arranged

A B
A B B
A B

and (2) that, "to make up the numbers", one or two extra bars, the contents of which are "Hiharin hiharin" or "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", are added on at the end of Line 3. Mr. Campbell does not specifically say *what* numbers he thinks these extra bars (or this extra bar) were (or was) intended to make up. He seems, however, to mean that, since Lines 1, 2, and 3 together contained only fourteen bars, two extra bars (or one extra bar) had to be added on at the end of Line 3 so as to bring the number of bars in a measure up to a total of, as the case might be, sixteen, or fifteen. This clearly is not strictly compatible with the explanation that had previously been offered by P.S., and it seems, on the face of it, at least equally far-fetched.

If either of these two accounts of the metre is, nevertheless, a true account of it, one of its most obvious formal characteristics is that each of the three unequal lines of which each measure consists begins with Phr. A and ends with Phr. B. Now, at first sight, this characteristic may, perhaps, seem to be æsthetically quite pleasing: but the pattern as a whole is decidedly unsymmetrical, and although each measure contains four occurrences of Phr. B, each only contains three occurrences of Phr. A. This discrepancy is so startling that it must seriously be asked whether either of these two accounts of the metre can really be true.

There are, in fact, at least sixteen extant pibrochs in this metre. Twelve of them have 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and no more than four of them have only 15 (4:6:4:1): but of the twelve that have 16 (4:6:4:2), one has two measures which have 17 (4:6:5:2), and another has one measure which has 18 (4:6:6:2). Thus, Line 1 always has four bars, Line 2 always has six, and Line 3 almost always has four: but in two measures of one tune

Line 3 has one extra bar, and in one measure of one other tune Line 3 has two extra bars; and whereas no more than four of all these sixteen tunes appear to have only one extra bar "tacked on at the end", no fewer than eleven of them appear to have two. Since there may conceivably be a few more extant pibrochs in this metre which have not yet been identified, these figures must, of course, be treated with due caution, but various conclusions may, with some confidence, be drawn from them.

First, it seems probable that all regular tunes in this metre must originally have had 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure: but, secondly, in course of time, the underlying principle that initially determined the metrical structure of the last six bars of the measure ceased to be fully understood; and thirdly, this caused so much subsequent confusion (*a*) that in two measures of one of these eighteen tunes, and in one measure of another, one or two extra bars were later inserted in Line 3, and (*b*) that in four others one of the last two bars was later omitted. Hence, in principle, no extant pibroch in this metre which does not have 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure will here be accepted as regular; and in the following survey of all known extant examples of it all those which (in this minimal sense) are regular will be marked *, and all those which are not will be marked †.

The tunes themselves appear to be of six distinct metrical types. These six types together form a continuous though complex sequence, and each may provisionally be regarded as representative of one of the stages that the metre went through in the course of its development.

In Type I, which is probably the most primitive, Phr. A consists of a half-phrase of only one bar (which may conveniently be designated "phr. *a*"), and another half-phrase, the contents of which are "Hiharin hiharin"; and in two cases out of three Phr. B ends ". . . hihiódin". In bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered, and in all three cases it is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó". In bars 13-14 Phr. B always again is much altered. The contents of bars 15-16 are: phr. *a*, much altered, +"Hiharin hiharin". Of three such tunes that we possess, two are regular, and one is partly regular and partly irregular:

***Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall* (*The Rout of the Lowland Captain*): P.S. (1957:9:260-1); R.L. (1867.A.2).[8] Has hitherto been classified as "primary 6:6:4", but also has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a

measure. Comparison with Var. I, bars 1 and 15, establishes that the contents of *Urlar*, bar 15, are in fact a much-altered repeat of phr. *a*, and consequently that the contents of bars 15-16 are an altered repeat of Phr. A.

**Lasan Phadruig Chaogaich* (*A Flame of Wrath for Patrick Caogach*): P.S. (1934:5:139-40); R.L. (1864. A.3). Has hitherto been classified as "primary 6:6:4", but has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure. One unusual feature is that in bars 5-6 Phr. A is altered initially, and the same altered form of Phr. A is repeated in bars 11-12, and again in bars 15-16.

†**Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean* (*The Old Men of the Shells*), setting No. 1: P.S. (1938: 7: 207, 209); R.L. (1863. A.1):

†(*a*) *Urlar and Var. I.* These measures both have 17 (4:6:5:2) bars. As P.S. rightly remark, "the first of the final two bars is not a mere play upon the low A's": but, far from being "a conspicuous feature of difference from any other 4:6:4:2 tune, or at least from any of the better-known ones", exactly the same also occurs in both completely regular examples *of this type*, and indeed is one of its chief characteristics. Comparison with Var. II (Singling and Doubling), bars 1-2 and 15-16, shows that the contents of *Urlar*, bars 16-17, as given in P.S., are in fact an altered repeat of Phr. A. Thus the metre strictly is not, as P.S. allege, 17 (4:6:6:1), but 17 (4:6:5:2), and the pattern of the last seven bars may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B″ (3 bars: "Hiendre hedehò, Hiendre cheòhió, Daredehò dreòhió"); A′ (2 bars: "Hiendreveò hihiódin, Hiharin hiharin").

Comparison with both regular examples of Type I (and with such tunes as, for example, *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois* and *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig*, for both which see below, pp. 11, 12) strongly suggests (1) that Phr. B″ did not originally possess three bars, but only two, and (2) that the contents of these two bars were "Hiendre cheòhió, Daredehò dreòhió ". Owing to the fact that Phr. B consists of a half-phrase of one bar, followed by phr. *a*, Lines 1 and 2 and bar 16 all end ". . . hihiódin"; and bar 16 may, therefore, have been mistaken for the end of Line 3. As in P.S., where bar 17 is preceded by a double-bar (which marks it off from the rest of the measure), the final "Hiharin hiharin" would then have had to be regarded as hypermetrical; and one bar would also have seemed to be missing somewhere between bars 12 and 16, as given in P.S. Bar 13, the contents of which are "Hiendre hedehò", may, therefore, have been later inserted into Line 3 in order to plug this non-existent gap.

*(*b*) *Var. II* (*Singling and Doubling*). These both have 16 (4:6:4:2) bars; and all further variations exactly correspond.

Thus in Type I Phr. A consists of phr. *a*+"Hiharin hiharin"; in bars 7-8 Phr. B always is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó"; in bars 13-14 Phr. B always again is much altered; and the contents of bars 15-16 are phr. *a*, much altered, +"Hiharin hiharin". Thus the contents of bars 15-16 are simply an altered repeat of Phr. A; and the phrase-pattern of the measure as a whole may be stated as follows:

1. A (phr. *a*+"Hiharin hiharin"); B.
2. A; B′ (altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó"); B.
3. A; B″ ; A′ (phr. *a*, altered, +"Hiharin hiharin").

Whether that is the best way of stating it is, as will later be shown, another question.

In Type II, which was probably derived from Type I, Phr. A likewise consists of phr. *a*+"Hiharin hiharin"; and in three cases out of three Phr. B also ends ". . . hihiódin". In bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered, and in two cases out of three it is altered so as to end ". . . hihóródó". In bars 13-14 Phr. B always again is much altered. But in this type the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". Of three such tunes that we possess, one is regular, one is partly regular and partly irregular, and one is irregular:

**Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois* (*The Earl of Ross's March*): Thomason (1900:201-2). Has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure.

†**Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean*, Setting No. 2: P.S. (1938:7: 208-9):

†(*a*) *Urlar*. Has 18 (4:6:6:2) bars. As P.S. remark, "Angus Mackay's setting, No. 2, conforms, in the variations, to the pattern 4:6:4:2 . . . But in the Urlar the third line is 6, not 4, and there is no authority for cutting anything out". Yet the gross discrepancy between the *Urlar* and all the variations is very surprising; and P.S. themselves are obviously uneasy about it.

It may reasonably be supposed (1) that Setting No. 2 was not derived from Setting No. 1 until after one extra bar had been inserted into Line 3 of its first two measures, and (2) that *Urlar* of Setting No. 2 originally ended:

3. A; B″ (3 bars: "Hiendre hedehò, Hiendre cheòhió, Daredehò dreòhió"); A′ (2 bars: "Dreveò hihiódin, Hiharin hiharin").

But—presumably because he thought that all regular tunes in

this metre ended "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", and because he did not realise (*a*) that they all originally had 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and (*b*) that in this particular tune the contents of the last bar but one ("Dreveò hihiódin") were essentially a much-altered repeat of phr. *a*—somebody seems later to have tried to make sense of the last line of the *Urlar* by tacking on at the end one more bar, the contents of which also were "Hiharin hiharin".

*(*b*) *Var. I* (*Singling*). Has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and therefore is regular. But comparison with Setting No. 1, Var. II (Singling), from which it clearly was derived, suggests that it may originally have ended:

3. A ("Hinòdarid hihiódin, Hiharin hiharin"); B″ ("Himódarid hinòdarid, Hióòdarid hihiódin"); A "Hinòdarid hihiódin, Hiharin hiharin").

If so, it seems probable (1) that when the *Urlar* was altered so as to end "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", one extra bar which also contained "Hiharin hiharin" was likewise tacked on at the end of Var. I (Singling), and (2) that, since the contents of what had been hitherto the second-last bar ("Hinòdarid hihiódin") were so similar to those of the bar which immediately preceded it ("Hióòdarid hihiódin"), what had been the second-last bar was now wrongly thought to be redundant and was therefore omitted. All this, however, is purely speculative. As already stated, Var. I (Singling), in its present form, is regular; and all further variations exactly correspond.

†*Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig* (*The Lament for the Castle of Dunyveg*): P.S. (1925:1:25-7), R.L. (1865. B.2). Has only 15 (4:6:4:1) bars in a measure: but contents of *Urlar*, bar 15, are "Hiharin hiharin"; and comparison with *Spaidsearchd Iarla Rois* strongly suggests that this tune, too, must originally have had 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and that the contents of *Urlar*, bars 15-16, were "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". If so, Var. I (Singling and Doubling) would both originally have ended "Hinen hinen hinen hinen, Hinen hinen hinen hinen"; and all further variations would have corresponded exactly to this. Once the underlying metrical principal had been forgotten, all this might well have seemed unduly prolix and somewhat wearisome: and it was doubtless in order to remedy this imaginary defect that bar 16 was later omitted. (Those who are inclined to object to this on the ground that it is purely speculative should examine the known history of *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn*, for which see below, p. 14).

Thus in Type II Phr. A consists of phr. *a*+"Hiharin hiharin"; in bars 7-8 Phr. B always is altered so as to end ". . . hihóródó"; in bars 13-14 Phr. B always again in much altered; and the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". The contents of bars 15-16 may accordingly be regarded as essentially a much-altered repeat of Phr. A; and the phrase-pattern of the last six bars of the measure may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B″ ; A′ ("Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin").

In Type III, which probably was also derived from Type I, Phr. A ends ". . . hiharin"; and in the only extant example of this type Phr. B ends ". . . hihióendam". In bars 7-8 Phr. B is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihiódin", but whether that is characteristic of the type, or only of this particular tune, it is not possible to say. In bars 9-10 Phr. B is altered initially, and in bars 13-14 the same altered form of Phr. B itself is altered terminally. The contents of bars 15-16 end ". . . hiharin". The only extant example of this type is regular:

> **Cumha Mhic Shuain a Ròaig* (*The Lament for MacSwan of Roaig*): P.S. (1925:1:39-40); R.L. (1866. A.2). Has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure: but Angus Mackay ([1826-40]:11:53-5) sets it out as 16 (4:6:6), and Thomason (1900:85-6), P.S., and Campbell (1948: text 6) all set it out as "primary 6:6:4". Careful comparison with Var. I (Doubling), bars 1-2 and 15-16, shows that the contents of *Urlar*, bars 15-16, are essentially a much-altered repeat of Phr. A.

Thus in Type III Phr. A ends ". . . hiharin"; the contents of bars 15-16 also end ". . . hiharin", and are essentially an altered repeat of Phr. A; and phrase-pattern of the last six bars may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B″ ; A′ (ends ". . . hiharin").

In Type IV, which is related to Type III in much the same way as Type II is related to Type I, Phr. A also ends ". . . hiharin"; and in two cases out of two Phr. B ends ". . . hihiódin". In bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered—once so as to end ". . . hihóródó", and once so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó". In one case out of two, but not in the other, Phr. B again is much altered in bars 13-14. As in Type II, the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". Of two such tunes that we possess, one is regular, and one is irregular:

**Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn* (*The Lament for Lord Breadalbane*): Campbell (1797: I: 159-62), where it is said to be "called Lord Bredalban's March";[9] Mackay ([1826-40]): II:124-5); and Thomason (1900:345-6). Colin Campbell's version, the earliest that we possess, has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure,[10] and the *Urlar* ends " Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin, hiharin". But Angus Mackay's version has only 15 (4:6:4:1), and the *Urlar* ends "Hiharin hiharin". The final "Hiharin hiharin" seems, therefore, to have been omitted sometime between 1797 and (at latest) 1840. Thomason (1900:iii) cites Angus Mackay's unpublished manuscripts as his only authority: but by arbitrarily directing that Phr. A should be played twice at the beginning of Line 1, he converts this tune into the semblance of a "primary 6:6:4" pibroch, with one extra bar, the contents of which are "Hiharin hiharin", anomalously "tacked on at the end". All this affords an excellent illustration of the way in which tunes in this metre were liable to be mutilated when the principle which governed the metrical structure of the last six bars of the measure had once ceased to be fully understood. Cp. *Fàilte Siosolaich Srathghlais*, for which see below, p. 00.

†*Aontlachd Mhic Neill* (*Lachlan MacNeill Campbell of Kintarbert's Fancy*): P.S. (1939:8:244-5). Also has only 15 (4:6:4:1) bars in a measure: but comparison with *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn* likewise suggests that it, too, must originally have had 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and that the *Urlar* originally ended "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin": but that the last of these two bars was later omitted.

Thus in Type IV Phr. A ends ". . . hiharin"; in bars 7-8 Phr. B always is altered so as to end ". . . hihóródó" or "Hihóródó hihóródó"; in bars 13-14 Phr. B almost always again is much altered; and, as in Type II, the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". As in Type II, the contents of bars 15-16 may accordingly be regarded as essentially an altered repeat of Phr. A; and the phrase-pattern of the last six bars may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B″; A′ ("Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin").

In Type V, which is not very closely related to Types I-IV, and may have resulted out of an attempt to break away from their somewhat stereotyped phrase-patterns, Phr. A does not end "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin", but in five cases out of six it ends on Low A; and in most cases Phr. B ends on Low G. In bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered,

and in three cases out of six it is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó". In bars 13-14 Phr. B is always much altered. And, as in Types II and IV, the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". Of six such tunes that we possess, four are regular and two are irregular:

**Cumha Mhic Neill* (*The Lament for MacNeil of Barra*): Thomason (1900:119-20). Has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure.

**Bratach Bhàn nan Stiubhartach* (*The Stewarts' White Banner*): P.S. (1938:7:201-2). Also has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure.

**Fàilte Sheòrais Oig* (*Young George's Salute*): Campbell (1797:1:110). This version, the earliest that we possess, has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure, and the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". But Angus Mackay's version, printed in P.S. (1957:9:245-5) has only 15 (4:6:4:1). Cp. above, *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn.*

**Fàilte Siosolaich Srathghlais* (*Chisholm of Strathglass's Salute*): Campbell (1797:1:190-3), where it is said to be "called Marsah na Shisalach".[11] This version, also the earliest that we possess, has 16 (4:6:4:2) and ends "hiharin four times". But Angus Mackay's MS. version, printed in P.S. (1957:9: 252-3), has only 15 (4:6:4:2). Cp. above, *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn.*

†*Dastram gu Seinnim Pìob* (*Proud Am I to Play a Pipe*): P.S. (1936:6:166-7). Has only 15 (4:6:4:1) bars in a measure. But cp. above, *Fàilte Sheòrais Oig.*

†*Cumha nam Marbh* (*The Lament for the Dead*): Mackay ([1826-40]:1:64). This version has only 15 (4:6:4:1) bars in a measure: but cp. above, *Fàilte Sheòrais Oig.* Although Thomason (1900:iv) cites Angus Mackay's unpublished manuscripts as his only authority, the version that he himself prints (1900:267) has some peculiar features. In a footnote appended to each of the first four measures, he says that each "generally finishes with two Eallachs"—i.e. with one bar, the contents of which are "Hiharin hiharin". But he himself arbitrarily omits this final bar; and by directing that Phr. A should throughout be played twice at the beginning of Line 1, he converts this tune into the semblance of a "primary 6:6:4" pibroch. This Procrustean solution of the problem incidentally shows how closely the "4:6:4:2" metre and the "primary 6:6:4" metre in fact must be related to each other: but Thomason does not appear to have had any authority for it; and it also shows that nobody who cannot give a really clear and definite account of the metre of any pibroch should attempt to remedy

its apparent or actual defects merely by "mucking about" with the traditional versions of it. Cp. above, *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn.*

Thus in Type V Phr. A does not end "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin"; but in bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered, and usually is altered so as to end ". . . hihóródó" or "Hihóródó hihóródó"; in bars 13-14 Phr. B always again is much altered; and, as in Types II and IV, the contents of bars 15-16 are "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin". Thus in bars 15-16 the same familiar ending still goes on being conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phr. A; and—subject to the reservation that there is no longer any obvious musical relationship between Phrs. A and A′—the phrase-pattern of the last six bars may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B″ ; A′ ("Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin").

In the only extant example of Type VI, which is fairly closely related to Type V, Phr. A ends "Hindarid cheen"; and Phr. B ends "Hiótraea hihadin". In bars 7-8 Phr. B is altered to "Hiótraea hiótraea, Hiótraea hiótraea". In bars 9-10 (most unusually) Phr. B is altered so as to end ". . . hiótraea". The contents of bars 15-16 are "Hindarid hindarid, Hindarid hindarid". The only such tune that we possess is regular:

**Cogadh no Sìth* (*War or Peace*): Thomason (1900:*132). Has 16 (4:6:4:2) bars in a measure. This is the only "4:6:4:2" tune which does not end "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin".

Thus in Type VI Phr. A does not end "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin"; in bars 7-8, again in bars 9-10, and yet again in bars 13-14, Phr. B is much altered; in bars 15-16 a purely stereotyped ending is conventionally substituted, much as in Type V, for an altered repeat of Phr. A; and—subject to the reservation that, as in Type V, there is no obvious musical relationship between Phrs. A and A′—the phrase-pattern of the last six bars may, therefore, be stated as follows:

3. A; B‴; A′ ("Hindarid hindarid, Hindarid hindarid").

Two important conclusions that can be drawn from this investigation of all extant examples of the "4:6:4:2" metre are: (1) that in bars 7-8 Phr. B always is much altered, and in twelve cases out of sixteen is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó" or ". . . hihóródó"; and (2) that in bars 13-14 Phr.

B almost always again is much altered, but not so as to have either of these endings. Subject to the reservation that in Types V and VI there is no obvious musical relationship between Phrs. A and A′, the phrase-pattern of the measure as a whole may now be restated as follows:

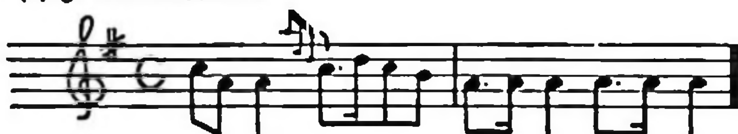
	A	B	
A		B′	B
A		B″	A′

This way of schematising the pattern has the great advantage of making it quite clear that, admittedly in various much-altered forms, Phrs. A and B both occur four times each in the whole measure, and that no "extra bars" in fact have been "tacked on at the end". But it also has some great disadvantages. The measure has now been divided into three unequal lines of 4:6:6 bars; and, even although the whole measure now contains the same number of occurrences of Phr. A as of Phr. B, the arrangement still seems oddly unsymmetrical. For, whereas each of the first two lines begins with Phr. A and ends with Phr. B, the third line likewise begins with Phr. A but ends with Phr. A′; and whereas Phr. B always is much altered in bars 7-8 (i.e. in the *middle* of Line 2), and in twelve cases out of sixteen is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó" or ". . . hihóródó", Phr. A always is altered in bars 15-16 (i.e. at the *end* of Line 3), and always is altered so that the whole measure ends "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin", or, in Type VI, "Hindarid hindarid". Clearly, it must conventionally have been required of all tunes in this metre that they should have one or other of these familiar endings; and that, no doubt, is why at the *end* of Line 3 Phr. A always is altered as it is. But there is no obvious explanation of the fact that Phr. B always is much altered in the *middle* of Line 2 (and again, it may be noted, in the *middle* of Line 3), or of the fact that in the middle of Line 2 it so often is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó" or ". . . hihóródó". All these apparently anomalous features of the "4:6:4:1" metre can, however, be fully explained in terms of Joseph MacDonald's "Antient Rule".

In this connection, three of the musical examples which he uses to illustrate his argument are especially significant. If allowance is made for certain peculiarities of notation which are sufficiently well known, the first of these three examples (J. MacDonald 1760-2: [32]) can definitely be identified as (cp.

P.S. 1925:1:25) a quotation of *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig, Urlar*, bars 1-2:

(*a*) J. MacD.: . *slow*

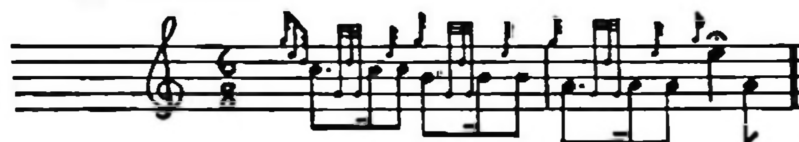


(*b*) P.S.:

The second (J. MacDonald 1760-2: [32]) is equally clearly (cp. Thomason 1900:*132) a quotation of *Cogadh no Sìth, Urlar*, bars 1-2:

(*a*) J. MacD.:

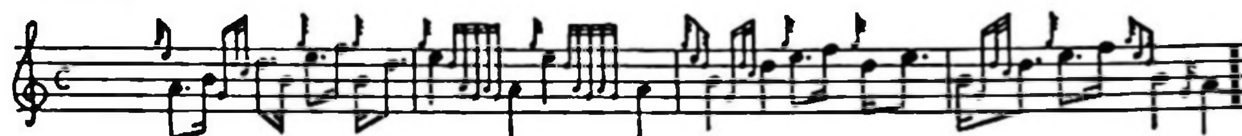
(*b*) Thomason:



And the third (J. MacDonald 1760-2: [38]) is clearly (cp. Thomason 1900:201) a quotation of *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois, Urlar*, bars 1-4:

(*a*) J. MacD.:

(*b*) Thomason:



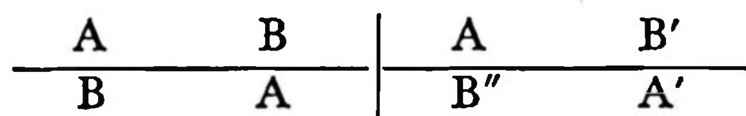
As we have already seen (above, pp. 12, 16, 11), these three tunes all undoubtedly are in the "4:6:4:2" metre.[12] But if Joseph MacDonald had not regarded them as regular, in the sense defined in his own statements that "their Adagios when regular commonly consisted of 4 Quarters", and that "the ordinar length of a Pipe Adagio" was "16 Fingers . . . 4 in each Quarter", he probably would not have used them to illustrate his own argument; and indeed he labels the third of them "¼ of the Adagio of a Lament". Hence we may fairly conclude that Joseph MacDonald himself regarded the "4:6:4:2" metre

as one in which each measure consisted, not of three unequal lines of 4:6:6 bars, but of four quarters of four fingers each.

Most students of pibroch are so accustomed to think of tunes like *Bodaich Dhubha*, *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig* and *Bratach Bhàn nan Stiubhartach* as "4:6:4:2 (or 1)" tunes that this may initially be regarded as a very startling suggestion. Let us now, therefore, make the experiment of taking the same basic phrase-pattern and schematising it in terms of Joseph MacDonald's "Antient Rule"; and let us begin by dividing it in two:

If only because this makes it quite clear that the pattern, in fact, is perfectly symmetrical, it is at once apparent that we have stumbled on a much more significant way of schematising it. And now that the pattern has been divided into two half-measures of eight bars each, it seems not only to be symmetrical but also to have much more internal complexity than before. Phrs. A and B are alternated so that in each of the two half-measures each of them occurs twice: and, except that in the second half-measure Phrs. A and B are interchanged, the second half-measure is almost exactly the same as the first. Each half-measure is, therefore, an exact counterpart of the other: but the first begins with Phr. A and ends with Phr. B′, and the second begins with Phr. B and ends with Phr. A′, so that neither has *either* the same beginning *or* the same ending as the other, and neither has *both* the same beginning *and* the same ending as the whole measure, which begins with Phr. A and ends with Phr. A′. Moreover, the alteration that Phr. B always undergoes in bars 7-8 now falls at the *end* of the first half-measure and clearly is parallel to the alteration that Phr. A always undergoes at the *end* of the second half-measure. Only a tonal and metrical analysis can fully explain why Phr. B so often is altered so as to bring it about that the first half-measure ends "Hihóródó hihóródó" or ". . . hihóródó": but this purely metrical analysis at least explains why Phr. B always is altered in bars 7-8.

Let us now take the further step of dividing the pattern into four:



This is clearly a still more powerful way of schematising it; for since the measure has now been divided into four equal quarters of four bars each, Phrs. A and B are combined always in pairs, and even on first hearing the metrical structure of the whole measure can, therefore, immediately be apprehended. Q. 1, the first of the four quarters of the measure, begins by stating Phr. A and ends by counterstating Phr. B; Q. 2 also begins by stating Phr. A, but ends by stating Phr. B′, which usually (though not always) ends "Hihóródó hihóródó" or ". . . hihóródó"; and that is the end of the first half-measure. As we have already seen, the second half-measure is essentially an exact counterpart of the first, in which Phrs. A and B are interchanged. Q. 3 accordingly begins by stating Phr. B and ends by counterstating Phr. A. Q. 4 likewise begins by stating Phr. B (which thus falls, not in the middle of a line, but at the beginning of a quarter) and ends by stating Phr. A′; and the whole measure thus ends "Hiharin hiharin" or ". . . hiharin", or, in Type VI, "hindarid hindarid".

All this is very satisfying: but it is still only an hypothesis that this way of schematising the pattern is, in fact, the best way of schematising it; and since, in such cases, one concrete example carries much more conviction than any amount of "abstract reasoning concerning number and quantity", let us now complete the experiment by subjecting the *Urlar* of *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean* (P.S. 1938:7:207) to a fairly detailed tonal and metrical analysis. First let us divide it into four quarters of four fingers each:

A — B
f.1 f.2 f.3 f.4
Hi-en-hò-drò hi-hió-din Hi-ha-rin hi-ha-rin Hi-en-dre he-de-hò Hi-en-hò-drò hi-hió-din

A — B′
f.5 f.6 f.7 f.8
Hi-en-hò-drò hi-hió-din Hi-ha-rin hi-ha-rin Hi-en-ó-din Hi-en-dre-ò Hi-hó-ró-dó hi-hó-ró-dó

B — A
f.9 f.10 f.11 f.12
Hi-en-dre he-de-hò Hi-en-hò-drò hi-hió-din Hi-en-hò-drò hi-hió-din Hi-ha-rin hi-ha-rin

B″ — A′
f.13 f.14 f.15 f.16
Hi-en-dre dre-ò-hió Doe-de-hò dre-ò-hió Hi-en-dre-ve-ò hi-hió-din Hi-ha-rin hi-ha-rin

For reasons that have already been explained (above, p. 10), it has here been assumed that Phr. B″ originally contained only two fingers, and that bar 13 as now numbered was later interpolated into Q. 4.

Bodaich Dhubha is a "C-tune"—that is to say, it belongs to the large class of pibrochs in which C, but not D, is used as a melody note; and, like many other C-tunes, it uses all five notes of the pentatonic scale ABC EF, but also extends it upwards and downwards by adding the two extra notes High A and Low G. In the *Urlar*, neither of these two extra notes occurs, and Phrs. A and B′ only contain the notes ABC E: but Phrs. B, B″, and A′ contain all five of the notes ABC EF. The gives the following phrase-by-phrase distribution of notes:

	F			F		F	F
E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

The tonic throughout is Low A, to which, of course, the drones of the Scots Highland bagpipe are tuned.

Q. 1, the first of the four quarters of the *Urlar*, begins by stating Phr. A, which consists of two half-phrases, each of one finger. *F.1*, the first of these two half-phrases, is the one that we have already designated "phr. *a*"; and its contents are "Hienhòdrò hihiódin". Since its initial cadence ("Hien . . .") directly descends from E, the dominant, to Low A, the tonic, it has a tonally emphatic beginning; since its terminal cadence (". . . hihiódin") also descends from the dominant to B, the supertonic, but then finally to the tonic, it has a tonally fairly conclusive ending; and in so far as it thus has both a tonally emphatic beginning and a tonally conclusive ending, it is tonally self-contained. But since it does not contain F, it is not tonally complete: and, as we shall see, its ending is not tonally completely conclusive. The contents of *f.2*, the second of the two half-phrases, are "Hiharin hiharin", a double-cadence which twice directly descends from the dominant to the tonic, and therefore is tonally very conclusive indeed. Taken as a whole, Phr. A therefore has both a tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") and a tonally very conclusive ending ("Hiharin

hiharin"), and therefore is tonally completely self-contained. Phr. A, however, does not contain F, and therefore is not tonally complete.

Q. 1 ends by stating Phr. B, which also consists of two half-phrases, each of one finger. *F.3*, the first of these two half-phrases, may conveniently be designated "phr. *b*"; and its contents are "Hiendre hedehò". This is clearly a tonally-expanded derivative of phr. *a*. As it contains the "missing note", F, "which being struck gives all the rest their scope", it immediately solves the tonal problem inherent in Phr. A: but it does not contain B, the supertonic, and therefore itself is not tonally complete. Moreover, although it has the same tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") as phr. *a*, it ends on C, the middle note, and therefore is not tonally self-contained. *F.4*, the second of the two half-phrases of which Phr. B is composed, is simply, but most unexpectedly, a repeat of phr. *a*. Thus, although phr. *b* is itself derived from phr. *a*, Phr. B consists of phrs. *b* + *a*. Since it contains all five of the notes ABC EF, it is tonally complete; and since it has both the same tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") as Phr. A, and the same tonally fairly conclusive ending (". . . hihiódin") as phr. *a*, it is tonally fairly self-contained. As we have already seen, phr. *b* is in itself an effective solution of the tonal problem initially inherent in Phr. A. But whereas the first half of Q. 1 ends "Hiharin hiharin", the second half ends "Hienhòdrò hihiódin", and "Hienhòdrò hihiódin" is not tonally quite so conclusive an ending as "Hiharin hiharin"; and, owing to the fact that phr. *a* is used both as the first half of Phr. A and as the second half of Phr. B, Q. 1 is also unduly repetitive. Hence there still is plenty of room for further development.

Q. 2 begins by restating Phr. A. Thus, just after it has been repeated in *f.4*, phr. *a* is again repeated in *f.5*; and although this demonstration of its versatility is quite a good musical joke, it makes it essential that phr. *a* should not be repeated again in the rest of Q. 2. Q. 2 accordingly ends, not by restating Phr. B, but by stating Phr. B′. Like Phrs. A and B, Phr. B′ consists of two half-phrases, each of one finger. The first, *f. 7*, is essentially a tonally-reduced derivative of phr. *b*; and its contents are "Hienódin hiendreò". Since this ends on C, and does not contain F, it is neither tonally self-contained nor tonally complete. The contents of *f.8*, the second of the two half-phrases of which Phr. B is composed, are "Hihóródó hihóródó", a double-cadence which twice begins on the dominant, but

twice directly descends to the supertonic and insistently dwells on it. Thus, although there is no repetition of phr. *a*, the cost of avoiding it is indeed a heavy one: for, taken as a whole, Phr. B′ does not contain F, and therefore is not tonally complete; and, although it has the same tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") as Phrs. A and B, its ending ("Hihóródó hihóródó") is tonally very inconclusive indeed. All this serves not only to make Q. 2 more varied than Q. 1, but also to heighten the listener's awareness that this is only the end of the first half-measure, and that the whole tonal and metrical pattern of the *Urlar*, as yet, is incomplete.[13]

In the second half-measure, everything is, as it were, turned inside-out. Q. 3 begins by stating Phr. B, and ends by stating Phr. A. Each of the two phrases is presented in exactly the same form as in Q. 1, and neither of them undergoes any development. But, simply by thus reversing them, Q. 3 makes an entirely fresh start; for, whereas "Hienhòdrò hihiódin" first occurs in *f. 10*, "Hiharin hiharin" first occurs in *f. 12*, and hence it results that the first half of Q. 3 does not have tonally so conclusive an ending as the second. But the second half of Q. 3 does not contain F, and therefore is not tonally complete; and, owing to the fact that phr. *a* occurs in *f. 10* and again in *f. 11*, Q. 3 is just as repetitive as Q. 1. Some further development still, therefore, is possible.

Q. 4 begins by stating Phrs. B″ and ends by stating Phr. A′. Like Phrs. A, B, and B′, Phr. B″ consists of two half-phrases, each of one finger, and it is essentially a tonally-expanded elaboration of phr. *b*; for in *f. 13* "Hiendre . . ." is expanded into "Hiendre cheòhió", and in *f. 14* ". . . hehedò" is similarly expanded into "Daredehò dreòhió". Phr. B″ thus contains all five of the notes ABC EF, and therefore is tonally complete: but, although it has the same beginning ("Hien . . .") as Phrs. A, B, and B′, it ends on the supertonic, and therefore is not tonally self-contained. Phr. A′ also consists of two half-phrases, each of one finger. *F. 15*, the first, is a tonally-expanded repeat of phr. *a* in which "Hienhòdrò . . ." is changed into "Hiendreveò . . ."; and the contents of *f. 16*, the second, are "Hiharin hiharin". Phr. A thus has the same tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") and the same tonally very conclusive ending ("Hiharin hiharin") as Phr. A: but, unlike Phr. A, it contains all five of the notes ABC EF, and therefore is tonally complete. Phr. A′ is, therefore, the only phrase in the whole measure which is both tonally complete and tonally completely

self-contained; and it thus sums up the pattern as a whole, and closes it. Taken as a whole, Q. 4 has the same tonally emphatic beginning ("Hien . . .") as Qq. 1, 2, and 3; but each of its two component phrases is tonally complete; the ending of the first is not tonally conclusive, and the ending of the second is tonally very conclusive indeed. All this not only provides an effective solution of both the problems which still remained unsolved at the end of Q. 3, but serves also to emphasise the fact that the second half-measure has now been completed, and that the whole tonal and metrical pattern of the *Urlar* has successfully reached its conventionally-appointed end.

As this somewhat technical analysis has shown, Q. 1 states Phrs. A and B, and although it thus provides a satisfactory solution of the tonal problem implicit in Phr. A, two further problems still remain to be solved—namely (1) that Q. 1 is unduly repetitive, and (2) that the ending of the second half of Q. 1 is not tonally so conclusive as that of the first. By stating Phrs. A and B′, Q. 2 succeeds in solving the first of these two problems, but only at the cost of bringing it about that the second half of Q. 2 is not tonally complete, and that the ending of the first half-measure is tonally very inconclusive indeed. Q. 3 accordingly makes a new start by stating Phrs. B and A; and this reversal of them effectively solves the second of the two problems which remained unsolved at the end of Q. 1, but only at the cost of bringing it about (1) that the second half of Q. 3 is not tonally complete, and (2) that, taken as a whole, Q. 3 is just as repetitive as Q. 1. By stating Phrs. B″ and A′, Q. 4 solves both these problems; and the tonal expansion by which it solves them also has the effect of finally cancelling out the tonal reduction which has already occurred in Q. 2. The four-quartered pattern that both half-measures thus together make up is not nearly so intricate as the patterns embodied in many "primary 6:6:4" and in all "secondary 6:6:4" pibrochs: but it is nevertheless very well knit, and so full of metrical and tonal subtlety that—even although it only uses five of the chanter's nine notes—it is capable of giving endless æsthetic pleasure.

If we had begun by carving up the *Urlar* of *Bodaich Dhubha* in the way that all modern authorities have hitherto regarded as orthodox, we should never have been able to perceive most of the subtleties that this analysis has brought to light; and there cannot, the writer thinks, be much doubt that the best possible way of schematising all tunes in this metre is the one that we have adopted in this article. From all that has been said, the

writer is himself inclined to draw the following conclusions: (1) The way in which all tunes in this metre have hitherto been set forth on the printed page not only obscures but falsifies their true musical form; (2) All regular tunes in this metre must originally have had 16 (4:4:4:4) bars in a measure; (3) In all regular tunes in this metre, each measure is made up of two phrases, A and B, each of two fingers, arranged:

A	B
A	B′
B	A
B″	A′

Thus, (4) No tune in this metre is regular unless each measure consists of four quarters each of four fingers; hence (5), In so far as it applies to the eighteen tunes that have here been taken as a test case, the truth of Joseph MacDonald's account of the "Antient Rule for regulating Time and Composition" has fully been vindicated; and (6) In future all that he has to say about the traditional musical theory of pibroch should, therefore, be taken more seriously than it has been taken in the past.

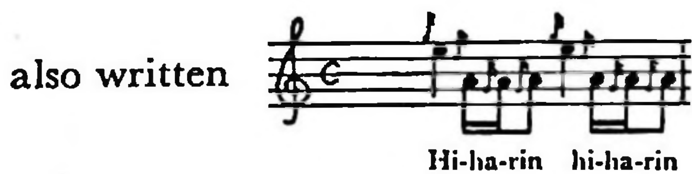
In themselves, most of the tunes that we have examined in this article are not very interesting, and even among pipers these tentative conclusions will probably not excite much of a stir. But when we go on to re-examine the two "6:6:4" metres in the light that they afford, we shall find that they have some fairly far-reaching implications.[14]

CANNTAIREACHD

In *Canntaireachd*, the vocal notation traditionally used in pibroch, melody-notes are represented mostly by vowels (sung at the pitch of the notes they represent) and grace-notes mostly by consonants. The following list contains all pieces of *canntaireachd* used above, with their equivalents in staff notation:

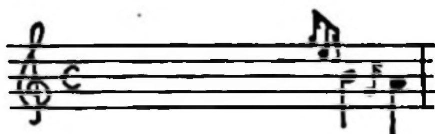
P. 12:

also written



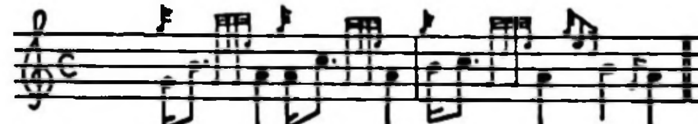
and

P. 15:

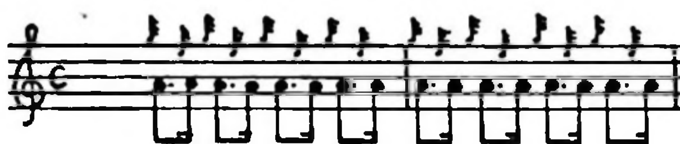


P. 17:

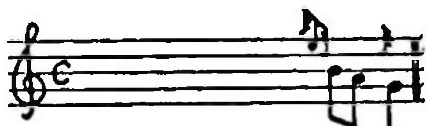
P. 20:



P. 21:



P. 22:



P. 28:

Hin-darid che-en

Hió-tra-ea hi-ha-din

Hió-tra-ea hió-tra-ea Hió-tra-ea hio-tra-ea.

Hin-darid hin-darid Hin-darid hin-darid

This system of *canntaireachd* is practically the same as that used by Colin Campbell in his *canntaireachd* manuscript, except that ò represents C and ó represents B. For a full account, see P.S. (1925:1:v-vi).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Dr. F. J. Collinson, to Mr. John MacInnes, and, above all, to Miss Donia Etherington (now Mrs. M. Irwin), I owe a special debt of gratitude for all the encouragement, advice, and criticism that they ungrudgingly have given me. I am also extremely grateful to: Col. J. P. Grant of Rothiemurchus, for having provided me with a copy of Thomason's indispensable but not normally obtainable *Ceol Mor*; to Pipe-Major John Burgess, for generously recording so many of the tunes mentioned in this article; to Mr. B. R. S. Megaw, F.S.A., F.M.A., Director of the School of Scottish Studies, for permitting me to make such full use of its facilities; and to all members of his staff for their unfailing courtesy. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, who alone has made it possible for me to spend so much time on this research.

NOTES

[1] Until the Disarming Act (1747) was finally repealed in 1782, no Highlander, as Miss M. A. MacDonald points out (1953:211), might lawfully possess a bagpipe. Doubtless for this reason, Joseph MacDonald always speaks of pipe-music as a relic of the past; and like most collectors of oral tradition, he much overestimated the rate at which the traditional material in which he was interested was dying out.

[2] On one of the blank pages towards the end of Joseph MacDonald's manuscript, there is a charming watercolour drawing of a piper, in full Highland dress, playing his pipe. Though it shows great artistic sensibility, it clearly is not the work of a practised draughtsman; and since everything is reversed as in a mirror-image, it is probably a self-portrait of Joseph MacDonald, playing the "fine Highland bagpipe",

and wearing the "suit of Highland cloaths", that his friend "Mr. M." had sent him.

[3] Miss MacDonald assumes (1953:212) that Sir John Murray MacGregor found Joseph MacDonald's own original manuscript of his *Compleat Theory*, and gave it to Patrick MacDonald; and she then suggests (1953:215), first, that "being anxious to have the Theory published", Patrick MacDonald, "an old man, and none too rich, . . . handed it over to the antiquaries"; secondly, that "they employed a 'hack' to 'dress it up' for publication"; and thirdly, that this hack, wrongly supposing that Joseph MacDonald's notation was old-fashioned, "tried to alter it into the more fashionable notation of his own day". All this may indeed be true: but what Patrick MacDonald himself says ([1803] 1927: [i]) is that his brother's treatise was discovered in Bengal by Sir John MacGregor Murray; and that, when he returned home, Sir John "forwarded the copy he had secured to the Editor, as a monument of the genius and abilities of a long-lost brother". Patrick MacDonald thus himself accepts full editorial responsibility for the text printed in 1803; and we cannot exclude the possibilities (1) that Sir John MacGregor Murray may only have secured an inferior transcript of Joseph MacDonald's own original manuscript, and (2) that it was from this inferior transcript that the printed text was set. This question cannot, however, be settled until an authoritative edition of Joseph MacDonald's manuscript is published.

[4] Between "they" and "counted" the words "Adagio and Grounds" have been added above the line. But the text probably was meant to read: "they counted Adagios and Grounds upon their 4 Fingers".

[5] Cp. Lorimer (1949:10): ". . . one thing that has *not* come down to us is a knowledge of the theory of music underlying pibroch. That theory was obviously a major branch of what the MacCrimmons taught, and doubtless it is because the musical theory of pibroch-composition perished with the hereditary pipers that later pibroch is so unsatisfactory. . . . Until the complete musical theory of pibroch is recovered, the tradition must be regarded as one that is slowly dying on its feet."

[6] Cp. Miss M. A. MacDonald (1953:210): "A great number of leading pipers studied the work, but all were perplexed and confused by its contents. . . . The consensus of opinion was that Joseph must have been an extremely careless notation scribe—so careless, in fact, that the work was worthless."

[7] Cp. P.S. (1930:3:83). Nowadays, when writing pipe-music in staff notation, it is not customary to include a key-signature. A fairly close approximation of all transcripts of pipe-music contained in this article can be obtained by playing them, e.g. on the pianoforte, in the key of A Major, but with G natural.

[8] In a definitive study, it would, of course, be necessary to trace the history of each particular tune through all the various manuscripts. But this would have taken far too much space; and as the manuscripts themselves are not readily accessible to most readers, reference has, where possible, been made to the latest printed text. All R. L. references are to the Sound Recording Archive of the School of Scottish Studies.

Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill, printed in Thomason (1900:178-9) is

another (probably earlier) version of *Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall*; but its variations are very corrupt.

[9] *Cumha Lachlainn Mhóir* (*Lament for Lachlann Mór Maclean*), printed in Thomason (1900:93-4), is another version of the same tune.

[10] It should, however, be noted that in this version, doubtless because one of Colin Campbell's sources had wrongly supposed that *Cumha Mhorair Braighid-Albainn* was of the same metrical type as *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois*, Phr. A does not end ". . . hiharin", but ". . . hiharin hiharin", and therefore contains 2½ bars. Cp. Colin Campbell's version (printed in P.S. 1925:1:27) of *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig*, in which, doubtless because one of his sources supposed that in bars 7-8 of all regular tunes in this metre Phr. B was altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó", Phr. B′ does not end ". . . hihóródó", but "Hihóródó hihóródó", and therefore also contains 2½ bars.

[11] *Spaidsearachd Cloinn Mhic Aoidh* (*The Mackays' March*), printed in Thomason (1900:187), is another version of the same tune.

[12] The repeat-mark at the end of the quotation from *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois* presumably was due to a slip of Joseph MacDonald's pen.

[13] Our hypothesis thus enables us to explain why, in bars 7-8, Phr. B so often is altered so as to end "Hihóródó hihóródó". That in itself is a strong point in its favour; and it is probably a safe assumption that all other alterations of Phr. B which occur in these bars are such as to bring it about that the first half-measure has, unlike the second, a tonally inconclusive ending.

[14] For a tentative account of these implications, see Lorimer (1961:6-10).

REFERENCES

CAMPBELL, A.

1948 *The Kilberry Book of Ceol Mor*. Glasgow.

CAMPBELL, C.

1797 "Colin Campbell's Instrumental Book 1797; The ffirst Volum Continuing 83 tunes." N.L.S. ms. 3714; generally referred to as "Campbell's *Canntaireachd* Mss".

LORIMER, R. L. C.

1948 "Pibroch and the Future." Review of Campbell (1948). *The Scots Review*, Apr. 1949:10.

1961 Unpublished transcript of recorded talk "On the Progress of his Studies in Pibroch", 21 July, 1961. R. L. 1711.

MACDONALD, J.

1760-2 *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*. . . . E.U.L. MS. La. III. 804.

MACDONALD, M. A.

1953 "The Joseph MacDonald 'Theory'." *The Scots Magazine* (n.s.) 60:210-5.

MACDONALD, P.

1784 *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs*. . . . Edinburgh.

1927 "To the Public," in reprint of J. MacDonald, *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*. . . . Edinburgh [1803]. Inverness.

MACKAY, A.
[1826-40] Bagpipe Music Mss. Vols. I and II. N.L.S. mss. 3753-4.
PIOBAIREACHD SOCIETY
1925-57 *Piobaireachd*, ed. Comunn na Piobaireachd (The Piobaireachd Society). Here cited as P.S. Glasgow. 9 vols.: 1, 1925; 2, 1928; 3, 1930; 4, 1932; 5, 1934; 6, 1936; 7, 1938; 8, 1939; 9, 1957. All refs. are to the latest reprints (n.d.) in which all pages are numbered consecutively from beginning to end.
THOMASON, C. S.
1900 *A Collection of Piobaireachd, as played on the Great Highland Bagpipes. Ceol Mor.* . . . London.

SEVERED HEADS IN WELLS: AN ASPECT OF THE WELL CULT

Anne Ross *

The human head has been accredited with supernatural powers by many peoples. Its superstitious veneration can be traced back to the Mesolithic period in Europe where, in some areas at least, there is archæological evidence for a cult of skulls. E. O. James (1957:20) draws attention to several examples of archæological discoveries suggestive of such a cult. One of these comes from Ofnet in Bavaria where twenty-seven human skulls, dating from the Mesolithic period, were found in a group embedded in red ochre, looking towards the west. A few yards away was a second identical group of six skulls. The heads were apparently severed from the bodies after death. Some of the skulls were decorated with shells. Skulls from Jericho, adorned with pebbles and shells, together with many other early examples cited by James, demonstrate that the veneration and respect paid to the human head goes right back to man's earliest religious consciousness.

This cult of the head then is found widely in many temporal and geographical contexts, especially amongst people at a certain stage of development. The present writer was informed by a native of Borneo that only in recent years did head-hunting become illegal there. The practice still persists and heads are taken from time to time. The heads were smoked, placed in baskets which were suspended from the ceilings of the houses and offerings were made to them at the appropriate seasons. Young men were regarded as especially eligible suitors if they had a large number of heads to their credit, and it was the custom to tattoo a stroke on each finger to represent every head taken by the warrior. He must however be able to produce the heads if required to do so.

Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but the foregoing are sufficient to indicate that the superstitious

* Research Fellow, School of Scottish Studies.

veneration of the human head is by no means confined to one people or to a single period of time.

The Celts revered the human head and, in common with many other peoples, they were head-hunters, decapitating their enemies and exhibiting the crania as trophies about their forts, houses and shrines (Ross 1959:11-12). The Celts however were unique in that they developed this common reverence for the human head into a subtle and sophisticated cult. Not only did they decapitate their enemies and preserve the heads, but they came to regard the head as a religious symbol, connoting divinity, the powers of the Otherworld (a head often presided over the divine feast), and prophetic knowledge. They used the head constantly in their highly-stylised art, and any consideration of the corpus of La Tène art will serve to demonstrate this feature. The term "godhead" is one which can confidently be applied to the Celtic use of the human head as a religious symbol. The various manifestations of this cult in the British Isles have been discussed in detail in a recent paper (Ross 1959) and it is not necessary to elaborate it further in this context.

Another object of veneration amongst the Celts for which there is an overwhelming amount of evidence is water, in the form of wells, springs, pools and boggy places. Once again, although it is not peculiar to the Celtic peoples, the cult of wells played an important part in their mythology. The numbers of shrines which have a well or spring as their focal point, pertaining to the pre-Christian period is impressive, while votive deposits from wells and deities associated with such places are numerous. The vernacular tradition of the British Isles is likewise full of examples of the veneration of wells, which corroborate and elaborate the archæological evidence for such beliefs. Christianity, rather than obliterating the cult, tended to adopt it, and we find practically every early Celtic saint having a holy well associated with him, while his local "cult legend" is often a practically unmodified perpetuation of the earlier pagan tradition. The veneration of wells and springs then is one which has, in Celtic areas, a more or less unbroken continuity from the Iron Age down to its final collapse in the present century, superstition and habit replacing earlier belief and cult practice.

When these objects of superstitious belief, the head and the well, are brought into association with each other in tradition, it becomes clear that there is some deep-rooted cult connection between them. Without a knowledge of the widespread religious

significance of these two objects, the isolated archæological discovery of a head in a well, or the single literary reference to this association, could be passed over as having no particular interest. Once the background is appreciated, however, the occasions when the head and the well are connected with each other can be observed more particularly, and it will be seen that a very interesting pattern emerges.

Archæology can furnish us with several impressive examples of a well, known to have been dedicated to a specific deity, containing a human head, or being in some way associated with heads. The most outstanding example of this comes from the North of England, from Carrawburgh, beside the Roman fort of Procolitia on Hadrian's Wall. Known locally as the Roman Bath, the importance of the well as a cult focus in Roman times was only fully revealed in 1876 when the activities of lead prospectors in the area drew it to the attention of local archæologists (Clayton 1880). The well, dedicated to the Celtic goddess Coventina, occupied the central position within a temple, forty feet square. When excavated, the well was found to contain an amazing variety of objects, including more than thirteen thousand coins dating from A.D. 41 to A.D. 383, twenty-four undamaged altars, several of them dedicated to the goddess, pins, brooches, vases, fragments of Samian ware and a human skull. One of the altars, like one to Fortuna found nearby, and dedicated to Coventina, has an iron ring fastened to the focus by means of lead. This suggests that these altars were suspended over the well, or ritually immersed in the water. Coventina would appear to have been a local goddess, although a dedication to a deity of similar name from northern Italy indicates that her cult may also have been known in Europe (Cagnat 1950:180). The pins show her connection with fertility, while the presence of the human cranium is given added significance by the recovery of three votive heads in bronze, one representing a male having a long narrow face with a pointed beard. The skull is now exhibited in Chesters Museum, Northumberland, together with most of the other contents of the well. It is noteworthy that, in the summer of 1960, a second well was excavated at Carrawburgh, a few yards away from Coventina's Well. An altar dedicated to the Nymphs and the *Genius Loci* and a small bronze of the *Genius Loci* were recovered, while excavations showed that the altar was associated with the well and that both had been contained in a small building which had been demolished about A.D. 300.

This recent discovery, made by Dr. David Smith, Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, adds to our knowledge of the cult of wells in this region, for which there is plentiful evidence. The report of the excavation awaits publication.

The presence of the human head in Coventina's Well is of especial interest from the native viewpoint. Any analysis of a group of Romano-British wells reveals the consistent occurrence of human heads together with pottery and objects of a cult nature. One or two examples may be cited here. From the bottom of a circular steined well at Caves Inn, Warwick (Tripontium), the figure of a horseman was recovered, bearing spear and shield, together with a bronze disc, apparently part of a shield, the base of a Samian cup, a coarse jar of second century A.D. date, and the skull of an adult female (Anon. 1953:118). Again, from the site of the Westbury Ironworks at Heywood, Wiltshire, a well, cleaned out in 1879, was found to contain Romano-British sherds, animal bones and human skulls. No structural remains were found (Pugh and Crittall 1957:76).

An interesting parallel to these wells comes from Trelleborg, Sealand. The late Professor Nørlund found six wells, five of them dating from before A.D. 1000. In his opinion the wells were used for sacrifices which may have taken place in small round enclosures nearby. In some of the wells Nørlund found the bones of horses, pigs, goats, sheep, cows and children. In one of them the skull of a man of about thirty-five years of age was found.[1] The circular enclosures associated with these wells may have affinities with a site in Dorset. Near Winterborne Kingston a well dating from Roman times was discovered, containing objects of a Celtic cult nature. About four feet from the well was a curious circle, consisting of eight burnt tiles of varying sizes, placed on edge at ten inch intervals. In the centre was a small sarsen with an iron knife close to it, and an oblong pit filled with pottery, flint and ashes, all subjected to fire. This would appear to suggest that the well and the area immediately adjacent to it was the site of some form of ritual practice (Farrar 1953:74-5, and pl. XVIII).

The recovery of skulls from the underground pool in the River Axe at Wookey Hole in Somerset is also of relevance here (Mason 1950-51). These human skulls were likewise associated with pottery. In 1946, three skulls and some Romano-British pottery were recovered between the first and third

chambers of the cave. The find was sufficient to stimulate archæological interest, and work was carried out between 1947 and 1949, resulting in some important discoveries. These included some Romano-British pottery of the first or second century A.D., of a form descended from Belgic prototypes, and no less than fourteen human skulls. Of singular interest is the fact that the heads all belonged to people between the ages of twenty-five and thirty years, with the exception of one of forty years. This is reminiscent of the human skulls found at the pre-Roman sanctuary of Roquepertuse in southern France, which were subjected to forensic analysis and found to belong to young men in the prime of life, none being older than forty years (Benoit 1955). When considering the possible significance of the discovery from Wookey Hole, we may also bear in mind the altar from Apt, France, inscribed *Marti Vectirix Reppavi f.v.s.l.m.* The names are Celtic and it is clear that the native war god is here invoked in the guise of his classical counterpart. Under the altar eight or nine male skulls were found, showing that they had been placed there seemingly as an offering to the war-god in Roman times (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XII: 1077). Also of relevance here is Cormac's gloss on the Irish crow/raven goddess of war and fertility. This glossary (an Old Irish compilation of the ninth century) refers to Macha in the following terms: "*Macha*, that is a crow, or it is one of the three Morrignas. *Mesrad Machae*, Macha's mast, that is the heads of men after their slaughter" (Stokes 1868:XXXV). This suggests that at some stage the *heads* of the slain were dedicated to the Irish goddess of war. These examples, together with the Celtic tradition of associating human heads with wells and pools, may be of some assistance in finding a satisfactory explanation for the presence of the human skulls in the pool at Wookey Hole. Various suggestions have been made, including the supposition that the heads were human sacrifices made to the Witch stalagmite in the First Chamber (Mason 1935-51: 242). The evidence however can give no support to this theory. Although there is no evidence for actual sacrifice, a knowledge of the wider background of Celtic belief does suggest a cult connection of these heads with the pool, and their presence there can hardly be fortuitous. The associated material indicates that the skulls date from the Romano-British period, at which time the veneration of the human head was fully operative. Thus, no matter what the cause of death, it seems most probable that these heads, together with the pottery,

had been deliberately placed in the water as a votive offering or for some ritual purpose. The heads, being those of young people, may have been taken in war, but the fact that at least two of the skulls are apparently female may argue against this suggestion. Whatever the reason for the placing of the heads and the pottery in the pool, their presence there dovetails well with what we know of the Celtic custom of placing severed heads in sacred pools and wells.

These examples, drawn from archæological contexts, and dating from a period when the cult importance of both the head and the well are fully attested, give a firm foundation of fact against which the later evidence for the association of severed heads with wells can be reviewed.

Turning now to the sphere of literary tradition and folklore, there are several interesting examples from Wales of the head as the hereditary guardian of the well (Jones 1954:115-16). The skull of a fourteenth-century Welsh nobleman, Gruffydd ap Adda ap Dafydd, killed at Dolgelley, was kept at Dolgelly, and was used as a drinking-cup for the cure of whooping cough and other illnesses. Water was drunk from a human skull at Ffynon Llandyfaen, which was used as a well-cup, and belief in its efficacy persisted into the nineteenth century. The waters of another well, Ffynnon Deilo, were drunk from the skull of Teilo, of which the heads of the family of Melchior were the hereditary keepers. In 1840, a boy with tuberculosis came from Glamorgan to drink the healing waters of the well. He omitted however to drink them from the skull, and received no cure. His father, discovering that he had failed to observe the traditional ritual, brought him there for a second time, and ensured that he drank the water from the head. This time the boy was completely cured. This tradition that healing waters could only benefit sufferers if they were drunk from the skull serving as the hereditary keeper of the well casts a new light on the presence of heads found in wells. A similar tradition was still current in comparatively recent years in the island of Lewis. An elder in the United Free Church in Ness had an epileptic daughter. He eventually decided to try to cure her of epilepsy in a traditional manner. Between sunset and sunrise and without speaking to a living thing, he walked five miles to the family burial-ground at Teampull Chrò Naoimh at North Galson. There he dug up the grave and removed the skull from it. He came back home with the skull, awakened the epileptic girl and made her drink from the skull. He then walked

FIG. 1—Site of Coventina's Well, Northumberland (see p. 33)

FIG. 2—Skull from Coventina's Well (see p. 33-4)

PLATE II

Well of the Heads—Loch Oich (see p. 43)

back to Teampull Chrò Naoimh to re-bury the skull. My informant did not know the name of the well from which the water was taken, but it is likely to have been a healing well and its name should still be ascertainable.[2]

The literary tradition of early Ireland furnishes several examples of the association of severed heads with wells. The *Dindshenchas*, the topographical legends of Ireland, contain much of mythological significance, the traditions being preserved in the explanations for the names of the various geographical features. One story accounts for the naming of a hill, *Sliab Gam*, by the following legend (Gwynn 1913:145). A young man named Gam was decapitated beside the well on the hill which subsequently became known as *Sliab Gam*, Gam's Hill. The head was cast into the well. Its presence in the well magically affected the water. For part of the day it was a grey, bitter, salt stream, and for another part of the day it flowed with pure water. This caused great wonder in Ireland.[3] In another tradition from the Dindshenchas we learn that the well *Tipra Brothlaige* was so named because the sons of Morna slew Dornmar and Indascland and Imgan of Finn ua Baiscne's household, and threw the three heads into the well (Gwynn 1924:300). The well of Sen-Garman (*Tipra Sen-Garmna*) was named on account of the slaying of a woman called Sen-Garman beside the well by the hero Finn. He decapitated her and in true Celtic fashion set up her head on a stake beside the well and cast her body into the well (Gwynn 1913:242; Stokes 1894:446). The supernatural effect, beneficial or otherwise, of the presence of a severed head or heads in a well or spring is illustrated further by the following example, also from the Dindshenchas (Gwynn 1913:324; Stokes 1895:273). In a fierce skirmish between two opposing Irish factions, only one hero, Riach, escaped with his life. The heads cut off in the fight were brought to a well in a glen beside Druim Sam. Riach then built a structure over the spring, now seemingly possessed of evil powers. He put a door across the opening of the well but, despite his efforts to contain it, the magic water boiled out in fury and drowned a thousand men, Riach amongst them. Although not always specifically connected with a head, the reaction of a well to the casting into it, or deliberate drowning in it, of some person is frequently that of rising up in fury and forming a lake. For example, at the Feast of Tara, which took place for three days before and three days after the first of November (*Samuin*, a date of great ritual importance for the

Celts), a period of peace and festivity, one man, Garman, broke the traditional peace by stealing a gold diadem. He was pursued and drowned by his pursuers in the Well of Coelrind. When this act was committed, the well rose up and formed a great lake (Stokes 1894:430). A further connection between severed heads and water, thereby magically affected, is found in the explanation for the name *Loch Cend* "The Loch of the Heads" (Gwynn 1924:258). A battle was waged beside the loch between two early Irish heroes, Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, and Cairpre. Cairpre was victorious and he threw the nine hundred heads of his opponents, including that of Colman, into the loch "so that it is blood below and above". It was then called *Loch Cenn*, "The Loch of the Heads".

The deep-rooted and universal nature of this association of heads with wells in Celtic societies can be demonstrated still further for the early period. Even in contexts where the head is only associated with water in an oblique fashion, it is suggestive of the underlying tradition. For example, in the legend of Dermot's triple death (O'Grady 1892:86-8), a complex death which itself has its origins in pagan Celtic tradition, the hero is stabbed by a spear, burnt and drowned.[4] After this violent death his destruction is complete, with the exception of his *head* which alone did not perish. This was carried to Clonmacnoise. Another striking instance of the association of a severed head with a well is found in the cult legends of Saint Melor of Cornwall and Brittany (Doble 1927). In one respect the saint bears an extraordinary resemblance to the early Irish divine king *Nuadu*. After the saint has had his right hand and his left foot cut off by servants of his malevolent uncle they are replaced by a silver hand and a brazen foot. These, like Nuadu's artificial hand of silver, grow and become flexible like flesh so that it is impossible to tell them from real flesh and bone, and the saint is able to bear arms. This came about in the following manner. When the boy was fourteen years of age and was being reared in a monastery, the abbott of the monastery gathered nuts and gave them to the boy as an offering to his lord (the boy being Prince of Brittany). Melor took them with his silver hand and it became supple as if it were flesh.[5] The boy was eventually murdered by the orders of his wicked uncle, and the murderer cut off his head and set out with it to the uncle. He became weak and faint with thirst on the journey, and near to death. In his agony of thirst, he cried out for help. The head which he was carrying then spoke, and instructed

him to fix his staff firmly in the ground, when a spring would gush forth. "And when he fixed the staff in the earth, it took root and was turned into a most beautiful tree, and brought forth branches and fruit, and from its roots an unfailing fountain began to well forth" (Doble 1927:7). Here we have a tradition of a healing well (for Melor was concerned with healing waters) brought into being on the instructions of a severed head. The importance of Melor's *head* is demonstrated in yet another episode in his cult legend. After his death his body was buried on Mount Arat, and the head was buried some distance from the torso. In the Amesbury version of the legend, the head rose up of its own will and sought the body which was separated from it. Saint Melor is essentially a healer. His holy well at Linkinhorne in Cornwall is well-known, and in Brittany the centre of his cult is Lanmeur. In the crypt beneath the Parish Church is a small holy well dedicated to him. Near Lanmeur is a holy well associated with the saint where women cause their children to drink the waters to make them strong. Numerous wells are dedicated to the saint in Brittany. Here we have an example from the life of a Celtic saint (who, as the artificial limbs show, had attracted to himself elements of Celtic folklore) of a severed head speaking, and causing a sacred tree and a spring to appear simultaneously.

Another tradition, associating a saint's head with the origin of a well, comes from France, and is connected with the sacred springs of Alesia, venerated by the Celts in pre-Christian times. One of these springs, retaining the tradition of its healing powers into a Christian context, became connected with a saint of the third century martyred under Maximian. The legend relates how, upon the martyr's head striking the ground, a healing spring burst forth, and this was known as the Spring of Sainte-Reine (Cagnat 1922:197). A well arose where St. Justinian's head fell on Ramsay Island (Jones 1954: 36), and this tradition frequently attaches itself to the heads of Welsh saints. For example, St. Lludd was beheaded by a pursuer in Brecknockshire, and her head rolled a little way down the hill and came to rest on a rock from which a spring of pure water immediately gushed forth (Jones 1954:38). One well reacted by drying up when the head of a saint fell into it. St. Cynog was beheaded while praying in Brecknockshire one Sunday morning, and his head fell into the well (by which he must have been praying) which immediately dried up. The saint picked up his head and carried it down the hillside

(Jones 1954:37). Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely, showing how, in Wales, this pagan association of a head with a sacred well has become transferred to the legends of the saints whose heads are in some way supernaturally connected with wells. Mention may also be made here to a similar tradition still current in Ireland. It concerns a fight which is reputed to have taken place at Drishogue, Ballysteel, in Offaly. A bishop was killed in the encounter and decapitated. His head bounced along the road and fell into the Holy Well. The well, seemingly of great age, is situated behind a hedge near the present road.[6]

An interesting episode in which a head and a sacred well are closely connected, and which seems to be related to the traditions under consideration, occurs in a sixteenth-century English play [7] (Peele 1595, see Dyce 1861). It is described as follows:

> Zantippa goes with a pitcher to the Well of Life: she offers to dip her pitcher in, and a Head rises in the well:
>
> *Head.* "Gently, dip, but not too deep,
> For fear you make the golden beard to weep.
> Fair maiden, white and red,
> Stroke me smooth and comb my head,
> And thou shalt have some cockell-bread."
>
> *Zan.* "What is this?
> Fair maiden, white and red,
> Comb me smooth and stroke my head
> And thou shalt have some cockell-bread?"
>
> " 'Cockell' callest thou it, boy? faith, I'll give you cockell-bread."
>
> She breaks her pitcher upon the Head: then it thunders and lightens;
>
> (p. 454)

> Enter Corebus and Celania to the Well of Life for water: . . .
>
> *Cel.* "Ay Corebus, we are almost at the Well now. I'll go fetch some water: sit down while I dip my pitcher in."
>
> A head comes up with ears of corn which she combs into her lap.
>
> *Head.* "Gently dip not too deep
> For fear you make the golden beard to weep
> Fair maiden, white and red,
> Comb me smooth, and stroke my head,
> And thou shalt have some cockell-bread."

A second head comes up full of gold, which she combs into her lap.

Head. "Gently dip but not too deep
For fear you make the golden beard to weep
Fair maiden, white and red,
Comb me smooth, and stroke my head
And every hair a sheaf shall be
And every sheaf a golden tree." (p. 456)

This reference to the combing and smoothing of the head is reminiscent of an episode in an early Irish tale (Ross 1959:38). In the story of *Cath Almaine*, Fergal Mac Maile Duin is slain and decapitated. His head is taken and treated with honour. It is washed and braided and *combed smooth*, and a silken cloth is put about it, and seven oxen and seven wethers and seven pigs are cooked and placed before it as an offering. The head blushes in the presence of the Munstermen, opens its eyes and speaks its gratitude for such honourable treatment.

Before leaving the written traditions about heads and wells, reference should be made to a Norse tradition which has striking affinities with the Celtic material. This concerns the head of Mimir which was cut off by the Vanir. Óðin took the head, cured it with herbs (in the manner of the Celts, who preserved the heads of their enemies with oil and herbs), and apparently kept it at or in a well, known as *Mimir's Well* (Mimis Brunnr). He recited magic over it, so that it became capable of speech and prophesy, and told the god many secrets. In the Völuspá we are told that Óðin hid his eye in the Well of Mimir. Thus we have, in a Norse context, a group of motifs which, untypical as they are of Norse tradition, are completely familiar from Celtic sources. The decapitation of the head, its preservation, its association with a well, and its powers of prophesy and otherworld knowledge are all features which recur in Celtic tradition and belief. All the evidence suggests that this episode in Norse mythology, if not a direct borrowing from a Celtic source, at least owes its presence in the Norse tradition to a detailed knowledge on the part of the story-teller of such beliefs amongst the Celts.[8]

It is an interesting example of the longevity of tradition amongst the Celtic peoples when we find that this most ancient of motifs, that of the severed head in the well, is still current in stories told to-day in Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands. One example, collected in Vatersay, Barra, in the summer of 1956, has been discussed elsewhere (Ross 1961). It is thus only

necessary to give a very brief synopsis of the story in order to demonstrate its place in this tradition. Three brothers are murdered at a well called *Tobar nan Ceann*, "The Well of the Heads". The severed heads are carried home by the father of the men. One of the heads speaks and utters three prophecies, one of which concerns the avenging of the murder. In due course this prophecy is fulfilled by the son of the man whose head uttered it. The boy is requested by the murderer, who is unaware of the youth's identity, to fetch him a drink from the well. The boy breaks the cup, and the murderer then has to go and get the water from the well himself. While he is there, the boy, who has tricked him into going to the well, draws a short sword from his sleeve and decapitates him. He leaves the head in the well, which is called *Tobar a' Chinn*, "The Well of the Head".[9] In this Scottish Gaelic tale then we have both the motif of the prophetic head, and of the head in the well. Whether the broken cup was thrown into the well also is not made specific.

