Scottish Studies

VOLUME 8 PART 1

1964

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

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

★

★

VOLUME 8
1964

OLIVER AND BOYD LTD
EDINBURGH

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 8 (1964)

PART 1

PART 2

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

HORACE FAIRHURST, M.A., PH.D., Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.

J. Y. MATHER, M.A., Lecturer, Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh.

RICHARD BAUMAN, M.A., University Fellow, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

R. L. C. LORIMER, Editor (Higher Education, Arts), Oliver and Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh.

ALEXANDER FENTON, Assistant Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

JOAN E. L. MURRAY, 13 Homecroft Drive, Uckington, Cheltenham, Glos.

B. R. S. MEGAW, B.A., F.S.A., F.M.A., Director; W. F. H. NICOLAISEN, DR.PHIL., B.LITT., Senior Research Fellow; JOHN MACINNES, M.A., HAMISH HENDERSON, M.A., IAIN A. CRAWFORD, M.A., Research Fellows, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

JOHN L. BLAKE, 82A Sudbury Court Road, Harrow, Middlesex.

CEDRIC THORPE DAVIE, O.B.E., Reader, Dept. of Music, University of St. Andrews.

T. C. SMOUT, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer, Dept. of Economic History, University of Edinburgh.

THE SURVEYS FOR THE SUTHERLAND CLEARANCES 1813-1820

Horace Fairhurst

1. *The Sutherland Clearances*

Very extensive stretches of the interior of the county of Sutherland form such a sparsely populated wilderness that they raise administrative problems of great magnitude for the local authorities. As every Scot knows, this wilderness is not due merely to difficulties of soil, climate and location; the land was purposefully denuded of its former inhabitants in the early years of the nineteenth century to make way for extensive sheep farming. A similar policy of clearance was followed in many parts of the Highlands but nowhere was it carried out with such thoroughness over such wide areas as in Sutherland, and particularly in Strath Naver and the Strath of Kildonan. In these two valleys alone, many hundreds of families were displaced to make way for a few sheep owners and their shepherds; from Captain John Henderson's estimates of the population at the time, it would appear that at least three hundred were moved out of Strath Naver (Henderson 1815:25).

The settlements in the two straths were depopulated in a series of planned operations between 1806 and 1820; some of the inhabitants went to the colonies, some perhaps moved to the industrial towns growing up in the south, while many were directed to small "lots" of about two acres each on the coast at Bettyhill, Strathy or Helmsdale. Here, the settlers were expected to build new homes on the lots which were purposely kept small by the management of the Sutherland Estate; they were to be forced to turn to the sea for additional income, though they knew little of sea fishing. The complement to the wilderness of the interior is the pattern of small ladder-like fields which characterise the coastlands to-day around Helmsdale