Two other comparatively recent traditions associating heads with wells are relevant here. One concerns the avenging of the Keppoch murder by the MacDonalds. In September 1663, Alasdair MacDonald, assisted by a MacDougall, assassinated his two young nephews in order to obtain the Keppoch chieftainship. It was not until about two years after the crime was committed that the murderers were brought to justice. According to one tradition (MacDonald 1929:95) they were caught and decapitated at Inverlair House in 1665, and the seven heads of those slain were placed in a basket and taken to Inverness. On the way, the party stopped at Invergarry and the heads which had grown restless in their basket "were making a kind of grinding noise as they clashed against each other". Iain Lom, the Gaelic poet, who played a leading role in bringing the guilty to justice, is reputed to have remarked "Ubh! Ubh! Nach còrd sibh 's gur cloinn chàirdean sibh fhéin". "Oh dear, can you not agree and you related to each other." The episode of the severed heads clashing together is reminiscent of a passage in the Irish tale *Buile Suibhne*, where the demented Suibhne is pursued by five bristling rough grey heads clashing against each other as they leap furiously about the road after him (O'Keefe 1913:122-4). The heads of the Keppoch murderers were washed in a spring which became known as *Tobar nan Ceann*, "The Well of the Heads". A monument, inscribed with a poem composed by the Gaelic poet

Ewen MacLachlan to commemorate the episode, was erected there, and the pillar was surmounted, in true Gaelic fashion, by representations of the seven "têtes coupées". MacLachlan describes the episode of the heads in the following lines:

> ". . . chaidh Dioghailt na leum,
> Mar bheithir bheumnaich nan nial,
> Ghlac e 'n dream a dheilbh an fhoill,
> 'S thug lan duais mar thoill an gniomh.
> Lamh riut-sa ghorm fhuarain ghrinn,
> Dh' ionnlaideadh seachd cinn nan lub,
> 'S aig casan a ghaisgich aigh
> Thilgeadh iad air lar a dhuin."

> ". . . revenge leapt
> like the destructive thunderbolt of the clouds
> and seized the plotters of treachery
> to give the full reward for their deed.
> Beside you, blue pretty spring
> seven treacherous heads were bathed
> and at the feet of the noble hero
> they were thrown on the floor of his fortress."

The site is well known to motorists in the Highlands to-day, many of whom stop to look at the monument on their way to or from the west. Few however pause to make the short descent to where the "Well of the Heads", invisible from above, still flows strongly into Loch Oich.

Another "head" tradition is associated with the Keppoch family of MacDonalds. Angus Odhar, grandson of the chieftain Alasdair nan Cleas, fought in the battle of Stronaclachan, Killin, in 1646. While he was taunting his enemy Menzies by calling him *Crùnair nan Cearc* "Crowner of Hens", Menzies decapitated him, and his head rolled down the hill-side shouting *cearc, cearc* "hen, hen" (MacDiarmid 1910: 148).

An awareness of this traditional association in Celtic contexts of severed heads with wells made it of especial interest to find several examples of this type of tradition still current in Skye in April and in August 1961. One such well, *Tobar a' Chinn*, "The Well of the Head", is situated in Torrin, Strath. It is one of the few wells which are named on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Skye (published in 1957). With a knowledge of the importance of the head in earlier Celtic belief and its association with wells, the name on the map, although appearing in a grammatically incorrect form (*Tobar Ceann*),

was of sufficient interest to make local questioning important. This resulted in two Gaelic versions of a story accounting for the name of the well. The first version was recounted by a crofter in Kilbride, Strath, who was encountered by chance and asked for directions. He provided the exact location of the well, which is situated in the Aird of Strath near Torrin on a ridge of moorland known locally as *Druim Ghiùrain*, and appearing on the one-inch map as *Druim an Fhuarain*. It is close to an old *ceum* or footpath. His version of the story concerned a girl who, travelling from Elgol with money, hid it in her hair for safe keeping. She was attacked, robbed and then murdered by Mac Raing, the legendary brigand of the Cuillins. His son threatened to make public the brutal murder, whereupon his father killed him, cut off his head and left it in the well, which became known as *Tobar a' Chinn*, "The Well of the Head".

A second version of this was recorded from Alec Stoddart, Kilbride, Strath. It is a variant of a widespread Skye tradition. There was once a bailiff in the service of the ruling family of Strath Aird. He had a very bad reputation on account of his brutal behaviour to widows and other helpless people who were unable to pay their rent. There was a poor widow living in Breakish whose only son was a soldier in foreign service. When he returned to Skye he found his mother's house deserted. He learnt that she and others had been turned out of their homes because they had been unable to pay the rent. Determined to avenge his mother, the son borrowed a horse and saddle from a neighbour and learning that the bailiff was on the road between Breakish and Aird, he set out to intercept him. He caught up with him at Druim Ghiùrain. The bailiff realised who was accosting him and drew his sword. The widow's son drew his own sword and decapitated the bailiff while he was still on horseback. He then washed the head in the well which was called, as a result, *Tobar a' Chinn* (Forbes 1923:424).

Another tradition associating a well with heads was recorded in Holmisdale, Duirinish, Skye, on 16th April from Norman MacAskill, crofter. He has many interesting traditions associated with place-names, and although he knew nothing of the Well of the Head in Strath, he had a story about a local well called *Tobar nan Ceann*, "the Well of the Heads". This isolated well is situated between the deserted township of Lorgill in the Glens, and Beinn Alamaish, a few miles from

Glendale. The story, which he recorded in Gaelic, is briefly as follows. Three *bodaich* (usually signifying old men) were on their way from Lorgill to Hamara in Glendale to pay their rent. They started to quarrel, and when they reached the foot of Beinn Alamaish they set upon each other and a fierce fight ensued. In the skirmish they managed to kill each other. Their bodies were found beside the well. A cairn was erected beside the well to commemorate the men and it is still to be seen. The well became known as *Tobar nan Ceann*. Clearly, in the original story, the heads of the *bodaich* must have been put in the well, but this motif has now dropped out, only the name of the well suggesting the missing element. That this element was once present in the tradition was confirmed in August when another version of the story was obtained from Norman Ross, Fàsach, Glendale. According to his tradition seven men fought each other beside the well. Six of the men were killed. The seventh man cut off their heads with his sword and left them at the well. Information was also obtained in August about the location of another *Tobar nan Ceann* on a track leading from Skinidin to Glendale. The informant knew of no tradition concerning the origin of the name and had always supposed it was so called because passers-by bent their heads down over the well in order to drink!

In April a "head" tradition was recorded in Kilmuir, Trotternish. It consisted of an explanation for the place-name *Loch nan Ceann*, "the Loch of the Heads" at Cuidrach, Trotternish. According to local tradition there was once a battle between the MacLeods and the MacDonalds on the hill above this small loch. The MacDonalds won the fight and cut off the heads of the defeated MacLeods. The heads then rolled down the hill crying *theab, theab a latha dhol leinn* " almost, we almost won the day".

The hill was consequently called *Cnoc Theab*. The heads rolled into the loch, which became known as *Lochna nan Ceann* "The Loch of the Heads". This is clearly a similar tale to that told about the head of Angus Odhar of Keppoch at the battle of Stronaclachan, and it is in the same tradition as the Irish *dindshenchas* about the origin of the name *Loch Cend*, "Head Loch". A similar tradition is suggested by the place-name *Cairidh nan Ceann* recorded by Forbes (1923:97), who locates the weir on the Snizort river, and says it was so called on account of the heads of combatants in a certain fight which were lodged there, having been washed down the river. The

heads in the River Axe at Wookey Hole may perhaps be relevant here.

In August two further examples of this traditional association of severed heads with wells were obtained in the Kilmuir district of Skye. In one instance the name, *Tobar a' Chnuaic*, "the Well of the Head" alone was noted. No associated traditions were obtainable, but these may be current in other parts of the district. The word *cnuac* is used in Gaelic especially to connote a head cut off in battle. It occurs regularly in Scottish Gaelic poetry. The second well of this type in Kilmuir is called *Tobar a' Chinn*, "the Well of the Head". It is situated near the shore, close to the dùn known as Dùn Bhorghnasgiotaig. According to the informant the well was once a *tobar-tighe* "house well" for the inhabitants of the dùn. One final example of traditions of this kind current in Skye at the present time was heard from an elderly man in the Aird of Sleat. He did not know of any well of this name in his own locality, but he stated that the *Well of the Dead* at Culloden was originally and correctly called *Tobar nan Ceann*, "the Well of the Heads". It is not easy to determine the source of his information, but it is sufficiently relevant to be noteworthy at least of mention.

Having seen some examples of the longevity and universality in the Celtic world of such traditions in both cult and folklore contexts, it is perhaps not altogether surprising to find that these contemporary *head in the well* traditions are remarkably similar to those found in the Dindshenchas of Ireland, the legends used to account for the naming of places. It is thus rewarding to realise, upon studying these early Irish traditions, mirroring as they do an essentially heroic society, that traditions, recognisably related, can still be recorded in the Gaelic-speaking areas when the question "what is the reason for the name of this well" is asked. Future field investigation may yield, amongst many other fragments of early custom and belief, further examples of this most deep-rooted of Celtic traditions, that of the association of the severed head with the once-sacred well.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to Pastor Høgsbro Østergaard, Denmark, for providing me with this information and reference.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. William Matheson, Department of Celtic, University of Edinburgh, for this information.

[3] For the prose version of this legend see *Rennes Dindshenchas*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Revue Celtique 16 (1895): 436.

[4] For a discussion of this motif see Jackson 1949: 535 ff.

[5] I am indebted to Mrs. Rachel Bromwich, Lecturer in Celtic, Cambridge, for drawing my attention to this parallel.

[6] This information was kindly supplied by Miss K. M. Dickie, J.P., who heard the tradition from a native of Drishogue on April 7th, 1961.

[7] I am indebted to Professor Stuart Piggott for kindly drawing my attention to this reference. The *Heads in the Well* group constitutes part of a special form of the Aarne-Thompson tale-type 480. There are 36 versions. The group is of some interest because the earliest printed version of Type 480, that included by George Peele in his remarkable drama *The Old Wives Tale* of 1595, belongs to it. Because Peele's version contains some unusual elements not found in any oral version, it is obvious that the written version has had no influence on oral tradition. For details see Roberts 1957.

[8] I have discussed this episode in detail with Mr. Hermann Pàlsson, Lecturer in Icelandic, University of Edinburgh, and have greatly benefited from his expert knowledge. He has kindly pointed out that references are contained in the following sources: *Ynglinga Saga* (Ch. IV); Heimskringla, Vol. I (1941) 12-13 and 18; Edda Snorra Sturlusonar (1931); Völuspá, stanzas 28 and 46; Sigrdrífumál 13.

[9] A second version of this tradition, also recounted by Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay has a slightly different beginning. A woman, Mór nan Ceann, was the wife of the chieftain of Barra, and she and her husband were at that time staying at Eoligarry. Upon a certain crime having been committed, Mór nan Ceann had the three sons of one of her husband's servants decapitated and ordered that the heads should be thrown into the well. The father picked out all the heads and put them in a creel in order to carry them to St. Brendan's in Borve to be buried. The tale then proceeds as in *version one* above. Mór nan Ceann was supposed to have washed the three heads in the well which, in the second version, was known as *Tobar Mhór nan Ceann*, "The well of Mór of the Heads".

REFERENCES

ANON.
1953 "Roman Britain in 1952." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 43: 104-32.

BENOIT, F.
1955 *L'Art Primitif Méditerranéen de la Vallée du Rhône*. Paris.

CAGNAT, RENÉ
1922 "Sacred Spring in Alesia," quoted as note in *The Antiquaries Journal* 2: 147.
1950 "Revue des Publications Épigraphiques, no. 24," in *Revue Archéologique* 35.

CLAYTON, JOHN
1880 "Description of Roman Remains Discovered near to Procolitia, a Station on the Wall of Hadrian." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 8: 1-39.

DOBLE, G. H.
1927 *Saint Melor: a Cornish Saint*. Shipston-on-Stour.

DYCE, ALEXANDER (ed.)
1861 *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele* (George Peele: "The Old Wives Tale"). London.

FARRAR, R. A. H.
1953 "A decorated bronze fragment from a Roman well near Winterborne Kingston, Dorset." *The Antiquaries Journal* 33: 74-5.
FORBES, A. R.
1923 *Place-names of Skye*. Paisley.
GWYNN, EDWARD
1913 *The Metrical Dindshenchas*. Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series 10. Dublin.
1924 *The Metrical Dindshenchas*. Royal Irish Academy Todd Lecture Series 11. Dublin.
JACKSON, K. H.
1949 "The Motive of the Threefold Death in the Story of Suibhne Geilt," in *Féil-sgríbinn Eóin Mic Néill*. Dublin.
JAMES, E. O.
1957 *Prehistoric Religion*. London.
JONES, FRANCIS
1954 *The Holy Wells of Wales*. Cardiff.
MACDIARMID, JOHN
1910 "Folklore of Breadalbane." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 26 (1904-7):136-56.
MACDONALD, ALEXANDER
1929 "Iain Lom." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 32 (1924-5):81-104.
MASON, EDMUND J. and DORRIEN
1935-51 "Report on Human Remains and Material Recovered from Wookey Hole from Oct. 1947 to Jan. 1949." *Proceedings of the the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 95:238-43.
NØRLUND, POUL
1948 "Trelleborg." *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 4 (1 Haefte). København.
O'GRADY, S. H.
1892 *Silva Gadelica*. Vol. 2. London.
O'KEEFE, J. G.
1913 *Buile Suibhne*. London.
PUGH, R. B. and CRITTALL, ELIZABETH (eds.)
1957 *A History of Wiltshire*. Vol. 1, Part 1. Victoria County Histories. London.
ROBERTS, WARREN E.
1957 "The Special Forms of Aarne-Thompson Type 480 and Their Distribution." *Fabula* 1: 85-102. Berlin.
ROSS, ANNE
1959 "The Human Head in Insular Pagan Celtic Religion." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 91:10-43.
1961 "A Story from Vatersay." *Scottish Studies* 5:108-9.
STOKES, WHITLEY
1868 *Sanas Chormaic*. Calcutta.
1894 "The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas." *Revue Celtique* 15:272-336, 418-84.
1895 "The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas." *Revue Celtique* 16:31-83, 135-67, 269-312.

LAURENCE WILLIAMSON

L. G. Johnson

In the following Mr. L. G. Johnson, of Mid Yell, gives a short documented account of a remarkable native of Shetland, Laurence Williamson. Williamson was a self-trained recorder of uncommon skill who found his own way to the basic principles and method of folklore and folklore research. He realised that in one sense the past never dies, that history is a continuum of cause and effect and that a thing is the sum of all the events in time that went to create it—a piece of imaginative insight that every real historian and folklorist needs to have. He understood too how his own generation was in the transition between the indigenous traditional culture and the synthetic imposition of ideas through centralised media, and that what remained must be recorded as a matter of urgency.

From his own background in an isolated and economically simple community he understood what many historians never learn, that *all* information is relevant to their job and that in such a place it is the oral tradition that must of necessity form the bulk of the historian's raw material. He also saw what some folklorists never appreciate, that language is a vital ingredient in all this and that nomenclature and speech idiom may be as important as the objects and practices themselves.

It is on these principles that his methods were devised, and these are models of correctness for field-workers in avoiding the pitfalls of many investigators' subjective impressionism and interpretation. Briefly this was to note down everything he himself knew or heard in full detail and where information came orally from another source than himself to put it down exactly as it was said, even to the extent of naming the informant, adding the time of day and devising a kind of script to cope with the phonetics of Shetland dialect. Thus his collection is invaluable to the dialectologist as well as the folklorist, and much of it has already found its way into Jakobsen's *Dictionary of Shetland Norn*. It is only to be regretted that one so far-seeing, so passionately interested in his own community and yet so detached and exact in his method should have died a generation before his work could be properly used and appreciated. How much more he could have collected and much more we should have learned if he had been living to-day when the study of folklore is rapidly becoming a scientific discipline in its own right and there are trained research scholars with whom he might have worked.

EDITOR

Laurence Williamson lived at Mid Yell, a township near the centre of one of the North Isles of Shetland, and was born there in 1855. His parents, James, a merchant, then aged 54, and Mary Gardner, 36, belonged to, and in their younger years had dwelt in the neighbouring Isle of Fetlar. Laurence died in 1936.

When about 8 and already a good reader and counter, he began attending the parochial school, about 3 miles distant. The teacher, Mr. A. D. Mathewson, born in 1799, added to good scholastic attainments an interest in the lore, genealogy, and history of the North. Laurence early showed exceptional ability and his characteristic bent. He was soon a first favourite with Mathewson who was said to acclaim him as "my best ever pupil". He continued at school until he was 17, when on the death of his father, he took over the office of local postmaster.

Interest in his favourite subjects began early. He once remarked that by the time he was 14 or so he had noted down most dialect words, and that before he left school he had had long talks with Mr. Mathewson on genealogy and kindred subjects. Sometimes, when referring to a person who was old in his youth, he would say, "I talked with him or her".

From papers, notes, word lists it would appear that Laurence had at one time envisaged some comprehensive work comprising dialect, proverbs, legends, superstitions, picturesque stories, historical matter and details of life and work. Lists exist amounting to perhaps ten or twelve thousand words and phrases. They are written in small hand, mostly on separate sheets, 8 inches by 5. Though the writing is generally neat some words are difficult to make out, due to his tendency to cram. As a rule meanings are not given.

To the end of his life he retained a close observation of speech. Once in his later years when referring to changes taking place, he related somewhat as follows, "I was going down to the shore one breezy morning. First I met an old man and to my remark on the strong wind, he answered, 'Yah, dat it is'. Farther down the way I met a woman a little over middle age. She answered, 'Yea, it is dat'. Lastly near the shore I met a girl a year or so out of school. Her answer was, 'Ye-es it is'."

His first source of information would have been his parents and teacher who were people that grew up in the early years of the nineteenth century, then customers to the shop and

post office, with now and again a visit in the locality or to Fetlar. That coupled to an eager ear and a phenomenal memory was largely his field.

In a letter to a friend requesting him to query someone on a genealogical matter, he said, "Put down the very words of the answer just as they say it. I always find that best", and so far as he noted down that appears to have been his method. Some of his notes are copied out in a neat hand. Others are in pencil, appear as hurriedly written and in his abbreviated system, and to decipher them familiarity with the dialect, his handwriting and system would be necessary.

As an example of his method, here is a picturesque incident.

"Jarom Manson of Stivler was at Arthur Scollay of Uttrabister one night. They talked of trows and the like all night. Arthur at last stole out and put on a white shirt and another on a rake, and waited for Jarom to go home at the burn of Uttrabister, and when Jarom came he rose up slowly to his full height. Jarom said, "Who are you in God's name". No answer. "Then who are you in the Devil's name". No answer. "When then you answer in neither's name I will see if you be flesh and blood or not". So Jarom sprang on him, and both being very strong and equally so they struggled till they were breathless, and had to let go and stood looking at each other. Both shirts were in shreds. (ADM)." Laurence usually added the initials of the relater, in this case those of Mr. Mathewson.

Laurence recorded many expressions or sentences as actually spoken in the dialect. Many of them refer to the work in hand or to the weather. The initials of the speaker, the date, often the time of day are nearly always added. Many or most are by M.G., his mother, and those may be held to exemplify the Shetland dialect, with any Fetlar variation, as spoken in the early nineteenth century.

Here are two examples:—

Da skelvi sna, hit wis layin dun a great body o it, bit dis fogbirt-sna is far worse; hit sifts in trow everything; hits awful.
MG 1.43 p.m. 6 Jr. 95.

Da geese is just runin da muda; der lyin vevlin trow da bank in da muda day-dayly. MG 4.10 p.m. 96.

In this last example the *u* in *muda* would have the sound much as *ew* in dew. *Lyin* is used in the sense of resting, continuing. *Vevlin* a word connected with weave, in this case used

to denote wandering, zigzagging, messing. *Day-dayly* is a form to imply emphasis. It means every day or every day without exception. Mrs. Williamson is really informing that the geese are making the meadow unfit for mowing.

But Laurence Williamson was much more than a folklorist. Rather might he be described as scholar and philosopher. His grasp and range were wide. His ready detail pertaining to the history and growth of thought, of literature, and of philosophy was impressive. If any celebrity, ancient or modern were named, he would generally add details of his position in thought and time. He lived as it were with the great minds of the ages.

Man bounded by the present strains to the future. He hopes, plans, works for the next moment, hour, day or year. Yet as each chance event or planned scheme materialises it is at once fixed and begins to recede and grow dim in the irrevocable past.

Laurence was deeply interested in that past, and in the life and history of the Northern people, and saw his own people as a connected or derived part. He occasionally used the term "the living past", as if distinguishing such from a dead past. He appeared to see the past as a great reality woven in the texture of time. A community warm with human impulses, its origins, racial elements; its families, individuals, genealogy, inheritance; their loves, endeavours, fortunes and misfortunes, and results; here were matters of high interest, both of science and philosophy: to gain wisdom, to understand better.

His approach may be described as strongly historical and philosophical. "My mind tends to the ideal and philosophical", he once remarked. "How do you define philosophical?", I asked. "The philosophical mind", he replied, "seeks to trace from cause to effect".

In a discussion as to the use of history, he quoted Mr. Mathewson. "To understand anything is to know its history. If you know about something but do not know its history, you cannot be said to understand it. Everything has a history. Every word has its history if we but knew it".

While having a wealth of detail concerning the nearer past and present he referred to history in the broad sequence of eras and ages. He would explain that we were in a transition period when a new age had come on the world, and he appeared to see the new age not so much in the technical contrivances being perfected as in a new questioning attitude in people's minds.

This new age might be variously named, but from a folklore point of view a distinguishing feature is that of an oral age being finally superseded by a reading age.

Youth began to disregard the old oral as school and a variety of publications came into existence and became accepted as true knowledge. Laurence considered that much newspaper reading impaired or destroyed the memory. He likened it to a person going through a shop tasting one sweet or tit-bit after another hoping thereby to get a satisfactory dinner.

Laurence had much respect and liking for many of the old people he knew. In a note he wrote, "The vast oral literature of the old folk of Shetland now fast disappearing included many a long story, and many an incident of human interest and vivid description, which mirrored clearly the life and circumstances of byegone times, and are a means of comparing them with our own".

In a letter written in 1892, he said, "More generally I would say that it ever more broods over my mind and heart that such mass of lore belonging to our native Isles, folklore, linguistic matter, traditions, living historical matter, enough in the hands of some genius to form a small literature or wealth of poetry, should be year by year slipping into the grave.

This is a transition time such as never was before. The old Northern civilisation is now in full strife with the new and Southern one, and traditions, customs which have come down from hoary antiquity, are now dying for ever. The young don't care for their fathers' ways. I mean what was estimable in them. The folklore and family traditions and picturesque stories yield fast to the *People's Journal*, *Glasgow Mail*, *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday* and such like."

Now when everyone has by ten or so years of school acquired the habit of reading and lives in an inundation of newspapers and books, besides other media, all of which entertain, inform, and influence thought and conduct, it needs a little stretch of the imagination to envisage an age when the written word, far less the printed one, hardly existed.

Now the individual may be regarded as a unit in a nation-wide economy. In past times he was more confined to and dependent on the resources of his own district. Land, weather and the circle of the year had a more intimate quality, and various imagined supernatural powers appear as if more or less brooding over all.

In the following we quote from manuscripts left by Laurence Williamson. The excerpts relate, as he would have pointed out, to a passing or former age, or ages, but they also provide a very vivid picture of the way in which he looked at that past and put facts about it on record for future generations; first some notes about the Shetland year and some of the calendar customs: "Calendar. The hely days of Yule were Thomasmas een and day, 5 days before Yule. This verse is preserved:—a bern i da midirs wuum dus wip an mak grit dul for da kyilin o Sant Tamas, feiyf niyts afoir Yul. Tolyisa een and day, 2 days before Yule. Yule een and day. (the 25th of December and the name Christmas being only used lately) second day, third day, fourth day, New Year een and day, 13th. day; and the last one variously named four and twenty day, Sant Antony's day, Antonmas and uphely day.

Yule day was a day of feasting. The Yule ewe had been taken home and killed. All in the house were up at 3 or 4 in the morning preparing the breakfast which was taken before daylight; plenty of boiled mutton and pork, skons and bursten baken, then two families would perhaps have an anker keg between them. Sometimes they would travel many miles across dangerous sounds in bad weather to get it; always fish and potatoes for dinner; afternoon, the remainder of the breakfast or something similar, only on a lesser scale; supper knocked bere or anything handy.

The supper on Yule een was sowens. The other days were also observed by feasting and spirits especially fourth day.

Newermas next to Yule, the 13th. day. On Newer day folk say to anyone, the first one they see that year, My New Years gift (my News gift) or my handsel but do not expect ought. Lastly Antonys day, amoses of food were laid to Sant Antony and if won were eaten on his day.

On hely night or Saturday night any time of year, no spinning, winding or knitting was allowed at night after the cows were meated. It would be thrown in the fire. And at one place that was kept up from Hallowmas to Candlemas.

On hely night all the old people would meet in some house, where the people would prepare food for them, and next night in some other house, and so on. They would even go half a dozen miles in this way.

Rants were held from Yule to Fasterns een on hely or other nights, especially the former, and the young people from 5 or 6 miles around came to them. The but end of a house was

cleared and often sids strewn on the floor. A fiddler was brought to play. Women stood on a plank, and the young men came and took them by the hand to the dance. Often the young men brought spirits which were often served around, but sometimes there was only swats to drink. Thus the rant continued far into the night, when they went each to his home.

Candlesmas day, the 2nd. February, was not kept with feasting, but the young lads and lasses would each chase a crow often long distances, and they would marry someone in the first house on which it settled.

Fasterns een was the first Tuesday after the first new moon after Candlesmas and was observed by having brose for supper. Bena Sunday, the one before Yule, was kept by brose for supper.

Bogle day is the 17th. March. Each family should then have sown as much seed as would grow the next year's bogles. The supper was flesh and bogles, that is large thick bursten brunies.

The borrowing days were the three last days of March said to be borrowed by March from February [*sic*]. Summermal is the 14th April. Beltane is the 2nd May.

Easter (a word not used) was 7 weeks after Fasterns een, and consists of Skuir Fuirsday, Gjud Friday, Pes Saturday and Pes Sunday. No farm work was allowed after 3 p.m., 9 a.m., 4 p.m. respectively. On these days boys went around with a mitten begging eggs, and would get one or two from each family; only one or two boys were together. On Sunday a number of them lit a fire in the hills near some plain green and boiled their eggs then threw them up to see which ones would remain longest unbroken, and then ate them.

On the 1st April, people old or young were sent April errands to see some one who had not sent for them or the like, to seek something not to be found or the like.

Johnsmas day, the 24th June was a great festival. The haaf men had a feast in their lodge and each man got a kjit of mil gruel from home. It was generally made with groats and put in a kjit with a cloth under the lid and another around all, and hung to a horse klibber with butter etc. on the other side, and though it had to be taken perhaps from the West Isle to Funzie it would still be warm. Then the young people would set up in some house or barn all night and have their "barfull" of the best food they could get. They would lay up pairs, that is, each one would take her flowers, one for herself, one for the sweetheart, and pluck away the stamens and lay them aside

overnight, when if the stamens had grown again they would be married; but I never heard of them doing so. They would often also close up the lums and windows of a house to keep out the daylight, or fasten the doors from within, or draw boats often long distances up before the doors, or hang clothes which might be out drying up as flags, or other tricks. Offence was seldom taken at these tricks.

Corsmas was the 3rd May. Lammas was the 1st August. Laurencemas was 10 days after Lammas. No one was allowed to strike teck till then, when each one struck a circle around the piece he intended to take. Martin o Bulyins day was the 4th of July. Mikalsmas was the 29th September. It is said that "the trouts are then as high as any ram in the hill". Matsymas was the 22nd September. People then took home the sheep intended for killing.

Summer begins at midnight before Simmermal day, the first day of Summer, and winter begins at mid day of the 14th October, the first night of winter. The next Saturday and Sunday are Winter-Sunday and Winter-Sunday-Saturday. On this Saturday a few would go in "skaklein", and the young folk on the "winter stin". Each went and stood on an earth-fast stone or rock alone and said (.........). According as the sweetheart's face or back next sight was towards they would marry or not.

Hallowmas or Halluday was a great festival with the young folk. Bands of boys went in skakling, from house to house, from village to village, but never mixed bands. Each skakler wore a straw cap. The lower edge was laid up on a string like the lip of a "kiyshi", then drawn together above the head and prolonged in a stalk with two or three successive rows or three loops branching therefrom, and a top loop. To every loop was fastened long ribbons borrowed from the lasses. The cap was drawn over the face, or a piece of thin fabric veiled it. A thick cloak of straw and a petticoat of the time were each strung on a single string at the top, and the one tied around the neck, the other around the waist; the straw otherwise hang loose. A staff in the hand completed the custom.

Afterwards first a white shirt replaced the cloak; next a long white shirt with a belt replaced both cloak and petticoat. The straw cap gave way to a white one covered with ribbons. In the latter case they became guizards. These often add a woman's white petticoat.

They walked in file. The foremost was called skuster and

had a band of ribbons about his middle and one round his right upper arm. The hind carried a bogie in a budie on his back, often a bowl within the bogie. They disguised their voices by speaking while drawing their breath. Their chief phrases were, "Gie me something i me bogie, a penny o money, a bit o flesh". They got more or less according to the ability or willingness of the family, often a "tee" of mutton, a big brunie, a lump of butter. This is put in the bogie, and the butter in the bowl. It was only in later times and in shops that they got money. When refused they often took flesh, etc. by force.

It often took two or three days to go their rounds. The last night they sat up all night and feasted upon what they had got. The girls and those who had not been in skakling often did so too. They strolled about seeing others who were sitting up and often committing practical jokes as at Johnsmas. They gave a sneeze when they came into a house. Certain gaieties were often observed. They go into the kailyard hand in hand, with shut eyes, and pluck the first kailstock they find. Its size, straightness, and the earth sticking thereto and the taste of the "castak" show respectively the size, shape, fortune and character of the future spouse".

As is to be expected from a keen folklorist, Laurence Williamson did not neglect to make enquiries about the fairies, and here are some of his observations:

"Trows, Elfs or Fairies were a race of diminutive beings of human appearance, who dwelt in certain knolls and stone heaps. They spent much of their time in dancing to music, usually within their dwellings, but often on fine nights in the open air. They were cunning and vindictive but often kind and honourable. Births are recorded among them but no deaths. Midwives are often taken in to help at a birth. Individuals of the human or bovine race of any age or sex are often taken by them to their abodes and a changeling left instead who is stupid and sick. These individuals are said to be in the hills or elf shot. This especially happens to persons who have stumbled over a fairy rant or slept in the open air. Certain persons can restore them by certain spells.

Whoever meets a trow should draw a circle around him and bid, "Gjud be about me" or lie down and stick a knife in the ground at his head. When spoken about they are called "Gjud" folk lest some of them should be present and take offence.

Belief in them is almost extinct. Some say that the reason

why they are never seen now is that the gospel is more powerful and keeps them down, or that many of them emigrated to Faroe. Certain plants are called Trows Cards, Trow Bura, Trolyi Wair. There are some legends about the Trows."

"The story is substantially the same in different districts, but with different scenes in the neighbourhood of each and dramatis personae, from generations on the borderland of authentic tradition and oblivion. Some of these stories were current in Scandinavia and in Scotland. Doubtless these nigh well forgotten generations assigned them to a still more remote antiquity. The stone age dwellers in Scandinavia were dwarfish and buried in mounds and cairns. The Norse successors probably thought that their sepulchres were inhabited by the spirits of this hostile race, and as the mystery and ignorance shrouded their history every knoll and stone heap was infested with trolls or trows. Contact with the superstition of other lands and a rude Christianity perhaps confounded them with fairies and fallen angels. This shows their vast age".

Some fairy or trow legends from a manuscript by L. W. were published in the Shetland Folk Book, Vol. III. Here are one or two more from his records.

"Hiyltadance, or the Fidlers Kru is a circle of grey stones with one in the centre in a plain in Fetlar. There were Four and Twenty dancing round their fidler one night when the daylight out prized them and turned them into grey stones".

"The Trowi Wife. Two Fetlar lasses on Hallow night had wet their shirt sleeve and gone to bed. One heard a noise and looked out and saw a trowi wife bearing a child coming in. Finding no water in the "daffocks" she filled a plate of "swat" from the churn, set it on the floor, washed the child in it, and poured it back into the churn, saying, "Tak ye dat, Ye sud a hed water in." This they took care to do ever after, and it is a proverb that "hits no gjud to leave no water in a night".

A midwife one afternoon had taken the kit in her hand to milk the cows when a horseman came and asked her to come to his wife. She said that the men of the house were at the sea and she had to milk the cows and bake the bread. But he persuaded her and she went with him till they came to a fairy knoll without the town dykes. They went in through a door into a room where she saw several there she knew that were in the hills. She was put ben to the wife, and when the child was born she got ointment to smear its eyes with. By chance or some say by advice from one of the persons that she knew she

smeared one of her own eyes, and at once saw that the room was full of people which the other eye did not see. She got for her wages [*blank in Ms.* Ed.]. When she came home the milk was in the kit and the bread baken and on the fire. She laid her gift in a chest but saw it no more. Afterwards she saw the man who fetched her in a throng of folk met at a roup or like occasion, and asked him about the woman and child. He asked her with what eye she saw him, and she unwittingly told him. He half spat, half blew in it, and she was blind to her dying day (MP MJ).

A Samphrey lad said it was his grandmother. Sir Walter Scott tells a similar story in his note to the *Lady of the Lake*".

The following seems similar to an episode in the Beowulf epic. "Windhouse was haunted by a trow every Yule een, and the family always flit to Reafirth all night. One Yule een when they were about to go a stranger came in and said that a ship had wrecked at the Daal o Lumbister and he alone had been saved, asked for lodgings. They said they could not lodge themselves that night and told him why. He said that if they would let him remain, he was not afraid for that. At last they consented. Next morning he was not to be found, till peering into the "gjudman's' bed, they found him sound asleep. When he awoke he related that he sat at the fire till he heard a noise as if a monster was straining the roof and waxing ever louder. He went outside and before him was a black lump, and above was a streak of light. The lump began to move and he followed it down the Byarky park and towards Mid-Yell voe. When it was near the sea, he concluded that it was a sea-trow and would soon escape him, so he threw his battle axe at it, and down it came a shapeless mass. After telling this he went alone and recovered his axe and buried the trow. Stones were taken out of it when building a boathouse (ADM)."

BILINGUALISM AND FOLK LIFE

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VERNACULAR SPEECH OF A CROFTING COMMUNITY

James Ross

The various problems arising out of the contact or conflict between two different languages have occupied the attention of linguists for generations. Much of this attention is concentrated on linguistic and cultural contacts which occurred in the past, at a time when it is no longer possible to observe them directly. To-day, the Gaelic language in the isles is experiencing intensive penetration by a foreign language. This paper is based on direct observation of the vernacular of a crofting community in actual use. No specific informants are named since the vernacular discussed here is the *lingua franca* of the community, and knowledge of it was gained simply through participation in the specific activities which it documents.

The village, or more properly speaking, the system of townships, to which this paper refers is called Glendale, and lies in a valley opening to the sea on the north-west tip of Skye. Including the contiguous townships to the east on the western shores of Loch Dunvegan, the area has a population of approximately three hundred people, among which the old and the very young predominate. Some 97 per cent of these are speakers of Gaelic. At the time of writing, the area has two elementary schools, one having been closed recently. There are four Presbyterian factions, three of which meet regularly and in which the Gaelic language predominates.

Gaelic is the language used in all normal social intercourse. At public meetings English tends to be used, normally due to the presence of a non-Gaelic speaking official. On the whole, English is used by most native speakers rather sparingly and almost always in conversation with the few resident non-Gaelic

speakers or to visitors. It may be used also in conversation with speakers of another Gaelic dialect, and, an interesting psychological fact, it tends to be used in disputations and quarrels. One or two mothers of the younger generation recently began to speak a form of English to their children and this, combined with the influence of a few children of non-Gaelic speaking parents and with the potent influence of the schoolroom itself has resulted in the appearance of English as a play language in the elementary school in the glen. It is unlikely that at this stage these children will grow up to be English speaking. There is some evidence to show that children subjected to English from their mothers and in the school playground can still become fluent in Gaelic in a very short time through contact with adults and other Gaelic speaking children outside the school playground.

The study of bilingualism in any community has many aspects—educational, sociological and linguistic, and the complete description of a bilingual situation would involve consideration of them all. Language prestige, for instance, is an important factor. The greater prestige of the secondary language will drive people sometimes to deny knowledge of their mother tongue, whether they are native Spanish speakers in Arizona or Gaelic speaking adolescents in parts of Skye. The concept of prestige, however, must be carefully used. To the Gaelic speaker English has not the prestige that, for instance, French has in the eyes of some users of English. The Gaelic speaker of this area would not think it fashionable to use English words and phrases in the context of his Gaelic speech, and it is a common type of joke to retain and repeat sections of overheard conversation heavily loaded with English words. Also, macaronic songs exploiting the mixing of the languages to achieve bathos are enjoyed.

It is unlikely, therefore, that the superior prestige of the secondary language can account for the large scale lexical penetration of English and Scots which is apparent in the local vernacular. Discussing apparently irrational borrowings in Irish, the late Madame Sjoestedt Jonval was probably mistaken in attributing the replacement of the word *crios* by the English "belt" to the superior prestige of English.[1] It is not that the study of loan words should be regarded as a purely linguistic matter and carried on without reference to sociological and cultural factors. It is, on the contrary, the main purpose of this brief paper to survey the borrowed elements

in this vernacular and relate them to widespread but definitive cultural impacts.

Before proceeding to a discussion of these borrowed elements, it should be emphasised that the local English, lexically speaking, is standard English containing no specifically dialect vocabulary. Many of the loan words, therefore, exist in Gaelic context only and do not occur in the local English. Those that do, frequently have a different pronunciation. Lubricating grease, pronouned [g̊ri:s][2] in English context is [g̊ri:ʃ] in Gaelic context, while "shovel" is ['ʃøfəl] and ['ʃefəl] respectively. Numerous examples could be given of different usages of this kind.

While words from English and Scots have penetrated the vernacular in all spheres of usage, they are more particularly marked in some spheres than in others. An examination of the dating and time reference vocabulary now in use is revealing in this respect. While there is, for instance, a native word for a month *mios*, points or periods within a year were never referred to by individual month names. Reference was usually made to the seasons, to seasonal limits such as *Bealltainn* and *Samhuinn*, and to certain periods within the seasons which had special names. Only one of these is now in use and this is the period of the *Iuchar*, extending from the middle of July to the middle of August.

The result of this different time division and time reference system which is now going into disuse is that the English dating system with all the month names of the English calendar are firmly established in common usage. This is in direct contrast to the names of the seasons and of the days of the week which show no English influence whatsoever.

The vocabulary relating to agricultural practices also shows extensive penetration by English and Scots terms. Commercial sheep farming, stone dyking and fencing, drainage and other agricultural improvements were introduced and we can trace their effect on the language. In the case of sheep farming what was new was the scale and the methods of handling the sheep, and in this case also the introduction of new vocabulary is partial only. The technical terms for the various stages in the development of a sheep have remained Gaelic. In the female these are *uan* lamb, *othaisg* one year, *dianag* two years, and *caora* mature sheep. In the male they are respectively *uan*, *sia-reitheach*, *dò-'liadhnach* and *trì-'liadhnach*. The word seota ['ʃɔht̪ə], from the Scots "shot", a poor quality

sheep that is rejected from the flock, undoubtedly stems from the introduction of the practice of having an annual inspection to select such animals from the flock. The vocabulary of the complicated system of ear-markings remains intractably Gaelic. The Lost and Found columns of the Stornoway Gazette indicate that this is probably the only sphere in which it is still necessary to use the Gaelic language for commercial or business purposes. While the ear markings remain, the Scots word "keel" [cil] has been introduced to indicate the colouring matter that marks the fleece. There is a strong English element in dog calls, as in dog names, although sometimes a Gaelic translation is used, such as in the familiar command *fan a mach* for "wide off". No traditional accounts are available in this area of earlier methods of handling sheep with dogs, if dogs were indeed used. Traditional information about sheep milking, however, and about sheep shielings, indicate that in the earlier period sheep were more domesticated than at present and that perhaps neither specially trained sheep dogs nor colouring matter to make the sheep recognisable at a distance were necessary.

In wire fencing, the fence itself is simply ['fɛnsə], the post ['pɔst̺ə], the wire ['wɛ-ər] and the strong post that takes the strain at a corner is [st̺rɛ:nɛr], presumably from "strainer". A gate, whether on a wire fence or on a stone dyke is *geata* ['ɟɛht̠ə], but a gate-way on an old earthen dyke normally closed with a moveable hurdle is *cachalath*.

The terminology of cattle rearing and its associated activities remains entirely Gaelic. Some influence is to be seen however in words associated with land cultivation and crop winning. A farm building with its outhouses, as distinct from a croft, is called ['skwɛ-ər] from "square". There is only one such building in this area. An open drain on the land is simply called ['d̥rɛ:nə] from "drain". A closed one is *saibhear* from the Scots "siver". This is also used for a culvert under a roadway and may have been introduced with roadmaking innovations. The Gaelic word *clais* remains for the roadside ditch as for the furrow of the plough.

The croft is now firmly [l̺ɔht̠] from the English "lot", portion or share. It can be qualified by Gaelic adjectives, such as in the compound "leth-*lot*", half-croft, and in "*lot* slàn", a whole croft. So firmly established is it that the dyke separating the common grazing from the arable land is called gàradh a *lot*. No systematic rotation of crops is practised but there are

some terms, all Gaelic, which define portions of lands in relation to when they were last tilled. Haymaking has a Scots vocabulary, the haycock on the croft is *coc* while the rectangular rick in the stackyard is *dais* [d̥aʃ] from the Scots "dash" a flat portion of a stack or rick. This is cognate with English word "dais". The small semi-permanent conical cornstack in the field is *toit* [t̪ɔht′] from the Scots word "hot" which has a similar usage. Assimilation to the Gaelic sound system here is complete; not only is there back mutation from *h* to *t* but the final alveolar plosive is palatalised and pre-aspirated. The imported coconut husk roping which has replaced the locally made *sùgan* has the exotic name [kai′ja:], presumably from "coir", the name adopted in English for this rope, ultimately from the Tamil *κayiru*.

As might be expected, English influence is particularly marked in the sphere of personal clothing and adornments. A jacket is [′ʃahxkɛt′] and a heavy woollen scarf is [karə′vaht̪ə] from the Scots "gravat". On the other hand, for a lighter scarf the English borrowing [′skarfə] is used. English penetration here is very considerable and very few Gaelic terms remain. A buckle is [′buxkəɫ], a brooch is [′brɔtʃə] and a frock is [′frɔg̊ə]. The English, or in this case the Scots, plural ending *s* is preserved in the word [′baxəl̪s] an old worn out pair of shoes, from the Scots "bauchles". The plural is also preserved in the word *spreigs* from the English or Scots "sprigs" little headless nails used in shoemaking. An interesting limitation of meaning is evident in the imported word for a shoe-lace [′l̪isɛr] from the Scots "lacer". This generally means a fabric lace rather than a leather one which is called by the native term *barr-eille* [′bareʎə]. This is an instance of the name of an imported article only partially supplanting the name of a native article having the same function, and it is probable that the latter was still being made for a time while the manufactured article was also in use.

In the field of domestic furniture and appliances, the penetration has been almost complete. Most of the borrowings are very recent, such as [′panə] for pan, [′pclə] for pail, [′ʃe-ər] for chair, [′møl̪pɔt̪] for milk-pot, [′kanist̪ɛr] for tea caddy, [′ʃug̊ə] for jug, and [g̊rɛ:t̪ə] for grate. The word for frying pan is [′praipan]. Back mutation from *f* to *p* has taken place in the noun, though not in the verb to fry which is [′frai-iʃ] in the second person imperative. Another interesting borrowing in household vocabulary is *seaplais* [′sɛhplɛʃ],

soapy water in which dishes have been washed. This seems to have been derived from the Scots word "sapple", which, when used in the plural "sapples" means soap-suds. In the term for a brush we see again a substitution of English terminology in accordance with a change in material culture. The older term *sguabach* which is still used for the home-made switch of heather, has been replaced by [b̥ruʃ] for the manufactured article. Again the term [ˈbauɫə] for a bowl has replaced the familiar older term *cuach*. *Cuach* is still used to describe the bowl or cup of a song-bird's nest.

This influence has been extended to the schoolroom. The desk at which one sits is [d̥ask], and the strap one gets is [strahp] or [t̪aːs]. from "tawse". An interesting development has occurred in the words for a slate-pencil and lead pencil. If a child used the word [ˈpɛnsɛl] he is not referring to the latter but to the former. The word for a lead pencil is simply [lød̥] probably from some Scots form "leed".

There are a few words which have probably entered this vernacular through military influences. The word [ˈɛhkəs̪ɛɕ] is from "exercise" while the interesting word [ˈplat̪u-ən] a resounding blow, or sometimes a "verbal volley" is presumably from the archaic English "platoon", a volley of musketry. The word "surtoo" for a long overcoat is ultimately from the French *surtout* but by what route it is not possible to say with certainty. The verb "to enlist" has become [ˈløstiʝ] the pretonic syllable *en*- having been dropped.

Nautical influence has yielded the interesting word [ˈbunɛlas] for windlass. Here back mutation from *w* to *b* has taken place. The change in the stressed vowel from [i] to [u] is irregular and we should assume as intermediate stage [ø]. Nautical influence has also contributed to the phenomenon of borrowing the same word from two different dialects and investing it with two different usages. While the verb "to roll" has been borrowed from English in the form [ˈɽɔliʝ], it has also been borrowed from Scots in the form [ɽaul]. The form *rowl* is attested from the North East of Scotland and from Shetland. What has happened in the case of this borrowing from two dialects is that [ˈɽɔliʝ] is limited in usage to the rolling of an object over and over, while [ɽaul] is used to describe the rolling from side to side of a ship at sea.

There are also a number of borrowings which are not confined to any particular sphere of life. These include some "particle" words. The Scots word "het", anything, is in

common use, as is also [b̥øt̠] in the phrase "cha d' fhuair mi [b̥øt̠]"—I did not get anything. This seems to be from the English "bit". The word is also used in the idiomatic phrase "thug e [vøt̠] dha"—he did not succeed. Occurring also in similar idiomatic context is another Scots word for a particle or little bit—"stem". The idiom "cha d'rinn e *stem* dheth", "he did not accomplish it" is in common use.

The above discussion of loan words has been confined deliberately to their use in one community. The selection of one limited area is a matter of method, and it does not imply that similar developments are unknown or rare in other communities in the Gaelic area. Important information can be gained about linguistic interaction by a close look at the vernacular of one community actually in use. The community selected is by no means untypical of a conservative Highland crofting district and the cultural impacts discussed are widespread. The impact of sheep farming on a predominantly cattle rearing people led to changes in crofting methods generally, while modern ideas about agriculture and crop winning had some influence on the techniques used to provide winter feed. The trends of linguistic penetration along those lines will therefore be very similar in different areas with some variations in detail. The word for "turnip" in this vernacular is borrowed directly from English while the [ʃɲẽhp] of certain other districts comes from the Scots "neep", with back mutation of *n* to *sn*, and palatalisation caused by the vowel. While it is not the purpose of this paper to investigate such local variations, it is interesting to point out that many Scots, as distinct from English borrowings, are felt to be Gaelic. This is simply because the average Gaelic speaker is quite unfamiliar with Scots dialect. The users of [ʃɲẽhp] for "turnip", for instance, feel that it is an indigenous Gaelic word and tend to regard the users of *tuirneap* as unduly Anglicised in their speech. This is despite the known fact that turnips were not introduced into the Highland area until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[3]

Apparently also to be correlated with the spread of the "agricultural revolution" are the movements of rabbits and their multiplication in different areas.[4] Their introduction at different periods has resulted in different terms being used. In this vernacular the word is [ˈɼɛb̥ɜt′] from English "rabbit", while the "proper Gaelic" of a number of other areas is *coineineach*, corresponding to the *coney*, *coning*, *kunnin*, *cuning* of various Scots dialects.

Surveying the whole field of borrowings, it is obvious that the large scale penetration of the language by English and Scots terms is neither haphazard nor difficult to rationalise. The native culture of the crofter was a very specialised one, the practice of agriculture was rudimentary and the implements associated with it were few in number. Housing, again, was of the simplest kind as were the furnishings. The elaboration of equipment and possessions due to the gradual introduction of manufactured goods necessitated new terms. Even where these goods had precisely the same function as the traditional articles, they brought their own names with them—"belt" to displace the familiar and widely used *crios*, "bowl" to displace *cuach*, "brush" for *sguabach*—examples could be multiplied. New techniques also brought their own vocabulary while a native technique such as peat cutting remains untouched.

One is faced with the question of the extent to which it is possible to date such borrowings by phonetic analysis. A general statement such as "the earlier the borrowing the greater will be the adaptation to the native sound system" is not properly applicable to this case. It is clear that considerable adaptation can take place in a very short time, while, on the other hand, foreign features can be retained in early borrowings. We can assume that in a predominantly monoglot population adaptation would be swift although not necessarily complete. Alveolar articulations are revealing in this context. The alveolar plosives *t*, *d* have been in the vernacular for a considerable time and seem to have survived a predominantly monoglot phase. The voiced plosive has, of course, been devoiced and the voiceless one aspirated. Examples of the retention of these consonants (they are underlined in the phonetic representations given above) are numerous. They occur frequently with the native feature of pre-aspiration in words such as [l̪ɔht̲] a croft, [n̪ɔht̲] a pound sterling, and [t̲aoit̲] bold or hardy, a word of uncertain origin. Alveolar *-t-* is found also in an interesting borrowing which is probably early ['taulɛr, -əxk] a lazy or useless dog, or the act, on the part of a dog, of lying or standing around always in the way. The word appears to be English "toller" or "tauler", a kind of dog used as a decoy in hunting. The word passed into North American and although it is not attested as yet in Scots in this sense, it possibly existed in dialects from which it passed into Gaelic. Alveolar *-d-* survives in the word [skød̲̥] in the phrase "dh'fhalbh e le [skød̲̥]" he went at a great

speed. This is derived from the Scots verb "to scud"—to skim a flat stone over water.

It is not easy, therefore, to use the concept of degree of adaptation in estimating the age of loan words. We must assume that a number of the words containing alveolar articulations survived for part of the time through the speech of monoglot speakers. Imperfect adaptation to the native sound system is also seen in features which contradict the system of initial mutations, such as in the words [l̠ɔht̠] and [n̠ɔht̠] already quoted. Indeed, with few exceptions all alveolar consonants have been easily accepted even when, as in this case, they contradict the morphological system of the mother tongue. A scientific description of the *vernacular*, therefore, would probably reveal a more elaborate sound system than a description of that portion of it only which is historically Gaelic.

Generally speaking, there are two main classes of borrowings, the first group largely oral and from Scots and belonging to a predominantly monoglot period, and the second largely from the English of the schoolroom and from the printed page. To the first group belong, among others, the words which show back mutation such as *w* to *s* in *siosacot* from "waistcoat" and *w* to *b* in *bunalas* from windlass, *h* to *t* in *toit* from "hot" and the other examples already quoted. A further one is the *v* to *m* in the verb ['mɛnt̠ər] —a sense of daring, probably from "venture". Such fundamental changes could not occur in a predominantly bilingual phase.

We must regard the members of the second group as being in a state of process phonetically, because the continuous reinforcement of their English forms by education and the printed page will probably drive their specifically Gaelic forms out of use. There are still, however, a large number of these English words in Gaelic form in the vernacular.

The receptiveness of Gaelic to penetration of a lexical kind is unusually great in view of its almost complete resistance to interference of a phonetic or phonemic kind. The latter phenomenon is explicable by the curious relationship which exists between the two languages. The people's knowledge of English is almost entirely from the schoolroom and from the printed page. Practically the only non-Gaelic sound taught by generations of Gaelic teachers is the English *-th-* [θ]. Even this tends to be improperly learnt or forgotten and *-s-* is quite frequently substituted for it. The result is that the local English

[o]	>[ɔ]
drove	>d̥rɔ:v
notion	>'nɔ:ʃɛn
soda	>'sɔ:da
note	>n̠ɔht̠
most	>mɔst̠
moleskin	>'mɔ:lʃɟin
loaf	>'l̪ɔfə
pole	>'p'ɔ:lə
stove	>'st̠ɔ:fə
stroke	>'st̺rɔ:xk

[ɔ]	>[a]
saucer	>'sa:sar
call	>'ka:liɟ
lorry	>'l̪a:ri
hall	>ha:ɫ
ball	>b̥a:ɫ
pawn	>p'a:n

[ʌ]	>[u]
monkey	>mũŋg̊i
brush	>b̥ruʃ
turnip	>'tʻuŋahp
jug	>'ʃug̊e
onion	>'ũɲɛn
puddler	>'bud̥lɛraxk

[e]	>[ɛ]
train	>t̺rɛ̃:n
drain	>'d̥rɛ:nə
rail	>'ɽɛ:lɛ
game	>ɟɛ̃:m
plaguing	>'plɛ-iɟəɣ
paint	>p'ɛnt̠
trade	>t̺'rɛd̥
baker	>'b̥ɛ:ɟɛr
"the Rainies"	>na 'ɽɛ̃:nis
square	>'skwɛ-ər
grate	>'g̊rɛ:d̥ə

[ɨ]	>[ø]
trim	>t̺røm
bit	>b̥ød̥
clipper	>'kløb̥ɛr
prig	>p'røɟ
milk-pot	>'mølpɔd̥
pit	>pʻøt̠
print	>pʻrønt̠
clip	>kløp

REFERENCES

[1] *Étrennes de linguistique Offertes . . . à Emile Benveniste* (Paris 1928), 81-122.

[2] The symbols are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet, with a few modifications for the particular requirements of this paper. Certain consonants are underlined to emphasise alveolar articulation, e.g. *n*, *t*, *l*, and to indicate lack of assimilation to the Gaelic sound system. [ø] is a mid back, half open vowel, not rounded.

[3] J. MacDonald, *The Agriculture of the Hebrides* (Edinburgh 1811) 217.

[4] James Ritchie, *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* (Cambridge 1920) 252.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For constructive suggestions with reference to Scots borrowings, the writer is indebted to Mr. David Murison of the Scottish National Dictionary and Mr. A. Fenton of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

has an almost completely Gaelic sound system. There is no contact with an English or Scots dialect substantial enough to influence their English articulations and to impose changes which could find their way back into the native speech.

By referring to extensive material culture contacts we can account for the vast majority of recent loan words. We are at the same time, however, faced with the utter *designative inadequacy* of the native language. This is probably a heritage of the rigidly monolingual educational policy followed since compulsory education was first introduced. The language seems unable to extend itself beyond the sphere of immediate experience, beyond the frequently seen or heard. Noticeable in this category are the names of migrant or rare birds and the names of fish and plants. It is not so much a question of inability to recognise but inability to name except with an English term. Place-names also fall into this category. All names of places in the locality or in the neighbourhood are invariably in Gaelic. There is no English influence whatsoever discernible in any of these place-names used in the context of Gaelic, although if uttered in English context to a visitor they will have Anglicised forms. Yet, place-names not in constant use are increasingly developing English forms. The Gaelic names for the counties of Caithness, Sutherland and Argyll are going quite out of use, as are those of Highland towns, such as Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Campbeltown. Since education other than that from traditional knowledge or visual experience has always been through the medium of English, it is obvious that the bounds of a Gaelic speaker's knowledge will be wider than the scope of his language. There are thus a great number of English words entering the language which are not discussed in this paper, and are not due to cultural penetration but to the designative incapacity of the mother tongue in relation to the secondary language.

NOTES

The following word list, which is given without detailed comment, shows a few of the regular sound changes found in borrowings in this vernacular. Among members of the older generation, changes of this kind tend to occur even in extempore borrowings. Scots dialectal influences, in words such as "paint" and "trade" in the [ɛ] group, may have been instrumental in setting the pattern for some of the shifts.

TWO EARLY RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN BARRA

Margaret C. Storrie *

The aspect of rural settlement in the Outer Hebrides has been much altered by various land settlement schemes during the late nineteenth, and especially during the twentieth centuries. These have generally been encouraged or initiated and financed by Government bodies such as the former Board of Agriculture (now Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland) and the Congested Districts Board. Most of the schemes have subsequently been regulated by the former Crofters Commission and its successor of 1911, the Scottish Land Court.[1] In many cases, the Department of Agriculture has laid out new crofting townships on former farms belonging to private proprietors; in other cases the Department itself has become the proprietor by compulsory purchase or otherwise. Such resettlement schemes, however, were preceded by some which were initiated wholly by private proprietors. Amongst the earliest were those which comprised the fishermen's holdings of Bentangaval and Garrygall in the island of Barra. Set up in 1883, these schemes quickly became abortive as their original raison-d'être proved ephemeral. The result to-day is a decadent system of agricultural holdings too small for efficient use of available land, and too small to support the tenants' families.

The physical environment in Barra is poor, consisting of large areas of eroded gneiss and meagre pasture with only small peripheral areas of cultivated land. This has always meant that only a poor living could be obtained from agriculture. By the late eighteenth century with the cessation of warfare epidemics, increase in population could not be supported solely from the land. Until the middle of the next century, fishing, kelp manufacture and the widespread cultivation of the potato in turn provided subsidiary sources of food or income. As each

* Tutorial Fellow in Geography, Bedford College, London.

failed, the close balance between subsistence and famine in Barra was disrupted, and many people became destitute. Some townships were cleared to make way for more profitable large farms. Often this resulted in further land pressure and the displaced people moved into the adjacent townships, in which holdings became subdivided to accommodate them; the alternative was to emigrate to the Lowlands of Scotland, or overseas.

Through the second half of the nineteenth century in Barra, Harris and Lewis, the contribution of fishing, both subsistence and commercial, again helped to give rise to, and support an increasing population. By the 1880's, side by side with large empty areas under single-tenant farms, there were a few crofting townships into which the majority of the population was crowded. The original crofter holdings had become much subdivided as population increased, and in addition there were more cottars and squatters with no legal land holdings. Quite illegally they made use of tenants' land to graze cattle and sheep and to cultivate patches of potatoes and corn. For this privilege they sometimes paid rent in cash or labour, but often no rent passed at all. The bare living obtained from the land for most families was being supplemented by reliance on part-time fishing. At this period the fishing industry in Barra was being conducted mainly by full-time fishermen from the East Coast of Scotland. Fish was caught, and salted, dried or cured, for export to the expanding markets of Eastern Europe. Local men and women were employed on the boats and on the shore, and some even followed the fishing, seasonally, to the East Coast. The wages for this made possible the purchase of imported food which was increasingly difficult to produce in sufficient quantity in overpopulated Barra.

This extra contribution from fishing however only increased the overpopulation and land congestion, and by the 1880's, both tenants and cottars in the agricultural townships were clamouring for land.[2] In the three townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale around Castle Bay, there were in 1883, 66 legal tenants and 65 cottars. Forty-five of these petitioned the proprietrix of the island, Lady Emily Gordon Cathcart, for more land. They suggested that the island of Vatersay to the south of Barra, and at that time part of a large farm, should be settled by a crofter population. But Lady Cathcart turned down this proposal on several issues. Her main objection was that Barra could never be wholly an agricultural

island and she saw little point in establishing yet another community of landholders who would in time become part-agriculturalists and part-fishers. Instead she stressed that in order to be successful, agriculture and fishing had to be separated as much as possible. Fishing ought to be a full-time occupation pursued along the lines of the East Coast fishermen who came from non-agricultural villages. She was trying every means to encourage the local development of fishing, centred on the port of Castlebay, as a source of livelihood for landless families. Already, a hotel for dealers, several shops and a school had been built by the proprietrix in Castlebay, and she had encouraged the erection of piers, curing stations, and the extension of telegraphic communication with mainland markets. At the same time she realised that it would be difficult for the families of landless fishermen to obtain potatoes and milk, so from 1883 onwards, she proposed several land resettlement schemes for small fishermen's holdings. The first two comprised the hilly peninsulas and surrounding fringes of Bentangaval and Garrygall, which at that time belonged to the farms of Vatersay and Eoligarry to the south and north respectively (see Fig. 1). These were offered to cottar-fishermen living in the congested townships around Castlebay, with the aim of providing each family with sufficient land on which to grow potatoes for food, and winter fodder and grass for a cow's milk. In addition each family was to share a small supplementary income from a Club sheep stock. In no way were the holdings intended to be large enough to detract from the tenant's main occupation in fishing, and Lady Cathcart suggested that no houses be built on Bentangaval or Garrygall. Instead, rented house stances were offered in Castlebay itself, enabling the fishermen to be close to port. After these schemes, came several others with the same purpose in mind, for instance, Bruernish and Leanish. In addition, there were other schemes of an entirely different nature; these were concerned with the provision of adequately-sized agricultural holdings to enable people to make a full-time living from the land, for example, in Allasdale, paralleled by later resettlement schemes, e.g. Northbay in 1901.

The hill of Bentangaval amounted to about 1750 acres, of which some 28 acres were reckoned to be potential "arable". Of the original 45 shares which were offered, only 35 were taken up, and indeed, in default of enough cottar-fishermen applying for holdings, some were rented by tenants of the

surrounding crofting townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale. So even at the start, the scheme had to be modified in its original purpose. Each tenant was allowed one share

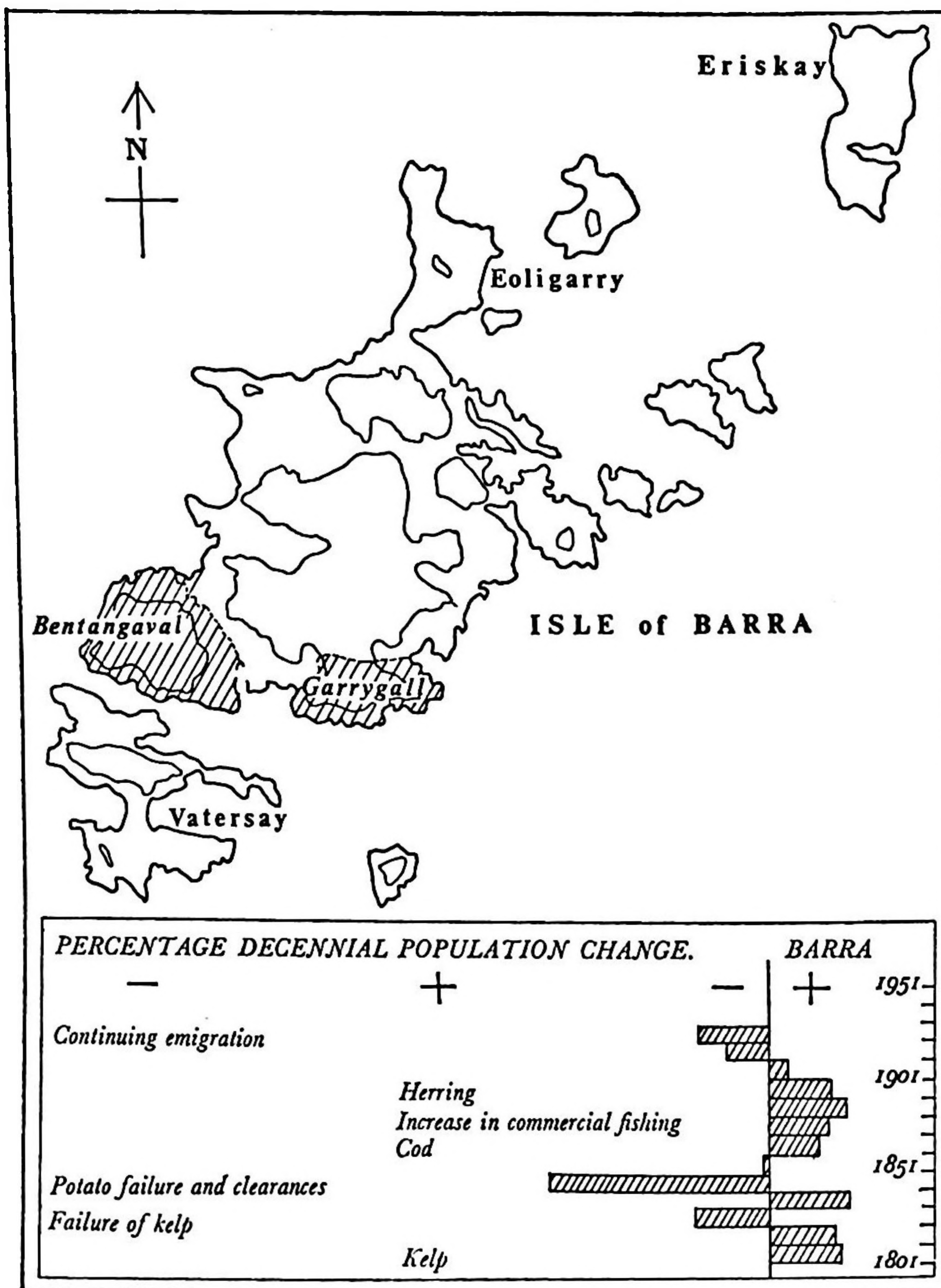


Fig. 1

in the new township which permitted him to graze a cow and a young beast, as well as having his share of seven sheep in a township Club stock. His share in the arable area gave him just under

an acre in which to cultivate potatoes and hay. The so-called "arable" areas were in two parts known as East and West Bentangaval (see Fig. 2) in which there were respectively 17 and 18 shares. East Bentangaval consisted of a bench round Loch Beag with poor rocky soils, and West Bentangaval had peaty-loamy soils close to the Atlantic shores, several miles from Castlebay. Each share consisted of several small and scattered pieces of relatively better or poorer land. None of the tenants, however, took up house stances in Castlebay but continued to reside in the surrounding townships. There was still, therefore partial attachment to the land, contrary to Lady Gordon Cathcart's wish for full-time fishermen. There was no fence separating Bentangaval from the other townships, and since the byres for the Bentangaval stock were still in fact in these townships, the stock fed from the Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale crofts in winter, and the stock of the latter roamed Ben Tangaval in summer. Thus apart from some additional grazing the land situation in the crofting townships had not changed very much in the years following the scheme's initiation in 1883. Moreover, already by 1890, the livelihood to be obtained from fishing was becoming precarious. The boom of 1889 in which the maximum number of 571 boats [3] was fishing in the Barra District (which included S. Uist) was followed by fluctuations in numbers of boats and sizes of catch. And so many of the tenants became unable to pay their rents, let alone pay for their share in the Club sheep stock (and this despite the fact that the Club stock had only one-third of the numbers of sheep grazed on the Ben when it was part of the Vatersay tack or farm). By 1892, 25 out of the 35 tenants were in debt to the tune of £772, or £22.11.0 each, on average. They applied to the Fair Rents Commission for revised rents. Arrears were reduced and rents lowered from £3.10.0 to £2.5.0. But matters scarcely improved with continuing fluctuations in fishing and less than a decade after its inception, the idea of forming fishermen's holdings with houses near the port of Castlebay was rapidly becoming out of date. The Census of 1891 [4] mentions only 16 households in Castlebay whilst the crofting townships of Glen had 65 and Kentangaval 53. In these latter townships, part-time livelihood from fishing was sporadically obtained on east coast boats up until World War I. But the latter interrupted the Eastern European markets for Hebridean produce and fishing in Barra rapidly declined. Decreasing numbers of boats and men were employed up to World War II

since when, Barra, with its port of Castlebay, has been of minor importance in the British fishing industry, sheltering only the occasional foreign trawler besides a few local lobster boats. A recent attempt by the Scottish Home Department to resuscitate the fishing industry of the Outer Hebrides is discussed in note 8.

So, as the importance of income from fishing declined, the 35 holdings of Bentangaval scarcely ever served their original purpose: nor could they prove successful agricultural holdings by their very nature. The erection of a fence between Bentangaval and the surrounding townships in 1906-7, and the raising of the souming of each share to 1 horse, 1 cow and 10 sheep were attempts to increase the agricultural utilisation of the land. Later, another fence was erected around East Bentangaval to separate the arable areas from the grazing, and still more recently, a further one was erected around West Bentangaval. Several of the tenants have built houses in Bentangaval itself. But only the part of East Bentangaval around Loch Beag and the small area to the west of it are now cultivated. And with the exception of one croft recently consolidated and fenced, and of another consolidated though unfenced, the arable is still held in patches. Of the original 35 tenancies, (see Fig. 2*a*), there are at present, by amalgamation 31, of which 10 are held by tenants now living in Bentangaval itself; 16 are held by tenants living outside Bentangaval but still in other parts of Barra; 4 are held by tenants living outside Barra altogether and are unworked; and one is vacant. In addition there are four feu [6] houses without grazing or cultivation rights.

Only 8½ acres of arable land in the township are used for the production of potatoes and winter fodder, and of the township's soum or stint of 35 cows, there are at present only 4. Again, only four of the original holdings have a fraction of an acre worked for potatoes, corn and hay, and are stocked with a cow and a score or so of ewes (see Fig. 2*b*). These four tenants have houses on Bentangaval itself, two being retired Merchant Navymen whose families are grown-up and away from the island. The other two tenants work most of the year on the mainland, while their wives tend the land. Six other holdings are held by tenants living in Bentangaval. Three are cultivated for potatoes and the tenants keep a few sheep—all these tenants are over 65 years of age. Two holdings are worked only for potatoes, and one is unofficially sublet to one of the retired

Merchant Navymen. Apart from one holding which is vacant, and 4 held by tenants residing outside Barra and which are at present unworked, the remaining 16 holdings are held by tenants living in other parts of the island, the services centre and port of Castlebay, and the crofting townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale. Three of these 16 tenants live on feus in nearby Kentangaval, and sometimes cultivate a few patches of potatoes and keep a few sheep. None of the other 13 holdings is cultivated or stocked with cattle; they are utilised entirely as sheep grazing. In the case of Kentangaval and Tangusdale tenants, the Ben forms supplementary grazing for their own stock of sheep. For other tenants in Castlebay, it provides an additional source of income for very little outlay except an occasional day's fencing, shearing or dipping. There is no longer a township herdsman as there was in the earlier days, to look after the Club stock. Each tenant shepherds his own tiny flock of sheep, or else leaves them to fend for themselves. The latter is more frequent, and shows its effects in lambing percentages around or under 50 per cent. The soum for each share, converted into numbers of sheep (i.e. ewes) is 25. For the 35 shares this gives a total of 875 ewes. An "equivalence" [6] of 280 ewes belongs to tenants living in Bentangaval and to some of those living in the township outside. In addition there is an indeterminate number comprising parts of flocks belonging to tenants living in other townships. However it is reasonable to assume that not only is Bentangaval being under-utilised or under-stocked, but in addition, due to the preponderance of sheep over cattle, pasture quality is deteriorating except in the one sweet area to which most of the sheep flock. This is the close green sward covering the former cultivation rigs of the abandoned township of Gortein overlooking the Sound of Vatersay. Only a fraction of the arable land is being utilised and more and more of it is also reverting to poor pasture. The original aim, then, of providing potatoes and milk for families of fishermen living in Castlebay, has resulted to-day in a system of units too small for efficient agricultural use. In fact, both potatoes and bottled milk are to be seen being taken off the thrice-weekly steamer from Oban. Although mostly used in the non-agricultural area of Castlebay, they are also to be found in Bentangaval households.

The resumption of Bentangaval for fishermen-cottars and crofters west of Castlebay, was paralleled on the east by that of Garrygall. The hill and surrounding valleys of Garrygall

amounted to 970 acres of which 59 were potentially "arable". Lady Gordon Cathcart offered to share it amongst 40 heads of families connected with fishing. The 40 shares were all taken

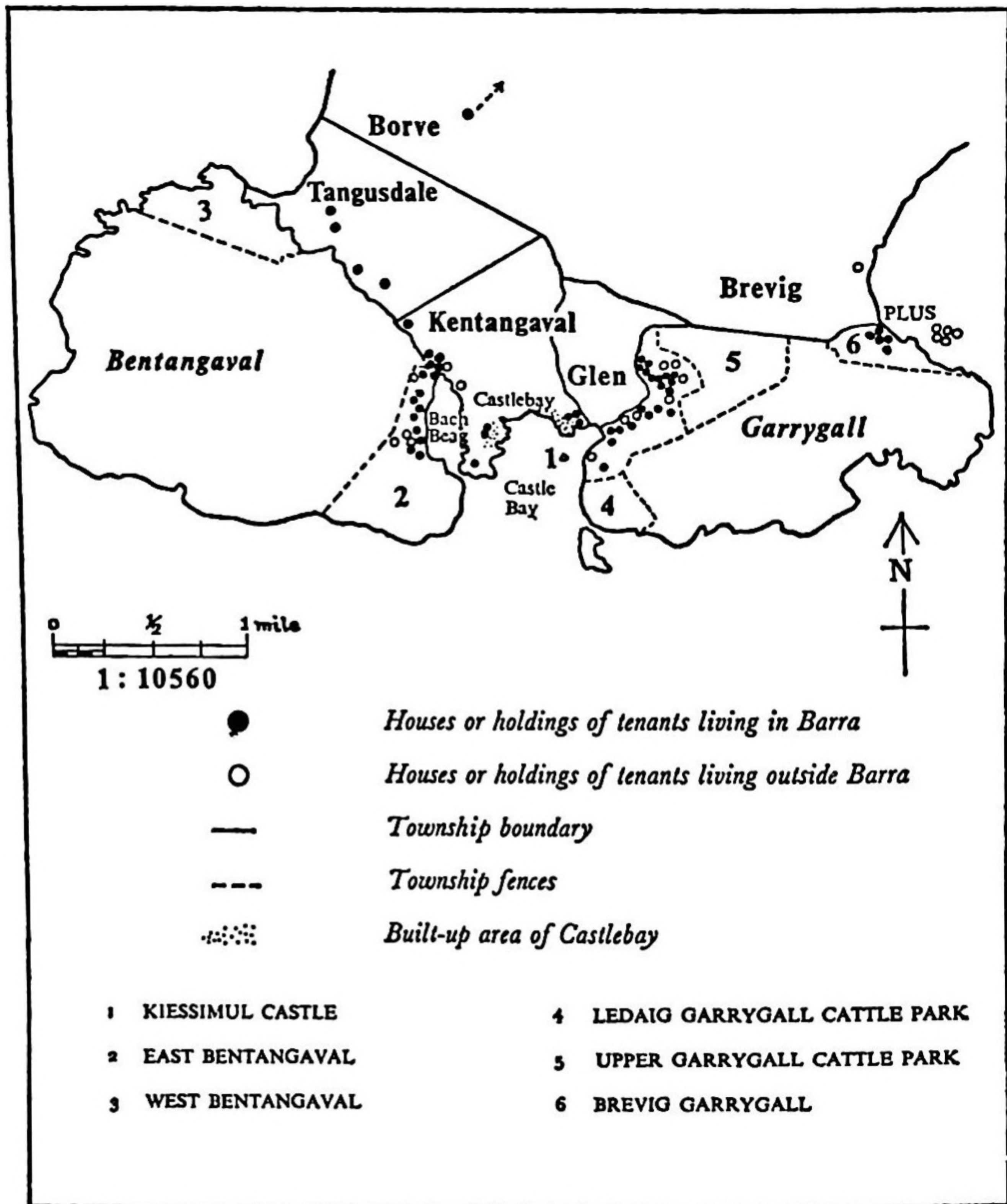


Fig. 2a

up by families from Glen, Brevig and from the island of Mingulay. The same purpose was pursued, the arable share of each tenant being slightly larger than in Bentangaval, and on better quality land on the alluvial sides of the streams Allt a Ghlinn, Allt Alasdair and their tributaries. Each tenant had a share amounting to a cow, a calf and 8 sheep in the Club stock.

Houses were again to be in Castlebay. The inbye land was divided into three portions, Ledaig Garrygall (14 shares), Upper Garrygall (14 shares) and Brevig Garrygall (12 shares).

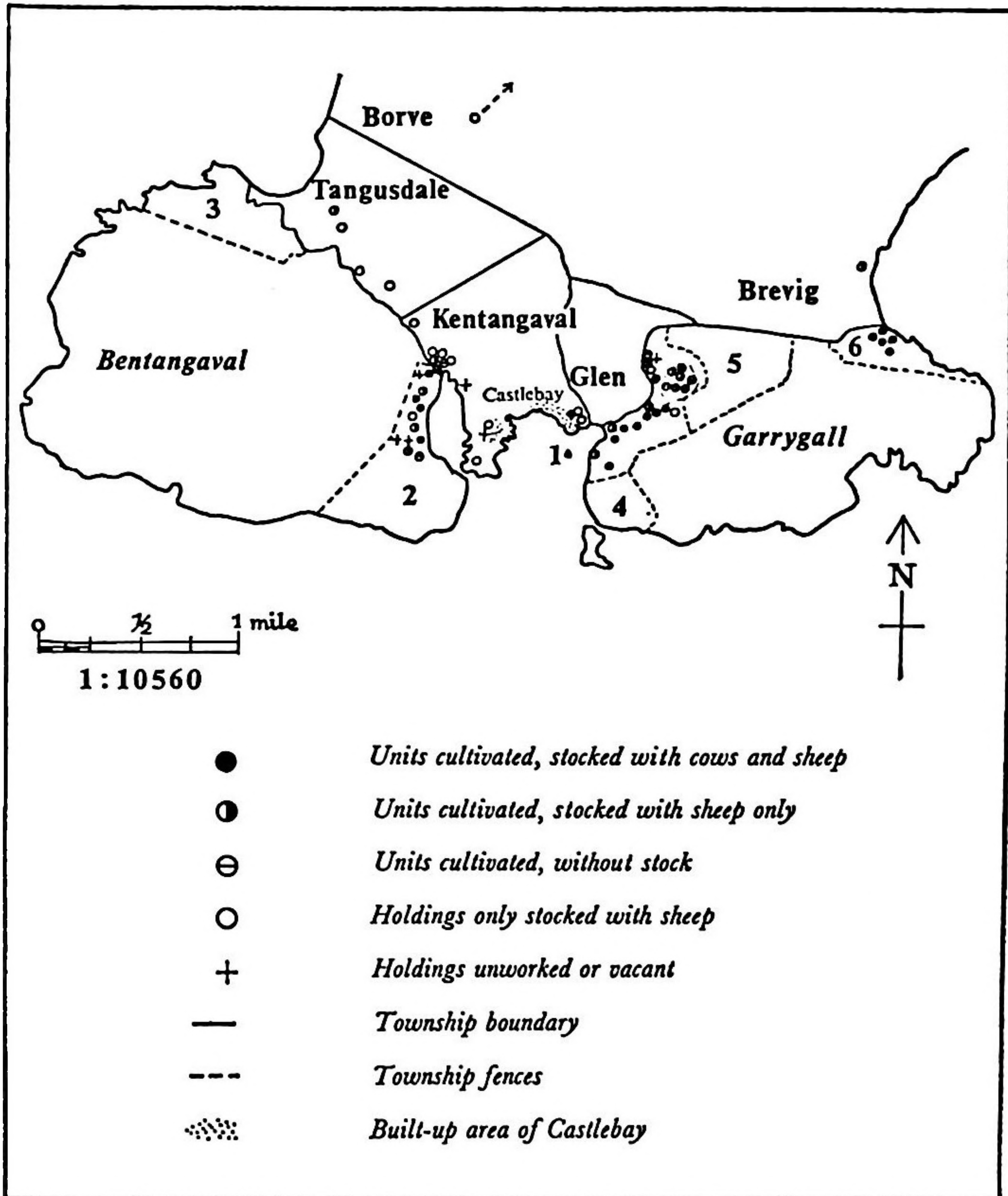


Fig. 2b

In the first two, each tenant had 9 patches in order again to share good and bad land. The third, Brevig Garrygall, was first divided into an arable part close to the sea, and each of the twelve tenants had one single, consolidated patch or lot in this area for growing potatoes. Another area was fenced off for hay and tethered grazing, and later another for potatoes. As in

Bentangaval, so in Garrygall, most of the tenants in 1891 applied for Fair Rents, with similar reductions. But the subsequent development of Garrygall has been slightly different from that of Bentangaval. In 1939, the tenants of Ledaig and Upper Garrygall decided to consolidate their pieces of arable land. First of all two cattle parks were fenced off, one for Ledaig and one for Upper Garrygall (see Fig. 2*a*). Then holdings for cultivation were unofficially lotted or consolidated into rectangular strips running up the valley side of Allt a Ghlinn and its tributary. This arrangement still holds to-day, and some of the consolidated holdings are wholly, others partially, fenced off. Many of the tenants now have houses on their consolidated lots. Thus this area has taken on something of the appearance of a crofting township.

Taking Ledaig and Upper Garrygall as *Glen Garrygall*, of the 28 tenancies formed in 1883, there are still 28, of which 16 are held by tenants living in Garrygall; 4 are held by tenants living in other parts of Barra; 7 are tenanted by people living outside Barra who unofficially sublet their crofts to tenants on the island; and one is vacant. There are, however, only 24 agriculturally operative units.[7] From Fig. 2*b* it is seen that 11 of these are cultivated and stocked with both cattle and sheep. Where amalgamation has taken place officially or unofficially, more than one cow is even kept. Seven units are cultivated for potatoes and used as sheep grazing; 2 are worked only for potatoes with no stock kept; 3 are used solely as sheep grazing and one is vacant. Of the sheep soum of 700 ewes for Glen Garrygall the equivalent of 351 sheep is grazed in the township. On the whole the land is being put to greater use in Glen Garrygall than in Bentangaval, though still only half of the units are being utilised for their original purpose of providing milk and potatoes, again mostly by older folk or the wives of men away at sea or on the mainland. In *Brevig Garrygall*, only the first block of land to be enclosed is now utilised for cultivation. Of the original 12 tenancies there are now 11, of which 5 are held by people living outside Barra altogether and one living in Brevig to the north. The 5 held by absentee tenants are sublet to the remaining tenants. All but one of the resultant six units are worked for potatoes and hay and keep cattle and sheep, the remaining one having no cow. But each of the tenants is over 65 years of age.

Table I illustrates the greater degree of land utilisation in Garrygall than in Bentangaval as a whole. But neither

compares very favourably with the surrounding agricultural townships whose population and land problems they were designed to alleviate. In the latter townships, over two-thirds of the units are cultivated and stocked with more than half their soum. Corresponding with these larger consolidated

TABLE I

Summary of the agricultural situation in the townships of Bentangaval and Garrygall, as compared with Kentangaval and Tangusdale

Township	Tenancies	Units	A	B	C	D	E
BENTANGAVAL							
Holdings rented by tenants living							
(i) in Bentangaval . . .	13	12	4	3	2	0	3
(ii) on non-agricultural feus in Barra or furth . . .	8	8	0	3	1	3	2
(iii) in other crofting townships of Barra	10	9	0	0	1	7	0
Total Bentangaval . .	31	29	4	6	4	10	5
GARRYGALL							
"Glen" Garrygall . . .	28	24	11	7	2	3	1
"Brevig" Garrygall . . .	11	6	5*	1	0	0	0
Total Garrygall . .	39	30	16	8	2	3	1
Kentangaval	17	13	11	0	2	0	0
Tangusdale	14	13	9	1	1	2†	0

* Including one worked by tenant in Brevig, Barra.
† Including one used as sheep grazing by tenant in Borve, Barra.

A. Agriculture Units cultivated and stocked with cows and sheep.
B. Agriculture Units cultivated and stocked with sheep.
C. Agriculture Units cultivated, but with no stock.
D. Holdings only stocked with sheep.
E. Holdings unworked or vacant.

holdings in Kentangaval and Tangusdale, is their greater ability to support the families belonging to them, as is demonstrated in Table II.

From Table II, Bentangaval and Garrygall have as many or more people living and working away from home as live there, especially when those of working age (i.e. 15 to 64 years) are considered, but the reverse is true of the crofting townships of Kentangaval and Tangusdale. This is to be expected since the original occupation of fishing has declined. No alternative

source of employment has arisen to take its place, such as the Harris Tweed weaving industry of Lewis. Many of the men join the Merchant Navy; others find casual employment in civil engineering and other public works on the mainland. Many single women of working age find domestic work on the mainland. In 1957, of the men of working age in Bentangaval itself only one spent his time looking after his holding, but was not fully occupied—he was a retired Merchant Navyman. Another took work as and when it became available, and the other three tenants were all employed in non-agricultural occupations. Likewise in Garrygall, there were no "full-time"

TABLE II

Numbers of people living and working at home and away from the townships of Bentangaval and Garrygall, as compared with Kentangaval and Tangusdale

Township	Total population (including cottars and feuars)		Total (15-64 years)	
	At home	Away	At home	Away
Bentangaval	49	46	19	44
Garrygall	84	78	48	68
Kentangaval	94	23	40	23
Tangusdale	40	28	19	27

agriculturalists. Three tenants had regular employment, three had sporadic work and two were in non-agricultural full-time employment.

In both Bentangaval and Garrygall then, the land is under-utilised. Especially in Garrygall is it capable of improvement and it could carry more stock. Neither of these two settlements can support its population. But the present agrarian structure of excessively small land holdings and common grazings, in which many shareholders take little interest, makes improvement difficult. Lady Gordon Cathcart's policy at the time was a wise one. The establishment of such tiny holdings was intended to encourage the development of full-time fishing. This has failed however, and the scheme announced in 1959 by the Scottish Home Department [8] for the revival of Outer Hebridean fishing, is unlikely to produce fishermen in sufficient numbers to resuscitate such settlements. Already almost all of the tenants have other employment or else live away from Barra, and a degree of unofficial reorganisation of the land has already taken place. Both townships are areas in which the present Crofters Commission could well use its powers of reorganisation, to provide, under the Crofters Act of 1961,[9]

a smaller number of larger holdings which would be more attractive to tenants interested in proper agricultural management, whilst non-landholding house feus would be granted to dispossessed landholding tenants. Critics would at once point out that such a system of redistribution of land would be undesirable in an area of few alternative employment opportunities for dispossessed tenants. But as has already been illustrated, there are at present no tenants being fully employed agriculturally, in either Bentangaval or Garrygall. The redistribution of the holdings into adequately-sized units would more likely encourage better utilisation of the land, and perhaps, progressive improvement. At least a few men and their families would have the opportunity of staying in Barra to make a living solely from the land by the sale of cattle, sheep and wool, as well as of milk and potatoes. These would be required not only by the non-agricultural households on feus in the townships, and in the services centre and port of Castlebay, but also by the increasing number of holidaymakers. The expansion of the holiday industry in Barra and the other Hebrides, follows recent similar trends on the adjacent West Highland mainland of Scotland, and further emphasises the need for increased local food production in the Hebrides generally. One method of effecting this is the economic reorganisation and improvement of archaic patterns of landholdings such as those of Bentangaval and Garrygall. The original reasons for such patterns are no longer valid economically or sociologically although admirable in the time and mind of Lady Gordon Cathcart.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] The Crofters (Scotland) Act of 1955 reconstituted the Crofters Commission. Under the more recent Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1961, 9810 Eliz. 2 Ch. 58, amendments to the 1955 Act are made and further powers given to "make fresh provision with respect to the reorganisation, development and regulation of crofting in the crofting Counties of Scotland".

[2] Evidence by Her Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry into the conditions of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. (Napier Commission) 1884 Vol. I, pp. 643-98.

[3] Fishery Board Reports. Ninth Report 1890, Appendix V.

[4] Unpublished Census of Scotland enumeration schedules, . . . New Register House, Edinburgh.

[5] A "feu" is a Scottish legal term with no English equivalence, for a lease of land granted in perpetuity by one party to another with certain conditions attached. In the connection here, that is, in the crofting

counties, the relevant point is that the feuar, unlike the crofter tenant has no legal right to shares in arable land or common pasture.

[6] Each crofter tenant by his share or shares in the township is permitted to keep a certain proportion or soum of the total township stock. For example in Bentangaval each share entitles the tenant to hold 1 horse, 1 cow and 10 sheep. By "equivalence", horses, cows and sheep may be interchanged according to the particular township equivalence. In this case, 2 cows or 10 sheep may be substituted for 1 horse. So each tenant's soum in sheep equivalence amounts to 25 sheep.

[7] An agriculturally operative unit may be considered as a holding or number of holdings cultivated and stocked by one tenant. He may be the legal tenant of all, or sublet some of the holdings.

[8] Scottish Home Department Fisheries Training Scheme. For details see Crofters Commission Report 1959, Cmd. 9096. Under this scheme, two fishing boats have arrived in Lewis, and in September 1961, the Magdalena CY 1, the first herring ring-net boat to be built for a Barra crew under the Fisheries Training Scheme, arrived in Castlebay. The owners are two brothers from a holding in Ledaig Garrygall who earlier returned from the Merchant Navy to join the Training Scheme. The rest of the crew is composed of their father and two other brothers at present engaged in lobster fishing from the port. (*The Oban Times*, 23.9.61.)

[9] Crofters (Scotland) Act 1961. See 1.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The townships of Bentangaval and Garrygall were studied by the author in September 1957 as part of the Glasgow University Geography Department's survey of crofting in Barra under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the University of Glasgow and to the Frederick Soddy Trust for financial help towards field-work.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

18. *Lane* in Galloway

In an earlier volume of this journal we discussed the etymology and semantic development of the Gaelic word *lòn* in Scottish stream-names (2[1958]196-8), also touching shortly on the difficulties of linking Scottish *lane* with this word family. We now intend to follow up this rather negative argument by a more positive approach outlining the very special place *lane* has in Scottish river nomenclature.

There is first of all its geographical distribution which in limitation and actual locality is not unlike that of *strand* (Scottish Studies 5 [1961]200-201], for, in the words of Christison (1892-3:271] stream-names containing the element *lane* have their centre in "the hilly country round Loch Doon, at the junction of Ayr, Dumfries and Galloway, . . from which they radiate but a short distance into Western Ayr, Upper Nithsdale, and chiefly Northern Galloway, although a few, in the south of it, reach the Solway Firth." In this small region Christison counted 52 names, 38 of which are traceable on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, apart from 9 which are place-names containing *lane* as a defining element.

The geographical scatter of the names in question is best shown by listing them in conjunction with the water-courses with which they are associated. The most easterly group is found in the drainage area of the Nith; to which belong *Beoch Lane, Fingland L.* and *Under Brae L.* Draining into Urr Water and the adjoining stretches of the Solway we have *Kirkgunzeon Lane*; *Auchencairn Lane, Fairgirth L.*, and *Potterland L.*, and reach the largest cluster in the valley of the Dee. From this central group we only mention *Barend Lane, Carlingwark L., Carsphairn L., Craigencallie L., Dargall L., Fingland L., Keoch L., Loch L.* and *Minnigall L.* Into the Cree drains *The Lane,* and the Ayrshire valleys of the Doon and the Lugar contain the remaining instances: *Balloch Lane, Whitespout L., Boghead L., Head Mark L.*, and others.

Unfortunately space does not permit us to illustrate this distribution by a map, for although the waters of *Beoch Lane* flow into the upper reaches of the Nith and therefore ultimately

into the Solway, whereas *Head Mark Lane* joins the Black Water and via Burnock Water, Lugar Water and the River Ayr finally drains into the Firth of Clyde, these two burns flow parallel to each other at a distance of just over a mile. The area involved is, consequently, much more compact than might be inferred from the geographical position of the rivers enumerated above. From a linguistic point of view, it is also completely within the formerly Gaelic speaking regions of south-west Scotland. This can be proved by general place-name evidence as well as by a closer look at the "defining elements" of the names mentioned. Out of the 38 names listed only 10 show first elements which are definitely of Germanic origin, like *Whitespont* and *Potterland Lanes*, but also containing loan-words from Gaelic.

This does not mean that we want to ascribe any of the other 28 names to the Gaelic period. No, these names must be younger than the seventeenth century when the Gaelic language ceased to be spoken in the region. Not only is the word-order Germanic but semantically these names belong to a very late category, i.e. that of "names from names", the primary names being of various linguistic origin.

To which language, then, does *lane* belong? Is it identical with the word *lane* meaning "a narrow street or road", with a peculiar semantic development in the Scots dialect of Galloway? The *Scottish National Dictionary* Vol. 5, p. 505, has indeed several quotations which confirm that in Galloway a lane is "a slow . . . piece of water" or "a small tributary stream". The same dictionary, however, also points to the most probable origin of this word *lane* in this particular meaning and toponymic usage, deriving it from Gaelic *lèan*, Irish *léana*, "a marshy meadow". The question now arises whether the word was borrowed into Scots in the meaning of "meadow" and subsequently influenced by English *lane* (which seems to be implied by the SND), or whether it had already partly undergone this semantic change in the Gaelic dialect of Galloway, at least in onomastic usage. Three reasons appear to speak for the latter: (1) English *lane* never had the meaning "water-course". (2) There do not seem to be any names containing *lane* of post-Gaelic origin in the region referring to meadows, as one might expect to find as survivals from the earlier semantic stage. (3) We do have a number of names clearly going back to the Gaelic period in which *lèan* can only mean "stream", although the meaning "meadow" is also attested. Amongs

the names listed by Maxwell (1930:192-3) we find (*Loup o'*) *Lanebreddan* in the parish of Minigaff, *Lanedripple* in Inch, *Lanehulcheon* in Balmaghie, *Lanemannoch* in Kells, *Laniewee* in Minigaff, *Lannigore* in Old Luce. In some of these the element in question appears to be definitely "meadow", as in *Lannigore*; in others only field-work can tell us to what geographical feature these names apply, but Maxwell himself calls *Lanemannoch* "a stream" (1887:235), and *Lanebreddan* in which the second element is Gaelic *bradan* "a salmon" can hardly be "salmon meadow" but must surely be "salmon stream". If this is so, we can assume that in the Gaelic of Galloway, and particularly of the Stewartry, the word *lèan* "meadow" also developed the meaning "small (sluggish) stream", was borrowed as such into the Scots dialect of the region during a bilingual period, and was phonemically equated with English *lane* which may have helped to complete the semantic separation from the notion "meadow" which it originally had. The various modern forms in which the word appears—*Lane*, *Lanie-*, *Lannie-*, raise further interesting grammatical and phonological problems the discussion of which we must deny ourselves this time.

REFERENCES

CHRISTISON, DAVID
1892-3 "On the Geographical Distribution of Certain Place-Names in Scotland". *Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 27:255-80.

MAXWELL, SIR HERBERT EUSTACE
1887 *Studies in the Topography of Galloway*. Edinburgh.
1930 *The Place Names of Galloway*. Glasgow.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

The "Moss Houses" of Kincardine, Perthshire, 1792

Public imagination was considerably stirred in the 1790's by the reclamation of a substantial part of Kincardine Moss, in southern Perthshire, and much was made of it at the time in Sir John Sinclair's improving propaganda. Through the initiative of Lord Kames and his son, George Home Drummond, rich arable lands between Forth and Teith were being systematically recolonised after centuries of submergence beneath wastes of peat-bog. Even the Gaelic-speaking Highland colonists—mostly from the parishes of Callander, Balquhidder and Killin—came in for praise, and interesting details were

recorded about their progress and living conditions during the initial stages of the operation.

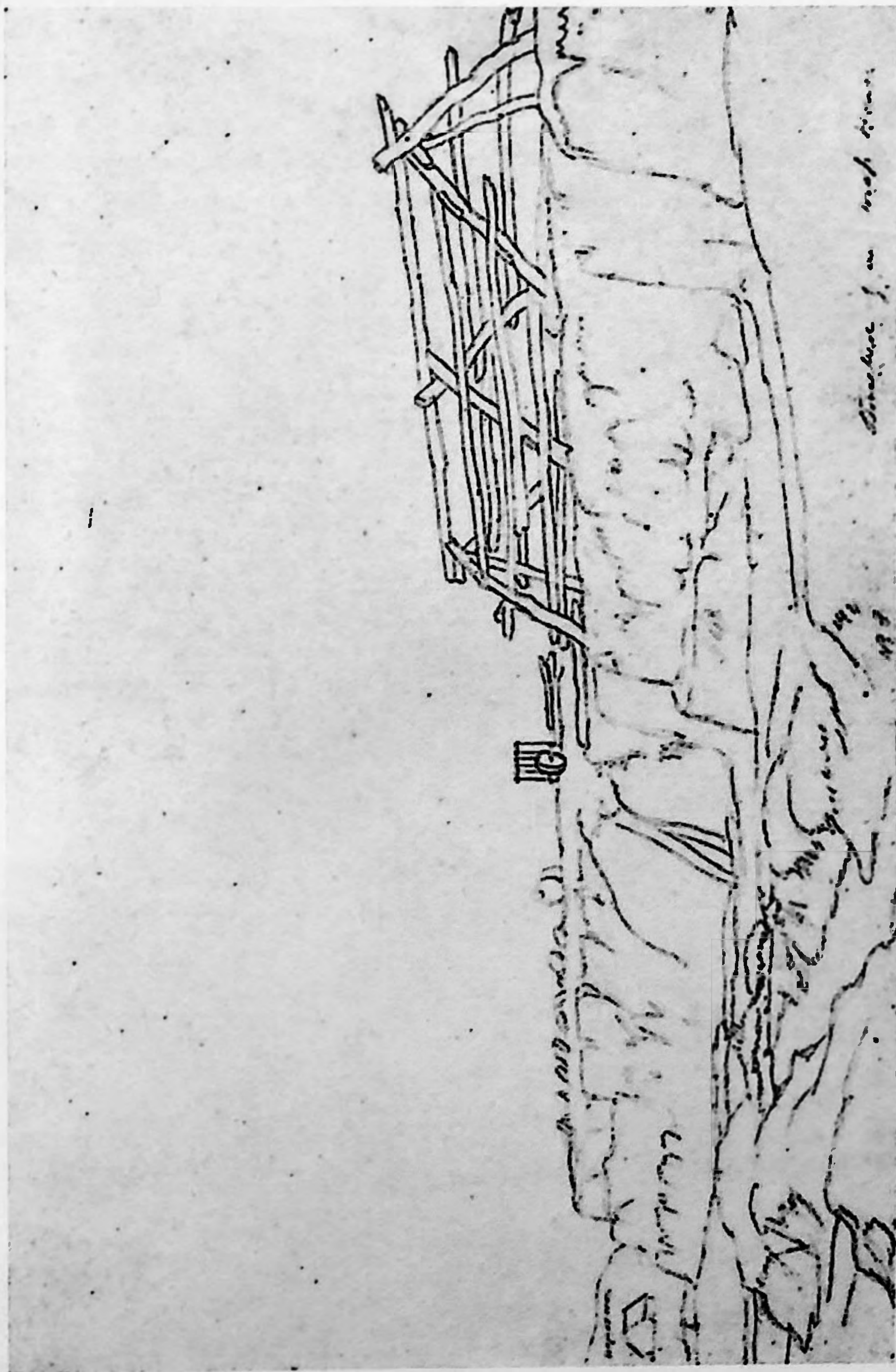
It is not generally known that Joseph Farington, the artist, visited the Moss in 1792, a year before the commencement of his famous diary. An unpublished notebook which he kept at the time mentions his meeting Sinclair's agricultural reporter for the county, the Reverend Dr. James Robertson, and that he had studied Robertson's account of southern Perthshire; yet the description of the Moss colony and their houses which Farington entered in his notebook has the double advantage, for us, of being not only at first hand but also related to some pencil sketches of his, probably done on the spot (Pls. III and IV).

The strangeness of dwellings with walls formed from solid peat-bog, left standing when the rest was cut away, might suggest a unique adaptation to the peculiar circumstances of the colony. Though the scale of the operation was unprecedented, at least for Scotland, and the huts therefore attracted notice, the type of dwelling was probably not exceptional. It may be regarded as an elementary form of the ubiquitous sod-walled house (the Highland "black-house" *par excellence*!), of which astonishingly little is accurately recorded. One structural feature of the "moss houses" mentioned by Farington—evidently under the impression that it was an expedient peculiar to these soft-walled dwellings—reveals the fundamental relationship:

> When the inside is cleared, piles [*i.e.* posts] are erected on which a roof rests (not on the moss walls), which consists of a few rough timbers, on which the thatch is laid . . .

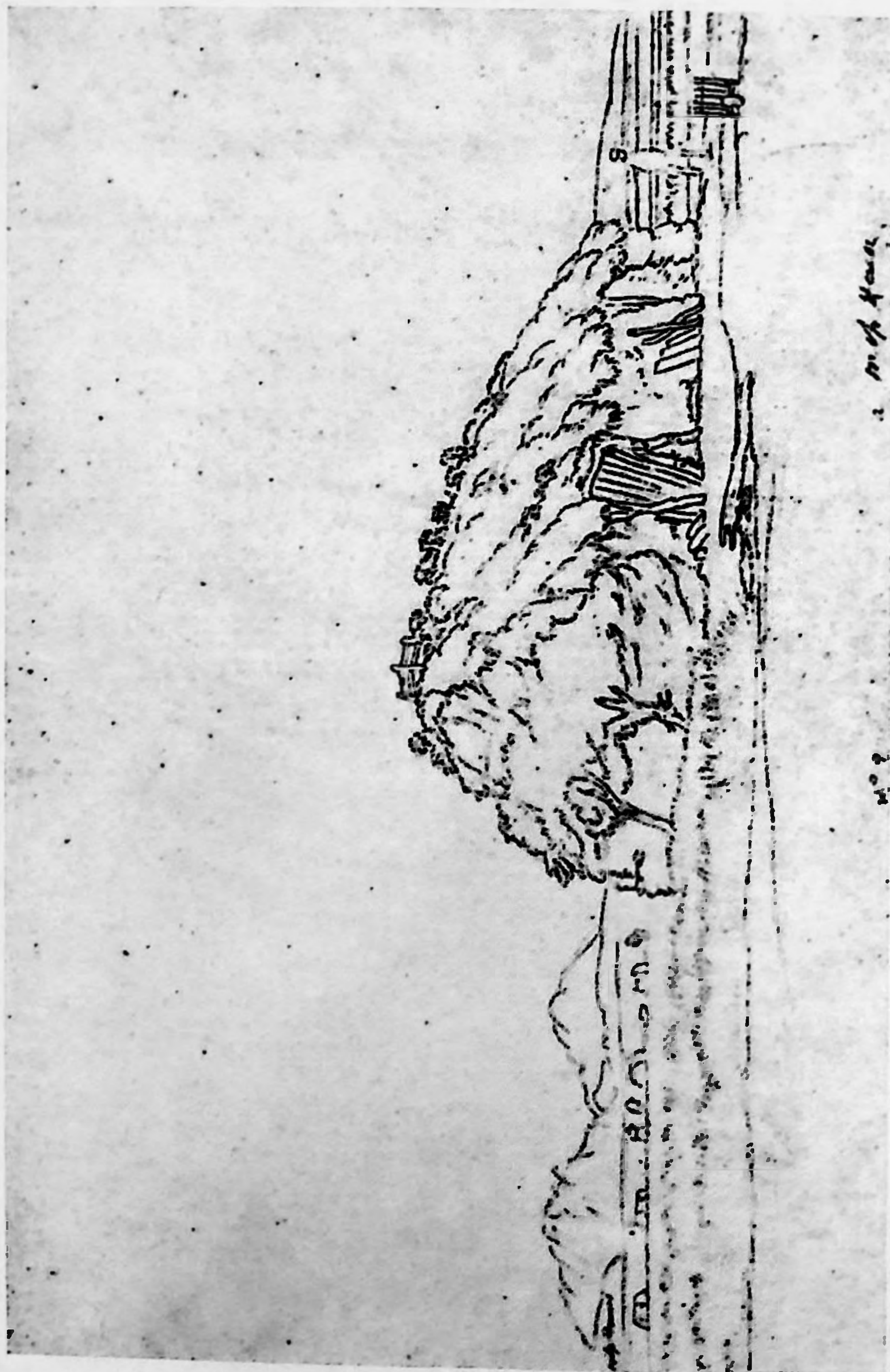
Farington's sketches show the usual hipped roof carried on paired couples, several of which clearly have the bent "cruck" form. The support of the roof-frame (and hence the whole weight of the heavy sod and heather roof itself) on posts independent of, though set along the inner face of, the walls is a widespread characteristic which the old Highland houses shared with those mentioned in the Welsh laws of the tenth century (Peate 1946:112-33).

"Moss houses" like those of the Kincardine colony may have been common enough in other areas of increasing population where patches of new land fringing exploited peat-bogs became available for cultivation and grazing. Too humble for remark, and usually remote from literary-minded travellers,



Pencil sketch (1792) by Joseph Farington of "Moss Houses", Kincardine, Perthshire (see p. 88)

PLATE IV



Pencil sketch (1792) by Joseph Farington of "Moss Houses", Kincardine, Perthshire (see p. 88)

such squatters' huts would normally elude record or description. Some of the "black peat cottages" of Rothiemurchus mentioned by Elizabeth Grant (Grant 1898: *passim*) may well have resembled those of Kincardine Moss, though most were doubtless walled with dried peat-sods (built up, rather than scooped out of the solid), like some of the "black houses" surviving recently in the Outer Hebrides. Though the techniques of walling differed, the material and the form of the houses were similar.

The "moss-house" type was also to be found in various parts of Ireland. Professor Estyn Evans came on an example in County Antrim little more than twenty years ago—"a roomy dwelling occupied by a healthy and intelligent family, cut out of solid turf [i.e. peat] to the height of the eaves, the surrounding peat-bottom, now the farmland, having had several feet of turf removed from it" (Evans 1942:61).

While neither the Scottish nor the Irish examples mentioned were intended to last more than a few years, they were real dwellings for a family, and not just temporary shelters for peat-cutters. Indeed at least one of the moss-houses sketched by Farington was evidently furnished with a separate entrance to the end away from the hearth (probably a byre or stable), and with a chimney-flue of the "hanging lum" type, both amenities absent from many stone-built dwellings in the Highlands and Isles in the last century.

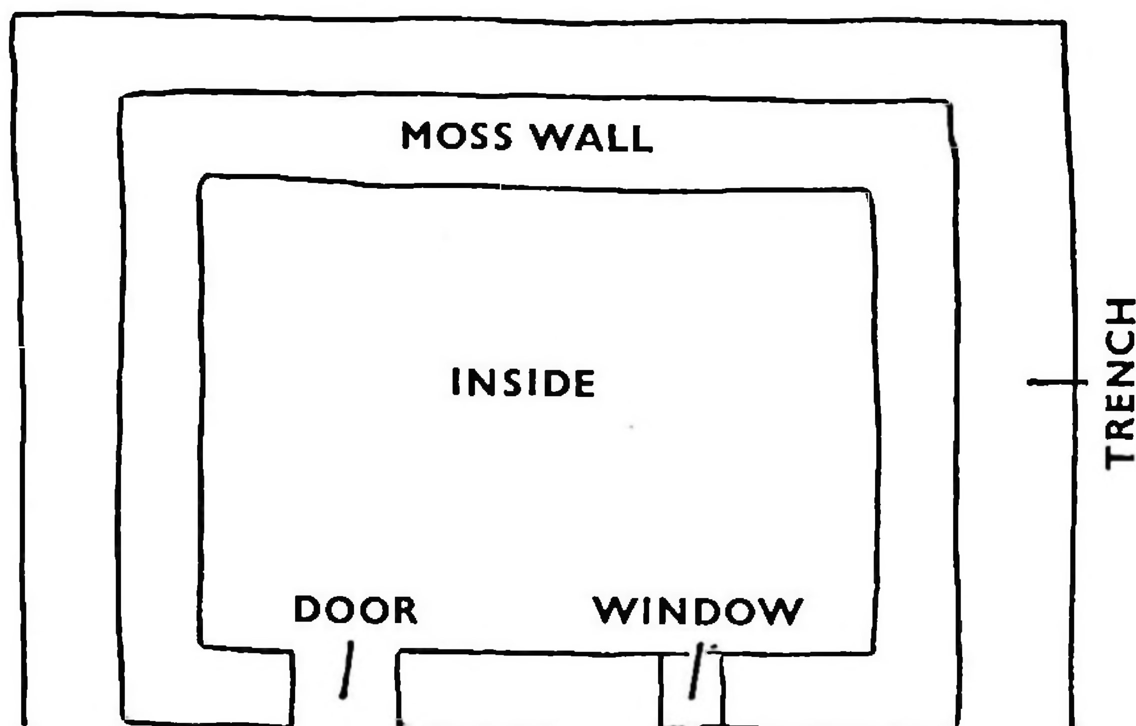
Extract from a manuscript notebook in the hand of Joseph Farington, containing his journal for the period 3 *August to* 4 *September* 1792.

August 21st

Blair Drummond is situated about 2 miles from the Forth, and almost on the Banks of the Teith. . . . This place has been improving in the hands of different possessors, and the late Lord Kaimes, whose literary talents are well known, devoted a great deal of attention to His finishing this spot where He resided much. . . . He has secured to his memory great praise by his indefatigable and at last successful attempts to remove the great moss which spreads over a large tract of Country. It is called the Moss of Kincardine, and commences within a mile of Blair Drummond. The weather this day fine. This morning Mr. Drummond [Lord Kames' son] went with me to the Moss to show me the advance of the Colony established there; and I saw the process of removing it from the first stage to the completion of a regular brick Dwelling House, in one of which I found a small family very comfortably settled, the man is a Shoemaker and was employed in his business.

In less than 6 years his father, Peter Mcnee, had cleared 2 acres and a half of moss, (a Scotch acre is one 5th more than an English). The last year He had 12 boles of oats quarters [*sic*] out of 2 acres of the ground, the remaining ½ acre he sewed with Potatoes. The Potatoes are large and sweet, but not quite so dry. The House in which He lived was built by himself of brick of his own making. There are many Brick Houses in this moss Colony, and it is common to see a small Brick Kiln, at the end of a Moss Cottage, or a House in a state of advance, while the Family which is raising it continue in the humble dwelling till it is finished.

A moss Cottage is a habitation cut and scooped out of the solid moss, and to make one is the first step on taking possession of a tract



of this dreary waste. After marking out the space which it is to occupy a trench is dug, leaving a sufficient thickness of solid moss for a wall. A line is then drawn for the compass of the inside of the House, and the scooping commences.

When the inside is cleared, piles [*i.e.* posts] are erected on which a roof rests, (not on the moss wall) which consists of a few rough timbers, on which thatch is laid which finishes the Dwelling. I made enquiry about the health of the poeple [*sic*] residing in this situation under such circumstances, and find they are not subject to any epidemical complaint and indeed the appearance both of the grown up people and the Children is sufficient to satisfy one, that no objection can be made to the Colony on that score.

The only Poeple established in this Colony are Highlanders, and their industry and Oeconomy are exemplary. These qualities are so necessary to render an undertaking of this kind successful, it is not probable that any other description of people in Britain would answer the purpose. They have to maintain themselves and

families while they are carrying on the arduous business of removing a solid moss of 7 feet deep in order to make good land in the room of it. This they do by occasionally hiring themselves to neighbouring gentlemen and farmers, and with the wages thus gained they provide themselves with a sustenance while going on with their main object. But the great difficulty does not rest solely in the man. The wife and children so soon as they have strength, assist and I saw the woemen [*sic*] employed in digging and removing the moss with as much vigour and effect as the men.

The moss while cutting appears of a substance as solid as Clay, but is much lighter. It is thrown when cut into Channels through which streams of water ran which float it into the River Teith with a rapidity that is surprising.—The water which fills these Channels is raised by a large Wheel from the Teith at a considerable distance above the moss and is diverted according to the occasion for it to any part of the progressive Colony.

While proceeding on our way in parts where the moss had been lately in part removed we observed 2 or three very large bodies of Oak trees, one of them I measured above 60 feet. Also several Birch trees . . . The Colony is full of the roots of such trees and it appears that they are the greatest obstacle in the way while endeavouring to clear the ground . . . The moss is founded on a surface which is level with the country on which no moss appears, and when it is removed the soil, a rich Clay is similar to that which surrounds it.

Further particulars of the moss cottages of Kincardine, including the various building methods suited to three different types of moss ground, are given in the excellent description of the Kincardine reclamation compiled in 1796 for the appendix to the [*Old*] *Statistical Account* (1799:178-9):

The possessions are laid off in the manner best fitted for the operations; and are divided by lanes running in straight lines parallel to each other . . . The new houses are erected upon each side of these lanes at the distance of 100 yards from each other.

Before the formation of lanes and roads, and while yet no ground was cleared, the first settlers were obliged to erect their houses upon the surface of the moss. Its softness denied all access to stones; which, at any rate, are at such a distance as would render them too expensive. Settlers, therefore, were obliged to construct their houses of other materials. Upon the Low Moss[1] there is found for this purpose great plenty of sod or turf, which accordingly the tenants use for the walls of their houses. For the rudeness of the fabric nature in some measure compensates, by overspreading the outside with a luxuriant coating of heath and other moorish plants, which has a very picturesque appearance.

But upon the High Moss there is no sod to be found. There the

tenant must go differently to work. Having chosen a proper situation for his house, he first digs four trenches down to the clay, so as to separate from the rest of the moss a solid mass, containing an oblong, rectangular area, sufficiently large for his intended house. This being done, he then scoops out the middle of the mass, leaving on all sides the thickness of three feet for walls: over which he throws a roof, such as that by which other cottages are commonly covered.

Upon the softest parts of the moss, even these walls cannot be obtained. In such places the houses are built withpeat dug out of the moss, and closely compressed together while in a humid state. It is necessary even to lay upon the surface a platform of boards to prevent the walls from sinking; which they have frequently done when that precaution was neglected. After all, to stamp with the foot will shake the whole fabric as well as the moss for fifty yards around. This, at first, startled the people a good deal; but custom soon rendered it familiar.

The colonies have now made considerable advancement in rearing better habitations for their comfort and convenience. Their huts of turf are but temporary lodgings. As soon as they have cleared a little ground, they build houses of brick; when the proprietor a second time furnishes them with timber gratis.

NOTE

[1] The lower fringes of the undisturbed, or high, moss had been reduced by peat cutting to an average depth of "not above three feet" (*Statistical Accounts* 1799-157).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The drawings by Joseph Farington, preserved in the Edinburgh Room of Edinburgh Public Library, are reproduced by courtesy of Mr. C. S. Minto, City Librarian.

The extract from Farington's notebook No. 3 is reproduced from the original at Windsor Castle by the gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen.

REFERENCES

CADELL, H. M.

1913 *The Story of the Forth.* Glasgow.

1929 "Land Reclamation in the Forth Valley." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 45: 7-22. Edinburgh.

EVANS, E. E.

1942 *Irish Heritage.* Dundalk.

GRANT, ELIZABETH (Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys)

1898 *Memoirs of a Highland Lady.* Ed. Lady Strachey. London.

PEATE, I. C.

1946 *The Welsh House.* 3rd ed. Liverpool.

ROBERTSON, REV. JAMES
1799 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Perth.* London.
STATISTICAL ACCOUNT
1799 *The [Old] Statistical Account of Scotland.* Ed. Sir John Sinclair **21**: 151-81. Edinburgh.

B. R. S. MEGAW

Council for Name Studies:—Great Britain and Ireland

In an earlier issue of this journal (Vol. 5, pp. 111-12) we reported on a Symposium on Place-Name Research held in the School of Scottish Studies in October 1960. Probably one of the most fruitful results of that gathering was the suggestion that there should be closer co-operation amongst the various organisations engaged in the study of place-names, or names in general, in Great Britain and Ireland. In consequence, an interim committee consisting of Professor A. H. Smith and Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen met in London on 6th and 7th December 1960, to consider various possibilities of fulfilling the wish expressed by the members of the Symposium. They strongly recommend the setting-up of a *Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland*, and with the approval of the members of the Symposium, a further meeting was convened to take place in University College, London, on 4th March 1961. It was attended by Professor A. H. Smith, Mr. J. McN. Dodgson, Dr. Melville Richards, Mr. Liam Price, Mr. Éamonn de h Óir and Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen. A constitution was prepared outlining the scope of the proposed Council and defining its membership, and it was decided to hold a first full meeting in Dublin during the following academic Session. Professor A. H. Smith, Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen and Mr. J. McN. Dodgson were appointed to act as an Interim Executive Committee.

The Constitution, drawn up in London and adjusted slightly at the subsequent Dublin meeting, now reads:

"1. The Council shall be known as the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland.

2. The Council will concern itself with the advancement, promotion and support and research into the place-names and personal names of Great Britain and Ireland and related regions in respect of (i) the collection, documentation, and interpretation of such names, (ii) the publication of the material and the results of such research, (iii) the exchange of information between the various regions. The Council will also act as the consultative body on Name Studies.

3. The Council shall consist of representatives from the following British and Irish organisations:

The English Place-Name Society, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Geographical Names, the Ordnance Survey, the Scottish Place-Name Survey of the School of Scottish Studies, the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales, the Ulster Place Name Society, the Irish Place-Name Commission (Ordnance Survey), the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and such organisations as the Council shall determine; also such other scholars as the Council shall from time to time elect.

4. The Council shall appoint a Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, and an Honorary Treasurer, and such other officers as they shall from time to time deem necessary, who shall have the authority to conduct the financial affairs of the Council."

This Constitution was unanimously adopted by the first full meeting of the Council held in the Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, on 5th March 1962. At this meeting the following scholars were present: Professor A. H. Smith, Professor Myles Dillon, Professor T. Ó. Máille, Professor J. E. C. Williams, Dr. Melville Richards, Mr. Liam Price, Mr. Éamonn de h Óir, Mrs. Deirdre Flanagan, Dr. A. B. Taylor, and Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen

They elected an Executive Committee consisting of four members: Professor A. H. Smith (Chairman), Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen (Secretary), Dr. Melville Richards (Treasurer), and Mr. Éamonn de h Óir (other member). It was proposed that this Executive Committee should advise on and prepare the IXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, if this were to be held in London as scheduled, and to meet with the International Committee in Amsterdam during the VIIIth Congress in August 1963.

The formation of the Council is an important step forward in the development of onomastic research in these islands, and it is to be welcomed that the various organisations and institutions engaged in such research are now no longer isolated entities, only linked by accidental personal contact, but are co-operating officially in every way possible in the study and interpretation of names in general, and place-names in particular. It should do nothing but good in all departments of our discipline.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

Bynames among the Tinkers

In common with all communities where the same surname is shared by hundreds of people, and where the number of Christian names in general use is fairly limited, the Scots tinkers make extensive use of "bynames" or nicknames. An accurate knowledge of those in current use in a particular community is essential to anyone trying to thread his way through the labyrinth of tinker relationships. In many cases, the nickname pinpoints with epigrammatic precision the place of the individual concerned in his own family, and in the community at large, e.g. "Burnt Bonnet's Maggie's Silly Jock". In some cases an individual may have two nicknames, one used behind his back, and the other to his face. Tinkers often say, "Ye never ken your ain byname". Once, when I asked an Aberdeenshire tinker (known to travelling folk all over Scotland, England and Ireland as "The Galoot") if he knew what his own byname was, he informed me that it was "The Wild Colonial Boy". I never heard the nickname "Galoot" used in his hearing, although I often met in his company other tinkers who invariably referred to him—when he was out of earshot—by this soubriquet. To his face they always gave him a diminutive of his Christian name.

When the Scots tinkers bestow bynames, they exhibit a truly Rabelaisian (or Joycean) imaginative exuberance which makes more conventional nomenclature seem very prosaic. The following is a list of contemporary tinker bynames collected in Central Scotland and the North-East:

The Sheep's Heid
The Blue Doo
The Rockingham Teapot
The Evil-Eyed Piper
Soakin' Weet
The Golden Kipper
The Hauf-hangit Minister
(or: The Lang-neckit Minister)
12 Hairs from Dunkeld
Half a Sark
The Water Pelky (Kelpy)
The Scowdered Hedgehog
The Big Mahungry
Hare's Mouth
The Bald-heided Gypsy
Two Burnt Holes in a Blanket
Lambie Laddie
Andra Hoochten
The Baby Austin
The Test Pilot
Scrappin' John
The Hangman
The Young Blackie (Blackbird)

Wooden Sleeves
The Glad-Eyed Sailor
Het Skirtie
Toady's Orphan
The Mad Chemist
Henseed
Candy Heelies
Catchy Bussy
The Sweepin' Brush
Moonlight Moggie
Strawberry Nose
Twa Thumbs
The Plout
Love-in-a-Close
Water-bottle
Big Roar
The Sheep's Pluck
The Baser (Ba' Heid)
Lucky Stocking
Cleaned Easy
Jimmie Joukies
Electric Katie
Fried Een
Alicky Doo
Vinegar Bottle
Tin Croon
Mr Clap

HAMISH HENDERSON

The Blackness "Black Douglas"

Folk etymology comes into operation throughout the entire sphere of oral tradition. That which is unfamiliar is explained by analogy with that which is known. This occurs widely in folk explanation for unfamiliar place-name elements and it likewise applies to the identification of local portrait heads or busts with some eminent person connected with the locality—hero, sage or rebel. Such and such a person lived here, operated here or was connected with this place in some way. This head, bust or figurine was found here, therefore it must be a likeness of the said person. One example of this concerns a head with pronounced Iron Age characteristics recovered from the hill of Armagh, Northern Ireland, when the Protestant Cathedral was under reconstruction in the last century. This was taken to be a portrait head of Saint Patrick because the saint was closely connected with the site. The recovery of several other objects in stone of a manifestly cult nature was not taken into consideration.

This habit of linking the unfamiliar with the familiar has persisted and has been encountered again recently in connection with an unusual figuring from Blackness, West Lothian, known locally as a bust of the "Black Douglas". The figure is of an uncommon type, and at present due to lack of documentary information, of problematic date. It does not appear to have been in evidence in the Castle when the Ministry

of Works took over control in 1910, and the Ministry disclaims all knowledge of the stone. According to a local tradition, it was found on the hill beside the Castle, near the site of an early church (St. Ninian's) and taken to the Castle from there. It was housed in the workroom of the Castle, where it was first observed through one of the windows, standing on the joiner's bench.[1]

It is by no means easy to determine the period to which the "Black Douglas" belongs. Stylistically, its closest affinities would seem to be with works dating from the Celtic Iron Age and the Romano-Celtic period. The proportions of the figurine are especially reminiscent of this iconographic type. The large, heavy head, set, without neck, onto the weaker torso, bearing small, strap-like arms, one of which has been destroyed, can find several parallels in Romano-British and Gallo-Roman art. This type is likewise found in Ireland, where at least four figurines (those from Tanderagee, Lurgan and Boa Island) of similar style are known. However, owing to the difficulty of establishing a satisfactory chronology for the Irish material, their precise date is unknown, although several features strongly suggest a similar dating to that of the Gallo-Roman figures. This shape, the treatment of the hair, which is drawn into a bun-like arrangement at the back of the neck, reminiscent of the hair-style of some of the Gaulish charioteers, and traces of a neck ornament such as a torc, are all pointers towards an early dating. The fact that the figurine is naked, the nipples indicated and a phallus suggested, together with the cup-shaped hollow in the top of the head, are features which make a mediæval dating improbable, and which suggest strongly that here we have a genuine piece of native iconography from northern Roman Britain. Perhaps the most significant feature is the position of the hip, seen clearly on plate VI, fig. 2, which is typical of the Celtic antlered, torc-bearing god, Cernunnos.[2] If the figurine does not belong to an early period, then a date in the comparatively modern period would seem to be most probable, although experts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconography do not favour this.

The stone, which appears to be local to Blackness, is a fine-grained quartzite of a kind which is fairly common in Scotland. The height of the stone is twenty-one inches. The head has been at some stage broken from the body, and carefully mended perhaps a century ago.[3] The stone has also been

FIG. 1—Rodez

FIG. 2—Blackness

(See p. 97)

Fig. 1—Rodez

Fig. 2—Blackness

(See p. 97)

at some time lime-washed, and afterwards painted black and a reddish-brown.[4]

The stone is now on loan to the National Museum of Scotland, through the kind permission of the Ministry of Works, where it awaits further investigation. One feature may be productive of some results. This is the presence of four numbers neatly cut in Arabic figures of a comparatively recent type into the back of the figurine. The numbers read 1471. This suggests that the stone may have at one time belonged to some private collection, or, if a date is really intended, someone may have amused himself with cutting the supposed date of the "Black Douglas" on the back of what was taken to be his portrait.

If this stone were to be considered as of genuine Iron Age date, how can its presence at Blackness be accounted for? The connection of this site with the Iron Age is demonstrated by the discovery, in 1924, of an Iron Age burial within the grounds of the Castle. The corpse had been wearing a bronze armlet of unusual type (Richardson 1925:116). If the figurine had a cult significance in Romano-Celtic times, it could easily have become associated with the early church nearby, where it may, at some stage, have been regarded as a portrait of the patron saint.

The Blackness figurine is a sufficiently unusual and interesting piece of sculpture to be deserving of further investigation. Although stylistically it has its closest affinities with the Celtic Iron Age, we must be careful not to overlook the extremely archaic appearance of many pieces of local Scottish sculpture, and one must preserve an open mind as to its date and origin until further information is forthcoming. There may be in existence some documentary evidence for the origin and date of the figurine. Meanwhile, however, the appearance of the Blackness "Black Douglas" suggests an origin either in the Iron Age or some time after the beginning of the seventeenth century.

NOTES

[1] First noticed by Mr. Iain Crawford, School of Scottish Studies.

[2] Plates V and VI show the stone side by side with the figurine from Rodez with which it has several features in common.

[3] Mr. M. R. Apted, Ministry of Works, has been most helpful in examining the figurine, making suggestions about it, and in providing the photographs of it.

[4] These statements are based on the findings of Dr. H. G. MacPherson, Royal Scottish Museum, who kindly examined the figurine from the geological point of view.

REFERENCE

RICHARDSON, J. S.

1925 "Early Iron Age Burial at Blackness Castle." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 59:116-19.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Photographs of the Blackness figurine by kind permission of the Ministry of Works, Edinburgh. Photographs of the Rodez figurine by kind permission of M. Louis Balsan, Musée Fenaiole, Rodez.

ANNE ROSS

Two Poems Ascribed to Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724-1812)

There are two main sources of unpublished material with which the student of vernacular Scottish Gaelic poetry has to be acquainted. One is living tradition; the other, the manuscript collections that date from the eighteenth century and which are themselves based upon the oral tradition of their time. The value of the two kinds is strikingly endorsed by the recent discovery of a couple of short poems, both of which are printed below. The first, I recorded in July 1961 from Mr. John MacDonald, Highbridge, Lochaber, along with the explanatory anecdote which accompanies it here. The second was found in August 1961 among the manuscripts of the Rev. Donald MacNicol (1736-1802) in the National Library of Scotland.

1. *Rann a rinn Dunnchadh Bàn do Mhac an Aba*

Chaidh e choimhead air an tuathanach [1] agus cha robh an tuathanach aig an taigh agus dh'fhoighnichd a bhean . . . dh'fhoighnichd e do'n bhean cà. . . . "Tha e 'sa' mhonadh; cha bhi e fad 's am bi e dhachaigh."

Thàinig an tuathanach dhachaigh agus dh'fhoighnichd e . . . Chuir iad fàilt air a chéile—bha iad eòlach air a chéile—agus dh'fhoighnichd e, "Faca tu dad annasach 'sa' mhonadh?" thuirt Dunnachadh. 'Chan fhaca mi dad annasach 'sa' mhonadh," thuirt e, "ach boc-gaibhreadh cho brèagha 's a chunna mi riamh". "Càite bheil e?" thuirt Dunnachadh. "Tha e 'n Coire Chuarain." "Théid sinn an àirde màireach 's bheir sinn as a sin e," thuirt e. Chaidh iad an àirde màireach. Thug

e . . . mharbh iad am boc. O, bha ceann brèagh air a' bhoc. "Nis seo agad m'iarratus," thuirt Dunnachadh, "gu faighinn adhrac a' bhuic sin". "Dé tha thu dol a dhèanamh dhith?" thuirt an tuathanach. "Tha mi dol a chuir sgian innte." "Có chuireas sgian dhut?" "Cuiridh an gobhainn Mac an Aba thall," thuirt e.

Is fhuair e an adhrac agus thug an gobhainn a dh'ionnsaigh cumadh an adhrac mar a b'fhearr a b'urrainn da agus chuir e sgian innte—sgian mhath—agus shìn e do Dhunnachadh i dar a bha i deis. "Dé th'agam ri thoirt dut?" thuirt a' . . . thuirt an gobhainn (*recte* Dunnachadh). "Chan 'eil ach ceathramh òrain," thuirt a' . . . thuirt an gobhainn. Agus choimhead e air a' sgi(an) . . . bha i aige 'na làmh is choimhead e oirre. Thuirt e:

"Fhuair mi 'n diugh mo roghainn sgionna
Ur bho'n tein air a deagh bhualadh
Guma slàn do'n làmh tha treubhach
Rinn go tana geur cruaidh i

Tha i dìreach làidir daingean
'S rinneadh le cabhaig a suas i
'S tha i 'n diugh an adhrac na gaibhre
Laigh an raoir an Coire Chuarain".

1. *Stanzas composed by Duncan Bàn to MacNab*

Duncan Bàn went to visit the farmer [1] and the farmer was not at home. He asked the farmer's wife where (her husband was). "He is on the moors; he'll be home shortly."

The farmer came home and Duncan asked. . . . They greeted each other—they knew each other well—and Duncan asked, "Did you see anything interesting on the moors?" "I saw nothing interesting on the moors," he replied, "except as splendid a male goat as I have ever seen." "Where is he?" asked Duncan. "In Coire Chuarain." "We'll go up to-morrow and we'll take him out of there!" Next day they went up and killed the buck. Oh! the buck had a splendid head. "Now here is what I'd like:" said Duncan, "I'd like to get the horn of that buck". "What are you going to make of it?" asked the farmer. "I'm going to fit a knife blade in it." "Who will fit it for you?" "MacNab the smith over there."

So he got the horn and the smith shaped it as well as he could and fitted a knife blade in it—a good blade—and when it

was finished he handed it to Duncan. "What do I have to give you?" asked Duncan. "Only a verse of a song," replied the smith. And Duncan looked at the knife: it was in his hand, and he looked at it. He said:

"To-day I have got the knife of my choice
Fresh from the fire, well beaten
Health to the vigorous hand
That made it thin and keen and hard.

Firm and straight and strong
Though in haste it was fashioned
And to-day it is in the horn of the goat
That last night laid down in Coire Chuarain."

So far as the verses to MacNab are concerned, there appears to be no reason to dispute the traditional ascription: the details furnished by Mr. Macdonald provide a substantial guarantee of its validity. In conversation, Mr. Macdonald informed me that Duncan had had the knife made on a visit to Argyll many years after he and his family had moved to Edinburgh. From written sources we know that Macintyre made several journeys to the Highlands (MacLeod 1952: Introd. xxxii-xxxiv). MacNab the blacksmith, about whom Mr. MacDonald could supply no further information, was in fact a member of a well-known family of hereditary armourers at Dalmally, where they were visited by a succession of travellers [2] (Pennant 1772: 187; Heron 1793:1:293-5; Leyden 1903:85 et seq.; B. Faujas de St. Fond 1907:1:286-96). The MacNab to whom Duncan composed his verses was no doubt either the Alexander MacNab, blacksmith at Dalmally, who in 1780 was visited by Thomas Ford Hill, or the Duncan MacNab, smith, Barrachaistealain, who was one of the subscribers to the second edition of Macintyre's poems in 1790 (MacLeod 1952:524). At any rate, the family were well known to Duncan Bàn: *Calum Breac* who is mentioned in Duncan's *Oran Alasdair* was Malcolm MacNab, farmer at Barrachaistealain, and a personal friend of the poet (MacLeod 1952: loc. cit.).

2. *An Acrostic by Duncan Ban Macintyre the Poet written for the University Celtic Society of Edinburgh—to be [Inscribed on his Memorial]*[3].

Dean le dichioll t-uile shaothair
On an t Aog tha teachd ad dhail
Na leig ad' chuimhne fad do shaoghail

Nach teid as a h-aon on Bhas
Amhairc air an fheur sna buailtibh
Cuimhnich mar a shnuadh sa bhlath
Ha! gun searg gu gearr san uaigh thu
As nach gluais thu gu la bhrath
Deasaich thu airson do chaochladh
Ha! cia faon iad s gann do cheill
Bhuainicheas na shligh gun smuain ac'
Air an uaigh dam feum iad geill—
Nochd le treidhneas is dilseachd
Mar don Fhirinn thug thu speis
Anns gach cùis is car dam bi thu
Cum le dichioll o Mhi-bheus
Ann an soirbheachadh na dearmaid
Nach eil t-earb' an sin ach faoin
Teirgidh miann is maon is saibhreas
Seargaidh t-aoibhneas air gach taobh
Anns an uaigh tha mise an taisgidh
O nach eil dol as do h-aon
Is sam bi thus' co cinnteach dh'athghearr
Ri Donnachadh Ban Mac an t-Saoir.

. . . .

Work diligently at all your labours
For death comes to tryst with you:
Let it not out of your mind while you live
That no man escapes death.
Observe the grass in the folds
Remember its hue and its bloom
Ah! you will shortly wither in the grave
From where you will not stir until Doom.
Prepare yourself for your change—
Ah! how foolish and lacking in prudence are they
Who persist in their way without a thought
Of the grave to which they must submit.
Show with steadfastness and loyalty
How you have esteemed the truth:
In whatever circumstances you may be
Avoid strenuously evil behaviour.
In success do not forget
That your trust in it is but vain:
Desire, possessions and wealth will come to an end;
Your joy will wither on every side.
I am laid away in the grave
(For there is no escape for anyone)
Where you will soon be as surely
As Duncan Bàn Macintyre.

The Rev. Donald MacNicol, minister of Lismore, was one of the most prominent collectors of Ossianic poetry before James MacPherson (Thomson 1951:7). He too was acquainted with the MacNabs; indeed, it has been suggested that the source for his Ossianic poems was no other than this family (Christiansen 1931:48) for, besides being smiths and armourers, the MacNabs are also known to have possessed certain Ossianic manuscripts. But MacNicol's interest was not confined to Ossianic poetry, and, according to MacNicol's own evidence, it was to him that Duncan Bàn addressed himself when he wished to have his poems committed to writing (MacLeod 1952: Introd. xxvii). Thus are connected the putative author, the recipient of one poem, and the collector among whose manuscripts was found the other.

The authorship of the second poem, however, presents a thornier problem. For one thing, Macintyre has always been regarded as illiterate. His latest editor states: "The discharge paper of 'Duncan McIntyre, Soldier' bears the bard's signature in a shaky hand, so that he must have learned at least to write his own name" (MacLeod 1952: Introd. xxxiv). Could such a man, at most barely literate, compose an acrostic of his name? Or was Duncan Bàn in fact more literate than has hitherto been believed? While at present reserving final judgment, one may here draw attention to certain relevant facts.

The text printed here is reproduced, with very slight alterations,[3] from a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century transcript in pencil. Orthographic and syntactical peculiarities [4] may therefore be traceable to the carelessness of more than one copyist: in no way do they necessarily challenge Macintyre's claim to authorship. Nor is his claim damaged by the poverty of the style. For it would surely be uncritical to expect an *ad hoc* production such as this to display the qualities that distinguish his best compositions: if the banality of the poem has any significance, it is that it supports the ascription. (In this connection, it is relevant to observe that Macintyre's competition poems are somewhat jejune productions.) There is, further, an interesting parallel to be drawn with the subject of "The Author's Epitaph on Himself" (MacLeod 1952:392 et seq.) which opens:

Fhir tha 'd sheasamh air mo lic	You who stand on my tomb
Bha mise mar tha thu'n dràsd	I was once as you are now

Finally, a note in the 1848 edition of Macintyre's poems

suggests that the first, fourth and seventh stanzas would make a suitable inscription for the poet's tombstone. In 1855 a monument was erected over his grave in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, and the first stanza of this poem was inscribed on it.

It is hardly necessary to add that the main interest of these poems lies not in their intrinsic merit (which is slight) but in their authorship. The inherent problems of Gaelic textual criticism are well put by Mr. Derick Thomson in his paper on the oral tradition in Gaelic. "It may point the situation more clearly (he writes) if I say that it is as if our text of Dryden depended on late eighteenth century MSS., or as if one might possibly expect a twentieth century farm-labourer or a shoemaker from Northamptonshire to supply deficiencies in the Dryden canon" (Thomson 1954:9). That in this manner it may still be possible to add to the corpus of a poet who has enjoyed almost unrivalled fame among Gaelic speakers, and whose poems have undergone seven editions since 1768, emphasises very strongly how much Gaelic poetry depends upon oral transmission and, equally, upon the collector.

NOTES

[1] John MacDonald could not identify this farmer.

[2] Faujas de St. Fond provides an interesting plate of the interior of the MacNabs' cottage.

[3] Some words in the caption have been stroked out and are illegible. Where *i*, *a* and *o* are difficult to differentiate, though the meaning is clear, I have adopted the appropriate vowel.

[4] I have read line 2 as *On tha 'n t-Aog a' teachd ad dhàil*; line 6 as *Cuimhnich mar tha shnuadh 's a bhlàth*; line 11 as *Bhuanaicheas nan sligh gun smuain ac'*; and the last line as *'S am bi thus' cho cinnteach dh'aithghearr*, and translated accordingly.

REFERENCES

CHRISTIANSEN, REIDAR TH.

1931 *The Vikings and the Viking Wars in Irish and Gaelic Tradition.* Oslo.

B. FAUJAS DE SAINT FOND

1907 *A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides* (A Revised edition of the English Translation edited with Notes and a Memoir of the Author by Sir Archibald Geikie). 2 Vols. Glasgow.

HERON, ROBERT

1793 *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland in the Autumn of* 1792. 2 Vols. Perth.

Leyden, John
1903 *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in* 1800 (edited with a Bibliography by James Sinton). Edinburgh and London.
MacLeod, Angus
1952 *The Songs of Duncan Bàn Macintyre.* Edinburgh.
Pennant, Thomas
1772 *A Tour in Scotland,* 1769. Second Edition. London.
Thomson, D. S.
1951 *The Gaelic Sources of MacPherson's "Ossian".* Edinburgh and London.
1954 "The Gaelic Oral Tradition". *Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society* 5:1-17.

JOHN MACINNES

Kelp Burning

While Scottish ethnography is primarily the study of pre-industrial Scotland the line of demarcation between this phase and nascent industrialism cannot be regarded as rigid. There is an inevitable overlap when major technological innovations and their demands interact with traditional socio-economic complexes. This interaction is a perfectly valid theme for the ethnologist containing, as it does by definition, relics of earlier economies which tend to be undocumented. A significant example of this process of early industrial influence in West Highland areas was the Kelp producing industry.

In response to the demand for industrial chemicals, the use of seaweed as a source of soda ash, muriate of potash and allied salts had early been exploited and evidence exists of collection, and firing to a basic ash, by 1694 in Fife. Without going into details on a subject with many ramifications, but merely to indicate its intensity and importance, Kelp burning spread throughout the coastal areas of Scotland from Wigtownshire to Shetland and down the East coast to Fife and the Lothians. Reaching the Highlands by the mid-eighteenth century the trade expanded to its zenith in the early nineteenth century; protected fiscally, by wartime conditions, and by the landlord's interest in a monopoly which was in many cases the main prop of a higher standard of living. The annual revenue of this trade reached some £80,000 per annum (Ross 1885-6: 405-7). The laird of Ulva "at once trebled his income and doubled his population by dint of minute attention to his property and particularly to the management of his Kelp".

(Lockhart 1837:314). From 1822 onwards the repeal of the Salt and other Acts shattered the market. By 1845 it could be said that "the price of Kelp is not now worth the trouble of manufacturing it". A period of minor economic adjustment ensued in the Lowlands but in the Western Highlands and especially the islands the effects were fundamental and were probably a major factor in emigration.

In many parts of the West Highland coast an increased population had become, during some seventy years, geared to Kelp production as the major source of revenue; in North Uist in 1794 "All inhabitants are employed in manufacturing Kelp from June 10th to August 10th" (Sinclair 1794:305-6). The transfer to a money economy brought such areas for the first time into dependence on the general economy of the British Isles through the glass works of Dumbarton, and Newcastle, and other urban industries. The introduction of the Kelp trade changed the economic pattern in the West, its successful prosecution chained the increased tenantry to this landlord exploited system (even to the decreased productivity of land—as seaweed fertiliser was forbidden), its collapse left landlords without adequate revenue (by recently acquired standards) and virtually industrial tenants, on smaller holdings than before, without an industry. Sheep for the landlord, clearance or starvation for the tenant became almost economic sequiturs. Nevertheless for those who remained and who returned to full-time agriculture, Kelp-making persisted as a casual local industry capable of paying rents in the Outer Isles, with its low labour costs and plentiful tangle and ware, until the twentieth century.

This critical economic phase has left its material remains on the Highland landscape and these have now reached the stage of antiquity where misinterpretation arises. The surface remains are shielings and burning trenches or kilns. The intensive nature of the operations must be borne in mind; a virtual farming of the weed took place, it is alleged that in South Uist rocks were thrown into the sea (presumably in sandy bottoms) for weed to grow on, rotation was practised, and uninhabited islands used. Many coastal shielings which have caused some surprise to students of transhumance must have been created in this connection. The main subject of this article, however, is the *Ath Cheilp* or Kelp Kiln. Two main types exist: (*a*) the usual West coast narrow rectilinear structure (see Fig. 1.), (*b*) the round Orcadian form which

may exist in Ross also. The former kiln has been described as "arranged somewhat in the manner of a prehistoric grave" and indeed recent field work in the Inner Hebrides has shown that a tradition of "Viking's Graves" has grown up around these structures which have indeed certain superficial resemblances to a stone-lined cist. Type (*a*) has been defined (Macleod of Macleod 1938) as 12′ to 24′ long, 2′ broad and

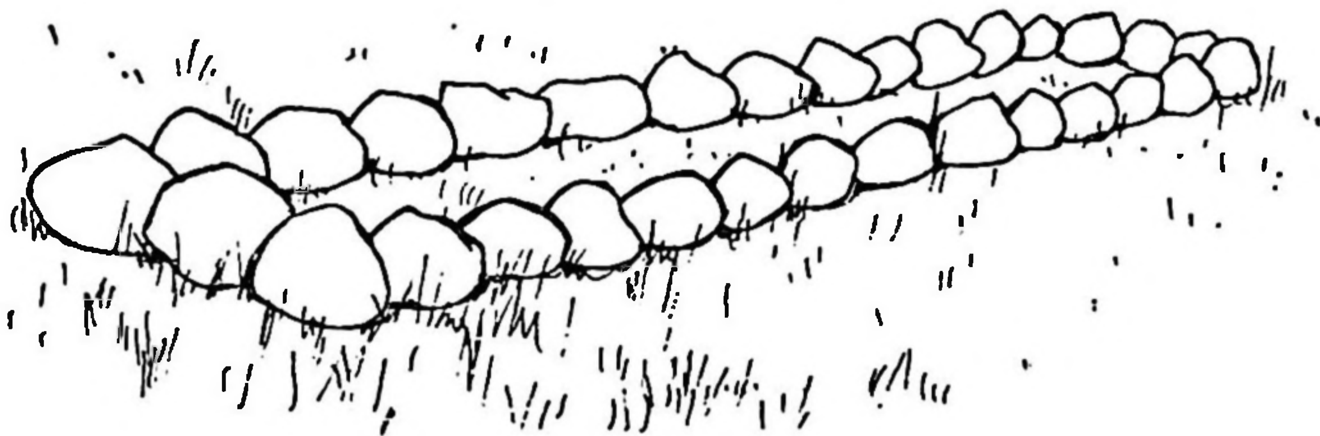


FIG. 1. Long West Highland type of kelp kiln. Dimensions 12′-24′ long and 2′ broad.

2′ 6″ deep and able to contain enough weed for one ton of Kelp. Recent field work on Sanday (off Canna—Small Isles) revealed some seven examples of varying length but all within the limits of the above definition. Type (*b*) is described as circular, 5′ in diameter and 2′ deep by an Orkney source (Robertson n.d. : 232), but possible examples have been observed in Wester Ross. Definition of these structures and full recording of their distribution is important for their own sake, for the information of the industrial archæologist, and for the important negative function of elimination on the part of the archæologist of earlier periods.

REFERENCES

LOCKHART, J. G.
1837 *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott.* Vol. 2. Edinburgh.

MACLEOD, R. C.
1930 *The Island Clans during six Centuries.* Inverness.

ROBERTSON, D. J.
n.d. "Among the Kelpers," in J. Gunn, *The Orkney Book.* London.

ROSS, A.
1885-6 "Old Highland Industries." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 12:405-7.

SINCLAIR, SIR J. (ed.)
1794 *The Statistical Account of Scotland.* Vol. 13. Edinburgh.

IAIN A. CRAWFORD

C. OTHER NOTES

Pasture Improvement Schemes in the Isle of Lewis

In its Annual Report for 1959 the Crofters' Commission stated that it had "been encouraged by the marked increase in the acreage of new pasture created by surface seeding, particularly in Lewis", and went on to "invite attention to the way in which Lewismen are showing how co-operative they can be". The pasture improvement schemes now being carried out in Lewis certainly deserve attention for they represent one of the most exciting and possibly one of the most important agricultural experiments ever to take place in the Outer Hebrides.

Within the last eight years, though mostly within the last three years, more than 4,600 acres of new pasture have been won from the barren peat moorlands of Lewis. Improvement schemes are rapidly becoming more numerous and more ambitious and already their influence is spreading beyond Lewis; the first schemes ever to be carried out in Harris were completed last year and provision for future schemes has recently been made in a reorganisation of the common grazings in North Uist (*Stornoway Gazette*, 9.8.1960).

The technique of improving pasture by means of surface seeding was pioneered in the inter-war period but little could be done during the war years because the nation's agricultural policy was then directed mainly towards ploughing and cultivation. Since the war the official encouragement of sheep and cattle rearing and the availability of Government grants for surface seeding have done much to make its wider use possible. The first improvement scheme to be carried out in Lewis on a township basis was at Lower Barvas in 1949. This was largely of an experimental nature, however, and not until 1953 were any further schemes completed. At first progress tended to be rather slow and hesitant but eventually the movement began to gather momentum and, as shown in the following Table, within the last three years it has attained really sizeable proportions.

	1949	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	Total
Number of Schemes	1	2	3	3	11	9	29	35	52	145
Total Acreage	20	35	72	77	222	178	879	1,183	1,951	4,617

One of the most encouraging features of the movement in Lewis—and one which testifies to its success—is the number of townships which have carried out more than one annual scheme; between 1959 and 1961 twenty-seven townships followed up their earlier work with a second scheme and another five townships even managed to complete a third scheme. In addition to all these township schemes many crofters have also improved the uncultivable parts of their own holdings by means of surface seeding. The exact amount of inbye land treated in this way is unknown but it certainly exceeds 500 acres and may be as much as 1,000 acres in all.

In Lewis pasture regeneration proceeds mainly through township schemes; in this respect it differs from Shetland, the only other area where surface seeding is practised on a comparable scale, for there township government is less strong and regeneration proceeds mainly through small individual apportionments. Before a township can carry out a pasture improvement scheme it must first secure the consent of a majority of all who hold a share or "souming" on its common grazings. The crofters have had to work out their own rules for dealing with their rights and obligations on the new pasture. In most townships an initial charge is levied on all who wish to take part in the scheme. In many townships a further small headage charge is levied in respect of each animal grazed on it so as to provide a fund for its future maintenance. In some townships only those who take part in the scheme are allowed to use the new pasture; in other townships non-participants can later be admitted on payment of an entry fee which takes into account the amount of work already done. In every township the majority of crofters have decided that, irrespective of variations in croft rents and "soumings", improvement schemes should be carried through on the basis of equal shares for all who take part (*Stornoway Gazette*, 20.12.1960).

The section of the common grazing which is to be improved by surface seeding is fenced off at the beginning of the scheme. Shell-sand is then spread as evenly as possible over the enclosed area, about ten tons of sand being applied to each acre; this has a high lime content, which serves to reduce the prevailing acidity of the peat soil, and is to be found in large quantities on many beaches, especially along the west coast of Lewis (on average, 2½ to 3 tons of shell-sand are approximately equal to 1 ton of an average ground limestone). Fertilisers are next added to the land; the usual application is 5 cwts. of ground

mineral phosphate and 4 cwts. of high nitrogen compound fertiliser per acre. The spreading of lime and fertilisers will, of course, stimulate the growth of any grasses that might be contained in the old sward; the grass seeds must therefore be sown immediately after the fertilisers have been applied to the land if they are to compete effectively and form a dense ground cover.

The generous rainfall and mild temperatures of the Outer Hebrides are ideal for surface seeding since autumn growth is normally prolonged and there is little likelihood of the land drying out. The spreading of fertilisers and the sowing of seeds is usually done in June because drought is the greatest risk in establishing a new pasture and July is commonly a wet month. The operation can, however, be completed in April if the weather is favourable and if the shell-sand has been applied earlier in the spring. Great care must then be taken to ensure that the new pasture is protected from over-grazing during the subsequent autumn and winter; it should, in fact, be grazed only sparingly throughout the first two years.

Little or no preparation of the site is necessary, or, in most cases, even possible. It is seldom worth while to burn off the old vegetation since the short heather prevents the seeds being washed away by heavy rain and affords useful protection from high winds. The heather will in any case die off within two or three years due to the application of lime to the soil. No drainage is necessary in the first year and even in subsequent years little drainage should be required (Grant 1958:62). Initial establishment is better on wet land and the grass will grow through any shallow pools of still water; when the new sward has become reasonably dense the land will dry out through transpiration and the majority of the pools will disappear. If surface water does persist, however, it must be drained off otherwise the grass will tend to become slimy and will eventually die out.

Improvement schemes are most effective on land where the peat cover is shallow and free from excessive surface moisture; haulage of materials is easier over a firm soil and the new sward dries out to form a compact pasture more suitable for stock rearing. Most of the schemes so far carried out in Lewis have been on what is known as "skinned land". This occurs wherever the peat has been cut for fuel and is ideal for surface seeding because the remaining layer of peat is usually thin and easily accessible.

In theory there is virtually no limit to the amount of new pasture which might be created in Lewis for, given proper treatment, even the deep peat bogs and moors of the interior could be converted into reasonable grassland. In practice, however, there are several factors which might eventually tend to restrict the scope of surface seeding in the island. Firstly, every stage in the operation, from the initial spreading of shell-sand to the final sowing of seeds, has to be done by hand. Secondly, an improvement scheme is by no means complete when the grass seeds have been sown; further dressings of sand and fertilisers are necessary in later years if the land is to remain in good condition. Thirdly, access might become more difficult and the haulage of materials more expensive as schemes have to be carried out further away from the townships. Fourthly, whereas most townships in north Lewis are surrounded by extensive areas of "skinned land", in south Lewis, where the terrain is much more rugged, "skinned land" usually occurs only in small and scattered patches (Darling 1955:272-8); this not only restricts the potential scope of surface seeding but also tends to limit the size of improvement schemes in the southern part of the island.

Last year two experimental shelter belts were planted at Laxdale and Ballantrushal and this year five more are being established in other townships. These plantings are all on improved pastures and will give protection to the cattle by acting as windbreaks. In each case the trees (about 4,000 in each scheme) are being planted in the centre of the area so that shelter can be given from all directions.

Pasture improvement schemes are carried out under the supervision of the North of Scotland College of Agriculture and with the help of grants given by the Crofters' Commission. The North of Scotland College of Agriculture did much to pioneer the technique of surface seeding and has since played a vital role "in stimulating the interest of the crofters and in educating them to pursue the benefits to be obtained by orderly and sustained methods of regeneration" (Crofters' Commission 1959:11). Its two representatives in Stornoway are responsible for giving day to day advice on these and other matters and their efforts "on the spot" have contributed in no small way to the success of the schemes. The Crofters' Commission provides the necessary financial assistance; between 1956 and 1960 it paid out £179,439 in improvement grants to crofters in Lewis and at no time has it ever withheld

approval from any scheme submitted with the backing of the North of Scotland College of Agriculture (*Stornoway Gazette*, 27.12.1960). Grants of up to £11 per acre are given for surface seeding in the first year and of up to £3 per acre for treatment in the second year; from then onwards the whole responsibility for maintaining the new pasture rests on the township itself. The Lime Department of the Ministry of Agriculture also makes an important contribution by providing subsidies on sand haulage.

One of the most obvious benefits of surface seeding is the consequent increase in the agricultural capacity of the land. This is a factor of vital importance in Lewis where good agricultural land is so very scarce. The improvement of some 4,600 acres of rough grazing since 1953 has already added over 20 per cent to the man-made agricultural potential of the island (the total amount of inbye land being little more than 20,000 acres). What is of special significance, moreover, is the fact that surface seeding is leading to progress in the right direction. In the mild and moist climate of the Outer Hebrides an acre of good grass is just as productive, if not more productive, as an acre under grain. On improved pastures the crofters are not only growing more and better grass than they have ever had before but they are also growing it earlier and later in the season; in some cases there has been a growth of grass fit to sustain cattle from the middle of February to the end of December (*Stornoway Gazette*, 7.7.1959). If cattle can be left to feed off growing pasture for ten months of the year it will probably be more economical for crofters to buy in winter keep for the remaining two months than to go through the perpetual struggle of raising crops in such an unsuitable climate, especially as high grade cattle food is being produced at a fish meal factory in Stornoway. It would certainly seem that a greater emphasis is now being placed on the rearing of livestock. Some crofters who had only one cow before the schemes began have four or five, and in several townships the cattle stock has been doubled; between 1952 and 1960 the total number of cattle in the Isle of Lewis rose from 4,785 to 5,942—an increase of 24.2 per cent. Further evidence of the growing interest in cattle is seen in the recent decision of many crofters to dispense with township bulls and instead to use artificial insemination for cattle under a new scheme operated by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, thereby enabling their cattle stocks to be improved in quality through selective breeding.

The pasture improvement schemes are equally important for their social implications. It is, of course, impossible to assess how much influence they might have in this respect but there is every likelihood that they will, in the long run, do much to promote a spirit of hope and enterprise among the crofters themselves. Pessimism and conservatism tend to be deeply rooted attitudes in the Isles and the creation of a new spirit among the people is just as important as the creation of new pastures on the land. Surface seeding could eventually transform the agricultural economy of the Outer Hebrides but unless the crofters have confidence in themselves and in their future its many potentialities will never be fully realised.

NOTE

Some crawler tractors and spreaders have recently been introduced into Lewis. If these can be used successfully they might have far-reaching consequences; the mechanisation of surface seeding processes (especially that of the spreading of shell-sand) could alter the whole situation by making really large-scale reclamation possible.

REFERENCES

CROFTERS' COMMISSION, THE
1959 *Annual Report for* 1959. H.M.S.O.
DARLING, F. FRASER
1955 *West Highland Survey.* Oxford.
GRANT, J. W.
1958 "Improvement of Rough Grazings by Surface Seeding." Reprinted from *Scottish Plant Breeding Station Report.* Edinburgh.

NOVEMBER 1961 JOHN L. BLAKE

Book Reviews:

Stories from South Uist told by Angus MacLellan. Translated by John Lorne Campbell. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London. 1961. xxix+254 pp. 30s.

John Lorne Campbell has once more placed students of Gaelic folklore in his debt by this selection of stories from the wide repertoire of Angus MacLellan, the ninety-year-old storyteller from South Uist. Not so long ago he gave us *Tales of Barra told by the Coddy.* There the tales were told by the Coddy himself in English and taken down in shorthand. For this book the editor worked directly from the Gaelic as recorded on tape,

writing down a fairly literal English translation while listening to the original and subsequently re-casting this translation on to the typewriter in idiomatic English. So far as known this is the first time this method has been used for translating Gaelic stories into English. The result is this collection, in readable English,* of various types of stories, classified by the editor into Fingalian and other Old Stories, Simple Folk-tales, Local Traditions, Ghost Stories, Humorous Stories, and Adventure Stories, as well as the storyteller's own Story. A well-planned editorial apparatus includes Notes on the Stories, the Clanranalds and MacVurichs, the Storyteller's Informants, Old Island Houses, as well as a Glossarial Index and an Index to the Stories.

The long complex heroic tale is not well-represented in Angus MacLellan's repertory and, judging from the citations in the notes, his Gaelic style is (consequently?) not so curial as that, for example, of the late Duncan MacDonald. His periods of residence in the South in early manhood no doubt affected his choice of vocabulary and, though he has obviously a wide Gaelic vocabulary, he frequently uses English words and phrases (by no means all mentioned in the Notes) which add nothing to the atmosphere of the tale, but rather detract from it (e.g. he must know various Gaelic ways of rendering a' *waitseadh* nam boireannach; a' gabhail *wàg* a mach; etc.). On the other hand the Glossarial Index reveals that he has a good command of rare Gaelic words and idioms (e.g. *an teanga thoirt as a' ghlag*; *a' dol an cois t'fhacail*; *bha i air bàrr an uisg' fhuair*). In making this comment on MacLellan's use of English loanwords, I am not, of course, making a plea for their suppression, a practice of which editors in the past have been suspected. I merely regret that in many cases he did not make use of good Gaelic equivalents which were known to him.

The reader will find much to interest him in this volume. *The Three Questions and the Three Burdens* ("The Clever Peasant Girl") includes the ancient riddle of the Sphinx (*τί ἔστι τὸ αὐτὸ τετράπουν καὶ δίπουν καὶ τρίπουν;*). There are interesting local traditions about the Clanranalds and the MacVurichs. In these the Clanranalds appear in a surprisingly sinister

* One small point of usage may be remarked on. The editor generally uses the preposition *on* with names of islands (on Eriskay, on Canna, on Barra, on Benbecula; but *in* Canna, *in* Skye, p. 133, *in* Lewis, p. 97). As the Gaelic usage confines *on* to very small uninhabited islands, mere rocks and skerries, an Islesman resents, rightly or wrongly, such a usage as "I was living on Skye". If *on* is correct English usage, it may be asked at what size of island it ceases to be correct (on Ireland, on Britain?).

light. The character, for instance, of Domhnall Dubh is in vivid contrast to that attributed to him in the Book of Clanranald. He is called here Donald of the "Cuckoo", after a gun which he had so named. Tradition accords possession of this gun to others also, such as Rìgh Fionnghall and Colla Ciotach. Of Colla Ciotach it is said that he would fire at anyone he suspected of disaffection and when his victim fell he would say that the Gouk had dropped on the poor man (*chac a' chuthag air*). This gives more point to the name of the gun. The impression given by these local traditions is that their historical content is slender. Allan MacDonald of Clanranald, for instance, was not married to the daughter of a duke in France, but to Penelope MacKenzie, daughter of the Governor of Tangiers. Her name is still perpetuated in South Uist. It is scarcely credible that Clanranald, who introduced the Spanish breed of horses into Uist and was "the onlie one who attackt with the foot on horseback" at Sheriffmuir, was met at Lochboisdale by bare-backed ponies. Neil MacVurich, in his elegy, mentions specifically: "It was not fillies for harrowing that were fed in thy stables but shod and bridled horses". *The Story of St. Clair Castle* is an interesting adaptation to Gaelic oral tradition of an early nineteenth-century novel *St. Clair of the Isles, or the Outlaws of Barra, a Scottish Tradition*, by Elizabeth Helme. *Why everyone should be able to tell a story* may be compared with a tale contributed by Rev. John MacRury to the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness (*Teann sìos, a Dhòmhuill Òig*; Vol. xiv, pp. 101-11). The latter is a good deal longer and differs in incidents, but both tales gloss the proverb: *A' chiad sgial air fear-an-taighe, is sgial gu latha air an aoigh* ("The host must tell the first tale and then the guests must tell tales till daybreak").

Gaelic readers will regret that they cannot read these tales in the original. A translation, however good, is no real substitute. I have only had the opportunity of hearing one of these tales in the original (*How Clanranald built Ormaclate House*) but from this probe I can commend the accuracy and adequacy of the translation. Quite by inadvertence a phrase has dropped out of the translation on p. 90 and perhaps I should record it. After "The eight men I've mentioned were sitting at the table already" the original has: *na glùinean aca os cionn a' bhùird* ("their knees above the table"). This is rather a good touch, I think, and is really necessary to understand why they were "frightful objects" to the visitors—a graphic way of implying their immense size.

Although this book is directed mainly to folklorists, general readers, and, if possible, "governments", it should by no means be overlooked by those who may be more interested in Gaelic philology and lexicography. These will find much to occupy them in the Notes [e.g. *an sgian-ubhail*, perhaps the spike which could be screwed into the boss of a Highland targe; *còta bhairm*, "coat of arms", for *còtaibh-airm*; *hasair*,< *hawser*, with short *a*; *diumlaoch*, "hero", misprint for *diunlaoch* or *diumhlaoch*? (the ending should be *-lach*, even if it were a compound of *laoch*, which it is not); *rèid*, "rage": I think I have heard *rùit* for "rage", although it is not in the Dictt.; *Lobhdaidh* (*Loudi*) with the article is unusual; *Bòirnis Shiarach* (p. 221), no matter what the local pronunciation is said to be, is correctly *Bòirnis Iarach*. There is no word *siarach*. Similarly *Bòirnis Uarach* (cf. K.C. Craig, *Òrain Luaidh*, pp. 37, 55, 112, 118)].

ANGUS MATHESON

The Silver Bough. By F. Marian McNeill. Vol. III. A Calendar of Scottish National Festivals Hallowe'en to Yule. W. MacLellan. Glasgow. 1961.

The third volume of the *Silver Bough*, a companion volume to the second, passes in review the winter's calendar festivals, and from many sources of every kind, from books, documents and tradition, the author has collected and published a series of interesting and picturesque descriptions of festivals, communal and domestic. As in her two earlier volumes she has a sympathetic, engaging way of presenting her dates, and also of imparting to her readers the charm, one might even call it spell, that she felt herself in these ceremonies of an earlier generation. The illustrations chosen, ancient and modern, are sometimes beautiful and suggestive, like, e.g. MacGeorge's painting "Hallowe'en". Her attitude has made the book not a mere catalogue of dates, but a fine succession of pictures of earlier Scottish life. Compare, e.g. the Goloshans (p. 81) or the description of Christmas in the "big house" in Shetland (p. 135). Similar vestiges of the past can be found in most countries, often agreeing even in particulars, but the general picture differs from country to country, as, e.g. in Scandinavia and Scotland. The communal festivities, fairs, processions, etc., so prominent in Scotland, are almost unknown in Norway, where Christmas, for instance, has become the all important feast in the winter, attracting to itself the rites of Hallowe'en and New Year. . . .

When the book touches upon the problems of significance and origin, and offers a solution, many readers, including the present reviewer, feel more critical, because often problems to be seen against a wider international background are involved. When it is stated (p. 11) that "Since the cult of the dead [Hallowe'en] was based upon the doctrine of the soul . . .", one may ask if a "cult of the dead" is identical with the "fear of the dead" and the protective measures taken. An even more important question is if the doctrine of the dual nature of man, one part being imperishable and removed from human reach, has rather lessened the pressure involved in the ancient belief that the deceased somehow lived on in the mounds and hills, very active and constantly interfering in the activities of the living, a belief illustrated by the sagas, and evidently so deeply ingrained in many so that their emotional attitude is coloured by it. Likewise, a statement may be too emphatic as when Odin the god is said to have been called: Julvater. One of his many names (comp. *Odinsheite* by H. Falk [1927]) was *Jólnir* which hints at some association with Yule, but his name *Iólfr*, denotes him as possessor of some poisonous arrows. It seems also strange when several Norn words from Shetland as e.g. *Tunderman*, do not appear in J. Jakobsen's dictionary.

The Shetland chapter is naturally of special interest to a Norwegian, and he notes with interest that at Christmas "the trows", which are the same as the "hidden people", the fairies, are abroad and active, with the "saining" as a protective measure, which is one of the main characteristics also of Scandinavian Yule. In the main, however, it seems to be Scottish customs that have given the distinctive colour also to Shetland calendar festivals.

All through the book, however, rites and conceptions are mentioned that are equally familiar in other countries, such as carrying lit torches round the fields, the taboo on certain days or evenings against any kind of work that involved a circular movement—spinning, grinding, etc. One might also mention in connection with the hazelnuts on Hallowe'en, that of old *nuts* have somehow been combined with lifegiving and fertility. Did not Loki, when Idun, who had the apples of life, was stolen by the giants, fly in bird's shape to Giantland, and then brought Indun back "in the shape of a nut", that he carried in his claws. . . . As for the *pea*, it was hardly consecrated to Thor, as there is no evidence of its being known in Northern

Europe before the Middle Ages (Hoop's *Reallexicon*, vol. 1, p. 622). . . . From Norway a letter written in the year 1400 is extant, in which the sender asks one of his acquaintances in the South, to send him some peas and beans for sowing. . . . But why does the pea (Lat. *pisum*) figure in Irish and Scottish Gaelic as *piseóg* and *peieag*, both meaning witchcraft and magic practices? In Norway in the year 1325 a woman was convicted of such, and she had put five peas into the bed of a couple in order to sow strife between them.

In a book of this kind it is, of course, a temptation to write a running commentary of comparative notes. To the chapter on Annermass I will still add one, from a paper cutting referring to the St. Andrew's Ball in Stockholm on this saint's day in 1961, with Royal persons present, with Scottish reels and kilts. The range of subjects involved is so vast, the present web of tradition so intricate, that the unravelling of the single threads is too hazardous and too intricate, and in the end it seems more than right to accept thankfully the mass of information referring to Scottish customs connected with the cycle of the year.

REIDAR TH. CHRISTIANSEN

The Lordship of Strathavon. By Dr. V. Gaffney, Aberdeen. Printed for the Third Spalding Club. 1960.

As W. D. Simpson argues, most pertinently, in the foreword to this book, it is only when detailed regional studies of the many disparate units which make up Scotland are available, that a truly representative historical synthesis of the country can be attempted. Little of the area north of the central Scottish rift valley has been examined in detail by historians, and until this is done, repetition of nineteenth-century sources must be the profitless order of the day. Dr. Gaffney has brought depth of focus to bear on a small geographical entity—the upper reaches of one of the Spey's major tributaries. On the periphery of the Highlands, in both social and topographical senses, Strathavon is one of those easterly facing straths which provide the entrance for eastern and thus southern influences.

An important area has thus been chosen, and some extremely thorough research done thereon, bearing in mind that this is documentary social history, and virtually confined to the eighteenth century. It is important, because peripheral areas such as this are better documented than the Highland

hinterland and do demonstrate, virtually, statistically, the intercalation of the two cultures; the new eastern, and legalistic ethos of ultimate southern and feudal origin purveyed by the absentee Dukes of Gordon, and the indigenous Gaelic speaking substratum still imbued with the natural impression that use and custom guaranteed occupation and possession. Dr. Gaffney's work is founded, naturally enough, on the relevant portions of the Gordon Castle Papers, and this is augmented by a full use of what must be practically all the available sources. The chronological sequence demonstrated is very interesting. Primarily, a transhumance area, though more in the sense of summering fat stock than increased dairy production, this ambiance becomes very pronounced when "Gaul" or lowland cattle are summered for payment. The value of these hill grazing areas was becoming apparent to the vested interests concerned, and the early part of the eighteenth century saw much destruction of *bothans* and pounding of cattle as those interests sought to extend their authority. The seventeenth-century Scots game laws too were enforced to bring the deer forests under control and yet further circumscribe the independent elements of reivers, "theives and brokin men", who still persisted—relics of an earlier era. The shielings themselves were of the flimsiest nature testifying to the Highlanders' lack of concern for complex habitation, in summer at least. The *sgalan*, *sheal* or *bothan* are described as mere earth scoops covered with a "shield" of branches.

The Gordon Castle machinery was striving throughout the century to bring this portion of the estates into line with lowland development, and like the factors for forfeited estates, sought to dissuade the Highlanders from their "idle and wicked practices" to commerce and trade. Outsiders were brought in to run the Duke's interests; factors and surveyors, and transplanted MacGregors as foresters. The shielings were "improved", developed arable tracts and permanent occupation, and in this connection it would have been interesting to see relative population figures if obtainable. Following similar developments at Grantown, Rothes, Portsoy and Fochabers a "newtown" was projected to further the opening up of the area. Circa 1778 Tomintoul was planned and thenceforward constructed on the site of the old strategically placed clachan. Local industrial development was attempted, flax raising was subsidised, and lint spinning had reached significant proportions by 1770. The trade failed to prosper, a

depression in 1773 further retarding it, and by 1794 Tomintoul still had only 37 families and no manufacture.

All these developments were carried out to the considerable discomfiture of the natives, now tenants, and the social divide between landowner and dependents, already wide in this area, became finally unbridgeable. When the aristocracy naively sought to gain kudos by raising regiments in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, they were rebuffed, not as decisively as the Duke of Sutherland before the Crimea, but sufficiently so to indicate the destruction of the bond of common interest and loyalty which had still operated in the Seven Years' War.

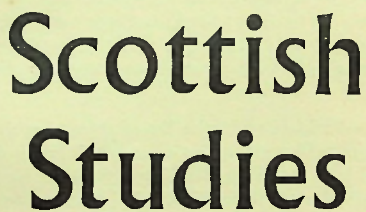
Dr. Gaffney has provided a wealth of detail of agricultural conditions, social change, and a picture in microcosm of legal enactment and industrial influence in an under-developed area in process of being linked to the main economic "grid". The basis of present-day settlement in Strathavon was being laid, the wadsett expires and the tacksett succeeds, and the general domestication of a mountain area of marked Jacobite and Catholic sympathy proceeds. The important secondary factor of personalities, "Glennie", Seumas an Tuim, Willox alias Macgregor, the local Grants, Farquharsons, and Gordons and by inference that remote deity the Duke, is shown to play its necessary part. The appendices are loaded with landholding data, and the work is well indexed. This is a first-rate scholarly production. It is perhaps carping to offer a minor note of criticism but it does seem a pity that Dr. Gaffney has not included a short chapter of general conclusions, or the briefest assessment of the position of Strathavon and Banffshire in the general history of the North East. Perhaps we can look forward to Dr. Gaffney providing us with a more general survey including Strathavon under the Stewarts, a task for which he is so clearly fitted.

IAIN A. CRAWFORD

CORRIGENDUM

In Vol. 5 (1961), p. 218, the sentence, "The theme of the massacre . . . of the MacLeods of Eigg by the MacDonalds" should read, " . . . of the MacDonalds of Eigg by the MacLeods".

JOHN MACINNES



VOLUME 6 PART 2

1962

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh
Director: B. R. S. Megaw

EDITOR
J. Wreford Watson

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
W. F. H. Nicolaisen

VOLUME 6 PART 2
1962

OLIVER AND BOYD LTD
EDINBURGH

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Butt
K. H. Jackson
K. L. Little
A. McIntosh
B. R. S. Megaw
S. T. M. Newman
S. Piggott

Cover Design : George Mackie

This journal is published twice a year. The annual subscription is £1 : 0 : 0 (U.S.A. and Canada $3.50), single copies 12s. 6d. (U.S.A. and Canada $2.00).
All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, The School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh. The Editor will be pleased to consider for review publications coming within the scope of Scottish Studies.
All business communications should be addressed to Oliver & Boyd Ltd., Tweeddale Court, 14 High Street, Edinburgh.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
OLIVER AND BOYD LTD., EDINBURGH

SCOTTISH STUDIES

VOLUME 6 : PART 2

★

EDITOR: The Evolution of Rural Settlement in Scotland: An Introduction *page* 121

G. W. S. BARROW: Rural Settlement in Central and Eastern Scotland: The Medieval Evidence 123

MALCOLM GRAY: Settlement in the Highlands, 1750-1950: The Documentary and Written Record 145

R. ALAN GAILEY: The Evolution of Highland Rural Settlement: With particular reference to Argyllshire 155

A. B. TAYLOR: The Scandinavian Settlements in the North and West of Scotland: Documentary and Place-Name Evidence 178

H. UHLIG: Some Remarks on Comparative Research in Settlement Structures 181

KENNETH JACKSON: Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh 184

H. A. MOISLEY: Population Changes and the Highland Problem, 1951-1961 194

ELIZABETH SINCLAIR: Scottish Folklore Bibliography for 1961 201

INDEX 261

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES, *page* 210

19. Further Minor Elements in Scottish River-Names, W. F. H. NICOLAISEN.

B. NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH, *page* 218

Farming and fishing scenes on a Caithness Plan, 1772, B. R. S. MEGAW; An Aberdeen "White Paternoster", HAMISH HENDERSON; Note on Votive Pottery Associated with Wells, ANNE ROSS; Personal names in a Gaelic song, JOHN MACINNES; Feannagan Taomaidh (Lazy Beds), IAIN A. CRAWFORD; An Unrecorded Type of Belted Plaid? MARTA HOLMES.

C. OTHER NOTES, *page* 252

Book Reviews: W. Douglas Simpson, The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall, MICHAEL APTED; I. F. Grant, Highland Folk Ways, IAIN A. CRAWFORD; Ake Hultkranz, International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, Vol. I., R. KERR.

THE EVOLUTION OF RURAL SETTLEMENT IN SCOTLAND

AN INTRODUCTION

In 1961, the School of Scottish Studies in the University of Edinburgh invited a number of scholars to take part in what was termed "an intercultural Symposium of historians, archæologists, geographers and ethnologists" on the subject of *The Evolution of Rural Settlement in Scotland and Beyond.* This gathering, which was held in the School from October 3rd-6th, was the third in a series of meetings dealing with subjects within the scope of this research institute, earlier ones having been devoted to *Material Culture Research* (1959) and Place-Name Studies (1960).[1] The circle of persons invited was more or less restricted to scholars from Great Britain and Ireland actively engaged in academic research in the central subject, or working on such aspects of adjacent disciplines as had some bearing, or could throw some light, upon it. Special invitations were extended to Mrs. R. Frimannslund Holmsen of Oslo (Norway) and Professor H. Uhlig of Giessen (Germany) because of their expert knowledge and experience in this specialised field of study. Although figures varied from session to session, the whole Symposium was attended by about forty to fifty people.

The conference was divided into three main sub-sections. On October 4th, lectures and discussions centred around the theme "Rural Settlement in Scotland", with the following papers being read: Professor G. W. S. Barrow (Newcastle), "Rural Settlement in Central and Eastern Scotland: The Medieval Evidence"; Dr. Betty Cay (Edinburgh), "The Lowlands before the Improvers"; Dr. R. A. Gailey, "The Highlands before the Improvers"; and a joint contribution by Dr. A. B. Taylor and Mr. H. Pálsson (Edinburgh) on "The Scandinavian Settlements in the North and West". On October 5th, speakers read papers on evidence from "beyond" Scotland under the heading of "Rural Settlement in Britain and Ireland": Mr. Peter Sawyer (Birmingham) dealt with "England, with special reference to the North"; Mr. Glanville R. J. Jones (Leeds) with "Wales"; Mr. Kevin Danaher

(Dublin) with "Ireland"; Dr. Elwyn Davies (Cardiff) with "The Land System of the Isle of Man" (read in the lecturer's absence by Mr. B. R. S. Megaw, Director of the School); and Mr. Charles Thomas (Edinburgh) with "Cornwall". The final day was devoted to the subject of "Current Research and the Future", with contributions from Mr. Malcolm Gray (Aberdeen) and Mr. Cyril Halstead (Glasgow) on "Documentary Research", and from Dr. Bruce Proudfoot (Durham) and Mr. B. R. S. Megaw (Edinburgh) on "Research in the Field". The Symposium was brought to a close by Professor J. Wreford Watson, Convenor of the Advisory Committee of the School of Scottish Studies.

Although most speakers at this Symposium which was the first gathering of its kind in these islands, kindly offered their papers for publication in the School's journal, it was with great regret that those not falling within the geographical limitations of *Scottish Studies* had to be declined. The papers presented here—three long articles and two shorter contributions—are therefore to be regarded as a selection from a much wider range of lectures given at the Symposium; they are not even the entire Scottish contribution to the meeting. A word about their nature also seems necessary. Whereas Prof. Barrow's, Mr. Gray's and Dr. Gailey's articles are based on full-length papers, Dr. Taylor's contribution is meant to be a summary of research already done, and Prof. Uhlig's note stems from a valuable contribution he made to one of the many lively discussions and which he was subsequently asked to put into writing.

Much of this expanded issue of *Scottish Studies*, then, is a direct result of the School's Symposium of October 1961 and must be seen against the background of that first pioneering meeting on the subject of *Rural Settlement in Scotland* (*and Beyond*). This, and the common theme, however, are their only loose links, and each article is published on its own merits and in its own right.

NOTE

[1] Reports on these two meetings are to be found in *Scottish Studies* 4 (1960) 120, and 5 (1961) 111-12, respectively.

EDITOR

RURAL SETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN SCOTLAND:

THE MEDIEVAL EVIDENCE [1]

G. W. S. Barrow*

Evidence relevant to the study of rural settlement in early medieval Scotland is of four chief types, archæological, geographical, documentary and onomastic (with special reference to place-names). This paper is confined to the third and fourth types of evidence, and deals chiefly with the period from *c.* 1100 to *c.* 1300. Regionally, it is limited to the area from the Tweed to the Dornoch Firth, leaving out of consideration the Northern Isles and Caithness, most of the West Highlands and Western Isles, and the south-west, including Galloway. The area thus described has in the past been relatively neglected by the student of early medieval agrarian and social organisation, although it corresponds to the most populous and most centrally-governed part of the medieval Scottish kingdom.

For rural settlement, the traditional or "historical" divisions of Scotland have an obvious relevance, but precisely what this relevance amounted to remains an unanswered question. For W. F. Skene, at the time he published his famous book, *Celtic Scotland* (1876-80), matters seemed much simpler than they seem now. He drew a sharp division between "Saxon" Scotland, south of the Forth and east of the Clyde-Tweed watershed, and "Celtic" Scotland, and for him the twain would never meet. The evidence is more complex than he allowed it to be, more evidence has become available since his time, and in particular the whole trend of modern research is stressing more and more not the contrasts but the underlying resemblances and parallels between areas of "Saxon" and areas of "Celtic" settlement. An intensive study of the English agrarian scene has made us all familiar with the "highland" *versus* the "lowland" zone, the former with its scattered townships and

* Professor of Medieval History, King's College Newcastle, University of Durham.

small, compact holdings, the latter with its large nucleated villages built in a great open plain of arable, which was divided into two or three "fields" and cultivated according to a two- or three-field system of rotation of crops. The analysis of the English evidence has become more and more intensive. Regional studies show a much more complicated pattern than any simple "highland" and "lowland" zone division might suggest. It is conceded that open fields and nucleated villages were general in districts where agriculture predominated, e.g. the eastern midlands. But they might well be found in suitable places in the hilly west country, while in many parts of the "lowland" east, e.g. Kent, Essex and parts of East Anglia, they were rare or developed very late. An eminent student of English agrarian history has recently written "Norman England was a land of greater local variety, and rather less marked regional contrasts, than I had previously conceived it to be" (Lennard 1959:V). It was tempting for older scholars to apply the English lesson to Scotland, and assume a clear-cut division between the highlands and the far north, on the one hand, and the lowlands (especially the south-east) on the other. In the one there were scattered townships and small compact holdings; in the other, nucleated villages and open fields. The results of recent English studies should warn us in Scotland not to look for simplicity where there was local variety. At the same time, Mr. Lennard's phrase about "rather less-marked regional contrasts" may prove to be applicable to Scotland as well as England—especially if we include (as we must) in our "Scottish" regions the country between Tweed and Tees.

The nucleated village settlement is undoubtedly a reality for the lower-lying, flatter parts of south-eastern Scotland. The pattern is, as we should expect, that of Northumbria, not that of midland England. A number of nucleated villages, often having parochial status at an early date, often associated with lord's ownership, are to be found in this region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2] Frequently we find them linked to outlying settlements, much as their counterparts in Northumberland, Co. Durham and north Yorkshire will be found linked to outlying settlements. Where nucleus and outlyers formed a sizeable group it would normally be called a "shire", as in northern England. Thus we have Coldingham and Coldinghamshire, Bunkle and Bunkleshire, Haddington and Haddingtonshire.[3] This practice may be seen further west, for Edinburgh and Linlithgow were both shire-centres at an early

date, and so was Stirling.[4] In between the last two was Callendar, which, though not styled a "shire", has every appearance of being one.[5] Shire unity was to be found not so much in the peasantry who dwelt in the shire as in the shire-centre and the lord—usually the king, a bishop or abbot, or some great layman. It was also expressed in the officer who administered the shire and yet at the same time was virtually its hereditary tenant, the thane. The thanes of Lothian and Teviotdale referred to by David I and Earl Cospatric in the early twelfth century [6] cannot be envisaged apart from shire centres or other important royal or comital estates. Thus, a thane of Haddington appears *c.* 1140,[7] and thanes of Callendar from before *c.* 1200 to the late thirteenth century.[8] We happen to know most about just those shires or vill-groups which were most likely to have lost their thanes at an early date, under pressure of royal reorganisation (Haddington) or ecclesiastical reorganisation (Coldingham). But embryonic shires may be seen in later ecclesiastical agreements anent mother churches and their dependencies, e.g. Edrom with Nisbet and distant Earlston (co. Berw.) or Ednam and Newton (co. Roxb.).[9] The shire pattern relates to a time when lords reckoned to consume the products of their estates, whether in cereals or live-stock, in a relatively unconverted form.

Turning to the smaller units of settlement, the villages and hamlets and farmsteads, the earliest documentary evidence that we have (not earlier than the twelfth century) shows what seems to be a pattern closely similar to, if not identical with, that found in the English northern counties. The arable lies open in a large tract round the village nucleus, and individual holdings consist of a number of rigs scattered about in the arable fields. The word "acre" is used, presumably to refer to the rig or to a group of rigs. By *c.* 1200 the word rig itself creeps into Latin documents, in the form *reia*. No word for a furlong is common, though "furlong" itself (in place-names) and its Latin equivalent *cultura* appear occasionally.[10] The Scandinavian "wang" or "wong" never seems to occur. David I granted to Kelso Abbey half a carucate in Selkirk, and when Malcolm IV confirmed this grant he said: "Whereas this half-carucate in King David's time lay scattered about the field (*per campum dispersa*), and was not very convenient, I now grant the same quantity of land lying all in one piece."[11] This text introduces us to what was the universal, standard term in Latin documents for the major arable unit, the carucate (Scots,

ploughgang, ploughgate), throughout south-eastern Scotland. It also shows that the English concept of an abstract carucate was familiar in Tweeddale (and presumably also in Lothian and the Merse) in the mid-twelfth century. Race fitz Malger (late twelfth century) grants to Jedburgh Abbey half the land of Shortbutts (*Scortebuttes*) in Liddesdale, in the territory of Sorbie (*Sourebi*), with one acre of arable next to Shortbutts on the east; and the whole shaw (*scawe*) of Sorbie, with one acre lying next to the shaw and belonging to it; with common pasture for 40 cows and their followers up to one year old, and two bulls, and 10 oxen, and two horses.[12] Shortbutts looks like the name of a furlong; the *territorium* of Sorbie was presumably the whole arable ground of the vill.

In the grant to Kelso above we have an instance of favoured treatment meted out to a religious house, but it is clear that great landowners could not always expect their arable to be consolidated, and, conversely, that peasant holdings were on the same pattern (though of course not on the same scale) as lords' holdings. We have almost no "peasant" documents for the area in the early period, but a charter of *c.* 1250 given by a member of the lesser gentry will show how small holdings might be made up. Cicely of Mow (co. Roxb.) grants 26 acres of arable in her demesne of Mow as follows: in *Hauacres* to the east of Gilbert Avenel's land 9 acres, with a ½ acre lying next to the Attonburn (*Aldetuneburn*)—these acres lie in parcels (*per particulas*); 2 acres through *Souhside*, and 1 acre next to the exit going towards Percy Law; 1 acre west of *Benelaun*; 9 acres and 1 perch in *Dederig*; 3 acres below *Parvula Hoga*; a half-acre in *Kydelauuecrofth*; and 8 acres of meadow, viz., 4 between the arable land of *Hauacre* and the ploughed furrow dividing it from Gilbert Avenel's meadow, and other 4 below Percy Swire between ploughed furrows.[13]

Along with the arable in rigs and acres, the meadow adjacent to the arable, and the common pasture near the village settlements and on the arable when not under crops there went, commonly, stretches of hill grazing, which were exploited in the summer months in the form of shielings. The shieling system is well seen on Lammermuir, where the parish boundaries are highly instructive. The villages which huddle below the edge of the higher ground have territory reaching far back on to the muir, where names like Penshiel and Gamelshiel preserve the ancient use of this uncultivated grazing.[14] Shielings were to be found in the southern uplands generally

and in the Cheviot Hills, e.g. in King David I's time the shielings of Riccalton (in Oxnam, co. Roxb.) went with the low-lying estate of Whitton.[15] It is virtually certain that the enormous expansion of the wool trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made devastating inroads into the old shieling system, for the religious houses and other great land-owners tried (often successfully) to acquire and keep huge tracts of hill-pasture for themselves and their own flocks exclusively. There was a serious dispute over hill-pasture rights in the late twelfth century between Melrose Abbey and the men of Wedale (the valley of the Gala Water). We do not know its details, but it would not be rash to guess that the abbey was seeking to encroach upon or monopolise ancient shieling grazings.[16]

There is no indication in early documents of any system of "infield" and "outfield" cultivation, although the texts are not incompatible with the existence of such a system. The *terra* (*arabilis*) of which they speak over and over again would in that case be the infield of later times, kept under more or less constant cultivation, while outfield would often appear as pasture. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of steadily growing population and there was pressure on available land and a steady process of winning new arable from waste. Thus we hear of the "new land" of Crailzie (*Karelzi*) at Harehope above Peebles,[17] while the men dwelling on the moors above Borthwick who had to be reminded of their obligation to pay teind sound more like pioneers than refugees.[18]

The ecclesiastical organisation of the south-east bears out the picture of the area as made up chiefly of nucleated village settlements, with or without a pattern of "shires" of Northumbrian type. In Lothian, at least from Midlothian eastward, the church was usually located in the village settlement, close to the lord's hall or castle. In the twelfth century we find an established and often hereditary parish clergy, who were unquestionably members of the local aristocracy, man of standing in the community, like Uhtred the priest of Lilliesleaf who took his dispute over land in Lilliesleaf (*versus* Ansketill of Ryedale, a knight) to the Roman *curia* in the 1150's and 1160's,[19] or Peter, parson of Stobo and dean of Clydesdale, whose son David inherited his lands if not his livings.[20] Such men compare closely with the forebears of Saint Ailred of Rievaulx, hereditary priests of Hexham in Tynedale. It may be added that many parish churches of the south-east

were endowed with as much as a whole carucate of land, some with more.[21]

How, if at all, does this picture change north of the Forth? There the basic social unit was the township, relatively widely dispersed. Often there seems to have been no obvious nucleus of settlement, and the church may be located in a site which appears to have no clear relevance to any other major feature of the parish. Yet the differences may be exaggerated. In the flatter and lower-lying parts of Scotland benorth Forth, especially in Fife and the Carse of Gowrie, it looks as though the arable of any particular settlement might lie more or less in one piece, and be cultivated in rigs and acres. A charter of 1284, e.g., speaks of a ditch between the meadow and the arable land of the village of Markinch (Fife).[22] Early in the thirteenth century, William the Lion gave to John Waleran the land held by William Carpenter in *Ballebotlia* (now represented by Babbet in Kingsbarns), namely "the fifth rig" (*quintam reiam*) of the whole half of Ballebotle; and "in the fields of *Dreinin* (cf. Drony Road, in Kingsbarns) the land held by Roger of the Chamber; and the whole land of Airdrie (*Ardarie*) which William de Beauvoir held, viz., that land which is on the east of the burn flowing past the land of Geoffrey the chaplain as far as that well in the direction of Crail which in Gaelic is called *Tolari* (Toldrie)."[23] Here the "fifth rig" presumably means "every fifth rig", a good instance of an early runrig tenement. William, Bernard's son (late twelfth century) granted to Arbroath Abbey two bovates of arable in the *territorium* of Catterline (Mearns), viz., 7 acres lying together and adjacent to the abbey's existing property on the north side, and 19 acres lying together and near those 7 acres, beside the sea to the east, namely within the furlong (*cultura*) called *Treiglas*.[24] These examples show the existence north of Forth of large tracts of arable attached to settlements, Markinch, Crail and Catterline, divided into rigs and furlongs, such as we have seen to be the case in the south.[25]

Nevertheless, the differences between north and south remain. At this point, we must grapple with problems of terminology. Besouth Forth, the largest visible, physical unit of agrarian exploitation was the "field" (*campus*, *territorium*, *tellus* [26]), sometimes divided into furlongs, everywhere divided into rigs or acres, equally visible and physical. Unless we have positive evidence to the contrary, it is safe to assume that every *campus* or field belonged (in the social and geographical sense)

to some village or similar settlement—often, but not always, a nucleated village. Similarly, we may assume that every rig and acre belonged (in the legal or tenurial sense) to some individual or family or corporate proprietor. Alongside and overlapping these visible, physical units of field and rig were the semi-tangible or wholly intangible units of ploughgate and oxgang. Originally, no doubt, the ploughgate and the oxgang would have been as tangible and concrete as field and acre. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is clear, there were a number of oxgangs and ploughgates besouth Forth which were actually physical entities. This was either by survival from a primitive period, or because the acres of which they were composed had been treated collectively for so long that the area which formed their total had acquired a physical reality. The consolidated half-carucate formed in Selkirk by Malcolm IV (referred to above) shows how this could happen. But in this period, as a rule, ploughgate and oxgang were essentially abstract concepts, expressions used to denote an approximate area, or rather, approximate capacity. The ploughgate was what one notional team of eight oxen could deal with, including what they actually ploughed and what they could not plough, in any one year. The oxgang was an eighth part of this, the contribution of a single notional ox. Mr. Andrew McKerral has said that the difference between Celt and Saxon was that the latter had an idea of superficial measurement in the acre, the oxgang of 13 acres, and the ploughgate of 104 acres; whereas the Celt was incapable of grasping the idea of superficial measurement (McKerral 1943:41, 46). With all respect, I would differ strongly on this point. The Saxons were not so much more precocious than the Celts as Mr. McKerral would have us believe. The English acre, oxgang and ploughgate were far from being standard, accurately measured areas. The acre was thought of primarily as an actual fixed piece of ploughed or ploughable ground, and acres varied considerably in area not only in different parts of the country but even in the same field or furlong. Hence we have reference to "full" or "complete" acres, implying the existence of "incomplete" acres. Whatever the nature of the gulf between Celtic and Anglian Scotland, it did not lie here.

North of the Forth we find a different usage with regard to the ploughgate, and this is where terminology becomes of crucial importance. Practically all our documents are in Latin, and their authors had a preference for Latin or thoroughly

latinised words. In south-country documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the words "ploughgate" and "oxgang" never (as far as I know) appear. Instead, we have *carucata* (*terre*) for the former, *bovata* (*terre*) for the latter. This is entirely on all fours with the usage in northern England, from the River Welland northwards. North of the Forth, the Latin documents of the twelfth century, with very few exceptions, use *carucata*, and occasionally *bovata*. We may give the following examples (car. stands for *carucata* in the actual text itself):

1. 1 car. called Balrymonth (St. Andrews, Fife).
2. 1 car. in Naughton (Balmerino, Fife), called *Melchrethre*.
3. 1 car. in Errol called *Le Murhouse* (Muirhouse).
4. ½ car. west of Invergowrie church called Dargie.
5. 4 car. of arable in Conveth (Laurencekirk, Mearns).
6. 1 car. in Durno (Chapel of Garioch).
7. 2 measured car. in Kennethmont (identifiable as Ardlair).
8. ½ car. measured in Rayne, known as (Easter) Tocher.[27]

With these instances from the late twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries may be compared the endowments of the Augustinian canons of Scone made by Alexander I in the early twelfth century: Innerbuist, 5 car., Banchory with 3, Fodderance (Lintrose) with 1, Kinnochtry with 1, Fingask with 1, Durdie with 3, Clien with 3, Liff with 6, Gourdie with 10, Invergowrie with 3.[28] It would be needless to multiply examples of texts which speak unblushingly and without hesitation of carucates north of the Forth. But attention has to be drawn to one notable difference. In six of the examples given, the carucates had names attached to them. It would be rash to state that carucates never have names south of the Forth, for we have at least one example in "the carucate on the Peffer Burn called *Porhoy*" (Prora, in Athelstaneford, E. Lothian).[29] But in general the formula south of the Forth is: "*x* carucate(s) in the vill of A.", while north of the Forth it is: "*x* carucate(s), by name B, C, D, etc. (in the vill of A)". The naming of a carucate does not by itself prove that it formed no part of an open-field pattern, any more than the fact that a carucate had fixed boundaries proves this. But when, over and over again, carucates appear with names permanently attached to them and with fixed marches, the presumption is strong that such carucates are not abstract units of measurement but compact pieces of arable which are not and never have been composed of rigs or acres

scattered across a large undifferentiated plain of cultivatable ground.[30] We may proceed, more warily, to a further presumption. In documents relating to the country benorth Forth, *carucata* may have been merely the most seemly, respectable term available to the latinizing clerks who wrote our documents. Thus, northern "carucates" might not be the same as southern, though they would have borne some relation to them.

There is some evidence to support this hypothesis. First, *carucata* is commoner in twelfth-century texts than in thirteenth, commoner in thirteenth-century texts than in fourteenth. It is commoner in royal texts than in private. Occasionally in the twelfth century, more commonly in the thirteenth century, quite commonly from the fourteenth century, a more exotic, more definitely vernacular term finds its way into our Latin documents. This is the word davoch, Irish, *dabhach*, a vat or tub or large measure of volume. It is a fair assumption that the davoch of land was not introduced into Scotland as late as the twelfth century. Its relative absence from texts of that period is best explained by clerical reluctance to use a term so uncouth and strongly vernacular that it was a century or more before it was made tolerable in the form *davata* (*terre*).[31] Secondly, we find the carucate and davoch existing side by side across the same stretch of territory, though with the carucate growing rarer as we go north, the davoch growing rarer as we come south. Thirdly, there are hints dropped by the texts themselves. The Crailshire document, cited above,[32] speaks of "half a Scottish carucate" of arable, proving that the clerk was aware of a difference between southern and northern carucates. There is some evidence that his "Scottish carucate" was merely periphrasis for "davoch". Whether or not this is so, it does seem to be true that the characteristic unit of agricultural capacity south of Forth was the carucate, north of Forth the davoch.

At this point we may cite a few examples of davochs from relatively early texts, to set beside our examples of carucates (d. stands for some form of the vernacular term *dabhach* actually occurring in the text):

1. 2 d. of Upper Rosehearty (Uactair Rosabard) (xi cent.).
2. *Dauach Icthar Hathyn*, with common pasture (xii cent., probably by the River Eden near its mouth).
3. 7 d. in Mearns, viz., the two Tipperties, Glenfarquhar, Kinkell, *Culbac*, Monboddo (xii cent.).

4. 10 half-d. in Strathavon, Banffshire, all named (xiii cent.).
5. 1 d. in Strathardle named Tullochcurran (*alias Petcarene*) (xiii cent.).
6. 5 d. in Mearns, viz. Balmakewan, *Ackwendochan*, Balbegno, *Lacherach-geigh*, *Dauochendolach* (xiii cent.).
7. 1 d. called Inverquharity (Angus) (xiii cent.).
8. Whole d. of Resthivet (Chapel of Garioch) (xiii cent.).[33]

In western Moray, in what is now Inverness-shire, the two adjoining parishes of *Dulbatelach* (Dunballoch, now Kirkhill) and Convinth (*Coneway*) were said to contain nine and eleven davochs respectively. Dunballoch contained the davochs of Dunballoch, Fingask, *Moreweyn* (Lovat?), *Lusnacorn*, Moniack, the other Moniack and the three davochs of *Ferge*. Convinth had its own two davochs together with the davochs of Bruiach *Muy*, the other *Muy*, Dounie, Phoineas, Erchless, Buntait, Comar and Guisachan.[34] If I have identified these places correctly, it is clear that there was enormous disparity in area, but probably not in agricultural capacity, among these highland davochs.

There has been argument as to the meaning of davoch as applied to land. Mr. McKerral believed in 1943 that it was originally arable, and that according to the progress made in arable it would consist of a varying number of ploughgates (McKerral 1943:52). He reinforced this in 1947 by an apt quotation from Sinclair's *General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties*, to the effect that Inverness-shire arable farms were reckoned by the davoch or daugh, the *auchten* (eighth) and the boll (forty-eighth) (McKerral 1950:50). Unhappily, Mr. McKerral's later view (1950) seems to go back on this sound position, and to contain the belief that the davoch was originally and essentially a large fiscal unit. "When the davochs . . . ceased to function as fiscal units, and their original significance was forgotten, the terms became fluid, and were used as denominations for various kinds of agricultural holdings" (McKerral 1953:61), sometimes pasturage, sometimes ploughgates of arable. The late W. J. Watson, though of course he was well aware that *dabhach* meant a vat or vessel, nevertheless thought that as applied to land it was a unit of souming, that is, of pastoral capacity. Yet his illustration tells against this view: Pennant, writing of Lochbroom in the late eighteenth century, said "Land is set here by the davoch or half-davoch;

the last consists of 96 Scotch acres of arable, such as it is, with a competent quantity of mountain and grazing ground" (Watson 1926: 235 ed. n.).

It may be a noteworthy contrast that the English preferred to estimate their cultivated land in terms of the instrument which went into the soil at the start of the crop-growing process, while the Scots reckoned in terms of the amount of corn which emerged at the other end. Even so, I believe there is little doubt that the davoch, whenever it began to be used of land, was a strictly agricultural unit, a measure of arable capacity.[35] Of course it carried pasture with it, for men of the early Middle Ages were incapable of thinking of arable apart from the pasture and grazing that accompanied it. A suggestive pointer to the strictly arable character of the davoch is to be found in a comparison of two contemporary documents of the middle of the thirteenth century. *Circa* 1260, the Earl of Strathearn granted certain land in upper Glenalmond "to be held by its rightful marches *cum omnibus fortyris et communibus pasturis*". Between 1250 and 1256, Alan Durward granted the two davochs of Clintlaw and Balcashy (Angus) *cum molendino et fortyris ad dictas dauahcs spectantibus*.[36] In south-country documents of this period it is common to find arable grants accompanied by some phrase which guaranteed to the grantee possession of the "fore-earths", "fore-lands", or "head-lands" associated with the arable selions. The word *fortyr*, which is not well-attested in documentary sources, appears to be a Gaelic version of the English "fore-land", appropriate to arable but not to pasture.

The relationship of davoch to social unit (township, village, or farmstead) has never been clearly established. Davoch-names in *pett-* and *bal-*, of which there are many instances, suggest equation of davoch with township, but there are also davoch-names in *achadh-* (field). The davoch was too large for a peasant holding: only sizeable landowners held whole davochs. Yet the davoch possessed some unity; it was tangible, physical, concrete. It was commonly named, and had fixed boundaries. Its unity must surely have lain in the fact that its nucleus was a single stretch of arable, the north-country equivalent of the large fields of the south. The families who were dependent on this arable with its grazing would dwell close to it or round it, forming the township or homestead, the *pett* or *baile* to which a distinctive name would be given. Within this general pattern, the lord's land might well be distinct from the land of the

peasantry. Thus Swain, Thor's son, lord of Ruthven near Perth (late twelfth century), speaks of meadow on the Lochty Burn "beginning at the place which on the east is adjacent to the neyfs' land" (*terre rusticorum*)[37]; John of Inchyra (Carse of Gowrie, early thirteenth century) speaks of one full acre of arable at the end of the haugh on the west, next to the cottars' acres;[38] the bishop of St. Andrews (*c.* 1200) refers to Nydie as *Nidin Ecclesie* and *Nidin Rusticorum*—now Nydie and Bond Nydie;[39] the Kirkton of Arbuthnot, in the same period, had numerous petty tenants called *scoloc* living pastorally in return for rents of cheese and dun cows—the lord evicted them one after the other and began to plough their land as he ploughed his own adjacent land;[40] a mid-thirteenth-century charter speaks of the land of *Bondes* near Inverurie.[41]

It has often been remarked that davochs, like carucates, lent themselves to fractionalisation. Many scholars have mentioned the halves, thirds, quarters, fifths and eighths (to go no further) into which davochs might be subdivided. Surviving fractions may here and there betray the existence of a vanished davoch. Trianafour in Glenerrochtie (co. Perth) was presumably the upland "pasture third" of a lost davoch of Glenerrochtie, while Coignafearn and the other "coigs" at the head of Strathdearn must have formed fifths of another lost davoch. But it does not seem to have been realised that among fractions the half-davoch seems to have held a special place, standing in its own right as an established permanent unit, much as the bovate/oxgang stood in relation to the carucate/ploughgate. Thus, we have the revealing place-names, Lettoch (Black Isle), formerly Haldoch or *Leth-dabhach*; Lettoch near Grantown, and Halfdavoch (both Moray); Haddo in Fyvie and Haddo in Methlick (Aberdeenshire). There is also the evidence of the documents, especially many in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*. Among these may be cited the ten half-davochs enumerated and named in Strathavon,[42] the half-davoch in Stratherrick called Boleskine,[43] the half-davoch of *Kyncarny*,[44] the half-davoch of Urquhart (Inverness-shire) "which is called the half-davoch of the church",[45] and the half-davoch "in which is situated the church of Insh" (in Badenoch).[46] If Pennant is to be relied on for the eighteenth-century equation $\frac{1}{2}$ davoch = 96 Scotch acres, we might hazard the inference that a half-davoch was roughly the same as a south-country carucate of 104 Scotch acres. It is suggestive of the capacity of the davoch and its relationship to the carucate that the common

endowment of north-country parish churches seems to have been half a davoch,[47] while a few possessed a whole davoch (e.g. Laggan in Badenoch, St. Peter of Strathavon, and Lhanbryde[48]). South of the Mounth we have churches endowed with half a carucate (e.g. Longforgan, Invergowrie[49]), while south of the Forth it was common enough for parish churches to possess a whole carucate. It would be extraordinary if parish churches in Moray should have been, in general, much better endowed than their counterparts in the Carse of Gowrie or in Lothian, and the inference is strong that a half-davoch was not greater than a south-country carucate. If we allow for a less efficient plough in the north, and smaller "acres", we should arrive at a relationship which at least seems reasonably acceptable. The historian, however, must pose the question of whether *carucata* in his texts always meant the same thing even in the same region; it might have been used in the earlier period for a whole davoch, later on for half a davoch. *Duldauach* (now lost, in Moray) appears as a half-carucate in a royal charter of the late twelfth century, and as a half-davoch two generations later.[50]

The geographical distribution of the davoch also raises interesting questions. It is not found anywhere south of the Forth-Clyde line, nor, in fact, was it general throughout the area to the north of this line. It is not found in Argyll, Lennox or Menteith, nor is there much evidence of its use in Strathearn. It can be found in Fife, Gowrie, Stormont and Atholl, and was evidently general throughout the country north of Tay as far as the Dornoch Firth area. Its absence from the Scandinavian north (Caithness and the Northern Isles) may, it has been argued, be due simply to the replacement of a Celtic by a Scandinavian term, leaving the older "substance" of the davoch in being (Marwick 1949). In the west highlands its distribution is hard to trace because of the scarcity of early texts; it occurs in Lochaber,[51] and in late documents which refer to "fiscal" davochs it is applied to Glenelg, Skye, the Small Isles and the Outer Isles.[52] Despite the Irish origin of the word, there seems to be something inescapably Pictish about the use of the davoch of land.[53]

Davochs usually had names, but the word itself does not enter frequently into place-names. Its use here should be compared with English place-names in *hīd* (hide, "household") and *hiwisc* with the same meaning.[54] Such names seem late relative to primary settlement, yet they must belong to a time

when the reckoning of a place at so many davochs was well established. The word davoch never seems to have been used as a synonym for *baile* or *pett*, and may have been attached to a settlement or piece of agrarian exploitation which was essentially subordinate to, dependent upon, some older or larger settlement. Thus Phesdo (Mearns) might have been the "firm davoch", *fas dabhach*, (or "empty davoch", *fàs dabhach*?) of some neighbouring centre (Kincardine?), while Dochfour, south of Inverness, was perhaps the "pasture davoch" of some centre which also possessed Dochnalurig and Dochgarroch. Fendoch was possibly the "white davoch" (*fionn dabhach*) of Glenalmond. Very few davoch-names refer to places of parochial status; Auchindoir in upland Aberdeenshire is one rare example (*Davachendor*,? "davoch of water or streams"). There survive in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire a number of davoch-names of a rather different type, e.g. the Daugh of Carron (also of Kinermony, Grange, Corinacy, Banffshire), and the Daugh of Invermarkie (also of Aswanley and Cairnborrow, Aberdeenshire). As found at present, these davochs look like the hill pasture or rough grazing attached to townships which are now and must always have been chiefly pastoral. But this hardly contradicts the general thesis propounded here that the davoch was in origin and in essence an agricultural unit. The word must have been adapted to semi-pastoral and wholly pastoral districts, and its survival in the areas mentioned may be due to that superfluity of nomenclature which is characteristic of north-eastern Scotland.

In Strathearn, writers of early documents seem to have been chary of using any word for a large arable unit, preferring *villa* or *terra* and giving the name of the place. Acres were found, and there were the familiar acres or rigs in big fields, e.g. "2 acres in the *villa* of Pitlandy" described as lying *in agro qui dicitur Fitheleresflat* (early thirteenth century).[55] "1 toft plus 1 acre of land plus land added elsewhere in the field (*in agro*) to make up 4 acres",[56] and "16 acres on the east side of the field called *Langflat*".[57] The 13-acre bovate appears in Strathearn,[58] and there is at least one text showing that even if the davoch or carucate was not used in Strathearn, nevertheless a subdivision of the davoch, the *rath*, was known there. An early-thirteenth-century charter speaks of the quarter of *Dunphalin* known as *Rath* (now Raith in Trinity Gask),[59] and this is to be compared with charters of the late twelfth century which speak of 2 bovates in Catterline (Mearns) called *Rath*.[60] Apparently

a *rath* was a quarter of a davoch, and it looks as though *Dunphalin* formed a davoch even if it was not so called.

Lennox is well-known to have been the home of the *arachor*, a word fittingly preserved in the name of the village of Arrochar at the head of Loch Long. Like carucate, *arachor* has an obvious etymological connection with ploughing, and the texts leave no doubt that *arachor* was in fact a Gaelic term for the ploughgate. "Three-quarters of *Ackencloy Nether* which in Gaelic is called *arachor*, namely *Clouchbar*, *Barauchan* and *Barnaferkelyn*",[61] formed three-quarters of one whole *arachor*, and it was this which was the Gaelic term for the carucate. Two connected texts give us, first, "the half-carucate in Strathblane, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *arachor*" and, secondly, "the half-carucate in Strathblane, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *Leth-arachor*",[62] and a further text has "Half a carucate in Killearn, where the church is built, which in Gaelic is called *Leth-arachor*".[63] Here, clearly (despite the muddle or error in the first example), carucate = *arachor*, half-carucate = *leth-arachor*. Quarters as well as halves were common in the Lennox, indeed, perhaps we should note that they were especially common, showing a parallel with Argyll. There were other fractions also, and Blackthird, e.g., was doubtless the muirland or unploughable third part of the *arachor* of Darleith (in Cardross). In a markedly pastoral territory such as the Lennox, where rents were paid in cheeses and cattle, the presence of an arable unit, the *arachor*, is noteworthy. If pastoralism did really predominate in early medieval Scotland, still the arable tail seems to have wagged the pastoral dog.

It goes without saying, perhaps, that arable settlements north of the Forth were associated with areas of common pasture, not only in ground adjacent to the settlements themselves, but also in stretches of muir and hill grazing used as shielings. David I, e.g., granted the Dunfermline monks at Urquhart in Moray the land of Penick, by Auldearn, together with the shielings of Fornighty (in Ardclach).[64] The granter of an interesting charter of the middle of the thirteenth century (noted by Watson 1926:136), has this to say of the muirland which in his day stretched from the great Roman camp at Ardoch to the ancient village of Muthil, in Strathearn: "The land called *Cotken* (Gaelic, *coitcheann*, "common") in *Kathermothel* has been in the time of all my predecessors free and common pasture to all the men dwelling round about it, so that

no one may build a house in that pasture or plough it or do anything which might hinder the use of the pasture".[65] The distinction between local pasture and shieling is well brought out by a late-twelfth-century charter in the Arbroath Cartulary, in which Humphrey de Berkeley, granting the lands of Balfeith (Mearns), with common pasture there and in his fief of Kinkell and Conveth, for up to 100 cattle with their progeny and as many swine and horses as required, adds: "The monks of Arbroath and their tenants may have a shieling from Easter to All Saints for these same beasts, wherever they please in Tipperty, Corsebauld or Glenfarquhar".[66] In a contemporary royal charter, Humphrey de Berkeley is granted forest rights over seven davochs in Mearns, including by name the two davochs of Tipperty and one davoch of Glenfarquhar.[67] Here, indeed, about these highland reaches of the Bervie Water, we may have an instance of davochs whose character was that of summer pasture and game preserve rather than arable farming.

Although it is not strictly relevant to rural settlement, it is impossible to discuss the agricultural units without some reference to the fiscal use to which these units were put. Not only may this throw light on the nature of the agrarian unit, but the tax-collector was a more precocious record-maker than the farmer, and consequently we have a fair amount of documentation of this fiscal aspect. South of the Forth, the Crown's forinsec service was levied according to the capacity of the taxpayers' land measured in carucates, and perhaps in bovates. Benorth Forth, forinsec service—called variously "Scottish service", "Scottish army", "common army" or just "army"—was levied *according to the number of carucates or the number of davochs.* Examples of the fiscal carucate may be found at Cassingray,[68] Airdrie [69] and St. Andrews,[70] while Allardice (Mearns) did "common service" for thirteen bovates.[71] Examples of the fiscal davoch are more numerous, but among them we may mention Balcormo, Morton of Blebo, Bruckly and Nydie (Fife), Blairgowrie (co. Perth), Lour, Kincriech, Inverquharity and Old Montrose (Angus).[72] Beyond the Spey, examples could readily be multiplied, and the student is referred to the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* for numerous instances.

In the Fife examples, it is very tempting to suppose that the term *carucata* was simply being used interchangeably with davoch. This would explain the use of the odd phrase "Scottish

carucate" in the Airdrie example, while it would also make intelligible the otherwise puzzling assessment of Cassingray in Kellie-shire at a ½ carucate and of Balcormo (surely also in Kellie-shire?) at 1½ davochs. But the Blairgowrie document (1235) tells us that Scone Abbey had its assessment reduced from 6 to 5 davochs because 2½ carucates had been taken away from its estate there.[73] If 1 carucate = 1 davoch, the canons of Scone were rather hard done by, but if 1 carucate = ½ davoch their treatment was not so harsh. Perhaps, here, the carucate represented the hard facts of the agricultural situation as it obtained at Blair in the 1230's, while the davoch assessment belonged to a much older period and had grown out-of-date. Otherwise, this may be additional evidence that *carucata* was used for a half-davoch.

When we study the documents relevant to Scottish agriculture which have survived from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we are rather like palæontologists trying to reconstruct the whole body of an extinct form of life from a chance survival of imperfect fossils. It is here that we badly need the help of archæology, geography and of the technological historian. We need to know much more about types of plough and of ploughing techniques, field shapes and sizes, corn yields, kinds of stock reared and so forth. A big heavy plough in the south would produce a quite different "ploughgate" from a small light plough in the north. Rearing cattle and sheep for local consumption or for milk and cheese would lead to very different conditions from those which obtained when the export of wool and hides became an important feature of the economy, and we need to know when these developments took place. To some of these questions we shall never know the answer, but we can go further than we have yet done. The preliminary contribution of the document student is that already *circa* 1100, when his sources largely begin, the social and agrarian pattern of Scotland both south and north of Forth appears to be of very long standing. A fiscal system based on the traditional agrarian units was well established, probably fairly ancient. It may have been copied from one or more of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, on the model of the hidage, or it may have been developed independently. In general, the peasant population met its obligations to its lords and clergy by rendering a cross-section of their produce more or less on the spot, or at least to some not very distant shire-centre. For the king, if not for lesser mortals, there may have been some degree of specialisation;

place-name evidence, at least, seems to suggest as much. There are, for instance, at least three localities benorth Forth which take their names from the *conveth* (*coinnmed*), the hospitality given to a visiting lord.[74] In Ayrshire there is the old settlement of Sorn, which apparently has the same significance (Dickinson 1960:173-4).[75] In Kinglassie (Fife), in what was the old royal demesne of Fothrif, there is the estate of Goatmilk, which evidently means what it says in the earliest recorded form of the name (*Gatemilc*),[76] while just north of the Lomond Hills, also on former royal demesne, is the estate of Cash, which looks like what would be made out of goatmilk and other kinds of milk as well (Gaelic *cais*, "cheese"). These names, and the cheese and cattle rents of Lennox and Mearns and other parts, remind us of the importance of pastoralism in early medieval Scotland. But davochs, carucates, and arachors, the prevalence of malt and *prebenda* in crown revenues, and the abundant references in every settled part of the country to mills and multures show that already by the twelfth century and probably long before, the pattern of rural settlement was chiefly determined by the amount of ground that could be ploughed and sown, and of the crops that could be harvested.

NOTES

1 It must be emphasised that this paper does not aim to be definitive, but rather to make tentative suggestions with the object of stimulating further investigation and discussion.

2 E.g., Greenlaw, Smailholm, Swinton, Edrom, Old Cambus (Merse); Oldhamstocks, Innerwick, Spott, Stenton, Tynninghame, Whittinghame, Athelstaneford (E. Lothian). Several of these villages have names indicating an early origin, such as Oldhamstocks, Tynninghame, Coldingham and Whittinghame (which was possibly the *Hruringaham* (*al. Hrutlingaham*) mentioned in the anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* as the home of Cuthbert's foster-mother, ed. B. Colgrave, p. 90). Longniddry and Tranent, which fit into this south-eastern pattern of nucleated villages, have British names (*Nodref*, "new settlement", *Tref yr neint*, "dells' settlement") which cannot have been formed later than *c.* 630.

3 A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, Nos. 20, 122; J. Raine, *Hist. of North Durham*, Appendix, No. 36.

4 Lawrie, op cit., Nos. 93 (Stirlingshire), 96 (Edinburghshire); G. W. S. Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV* (1960), No. 253 (Linlithgowshire).

5 Cf. Lawrie, op. cit., No. 235, referring to a royal *placita* from Callendar. Callendar seems to have been a district rather than a single manor or vill. It contained an important church, called the "speckled church" (*an eaglais bhreac*, *faga circe*, *varia capella*, *la veyre chapelle*, now Falkirk), round which a sizeable settlement grew up later. This church had

dependent chapels before 1164 (*Charters of Holyrood* (Bannatyne Club), p. 169). For the thanes of Callendar, see below.

[6] Lawrie, op. cit., No. 30; *Charters of Coldstream* (Grampian Club), Nos. 8, 11.

[7] Lawrie, op. cit., No. 122.

[8] See Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, p. 46.

[9] Lawrie, op. cit., Nos. 117, 213 and p. 449 ; and No. 212.

[10] A good example is in *Charters of Holyrood*, No. 34, a grant of six acres of Gorgie "which are within the *cultura* of Saughton beside the Water of Leith" (late twelfth century).

[11] Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 187.

[12] Scottish Record Office, Crown Office Writs, No. 5. *Sourebi* is now lost, but is represented by the name Sorbietrees near Newcastleton (in Castleton, co. Roxb.). Mangerton, close by, may contain the name of Race fitz Malger's father.

[13] *Liber S.Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), No. 148 (slightly abridged). Since this land went with the toft and croft of one William of Molhope, it may in fact have formed an individual peasant holding.

[14] Note especially the parochial boundaries of Whittinghame, Stenton, Spott, Innerwick, Oldhamstocks and Longformacus. The shielings of Bothwell (*Bothkil*) in Spott (seven miles from Spott church) are mentioned *c.* 1164 (Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 217).

[15] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 222.

[16] For this dispute, see A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, p. 307; *Liber S.Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club), No. 112.

[17] *Liber de Melros*, Nos. 82-85. This new land was evidently meant to be used in conjunction with hill sheep grazing.

[18] *Liber de Scon* (Bannatyne Club), No. 44, where *Louchoruer* = Loquhariot in Borthwick. Note also the significant reference by King William the Lion (1189-96) to "my tenants of *Elrehope* whom I have transferred to places in my waste land of Selkirk". (*Liber S.Marie de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), No., 13, p. 16.

[19] Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 312.

[20] *Liber de Calchou*, Nos. 112, 113; for Peter, see *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, i, p. 197.

[21] Many examples of parish churches endowed with one carucate may be found in collections of twelfth-century charters, starting with Lawrie, op. cit., No. 50 (p. 46). *Charters of Holyrood*, Nos. 17, 33, are examples of half-carucate churches (Livingstone, Bolton). Airth had its endowment brought up to two carucates by King David I (Lawrie, op. cit., Nos. 92, 153).

[22] *Liber Cartarum S.Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 420-1.

[23] *Illustrations of Scottish History* (Maitland Club), No. 13.

[24] *Registrum vetus de Aberbrothoc* (Bannatyne Club), No. 124. *Treiglas* is Gaelic *tràigh ghlas*, "grey (or green) strand".

[25] A late-twelfth-century charter speaking of half a carucate "in Whitefield" (in Cargill) seems to have reference to a pattern of this sort (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxix, p. 15).

[26] The first two terms are more common, but *tellus* in this sense of arable ground occurs in a document of 1170 relating to Tranent (*Scottish Historical Review*, 30:44).

[27] 1. Nat. Lib. Scotland, MS.15.1.18, No. 20; 2. Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 228; 3. *Charters of Coupar-Angus* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 47; 4. *Acts of Malcolm IV*, No. 251; 5. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, f.144; 6. Hist. MSS. Com., *Mar and Kellie* (1904), p. 3; 7. *Reg. Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Bannatyne Club), i, pp. 9, 218; 8. ibid., i, p. 10.

[28] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 36.

[29] *Registrum de Neubotle*, No. 69.

[30] Sir Frank Stenton long ago drew attention to a named bovate in the English Danelaw, observing that it was probably composed of adjacent acres (*Danelaw Charters* (1920), p. xxxiii, n. 3).

[31] As, for example, Robert I's grant to Thomas Randolph of the earldom of Moray, under obligation of rendering Scottish service "from the several davochs" (*singulis davatis*), or Robert II's charter of Badenoch, described as *sexaginta davatas* (*Reg. Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club), No. 264 and Carte Originales, No. 21).

[32] *Illustrations of Scottish History*, No. 13. "Scottish" in texts of this date means pertaining to Gaelic-speaking Scotia, north of the Forth.

[33] 1. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 1 (p. 2); 2. *Liber Cart. S.Andree*, pp. 290-291; 3. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, ff. 144-145; 4. *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 16; 5. Ibid., No. 79 and *Charters of Coupar-Angus*, No. 38; 6. Brit. Mus., MS.Add.24276, f. 53; 7. Scot. Rec. Office, J. M. Thomson Photographs, No. 10; 8. Brit. Mus., Cotton Charter xviii. 23.

[34] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 21, 51. Lovat is alternatively known as *a'Mhormhaich*, to which Moreweyn may be an approximation. In Convinth we must assume that one other name, in addition to Convinth itself, embraced two davochs.

[35] It is not clear whether the davoch was in origin a measure of seed-corn or of corn-yield. By the twelfth century the term had come to denote a quantity of ground, and had lost its direct connection with measurement of volume.

[36] W. Fraser, *Red Book of Grandtully* (1868) i: 125; *Charters of Coupar-Angus* i, No. 55.

[37] *Liber de Scon*, No. 21. Swain's own land bore the name *Ahednepobbel*, "field of the shieling".

[38] *Liber de Scon*, No. 118.

[39] Brit. Mus., MS.Harl.4628, ff. 240 et seq.

[40] *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Vol. 5 (Aberdeen 1852), 209-213.

[41] *Charters of Lindores* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 116.

[42] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No.16.

[43] Ibid., No. 73.

[44] Ibid., No. 80.

[45] Ibid., No. 83.

[46] Ibid., No. 76.

[47] I have counted (probably not exhaustively) sixteen parish churches in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray endowed with a half-davoch each, referred to in the *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*. They are Abernethy, Abertarff, Abriachan, Altyre, Botarie, Dallas, Daviot, *Drumdalgyn*, Dumbennan, Essie, Glass, Kincardine, Kinnoir, Rathven, Rhynie and Urquhart.

[48] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 41, 46.

[49] Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, Nos. 122, 251.
[50] *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, Nos. 3, 31 (apparently not to be identified with Duldoich in Strathnairn, near Daviot, now lost).
[51] At least in the place-name Gargawach (Watson 1926:235), and by implication, fiscally, in *Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 264.
[52] *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, App. I, No. 9; cf. also J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, No. 1633.
[53] Mr. Ralegh Radford has made the helpful observation that the distribution of the davoch corresponds closely to that of the Pictish symbol-stones.
[54] Ekwall, 1960, under Fyfield, Fifehead, Hyde, Hewish, Huish, etc.
[55] *Charters of Inchaffray* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), No. 56.
[56] Ibid., No. 57.
[57] Ibid., No. 99.
[58] *Charters of Lindores*, No. 68 (Forgandenny, early thirteenth century).
[59] *Charters of Inchaffray*, No. 52. *Dunphalin*, now lost, is represented by Millearn in Trinity Gask.
[60] *Reg. Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, Nos. 67-69.
[61] Hist. MSS. Com., *Second Report*, App. p. 166, No. 14.
[62] Hist. MSS. Com., *Third Report*, App., p. 386, Nos. 7, 9.
[63] Ibid., No. 11. An illustration of how exasperating the evidence can be is provided by the fact that Buchanan, called one carucate, did forinsec service of one cheese from each cheese-making household, while Luss, called two arachors, did service of two cheeses from each cheese-making household (Hist. MSS. Com., *Third Report*, App., p. 387, No. 28; *Cartularium de Levenax*, Addenda, pp. 96-8).
[64] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 255.
[65] *Charters of Lindores*, No. 28.
[66] *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, No. 89 (*Tubertach*, *Crospath*, *Glenferkaryn*).
[67] Brit. Mus., MS.Add.33245, ff. 144-5.
[68] Hist. MSS. Com., *Fifth Report*, App., p. 623 (half carucate in shire of Kellie).
[69] *Illustrations of Scottish History*, No. 13 (half a Scottish carucate in shire of Crail).
[70] Scottish Rec. Office, Transcripts of Royal Charters, 1214-49, text of charter abridged in *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii, No. 2132 (exemption from service due from a certain carucate).
[71] Hist. MSS. Com., *Fifth Report*, App., p. 629.
[72] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, i, p. 101 (red) (Balcormo); Nat. Lib. Scotland, MS.Adv.34.6.24, pp. 248-9 (Blebo); Bain, *Cal. Docs. Scotland*, ii, No. 1350 (Bruckly and Nydie); *Liber de Scon*, No. 67 (Blairgowrie); *Charters of Coupar-Angus*, No. 10 (Lour, Kincriech); Scot. Rec. Office, J. M. Thomson, photographs, No. 10 (Inverquharity); Hist. MSS. Com., *Second Report*, p. 166, No. 17 (Old Montrose).
[73] *Liber de Scon*, No. 67.
[74] (1) Conveth (in Laurencekirk), Mearns. Formerly the name Conveth applied to the whole parish. It was royal demesne in the late twelfth century, granted out by William the Lion. (2) *Convathe*, etc., the name of a royal thanage in Banffshire, now represented by Culvie (in Marnoch). (3) Convinth, west of Inverness, formerly royal demesne, granted as a fief to John Bisset (*Reg. Ep. Moraviensis*, No. 21).

[75] There is also Sornfalla (in Douglas), Lanarkshire.
[76] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 74.

REFERENCES

In this article *sources* are quoted under the relevant notes above.

DICKINSON, W. C.
1960 "Surdit de Sergaunt". *Scottish Historical Review* 39:170-75.

EKWALL, EILERT
1960 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. London.

LENNARD, R.
1959 *Rural England*, 1086-1135.

MARWICK, H.
1949 "Naval Defence in Norse Scotland." *Scottish Historical Review* 28:1-11.

MCKERRAL, A.
1943 "Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 78:30-80.
1950 "The Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions in Celtic Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 85: 52-64.
1953 "The Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions in Celtic Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 85: 51-64.

WATSON, W. J.
1926 *History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*. Edinburgh.

SETTLEMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS, 1750-1950

THE DOCUMENTARY AND THE WRITTEN RECORD

Malcolm Gray*

The student of settlement in the Highlands of the late eighteenth century is in many ways fortunate in the records at his disposal. This was, of course, wholly an agrarian society and much depends on the completeness and nature of estate records. In all parts of the Highlands—but particularly in the west—landed property was highly concentrated. A small group of estates covered a high proportion of the land: and within each estate the property was normally unbroken by interspersed units of ownership so that the settlement as a whole, and often a solid group of settlements, came under unitary control and continuous record. By good fortune—but not entirely by accident, for high family pride, so well established in this society, is an important preservative of the written record—the records of many of these estates have survived; voluminous, increasingly well-ordered in their layout, and portentous in their appearance they seem at first glance to offer a comprehensive record of great areas of settlement. And the usefulness of the record is helped by two adventitious influences. Firstly, as the eighteenth century, with its growing competition in ostentatious urban living, wore on, many of the landlords were chronically and increasingly hard up. Being worried about money they constantly call not only for the usual accounts of rent due and received, the common coin of estates records, but also for inquiries, estimates and plans concerning the general economic circumstances of their tenantry: the factor is asked to consider the economic potential of the estate and he starts, usefully for the historian, by reporting on the day-to-day details of the local economy. Secondly, the fact that most landlords were absentees for at least part of the time carries advantages.

* Senior Lecturer in Economic History, University of Aberdeen.

They were not of the species of absentee landlord who is content to draw income in ignorance of where it comes from; from a distance they call for constant reports on matters afoot—and many trivia of daily dealings are laid out for the historian, tiresomely often enough, and in atrocious handwriting, but with the occasional bright gleam of significant information. To the material preserved in the continuity of family ownership, the accidents of history have added another great collection: the records of the estates forfeited after the rebellions. They cover estates both large and small in many different parts of the Highlands and the uniformity, the thoroughness and the order of the record is of great value, not only in showing the effects of disturbance of the normal course of administration—the results of purposive and explicit policies—but also in laying bare the underlying normal texture of agricultural life. They help, too, to correct one possible distortion emerging from the provenance of the usual run of estate records; outside this collection the record is probably overweighted by the large estates with a long history of continuous family ownership and the smaller, less competently administered estates—those that have slipped from the historian's eye—might tell a different story from the greater ones on which interest most centres.

But when he begins to build up his social and geographical picture the student finds the documents full of exasperating gaps. The working tools tend to break when they are wielded. For one thing the records are riddled with the results of the tacksmen system. Large tracts are let intact to tacksmen, subordinate members of the aristocracy, and the management of these sections, drawing together the affairs of what may be a considerable tenantry, is completely hidden from view. Moreover the clarity of the picture that remains in view is obscured from time to time by the addition or subtraction of land entering or leaving the control of the tacksmen; shifts among the tenantry do not necessarily record real human changes. Even the townships that remain steadily in view cannot be comprehensively understood from the records. They were joint farms and the names on the rental may not indicate the full roll even of people of joint-tenant status; and the rent of those who do appear on the roll does not necessarily indicate their true agricultural status. Below the joint-tenants, whether or not they appear on the record, there will normally be untold numbers of subtenants, cottars and servants. The numbers of

such people cannot even be guessed for there was no recognised proportion between numbers of direct and indirect tenants, no normal relation between the size of the holding and the numbers who worked it or were attached to it. Thus the full delineation of numbers of families or population, or even of holders of land, and certainly any attempt to disentangle the social relationships of the constituent families of the township, is impossible from the normal rent-roll. Fortunately, the impulse to plan and rearrange estates sometimes included the counting of heads and there occur occasionally more complete enumerations of population in relation to land, sometimes even complete descriptions of the tenurial conditions of all the families. Complete instantaneous pictures are revealed here and there, but once revealed they are gone; they cannot be followed through time. And partial revelation, such are the obvious capricious differences among the recorded instances, merely emphasises the impossibility of generalisation. Finally, the maps of farms are normally too generalised; if picked out in detailed rigs, it is without indication of individual holdings. Indeed the whole conception of the Highland farm as a set of generalised shares unrelated to particular portions of land and liable to periodical lotting changes is against any effective mapping of individual holdings. Altogether, the systematic plotting of settlements both as aggregates of families or as social microcosms with intricate internal relationships is fraught with difficulty. There are revealing flashes but no complete picture.

When the interest shifts to the problems of change and the inquirer is carried forward in time the nature of the record does not change much; the estate records are still there at the centre of investigation, often the instruments of new owners, but still in much the same shape and still recording only imperfectly (although as tacksmen were removed and subtenants brought into full tenancy they correspond more closely to the full social reality). But the focus of interest shifts and with it the type of record that may be brought into play. Interest will now be on population trend, the re-arrangement of arable holdings, and the disappearance of settlements—and sometimes the laying of entirely new ones—associated with the spread of sheep farming. Some of these changes are in their nature difficult to follow, but in the Highlands, as in the rest of Scotland, the record between 1755 and 1850 is fortunately interspersed and defined at beginning and end by the great surveys

of population and scene, the population enumeration of 1755, and the Old and New Statistical Accounts. In this period, too, printed works become numerous and varied. It was the age when the Highland tour became fashionable and the book to record it scarcely less so. Often, after the great accounts of the pioneers, Dr. Johnson and Pennant, such works give very slight indications of social life; the writers are more interested in the display of literary style, in antiquarian learning and in the stock responses to the natural scene that pass for romantic sensitivity. But occasionally the picture comes through, and the interest in nature sometimes goes with another feature of the time—the belief in progress and in an inevitable undeveloped potential; there are manifold schemes of development and some at least take account of the real geographical and social facts. More practical, but shot with the same enthusiasms, were the accounts written for the Board of Agriculture which the Highland counties share with the rest of Britain.

The overall regional trend of population and the detailed differences between place and place are of first importance in determining the size of settlements and the social conditions within them. The rate of increase through the second half of the eighteenth century can be discerned with reasonable accuracy for each individual parish by setting Dr. Webster's enumeration against the results of the first census; and the record can be followed thereafter at ten-year intervals, though with some obscurities as parish boundaries are changed and amalgamations and splittings take place. Yet at the best this only gives happenings aggregated over what in the Highlands is often a very wide area—the parish. Many of the most important demographic changes of the nineteenth century came in the form of movements within the parish; and only by tracing such movements would it be possible to follow the intricacies of the settlement pattern. This detailed short-distance shifting—the desertion of some of the old settlements, the overcrowding of others both by natural increase and by immigration, and the occasional laying out of new—is closely connected with the sheep farming movement which was so often the occasion of desertion. The pattern remains obscure. The census material, at least as printed, is too generalised; the disappearance of evicted tenants from the estate records does not end their real social existence; among the lower, unrecorded, layers people may move from place to place while neither the estate nor the census record catches a glimpse of

them. And the literary record is characterised by the purging of guilt, the urge to justify or accuse, and the over-emphatic protestation which paralyse any attempt to tell the tale plainly and in a way that would be more eloquent of the true sufferings involved. Thus for all the ink that has been spilt little idea can yet be gleaned of the true weight of the process, of the numbers involved and the land changing hands. It is true that the movement of the sheep-farmers' frontier can be followed with fair accuracy and the ultimate balance between sheep-farming and crofting can be established. But this is a geographical rather than a social picture, a mapping of areas largely devoid of human content; the details of change are lost and the working of several different causes may be confused. Laborious and detailed work may ultimately yield more to the historian in this field. At least from 1841, the census enumerators' books can with patience be made to map in detail the decennial shifts; and every new bundle of estate records that is turned over may be the one that will show completely for at least one area the social and economic content of the abrupt nominal changes of the rent-roll.

The other main settlement change that was taking place through this period—the substitution of compact lots for the runrig farms—is well recorded. It was a step much debated by landlords and their factors and one therefore which can often be followed in intricate detail through the estate records; and since groups of farms were generally under unitary ownership it can be followed without the gaps which might occur in a system of more mixed ownership. (On the other hand, since no Parliamentary or legal process was involved, the researcher is denied any glimpse of the change in the public records.) Further, the results of the change were written boldly—and enduringly—on the countryside and there is sufficient casual comment, together with the more professional recordings of the agricultural writers (reporting at the behest of the Board of Agriculture) and the variously skilful compilations of the Statistical Accounts, to trace the spasmodic impulses erratically filling in the physical picture of the modern crofting system.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the northwest Highlands and the more northerly islands were recognised to be a problem area; a region where the population suffered constant privation beyond anything known—except among small groups—in any other part of Britain and where widespread

deaths by starvation were a possibility. It was with exasperation that the representatives of Government and even of charitable organisations turned to the rescue and record of this, to them, perverse people. But they were driven into action and investigation and the result is a series of records of a whole society that can scarcely be equalled anywhere else in Britain. These are partly in the Parliamentary records and start perhaps with the report of the Emigration Committee in 1841—the Poor Law Inquiry of 1844 was general to the whole of Scotland but contains again many detailed local accounts—continue through the M'Neill Report of 1851, on to the Napier Commission of 1884, the Report on the Cottar Population in Lewis of 1888, the Brand Commission of 1895, and on ultimately, through other examples, to the Taylor Commission of 1953. Nor does the record end there. The special administrative bodies that ultimately were to be set up to deal with Highland problems—the Crofters' Commission, the Congested Districts Board, the Land Court and the newer Crofters' Commission of the 1950's—have left their trail of annual reports. Meanwhile, less public bodies, attracted to humanitarian problems, were making their reports; the reports of the Free Church Destitution Committee, but one example of the species, contain much detailed statistical information on the whole shape of society.

Some of these reports are unusual—and revealing—in another way: in the examination of witnesses, not as experts, but as simple representatives of the social life under investigation. The Emigration Committee had contented itself with the usual committee procedure of that date (1841)—the calling of witnesses of social position or of some expert knowledge. But Sir John M'Neill, while he filters the evidence of the original witnesses, had evidently been at pains to get the first-hand accounts of the crofters and cottars themselves and with the Napier Commission we are presented with direct and verbatim evidence by members of all social groups, with the lesser and poorer abundantly represented; there are some suspicions of coaching and preparation of the witnesses, and too much depends upon fragile memories of many years past, but on the whole through all four volumes of evidence it is a rich and detailed display of the life of a people. Nor is it the last such display.

Such records are concerned only accidentally, of course, with the shape and size of settlements. But they do thoroughly

document the economic circumstances backing such development; for the question now was whether a settlement pattern which had solidified by 1850 but was still affected in its inner strength by the pulsations and trends of population, could establish the economic base for its continuance. The days of dramatic change in the outer shape were over but within a rigorously defined land system the minimum economic requirements of continued life were in constant change. Some of these changes had effects on the outer shapes of settlements and sometimes changes in the outer shape would stir a new economic effort. But on the whole it was a long, slow and largely unseen contest between the encroaching and alien forms and the native life; on the outcome of the contest would depend the ultimate physical continuance of the typical nineteenth-century settlement pattern, but for the moment the encroachment might go far without visible collapse. Local collapses there have been, the desertion of townships, the retreat of of cultivation in settlements where there is still life, but on the whole the pattern has held together. True comment must come through consideration of the totality of economic and social life within; and for this, through all the long period of physical rigidity, there are ample and untouched records.

APPENDIX

There are records representative of most parts of the Highlands and Islands in the preserved papers of the great estates. Some of these estates were much diminished in size in the first half of the nineteenth century and the original broad picture, on them, cannot be carried beyond 1850 at the latest: such are the Seaforth and Clanranald estates. With this limitation, however, the picture is, or can be made, representative. The *Breadalbane Collection* displays a large section of Perthshire and northern Argyllshire; the *Seaforth Papers* document Lewis and some smaller parts of the eastern and western mainland of Ross-shire; the *Reay Papers* show a smallish corner of Sutherland for a short period at the beginning of the nineteenth century; *Gordon Castle Papers* deal with parts of Lochaber, as well as the largely lowland sectors of this great property; *Clanranald Papers* arise from an estate which at one time covered Arisaig and Moidart on the western mainland together with some of the smaller isles of the Inner Hebrides and the whole of South Uist in the Outer. All these collections, along with some

smaller ones, are housed in the Register House, Edinburgh. In addition, some collections are still kept in the muniment rooms in the estates themselves; particularly notable are the papers relating to the Sutherland estate, kept at Dunrobin Castle: to the Macleod estate, kept at Dunvegan: to the Argyll estate, kept at Inveraray: and to the Atholl estate, at present being catalogued in King's College Library but ultimately to be returned to Blair Castle. The *Forfeited Estates Papers*, again in Register House, deal mainly with a fairly short period in the second half of the eighteenth century but they contain examples of estates, large and small, in many different parts of the Highlands (though less for the northerly Highlands); to some extent this is a record of a very special experiment in public administration, but there are also accounts of the normal agrarian composition and detailed working of typical Highland estates, and there are particularly useful surveys of population, land and stock.

The population record in the Highlands is the normal one for Scotland. *Dr. Webster's Enumeration* (1755)—of which the manuscript copy is in the National Library of Scotland—is an estimate, built on scientific principle from a known base, for all the parishes of Scotland. The estimates in the Old Statistical Account come too close to the first census to be of any great value. The decennial census figures, as given for parishes in the printed Parliamentary Papers, can be broken down to much finer detail by the use of the Enumerators' Books which show numbers of people and landholdings in every farm and settlement; they are kept in the New Register House, Edinburgh, and are not available beyond 1891. Registration of births and deaths was not made compulsory till 1855 and the record before that time is very incomplete and unreliable.

The famine of the forties brought a crop of official and semi-official reports. Correspondence about the official measures to give relief is partly printed in Parliamentary Papers (1847, LIII), but there are additional manuscript letters on the same subject in Register House (Highland Destitution Papers); again this is more than an administrative record, since there are many details about the social and economic condition of the people. The organisation called into being by the famine was not merely governmental; private charitable bodies played a part and reported on it. Such were the Highland Relief Committees of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the Free Church

Committee on Destitution; from these came a number of annual reports, again containing some useful social investigation and comment. A similar body was the Highland Emigration Society, of which the records are preserved in Register House.

The series of Parliamentary Papers dealing with the Highlands started before the famine and lasted long after—in fact till the present day. The first notable report—with, of course, the valuable transcript of examination and answers of witnesses—was the *Report on Emigration* (1841,VI). The *Poor Law Inquiry* (1844,XXI-XXIV) contains detailed material concerning some of the Highland parishes. But Sir John M'Neill's *Report to the Board of Supervision* (1851,XXVI) was the fullest account yet given; it was to be outdone, however, by the report and evidence (running to five volumes) of the Napier *Commission on the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars* (1884, XXII-XXVI). Detailed returns concerning rent, size of holding, and stock, made to this Commission, are available in Register House to add to the printed material. The report was followed by the setting up of the Crofters' Commission, a permanent body which issued annual reports till 1911. In 1888 came the report on the *Condition of the Cottar Population of the Lews* (1888,LXXX) and some years later the Brand *Commission on the Highlands and Islands* (1895,XXXVIII-XXXIX). The Congested Districts Board, set up after the latter report, issued annual reports till 1911. The Report of the *Committee of Inquiry into Crofting Conditions* (1953,VIII) is the latest of the series of important reports and it, too, has had its sequel in the appointment of a new Crofters' Commission.

The variously named fishery authorities that have followed each other since 1809 dealt at first mainly, and then solely, with Scotland and their annual reports as well as the daily work of the fishery officers have touched at many points upon Highland conditions. The reports give a continuous, and increasingly elaborate, statistical picture, although it is a record that has to be carefully interpreted before it can be taken to indicate conditions within the coastal settlements. From about 1885, the literary account of activities in the various districts becomes full and informative, but the main help to interpretation comes through the use of manuscript records, the great mass of accounts and reports that were kept and made by the fishery officers; these are housed mainly in Register House, but there is

evidently much material still in the local offices. One experiment with an illuminating history is the attempt to found fishing settlements by the British Fishery Society. This experience, which is significant not only of the settlements themselves but also of the general conditions surrounding them, is thoroughly documented in the records of the Society, again housed in Register House.

THE EVOLUTION OF HIGHLAND RURAL SETTLEMENT

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ARGYLLSHIRE

R. Alan Gailey*

The vast bulk of original research on the Highlands deals with the circumstances of settlement about the time when the Improvers were at work, and later. There have been few studies of the period before 1700, while archæological work has been confined mainly to the study of the early Christian Church and to Dark Age and Medieval remains such as crannogs and duns, the distribution of which can not have represented the total settlement pattern of these periods. What may best be attempted then is to summarise briefly what is known of eighteenth-century Highland settlement, indicate the nature of the subsequent changes, and attempt to work backwards from the known datum of the eighteenth century.[1] It must be made clear now, however, that no *firm* evidence exists at the moment as to the form or the detailed evolution of Highland rural settlement before about 1700. This paper deals in the main with settlement form, and only incidentally with other equally important and related topics, such as the relationship between settlement form and distribution, and field system. One of the neglected aspects of settlement study, the relationship of house form to settlement, is touched on here.

The Military Survey of Scotland (known as Roy's Map) (O'Dell 1953:58-63) provides an unrivalled mid-eighteenth century source for Scottish settlement studies. Over the Highland area the ubiquitous, one might say the exclusive settlement form was the clachan,[2] a group of houses and related outbuildings showing usually no plan, originally an integral part of a run-rig joint-farm,[3] and housing solely the tenants and dependants of that joint-farm, dependants like tradesmen and cottars. The clachan was typified by a complete absence of commercial or educational facilities.

* Research Officer, Ulster Folk Museum.

It must be remembered that the total pattern of settlement contained two other elements also, though distributionally of minor significance. There were occasional isolated dwellings, sometimes tacksmen's or minor lairds' homes,[4] or sometimes the bothies of herdsmen sited outwith the bounds of the arable area of a run-rig farm. Secondly, in comparison with the modern settlement pattern the absence of small rural service centres, akin to the villages of England, was a noticeable feature. In the Highlands most of these centres have come into being since

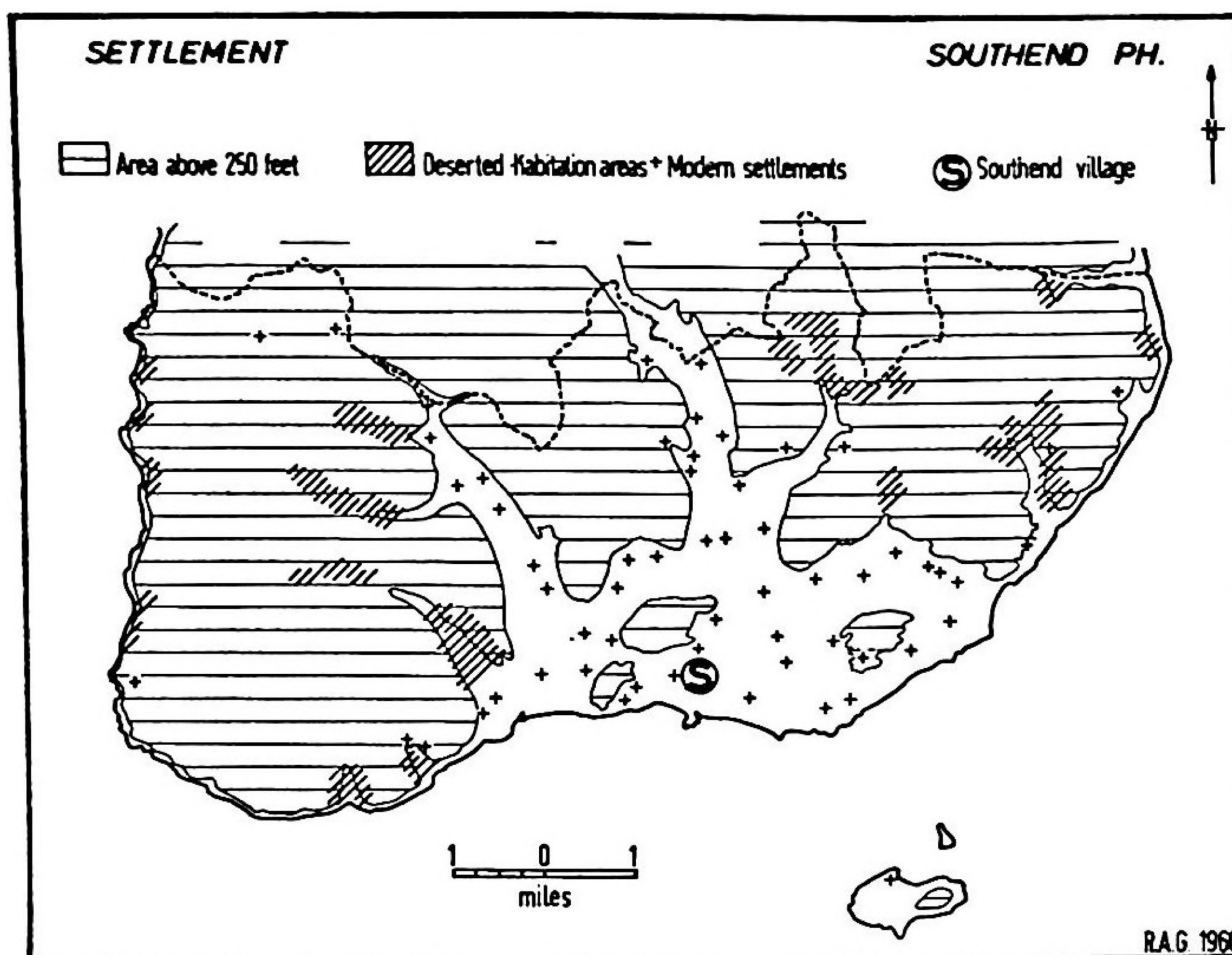


FIG. 1.

1750, with the exception of the larger Royal Burghs like Inveraray and Campbeltown.

By comparison with field and cartographic evidence it is possible to analyse what Roy's Map shows, and what subsequent changes have taken place (Fig. 1). In higher areas the clachans were cleared or were gradually deserted as the margin of profit for both laird and tenant declined due to rising living standards after 1750 in these marginal hill areas. In lower districts the clachans have been replaced, on the same sites, by modern farm steadings, the outbuildings of which not infrequently incorporate the remains of old joint-farm houses. In Southend the steadings take a Lowland form, the buildings

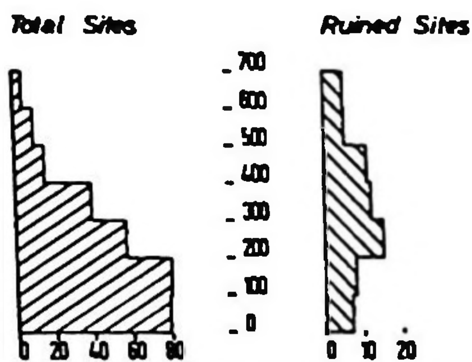
grouped round three or four sides of a central courtyard, a form introduced to the Duke of Argyll's estates in Kintyre soon after 1800 (Gailey 1960:104-105). Elsewhere, as farther north in Argyll, smaller sheep farm steadings are now normal, but in crofting areas one of two things usually happened. On what were the smaller joint-farms, of say from four to six joint-tenants, the clachan form of settlement has often remained. An example is Achnaha in west Ardnamurchan where a small tight cluster of dwellings remains amidst the arable crofts, not permanently lotted according to local tradition till about 1914. Ormsaigbeg, also in west Ardnamurchan, provides an example of what happened in many larger townships. A dispersal from the original clachan followed the permanent lotting of individual holdings after the disappearance of run-rig practices. Lotting appears to have been generally unknown in the Highlands before about 1800, and led usually in a large township to a widely spaced linear settlement pattern, each dwelling on its individual holding, a pattern which virtually mocks the traditional two-fold classification of nucleated and dispersed settlement.[5]

Fig. 2 represents a simplified altitudinal analysis of mid-eighteenth-century settlement, and also an analysis of the sites shown on Roy's Map subsequently abandoned or cleared. Distributional variations within Argyll depend on both physical and human factors. Kintyre stands apart from the remainder of the county, for both absolutely and relatively the greatest abandonment of settlement has been above 250 feet above sea level. Elsewhere, though the maximum relative abandonment remains at higher altitudes, the greatest absolute abandonment has always been within 100 feet of sea level. Topography has obvious effects on the siting of settlement. In both Ardnamurchan and Knapdale whether due to steeper slopes or to extremes of landform dissection the settlement possibilities are severely limited. On the other hand, in Kintyre especially but also in mid-Argyll the settlement potential is obviously greater, due to raised beaches at lower levels and to more gentle slopes higher up.

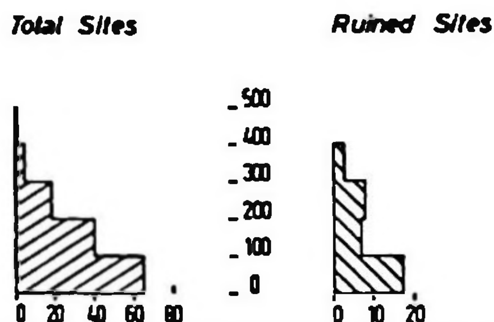
There are also clear regional variations in the percentages on a parish basis of the total settlement sites of 1750 later deserted. The basic pattern is one of least abandonment in the south of the area analysed, and maximum desertion in the north. This pattern is disturbed in the northeast where the low percentage abandonment is due to the initial sparse settlement

HEIGHT FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE RUINED OF SETTLEMENT SITES

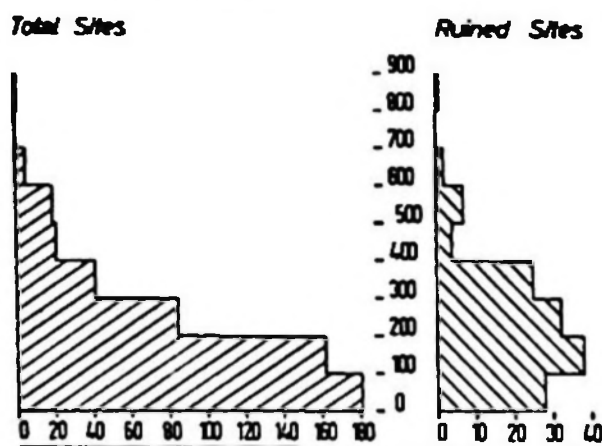
1 KINTYRE



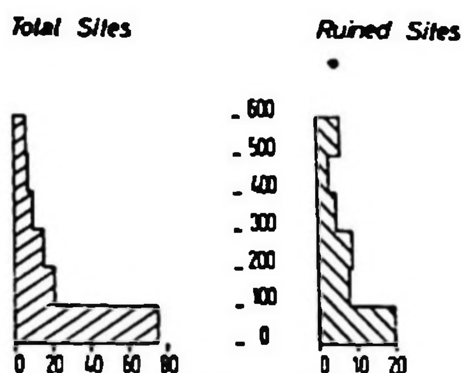
2 KNAPDALE



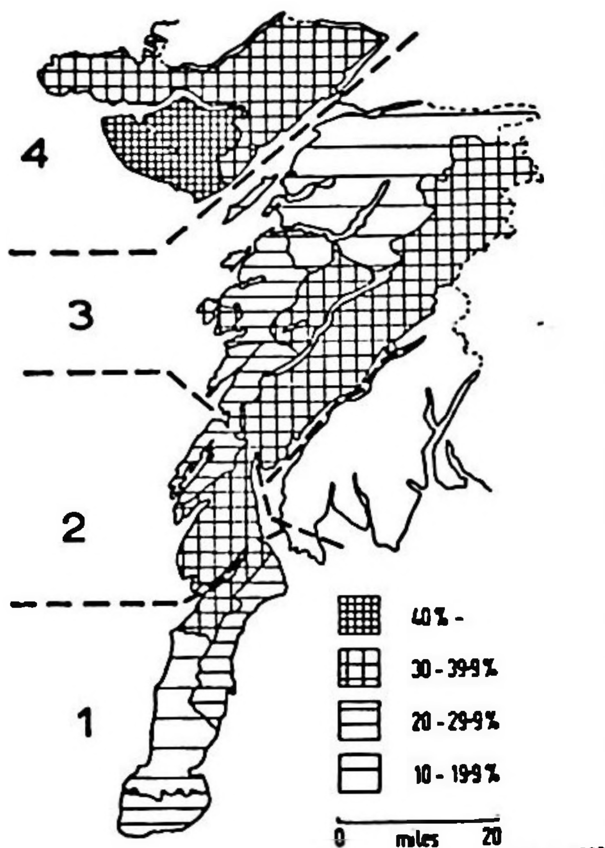
3 CENTRAL ARGYLL



4 ARDNAMURCHAN



RUINED SITES AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SITES By Parishes



HORIZONTAL SCALES REFER TO NUMBERS OF SITES. NOTE DIFFERENT SCALES FOR RUINED AND FOR TOTAL SITES.
VERTICAL SCALE REFERS TO ALTITUDE IN FEET ABOVE ORDNANCE DATUM.
THE SAMPLE OF SITES HERE EXAMINED IS DERIVED FROM A COMPARISON OF THE MILITARY SURVEY WITH G.S.G.S. 1:25000 MAP SHEETS.

FIG. 2.

in the difficult terrain of Appin, and to an unusual continuity of settlement sites in the limestone-based island of Lismore. The basic pattern is interestingly paralleled by what is known of the course of agrarian change in the county. Innovations were normally initiated in the south and spread northward,

and it would seem that the earlier these changes occurred, the slighter was their effect on settlement. This is reasonable, for the earlier changes were being accepted by a relatively smaller total population in the south during the eighteenth century, while changes of a similar nature but differing in degree were thrust on a relatively larger population total which had outgrown local resources in the north during the early nineteenth century.

In the Highland area the representation of settlement on Roy's Map is diagrammatic. This is clear from a comparison of Roy with field evidence and with contemporary cartographic sources in estate papers. Each clachan is shown by a cluster of from four to six dots. The sole variation is where, in some cases, the clachan is shown as two or three groups of two, sometimes three dots each. However, detailed analysis of Roy's Map on a parish basis does suggest that some regional variation in clachan size was allowed for (Gailey 1961*a*:258). For Kintyre an average of three to four houses per clachan contrasts with six or more houses in each cluster in the north of Argyllshire. This distinction is noticeable from the evidence of ruined clachans on the ground. Indeed, variation in clachan size from district to district seems to have been the norm over the Highlands in general. At Monymusk in 1775 eight to ten houses per clachan was a size frequently encountered, though the average for the estate as a whole was about seven (Hamilton 1945:xiv). In the same year in Assynt an average settlement size of more than twelve families (and so presumably a similar number of houses) typified coastal run-rig farms, though inland the number was reduced to about seven (Adam 1958: xlvii). In 1696 in Aberdeenshire, a total of about six families per clachan was normal, though the social make-up of the clachan communities differed between Highland and Lowland areas of the county (Geddes and Forbes 1948:100-103). Sources like the Statistical Accounts at the end of the eighteenth century frequently provide information on clachan size; as in North Knapdale where the parish minister claimed that four tenants per farm, and so four or five houses per clachan was normal and he suggested that this number was related to the four-horse plough team, each tenant providing one horse for the common team in each settlement (Campbell 1793:540).

One of the striking features of ruined clachans in the field is that, particularly in the northwest Highlands, they consist of ten or a dozen or more houses in each cluster. While this

does not agree with clachan sizes just quoted, we must remember as has already been pointed out (Fairhurst 1960:72), that what we now see on the ground in the northwest are often the remains of these settlements after they had experienced a period of unprecedented growth to accommodate the rapidly increasing population of the late eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. It is significant that in Kintyre, where agrarian changes were initiated as population growth was just getting under way, the ruined clachans we see to-day seldom exceed six houses in size, except in unique settlements like Mealdarroch near Tarbert Lochfyne which was essentially a fishing settlement and did not house a community living mainly by the land. The average clachan sizes for the Kintyre parishes, from Roy's Map are 3·3 in Southend, 3·7 in Campbeltown, 3·6 in Killean and Kilchenzie, 4·0 in Saddell and Skipness, and 4·4 in Kilcalmonell and Kilberry. These figures agree amazingly with the sizes of ruined clachans experienced in the field, and their gradual increase northward reflects the initiation of improvements in Southend and Campbeltown and their spread northward through the peninsula during the second half of the eighteenth century (Gailey 1960:106).

The English soldier, Burt, writing in 1754, was undoubtedly a biased observer, but his graphic account of Highland settlement provides as useful a pen-picture of the contemporary settlement form as any. "A Highland Town," he said, "is composed of a few Huts for Dwellings, with Barns and Stables, and both the latter are of more diminutive Size than the former, all irregularly placed, some one Way, some another, and, at any Distance, look like so many heaps of Dirt; these are built in Glens and Straths, which are the Corn Countries, near Rivers and Rivulets, and also on the sides of Lakes where there is some Arable Land for the support of the inhabitants" (Burt 54:II, 130). If to this we add his comment "Their Huts are mostly built on some rising Spot at the Foot of a Hill, secure from any Bournes or Springs that might descend upon them from the Mountains" (Burt 1754:II, 63), we have an adequate generalised description of eighteenth century Highland settlement distribution and form.

The normal mid-eighteenth-century clachans, and most modern clachans, both ruined and viable, are amorphous clusters of dwellings and offices. Bourblaige in west Ardnamurchan may be considered as typical if rather on the large side —a group of some sixteen dwellings not too closely packed

together set amidst the available cultivable area. A map of Ardnamurchan and Sunart drawn in 1806-7 by William Bald (Storrie 1961:112-17) represented the settlement very accurately, especially as regards the disposition of the houses within the group. What exists on the ground in a ruined state (Fig. 3) corresponds exactly with what Bald showed on his map. Ardnaw/Kilmory in South Knapdale retains still its clachan form but there are now only three occupied houses

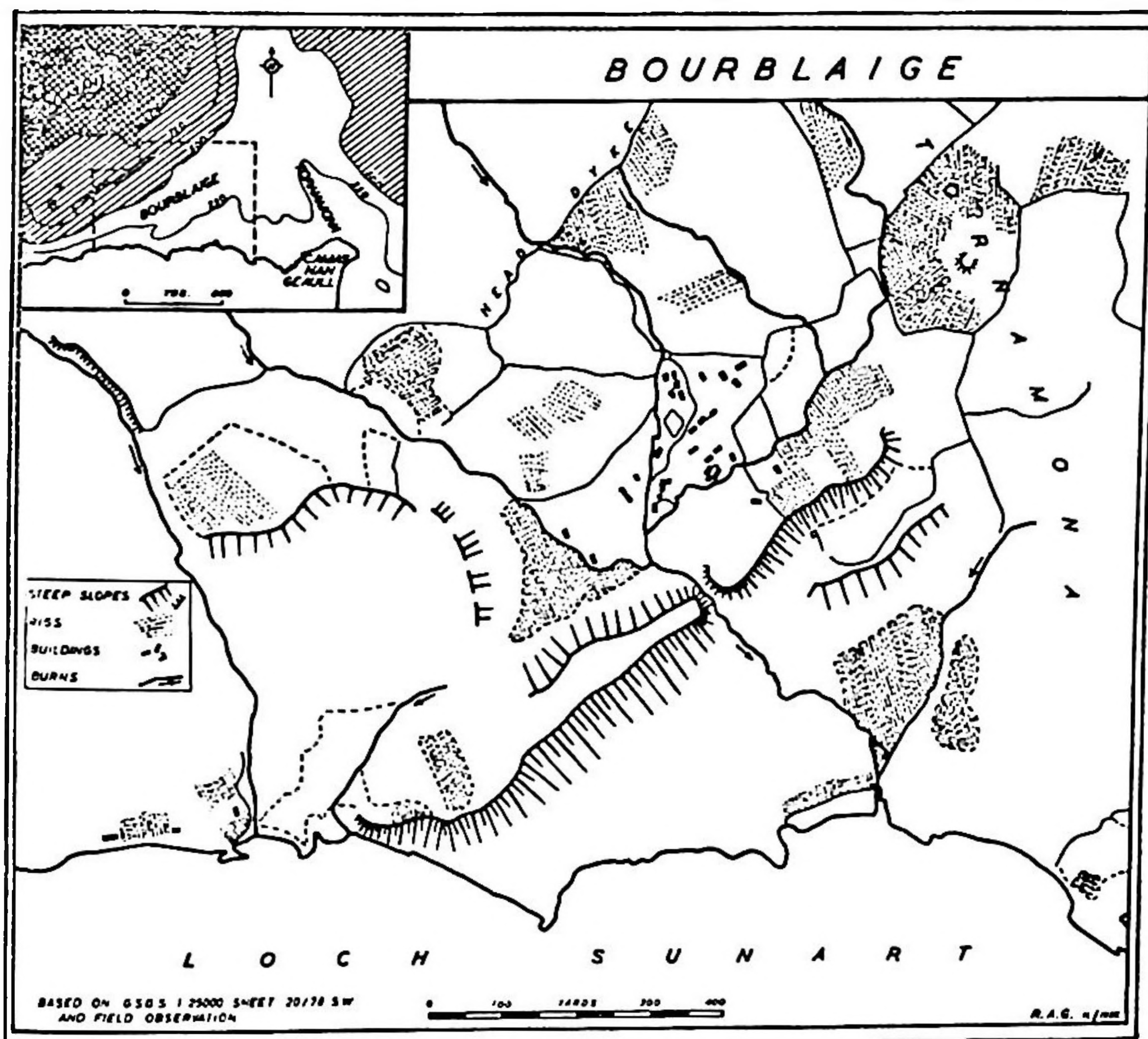


FIG. 3.

one of which is outside the original cluster. However, this settlement demonstrates to us that sometimes clachans are not quite what they seem. In this case a boundary stream dividing the clachan separates two adjacent joint-farms. That this division is not a recent artificial creation is proven by the fact that the boundary appears quite clearly dividing the single settlement between the two farms on an estate map drawn by Taylor and Skinner in 1776 (Inverneil Papers: Plans of Inverneil and Knap).[6] In this case we are dealing functionally with two settlements, but morphologically with a single clachan.

Sometimes topography took a hand and the houses of the clachan were each individually oriented according to slope, resulting in houses placed generally with their long axes in two directions at right angles to each other, or, as at Auchnangoul near Inveraray in a single direction (Pl. VII, fig. 1). Apart from this no semblance of orderliness obtains. The clachan was normally sited either roughly centrally within the disjoined patches of infield arable, as at Bourblaige, or like Auchnangoul the cluster of houses was sited at the boundary between arable and common pasture. In Auchnangoul there are now only two occupied houses, but elsewhere we occasionally discover a viable clachan. Such is Drumbuie in the parish of Lochalsh in Wester Ross, where there is also an associated fossilised remnant of run-rig openfield. Again in Drumbuie we can recognise topographic orientation of the houses in the amorphous cluster.

The sole apparently significant morphological variation from the amorphous settlement is what I have come to call the "Linear/Rectangular" clachan. Examples from Kintyre (Fig. 4) show what is implied by this term. The houses and outbuildings are built either in a straight line often joined to each other sometimes sharing common gables, or they are laid out in two or more lines approximately at right angles to each other. Roy's Map provides no indication of this variation from the normal amorphous clachan; but even had they existed in 1750 (and the sequel will show that this would have been unlikely) we should probably not expect to see them represented on the map due to the diagrammatic representation of settlement employed by Roy. Evidence from Kintyre, especially from the parish of Southend, suggests that these linear/rectangular sites were a reorganisation of older and pre-existing fully amorphous clachans on the same sites and that this re-organisation was an accompaniment, when it took place, to the earliest phases of agrarian improvement (Gailey 1960:104).

Analysis, mainly cartographic, of the distribution of the amorphous and of the linear/rectangular clachans in Argyll has been carried out.[7] A first impression is that the distribution of the linear/rectangular sites is random and meaningless. It is only when this distribution is viewed against the pattern of estate ownership that it becomes meaningful. In the south of the county especially, most of these sites are found on lands which belonged to proprietors like the Duke of Argyll, Campbell of Stonefield, or Campbell of Knockbuy—proprietors who

FIG. 1—Auchnangoul, Inveraray par., Argyll.

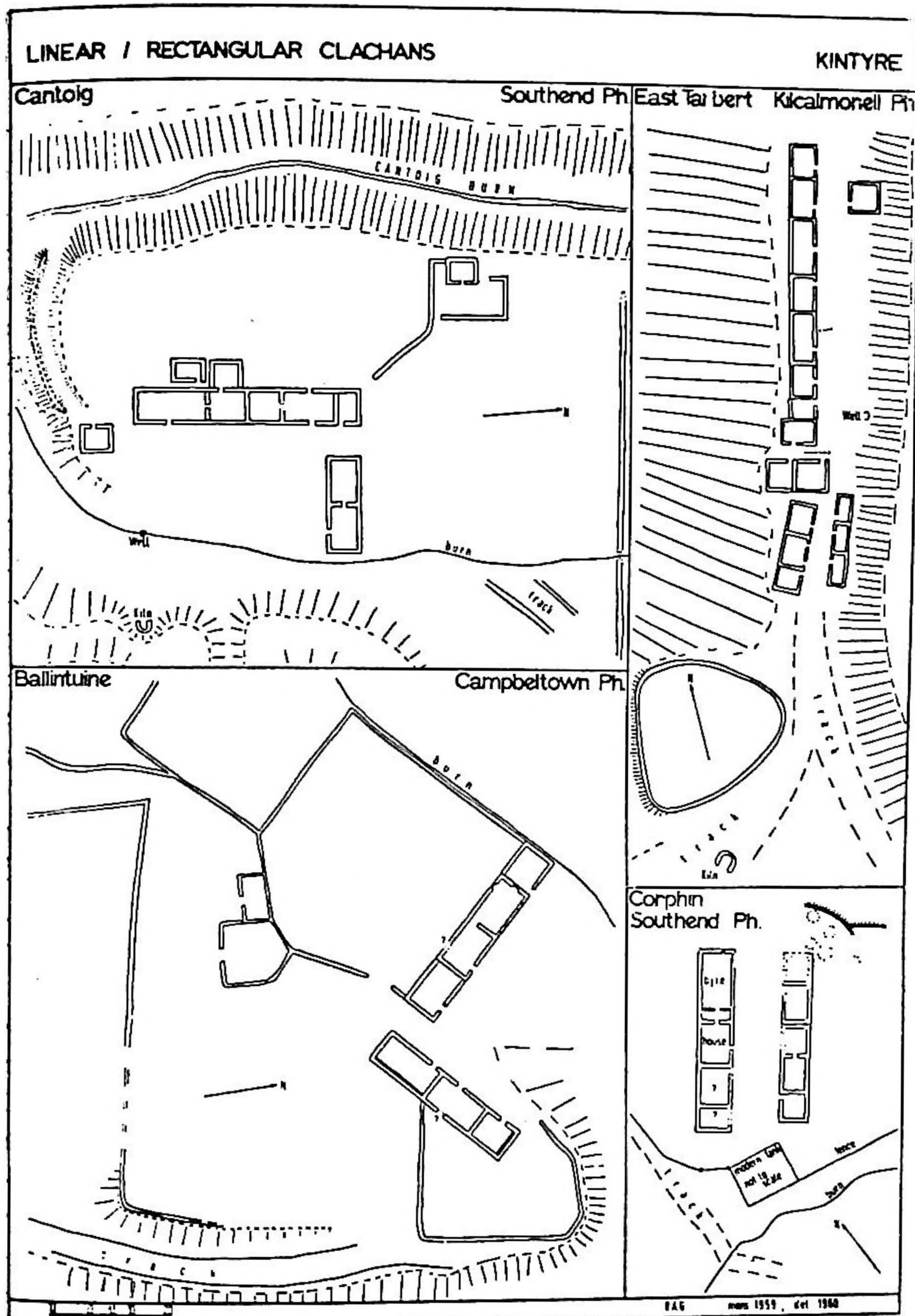


FIG. 4.

were prominent eighteenth-century improvers in Argyll. This correlation further strengthens the concomitance of the linear/rectangular clachans with the early phases of agrarian improvement which, in general, was only initiated in Argyll about or after the mid-eighteenth century.

A variant of the linear/rectangular clachan (though sometimes admittedly it should be classed a variant of the amorphous

clachan) takes the form of two or three groups of two or three houses each, distributed over the cultivable area of the joint-farm or around its margins. Usually each constituent group appears to have a linear or rectangular form. Roy in one or two instances suggests this form in Argyll in 1750, but the supreme example must be at Lix near Killin in western Perthshire, where I was privileged to assist in excavations under the direction of Dr. Fairhurst during 1959 and 1960. We know from cartographic sources contained in the Forfeited Estates Papers that at Lix this "fragmented' or "dispersed" linear/rectangular clachan was preceded by a normal amorphous settlement. Unfortunately, of this earlier clachan no trace has been found despite diligent search. Excavation in two of the small ruined house-clusters at East Lix has proved equally fruitless in the search for this earlier settlement, though the excavation itself was by no means barren of results. The present ruined house-clusters on East Lix are associated with rectangularly laid out field boundaries and trackways all apparently later than the Fortified Estates Papers map of 1755. Yet again at Lix we are faced with the conclusion that the linear/rectangular form was a concomitant of early agrarian reform.

This dispersed characteristic of some eighteenth-century clachans (but it must be remembered that the total number of sites involved is small) brings up a further point. Irish workers, in particular Dr. McCourt, have recognised a certain mobility in the evolution of Irish clachans in some areas (McCourt 1955: 376). This is a tendency for clachans to evolve and to develop fairly rapidly and for daughter clachans to hive off from the parent settlement, often within the bounds of the original township. The "dispersed" or "fragmented" Highland clachans look like a Highland counterpart to this Irish phenomenon—except that if the evidence from Lix is generally applicable the original settlement disappears altogether. Other cases, however, of the creation of new clachans and joint-farms in the eighteenth century within the bounds of pre-existing communities have recently come to light. Two examples I discovered from a study of estate rentals for Kilberry in Knapdale, between 1768 and 1780 (Gailey 1961*a*:119-121). Mr. MacSween has proved a similar occurrence in east Trotternish, one of the northerly peninsulas of Skye (MacSween 1959*a*:56). Occurrences like these have been rare and so we must conclude that increasing population was absorbed by swelling the ranks of the cottar and squatter population, producing the swollen clachans

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION WEST ARDNAMURCHAN

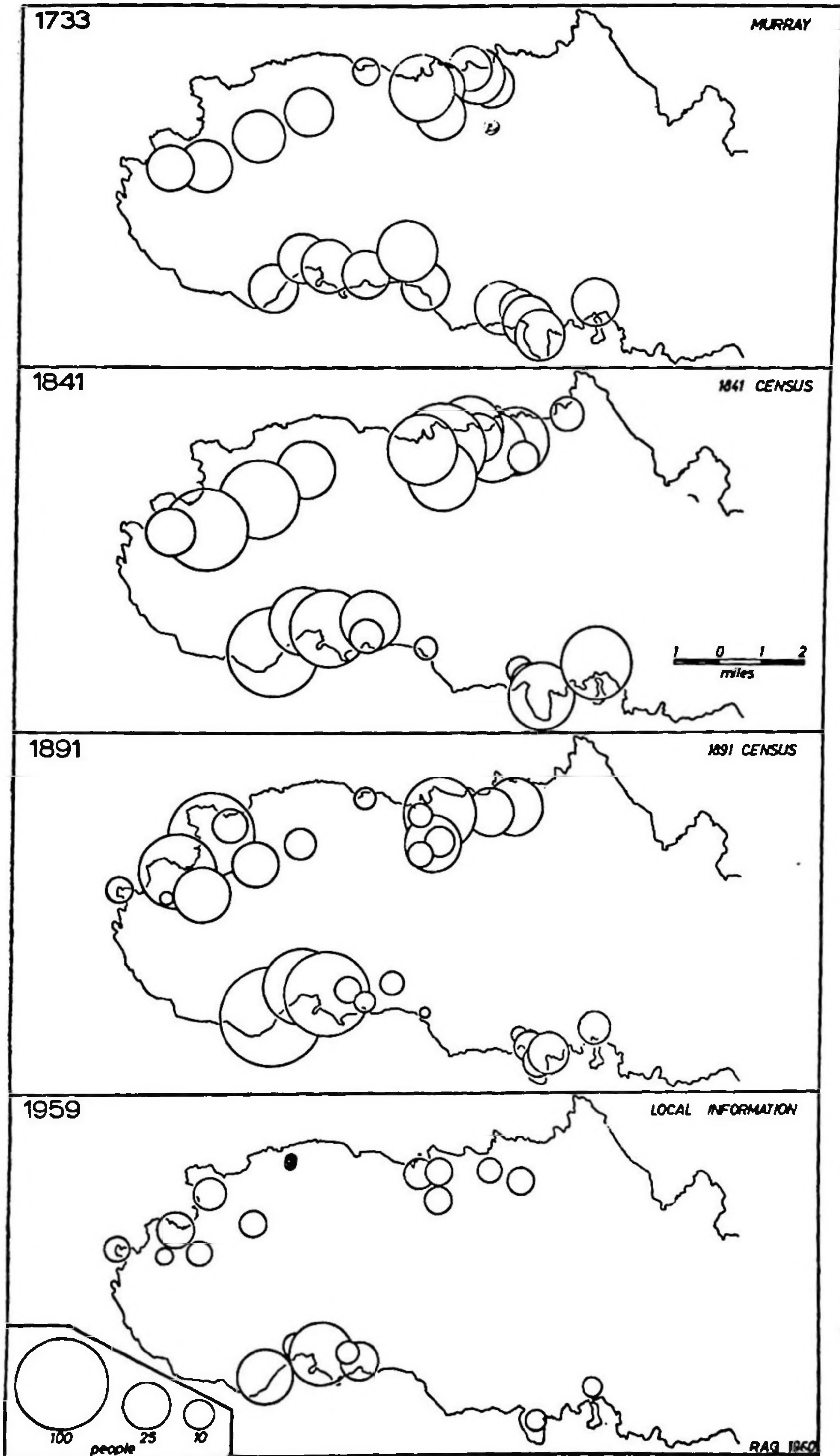


Fig. 5.

of the nineteenth century, while the numbers of legal tenants on the joint-farms remained fairly constant or gradually decreased. In Ireland it would appear that the tendency was for minute sub-division of the available land in many areas with the sporadic creation of new settlements. A different attitude by the proprietors in the two countries was basic to this difference in rural settlement.

The decline of the clachans is a well-known story—the tale of Highland depopulation. Population statistics when mapped, for instance, for west Ardnamurchan (Fig. 5) tell the story. The 1733 figures show population distribution under true run-rig conditions, with a fairly even size of settlement over the whole area. The following figures for 1841 and 1891 show what happened as some joint-farms and clachans were cleared to form sheep farms, while others had their land whittled away and their settlements swollen and reorganised into the modern crofting system. The final figures represent modern conditions when crofting settlement is no longer viable, and when many dwellings lie unoccupied for a variety of reasons (Gailey 1961*b*: 63). An increasing lack of balance in the distribution of population and so of settlement became the norm in the Highland area after 1800.

In exceptional cases where a more or less complete run of estate rentals is available, by totalling the number of tenancies over the estate for each year or at set intervals and producing a tenancy graph, an indication of the decline of clachans soon appears. This relies on the concomitance of the clachan and the run-rig joint-farm. The present example (Fig. 6) is for the Ross Estate in North Knapdale. The halving of the tenancies here between 1840 and 1860 is immediately evident. Allowing for the fact that there would be a time lag between the decline in the number of tenancies and in the number of occupied dwellings, a graph such as this can show the decline of settlement, and put a date to the critical period of change with fair accuracy. In the field this decline is apparent in the settlements themselves to a certain degree; and it appears also in a different form when one starts to map cultivation limits. In this, field study can be supplemented by the examination of aerial photographs. The drawback is that without independent dating evidence it is not possible to *date* the critical period in the decline of settlement. Where available, contemporary cartographic sources provide valuable comparative material. By comparing the cultivated area shown on Bald's map of

Ardnamurchan with the area mapped from field and aerial photographic evidence, it is clear that the maximum limits to which (outfield) cultivation had been pushed had been reached in west Ardnamurchan by 1806-7 at the latest. The area of retraction in cultivation limits, however, can only suggest the area within which there has been greatest decline of settlement, in the broadest sense, but can not provide of itself dating for this decline. The area involved is marginal hill land in most cases,

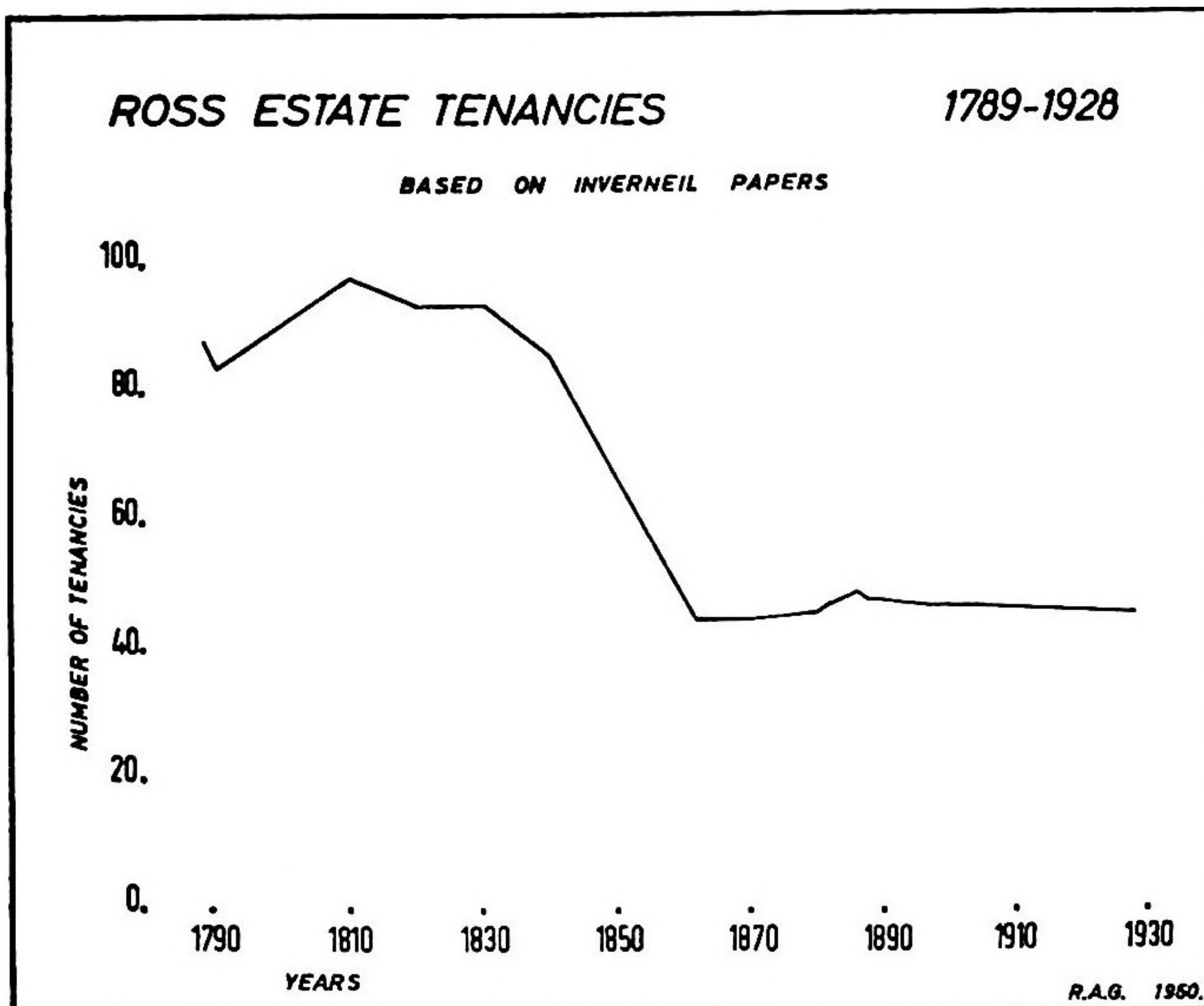


Fig. 6.

precisely the area in which, as we have already seen, we normally find the maximum relative numbers of ruined clachans. An ecological indicator of these areas is provided by bracken, which has spread rapidly over the better-drained once-cultivated areas now lying derelict.

It is worth recording here, perhaps, that the maximum limits to which cultivation had been pushed were attained by the beginning of the nineteenth century in west Ardnamurchan, before 1786 in North Knapdale, before about 1800 in Southend in Kintyre (Gailey 1961*a*; Chapters 7-9, 181), and before 1769 in Trotternish in north Skye (MacSween 1959:46). Remembering that population continued to increase into the nineteenth

century, we must, therefore, postulate an increasingly intensive use of a gradually diminishing, or at best static, total cultivable area in the Highlands during the early decades of the nineteenth century, and not a progressive intake of pasture land. The problem of the limits of cultivation is not a straight-forward relationship between man and the land, but one which demands recognition of the gradual changes wrought by agrarian improvement on an age-old infield-outfield pattern. Only thus can we resolve the apparent paradox of receding cultivation limits and rapidly increasing population pressure during the period between 1780 and 1830.

We must now turn our attention to the thorny problem of the dating of extant ruined clachans in the Highlands. Some clachans, indeed, as we have seen, are still inhabited. Terminal dates may be assigned to some sites where exceptional documentary or cartographic evidence exists. Such is the site (though there are now no ruins) at Inverneil on Loch Fyneside south of Lochgilphead. It appears on a map of about 1755 as a large inhabited clachan, and on a later one in 1776 by Taylor and Skinner as a ruinous cluster of houses (Gailey 1961*a*:106-114). In other cases oral evidence provides a date, especially where the clachan declined and was deserted after 1850. Evidence in the reports of Royal Commissions and other official bodies towards the end of the nineteenth century and also during the 1840's can place the desertion of many more sites. Similar dating evidence lies in sets of estate papers, or in the invaluable Statistical and New Statistical Accounts of the various parishes. For instance, for the Mull of Kintyre I was able to place the desertion of a group of clachans to the period before 1820 from evidence contained in the New Statistical Account for the Parish of Southend. Final dating from estate rentals put the year at 1818. Even where no specific evidence is to hand, a working knowledge of general Highland social and economic history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of the often passionately recounted tale of the clearances and of schemes for resettlement provides some indication of when clachans were either deserted voluntarily or cleared compulsorily.

After the wealth of evidence for terminal dating we turn to discover almost complete barrenness of sources for dating the initial occupation of virtually all clachan sites. Equally there is little evidence to date the form which the clachans assume in their now ruined state. In the latter respect almost the

only evidence is derived from a study of house form and construction, rather than of settlement form.

One of the noticeable features of ruined Highland clachans is the fact that the houses were all obviously stone-built, whether with mortared or with dry-stone walls. Yet when we examine contemporary literature and other documentary sources, wherever Highland peasant houses are mentioned or described from before 1750 or 1760 almost invariably houses built of some material other than stone are involved. The various descriptions, often admittedly by biased non-Highland observers like Burt, Boswell or Pennant, all tend towards a single type of house. The building materials were wood, sod, wattles and clay; used in varying proportions in different parts of the Highlands. The house form was generally rectangular or oval with a hip-ended roof. This form, or something akin to it, is preserved in a few examples of Sinclair's *Skye* type of thatched house (Sinclair 1953:33-9) which are still to be seen.

Only two examples of this type of evidence need be given here.[8] Sir John Sinclair in 1814 summarised the late-eighteenth-century Statistical Accounts. Writing of the Highlands generally he said of the contemporary dwellings; "The miserable cottages, built of turf or sod, which are in some districts rapidly, and in others slowly disappearing, do not require any particular description. . . . Besides the low and uncomfortable walls of turf, the rounded form of the roof, with the fire-place in the middle, characterises a considerable number of the habitations of the lower classes in the Highlands and Islands" (Sinclair 1814:127). Burt in 1754 described peasant dwellings from the north Highlands. "The Walls were about four Feet high, lined with Sticks wattled like a Hurdle, built on the outside with Turf, and thinner Slices of the same material serve for Tiling. The Skeleton of the Huts was formed of small crooked Timber but the Beam of the Roof was large and out of all Proportion. This is to render the Weight of the whole more fit to resist the violent Flurries of Wind . . ." (Burt 1754:59). And it may be added that as late as 1883 Rev. Norman MacLeod remembered "The old house of Glendessary (in Morvern which) was constructed, like a few more, of wicker work; the outside being protected with turf, and the interior lined with wood" (MacLeod 1883:177).

Following the literary sources on into the nineteenth century, we discover a change to stone-built houses, and certainly by the time of the New Statistical Accounts we seldom

read of any but stone houses. Following Dr. Fairhurst, then, I would suggest that during the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, the majority of houses in clachans were constructed of material other than stone, but about the middle of the eighteenth century stone ousted the other materials in common use for various reasons (Fairhurst 1960:74; Gailey 1962, 1961*a*:299-316). This being so, one would expect to find certain unique features of the older houses lingering on as relict features in the first of the new stone houses. In fact this is the case. I would regard the narrowness of some ruined stone houses I have examined in Argyll as a relatively early feature. This suggestion is supported by the fact that at two sites overlooking Loch Stornoway in South Knapdale narrower stone houses are demonstrably overlain by wider stone houses.[9] Similarly the continued existence of cruck-supported roofs in houses with very substantial stone walls must be regarded as a relict feature.[10]

Indeed, writing in 1813 in his General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll, Smith had noted the anachronism of cruck-supported roofs in stone-walled houses. Writing of the roofing timbers, he had this to say: "The couple side consists sometimes of one piece, with a natural bend, sometimes of two pieces, fixed together at the eaves. The feet are built up in the walls, which is apt to shake them. If the walls were of stone and lime, the couple-soles might as well rest on top of them, over a flag, like those of slate or tile roofs. This mode, which is less troublesome and expensive, has been lately followed in several instances in Kintyre" (Smith 1813:16-17).

In view of this evidence from the study of house type we are led to the inevitable conclusion that the majority of the ruined clachans as we see them to-day can not conceivably in their present form extend back much before the end of the eighteenth century, or 1750 probably at the earliest. Thus, have earlier clachans composed of houses built of impermanent materials left no trace? So far as I am aware no ruined clachan (or inhabited one) exists with houses constructed of any material other than stone. In the one case where excavation has been tried, at Lix, only very inconclusive proof exists apart from documentary sources for a pre-stone house settlement.

Secondly, it must be asked, how old, in the Highlands, is the clachan form of settlement? Present knowledge provides no reason to extend the antiquity of the clachan form back before

about 1630.[11] All that remains is to indicate very briefly where the answers to this question may lie.

Documentary sources certainly indicate *continuity* of settlement for many known clachan *sites*, certainly back to the fourteenth century or thereby. Crown Rentals for Argyllshire in the fifteenth century enumerate holdings still recognisable, and sasines and other legal documents go back even farther. What none of these sources can do is to indicate the contemporary settlement *form*.

The authoritative work of Dr. McKerral and of Dr. Lamont on Scottish land denominations is by now well known. I profess no detailed knowledge of this tricky subject, but it would appear that the conclusions of others in this field hold important clues bearing on the present problem. It is the Celtic denominations which are here important, and of course, it was on these that the later Saxon and Norse systems were imposed to facilitate the gathering of tax. Unlike these later fiscal systems, the earlier Celtic units were basically social and agrarian in character. The principle Celtic unit was the *baile*. In 1950 McKerral said of the settlement of this unit, "The houses, unlike areas open to Northumbrian influences in the Lowlands, were not nucleated in villages, but scattered in groups over the land" (McKerral 1950:54). By this he surely implied clachan settlement. It is known that the various units and systems of units underwent significant changes from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries onwards, but it is possible, with care, to use later sources enumerating these units in relation to farms, sources like the 1751 Valuation of Argyll.[12] If I have read McKerral correctly he implies, when dealing with the southwest Highlands that the baile could have contained up to sixteen clachans. Accepting this, I wonder is it mere coincidence that in the 1751 Valuation we find six place-names with the element *Bal-* or *Bally-* included among a total of ninety-five farm entries in the modern parish of Southend. Unfortunately, this evidence looks less convincing when the distribution of these place-names is considered, for most of them occur on the west side of the parish, on the Mull of Kintyre.

The Norse imposed a tax of one ounce of silver on the Celtic baile in the areas which came under their domination. In the south the ounce was divided into twenty pennies, the area paying the tax of a penny becoming known as a pennyland. Again, I wonder is it coincidence that in west Ardnamurchan it is possible to discern topographic groupings of clachans which,

from the 1751 Valuation, total twenty pennylands and so possibly reflect the original Celtic baile. One of these groups includes Bourblaige (Fig. 3) and three other clachans, Tornamona, Skinid and Coryvoulin. The four are grouped about the foot of Ben Hiant, two on the east side of the mountain and two on the west side. The unifying feature between the four was the mountain itself, or rather the common pasture it supplied, and it is pertinent to recall that as far as we can tell early Highland society was organised on a pastoral basis and the existence of common grazings was of fundamental importance. Ben Hiant, incidentally, is still regarded as one of the finest hill grazings in the west Highlands, witnessed by the fact that the experimental farm of Boots' Pure Drug Company at Mingary incorporates the four old joint-farms grouped about the mountain. Examination of the ground and of aerial photographs shows no other settlement sites over the Ben Hiant area than the four known clachans—but it must be remembered that we have still to recognise a settlement site anywhere which had houses of clay, sod or wattles.

The evidence just cited appears to support about sixteen clachans per baile in south Argyll and only four in the north of the county. This disagreement need not concern us here. What is important is the seeming concomitance of clachan settlement and the Celtic baile.

Finally, to turn briefly and equally speculatively to archæology. Little is known from the archæologists' view-point of the detailed circumstances of settlement in the Highlands during the Dark Ages and the Medieval period (Clark 1956:121-142). The majority of the sites excavated have been duns, crannogs and allied contemporaneous structures. Occupation has been shown in some duns through the Dark Ages, and, in one case, even into the sixteenth century (Fairhurst 1939:219). Material remains discovered in excavations hint at a relatively prosperous, one might almost say "aristocratic" occupation. The construction of many of these settlements, and this is especially true of the galleried duns, demanded a high degree of skill and a larger labour force, I would suggest, than that for which there is immediate evidence from occupation material.

It would appear then that the distribution of the duns and contemporaneous structures which have so far been recognised, does not represent the total settlement pattern for the Dark Ages and Medieval period. The duns, for instance, are not all contemporaneous, and if Dr. Fairhurst's experience at Bunessan

in Mull recently is any indication, they were not all domestic settlements, fortified or unfortified (Fairhurst: unpublished excavation, personal communication).

If all this is acceptable, where did the bulk of the population live during these periods, some of whom must have been partly responsible for the building of the structures which have been examined hitherto? Something is needed to fill this gap in west Highland settlement evolution, and I would suggest that we should expect to find unenclosed clusters of dwellings, constructed of impermanent materials, contemporaneous with settlements already recognised as being of Dark Age and Medieval date.

This implies a dichotomy in society, as in settlement. On the one hand there was, for want of a better term, an "aristocracy" living in the duns, crannogs and similar settlements; while on the other hand, subservient to them, a numerically greater group of people lived in proto-clachans. This was a dichotomy which continued into the eighteenth century when it could still be recognised as such, with lairds, and to a lesser degree tacksmen frequently living in isolated dwellings and castles; while the greater part of the population lived in clachans as sub-tenants and joint-tenants.

The holding of land by the clachan-dwellers was at will until the eighteenth century, while many never had security of tenure till the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time clan raiding was endemic to the Highlands for at least two or three centuries before the final pacification of the Highlands in the mid-eighteenth century, and there were even more extensive devastations from time to time, like General Leslie's campaign through Kintyre in the seventeenth century. In circumstances like these we can easily appreciate that the stone architecture of the aristocracy, of the clan and lesser chiefs, would have had little influence on the humble dwellings of the clachans, whose occupants never knew when they would find their homes in ruins. There was little incentive until the eighteenth century at the earliest for the vast bulk of the Highland population to build for themselves homes which would last for any considerable length of time, houses which would leave material remains for us to study. Again we return to the fact that the ruined clachans which we see in the field are seldom dateable to a time earlier than the late eighteenth century at the earliest.[13]

[1] This is broadly the plan the author followed in his study of "Settlement Changes in the Southwest Highlands of Scotland: 1750-1960", Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow University, 1961, where the origins of eighteenth-century clachan settlement were discussed in a series of appendixes.

[2] Throughout this paper the term "clachan" is used to denote a group of dwellings and associated outbuildings grouped usually without any formal plan. This term has already been applied by Irish workers, particularly by students who have worked under Professor E. Evans at Belfast (e.g. Proudfoot 1959: 110). Similarly the term has already been incorporated into settlement terminology by workers dealing with Highland settlement (e.g. Fairhurst, MacSween, Gailey, et al.). At one time the term had a functional connotation implying the existence of a parish church within the settlement (e.g. Clachan in Kintyre), but this meaning has long been lost. The term is, and has been used in settlement studies primarily in a morphological manner, and only secondarily in a functional sense in that these settlements were at one time usually, but not always, an integral part of a run-rig or rundale joint-farm. The use of the term is infinitely preferable when dealing with a distinctive settlement form and type, where the use of terms like "village" and "hamlet" can only lead to ultimate confusion since they already possess distinctive meanings within the context of the study of lowland English settlement.

[3] It is outwith the scope of this paper to discuss the pattern of, or regional variations in run-rig in the Highlands. This has already been covered adequately for present purposes (Grant 1926; Gray 1937; Handley 1953).

[4] An example of this type of dwelling would be Pitcastle in Perthshire (Dunbar 1960:113-17), or the sheep farm at Kilian on Loch Fyne-side, the present house on which is known to date from about 1750. At Kilian, however, we know from Sheep Farm Accounts (Inverneil Papers: Kilian Accounts) between 1790 and 1793 that in all probability there were other smaller houses in existence to accommodate a gardener, a shepherd, a cow-man and various other servants, reproducing, possibly, a clachan community.

[5] The morphological variations of contemporary Highland, and especially Hebridean settlement patterns have been well demonstrated by Uhlig, who, in fact, has shown more than the two extremes mentioned as typical of the course of events within the crofting areas after about 1800 (Uhlig 1959:98-124).

[6] Taylor and Skinner are better known for their road maps of Scotland. Contained in the Inverneil Papers is a volume of farm plans, mostly dated 1776, covering Inverneil on Loch Fyneside, and the Ross and Knap estates on the west coast of Knapdale. These were surveyed following their acquisition between 1769 and 1775 on behalf of Major, later Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverneil, then with the East India Company in Calcutta. The Inverneil Papers are in the possession of Dr. John L. Campbell of Canna, and micro-film and photostat copies are held in the Library of Glasgow University.

[7] The actual maps and working of this analysis are not reproduced here, but have been set forth elsewhere (Gailey 1961*a*:176-8).

[8] All the examples discovered by the author relating to Argyllshire, together with others dealing with the Highlands at large, have been included in a paper on "The Peasant Houses of Southwest Highlands of Scotland: Distribution, Parallels and Evolution". (Gailey 1962; 1961*a*:299-316).

[9] Thirty-three ruined clachans were examined in Argyllshire, together with a cartographic analysis which covered settlements throughout the mainland part of the county, apart from Cowal. Narrow stone houses were noted at: Balmavicar (NR592095), Corphin (NR768147), and Soccach (NR745128) in the parish of Southend; Achadh na h-Airde (NR729613), Baillidh (NR750639), Breac Bharr (NR738621), and Munichile (NR743654) in the parish of South Knapdale. The two sites where wider stone houses overlie narrower ones are Breac Bharr and Achadh na h-Airde, both overlooking Loch Stornoway. (N.B. The letters and numbers in brackets are the National Grid references for these sites).

[10] The remains of bastard-crucks—Walton's crup-truss type (Walton 1957: 109, 121)—or the wall slots for these, were discovered at Baillidh (NR750639), and Munichile (NR743645) in South Knapdale parish; Tigh an t-Sluichd (NR750908) in the parish of North Knapdale; Auchindrain (NN031031), and Auchnangoul (NN058055) in the parish of Inveraray; Plocaig (NM453698) in the parish of Ardnamurchan. They are known to exist also at other sites, e.g. Old Crinan in North Knapdale.

[11] The earliest reference known to the author which points unequivocally to clachan settlement in the Highlands and Islands refers to Lewis in 1630, and is quoted by Dr. I. F. Grant in her recent *Highland Folkways*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 44.

[12] A copy of this Valuation rests in the Historical Department of Register House, Edinburgh, and another copy with His Grace, the Duke of Argyll. A typescript copy, from which the author worked, is in the possession of Miss Marion Campbell, of Kilberry, to whom the author is indebted.

[13] The author thanks the University of Glasgow for liberal financial assistance to carry out much of the field and documentary research incorporated in this paper. The work was undertaken between 1957 and 1960 in the Department of Geography of Glasgow University.

REFERENCES

ADAM, R. J.

1958 *John Home's Survey of Assynt.* Scottish History Society, 3rd Series, 52.

BURT, Captain

1754 *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London. . . .*

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD

1793 *Statistical Account of Scotland* 6:255-65.

CLARKE, JOHN

1956 "The Archæology of Dark Age Scotland. A Survey of Possibilities." *Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society*, N.S. 14:121-42.

DUNBAR, JOHN
1960 "Pitcastle: A Cruck-Framed House in Northern Perthshire." *Scottish Studies* 4:113-17.

FAIRHURST, HORACE
1939 "The Galleried Dun at Kildonan Bay, Kintyre." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 73:185-228.
1960 "Scottish Clachans." *Scottish Geographical Magazine*: 76:67-76.

GAILEY, R. A.
1960 "Settlement and Population in Kintyre, 1750-1800." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 76: 99-107.
1961*a* *Settlement Changes in the Southwest Highlands of Scotland*, 1700-1960. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, Glasgow University.
1961*b* "The Role of Sub-Letting in the Crofting Community." *Scottish Studies* 5:57-76.
1962 "The Peasant Houses of the Southwest Highlands of Scotland: Distribution, Parallels and Evolution." Forthcoming *Gwerin*.

GEDDES, ARTHUR and FORBES, JOHN
1948 "Rural Communities of Ferm-Toun and Baile in the Lowlands and Highlands of Aberdeenshire, 1696: A Sample Analysis of the Pollable Returns." *Aberdeen University Review* 32:98-104.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (MS/microfilm unclassified)
The Inverneil Papers.

GRANT, I. F.
1926 "The Highland Openfield System." *Geographical Teacher* 13: 480-8.

GRAY, MALCOLM
1957 *The Highland Economy*, 1750-1850. Edinburgh.

HAMILTON, HENRY
1945 *Selections from the Monymusk Papers*. Scottish History Society, 3rd Series, 39.

HANDLEY, JAMES E.
1953 *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*. London.

LAMONT, W. D.
1957-8 "Old Land Denominations and 'Old Extent' in Islay." *Scottish Studies* 1:183-203; 2:86-106.

McCOURT, DESMOND
1955 "Infield and Outfield in Ireland." *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, 7:369-76.

McKERRAL, A.
1943 "Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land in Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 78:39-80.
1950 "The Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions in Celtic Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 85: 52-64.

MACLEOD, NORMAN
1883 *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*.

MacSween, Malcolm D.
1959a *Settlement in Trotternish, Isle of Skye*, 1700-1958. Unpublished B.Litt. Thesis, Department of Geography, Glasgow University.
1959b "Transhumance in north Skye." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 75:75-88.
O'Dell, Andrew C.
1958 "A View of Scotland in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 69:58-63.
Proudfoot, V. B.
1959 "Clachans in Ireland." *Gwerin* 2:110-22.
Sinclair, Colin
1953 *The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands*. Edinburgh.
Sinclair, Sir John
1814 *General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*. Volume I.
Smith, John
1813 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll.*
Storrie, Margaret C.
1961 "A Note on William Bald's plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart." *Scottish Studies* 5:112-17.
Uhlig, Harald
1956 "Die Landliche Kulturlandschaft der Hebriden und der Westschottischen Hochlande." *Erdkunde* 13:22-64, 98-124.
Walton, James
1957 "Cruck-Framed Buildings in Scotland." *Gwerin* 1:109-122.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH AND WEST OF SCOTLAND

DOCUMENTARY AND PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

A. B. Taylor*

Introductory

One may study the Scandinavian settlement as a broad movement or series of movements from east to west—dealing with such matters as the dates of the movements, where the settlers came from, why they moved and where they settled.

Within this broad framework of knowledge and inference, one may in addition pursue localised studies of the resultant agrarian pattern and way of life in the main areas settled.

The writer is not an archæologist, and this note is essentially concerned with documentary and linguistic (principally place-name) evidence.

The broad movement to the west

The basic documents for the study of the Scandinavian settlement as a broad movement to the west are the Norse histories of the Norwegian kings—two in Latin and the rest in Old Norse, and written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To these must be added *Orkneyingasaga*, a history of the Orkney earldom written in Iceland in the early thirteenth century.

Although it was known in Norway and probably also in Iceland that there were Picts and Celtic priests or "Papar" in Shetland and Orkney before the Norwegian settlement, these documents make no specific reference to any movement to the west before the exodus, about 900, of noble families and others from Norway to escape the tyranny of Harald Fair-hair. These accounts, however, are not inconsistent with the modern view, based upon place-name and archæological studies and on the

* Registrar General for Scotland.

evidence of the Irish Annals, that these movements to the west began about the year 800 or possibly earlier.

The main general studies of the broad movement published since 1930 include the following:

T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings*. London 1930.
A. W. Brøgger, *Den Norske Rosetningen paa Shetland-Orknoyene*. Oslo 1930.
J. Storer Clouston, *A History of Orkney*. Kirkwall 1932.
G. Turville-Petre, *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia*. London 1951, chs. 9-12.
H. Marwick, *Orkney*. London 1951, chs. 1-8.
J. Brøndsted, *The Vikings*. London 1960.
H. Arbman, *The Vikings*. London 1961.

The agrarian pattern and way of life

The documentary sources for a study of the agrarian pattern and way of the life in the Norse settlements in the west include the documents already mentioned, together with such Scottish documents relating to land in the north and west of Scotland as have survived. Of outstanding value are the "rentals" for Orkney and Shetland.

The rentals for the ancient earldom and bishopric of Orkney, 1500-1739, were published by A. Peterkin, Edinburgh 1820. A manuscript copy of an earlier rental of 1492 is in the record room of Kirkwall Public Library.

Making use of the methods of study of Magnus Olsen in his *Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway* (Oslo 1928), H. Marwick and J. Storer Clouston published a number of studies in the *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* and the *Scottish Historical Review* in which historical, linguistic and fiscal data were combined with their own detailed knowledge of the Orkney scene to throw light on the early agrarian pattern and way of life. Some of the results of these studies will be found in Clouston's *History of Orkney* (1932). The principal place-names studies are:

H. Marwick, "Orkney Farm-Name Studies". *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 9 (1930-31): 25-34.
H. Marwick, *Orkney Farm-Names*. Kirkwall 1952, especially Parts II and III.
A. Steinnes, "The Huseby System in Orkney". *Scottish Historical Review* 38 (1959):36-46.

The Shetland rentals, which extend from *c.* 1507 to *c.* 1832, have not been printed. There is a list of them with bibliographical notes by A. W. Johnston in the *Old Lore Miscellany* of the Viking Society 10, part VI (London 1946) 262-9. The study of Shetland place-names by J. Jakobsen (in *Aarb. for Nord. Oldkyn. og Hist.*, Copenhagen 1901, pp. 56-258) was thus made without the advantage of the name forms and the fiscal information which the rentals contain. Some use was made of the manuscripts by A. C. O'Dell in his *Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands* (Lerwick 1939), but much remains to be done. It is understood that a comprehensive collection of Shetland farm names is now being made by a Shetlander in which rental information will be incorporated.

Caithness place-names have been the subject of study for some years by Professor Per Thorson, University of Bergen, and it is hoped that his findings will be published in the near future.

SOME REMARKS ON COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES

H. Uhlig*

Asked for some comments on the present symposium, I should like to stress that it was a most favourable idea to make its concern the rural settlement in Scotland "*and beyond*". This opens aspects of comparative studies, which, by examination of the whole integration of natural as well as historical and socio-economic factors of similar regions, seems to be a most typical geographical approach to promote the reconnaissance of our problems.

The tracing and explanation of the regional distribution of related features will be of some interest by itself but, in addition, it provides the basis for any attempt of a systematical grouping in terms of a "general geography" and it will finally help to explain the findings from the individual regions, as an understanding of phenomena and the experience from related areas will shed light on questions which often might not be solved or even noticed in an isolated work.

It is not claimed that the relevant features from the different regions are identical, but many of them are strikingly (and not accidentally!) similar or at least comparable. And the explanation of the reasons for possible differentiation will be another important step towards reaching a real understanding.

It remains difficult to prove whether the similarities of some old rural settlement types in greater parts of Western, Northern and Central Europe are related by evolutionary links or result simply from comparable geographical conditions. At least some of them will certainly have their roots in a common past, in an inheritance from those prehistoric periods which predate the development of peoples, which we distinguish

* Prof. Dr. H. Uhlig, Head of Department of Geography, University of Giessen, Germany. This is a contribution made by the author to the final discussion following the symposium on "The Development of Rural Settlement in Scotland and Beyond." (Edinburgh 1961).

to-day as Celtic or Teutonic, or even as Gaelic, Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, German, Norman etc. This is no mere guessing—comparative language research as well as prehistoric finds and the testimonials given by classical Greek and Roman descriptions of the contemporary Celtic and Teutonic economy and social structures provide support for this. And quite a number of the papers read at this symposium confirmed that most of the phenomena dealt with are not confined to certain ethnic groups, but are relatively similar throughout the Atlantic fringe of Europe.

Another significant point of the "*beyond*" shall be briefly touched upon. It is important not to restrict the research to the settlements themselves, but to include always the whole pattern of their fields, pastures and commons, land-use, social structure, etc.—and, last but not least, the detailed exploration of the natural conditions. Only the evaluation of the whole of these small, but complex, basic-units (e.g. a township) will yield real understanding of the forms and functions of the cultural landscape with all its natural and historical implications. Only within this framework will the formal appearance of a settlement gain real significance as a manifestation of certain closely interwoven social and natural facts.

Considering as many of these features and functions as possible, I have tried to compare certain rural settlements through several regions of the British Isles, Brittany, Germany and adjacent Dutch and Danish areas and parts of Scandinavia. The results have shown some striking similarities in the old settlement-pattern—and also, of course—differences, according to the varying geographical character. The type of hamlet, designed here as the "clachan", connected with a restricted, but permanently tilled and heavily manured infield, preferably in open strips, surrounded by outfields with a field-grass or field-heather cultivation and extensive common heathlands under severe Atlantic climate and soil-conditions, appeared as the dominant feature, forming a striking parallel to the NW German *Drubbel* with the *Langstreifenflur* on the *Esch*. Although the social structure may differ in respect of property-status, size of holdings, etc., there remain still many features which connect these settlements of small, rural groups with an expressed team-spirit. There are several comparable features of joint-property or co-operation ("run-rig"-pooling etc.) throughout these regions. It is impossible to give more details in this discussion—may I refer therefore to my (in a foreign

language and therefore, unfortunately not fully satisfactory) attempt to summarise them in English in the Transactions of the Vadstena-Symposium in 1960.[1] More detailed papers on the Scottish Highlands (especially the Hebrides) and NE England were published in German.[2]

Finally, I should like to express my sincerest thanks for the cordial invitation to attend this interesting symposium. It convinced me again, that the mutual discussion and comparison of the results of research from different regions and countries, and likewise the co-operation of historians, archæologists, geographers, sociologists, folk-lorists, linguists, etc., is a most important means to reach an understanding of our cultural landscapes.

NOTES

[1] Uhlig, H., "Old Hamlets with Infield and Outfield Systems in Western and Central Europe." *Geografiska Annaler* 43 (1961):286-313.

[2] Uhlig, H., "Die Kulturlandschaft—Methoden der Forschung und das Beispiel Nordostengland." *Kölner Geogr. Arbeiten* 9/10 (1956). "Langstreifenfluren in Nordengland, Wales und Schottland." *Deutscher Geographentag Würzburg* 1957, *Tagungsbericht u. wiss. Abh.* (1959). "Die ländliche Kulturlandschaft der Hebriden und der westschottischen Hochlande." *Erdkunde* (1959) 22-46. "Typen kleinbäuerlicher Siedlungen auf den Hebriden." *Erdkunde* (1959) 98-124.

CAILLEACH A[N][1] STRUTH RUAIDH

Kenneth Jackson

NUAIR a bha 'n Fhín cruinn anna'n Éirinn, bha ao[n] duine goirid na[ch] biodh an àireamh aca. 'Se fear a bha dha'n dìth a'sin, Cialla, agus nuair a chaidh Cialla dha'n Fhín bha 'n àireamh aca; agus 'se 'n t-ainm a thug ád[2] air, Gille nan Cochall Craiceann. Agus nuair a chaidh Gille nan Cochall Craiceann dha'n Fhín, chiad latha chaidh á[2] héin agus Fionn mac Cumhaill chaidh ád a dh' iasgach dha'n allt air leitir Beinn' Eudain; agus nuair a bhà 'd greis aig iasgach sheall Gille nan Cochall Craiceann air a chùlaibh agus chunnaig e fiadh bria' bha 'seo ['n] taobh thuas dhiùbh, agus dh' fhoighneachd á do dh' Fhionn mac Cumhaill gu dé fiadh a bha siod, agus thuirt Fionn ris, "Siod agad," ors esan, "fiadh Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh." "Gu dé 's coireach," ors esan, orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "nach eil sibh breith air?" "Cha'n eil," ors esan Fionn, "tha sinne sgìth fiachainn ri breith air; thà air fairleachdainn ri breith air." "An tà," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "cha'n eil sin ach glé-mhianach agus na bheil de ghaisgich a'san Fhín." "Cha'n eil á gu deibhir," ors esan Fionn, "tha ['n] déis trioblaid go leòr a chuir 'n ar cinn, 's cha'n eil sinn ag iarraidh a chorr dheth." Nuair a chuala Gille nan Cochall Craiceann seo cha duirt á an corr, ach thòisich á ri iasgach mar a bhà e reimheid. Cha dug á guth tuilleadh ma dhéidhinn an fhéidh a' latha sin.

Chaidh ád dhachaidh an oidhche sin, agus là 'r n-a mhàireach thàinig ád a dh' iasgach air ais, 's bha 'd ag iasgach fad a' latha; 's feireadh Gille nan Cochall Craiceann sùil air a chùlaibh an dràsd 's arìst; agus bha faicinn an fhéidh a[n] taobh thuas dhiùbh, ach cha duirt á guth ri Fionn ma dhéidhinn. Ach lean ád air iasgach gosa[n] dàinig bial na hoidhcheadh, agus nuair a thàinig chaidh ád dhachaidh. Agus a' là 'r n-a mhàireach thàinig ád air ais a dh' ionnsaigh an fhaghaide [*sic*] agus thòisich ád ri iasgach air ais; agus a['n] ceann na greiseadh sheall á air a chùlaibh agus chunnaig á a' fiadh, agus thuirt e ri Fionn an tsianar[3] b' fhearr a bh' aig' a chuir as deoghaidh an fhéidh. Agus nuair a chunnaig Fionn seo, gu robh Gille nan

THE HAG OF THE RED STREAM

Kenneth Jackson

When the Fenians were assembled in Ireland, they were one man short of their number. Cialla was the man who was missing to them then, and when he came to the Fenians their number was complete; and the name they gave him was "The Lad of the Skin Mantles". And when the Lad of the Skin Mantles came to the Fenians, the first day he himself and Fionn son of Cumhall went out they went fishing to the burn on the slopes of the Hill of Howth; and when they had been fishing for a while the Lad of the Skin Mantles looked behind him and saw a fine deer that was there above them, and he asked Fionn son of Cumhall what deer that was, and Fionn said to him, "There you have," said he, "the deer of the Hag of the Red Stream." "What's the reason," said he, said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "that you don't catch it?" "We don't," said Fionn, "we are tired of trying to catch it; we have failed to catch it." "Indeed," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "that is a very poor performance considering how many champions there are among the Fenians." "No matter," said Fionn, "it has given us plenty of trouble, and we aren't wanting any more of it." When the Lad of the Skin Mantles heard this he said no more, but began to fish as he had been before. He said nothing further about the deer that day.

They went home that night, and the next day they came back fishing, and were fishing all day; and the Lad of the Skin Mantles would cast an eye behind him now and again; and he was seeing the deer above them, but said nothing to Fionn about it. But they continued to fish until nightfall came, and when it came they went home. And the next day they came back to the chase and began to fish again; and after a while he looked behind him and saw the deer, and told Fionn to send the six best men he had after the deer. And when Fionn saw this, that the Lad of the Skin Mantles was wanting to have a try at the deer, he summoned the six best men and sent them after the deer, and off went the deer and off they went after it;

Cochall Craiceann air son fiachainn air an fhiadh, chuir á fios air a[n] tsianar a b' fhearr agus chuir á es deoghaidh an fhéidh ád, agus amach a' fiadh agus amach à-san[4] as a dheoghaidh; agus thòisich Gille nan Cochall Craiceann air iasgach air n-ais. Agus a['n] ceann greiseadh as a dheoghaidh sin thuirt e ri Fionn, "Cuir anist," ors esan, "do mhiar fo d' chead fios,[5] fiach c'àite bheil ád a[n] dràsd." Roinn Fionn seo, chuir á a mhiar fo chead fios 's thuirt á ri Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "Thà 'd," ors esan, "'nist air trì beannan 's trì gleannan 's trì àiteachan suidhe samhraidh a chuir seachad." "Seadh," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, 's thòisich á ri iasgach air n-ais.

Agus a['n] ceann greiseadh móireadh as a dheoghaidh sin thuirt á ri Fionn air n-ais, "Cuir do mhiar fo d' chead fios fiach cà bheil ád a[n] dràsd;" 's roinn Fionn seo. "Thà 'd," ors esan, "'nist air sia beannan 's sia gleannan 's sia àiteachan suidhe samhraidh a chuir seachad anist." "Seadh," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "thà an t-am agam-sa bhith falbh;" 's dh' fhalbh Gille nan Cochall Craiceann es deoghaidh an fhéidh. Agus nuair a nochd á ris a[n] tSruth Ruadh bhà [a'] fiadh sìos uige, agus lig á chas as a dheoghaidh; agus nuair a bha a' fiadh dol a ghearradh a leum rug á air chas deiridh air agus chaith á air fras-mhullach a ghualainn á, agus cha do lig á es á gos na ràinig á Fionn air leitir Beinn' Eudain. "Seadh," ors esan Fionn, "tha thu air tigh'nn." "Thà," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann. "Cha bhi sin," ors esan Fionn, "gu[n] trioblaid dhu'-sa." "Cha'n eil á gu deibhir," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann.

"*Well* anist," ors esan Fionn, ors esan, "nuair a chì Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh nach do ràinig a fiadh mar a b' àbhaist, bidh i anna' seo gu[n] dàil 'ga iarraidh; agus," ors esan Fionn, "ma gheibh i greim air sgath 'sa' bith a bhuineas dhà, bidh a' fiadh aice mar a bhà á reimheid; 's fiach," orsa Fionn, " nach doir sibh dhi sgath a bhuineas dhà." "Cha dobhair," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, 's chuir á fios air Osgar 's air Caoilte gu'n cuireadh ád a' fiadh as a chéile 's gu['n] cuireadh ád 'sa' choire mhóir á. 'S roinn Osgar 's Caoilte seo, chuir ád a' fiadh as a chéile 's chuir ád 'sa' choire mhóir á. Cha robh á ach air blàthachadh nuair a thàinig Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh 's thuirt i riutha, "Nach anna' sin a thà na gaisgich, nuair is ann air an aon fhiadh a bh' agam-sa a thug ád làmh! Ach," ors ise, "gad a roinn sibh sin héin," ors ise, "na[ch] biodh sibh cho math 's gu['n] doireadh sibh

and the Lad of the Skin Mantles began fishing again. And at the end of a while after that he said to Fionn, "Now put your finger," said he, "under your Tooth of Knowledge to find out where they are now." Fionn did this, he put his finger under his Tooth of Knowledge and said to the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "They have now," said he, "passed by three peaks and three glens and three summer sitting-places." "So," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, and he began fishing again.

And at the end of a long while after that he said to Fionn again "Put your finger under your Tooth of Knowledge to see where they are now;" and Fionn did this. "They have now," said he, "passed by six peaks and six glens and six summer sitting-places now." "So," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "it is time for me to be off;" and off went the Lad of the Skin Mantles after the deer. And when he came in sight of the Red Stream the deer had gone down to it, and he set off running after it; and when the deer was about to make a leap he caught it by the hind leg and threw it on his shoulder, and did not let go of it until he came to Fionn on the slopes of the Hill of Howth. "Well," said Fionn, "you have come." "I have," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles. "That won't have been without trouble to you," said Fionn. "No matter," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles.

"Well, now," said Fionn, said he, "when the Hag of the Red Stream sees that her deer has not arrived as usual, she will be here without delay seeking it; and," said Fionn, "if she gets hold of any bit of it she will have the deer as it was before; and take care," said Fionn, "that you don't give her a bit of it." "I won't," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, and he sent for Oscar and Caoilte for them to dismember the deer and put it in the big cauldron. And Oscar and Caoilte did this, they dismembered the deer and put it in the big cauldron. It had only just grown warm when the Hag of the Red Stream arrived, and she said to them, "Aren't those the champions, seeing that they have attacked the one deer that I had! But," said she, "though you did that itself," said she, "wouldn't you be so good as to give me a sup of its broth?" "I won't," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles." "And will you give me a bit of its meat?"

dhomh balgam dha shùgh?" "Cha dobhair," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann. "'S a['n] doir thu dhomh greim dha fheòil?" "Cha dobhair," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann. "'S a['n] doir thu dhomh làn mo dhuirneadh dha'n ghaorr?" "Cha dobhair," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann; "cha'n fhaigh thu," ors esan, "sgath a bhuineas dhà." "*Well*," ors ise, "mara['n] dobhair, thà mise dha d' chuir-sa fo gheasaibh 's fo chrosaibh 's fo[6] naoi buaraichean mnà-sìdh siubhla sìth seachrain, laogh beag 's miotaiche 's is mì-threoraiche na thu héin thoirt cùram do chluais, do chinn 's do chaitheamh-beatha dhìot,[6] mara['n] doir thu thugam-sa ma ruith bliadhna ['n] diugh ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir a Ruìgheachd na Sorch." "Seadh," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "tha mise dha d' chuir-sa fo gheasaibh 's fo chrosaibh, fo naoi buaraichean mnà-sìdh siubhla sìth seachrain, laogh beag 's miotaiche 's is mì-threòraiche na thu héin, thoirt cùram do chluais 's do chinn 's do chaitheamh-beatha dhìot, mara['m] bi cas air gach taobh aga'-sa dha ['n] tSruth Ruadh gosa['n] till mise, agus 'ach uile boinne as a[n] tSruth Ruadh dol astoigh air a[n] dala ceann agus dol amach air a' cheann eile." "Tog dhìom," ors ise, "agus togaidh mi dhìot." "Cha tog 's cha leag ach mar siud." 'S dh' fhalbh Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh. Agus nuair a dh' fhalbh Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh, thuirt Fionn ri Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "Nach duirt mi riut," ors esan, "nach biodh siud gu[n] trioblaid dhut?" "Cha'n eil a gu deibhir," orsa Gille nan Cochall Craiceann; "feumaidh mise falbh," ors esan, "dh' iarraidh ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir, go brith [*sic*] gu dé mar a gheibh mi greim air."

Co dhiùbh, air là 'r n-a mhàireach roinn Gille nan Cochall Craiceann deiseail agus dh' fhalbh á dh' fhiach a' faigheadh á gu ruige Ruìgheachd na Sorch, go brith gu dé mar a gheibheadh á ann[7]. Co dhiùbh, bhà falbh, 's fada goirid gu robh á air a' rathad ràinig á Ruìgheachd na Sorch 's ràinig á caisteal a' Mhacain Mhóir; agus dh' iarr á cath 's comhrag, air neò ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir a chuir uige-san. Siod a' rud a gheobhadh á, cath 's comhrag, 's cha b' e ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir; 's chaidh ciad làn-ghaisgeach chuir uige. Thòisich a 'sa[n] dala ceann riù gosa[n] deach á amach air a' cheann eile dhiùbh; 's dh' éibh á cath 's comhrag arìst, air neò ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir a chuir uige. Siod a' rud a gheobhadh á, cath 's comhrag, 's cha b 'e ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir. Chaidh ciad treun-ghaisgeach a chuir uige, 's thòisich á 'sa[n] dala ceann riù gosa['n] deach á 'mach air a' cheann eile; 's dh'éibh á cath is comhrag air ais,

"I won't," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles. "And will you give me my fist full of its offal?" "I won't," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles; "you shan't get a bit of it." "Well," said she, "if you won't, I put you under *geasa* and under crosses[6] and under the nine spancels of the wandering, peaceful, roving fairy-woman, that the little calf which is weaker and feebler than yourself should take the charge of your ear and your head and your behaviour away from you[6] unless you bring me the head of the Great Youth from the Kingdom of Light before the end of a year from to-day." "Well," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "I put *you* under *geasa* and under crosses, under the nine spancels of the wandering, peaceful, roving fairy-woman, that the little calf which is weaker and feebler than yourself should take the charge of your ear and your head and your behaviour away from you unless you keep a foot on either side of the Red Stream till I return, and every drop of the Red Stream going in at one end and coming out at the other end." "Lift it off me," said she, "and I will lift it off you." "I won't lift it, and I won't lay it down, but thus [it shall be]." And the Hag of the Red Stream went away. And when the Hag of the Red Stream had gone,Fionn said to the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "Didn't I tell you," said he, "that that wouldn't be without trouble to you?" "No matter," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles; "I must set off," said he, "to seek the head of the Great Youth, no matter how I shall get hold of it."

Anyway, next day the Lad of the Skin Mantles made ready and set off to see whether he could get to the Kingdom of Light, no matter how he would get there. However, he was on his way, and whether he was long on the road or not he reached the Kingdom of Light and came to the castle of the Great Youth; and he asked for battle and fight, or if not, for the head of the Great Youth to be sent him. That is what he would get, battle and fight, and not the head of the Great Youth; and a hundred seasoned champions were sent to him. He began at one end of them until he came out at the other end; and he called for battle and fight again, or if not, for the head of the Great Youth to be sent him. That is what he would get, battle and fight, and not the head of the Great Youth. A hundred mighty champions were sent him, and he began at the one end of them until he came out at the other; and he

air neò ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir a chuir uige. Siod a' rud a gheobhadh á, cath 's comhrag, 's cha b' e ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir. Chaidh ciad lùth-ghaisgeach a chuir uige, 's thòisich á 'sa[n] dala ceann gosa['n] deach á 'mach air a' cheann eile dhiùbh; 's nuair a roinn á sin dh' éibh á cath 's comhrag air ais, air neò, ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir a chuir uige-san.

Bhà Macan Mór coimhead air té dha na h-uinneagan, 's bhà faicinn [an] dìol bh' air a chuid sluaigh, 's thuirt á ris héin, "Nach mise thà gòrach, marbhadh mo chuid sluaigh mar seo, agus gu[n] duin' air an tsaoghal a thilleas mo làmh héin;" 's ghaibh á 'mach 's thòisich á héin 's Gille nan Cochall Craiceann air a chéile, 's bhà air thuar go robh fear cho math ris héin as a choinnimh. Thòisich na gillean air a chéile, 's bhà 'd ag obair air sabaid fad ùine mhóir, 's cha robh tuar gu rachadh aig a[n] dala fear air an fhear eile. Agus smaointich Gille nan Cochall Craiceann gu robh á glé-cheacharra dhà gu rachadh aig a' Mhacan Mhór air, 's thug á [an] togail bheag éibhinn ioghnnach [*sic*] athaireach ád[8] air héin 's chuir á fodha [a'] Macan Mór, agus thuirt á ris, "Do bhàs as do chionn, gu dé t' éirig?" "Cha'n eil éirig agam-sa," ors a' Macan Mór, "ach na chì thu ma d' choinnimh." "*Well*, roghainn 's a bhith dhà, gheall mise do cheann a thoirt go leitheid seo do bhoireannach, Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh, 's feumaidh mi dhianamh; agus air a' mhionaid seo héin bidh 'n ceann air ghearradh dhìot." 'S dh' fhalbh Gille nan Cochall Craiceann 's tharraing á [an] claidheamh air a' Mhacan Mhór agus chuir á dheth an ceann. 'S nuair a roinn á sin rug á air a' cheann is thug á tarsainn air a ghualainn, 's roinn á air an Fhín, agus nuair a ràinig á an Fhín chuir Fionn fàilt' air.

"Tha thu air tigh'nn," ors esan Fionn, "'s dé mar a chaidh do thurus leat?" "Chaidh," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "glé-mhath." "Seadh," ors esan Fionn, "tha ise air a dhol 'na tòrr chnàmhan air a[n] tSruth Ruadh, agus feuma' tu halbh dh' ionnsaigh a[n] tSruth Ruaidh agus tòiseachadh ri innse dha na cnàmhan aice seo mar a mharbh thu [a'] Macan Mór. Agus," ors esan Fionn, "nuair a thòisicheas tu ri innse dha na cnàmhan mar a mharbh thu [a'] Macan Mór, tòisichidh na cnàmhan ri dhol ri chéile, 's tòisichidh an fheòil air tigh'nn air na cnàmhan. Agus nuair a thig an fheòil air na cnàmhan gearra' tu 'n fheòil dhiùbh leis a' chlaidheamh; air neò cìosaichidh ì a' saoghal gu léir."

"Seadh," ors esan Gille nan Cochall Craiceann, "'s fhearr

called for battle and fight again, or, if not, for the head of the Great Youth to be sent him. That is what he would get, battle and fight, and not the head of the Great Youth. A hundred vigorous champions were sent him, and he began at the one end until he came out at the other; and when he had done that he called for battle and fight again, or if not, for the head of the Great Youth to be sent him.

The Great Youth was watching at one of the windows, and seeing the punishing his army got, and he said to himself, "What a fool I am to have my army killed like this, when there isn't a man in the world who can overcome me"; and he went out, and he himself and the Lad of the Skin Mantles began on each other, and it began to appear that he had met his match. The lads began on each other, and they were hard at it fighting for a long time, and there seemed no likelihood that the one man would overcome the other. And the Lad of the Skin Mantles considered that it was very stupid of him that the Great Youth should overcome him, and he gave himself that little pleasant wonderful airy lift [9] and he threw the Great Youth down under him, and said to him, "Your death is above you; what is your ransom?" "I have no ransom," said the Great Youth, "but all that you see before you." "Well, however that may be, I promised to bring your head to a certain woman, the Hag of the Red Stream, and I must do it; and at this very minute your head will be cut off." And the Lad of the Skin Mantles went and drew his sword on the Great Youth and cut off his head. And when he did that he took hold of the head and put it across his shoulder; and he made for the Fenians, and when he reached the Fenians Fionn welcomed him.

"You have come," said Fionn, "and how did you get on on your mission?" "I got on very well," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles. "Well," said Fionn, "she has become a pile of bones at the Red Stream, and you must go to the Red Stream and begin to tell her bones how you killed the Great Youth. And," said Fionn, "when you begin to tell the bones how you killed the Great Youth the bones will begin to come together, and flesh will begin to grow on the bones. And when the flesh grows on the bones, cut the flesh from them with the sword; otherwise she will overcome the whole world."

"Well," said the Lad of the Skin Mantles, "I had better

dhomh-sa bhith falbh far a' bheil i dh' ionnsaigh a[n] tSruth Ruaidh." 'S dh' fhalbh Gille nan Cochall Craiceann 's ràinig á a' Struth Ruadh, is bha ise ann a' shin 'na tòrr chnàmhan. Thòisich á ri innse ri' mar a mharbh á a' Macan Mór 's thòisich na cnàmhan ri tigh'nn ri chéile, 's thòisich an fheòil ri tigh'nn air na cnàmhan. 'S nuair thàinig an fheòil air na cnàmhan thug á uige a[n] claidheamh, 's thòisich á ri gearradh na feòladh far nan cnàmahn gosa[n] dug á 'n fheòil far nan cnàmhan air fad. 'S bhà an uair sin ulladh a dh' innse dhi mar a mharbh a' Macan Mór 's thuit ise 'na tòrr chnàmhan air n-ais; 's rug á air na cnàmhan 's chaith á 'mach dha['n] tSruth Ruadh ád agus ceann a' Mhacain Mhóir comhla riutha, 's thill á dha'n Fhin mar a bha reimheid. Agus sin mar a chuala mise.

NOTES

The preceding story was taken down in phonetic script in March 1952 from the recitation of Niall Gillies of Garrygall, Castlebay, Barra, who told me that he heard it from Ruairidh Ruairidh Mhóir MacNéill of Castlebay about 40 years ago. Niall was born in Barra and lived there all his life, but his parents were from Mingulay. The tale is a very simplified and altered version of the one better represented in Campbell's "The Fair Gruagach, Son of the King of Eirinn" (*West Highland Tales*, No. 51), also from Barra; compare the version from S. Uist printed by K. C. Craig in *Béaloideas*, XVII, 245 ff.

[1] These nasals are dropped in speech, but they "eclipse" the following consonant, and hence they are inserted here in square brackets to indicate this. Where they are dropped but do not "eclipse" nothing is inserted even if the vowel of the word is dropped too, e.g. *gu dé fiadh.*

be going where she is, to the Red Stream." And the Lad of the Skin Mantles went and he reached the Red Stream, and there she was, a pile of bones. He began to tell her how he killed the Great Youth, and the bones began to come together, and the flesh began to grow on the bones. And when the flesh came on the bones he took the sword and began to cut the flesh from the bones until he took the flesh entirely from the bones. And at that point he had finished telling her how he killed the Great Youth, and she fell back again, a pile of bones; and he took the bones and threw them out into the Red Stream and the head of the Great Youth along with them, and went back to the Fenians where he was before. And that is how I heard it.

[2] The pronouns *è* and *iad* in their pronunciations [a] and [at] are spelt here *á* and *ád*, where the acute accent means the clear, non-reduced vowel (*not* length).

[3] Sic, not *a' sianar.*

[4] The vowel is long here, hence written *à.*

[5] i.e. *deud fios*, "tooth of knowledge"; putting his finger under this "tooth of knowledge" as a means of divination is a variant on Fionn's well-known practice of biting his "thumb of knowledge".

[6–6] The bespelling-run was so given; the exact meaning of this traditional formula is of course uncertain.

[7] The narrator said first *gheibh mi,* in the first person and oratio recta, and then changed *mi* to *á,* with oratio obliqua, but did not make the consequent change in tense, which is supplied here.

[8] i.e. *ìad,* pronounced [at].

[9] A traditional phrase.

POPULATION CHANGES AND THE HIGHLAND PROBLEM, 1951-1961

H. A. Moisley*

The population of the Crofting Counties has declined more in the last ten years than in the previous twenty and this decline has taken place whilst the population of Scotland as a whole has risen to the highest figure yet recorded.[1] This is the more remarkable when we find that the excess of births over deaths in the Crofting Counties (7,116) was greater during these *ten* years than it had been during the previous *twenty* (6,433). The net loss by migration from the Crofting Counties was 15,186 or 5·3 per cent. of the 1951 population, equivalent to 1,519 persons each year which may be compared with 693 persons each year, 1931-51. Is this a measure of failure of Government policy for "Highland Development"?

Table I and the map, Fig. 1, show the breakdown of the *net* decline of 8,070 and demonstrate that the overall net loss

TABLE I

The crofting counties

County	Actual changes, 1951-61				Net percentage change
	Increases		Decreases		
	Burghs	Landward areas	Burghs	Landward areas	
Zetland	368	39	Nil	1,950	−8·0
Orkney	Nil	Nil	59	2,453	−11·8
Caithness	5,025	181	Nil	571	+20·4
Sutherland	140	265	Nil	633	−1·7
Ross and Cromarty	883	42	121	3,705	−4·8
Inverness	1,711	905	Nil	4,121	−1·8
Argyll	633	164	1,424	3,389	−6.3
	8,760	1,596	1,604	16,822	−2·8

NOTE.—"Landward" areas, i.e. Districts of Counties, correspond more or less, to Rural Districts in England and Wales but are not necessarily wholly rural.

of 2·8 per cent. conceals much greater losses in many areas. In the table the total changes have been obtained for individual

* Lecturer in Geography, University of Glasgow.

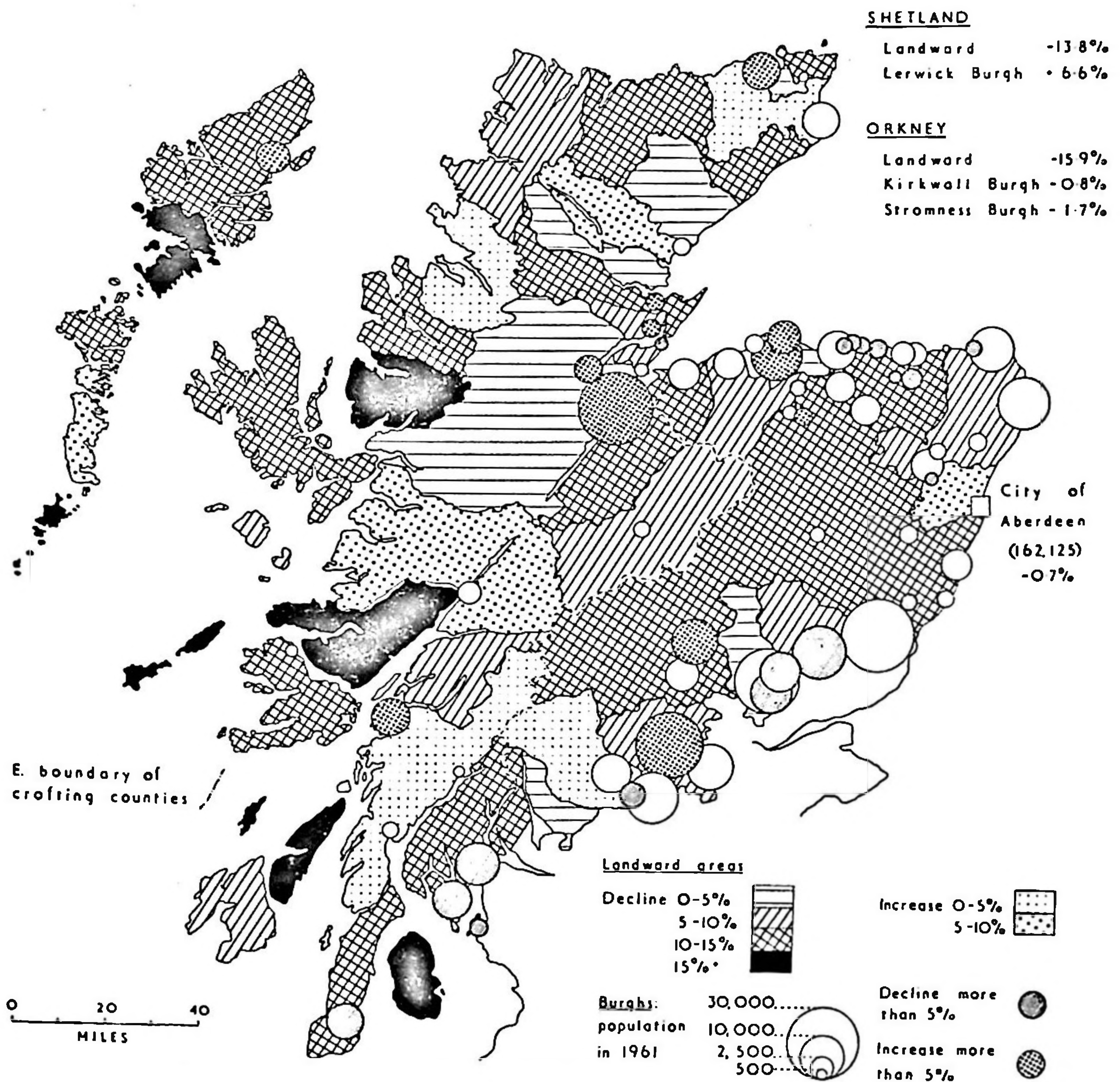


FIG. 1—Population Changes 1951-1961

burghs and landward districts of counties and the increases and decreases have been tabulated separately. Thus in Argyll, for example, certain burghs show increases (total 633 persons) others decreases (1,424 persons). The landward districts of counties may include some urban or suburban elements but these are seldom significant in the region treated; in the main, changes in landward districts may be regarded as indicative of rural changes except close to Fort William, Stornoway, Thurso and a few other burghs.

Rural (or "landward") areas lost 16,822 and gained but 1,596: burghs gained 8,760 but lost 1,604. More than half the increase in burghal population is accounted for by one burgh, Thurso, and one may hazard a guess that at least half the increase in rural areas is accounted for by Service personnel mainly in South Uist and St. Kilda. Atomic energy and military rockets are thus responsible for at least half of such increases in population as did occur in the Crofting Counties; not only have they provided some employment for local men who would otherwise have migrated southwards in search of

TABLE II

Insular districts

District	Actual changes, 1951-61				Net Percentage change
	Increases		Decreases		
	Burghs	Landward areas	Burghs	Landward areas	
Shetland	368	39	...	1,950	−8·0
Orkney	...	...	59	2,453	−11·8
Lewis	267	...	...	2,077	−11·1
Harris	...	...	...	706	−17·7
N. Uist	...	...	...	300	−13·5
S. Uist	...	219	...	...	+5·8
Barra	...	...	...	417	−22·1
Skye, etc.	...	...	...	867	−10·0
Mull etc.,	...	...	25	287	−14·6
Tiree and Coll	...	...	...	286	−20·0
Jura and Colonsay	...	...	...	76	−15·3
Islay	...	...	...	404	−9·5
	635	258	84	9,823	−9·6

work, but they have brought in a relatively large number of immigrants from the south. Without them the net emigration figure would probably have exceeded 20,000 (compare 36,000 in the period 1921-31).

One third of the population of the Crofting Counties is insular and it is in the islands (Table II) that population decline has taken place; the net overall decline of 8,070 is made up of a net increase of 944 on the mainland and a net decline of 9,014 in the islands. The only insular places showing increases are the burghs of Lerwick and Stornoway and the South Uist District; the relative prosperity of fishing and the Harris Tweed industry, respectively, account for the first two. The increase in South Uist is entirely due to the establishment of the military rocket range. Elsewhere the decline ranges from about 10 per

cent. of 1951 to more than 20 per cent. It is noteworthy that the places where population is declining most rapidly are, by and large, the smaller and less accessible islands; Orkney other than Mainland, Barra, Tiree, Coll, Jura and Colonsay. This continues a long-term trend; the Registrar General remarks on the decline in Stroma's population (from 111 to 12), and it is to be expected that when the final Reports are available many of the other smaller islands, not now separately distinguished, will show particularly heavy losses. Whilst a reduction in population of some of the larger islands is probably a healthy trend which may result eventually in communities which are more nearly economically viable, in the smaller islands it gives cause for disquiet.

In Barra, in particular, the loss of 22 per cent. of the 1951 population is quite alarming. There is a "point of no return" in such declines beyond which it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain essential services: moreover, from the social point of view, such declining communities have many problems the final result of which is to discourage younger folk from staying. De-population may become a vicious downward spiral. In 1954 the Taylor Commission stressed the need for urgent action if such crofting communities were to be resuscitated; the figures now published suggest that the Commissions' worst fears may yet be realised; this is underlined by the small response to generous official attempts to revive local fishing in the Outer Hebrides.

It is also remarkable that in Orkney, frequently pointed out as a model of prosperous small-holding, but not crofting, agriculture shows a decline greater than Shetland and similar to Lewis, both predominantly crofting. The crofting system alone, then, cannot be blamed for rural depopulation. A healthy agriculture does not stem the tide of emigration as do weaving or fishing. The effect of weaving may be estimated by comparing the loss of population from rural Lewis (11·1 per cent. of 1951) with that from districts with little or no weaving (Harris, 17·7 per cent., North Uist 13·5 per cent. and Barra 22·1 per cent.). The Harris Tweed industry is now concentrated in Lewis, where it employs about 1,300 weavers and 1,000 mill workers.[2] Since fishing is no longer important, and because the crofts are even smaller in Lewis than in Harris, it is reasonable to suppose that, had it not been for the tweed industry, Lewis would have experienced emigration at a far greater rate. For such a large community to depend so heavily on a narrow

market—and one dependent to some extent on fashion—is risky; these figures underline the risk. The recent introduction of fabrics other than Harris Tweed to the cottage weavers is therefore to be welcomed.

Turning to the Inner Hebrides it is clear that the depopulation has gone on apace in Tiree and Coll (probably mainly in Coll), Jura, Colonsay and Mull. This again indicates the rapid decline of the smaller communities (Coll, Jura and Colonsay) and the lack of opportunity in Mull, a largely non-crofting island which has failed to develop agriculture, industry or tourism. The economic stagnation of non-crofting Mull contrasts strongly with the steady growth of the tourist trade in Skye, almost wholly a crofting island: the Mull population has declined by 14·6 per cent., that of Skye by only 10 per cent. This suggests that the amalgamation of crofts into farms, advocated by some as a panacea to the "Highland Problem", is not necessarily a solution. Nor is the "Highland Problem" merely a matter of accessibility, for Mull is far more accessible to the great urban centres of the mainland than either Skye or Lewis. Much the same point may be made regarding Islay, a large island, which like Lewis, has a prosperous industrial base, in this case whisky distilling, and which shows the smallest decline (9·5 per cent.) of any of the large islands.

The mainland, at first sight, presents a confusing pattern of increase and decline. The outstanding feature is the spectacular growth of Thurso, already mentioned (1951, 3,249; 1961, 8,038). The increase of 14·7 per cent. is not matched by any other Scottish burgh, Highland or Lowland. The "atomic" influence appears to extend to the nearby rural areas but the more distant north-east and south-west parts of Caithness show severe decline as does the adjacent area of Sutherland. The Preliminary Report gives no clue as to the extent to which these declines are due to a local migration towards Dounreay, but it is noticeable that they are roughly double the declines in the more remote parts of north-west Sutherland. In Wester Ross it is perhaps surprising to see an area of increasing population in the north. This may, to a large extent, be due to the prosperity of the tourist industry and its particular development at Ullapool. The remoter districts show declines similar to those of the smaller islands, Gairloch (10·8 per cent.), Applecross (18·4 per cent.), but the *south-west mainland* district of Ross and Cromarty shows only a slight decline; here relative stability seems to have been achieved, probably due mainly to

tourism—the district includes Kyle of Lochalsh, on the tourist road to Skye.

In Easter Ross, Cromarty and eastern Inverness, where crofting is insignificant, rural depopulation has proceeded at no less a rate than in the less accessible western and insular crofting districts but it has been partly balanced by urban expansion round the Moray Firth, an expansion which is shared by the coastal burghs of Moray and Nairn.

The landward areas of these two non-crofting Highland counties, together with those of Banff, Aberdeen and Highland Perthshire have been losing population even more rapidly than many of the crofting districts. In Banff and Aberdeen this has not been balanced by urban growth but in Perthshire, Pitlochry with its prosperous tourist trade has more than held its own.

This general decline of rural population in the eastern Highlands is in marked contrast with the south-west where, in the Lochaber region, industry and tourism joined to promote prosperity in the "fifties"; this area also includes a much-travelled tourist route, from Ballachulish Ferry northwards, where a crop of bed and breakfast signs has been yielding an increasing harvest. Not so on the far-away western side of Loch Linnhe, for tourists have scarcely discovered Ardnamurchan, Sunart and Morvern, perhaps the most attractive cul-de-sac in Scotland, and this, after Applecross, is the most rapidly declining of the west coast districts. Further south the effect of the expanding tourist industry is reflected in population growth in Oban and the surrounding area; here some new industrial employment has also helped. This growth is not shared by the south Argyll districts of Kintyre and Cowal, including Dunoon and Campbeltown, nor by the non-crofting islands of Bute and Arran. The latter shows greater declines than any of the crofting districts except Barra. It is curious that Arran and the Cumbraes, surely the most accessible of all Scottish islands, should share with Barra and other remote places, this dubious honour. To some extent it is due to the departure of a naval base from Rothesay (decline 24·5 per cent.); in addition Rothesay, like Dunoon, is not well placed to share the expanding tourist trade brought by motor vehicles to more remote places such as Oban, Ullapool and Skye. Arran is in a somewhat similar position and suffers more because of a lack of any urban centre which might serve as a focus for services ancillary to tourism.

Depopulation is not the only aspect of the Highland problem, rather it is a significant indicator. Comparison between the crofting districts of Shetland, the Hebrides and Western Highlands and the non-crofting districts of Orkney and the Eastern Highlands shows that neither a prosperous agriculture nor accessibility to the lowlands necessarily prevents depopulation. The fundamental problem is low personal incomes and the lack of means to increase them. In particular areas industries such as Harris tweed, whisky and atomic energy development have played an important part, but the particular circumstances of their initiation and growth are unlikely to recur elsewhere. The only widespread factor which appears to have reduced the rate of depopulation since 1951 is tourism. This has developed spontaneously in certain areas, notably Skye, without direct government subsidy, yet the total of all the individual capital investments, from bathrooms in croft houses to new vessels for the Kyleakin Ferry, must be very considerable. Thus, whilst depopulation has continued, particularly in certain islands and more remote mainland districts, the census does underline that all is not lost, that stability is being achieved and that economic and population expansion can be brought about even in the most remote areas by enterprise and capital investment.

NOTES

[1] Unless otherwise stated all figures are taken from the *Preliminary Report on the Sixteenth Census of Scotland*, 1961.

[2] H. A. Moisley, "Harris Tweed—A Growing Highland Industry." *Economic Geography* 37 (1961): 353-70.

SCOTTISH FOLKLORE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1961

Elizabeth Sinclair*

General Folklore

FENTON, ALEXANDER. "A museum of Scottish country life." *Scottish Agriculture* 41, 1, (1961) 6-7.

GRANT, I. F. *Highland folk ways.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, 377 pp., ill.

SWIRE, OTTO F. *Skye: the island and its legends.* Glasgow, Blackie, 1961 [2nd ed.], 244 pp., 12s. 6d.

WATT, JEREMY BRUCE-. "Storing Scotland's heritage." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 27-31.
(The work of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.)

Settlement and Dwelling

BAXTER, NEIL. "A bronze-age glen in Argyll." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 36-7 (November).

COWAN, IAN B. "The development of the parochial system in medieval Scotland." *The Scottish Historical Review* 40 (1961) 43-55.

DILLON, WILLIAM J. "The spittals of Ayrshire. The hospitals of Celtic and mediæval times." *Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Collections* 6 (1958-60) 12-42.

FEACHEM, R. W. "Glenachan rig homestead, Cardon, Peeblesshire." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 92 (1961) 15-24, figs.

FOWLER, JAMES J. "The presbytery of Ayr: its schools and schoolmasters, 1642-1746." *Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Collections* 6 (1958-60) 81-174.

GAILEY, R. A. "Mobility of tenants on a Highland estate in the early nineteenth century." *The Scottish Historical Review* 40 (1961) 136-45.

—— "The role of sub-letting in the crofting community." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 57-84.
(Townships in Ardnamurchan, Barra and Lewis studied. Tables of statistics given.)

* Archivist, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. It is intended to make this annual bibliography a regular feature of the journal.

HAMILTON, HENRY (ed.). *The Third statistical account of Scotland: The county of Banff.* Glasgow, Collins, 1961, 429 pp., ill.

HOLMES, AUDREY B. "Declining croftlands." *The Countryman* (Winter 1961) 692-702.

HOUSTON, GEORGE. "Agricultural statistics in Scotland before 1866." *The Agricultural History Review* 9 (1961) 93-7.

MACDONALD, COLIN M. (ed.). *The third statistical account of Scotland: The county of Argyll.* Glasgow, Collins, 1961, 396 pp., ill.

MACLENNAN, FRANK. "Ferindonald—the country of the Munros." *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 47-8 (April), 57-8 (May).

MACPHERSON, JOHN. "Uibhist a tuath. Gearr-chunntas air maoin-eachdraidh an eilein." [North Uist. A short account of its economic history.] *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 43-4 (April), 54-5 (May).

MACSWEEN, MALCOLM and GAILEY, ALAN. "Some shielings in North Skye." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 77-84, plan to scale.

MOISLEY, H. A. "North Uist in 1799." *Scottish Geographical Mag.* 77, 2 (1961) 89-92.

MUNRO, R. W. (ed.). *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and genealogies of the clans* 1549. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1961, 172 pp.

STORRIE, MARGARET C. "A note on William Bald's plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1807." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 112-17.

THOMAS, CHARLES and WAILES, BERNARD. "Mediæval hut and midden near Port William, Wigtownshire." *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 38 (1961) 83-4, fig.

TIVY, JOY. "Four small Scottish burghs: an exercise in geographical field studies." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 77 (1961) 148-64.
(Aberfeldy, Pitlochry, Dingwall, Biggar.)

WALTON, KENNETH. "Population changes in north-east Scotland 1696-1951." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 149-80.

WHITE, K. G. and M. M. "The kirks of Ballantrae: A survey of the buildings." *Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Collections* 6 (1961) 211-40. (List of sources, published and unpublished), 4 figs., 1 plan.

Social Anthropology

REHFISCH, FARNHAM. "Marriage and the elementary family among the Scottish tinkers." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 121-48.

Occupations and Crafts

A., T. H. "Shetland stone masons." *The New Shetlander* 57 (1961) 8-9.

CRAWFORD, IAIN A. "A tidal fish pound." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 110-11.

GARDINER, LESLIE. "The last of the jolly postboys." *The Scots Magazine* 75 (1961) 354-8 (July).

—— "The last stage-coachman." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 51-2 (September).

——*Stagecoach to John o' Groats; with a foreword by Sanders Watney*. London, Hollis and Carter, 1961, 217 pp.

GRAHAM, ANGUS. "A note on the making of nails by hand." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 117-19, ill.

KISSLING, WERNER. "The grinding of the quernie." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 44-5 (March).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "Hooping a wheel." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 54-5 (September).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "Mending a wheel." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 44-5 (October).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "Ploughing with the caschrom." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 19 (February).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "The sang of the smiddy." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 48-50 (June).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "Scottish cloggers." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 46-7 (August).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "Spinning wheel and loom." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 52-3 (May).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

RICHARDSON, SHEILA. "Shepherd crookmaker." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 48-50 (November), ill.

RITCHIE, ERIC. "St. Abbs line fishers." *Scottish Field* 108 (1961) 32 (April).
(Illustrations with short notes.)

TOPHAM, JOHN. "The mussel-gatherers." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 7-9 (November).
(Photographs with short text.)

—— "Queen of the Harris weavers." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 53-4 (February).
(Photographs with short text.)

URQUHART, R. J. "Droving days." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 24-8 (July), ill.

VEITCH, JAMES. "A Border crookmaker." *The Scots Magazine* 75 (1961) 135-7 (May).

WOOD, JAMES. "Line fishers of Scotland." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 38-43 (March), ill.

Material Culture

CRAWFORD, IAIN A. "A smith's beam drill." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 219-22, ill.

FENTON, ALEXANDER. "Scottish farm carts." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 54-6 (July).

—— "Ropes and rope-making in Scotland." *Gwerin* 3 (1961) 142-56, 200-14.

KISSLING, WERNER. "Country creels and baskets." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 40-2 (April).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

—— "The wee theekit [thatched] hoose." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 40-2 (January).
(Series of photographs with short text.)

KNIGHT, ISOBEL. "The auld clay pipe." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 32-4 (May), ill.

MEGAW, B. R. S. "An eighteenth century representation of a Highland boat." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 96-9, ill.

WALTON, JAMES. "The built-in bed tradition in North Yorkshire. *Gwerin* 3 (1961) 114-25.
(Article includes references to this tradition in Scotland.)

Costume

HESKETH, CHRISTIAN MARY, LADY. *Tartans.* London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961, 128 pp. Illustrations including portraits, reproductions and facsimiles.

MACKINNON, CHARLES R. *Tartans and Highland dress.* Glasgow, Collins, 1961, 128 pp., 26 ill., 5s.

SKINNER, BASIL. "Scottish sportswear." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 26-9 (March).

Festivals, Customs and Beliefs

ANON. "Stonehaven welcomes the New Year." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 8-9 (February), ill.
(Fire festival.)

BENWELL, GWEN and WAUGH, ARTHUR. *Sea enchantress. The tale of the mermaid and her kin.* London, Hutchinson, 1961, 287 pp., 35s.
(Chapter on the mermaid in the folklore of Scotland included.)

CANTLAY, JOHN T. "Feet washing." *The Countryman* (1961) 239-40.
(Custom before weddings.)

DAVIDSON, THOMAS. "Witchcraft in the dairy." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 49-51 (September), ill.

MACDONALD, NORMAN. "Eoin shealbhach agus mhi-shealbhach ann an saobh-chrabhadh nan Gaidheal." [Birds signifying good and bad luck in the superstition of the Highlanders]. *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 48-51 (September).

MACKAY, MAIRI. "A story from Sutherland: the witch and the working fairies." *The Scots Magazine* 75 (1961) 302-5 (July).

MCNEILL, F. MARIAN. *The silver bough. A four volume study of the national and local festivals of Scotland.* Vol. 3: *A calendar of Scottish national festivals Hallowe'en to Yule.* Glasgow, William MacLellan, 1961, 180 pp., ill.

MEGAW, B. R. S. "Funeral resting cairns in Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 202-6, ill.

MITCHISON, NAOMI. "Uphellyaa." *The Countryman* (1961) 663-7.
(Shetland fire festival.)

MORRISON, ALASDAIR. "Sean eòlas-luibh" [Plant lore]. *Gairm* 1961: 35, 275; 36, 369; 37, 47; 38, 155.

ROBERTSON, KENNETH. "Island weddings." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 16-20 (December), ill.
(Description of wedding in Eriskay, 1961.)

ROSS, ANNE. "A story from Vatersay" [Outer Hebrides]. *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 108-9.
(Belief in prophetic powers of a severed head and custom of placing "tête coupée" in a well.)

ROSS, ANNE. "Tobar nam maor" [The well of the stewards]. *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 206-9.
(Well in Skye associated with broch and Pictish symbol stone; belief that well, if defiled, will dry up.)

ROSS, CHRISTINA. "Treason by sorcery." *Scottish Field* 108 (1961) 93-5 (October).
(North Berwick witch trials, 1590.)

SIMPSON, DAVID. "The Lammas feasts in Cramond parish." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 222-9.

THOMSON, DERICK S. "Bualadh bhròg" [Striking with boots]. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9 (1961) 84-8.
(Discussion of various refs. to this custom in Gaelic poetry.)

THOMSON, F. G. "Herbal lore." *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 57-8 (September).

Tales and Local Stories

BUDGE, DONALD. *The Skye Lochinvar: the story of Donald of Monkstad and Jessie of Balranald.* Glasgow, John Smith, 1961, 36 pp., 1s. 6d.
(Fragments of Gaelic songs (texts only), composed after the event described here, are included.)

GORDON, SETON. "MacDougall chief and the robber." *Scottish Field* 108 (1961) 41 (April).

—— "Old tales of Rannoch." *The Scots Magazine* 75 (1961) 66-7 (April).

KENNEDY, JOHN. "Mac Righ Eirinn" [Son of the King of Ireland]. *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 52-3 (May).
("Cinderella" type tale. Text.)

MACDONALD, NEIL. "Mairi Challaird" [Mary of Callart]. *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 36-8.
(Plague in Callart: subsequent life of one of survivors.)

MACDONALD, NORMAN. "Bu tearc a chaisgeadh duaidh gun chasgradh" [A battle is seldom checked without slaughter]. *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 91-2 (December).
(The last plundering of Skye by the men of Lochaber.)

MACINNES, JOHN. "A folktale from St. Kilda." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 215-19.
(Story of a St. Kilda massacre; Gaelic text, translation and notes.)

MacLellan, Angus (narrator). *Stories from South Uist.* Translated by John Lorne Campbell. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, 254 pp.

Robertson, Ronald Macdonald. *Selected Highland folk tales: gathered orally by R.M.R.*; edited by Jeremy Bruce-Watt. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1961.

Folk Song and Music

Campbell, John Lorne. "The Royal Irish Academy text of 'Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill'" [Clan Ranald's Galley]. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9 (1961) 39-79.

(Poem by Alexander MacDonald.)

Collinson, Francis. "The musical aspect of the songs of Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 40-2.

—— "The oyster dredging songs of the Firth of Forth." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 1-17, mus. ill. (3).

—— "Some researches on an obsolete labour song of the Lowland Scottish oyster fishers." *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 13 (1961) 27.

Cumnock Academy. *Bluebells my cockleshells: play rhymes traditional in Cumnock and neighbouring villages*; coll. and ill. by pupils of Cumnock Academy. Kilmarnock, 1961.

Elliot, Kenneth. "Robert Edwards' 1617-1696 Commonplace Book and Scots musical history." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 50-6, mus. ill. (4).

(Discussion of manuscript containing 129 items of vocal and instrumental part music, 77 of which are probably Scottish.)

Etherington, Donia. "A living song-composer in a Scottish Gaelic oral tradition." *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 13 (1961) 34-8, mus. ill. (3).

Henderson, Hamish. "Folk-song from a tile." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 100-6, mus. ill. (3).

(Song "The bonny green tree": discussion of variants. Texts of 6 variants given.)

—— "How a bothy song came into being." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 212-15, mus. ill.

(Song "The rovin' ploughboy": text, transcription of melody and notes. Version of Child 200.)

MacGregor, Alastair Alpin. "Frances Tolmie." *Scotland's Magazine* 57 (1961) 36-8 (April).

MacInnes, John. "A traditional song from Skye." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 106-8.
(Gaelic text, translation and notes.)

MacLean, Calum I. "Is daor a cheannaich mi 'n t-iasgach" [I paid dearly for the fishing]. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9 (1961) 1-8, mus. ill. (1).
(Discussion of variants of this traditional Gaelic song.)

MacLeod, Duncan C. "Brilliant composer of Strathspeys: Scottish dance music's debt to William Marshall." *The Scotsman* (1961) Jul. 22nd.

MacNeil, Finlay. "Ceòl na Pìoba: Iain Mac Aonghais" [Bagpipe music: John MacInnes]. *Gairm* 36 (1961) 363-7.
(Biographical note on piper and composer of pipe music, with transcription of one composition.)

Nelson, G. M. "Fiddlers' lore" [series]. *The New Shetlander* (1961): 56, 17-20. "Singing Lowrie"; 58, 26, "Willie Barneson."

Ross, James. "Folk song and social environment. A study of the repertoire of Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 18-39.

Shire, Helena M. "Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book and Scots Literary tradition." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 43-9.

Stewart-Robertson, James (comp. and arranger). *The Athole Collection of the dance music of Scotland.* Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1961, 318 pp. Re-issue of 1884 ed.

Thomson, Derick S. "Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century, 6. Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair" [Alexander MacDonald]. *An Gaidheal* 56 (1961) 65-7 (October); 79-82 (November).

Names

Eunson, Jerry. "The Fair Isle fishing-marks." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 181-98, ill.

Nicolaisen, W. F. H. "Field-work in place-name research." *Studia Hibernica* 1 (1961) 74-88.

—— "Notes on Scottish place-names" [series]. *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 85-96. "The interpretation of name changes"; 199-201, "Sike and Strand."

—— "Some minor manuscript sources of Scottish place-names." *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 209-11.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. "The story behind the name." *The Scots Magazine* 1961: January, 336; February, 404; March, 470; April, 65; May, 110; June, 253; July, 353; August, 433; September, 531; October, 63; November, 163; December, 233.
(Series on Scottish place-names.)

TAYLOR, ALEXANDER B. "Some additional early maps of Scotland." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 77, 1, (1961) 37-43.

W., D. "Aliases." *The Scottish Genealogist* 8, 4 (1961) 13-14.
(Some reasons for occurrence of aliases.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

19. *Further Minor Elements in Scottish River-Names*

In note 17 in this series (5 (1961) 199-201), we discussed the lexicographical value and geographical distribution of the words *sike* and *strand* in names of Scottish water-courses. These are probably the most significant of the minor elements of English origin in Scottish hydronymy but there are others, sometimes only occurring in isolated instances, which also deserve our consideration. We want to record their existence, discuss their etymology, and interpret their meaning in this note, and we regard it of particular importance that they should not be divorced from their usage outside names, i.e. as ordinary appellatives in historical or present-day Scottish (and English) dialects. Without a doubt, there have been words in all languages ever spoken in this country, and particularly in the earliest strata, which are only evidenced within the onomastic context, but the elements which we are going to look at in this note do not belong to this category. Some of them, however, seem to have a meaning when used in place-names which is rare in appellative usage.

The words to be discussed are *lake*, *latch*, *linn*, **rið*, *runner*, *spout*, *stank*, and *stream*, in this order. Examples will be taken almost exclusively from the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland. Any figures given therefore only relate to these, and as all our elements normally refer to comparatively small water-courses, scrutiny of the six-inch maps would no doubt furnish further instances. However, this material is at present not available to the writer in its entirety; it could be added to from previously unrecorded local usage, but such a complete account will not be possible for many years to come and we think that there is considerable justification for the presentation of the fragmentary evidence at our disposal.

(a) *Lake*

This word goes back to Old English (OE) *lacu* "stream" and is not identical with Middle English (ME) *lake* "lake, pool", Old High German (OHG) *lahha* "pool", Middle Low

German (MLG) *lake* "puddle" all of which derive from the cognate Latin *lacus -ūs* m. "pit, lake, trough". The Germanic equivalent of the latter is OE, *lagu* "lake", the Celtic one Gaelic *loch*. According to Wright (1902:III, 508) *lake* is still used dialectically in the south-west of England as well as in Cumberland, in the meaning of "a brook, rivulet or stream; a dried-up water-course in the moors". It occurs in a number of river-names in many English counties, usually combined with significant words of English origin.

For Scotland the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST) covering the Scots language before 1700, mentions the occasional use of our word in the meaning "flowing water" (XVIII:522*a*), but the *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND) gives as the Scottish usage after 1700 "a small stagnant pool, esp. one formed at ebb-tide on the shore" (V:495*c*). This obviously only refers to the loan-word from Latin and not to the word under discussion. Toponymically, however, we have three examples supplied by the one-inch map: Altrieve Lake (Selkirkshire) which flows past Altrieve and Altrieve Rig into the River Yarrow (a tributary is the Altrieve Burn!); Earshaig Lake (Dumfriesshire) past East and West Earshaig into Kinnel Water; Poldivan Lake, in the same country into Capel Water. It is of interest to note that all three explanatory elements are of Celtic, probably Gaelic, origin.

(b) *Latch*

A word cognate with *lake*; only whereas the basis of the former is probably a Germanic **lakō-*, *latch* derives from **lakjō*, from the Indo-European (IE) root **leg-* "to drip, to ooze, to dissolve" (Pokorny 1953:657). This would give a geminated stem *læcc* in Old English, although an *i*-stem *læce* is possible (Smith 1956:II, 10). According to the latter it survives in North Country and North West Midland dialects in the form *lache* or *letch* "a stream flowing through boggy land, a muddy hole or ditch, a bog", and similar meanings are recorded for earlier and more recent Scottish usage (DOST XIX:6306; SND VI:10*b*). "Slow moving stream" may be the original meaning.

Scottish one-inch Ordnance Survey maps yield two examples in which *latch* appears as a generic term in the names of water-courses: Blacklatch Burn (Aberdeenshire), coming from the Correen Hills and flowing into the River Don after combining with the Suie Burn; and Long Latch (Berwickshire),

a tributary of Ale Water on Coldingham Moor. Related, although based on the meaning "dub, mire" are the place-names Effledge (Roxburghshire) and Cumledge (Berwickshire). These are listed by Williamson (1942:269) who also notes at least two "lost" names belonging here: *Harecarlecche* 1204 (near Whitton, Roxburghshire), and *Witheleche c.* 1250 (near Fans, Berwickshire). These are worth mentioning although they do not strictly belong to our semantic category.

(c) *Linn*

According to Smith (1956:I, 254), OE *hlynn* f. occurs only once in non-topographical usage, glossing in that case Latin *torrens*. Its basic meaning is "the noisy one", and it is well attested in the sense of "noise, din". As a dialect word it is confined to Northern English and Southern Scots. In Scottish place-names, *linn* seems to refer mainly to waterfalls, cascades of water, cataracts, deep and narrow gorges, and pools below waterfalls (DOST XX:787*a*; SND VI:91*a*-92*b*; Williamson 1942:278), but in some instances it occurs in the names of streams in rocky courses. These latter cases concern us here, and in them the influence of Gaelic *linne*, Welsh *llyn* "a pool" appears to be less likely than in those in which an actual *pool* is meant. It is, however, not always easy to keep these two words apart, and in some of the examples given below the actual geographical feature described may in fact belong to or overlap one of the other categories of meaning. When does a torrent become a waterfall, and vice versa?

Our Scottish names which apparently contain this element are all to be found in two very small areas. One group is situated on the Midlothian-Lanarkshire border where Darmead Linn, Kitchen Linn and Lingore Linn all combine to form the Breich Water. Dumfriesshire supplies the second group: Ogle Linn is a tributary of Broadshaw Water; Sailfoot Linn rises on Sailford Law, flows past Sailfoot and parallel to Sailfoot Burn (!) into Moffat Water; and Tuppark Linn and Black Linn (part of Glenkill Burn) together join the Water of Ae. These seven examples could probably be augmented from the six-inch map.

(d) *rið* or **rīð*

Although there is only one example of this word in Scottish river-nomenclature it nevertheless emphasises the preserving

durability of place-names of all kinds in comparison with normal appellative usage. Here we have a word of which there is no record in any of the sources available to Scottish lexicographers, and we can probably assume that it became obsolescent in the early centuries of Anglian settlement.

The one example in question is the name of Slitrig Water, a tributary of the Teviot at Hawick. According to Robson (1947:64) older forms of the name are *Slitrith* about 1200, Slitridge, Slitrige 1730; Slitterick, Slitrik 1767, but unfortunately he does not mention his sources. The one which interests us here is the earliest, *Slitrith*, for the later ones are obviously due to folk-etymological re-interpretation of the second element when it had become meaningless. The medieval form *-rith*, in comparatively unstressed position could go back to either *rið* or *rīð*, although the former seems to be the more likely. Its original meaning appears to have been "small stream" and in this sense it is still current in the dialects of Hampshire and Sussex as *rithe* or *ride* (Smith 1956:II, 85-6). The nearest English place-name is Ritton (Northumberland).

Rið is cognate with Old Saxon *rīth* m. "torrens", Middle Low German (MLG) *rīde* f. "stream, water-course", German—*riede* in place-names. These are from Germanic **rīþa-*, **rīþōn-* and related to Sanskrit *rīti*—"river, run, etc." The first part of the name is probably OE *slite* "a straight and narrow cut or incision".

(e) *Runner*

Another word which can with considerable justification be classified under the "minor" elements in Scottish river-nomenclature, for again the Scottish one-inch maps provide only one example, in this case *Carsgailoch Runner* which rises on *Carsgailoch Hill* in the parish of New Cumnock (Ayrshire) and joins the Holm Burn, a tributary of Lugar Water. A second instance, now obsolete, is mentioned by Shirley (1915:36) who cites the Catstrand, a "stream known in the 16th century as the 'Freizehole runner'," from Dumfries.

Despite its scarcity on the Scottish map, the word is well documented in the unpublished collections of our Scottish dictionaries, from 1565 to the present day, the first being from Banffshire "quhair ane stryp or runner descending northerlie down" is mentioned in a charter, the last coming from the St. Andrews district of Fife where in 1945 the word is still said to be in common use of very small burns. In between

we have, amongst others, "at the Runner-foot" (Dumfriesshire 1684); "They walked . . . down the Runner of the Cleugh East through Sletrig-water [!]" (Roxburghshire, 1768); "the side of a small burn or runner" (Kirkcudbrightshire, 1830); and "ditches or small runners" (Dumfriesshire, 1833).

Etymologically our word is obviously an agent noun from the verb "to run", and is also evidenced in North West England and Northern Ireland in the meaning "a small channel for water; a small stream" (Wright 1904:V, 189*b*).

(f) *Spout*

Dow Spout (Kirkcudbrightshire) provides an outlet from Dow Loch into Corran Lane and thence into the River Dee. Maxwell notes (1930:73) that in Galloway *spout* is "more generally used to denote a waterfall", and if this is so it may have been the rapid descent over the precipitous slopes of Craignaw which supplied the generic term for the name of this water-course. *Spout* appears to have a great variety of meanings, however, and Wright (1904:V, 683*a*) ascribes it to Scotland, the Lakeland, Westmorland and Yorkshire as meaning "a runnel of water" or "a stream of no great volume of water", whereas Jamieson (1882:371*b*) lists it in the sense "a boggy spring in the ground". The manuscript collections of DOST and SND contain many references to wells and springs called *spout*, but in 1598 a Glasgow source has the equation "prope rivulus lie spowtis", and our Dow Spout may in fact derive its name from the whole stream and not just from the cataract part of it. (Not appropriate, although related, in this context is, of course, the common meaning of "mouth of a water-pipe".)

(g) *Stank*

Another word, like *spout*, whose central meaning does not class it amongst the Scottish topographical terms for natural water-courses, but which, in extended usage, does enter Scotland's river-nomenclature. Like Modern French *étang* it derives from Old French *estanc*, *estanche* (<Latin *stagnum*), and "pond, pool" is therefore its primary meaning; it is in this sense that we find it in Middle English. In Middle Scots, however, it begins to denote open ditches or sluggish streams, and in subsequent sources all three meanings appear. Here are a few examples, again chosen from the unpublished collections of DOST and SND:

"Pond, fish-pond": ". . . fischit the stankis in Strivelin . . ." (1507 Stirling); "Thar is . . . the stank of Genazureith . . ." (Asloan MS); "a pond or pool" (Scotland 1782).

"Sluggish stream or ditch": "Stankis and louches and waleis of montayns" (*c* 1445 Liber Pluscardensis). ". . . ane stank that flowyt from a well . . ." (1513 Douglas Æneid); "the streme . . . Ane standard stank semyt for to be . . . (Douglas); ". . . the old march dykes, stankes and runes of water" (1709 Family of Innes); "any little stream or stank" (Aberdeen 1795); = "a ditch with stagnant water" (Berwick 1892); = "march ditch" (Aberdeen 1932).

In addition we have the common meaning in Modern Scots of "a grating, a closed drain".

This great variety of meaning may partly account for the fact that *stank*, although in general use in Scots, does not seem to have entered the nomenclature of smaller Scottish water-courses, both natural and artificial, to any great extent. Whenever it is used in an onomastic context, it appears to be very near the border line between appellative and name, as the five examples provided by the Scottish one-inch maps show: we have *The Stank* (a) west of Corstorphine near Edinburgh, and (b) flowing past Town Yetholm (Roxburghshire) into Bowmont Water; and there are three *Black Stanks*, one a drain in the Rhinns of Galloway, one draining from Lochlundie Moss (Aberdeenshire), and one a croft near a tributary of the Burn of Aberlour (Banffshire). This can be augmented by an example from historical evidence which furnishes *Hawdanstank* as the name of a boundary ditch at Hadden in Roxburghshire at the beginning of the 15th century (Williamson 1942:279).

(h) *Stream*

This is a derivative of the widespread IE root **sreu-* "to flow", which with a *mo-* formation **srouma-* from its *o*-grade appears as **straumo-* in Germanic, resulting ultimately in such forms as OE *stream*, Old Frisian *strām*, Old Saxon *strōm*, OHG *stroum*, German *Strom*, and ON *straum-r*. Its well evidenced use in Modern English in the meaning of "water-course, burn" makes its negligible importance in the hydronymy of the British Isles a little surprising. Smith in his *Elements* (1956: II, 163) stressing its rarity only mentions its occurrence in ME *Stremlake*, and it is almost equally infrequent in Scottish river-nomenclature. The only two modern names which we can quote here are both from Kirkcudbrightshire and show

both the additional generic term *burn*: Coldstream Burn. Coldstream is, however, evidenced as the name of human settlements, mostly farms, in at least half a dozen other cases, the most famous of them being the Berwickshire Coldstream on the River Tweed. The other five are two farms in Lanarkshire (one north of Strathaven not far from the Powmillan Burn, and one in the parish of Carluke near the Fiddler Burn), one place on a small burn in Fife north of Leven, one in the Sidlaw Hills in the vicinity of a stream descending from one of them, and one near the Dowrie Burn in the parish of Fordoun in Kincardineshire.

The situation of all these place-names makes it just possible that every one of them once referred to a water-course. The Coldstream on the Tweed may originally have been the name of the Leet Water, and the others might possibly have been earlier or alternative names of the respective burns mentioned above in connection with them. It is, however, possible—and this seems to be the more likely explanation to me—that these names never meant the burn or the water-course as such but were only applied to one feature of it. We have two signs which point in this direction. First of all, the curious fact that our word only occurs on the Scottish map with the adjective *cold* prefixed to it; and secondly the observation that in the extensive manuscript collections of our two Scottish dictionaries *stream* is never evidence as meaning "burn" but always "current" or "tide", and frequently in figurative usage like "stream of fire and blood". The best example to prove that *stream*—in Scots at any rate—is not identical with *river* is to be found in Bellenden's *Livy* where in I, 85/27 we come across the line "Thai harlit the samyn in the streme of the foresaid ryvere". Here "the streme" is obviously the "current" of the river, and it looks more than likely that all our *Coldstreams* originally referred to precisely this, the cold currents of the burns on which they stand, and that these names are probably only applicable to one small section of the water-courses in question and not to their entire length, just as in the twelfth century the part of the River Tweed at Berwick is known as *Berewickes strem*, *Berewyckstreem*, *Berewic streme*, and the like (Williamson 1942:166). We feel, therefore that our *Coldstreams* are not really part of the Scottish river-nomenclature proper and that the explanation of the rarity of *stream* on the maps of Scotland is due to the fact that its central meaning in Scots is "current" or "tide", and not "burn".

The elements we have scrutinised in this note have not had any great impact on Scottish river-nomenclature. Some of them like **rið*, *runner* and *spout* occur only once each on the Scottish one-inch maps. The others are not much more numerous. Of these, **rið* is a word which has survived in an onomastic context when in appellative usage it died out many centuries ago. *Lake* has probably been prevented from spreading by the much more common English homonym meaning "a sheet of water", and in the cases of *linn*, *spout* and *stank* their more usual alternative meanings of "pool", "spring, end of a water-pipe", and "drain, ditch" respectively must have limited their application to natural water-courses. *Latch* and *runner* have, perhaps, never been very common in appellative usage anyhow, and *stream*, as we have seen, is very much a border line case. All we have tried to do in the foregoing therefore is to record their presence in Scottish hydronomy and to note some of their peculiarities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am much indebted to Mr. A. J. Aitken and Mr. David Murison, Editors of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary* respectively, for allowing me to make use of their unpublished manuscript collections. The selections made and their interpretation are entirely my own, however.

REFERENCES

JAMIESON, JOHN
1882 *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.* A new edition . . . by John Longmuir and David Donaldson. Vol. IV. Paisley.

MAXWELL, Sir HERBERT
1930 *The Place Names of Galloway.* Glasgow.

POKORNY, JULIUS
1953 *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Fascicle 7. Bern.

ROBSON, W. S.
1947 *Hawick Place Names.* Hawick.

SHIRLEY, G. W.
1915 *The Growth of a Scottish Burgh: a Study of the Early History of Dumfries.* Dumfries.

SMITH, A. H.
1956 *English Place-Name Elements.* 2 Vols. English Place-Name Society, Vols. 25 and 26. Cambridge.

WILLIAMSON, MAY GORDON
1942 *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties.* Typescript Thesis. Edinburgh.

WRIGHT, JOSEPH
1898-1905 *The English Dialect Dictionary.* 6 Vols. London.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

Farming and Fishing Scenes on a Caithness Plan, 1772

Authentic drawings of Scottish rural life prior to the last century are seldom found, and the modest, but in its way important, group on an unpublished Caithness estate-plan of 1772 is especially welcome (Pls. IX-XII, between pp. 224-5).

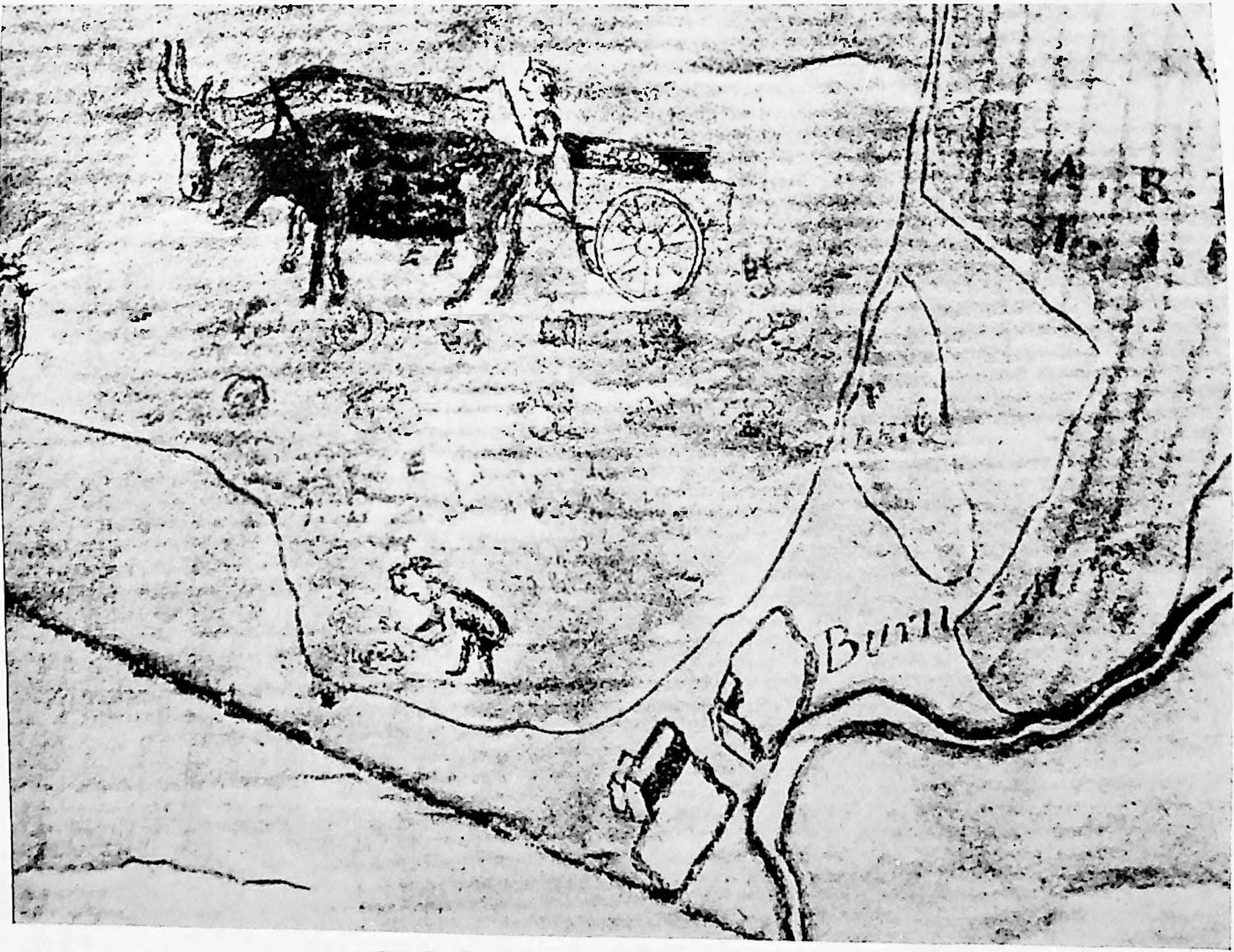
For some time past manuscript estate-plans have been recognised as a primary source for the study of agrarian economics, local history and place-names. Apart from a few pioneer articles, however, comparatively little systematic work has so far appeared on the Scottish material, and a comprehensive index to the scattered material is urgently needed, since many plans remain in private hands and others are preserved in widely dispersed offices and institutions. The purpose of this note is to comment on the drawings on the Caithness plan and, in so doing, to stress that the vignettes and sketches that occasionally embellish the earlier plans are sometimes of considerable documentary as well as decorative value. Apart from those lately reproduced by R. J. Adam (1960: facing p. 32, etc.) from the Assynt Survey of 1774, few Scottish examples have been published, though the sketches of houses on the fine coloured plans of the south side of Loch Tay, drawn by John McArthur in 1769, have been mentioned (McArthur 1936: xxviii-xxx). John Ainslie's plans of the Eglinton estates in north Ayrshire, dated 1790 (Eglinton and Winton Muniments, Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House), which include a complete series of inset miniatures of all the steadings, remain unpublished.

Enlargements of the minute, carefully-drawn vignettes of farming and fishing scenes on William Aberdeen's plan of the lands of Castlehill, near Thurso, in Caithness, are reproduced here from the original, H.M. Register House plan no. 1220. Here, as in other plans by Aberdeen (cf. Roussell 1934: 88-90), a number of details inspire confidence in the general accuracy of these drawings as a record of things seen on the estate. Of course, estate-plans were produced for landowners with capital and improving ideas, but many "improvers" were practical men who first required a factual statement of things as they were. The inset view, not reproduced here, of the

House of Castlehill, with its outbuildings and walled enclosures, establishes the general reliability of the small-scale, rear view of the same group on the plan itself (Pl. XII). The circular, tower-like corn-kiln at the end of the barn, shown on the larger inset view, is of the well-known Orkney-Caithness type (e.g. Roussell 1934:66 ff.), and the little detail of the boat-shelter is distinguished by the appropriate local term "noust", from O.N. *naust*, a boat-shed or dock. That salmon were at that time taken with seine-nets on the shore of Dunnet Bay need not surprise us, but it is useful to have visual record of the fact; as it is to have a picture (Pl. IX) of a spoke-wheeled dung-cart—a rare subject!—drawn by a pair of oxen, on a Caithness laird's estate in 1772.

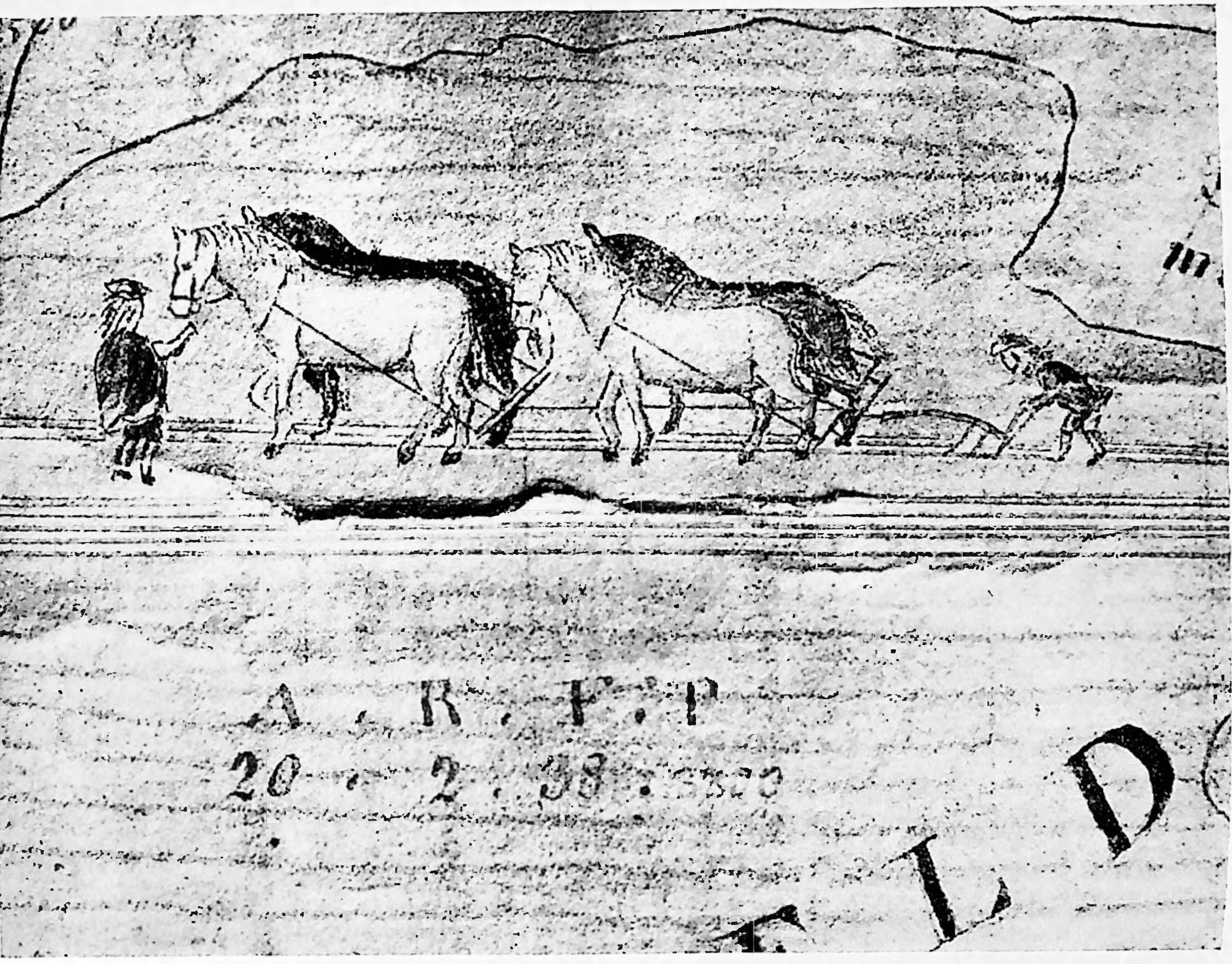
The two ploughing scenes (Pls. X and XI) are of unusual interest, not least because they belong to a time before the triangular-framed, two-horse plough (then coming into use in the Lowlands) had replaced older types in most parts of Scotland. Despite the small scale of Aberdeen's original drawings, it is clear that the Castlehill ploughs were not of the very light, single-stilted kind known to have been used in several forms (in addition to spade cultivation) in the Northern Isles, Caithness, and many parts of the Highlands and Western Isles also, until the early years of last century. Those, like their prehistoric or Viking Age precursors, tended to break up or "harrow" the peaty soils they normally encountered, though the introduction of sown grasses in the eighteenth century gradually produced a firm-knit sward in many of these areas also, requiring a plough that would undercut and turn the sod (Fenton 1963). The Castlehill ploughs, on the other hand, were clearly a form of the widespread rectangular-framed, heavy medieval plough—the so-called "Old Scotch Plough", of which many disparaging descriptions but no examples have survived. Mr. Fenton (in discussion) has remarked that the Castlehill ploughs probably represent a comparatively light, improved form, since one was drawn by only four horses.

The contrast between the two plough-teams, side by side on the same farm, is striking. Apparently drawing the same kind of plough in the same level country we have, on the one hand, four horses harnessed in couples—a "long team"—and, on the other, four oxen harnessed abreast. The contrast in yoking method is no doubt attributable to soil conditions, and Mr. Fenton tells me that to reduce treading down heavy land

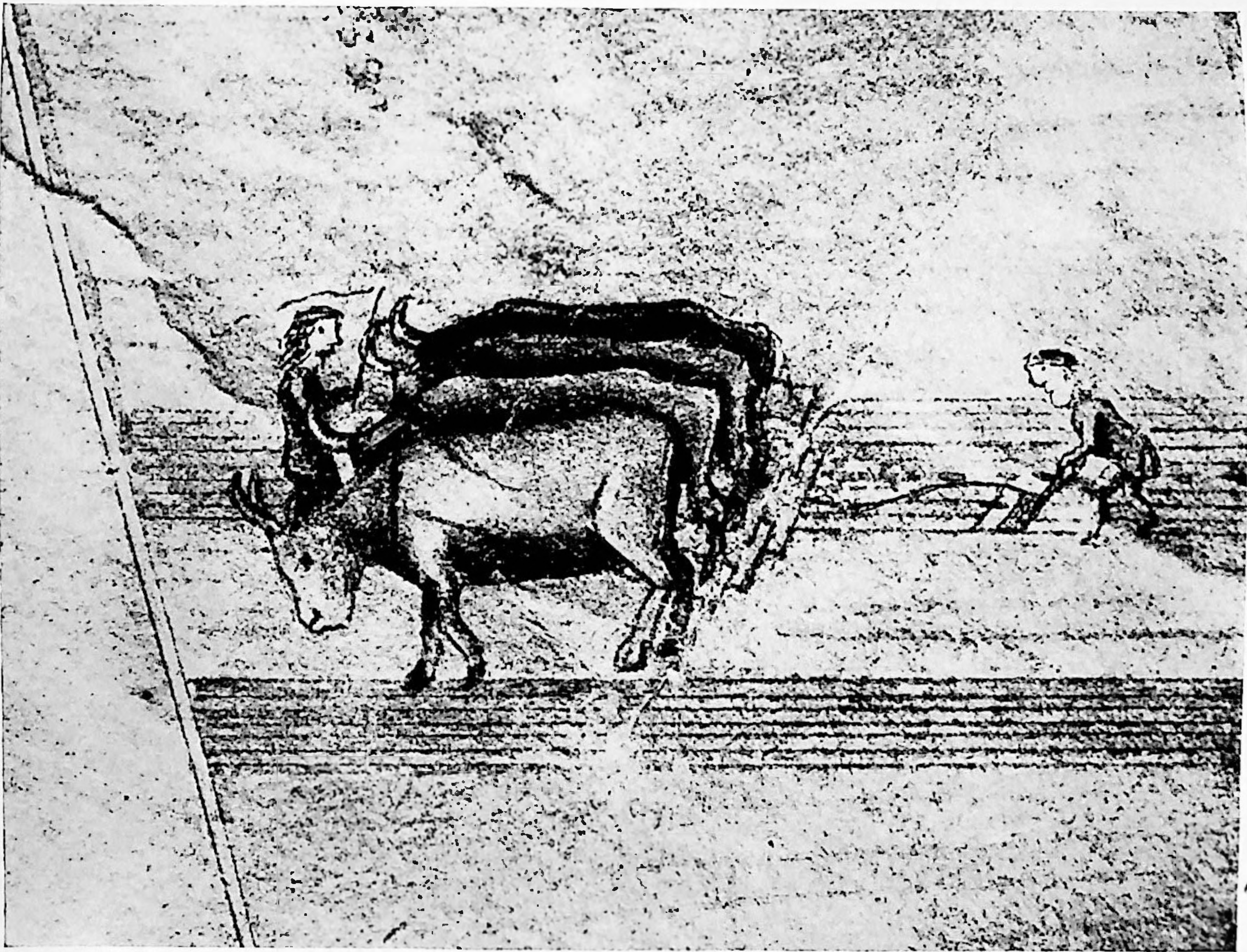


Spoke-wheeled ox-cart, Caithness 1772 (see p. 219).

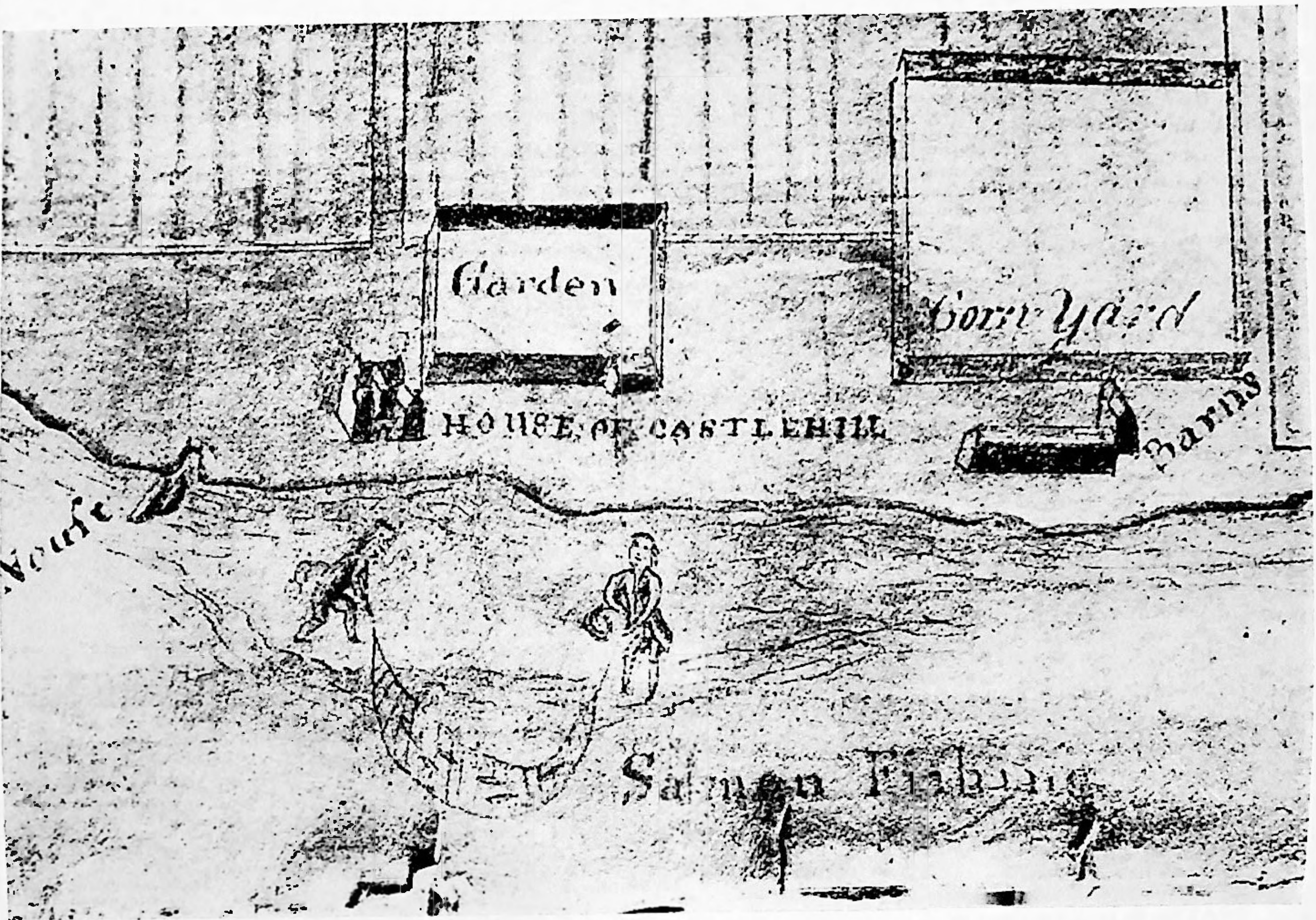
PLATE X



Plough-team, with four horses in pairs, Caithness 1772 (see p. 219).



Plough-team of four oxen abreast, Caithness 1772 (see p. 219).



Netting salmon, Dunnet Bay, Caithness 1772 (see p. 219).

when ploughed damp it was usual to have the team yoked two by two. The great antiquity of plough-oxen in Europe and (less certainly) in the British Isles is well known, but horses too were widely employed for ploughing in Scotland, especially in the Highlands in the eighteenth century. In his pioneer article on the plough-team in Scotland, Professor J. A. Scott Watson perhaps went too far in suggesting that plough-oxen were never employed in the westernmost parts of the country (Watson 1932:144), but he raised an interesting problem. Neither the time when horses were first used for ploughing in the British Isles, nor the reasons for it, seem to have been established or even seriously investigated yet. In Caithness both horses and oxen were used for ploughing at least as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century (Donaldson 1938:85), and it is probably relevant to recall the explanation given by the Orkneymen in 1700 for the extreme lightness of their ploughs (Brand 1883:28):

> . . . although some of their ground be strong, yet their beasts are weak and unable to go through with a plough of any considerable weight.

Most of the Caithness tenants at this period, at any rate on the estate of Mey with which Donaldson was concerned, were "required to possess horses [i.e. garrons] in order to assist at haying time, harvest, leading peats and carrying victual [grain] . . . for shipment" (Donaldson 1938:86). Given a suitably light plough, there would thus have been a natural tendency in such areas to use these small horses for ploughing, rather than the less versatile oxen (see also, for Lothian, Buchan-Hepburn 1795:97, 114, 138-9, 140). The distribution of ploughing with horses only, before the close of the eighteenth century, could therefore be related to the former distribution of very light kinds of plough. Horses were used traditionally in this way in many parts of Ireland and the Isle of Man down to the early nineteenth century, as well as in Northern Scotland, the Highlands and Isles. Though mixed teams of oxen and horses were, apparently, also common in most of these regions, Mr. Fenton considers that in Scotland teams of up to four horses were normally employed in areas of peaty or sandy soil with rocky surrounding terrain, where the need was to break up rather than turn over the soil, and where the versatility of horses was required for transport. To what extent this represents an

inheritance deriving from the Viking colonies of the ninth century A.D., or even from prehistoric times, remains to be investigated.

The alternative methods of harnessing the plough-teams have a very long history, as Mr. Ffransis Payne has shown (Payne 1948:84-7). Ploughs drawn both by "long teams" of oxen (i.e. harnessed in couples, each under a short yoke) and in line abreast (i.e. under a long yoke) are represented in Bronze Age engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps, and both arrangements are mentioned in medieval Welsh records. Our drawing of the Caithness ox-team in line abreast is a splendid record of this usage in eighteenth-century Scotland, and shows particularly well the "driver", who walks backwards before his team. This feature of the driver walking backwards before his team is even to be seen in the Bronze Age engravings (*ibid.*: Pl. v); while he is clearly mentioned in the description by Geraldus Cambrensis of the Welsh plough-oxen of the twelfth century A.D., "sometimes, it is true, in pairs, but most frequently in fours; with the man with the goad walking before them, but backwards". The driver of the Welsh team, the "caller", sang encouragingly to his ox-team. His latter-day Perthshire successor, the "gadsman", was the subject of what Mr. Payne aptly describes as a somewhat grudging defence, which appeared in 1794:

> the old Scotch plough, drawn by three or four horses, is still in use; and in some cases the barbarous custom is not exploded, of yoking four horses abreast, and driving them by a man going backward. This practice appears very awkward; yet they contend in their own defence, that the horses act with greater power, when yoked abreast, than long; that the ground is in many places so full of large stones, as not to admit the long plough; that the driver, by having his eyes at once on the horses and plough, can stop the draught more instantaneously; and save the *graith* better than in any other position (Robertson 1794:50).

The driver's whip, not a goad, was the encouragement meted out to the ox-team of our Caithness drawing; and the oxen were harnessed from their collars instead of by means of a long yoke. By contrast, the horse-team was guided by the plaided driver leading the near-side horse by the bridle.

To conclude this note, here is Birt's lively impression of the

drivers of the plough-teams he had seen in the Highland townships near Inverness, about 1725-30:

> "The people sometimes plough with eight small Beasts, part Oxen and part Cows. They do not drive them with a Goad as in *England*, but beat them with a long Stick, making a hideous *Irish* Noise, in calling to them, as they move along" (Burt 1754:300-1).

Who knows but that these hideous "Irish" (i.e. Gaelic) noises, which so offended Burt's ears, may have been an echo from the prehistoric world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Plates IX-XII are reproduced by kind permission of Mr. John Imrie, Curator of Historical Records, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, who kindly drew our attention to the Castlehill plan (Register House plan no. 1220). The photographic enlargements are by Mr. Tom Scott, of Edinburgh.

I am especially grateful to Mr. Alexander Fenton, Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, for reading this note in draft, and for allowing me to include a number of his valuable comments, and to see the manuscript of his forthcoming paper, " Plough and Spade in Scotland".

REFERENCES

ADAM, R. J.
1960 *John Home's Survey of Assynt.* Scottish History Society, 3rd series, 52. Edinburgh.

BRAND, J.
1883 *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth & Caithness.* Edinburgh.

BUCHAN-HEPBURN, G.
1794 *General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian.* Edinburgh.

[BURT, E.]
1754 *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.* London.

DONALDSON, J. E.
1938 *Caithness in the 18th Century.* Edinburgh.

FENTON, A.
[1963] "Plough and Spade in Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.* (Forthcoming.)

JIRLOW, R. and WHITAKER, I.
1957 "The Plough in Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 1:71-94. Edinburgh.

MCARTHUR, M. M.
1936 *Survey of Lochtayside,* 1769. Scottish History Society, 3rd series, 27. Edinburgh.

PAYNE, F. G.
1948 "The Plough in Ancient Britain." *Archæological Journal* 104 (1947) 82-111. London.

RICHARDSON, H. G.
1942 "The Medieval Plough-Team." *History* 26:287-96.

ROBERTSON, J.

1794 *General View of the Agriculture in the Southern Districts of the County of Perth.* London.

ROUSSELL, A.

1934 *Norse Building Customs in the Scottish Islands.* Copenhagen.

WATSON, J. A. S.

1931 "The Scottish Plough Team in History." *Scottish Journal of Agriculture* 14:140-6. Edinburgh.

B. R. S. MEGAW

An Aberdeen "White Paternoster"

In 1957, during an Aberdeenshire field trip, I asked Jeannie Robertson to list as many children's rhymes—especially skipping and stotting songs—as she could remember. Here is one of these rhymes as recorded from Jeannie and her daughter Lizzie a few months later:

Ding dong the Catholic bells—
Fare you well, my mother.
Bury me in the old churchyard
Beside my oldest brother.

My coffin shall be black,
Six little angels at my back:
Two to preach and two to pray,
And two to carry my soul away.

Ding dong the Catholic bells—
Fare you well, my mother.
Bury me in the old churchyard
Beside my oldest brother.

♩ = 52 Slow swinging rhythm—

Ding dong the Cath'-lic bells Fare you well my mo —— ther
Bu - ry me in the old church yard Be - side my old - est bro —— ther
My co - ffin shall be black Six lit - tle ang - els at my back
Two to preach and two to pray And two to ca - rry my soul a - way
Ding dong the Cath'-lic bells Fare ye well my mo —— ther
Bu - ry me in the old church yard Be - side my old - est bro —— ther

Versions of this song, bearing close textual resemblance to the above, have been reported from other parts of Britain. Here is one from Cornwall, as preserved by the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould:

Ding, dong, the parson's bell,
Very well my mother.
I shall be buried in the old churchyard
By the side of my dear brother.
My coffin shall be black,
Two little angels at my back,
Two to watch, and two to pray,
And two to carry my soul away.
When I am dead and in my grave,
And all my bones are rotten,
Jesus Christ will come again
When I am quite forgotten.

According to Baring-Gould, this form of the rhyme was used on the Cornish moors, and was repeated by a boy at Alterton who had learned it from his aunt (Baring-Gould 1928: 32 Notes).

Jeannie and Lizzie chant their version with impressive solemnity, but in Edinburgh and London what is virtually the same rhyme does duty as a skipping song. Norman Douglas, in his *London Street Games*, supplies the following text:

I am a little beggar-girl,
My mother she is dead,
My father is a drunkard
And won't give me no bread.
I look out of the window
To hear the organ play—
God bless my dear mother,
She's gone far away.
Ding-dong the castle bells
Bless my poor mother—
Her coffin shall be black,
Six white angels at her back—
Two to watch and two to pray,
And two to carry her soul away.

Douglas adds: "Not a very cheerful rope-song, you'll say; but our girls love it; you can't think how it makes them laugh" (Douglas 1916:71).

An almost identical version—"I am a little orphan girl"—which is also used as a skipping song and is rattled through at high speed, was recorded in 1950 by James Ritchie from children in the Norton Park School, Edinburgh. Alan Lomax included it on the *Scotland* L.P. (Vol. VI) of the Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music. The only textual difference worth noting is that in place of lines 11 and 12 in Douglas's version, the Edinburgh children sing:

> My coffin shall be white,
> Six little angels by my side.

In the Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No. 22, Annie G. Gilchrist has a note on "The Lady Drest in Green", and other fragments of tragic ballads and folk-tales preserved amongst children. She prints a "White Paternoster" offshoot, recorded from a little girl at Saunders Street Orphanage, Southport, in 1915, prefacing it with the statement that the verse was associated with a prose form of the ballad of Sir Hugh of Lincoln (Sir Hugh, or The Jews Daughter, Child 155). The final quatrain blends in curious fashion the funeral motif shared by all the foregoing, and a carefree bairnsang formula—

> Blue bells, cockle-shells,
> Bury me against my mother,
> Bury me in the old churchyard
> Against my dear mother.
> (Gilchrist 1919:86)

All these rhymes are descendants of the medieval "White Paternoster" referred to by Chaucer in *The Miller's Tale*—

> Jhesu Crist, and seinte Benedight
> Blesse this hous from every wikked wight
> For nyghtes verye, the White Paternoster . . .

One of the most familiar English variants is printed by Halliwell in his *Nursery Rhymes*—

> Matthew, Mark, Luke and John
> Guard the bed that I lay on.
> Four corners to my bed,
> Four angels round my head,
> One to watch, one to pray
> And two to bear my soul away.
> (Halliwell 1843:CCXXIII)

Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco, who included a chapter on the White Paternoster in her *Essays in the Study of Folksongs* (1886), states that the charm "in the form of 'Matthew, Mark, Luke and John' was, till lately, a not uncommon evening prayer in the agricultural parts of Kent . . . prayers that partake of the nature of charms have always been popular, and people have ever indulged in odd, little roundabout devices to increase the efficacy of even the most sacred words".

Jeannie's mother Maria, who kept a little shop in the Gallowgate of Aberdeen, was the person from whom Jeannie first heard *Ding dong the Catholic bells*. Maria also had a version of the "parent" charm, and she often used to repeat it when putting the children to bed, or when going to bed herself. Here it is:

As I lie down this night to sleep
  I give my soul to Christ to keep.
If I should die before I wake
  I pray the Lord my soul to take.
They are four corners in my bed
  Holy angels laid and spread.
There's Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.
  God bless the bed that I lie on.

According to Jeannie, her mother always added: "Good night, sound sleep, and a surprise waukenin".

The White Paternoster is a widely diffused international charm. Versions in French, Provençal, German, Spanish and in various Italians dialects are on record. According to Seán Ó Súilleabháin, it is common throughout the Irish Gaeltacht (1952:193, and note 296). The formula is referred to in the magical treatise *Enchiridion Papæ Leonis*, published in Latin at Rome in 1502. If recited three times in the evening and three times in the morning, it was supposed to ensure Paradise for the reciter. The Church of the Counter-Reformation, on the other hand, regarded the White Paternoster as superstitious, and proscribed it.

From the frequency with which it has been reported, it would seem that the charm was once universally known in Christendom; by virtue of the fact that it invokes the protection of angels and evangelist-saints for the sleeper, it is "white"—as opposed to "black"—magic. Evidence is not lacking, however, that its Christian dress is not the first that it has worn. There is on record a Lincolnshire ague-charm, which was

supposed to be repeated after three old horse-shoes had been nailed to the foot of the patient's bed, and a hammer placed cross-ways upon them; a local woman described it thus—

> "I teks the mell (hammer) in my left 'and, and I taps them shoes, and I ses—
>
> Feyther—Son—And Holy Ghost,
> Nail the davil to the post;
> Throice I stroikes with holy crook,
> One for God, and one for Wod, and
> one for Lok."
>
> (Gilchrist 1919:88)

Annie Gilchrist subjoins the following note to the above: "This curious blend of Christian superstition and Northern mythology—Wod and Lok being (apparently) Wodin and Loki, and the hammer symbolic of Thor—suggests that the invocation of the four evangelists to guard each corner of the bed (their heads were sometimes carved as terminals to the posts) was only the successor of an older pre-Christian charm against the perils of the night, by the performance of which the bed-posts became the warder of the occupant".

It is not hard to see why a comforting little charm which promises a direct "safe-conduct" to Heaven if the reciter dies when asleep has become a sort of dance-dirge on the lips of skipping children. The association of sleep with death is made fearless and explicit in the White Paternoster, and the angels clustering around the bed-posts become in folk-imagination the "white watch" convoying the sleeper beyond the grave to St. Peter's gate. For children, who in their own way are coming to terms with the knowledge that death is a reality

> ("Water, water wall-flower
> Growing up so high,
> We are all ladies,
> And we must all die")

this elemental folk-poetry is more than a "cry in the street"—it is a joyful assertion of youth and life which names the bogey and (with vigorous thwack of the rope on the pavement) jumps over him, and lays him. The laughter of Norman Douglas's school children is like the Mexican *fiesta* of the dead; it is the exultation of a momentary triumph over "the auld enemy".

REFERENCES

BARING-GOULD, Rev. SABINE
1928 *Songs of the West.* 7th Edition in One Volume. London.
DOUGLAS, NORMAN
1916 *London Street Games.* London.
GILCHRIST, ANNIE G.
1919 Note on "The Lady Drest in Green". *Journal of the Folk-Song Society,* No. 22:86-90. London.
HALLIWELL, J. O.
1843 *The Nursery Rhymes of England.* 2nd Edition. London.
MARTINENGO-CESARESCO, Countess
1886 *Essays in the Study of Folksongs.* London.
Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, SEÁN
1952 "Scéalta Cráibhtheacha." *Béaloideas* 21. Dublin.

HAMISH HENDERSON

Note on Votive Pottery Associated with Wells

An interesting aspect of the history of the cult of wells in Britain is the nature and variety of the votive offerings. Individual wells in various localities demand different offerings and, although varied, the nature of these propitiatory gifts is essentially limited. The psychology underlying the choice of offerings is not always immediately obvious. In general, the fundamental idea seems to consist in the belief that whatever is taken from the well (healing of various kinds, powers of cursing, fertility, etc.) must be replaced by an offering of some kind. Any examination of the nature of these gifts, however, reveals that it is not the actual value of the offering which is of importance, but the ritual which accompanies the act of giving. *How* it is offered is more significant than *what* is offered. Wells excavated in archæological contexts have much information to give as to the nature of the deposits, while details of actual ritual, now rapidly dying out in the British Isles, can be abstracted from published sources, and may yet be collected in the field in some areas.

An analysis of the nature of the objects recovered from Romano-British wells shows a marked similarity to those dating from more recent times. Pins, coins, shrine bells and white pebbles are amongst these, and pottery of all kinds, intact or broken into fragments. For example, the well dedicated to the goddess Coventina at Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall yielded

PLATE VIII

FIG. 1—Face pot from Coventina's Well.

FIG. 2—Vase from Coventina's Well.

(see p. 229)

(Both photographed by kind permission of the Trustees of Chesters Museum, Northumberland.)

up, amongst a wealth of other objects, pottery of many types including Samian ware, vases, face urns (see Pl. VIII, figs. 1 and 2), and glass bottles (Clayton 1880). The extraordinary votive wells or pits found in Belgic territory likewise provide evidence for the association of wells with pottery. A well at Ashill, Norfolk, excavated to a depth of 40 feet, was found to contain amongst other things Samian ware and other potsherds. About 19 feet down the deposits changed and, of singular interest from the Celtic viewpoint, more or less perfect urns were found, arranged symmetrically, placed in layers and embedded in leaves of hazel and nuts. The nuts in the upper layers were apparently more mature than those lower down. This discovery gains significance in the light of the frequent association of the sacred well with the venerated hazel tree in early Irish traditions. Here the nuts of the hazel are described as falling into the pool where they were consumed by the sacred salmon which obtained their wisdom by this means. *Connla's Well*, situated near the sea, where the hazels of wisdom were reputed to grow and the magic nuts of which were devoured by the fish in the pool is but one example of this traditional association of the hazel tree with the sacred well (Stokes 1894:457). It may also be noted in this context that a well near Elgol in Skye, *Tobar an Deididh*, "The Tooth-ache Well" had twigs of hazel cast into it while a rhyme was chanted by those seeking relief from tooth-ache.[1] Clear traces of paths leading to the Ashill well were apparent, indicating that there had been considerable traffic here at some stage (Haverfield 1901: 295 ff.). Another well, at Wolfhamcote, Sawbridge, Warwick, was found to contain a large square stone with a hole in it on which urns of grey ware were standing. Twelve of these were taken out intact, while twelve others were broken by a fall of stone from above. The well was sounded to a depth of 40 feet but no bottom was reached (Haverfield 1904:249). The most dramatic well or pit of this kind is that at Dunstable which was packed with objects to a depth of 116 feet. This was filled with pottery, coins and human bones (Watkin 1882:286-7). Similar shafts were found at Biddenham and Maiden Bower, Bedfordshire. In the Biddenham well a human skeleton, part of an altar slab decorated with a crane and about 50 urns were found (Watkin 1882:284). Other wells containing urns, symmetrically arranged, are mentioned by Haverfield (1900: 296), one at Bakesbourn Hill near Canterbury having the urns placed carefully between layers of flint. The pool in the

River Axe, Wookey Hole, Somerset, in which Romano-British pottery of the first or second centuries A.D. was found together with human skulls is also of relevance here (Mason 1951:238-43). These examples could be multiplied indefinitely, and the regular appearance of pottery, frequently broken into small pieces, side by side with objects of a manifestly votive nature strongly suggests that it is in itself of ritual significance. These deposits are not to be confused with rubbish pits which are universal, and identifiable archæologically. The fact that much of the pottery is broken into fragments may also have some superstitious implications. The deliberate and undoubtedly ritual breaking of vessels and other objects dedicated to other-world beings is a well-known and widespread phenomenon. Two examples which may be cited here are the Celtic cauldrons found at Gundestrup and Brå, Denmark. The Gundestrup cauldron (Klindt-Jensen 1961) was dismantled and laid on a peat bog. That from Brå (Klindt-Jensen 1953) had been broken up and placed in a pit dug in the ground. Both of these vessels were clearly intended as offerings to some deity. Worn-out objects were likewise thought to be suitable gifts to the supernatural, as the cauldrons and tools, originally deposited in water, from sites at Carlingwark, Kirkcudbrightshire, Blackburn Mill, Berwickshire, and Eckford, Roxburghshire, suggest. These probably date from the first or second centuries A.D. (Piggott 1953). These examples strengthen the supposition that the act of offering rather than the economic or functional value of the objects offered was the significant factor.

In Ireland the cult of wells is closely associated with the Catholic Church which has adopted rather than opposed the earlier cult, and it has thus continued actively to the present day, the holy well being associated with the veneration of the local saint. In this country there is a great variety of votive deposits, and these include rags, crutches and other invalid aids, pins, buttons, coins, butter, bread and cheese. Pottery is also much in evidence. St. Senan's Well at Dunass, Co. Clare, provides perhaps the most impressive evidence for the dedication of pottery and other domestic vessels at wells. A healing well and one much resorted to at least as recently as the last century, it is distinguished by the great quantity of domestic crockery which covered the altar-like stone on top of the well. This included broken tea-cups, pots of all kinds and wooden bowls (Wood-Martin 1902:II, 97).[2] Although the quantity of crockery and pottery constituting offerings to St. Senan at this

well is singular, such gifts are also known from other wells in Ireland. For example, the votive offerings at one well in Aran, to which men seemingly resorted for fertility, included pottery (Wood-Martin 1902:II, 99), while pieces of broken crockery are still placed on the little "altar" above St. Brendan's Well on Valentia Island.

This traditional association in Celtic contexts of votive pottery with venerated wells makes the presence of pottery of

St. Senan's Well, Co. Clare (from Wood-Martin II, 97, fig. 37)

particular interest when it occurs in wells in Scotland, and worthy of careful consideration. Recent field-work in Scotland has revealed that several wells do in fact contain large numbers of pieces of broken china and pottery which cannot be explained as being due to accidental breakages while getting drinking water from the well. In each case the well is a natural spring, not a dug well and thus the likelihood of accidental breakage is small. Moreover, in areas where wells are respected, they are carefully and indeed lovingly tended and any rubbish or inadvertently broken cups or bowls would be immediately removed. In the Gaelic-speaking areas, wells which are held in esteem are most carefully cared for and cleaned out. The fact that the pottery is usually in fairly small pieces and that the fragments are often clearly pieces of plate rather than bowls

suggests the deliberate bringing of broken china to the well as an offering, just as in some cases the gift required is a small white river pebble.[3] Preliminary probings into these springs, all of which are situated on moorland away from townships and houses, have shown that the type of pottery and china changes, nineteenth century blue and white china, as well as fragments of coarse earthenware replacing the more modern white china and pottery of the surface level. Where the spring flows strongly, the pieces are sometimes carried down a considerable way. In considering the reasons for the presence of this broken pottery in certain Scottish wells, the Irish and the Romano-British evidence is thus of first importance.

The fact that heads and pottery together are frequently associated with Celtic wells (e.g. Coventina's Well, Wookey Hole, Heywood; Ross 1962) may find a rationalised echo in the Barra tradition which tells how the son of a murdered man breaks a cup at a certain well and then decapitates the murderer and leaves his head in the well, subsequently known as the Well of the Head (Ross 1962).

At St. Connall's Well, Kirkconnell, Dumfriesshire, fragments of smashed cups were found in quantities in and about the spring, in March 1961. Their presence there is difficult to explain away, for the spring flows from the foot of a hill, a considerable distance from habitation. The local farmers disclaimed any knowledge of the well, and shepherds would hardly carry white china cups there for drinking purposes. The evidence thus suggests that the pieces of china were deliberately taken to the well for some superstitious purpose.

In Skye, several springs were found to contain smashed pottery. *Tobar Mòinneach nan Steall* in Glendale, Duirinish, yielded up numerous pieces of coarse buff-coloured glazed pottery of a type common in the Highlands down to the present century, in the form of butter crocks, jelly jars, etc. Some of these may be accounted for by the fact that the spring has a considerable reputation over a wide area as a healing spring, and the cress in which it abounds was also used for medicinal purposes. People used to come from many miles to get the water and carry vessels of it away. Consequently a certain number of breakages must have been inevitable, although these would normally be cleaned out in the spring. Moreover, this would not account for the presence of fragments of blue and white plate, etc. of which the spring contained numerous pieces. Similar pottery was found in *Tobar Glaic Athall* in Sleet,

and small pieces were also recovered from *Tobar nam Maor* in Duirinish, both of these springs in isolated positions away from immediate habitation. A certain amount of excavation in and about these wells would no doubt bring more pottery to light.

It is not without interest to have been able to record two wells in Bracadale, Skye, whose names and local traditions associate them with pottery. *Tobar nan Cuach* "the Well of the Bowls" at Harlosh is locally believed to have been so-called because "a long time ago" bowls were found there, but no one now knows what happened to them. This tradition is comparatively widespread in the Bracadale area. The spring is strong-flowing, and held in high repute in the district. It has lost sanctity however and was, until last year used as the domestic water supply by the crofter on whose land it rises. The present occupier made a concrete tank for the spring, but showed me the remains of older masonry which the new structure replaced when I visited the site in April of this year.

The second spring, again in Bracadale, is *Tobar Cailleach ann Cnagain*, "the well of the Hag of the Pots". According to tradition, large quantities of small earthenware pots were found at and near to the well. Nearby are the foundations of a structure known as *Tobhta Cailleach nan Cnagain*, "the Hag of the Pots' Ruin". I was unable to visit this site as the well and the ruin are in an extremely isolated position, on the moor beside Loch Duagraich south of the Struan-Portree moorland road. Once again, the fate of the pots is not known, but some excavation at this site might be rewarding. These traditions serve to strengthen the association of pottery with venerated or respected wells. These are wells which have come to my notice, but there are doubtless others in Scotland which will show similar deposits.

The various features of the well cult, while universal, have marked regional characteristics. Thus the association of pottery with wells, where it appears to have been placed there as part of a deliberate ritual, although occurring over a large area, and clearly having a long ancestry in the British Isles, is by no means commonplace. Comparable with the placing of cheese in the various cheese wells, coins in wishing wells, bent pins in fertility wells, rags at certain healing wells, etc., it must be regarded as yet another manifestation of the ritual of giving to the well in return for benefits secured.

NOTES

[1] Information from Mr. Alex. Stoddart, Kilbride, Strath, Skye.

[2] Wood Martin is not an altogether reliable source for custom and belief, but his section on wells, which is descriptive rather than interpretive, is on the whole sound.

[3] At Biddenham, for example, a cartload of pebbles was removed from the well. These had been scattered throughout the pit. Pebbles were left at St. Bethog's Well in the island of Gigha.

REFERENCES

CLAYTON, JOHN

1880 "Description of Roman Remains Discovered near to Procolitia, a Station on the Wall of Hadrian." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 8:1-39.

HAVERFIELD, F.

1901 "Roman-British Norfolk." *The Victoria History of the Counties of England.* A History of Norfolk, Vol. I:274-323.

1904 "Romano-British Warwickshire." *The Victoria History of the Counties of England.* A History of Warwickshire, Vol. I: 223-49.

KLINDT-JENSEN, OLE

1953 *Bronzekedelen fra Brå.* Aarhus.

1961 *Gundestrupkedelen.* Copenhagen.

PAGE, WILLIAM and Miss KEATE

1908 "Romano-British Bedfordshire." *The Victoria History of the Counties of England.* A History of Bedfordshire, Vol. II: 1-17.

PIGGOTT, STUART

1953 "The Metal-work Hoards of the Roman Period from Southern Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 87:1-50.

ROSS, ANNE

1962 "Severed Heads in Wells: an Aspect of the Well Cult." *Scottish Studies* 6:31-48.

STOKES, WHITLEY

1894 "The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas." *Revue Celtique* 15:272-336; 418-84.

WATKIN, W. THOMPSON

1882 "Roman Bedfordshire." *Archæological Journal* 39:257-90.

WOOD-MARTIN, W. G.

1902 *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland,* in two volumes. London.

ANNE ROSS

Oran Mór Sgorabreac

"Ceud soraidh bhuam fhìn gu m'eòlas
Go Sgorabreac am bi a' chòisir
Chan ionnann sin 's mar dh'éirich dhomhsa
Mi'm bothan beag air dhroch còmhdhail
Bidh siod aig Calum mac Dhòmhaill
Ciste nan iuchraichean bòidheach
Dhe'n umha dhe'n airgead dhe'n òr ann
Far an dèan am marcraich tòirleum
An talla farsaing chlann Dòmhaill
An taigh mór an ùrlair chòmhnaird
Le sheuraichean 'gan cuir an òrdagh
Far a faighte fìon ri òl ann
A cupan donna 'bheòil bhòidhich
Miosairean is truinnsearan feòdair
'S amar bruthaidh an eòrna
Deoch cho làidir 's thig o'n Olaind.

'S b' aithne dhomh fhìn beus bu dual dut
'S beus dhe d' bheus bhith suirghe ghruagach
'S a' cur nan geall, 's ann leat bu bhuadhar
'S gheibhte sud an taigh an uasail
Bhith 'g òl fìon a pìosan fuara
'N taigh mór farsaing 's ùrlar sguabte
Ruighleadh ubhal sìos is suas air.

'S gheibhte siod an taigh mo leannain
Muc 'ga sgrìobadh 's mart 'ga feannadh
'S coinnleir òir air bhòrdaibh geala.

Doilleir dhorch air oidhche reòta
Chaidh do bhàt thar Rubha Rònaigh
Dol troimh na caoil a null a Bhròchaill
Dh' amharc air maighdeann an òr-fhuilt
'S fhuair thu 'chéile 's cha b' i 'n òinid
Cha b' i 'n aimid, cha b' i 'n òinseach
Nighean Fir a Caisteal Bhròchaill
A Ratharsair mhór na Leòdach
Tìr nan gaisgeach air an òirlich
Iain Mór is Iain Og dhiubh
Bu dhiubh Sìleas agus Seònaid
'S Alasdair a' mac a b'òige
De Shìol Torcuill thig a Leòdhas.

Maighistir Iain's Maighistir Dòmhall."

"A hundred greetings to the place I know—
To Scorrybreck and its cheerful gatherings
Very different from this are things with me
Who am in a little hut, in evil straits.
This is to be the share of Calum the son of Donald—
The chest with beautiful keys:
Brass, silver, and gold—
Where the horsemen make their leap
In the wide hall of the children of Donald
In the great house with the level floor
With its chairs being ranged in order
Where wine is to be had for drinking
From the fair mouths of brown cups
And measures and vessels of pewter
And the vat where the barley is pounded
Strongest drink that comes from Holland.

I knew well in you the virtue of your people
And that virtue of them all to be courting the young girls
And laying wagers and always winning.
This was to be had in the house of the noble—
Drinking wine from cold stoups
In the great wide house with its swept floor—
An apple would roll up and down on it.

This was to be had in the house of my lover
Scraping of pigs, the flaying of cattle
And a golden candlestick on white boards.

In a dark gloom on a night of frost
Your boat went past the Point of Rona
Going through the kyles across to Brochel
To visit the girl with golden hair.
And you won a wife—she was no fool—
The daughter of a Laird of Brochel Castle
From great Raasay of the MacLeods
The land of heroes, every inch of them,
Iain Mór and Iain Og,
Of their stock were Sileas and Seònaid
And Alasdair the youngest son
Of the line of Torquil who come from Lewis.

The Rev. John and the Rev. Donald."

Gaelic songs, those that are anonymous as well as those of known authorship, make frequent reference to personal names. Sometimes only the bare name is used; sometimes it is accompanied by a descriptive epithet or a patronymic, e.g. *Uisdean Mhic Gilleasbui(g) Chléirich* (Hugh son of Gilleasbuig the Clerk or Cleric). The patronymic can be used instead of the personal name, as in *A Mhic Iain mhic Sheumais* (Son of John, son of James)—the head of a clan is normally referred to in this way. The person concerned may be addressed directly, as above, or the reference may be little more than a passing allusion.

Where a poet is already known from independent or derivative sources to have lived in a particular area or to have been associated with a particular household (that of a chief, for instance), it is usually not difficult to establish more or less conclusively the identity of the people mentioned in his poetry. But when the song has been transmitted orally for many generations and is itself anonymous, and particularly when we possess neither a traditional account of the circumstances of its composition not internal evidence by which to date it, the task of identifying the names can be a formidable one. For in addition to the difficulties already outlined, we have to face the very reasonable possibility that many of the names are those of humble folk whose obscure actions are not documented anywhere. Naturally, of course, it is not always so. The names cited above, for example, are those of two well-known members of the Clan Donald, both of whom are on record elsewhere.[1] Indeed, one version of the song to the "Son of John son of James" alludes to an incident otherwise recorded, so far as I know, only in the Register of the Privy Council.[2] In the same song tradition, on the other hand, personal names frequently appear in contexts that prompt one to question seriously whether they refer to historical characters at all. Probably the answer is that in their original context they did, but that as compositional elements of this kind of verse they participate in the involved interchanges that the creation of new songs in the tradition entails. All in all, it is clear that large-scale identification would not only enhance the value of these songs as sources for historical study but would also help to clarify the problem of their early social milieu. The text published here has been selected at random in order to illustrate the inherent difficulty of recognising the people named and to indicate some of the sources that the researcher can draw upon. Some I

have identified with, I think, tolerable certainty; others remain obscure.

The song has not been especially well preserved in Hebridean oral tradition, for only three versions are known to me. I first heard it sung in the island of Raasay by Mr. John Maclean, Rector of Oban High School, a native of the island. The version given above is practically identical with the Raasay one, but has a slightly fuller text, while the third is a mere fragment incorporated in a song published in a collection made in South Uist (Craig 1949:66). Mr. Maclean informs me (in a letter of 2/6/62) that he heard the song from his grandmother, Mary Matheson (1837-1923) and never from anyone else.[3] He adds:

> "She was born in Staffin [Skye] and had a great deal of the lore of that area—many of her fairy stories being placed in the Taobh Sear. She married my grandfather, Malcolm Maclean [Raasay], about 1867.
>
> "Where my grandmother got the song I don't know. It may have been from her husband who was probably interested in these things as he was both a good singer and a bit of a bard. On the other hand I never heard it in Raasay tradition. . . . Indeed, when I think of it, we never heard even the Iain Garbh songs in Raasay outside our own house.
>
> "There was however a close connection always between Raasay and Staffin and I am definitely of the opinion that my grandmother got the songs in Skye. If she did not get them in Staffin she could well have got them in Braes where there were some good sources of traditional stuff in these days, better I should imagine than there were in Raasay. Raasay had been terribly badly cleared before my grandmother went there, and the native Raasay people were either abroad or sent to the north end of the island where they were out of the reach of people in Balachurn where my grandmother lived.
>
> "Finally, I have no recollection of her giving the song a title or indicating to what class it belonged."

The text printed above was taken down in the autumn of 1955 from the late Mrs. Kate Beaton, Woodend, Portree. Mrs. Beaton knew the song from her childhood days, having heard it from a number of people in the Portree area. She was at this time well advanced in years but though her powers of memory were impressive she was quite certain that she could not remember the complete text of this song. The line *Maighistir Iain 's Maighistir Domhnall* was all she could quote of the

remainder. Mrs. Beaton knew the song as *Oran Mór Sgorabreac* (The Great Song of Scorrybreck),[4] a term which may indicate that it was traditionally regarded as possessing unusual dignity. An Ossianic ballad recorded in Skye was also called a "Great Song" by my informant.

Assuming that the text constitutes a unity, *Oran Mór Sgorabreac* appears to be a panegyric addressed to someone who lived in, or was connected with, a "big house"—the residence of a chief or a tacksman—and who married a daughter of a MacLeod of Raasay. Although this is not explicit, we shall see that the person addressed is probably the Calum son of Donald mentioned in line 5. The description of the "wide hall" is a conventional one, but there is no reason to doubt that it reflects in a general way the customs of a "big house". We know that the "extraordinair drinking of strong wynis and acquavitie" in the Hebrides was a source of grave disquiet to the Scottish central authorities.[5] As late as 1782, one of the items in an inventory of wickednesses listed against a member of my family in Skye is that "there is not a year but he smugles eight or nine hundred Casks of Brandy, and Rum from the on end to the other of the year. . . ." [6]

Now Scorrybreck was the clan territory of the Nicolsons in Skye and possessed in the chief's residence just the kind of house required by the description in the song. Moreover, the genealogy of the Nicolsons contains the names of two men whose style might be Calum the son of Donald. One is Malcolm, the tenth[7] chief of Scorrybreck, who is said to have died about 1675 (MacKinnon 1956:42); the other, Malcolm, the twelfth chief, who died at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[8] *Talla farsaing chlann Domhnaill* would thus be either the house of the family of Donald, the ninth chief, or that of the family of the Rev. Donald Nicolson, minister of Kilmuir from *c.* 1663-97 (*Fasti* 1928:171), and eleventh chief of Scorrybreck. If "Rev. Donald" of the last line is the Rev. Donald of Kilmuir, the obvious inference is that it is to his household that the description applies. But the issues are not quite so clear-cut as this would imply.

The section of the text that deals with Raasay provides a terminus ad quem in the reference to Brochel Castle. Writing of the castle in his contribution to the Old Statistical Account, Alexander Campbell, schoolmaster at Portree, says that "John Garbh is said to be the last who dwelled in it" (*O.S.A.* 1795: 144). Iain Garbh, 6th chief of the MacLeods of Raasay, was

drowned in Easter of 1671 (Watson 1934:30 Fraser 1905: 499). If we accept Campbell as a reliable witness, the marriage spoken of in line 31 must therefore have taken place before or shortly after Iain Garbh's death in 1671. Moreover, the two women who are mentioned, Sìleas and Seònaid (Giles and Janet in official documents), are clearly Iain Garbh's sisters,[9] and Iain Mór may be Iain Garbh himself. Can we then accept that these names furnish a terminus a quo? A possible objection, which must be discussed, turns on the interpretation of the line *Bu dhiubh Sìleas agus Seònaid.* If the use of the past tense *bu* is a slip for the present *is* or *is ann* there is no difficulty. But if it implies that they are no longer alive, we must consider whether the reference is not a later addition. That the entire song is an "antiquarian" composition is most unlikely, not only from the tone of the address, which makes it appear contemporaneous with its subject, but also from what we know of normal practice in Gaelic. Yet if this line has been interpolated why should not the reference to "Rev. Donald" have been added at a later date too? Such a view might find some support in the fact that the Rev. Donald Nicolson had a grandson, the Rev. John Nicolson, who was minister of Portree from 1756 to 1799 (*Fasti* 1928:173b). For if he is the Maighister Iain of the song we shall be justified, on internal evidence alone, in claiming no more than that a certain Calum mac Dhomhnaill, probably from Scorrybreck, married one of the MacLeods from Brochel Castle, and this could quite easily be Malcolm, the tenth chief of the Nicolsons, or someone else of the same family, at an even earlier date.

At this point, however, we can draw on family genealogy. There is, or was, current in Skye a tradition that Malcolm Nicolson, son of the Rev. Donald of Scorrybreck, married one of the sisters of Iain Garbh.[10] Now there is no record of Iain Garbh's having had any sisters other than the two mentioned in this song. Seònaid we know was married to Duncan MacRae of Inverinate (Donnchadh nam Pìos) (MacRae 1899:93). Was Sìleas then married to Malcolm Nicolson? Before attempting to answer this, another question must be decided. It is stated by the Rev. Donald MacKinnon that "Malcolm studied for the ministry, but like his father, refused to conform to the re-established Presbyterianism . . ." (MacKinnon 1956:43); a Nicolson genealogy (cited below) calls him the "Rev. Malcolm"; and, finally in the Services of Heirs he is Magister[11] —a term normally reserved for a Master of Arts. In 1689 a

Malcolumbus Nicolson graduated M.A. at Edinburgh University,[12] and since no other person of that name is recorded, in the seventeenth century, in the annals of Edinburgh, Glasgow or Aberdeen—those of St. Andrews are not available—it is almost conclusive that this is Malcolm of Scorrybreck. The probability is heightened still more by the record of a Donaldus Nicolsonus who graduated in 1649, also at Edinburgh.[12] But if this is so, the chances of his having married Sìleas are negligible, unless, of course, he entered university at an unusually late age.

On the other hand, the tradition cannot simply be dismissed, particularly as a distorted reflection of it is perhaps to be found in an entry in a fragmentary genealogy of the Nicolsons, dated October 1876, and compiled by William Nicolson, Portsmouth, a descendant of John, another son of the Rev. Donald of Scorrybreck. Here it is said that "the Rev. Malcolm married the justly celebrated poetess Mary MacLeod. She died in 1693 aged 105 years". This highly improbable statement, which refers to Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, finds no corroboration anywhere, but the point is that Sìleas of Raasay was a poetess too. To her are traditionally ascribed the "Iain Garbh" songs mentioned above by Mr. John Maclean. Since both she and Mary composed laments for Iain Garbh, it is at least possible that the name of the famous poetess displaced that of her more obscure contemporary, particularly in an *émigré* tradition. We may also observe in passing that both Mary and Sìleas have, in different sources, been named as the composers of one song, viz. *Och nan och 's mi fo léireadh* (Watson 1934:115).

The remaining names are puzzling. According to Mary MacLeod's elegy (Watson 1934:30), Iain Garbh was succeeded by his only brother. Is this the Alasdair whom the song lists as the younger or youngest son (the Gaelic can mean either) and, apparently, the brother of Sìleas and Seònaid? Or is it Iain Og? Unfortunately a definite answer to these questions is impossible since no other source, so far as I am aware, states that Iain Garbh had any brothers. We might hazard a guess that Alasdair was an illegitimate son of Malcolm the fifth chief of Raasay, but we must not overlook the fact that an Alexander and two Johns are listed as sons of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Scorrybreck (MacKinnon 1956:42). But Iain Mór may be Iain Garbh: Sìleas calls him Iain Mór in one of her songs.[13] I am unable to identify the Rev. John unless he is the

Rev. John Nicolson, minister of Portree, as I have already suggested.

In such a complicated maze of genealogical and other traditions, it is plainly impossible to offer more than the most tentative conclusions. I have tried to list these below in a rough order of probability:

1. At some date before the evacuation of Brochel Castle (*c.* 1671) a panegyric was composed to the contemporary Nicolson of Scorrybreck, mentioning *inter alia* his marriage to one of the women of the MacLeods of Raasay.
2. With the passage of time, certain genealogical traditions distorted the memory of this marriage.
3. With the passage of time also, some fresh names connected with the families concerned were added to the song.
4. The initial confusion arose because of the existence of two men called Calum mac Dhomhnaill in the Nicolson genealogy.
5. The elder Calum mac Dhomhnaill is the original subject of the panegyric.

Beyond that we cannot go without more evidence. But even from such a brief study of one text two points of a general nature can be made. (1) Sufficient documentary sources exist to warrant a more ambitious attempt to identify personal names in obscure and anonymous songs; (2) although the song selected is representative of a genre that lies outside the mainstream of Gaelic poetry, the identifiable names are not those of members of the lowest stratum of society but those of the aristocracy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Mr. John Maclean, Oban, for supplying the information about the Raasay version of this song, and to the Rev. Dr. Donald MacKinnon, Kennoway, for supplying genealogical information.

NOTES

[1] For Hugh see A. & A. MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, 3 Vols. (Inverness 1896-1904). He is said (Vol. 3:469) to have been a grandson of Domhnall Gruamach, the 4th chief of Sleat. But see also Vol. 3:29, where another lineage is proposed for him. He was put to death in the early years of the seventeenth century, *ibid.* pp. 46-8.

For Donald (Son of John son of James) see *Clan Donald* vol. 3: 500-3. He was a grandson of James MacDonald of Castle Cammus in Sleat.

[2] The incident referred to is the incarceration of "Johnne McConill sone and apperand air to James McConill of Castell Cammis" by Colin Earl of Argyll. The document is dated 8th Nov. 1577 in the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* Vol. 2 (1569-78) 649-50. Cf. SSS RL 592A2.

[3] For the text and melody of this version see *Gairm*, No. 8:335-7. It was recorded for the School of Scottish Studies by Mr. Maclean:RL 473A4.

[4] Mrs. Beaton informed me that *Oran Mór Sgorabreac* was traditionally ascribed to a native of Scorrybreck who was banished from Skye for smuggling. This is no doubt a rationalisation based upon the references to different kinds of liquor.

[5] A prohibition on the sale of liquor to the islanders is one of the points in the *Statutes of Icolmkil* drawn up in 1609. See *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* Vol. 9:26-31.

[6] National Library MS 3784.

[7] These numbers are taken from genealogical notes kindly supplied by Dr. MacKinnon: they are used here merely to distinguish the different chiefs.

[8] Services of Heirs: 23rd May 1723. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

[9] MS Genealogy of the MacLeods of Raasay.

[10] I am indebted to Dr. MacKinnon for this information the source of which was the late A. R. MacDonald, Esq., of Waternish, a descendant of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Scorrybreck.

[11] Services of Heirs: 12th July 1702 and 23rd May 1723. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

[12] *A Catalogue of the Graduates . . . of the University of Edinburgh since its foundation.* Edinburgh 1858.

[13] Versions recorded for the School of Scottish Studies: RL 205B7 and 472A2.

REFERENCES

CRAIG, K. C.
1949 *Orain Luaidh Màiri Nighean Alasdair.* Glasgow.

FASTI
1928 *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (New ed.) 7; edit. Hew Scott. Edinburgh.

FRASER, JAMES
1905 *Chronicles of the Frasers*; edit. William MacKay. Edinburgh.

MACKINNON, DONALD
1956 "The Nicolsons of Skye." *The Clan MacLeod Magazine* 3, No. 21:41-4.

MACRAE, ALEXANDER
1899 *History of the Clan MacRae with genealogies.* Dingwall.

WATSON, J. CARMICHAEL
1934 *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod.* London.

JOHN MACINNES

Feannagan Taomaidh (*Lazy Beds*)

The most striking physical feature that the agrarian economy of the Highland area has left on the landscape of that region is the distinctive corrugation that indicates lazy bed cultivation. Whilst this system is still in use it is essential to record evidence of the details of current and recent practices; the system being at once a significant factor in Highland agriculture, especially on marginal lands, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a relic of much earlier cultivation technique. There is the danger that what appears physically as strip cultivation may be confused with apparently similar modes of cultivation in the Lowlands and England, rigs, baulks and field divisions described arbitrarily and for convenience of management or allocation.

Feannagan Taomaidh is equivalent in English to "the poured out flaying", a synonymous expression also used being *Talamh Taomaidh* or "poured out ground". How these terms have come to be rendered by the meaningless expression "lazy beds" seems obscure. Distributed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through marginal lands in West Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, N. Argyll and the Hebrides this form of strip cultivation was essentially a response to environment. The disadvantages of shallow soil and poor drainage had been combated perhaps from very early times by the simple process of excavating parallel ditches some 2-3 yards apart and mounding the resulting soil between the same. By this means an intensive cultivation, for which the *cas chrom* and other spade forms were essential, was practised. Stevenson (1960:3-4) has commented on rigs in the Lothians and Borders, of perhaps medieval date, representing a similar response to the drainage problem but it must be remembered that plough rigs are related primarily to the use of that implement with economy of effort rather than to other factors. The *Feannag* then represents virtually a form of horticulture in areas where both soil and climate rendered agriculture a barely viable economic proposition. Writing of the arable land of his parish in the mid-nineteenth century, the parish minister of Portree stated "Compared to that of pasture or moorland (it is) so very inconsiderable that it appears a matter of little or no importance" (*N.S.A.* 1845:226).

It would be interesting to know the statistical relationship of ploughed land to *feannagan* in the North West in the seventeenth century. It seems very likely that the population

increases of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, producing as they did a high population in relation to arable ground, dictated an extension of *feannagan* to every available scrap of arable land. It is to this relatively recent period that the bulk of lazy bed remains may well date—especially some of the more isolated and physically remote examples.

The purpose of this note, which is not intended to be definitive, is to show that ethnological field work is beginning to produce data which amplifies our detailed knowledge of this form of agriculture and may correct current misconceptions that this is purely potato growing technique. The photograph (Pl. VII, fig. 2) shows young oats on *feannagan* near Tarbert, Harris, in June 1961, illustrating the persistence of cereal growing by this means. It has been stated that whilst the yield of lazy bed cultivation in relation to ground was and is high this was not so in relation to labour expended. Certainly the yield was high. An informant in Coigeach, Wester Ross, states that three crops were taken per annum last century—early potatoes, barley and late cabbage. Whether the labour expenditure was proportionately so great is questionable. The Rev. Angus Duncan (1957) writing of his native island of Scarp, Harris, indicates that lazy beds were not completely remade annually but rather the ditches were dredged. Intensive fertilisation played an important role certainly by the nineteenth century; in addition to seaweed and manure, peat soot and thatch were "utilised by the crofter as manure . . . the custom of unroofing annually is still practised in the 1880's" (Ross 1885-6:39). Restricted economically by climate and environment and by the superimposed burdens of rising population and varying degrees of landlord exploitation the West Highlander was forced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to expand a sound horticultural technique, certainly in existence already, to its utmost physical limits and thereon was based much of the cultivation aspect of crofting. It should be an important task for the future to gather precise details of the *feannagan* system in each area and its relative contribution to the local economy.

NOTES

DUNCAN, Rev. A.
1957 "Our Island." *An Gaidheal.* (May).
N.S.A.
1845 *The New Statistical Account,* Vol. 14 (Portree):218-36. Edinburgh.

FIG. 1—Auchnangoul, Inveraray par., Argyll.

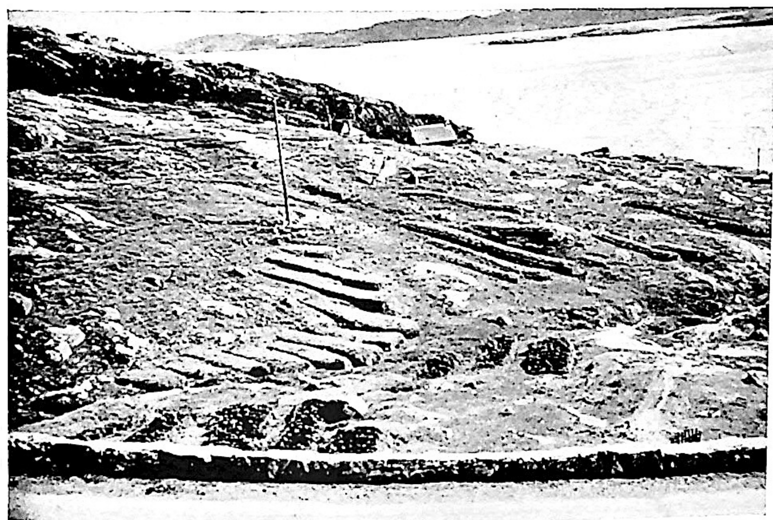


FIG. 2—*Feannagan* near Tarbert, Harris.
(see p. 245)

Ross, A.
1885-6 "Old Highland Industries." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 12:387-415.

Stevenson, R. B. K.
1960 "Notes on Early Agriculture in Scotland." *Agricultural History Review* 8:1-4.

IAIN A. CRAWFORD

An Unrecorded Type of Belted Plaid?

The MacGregor Féileadh Mór of 1822

It has recently been said of Highland Dress that it is "a subject which has occasioned more heat than light, and which still cries aloud for scholarly study, with very little response. . . . Much would be gained by an enquiry into the dress in its decline, or rather its resurrection, after the raising of the Proscription Act of 1782" (Maxwell and Hutchison 1958:154).

The "1822" exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in September 1961, provided an opportunity to study a belted-plaid (Gaelic, *féileadh mór*), with associated jacket and waistcoat, which is thought to have been made for Sir Evan Murray MacGregor, Chief of the Clan, for the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.[1]

When worn, this plaid would look like an unsewn *féileadh mór* of the style in use in the Highlands before the Act of 1746, the accepted precursor of the *féileadh beag* or little kilt. It is believed that the *féileadh mór* consisted of a rectangular piece of material, not necessarily of what we would now call "tartan" (Gaelic *breacan*), of varying length and about 50 to 60 inches wide. The width could be achieved by joining lengthwise two or more narrow loom-widths; the length was often from 5 to 7 yards though very different figures are given by some works.

This garment, we are told, was laid on the ground on top of a belt and pleated. The wearer would then lie down and belt the material round him so that the lower part formed a skirt and the upper part became a kind of outer garment, covering his head, shoulders or arms as he pleased (McClintock 1949:19).

Assuming that such a primitive stage of the pleated belted-plaid really was used in everyday life, then the MacGregor *féileadh mór* represents a more sophisticated version. It measures 4 feet in width by 17 feet in length and is of rather hard woollen tartan with setts corresponding to the nineteenth century

MacGregor tartan. The most interesting feature of the garment is that, in order to avoid having to lie down on the pleated material each time before belting it on, the tailor has sewn a series of loops of coarse tape at intervals along the seam, in the centre of each sett, as shown in Figs. 2 and 3. A belt (the original was not available for the Exhibition) could then be slipped through the loops, pleating the material as it was tightened.

Fig. 1

There is some evidence to suggest that such a convenient arrangement of the belted-plaid was a recognised feature of the garb of Highland gentlemen before the Proscription Act of 1746. A list of the complete equipment of a Highland gentleman with instructions for donning the belted plaid is given by Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux in his *Mémoires de la Maison de Grant* published in 1796. An attendant note on Scottish Military Tactics in 1745 describing the belted plaid in wear suggests that the instructions and list are of the same period (Grant 1796:3).

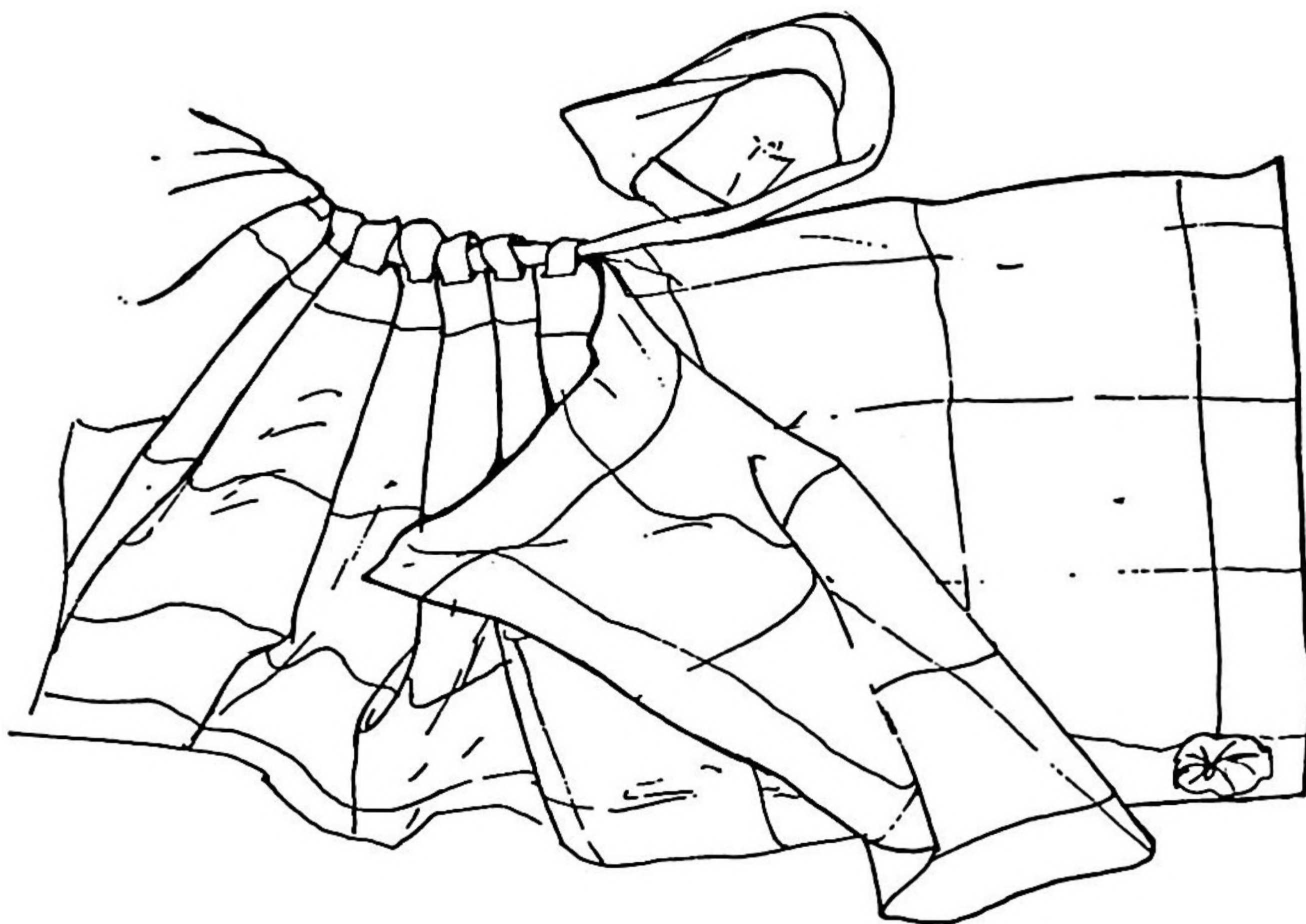


FIG. 2

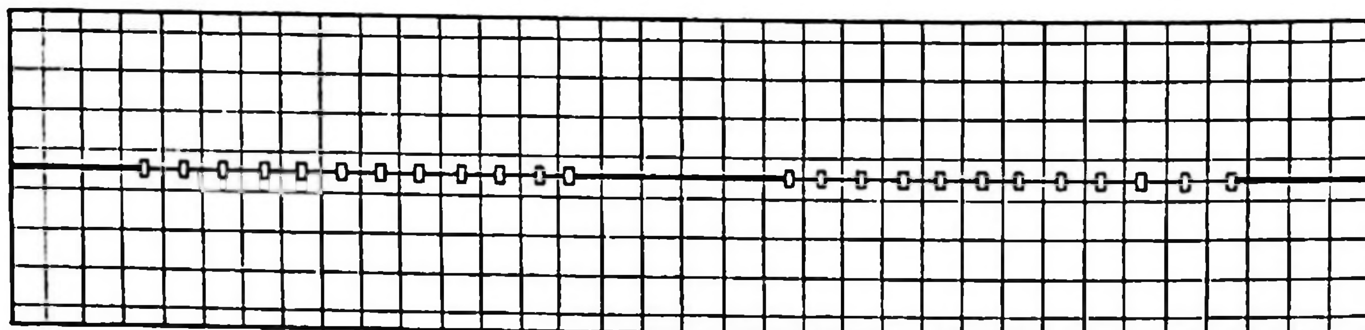


FIG. 3

The list includes both kilt (*féileadh beag*?) and tartan belted plaid. The "Method of belting the plaid" is given in English and translated into French but its origin is not stated. It begins as follows:

"Being sewed, and the broad belt within the keepers, the gentleman stands with nothing on but his shirt; when the servant gets the plaid and belt round, he must hold both ends of the belt until the gentleman adjusts and puts across in a proper manner the two folds or flaps before; that done, he

tightens the belt to the degree wanted; then the purse and purse-belt is put on loosely; afterwards, the coat and waistcoat is put on and the great low part hanging down behind, where a loop is fixed is to be pinned up to the right [*sic*; cf. Fig. 4] shoulder, immediately under the shoulder strap" (Grant 1796:7). It continues by describing the arrangement of the various free hanging parts and ends with the following note:

"N.B.—No kilt ought ever to hang lower than the hough or knee—scarcely that far down."

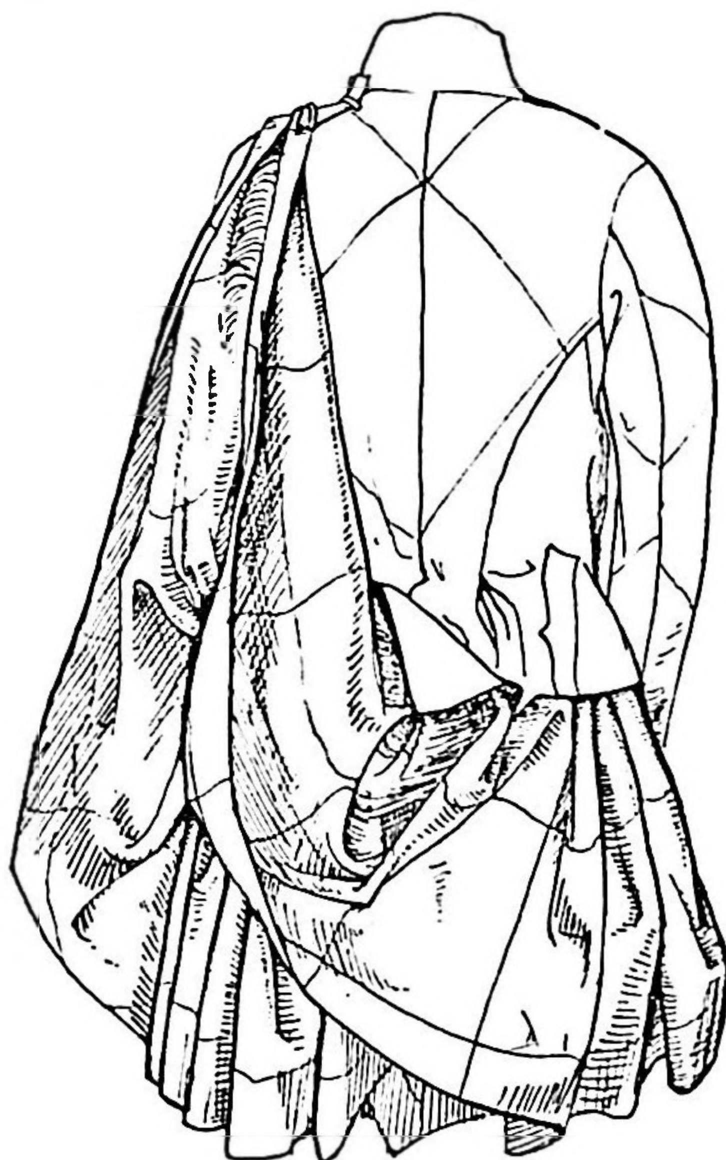


Fig. 4

The use of "kilt" in this context suggests the lower, pleated part of the *féileadh mór*.

". . . the two folds or flaps before" in the MacGregor *féileadh mór* are made by leaving unsewn about 17 inches at each end of the plaid (Fig. 3). At first it was thought that the 33 inches in the middle, also unsewn, had parted through wear but since the ends of the seams were neatly finished off and the loops off-set, it is more likely that this was left open to take the tails of the tartan coat.

The drawings represent the costume as arranged for the exhibition, and there may be a false relationship of jacket to *féileadh mór* at the waist. It can be seen (Fig. 1) how the tails of the coat curled up when the pleats were arranged ignoring the centre opening. The lower flaps were folded across the front, as with a modern kilt, but of the upper flaps one was taken to the *left* shoulder to fasten through the tab made for it on the jacket. The other was tucked into the belt to make a kind of pocket. Both upper flaps could be worn as "pockets" as in the portrait of an unknown Highland Chief by Michael Wright (1660) in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Most writers on Scottish costume agree that the *féileadh mór* was the usual garment for the less wealthy. Whether or not it was the only form of plaid is subject to controversy. McClintock dates the arrival of the *féileadh mór* to about 1600 and the *féileadh beag* to about 1725 or 1730 (McClintock 1949:12-13). Although trews seem to be most mentioned by chroniclers and observers before 1600 it is strange that so natural a garment as the *féileadh mór* should have been entirely neglected. The concensus of opinion is that the plaid, when worn unbelted and unpleated was usually over shirt, perhaps wth doublet, and trews. Certainly in 1618 an Englishman, John Taylor, visited Braemar and wrote that the local people wore no breeches, but jerkin and hose of the same stuff, "with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours" (Hume Brown 1891:121).

Robert Gordon of Straloch, writing after 1600 but describing Highlanders as they were before that date, notes that winter wear was "Trowses" but also describes a belted plaid. The advantages of the garment can be seen when he adds "when they compose themselves to Rest and Sleep, they loose the Belt and roll themselves in the Plaid" (McClintock 1949: 10).

Thomas Morer in 1689 noted that these garments "not only served them for cloaths by day in case of necessity, but were pallats or beds in the night . . . and for that reason in campaigns were not unuseful". His suspicions that they would be inconvenient are borne out later by Mareshal Keith, who in his *Memoirs of Sheriffmuir* in 1715 remembered that the men tended to lose their clothes altogether in battle (McClintock 1949: 11, 30).

That both forms of plaid were in use before 1600 seems certain from Bishop Lesley's statement of 1578 that "all . . .

wore mantles of one sort (except that nobles preferred those of several colours). These were long and flowing but capable of being neatly gathered up at pleasure into folds" (McClintock 1949:7).

Variations of the belted plaid can be seen in a German engraving of Scottish soldiers, printed about 1641; in Michael Wright's portrait of 1660; in the portraits by Richard Waitt, about 1714, of Alastair Mor Grant at Castle Grant and Lord Duffus at the Portrait Gallery. The Van der Gucht engravings of 1743 and Burt's drawings of between 1726 and 1737 show most clearly the styles of wearing the *féileadh mór* and the fact that it could be worn over trews.[2]

It cannot be decided whether or not the method of belting the garment through loops was ever general unless more examples from other areas come to light or some more literary references can be discovered. It could be supposed that this one was made in an attempt to recreate more simply, for the fancy of the MacGregor and the delectation of George IV a fashion then dying if not dead.

MacIan and Logan in *The Clans of the Scottish Highlanders* and the Sobieski Stolberg-Stuart work *The Costume of the Clans* both published in 1845 do show the belted plaid but with jackets, shirts and hairstyles of the eighteenth century which suggests that they were copying earlier sources.

Therefore, though it is reasonable to suppose that both *féileadh mór* and *féileadh beag* were in use concurrently, the evidence of literary sources and portraits points to the former being an archaic garment for general wear by any class in 1822.

The importance of the MacGregor *Féileadh mór* is that it shows so clearly how the original garment could have been worn and it seems to be the only certain extant example of its kind so far noticed. It is to be hoped that investigation will bring to light more information.

NOTES

[1] The jacket is of a type fashionable at this period (Fig. 1); it is of the same tartan, cut on the cross at the back, collared and cuffed with green velvet which is heavily embroidered with gold and silver thistles. The waistcoat is of matching velvet, also embroidered.

[2] For illustrations, see McClintock 1949.

REFERENCES

BROWN, P. HUME
1891 *Early Travellers in Scotland.* Edinburgh.
1893 *Scotland before 1700.* Edinburgh.

GRANT, CHARLES, Vicomte de Vaux
1796 *Mémoires Historiques de la Maison de Grant.*

McCLINTOCK, H. F.
1949 *Old Irish and Highland Dress.* Dundalk.

MACIAN, R. R. and LOGAN, J.
1845 *The Clans of the Scottish Highlanders,* Vol. I. London.

MAXWELL, STUART and HUTCHISON, ROBIN
1958 *Scottish Costume.* London.

STOLBERG, JOHN SOBIESKI, and STUART, CHARLES EDWARD
1845 *The Costume of the Clans.* Edinburgh.

MARTA HOLMES

C. OTHER NOTES

Book Reviews

The Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall. By W. Douglas Simpson, O.B.E. Aberdeen University Studies No. 142. Published for the University by Oliver and Boyd. 1961. 13s. 6d.

On 20th April 1944 a German ammunition ship anchored near Bergen castle blew up, severely damaging the Great Hall of King Haakon Haakonsson and the Rosenkranz Tower, both of which stand on the quayside. Restoration was completed last year and Dr. Simpson's latest study has therefore a certain topical interest since more than half the text is devoted to an analysis of these two buildings, including hitherto unrecorded features revealed by the explosion. In addition he considers the problems associated with the dating of early stone buildings in Scotland and re-examines the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall which he believes incorporates a substantial fragment of the building in which King Haakon died.

The book is described as a "study in early Norse architecture" and although primarily intended for the specialist has much to offer the general reader, for the author is an architectural historian who is equally interested in architecture and history. He recalls that King Haakon, whose fleet was defeated at the well-remembered battle of Largs, was no uncouth Viking raider but one of the most enlightened and civilised monarchs of his age. He sees the Haakonshalle both as a building and as a symbol of imperialism corresponding to, probably inspired by,

the Kaiserstadt at Aachen. He describes not only the architectural features of the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall but also the impact on the life of the little fishing town of the majestic buildings rising in its midst.

Dr. Simpson has the ability to look beyond local issues and to see great buildings in their European context. In this instance he follows his examination of the Haakonshalle with evidence supporting his view that the Hall is English work and possibly to be attributed to one Henry of Reynes. In such a pursuit he is an enthusiast, but always maintains the distinction between fact and speculation. He identifies both secondary work in the Hall and the re-modelling of the Rosenkranz Tower as Scottish work, the latter being supported by documentary evidence. Instances of Scottish influence on Continental buildings are rare and it is disappointing to note how little the Rosenkranz Tower resembles a Scottish tower-house of the same period.

The survival of Norse architecture in Scotland has been disputed for many years, but one must accept Dr. Simpson's view that the men responsible for Kirkwall Cathedral would not be satisfied with dwellings of wood and that top quality craftmanship in Scotland must be contemporary with, not a late copy of, similar work in England or on the Continent. It is therefore inherently probable both that the earliest work in the Cathedral and the adjacent Palace are of one period and that such stone buildings as Cobbie Row's Castle, Wyre and St. Moluag's Church, Lewis, are Norse foundations and not late medieval imitations of earlier work. Dr. Simpson advances structural evidence in support of both these points of view.

Since the book is called "The castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall" one is entitled to regret that the study is not developed a little further than it is, since in each case the buildings described form only part of a wider setting for which either structural or documentary evidence survives. The lack is made good to some extent by an air photograph of Bergen Castle, but one would like to see a corresponding illustration of Kirkwall as a reminder that while geographically remote it contains in the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace and the Earl's Palace an outstandingly interesting group of buildings.

Dr. Simpson's book is the epilogue to a successful work of restoration and, one hopes, the prologue to another. The Great Hall at Stirling Castle has been used for the last two hundred years as a barrack block. Previous schemes for restoration have

come to nothing, but circumstances are changing and may well permit the rehabilitation of a structure which in its day was the finest thing of its kind in Scotland.

MICHAEL APTED

Highland Folk Ways. I. F. Grant. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1961.

In considering the enthusiastic contribution to Highland ethnological studies which Dr. Grant has made during some 40 years of devoted study, and which she has now synthesised in *Highland Folk Ways*, it seems imperative to define that subject, and to consider its validity as a historical method. Under various pressures, especially that of the economic interpretation school, modern history is becoming conscious of the totality of its subject. Historical investigation of region, or culture, now appears as the unravelling of a complicated skein of threads, which are individual yet relevant and essential to the whole. Round the core of orthodox historicism now lie secondary and ancillary studies (in this context), Archæology, Anthropology, Sociology, etc.; fields which now cannot be ignored in the writing of any general history. On the indefinable boundary that lies between Archæology and Anthropology lies Ethnology; the study of traditional pre-industrial societies in their regional and cultural variation, which in Europe naturally means a peripheral isolated society.

It is about Scottish Ethnology as a historical aide that Dr. Grant has written, and it seems to the reviewer that local usage should revert to this term rather than maintain the clumsy transliteration Folk Life Studies. The concept inherent in Dr. Grant's study—that traditional rural communities, as they stand, are the matrix for valuable historical data, is of some antiquity. The value of what might be termed historical field work was clear even to Herodotus, but it was in the British Isles that this technique really came into being, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when first Dean Munro, then Buchanan, Martin Martin, and Edward Lhwyd became convinced of the value of studying societies as they existed at that moment from personal observation of their language, traditions, literature and customs. This paved the way for a host of travellers—Pennant, Burt, Johnson and Boswell—Johnson, indeed, who put his finger on a fundamental problem in his rather unfair criticism of Martin. "The mode of life which was

familiar to himself, he did not suppose unknown to others, nor imagined that he could give pleasure by telling that of which it was, in his little country, impossible to be ignorant. What he has neglected cannot now be performed. In nations, where there is hardly the use of letters, what is once out of sight is lost for ever" (not strictly true where oral tradition exists).

Ironically, it was Johnson in the van of reactionary historicism who declaimed, "we can know no more than old writers have told us" whilst the real foundations of modern ethnology were being laid by savants like Banks, Cuvier, Buffon, etc., availing themselves of late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century voyages of discovery to record data primarily botanical and zoological, but also ethnological. Here rose the vital schism of interest which relegated "domestic" ethnology in Britain to non-academic backwaters, whilst energy and ability was concentrated on the bewildering kaleidoscope of unfamiliar societies from Tierra del Fuego to the Trobriand Islands which presented themselves in the late nineteenth century. In Scandinavia, by contrast, limited overseas expansion, and consequent cultural introversion, prevented the neglect of indigenous material; Linnaeus, then Asbjörnsen and a host of successors persisted in a movement which led, as did parallel efforts by Thomson and Worsaae in Archæology and for similar and attendant reasons, to the emergence of Ethnology as a valid discipline within the framework of local history. Archæology, in its modern sense, has had a difficult passage across the North Sea but has clearly "made the grade"; "domestic" ethnology in the British Isles is passing along the same hard road to academic acceptance.

The fact remains, and it is vital that this should be generally appreciated while the material still exists, that in the outermost fringes of Western Europe from Lapland to Iceland and Faroe and through the Hebrides to the Canaries live isolated communities who have preserved in greater or lesser measure elements of original settlement. These societies form repositories of anthropological data as valid as any study in Oceania and in some respects more significant, for herein lies the information which can close many of the gaps which exist in our knowledge of European rural society from Neolithic to late medieval times. Much of this material has already vanished, the archæologist can recreate some *ex pede herculem*, but this is a thankless task without the illustration that first-class ethnological field work could produce.

Scotland and especially its Highland area has been highly retentive of this material. In fact, as Dr. Grant may be suggesting, to study the Scottish Gaidhealtachd is to study an ethnic group or the still discernible remains thereof. Such a study is, or should be, a historical treatment of linguistic, literary, social and material evidence, and if treated fully could greatly amplify our picture of the recent and even remote past of the Highlands and of much of Scotland and beyond. The same may be said of work in areas where remains are still more vestigial. The present limited appreciation of these studies is due largely, to misunderstanding of their nature occasioned by faulty nomenclature, and a connection with non-academic studies experienced in the evolution of the subject.

Research in the Highlands began in the last century with the work of J. F. Campbell of Islay, followed by Frances Tolmie and others, but was concerned with traditional tales and music. The marriage of all branches of ethnological study: oral tradition, material culture, music and custom, to documentary sources and historiography proper has not been seriously attempted hitherto, and herein Dr. Grant has been a pioneer. In assessing whether this ambitious attempt has been successful or not, this reviewer has been at some pains to define the field of study which ought to be covered should a serious academic contribution be sought. To recapitulate, the field is, primarily, the proper use of ethnology as a means of identifying social and economic elements within a geographical area which are rudiments of the prehistoric, proto-historic (literate) and historic (documented) past. These elements should be related first of all to a scientific analysis of the geography of the region. They should, secondly, be tied in with the evidence produced by the archæologist for early periods and the linguistic and documentary historian for later periods. Finally, they ought also to be compared with, or referred to, anthropological studies in similar environments or social climates overseas. This is a tall order and it is hardly surprising that few writers have been able to fulfil it, except perhaps Evans in his work in Ulster. Dr. Grant's book forms a significant attempt, but suffers from several drawbacks. The ethnological field work is not yet on a wide enough basis. The geographical area covered is in practice largely confined to the eastern part of the Highlands, and, indeed, to a certain extent, to the East Coast. But this is the area of least conservation, early penetrated by outside influence and thus least representative in most respects of

the old order. Occasional excursuses link these areas to the main repositories of early Highland tradition—the West and North-West Highlands, and the Isles.

Little attempt is made to wed evidence to pre-history, and it is difficult for the reader to appreciate the matrix within which later forms materialised. The first millennium A.D., admittedly a difficult period, but also for this sort of study a vital and determinative one, receives very limited notice, and the theme emerging in the Second Millennium with the earliest documents and sources depends too much on the speculative views of foreign scribes on what was, and continued to be, largely terra incognita.

The whole question of the Norse penetration (rather than conquest) of the West requires much further research, and statements thereon should be in the most flexible and tentative form. As Holgar Arbman has pointed out recently, trade was a major factor in Norse economy, whilst Harald Harfagri was much more than a mere "approach" to the social concept of King.

The clans emerge on the borders of true documentary history. We are informed that "it is important to remember that the clans in no case were the survival of an ancient tribal system". To this reviewer, however, it seems most probable that the clan was indeed a tribal melange with petty, and occasional paramount chiefs; with direct ancestry in the late Celtic Iron Age if with Norse accretions; which emerged in the Second Millennium as a recognisable system. Any other interpretation means a break in social evolution. True, on its periphery this clan system was influenced by the rising power of the embryo Scottish state and by feudal penetration. However, it is suggested that Dr. Grant's list of Norman clan chiefs relates entirely to the Highland periphery, the open Straths of South and East, and North-East. Were the conservative North and West at all infected by Norman feudalism? Did they not exist in a stage of social evolution prior to feudalism; i.e. in a social framework of family and traditional ties rather than in a pyramid of legally defined obligation? As Marc Bloch pointed out "the only regions in which powerful agnatic groups survived—German lands on the shores of the North Sea, Celtic districts of the British Isles—knew nothing of vassalage, the fief, and the manor". It is essential that a broad framework be established for these undocumented periods of Highland history to provide the essential setting for

ethnological research. This is a vital and determinative phase whose complexity must be realised; it needs treatment by the study of material culture as well as of documentary sources.

In the historic period proper, from roughly the fifteenth century, Dr. Grant leans heavily on East Coast sources using the situation there as a yardstick for the West. Much of this material, such as estate papers, reflects the views of outsiders, lairds and factors and fails to provide the more intimate picture which a view from the inside would give. With the improvers much of the old life perished, and thereafter came economic integration with Southern industry and thus the imposition of the sheep and the kelp industries, decisive factors in Highland history, but factors not in themselves illustrative of traditional society.

On traditional modes of agriculture Dr. Grant is good value giving a graphic picture of pre-improvement and extra-improvement conditions. *Feannagan* were of course by no means confined to the Outer Isles although still in use there. In the West, especially, the intensive scratch agriculture and overcrowding of the land are well illustrated, though the fact that this was a climacteric and due to non-traditional factors such as the elimination of warfare and of smallpox, the introduction of kelp and the potato—is not sufficiently stressed. Years of devoted collecting have enabled Dr. Grant to assemble a most representative selection of early agricultural technology. This section of Dr. Grant's book together with those on social and traditional custom and belief, is most competently done, the origins of tartan receiving particularly sensible treatment. However, there is an unfortunate lack of comparative evidence which would prevent the non-specialist reader from assessing the relative significance of any factor, for example "eating of the blood of their cattle" is not so curious a custom by the standards of the Masai and other pastoral peoples. In the present state of our knowledge of Scottish vernacular architecture, thoughts of Dalriadic style cottages, of Pictish ancestry for timber framing, or of "the use of walls of straw and clay mixed, as being suggestively Celtic" are premature.

Wild fowl were exploited very early and were a mainstay of the economy of St. Kilda, Mingulay, parts of Lewis and doubtless other areas. Yet this important factor is hardly alluded to.

As a result of these and other difficulties what we have is a somewhat unbalanced though a stimulating book. Basically,

a sound documentary history of East Highland society with excursions in all directions and on themes of greater or lesser relevance, it fits rather awkwardly into its appointed setting of a précis of the traditional culture of the Highlands as a whole. Nevertheless, one must remember that trail blazers are not noted for the scientific construction of highways, but for the courage and enterprise which carries them into hitherto unknown territory at all. Dr. Grant has essayed a difficult journey but in doing so she has produced a book that is bound to arouse interest, and quicken ideas, and will be useful to those who follow her. IAIN A. CRAWFORD

International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. Vol. 1: General Ethnological Concepts. By Ake Hultkranz. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen. 1960. 282 pp.

The genesis of the dictionary of which this volume forms the first section was a suggestion made by Professor Arnold van Gennep. His proposals were discussed at the International Congress at Stockholm in 1951, and an editorial committee was set up, under the auspices of the International Committee on Folk Arts and Folklore, to supervise the work. Funds provided by UNESCO have helped in the carrying out of this important international undertaking. Dr. Hultkranz, of the University of Stockholm, who was appointed chief editor, undertook the compilation of the first section of the dictionary. This volume deals with general concepts, schools and methods. The second section, which is now also completed, is concerned with folk literature. It is hoped to publish a further ten sections to complete the work.

The object of the dictionary is to attempt to provide standard definitions of the scientific terms used by writers on ethnology and folklore. The definitions, which are given in the author's own words, are normally followed by the various explanations of the terms concerned given by different authorities. In order to do justice to the scholars concerned, their own writings are freely quoted. No fewer than six pages, for example, are devoted to the setting forth, and discussion, of the numerous definitions of the word "culture" which have been put forward. Again, considerable space is devoted to the name "folklore", which, since its invention in 1846, has been interpreted with an astonishing variety of shades of meaning; the editor recommends for acceptance the definition adopted by the

Arnhem Congress in 1955: "the spiritual tradition of the folk, particularly oral tradition".

While the editor does not attempt to give complete accounts of the development of the ideas with which he has to deal, he does very usefully, where he finds it desirable, explain briefly the stages by which definitions have been reached.

Sociologists who search the dictionary for terms relating to their own discipline may be disappointed. The viewpoint of the editor is primarily that of the ethnologist and folklorist, and the sociological aspect of words is not stressed. Sociologists will, however, be interested to know that sociological terms will be included in a dictionary of Social Science terminology which UNESCO is now preparing.

While, as its title indicates, the dictionary does not profess to deal with more than *European* ethnology and folklore, it does in fact include many American terms; indeed the work would have been felt to be sadly lacking had a policy of rigid exclusion been adopted. Most of the terms dealt with are English, but a number of French, German and Scandinavian words and phrases are included. From whatever language the items are drawn, their equivalents in the other principal European languages are printed beside them.

The dictionary will be welcomed as a new venture in anthropological literature, and will be especially appreciated by ethnologists and folklorists, who have long felt the want of such a work. The editor is to be congratulated on the production of such a valuable aid to study and research.

The text is written in English, and the typography and lay-out are excellent. R. KERR

INDEX

VOLUME 6, 1962

Items in bold type denote titles of contributions ; the names of contributors appear in small capitals.

Aberdeen "White Paternoster", An, 223-8
"acre", 125
Alesia, sacred springs of, 39
Altrieve Lake SLK, 211
Aontlachd Mhic Neill (pipe-tune), 14
APTED, MICHAEL, 254
arachor (Gaelic) "ploughgate", 137
Arrochar DNB, 137
Ath Cheilp (Gaelic) "kelp kiln", 106
Auchencairn Lane KCB, 85

baile (Gaelic), 171
Balloch Lane AYR, 85
Barend Lane KCB, 85
Barra, fishing industry, 72
 overpopulation, 72
 physical environment, 71
Barra, Two Early Resettlement Schemes in, 71-84
BARROW, G. W. S., 123
Belted Plaid, An Unrecorded Type of, 246-52
Beoch Lane AYR, 85
Bilingualism and Folk Life, 60-70
Black Stanks (3) WIG, ABD, BNF, 215
Blacklatch Burn ABD, 211
Black Linn DMF, 212
Blackness "Black Douglas", The, 96-9
BLAKE, JOHN L., 113
Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean (pipe-tune), 10, 11, 19, 20-25
Boghead Lane AYR, 85
Bourblaige (Ardnamurchan), 161
bovate, 130
Bratach Bhan nan Stiubhartach (pipe-tune), 15, 19
breacan (Gaelic) "tartan", 246
Buile Suibhne (Irish tale), 42
Bunkleshire, 124
Bynames among the Tinkers, 95-6

Cailleach a[n] tSruth Ruaidh, 184-93
Cairidh nan Ceann (Skye), 45-6
Calendar customs, Shetland, 54-7, 117
canntaireachd, 7, 25-7
Carlingwark Lane KCB, 85
Carsgailoch Runner AYR, 213
Carsphairn Lane KCB, 85
carucate, 125-6, 130-1
Castle of Bergen and the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall, The (review), 252-4
Cath Almain (Irish tale), 41
Celtic cult of human head, 32
"Celtic" Scotland, 123
Cerrunnos, 97
CHRISTIANSEN, REIDAR, TH., 118
Clanranald, 114-15
Cogadh no Sìth (pipe-tune), 16, 18
Coldinghamshire, 124
Coldstream BWK, 216
Collection and Research, Notes on, 218-52
Comparative Research in Settlement Structures, Some Remarks on, 181-3
Connla's Well (Irish), 229
Council for Name Studies:—Great Britain and Ireland, 93-4
Coventina's well, 33-4, 228-9
Craigencallie Lane KCB, 85
CRAWFORD, IAIN A., 107, 120, 246, 259
cult of the head, 31
cult of wells in Ireland, 230-1
Cumha Chaisteal Dhun-Naomhaig (pipe-tune), 10, 12, 18, 19, 29
Cumha Lachlainn Mhóir (pipe-tune), 29
Cumha Mhic Neill (pipe-tune), 15
Cumha Mhic Shuain a Ròaig (pipe-tune), 13
Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn (pipe-tune), 14, 29
Cumha nam Marbh (pipe-tune), 15
Cumha Phadruig Oig (pipe-tune), 5
Cumledge BWK, 212

Dargall Lane KCB, 85
Darmead Linn LAN, 212
Dastram gu Seinnim Piob (pipe-tune), 15
dating of ruined clachans, 168-71
Daugh of Aswanley ABD, 136
Daugh of Cairnborrow ABD, 136
Daugh of Carron BNF, 136
Daugh of Corinacy BNF, 136

Daugh of Grange BNF, 136
Daugh of Invermarkie ABD, 136
Daugh of Kinermony BNF, 136
davoch, 131-6
geographical distribution, 135
decline of the clachans, 166
Dermot's triple death (legend), 38
Dochfour INV, 136
Dochgarroch INV, 136
Dochnalurig INV, 136
Dow Spout KCB, 214
Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724-1812), Two Poems Ascribed to, 99-105

Earshaig Lake DMF, 211
EDITOR, 122
Effledge RXB, 212
Evolution of Highland Rural Settlement, The, 155-77
Evolution of Rural Settlement in Scotland, The, 121-2

Fàilte Cloinn Dhomhnuill (pipe-tune), 28
Fàilte Sheorais Oig (pipe-tune), 15
Fàilte Siosolaich Srathghlais (pipe-tune), 15
Fairgirth Lane KCB, 85
fairy lore from Shetland, 57-9
Farming and Fishing Scenes on a Caithness Plan, 1772, 218-23
feannagan, 258
Feannagan Taomaidh (Lazy beds), 244-6
féileadh beag (Gaelic), 250
féileadh mór (drawing), 248
féileadh mór (Gaelic) "belted plaid", 246
Fendoch PER, 136
"finger" measurement in pibroch, 5
Fingland Lane DMF, 85
Fingland Lane KCB, 85
Folk Life, Bilingualism and, 60-70
Folklore Bibliography for 1961, Scottish, 201-9
"four-line airs" in pibroch, 5
"furlong", 125
Further Minor Elements in Scottish River-Names, 210-17

Gaelic Song, Personal Names in a, 235-43
Gillies, Niall (storyteller), 192
Gordon Castle Papers, 119
GRAY, MALCOLM, 145
Great Song of Scorrybreck, The (text), 236

Haddingtonshire, 124
Haddo (2) ABD, 134
Hag of the Red Stream, The, 184-93
Halfdavoch MOR, 134
Head Mark Lane AYR, 85, 86
height frequency and percentage ruined of settlement sites (figure), 158
HENDERSON, HAMISH, 96, 228
Highland Folk Ways (review), 254-9
Highland Rural Settlement, The Evolution of, 155-77
"highland" zones, 123-4
Highlands, population record in, 152
Highlands, Settlements in the, 145-54
HOLMES, MARTA, 252
human skull as drinking-cup, 36-7

international charm, 226
International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, Vol. I (review), 259-60

JACKSON, KENNETH, 184
JOHNSON, L. G., 49

Kellie-shire, 139
Kelp Burning, 105-7
Keoch Lane KCB, 85
Keppoch murder, 42-3
KERR, R., 260
Kirkgunzeon Lane KCB, 85
Kirkwall, Bishop's Palace at, 252-4
Kitchen Linn LAN, 212

lake (English) "stream", 210-11
Lanedripple WIG, 87
Lanehulcheon KCB, 87
Lane in Galloway, 85-7
Lanemannoch KCB, 87
Laniewee KCB, 87
Lannigore WIG, 87
Lasan Phadruig Chaogaich (pipe-tune), 10
Laurence Williamson (Shetland folklorist), 49-59
latch (English) "stream", 211-12
lazy beds, 244-5
lèan (Gaelic), 86
léana (Irish), 86
Lettoch ROS, MOR, 134
Lewis, Pasture Improvement Schemes in the Isle of, 108-13
linear/rectangular clachans (Kintyre), 163
Lingore Linn LAN, 212
linn (English) "torrent", 212
loan words, study of, 61
Loch End (Ireland), 38, 45
Loch Lane KCB, 85
Long Latch BWK, 211

Lordship of Strathavon, The, (review), 118-20
LORIMER, R. L. C., 1
Loup o' Lanebreddan KCB, 87
"lowland" zones, 123-4

Macdonald, Joseph, first collector of pibroch, 1-25
MacGregor's *Féileadh Mor* of 1822, 246-52
MACINNES, JOHN, 105, 120, 243
MATHESON, ANGUS, 116
MEGAW, B. R. S., 93, 223
Military Survey of Scotland, 155
Mimir's Well, 41
Minnigall Lane KCB, 85
mixing of languages, 61
MOISLEY, H. A., 194
"Moss Houses" of Kincardine, Perthshire, 1702, The, 87-93

Name Studies, Council for, 93-4
NICOLAISEN, W. F. H., 87, 94, 217
Nicolson genealogy, 239
Norse penetration of West Scotland, 257
North Uist, reorganisation of common grazings, 108
Notes on Collection and Research, 87-107, 218-52
Notes on Scottish Place-Names, 85-7, 210-17
nucleated villages, 124

Ogle Linn DMF, 212
Oran Mór Sgorabreac (text), 235
Outer Hebrides, rural settlement in, 71
oxgang, 129

Parliamentary Papers dealing with Highlands, 153
Pasture Improvement Schemes in the Isle of Lewis, 108-13
Personal Names in a Gaelic Song, 235-43
Phesdo KCD, 136
Pibroch, Studies, in, 1-30
pibroch, Joseph Macdonald's "Antient Rule", 1
Pibroch, the "4:6:4:1 (or 2)" metre in, 1-30
play language, 61
ploughgate, 129
Poldivan Lake DMF, 211
Population Changes and the Highland Problem, 1951-1961, 194-200
population changes in insular districts (table), 196
  in the crofting counties (table), 194
  in the Highlands (figure), 195
population distribution (West Ardnamurchan), 165
population record in the Highlands, 152
Potterland Lane KCB, 85, 86

Raith PER, 136
rath = ¼ davoch, 136-7
reclamation of Kincardine Moss, 67
records of Highlands and Islands, 151-4
reia (Latinized) "rig", 125
Research, Notes on Collection and, 87-107, 218-52
research in the Highlands, 256
Resettlement Schemes in Barra, Two Early, 71-84
rið (Old English) "stream", 212-3
Romano-British wells, 34, 228
ROSS, ANNE, 31, 99, 234
ROSS, JAMES, 60
Ross Estate tenancies, 1789-1928 (figure), 167
Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall (pipe-tune), 9-10, 29
runner (English) "stream", 213-14
Rural Settlement in Central and Eastern Scotland, 123-44
rural settlement in Outer Hebrides, 71
Rural Settlement in Scotland, The Evolution of, 121-2

Sailfoot Linn DMF, 212
St. Connall's Well DMF, 232
Saint Melor of Cornwall and Brittany, 38-9
St. Senan's Well (Co. Clare), drawing, 231
Sand haulage, subsidies on, 112
"Saxon" Scotland, 123
Scandinavian Settlements in the North and West of Scotland, The, 178-80
Scottish ethnology, 254
Scottish Folklore Bibliography for 1961, 201-9
Scottish land denominations, 171
Scottish Place-Names, Notes on, 85-87, 210-17
seaweed, use of, 105
settlement in Southend parish (Argyllshire), 156
Settlements in the Highlands, 1750-1950, 145-54
Severed Heads in Wells: An Aspect of the Well Cult, 31-48
shelter belts, 111
Shetland calendar customs, 54-7, 117
shielings, 126-7, 137-8

"shires", 124-5
Silver Bough, The (review), 116-18
SINCLAIR, ELIZABETH, 201
skipping songs, 224-5
Sliab Gam (Ireland), 37
Slitrig Water RXB, 213
Spaidsearachd Cloinn Mhic Aoidh (pipe-tune), 29
Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois (pipe-tune), 10, 11, 18, 29
spout (English) "stream", 214
stank (Scottish) "ditch, etc.", 214-15
stone-built clachans, 169
Stories from South Uist told by Angus MacLellan (review), 113-16
STORRIE, MARGARET C., 71
Strathavon, The Lordship of (review), 118-20
stream (English) "current", 215-16
Studies in Pibroch, 1-30
surface seeding, 109
Symposium in October 1961, 121

talamh taomaidh (Gaelic) "lazy beds", 244
tartan, 246
TAYLOR, A. B., 178
The Lane KCB, 85
The Stank MLO, ROX, 215
"three-lined airs" in pibroch, 6
Tinkers, Bynames among the, 95-6
Tipra Brothlaige (Ireland), 37
Tipra Sen-Garmna (Ireland), 37
Tobar a' Chinn, 42
Tobar a' Chinn (Skye), 43-4
Tobar an Deididh (Skye), 229
Tobar Cailleach nan Cnagain (Skye), 232
Tobar Glaic Athall (Skye), 232
Tobar Mòinneach nan Steall (Skye), 232
Tobar nam Maor (Skye), 233
Tobar nan Ceann, 42
Tobar nan Ceann (Skye), 44-5
Tobar nan Cuach (Skye), 233
Tomintoul, a planned "newtown", 119-20
township as social unit, 128
township government, 109
Tuppark Linn DMF, 212
Two Poems Ascribed to Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724-1812), 99-105

UHLIG, H., 181
Under Brae Lane KCB, 85
Unrecorded Type of Belted Plaid?, An, 246-52

Votive Pottery Associated with Wells, Note on, 228-34

Well Cult, An Aspect of the, 31-48
Well of the Head, 232
Well of the Heads (on Loch Oich), 43
Wells, Note on Votive Pottery Associated with, 228-34
Wells, Severed Heads in, 31-48
"White Paternoster", An Aberdeen, 223-8
Whitespout Lane AYR, 85, 86
wild fowling, 258
Williamson, Laurence (Shetland folklorist), 49-59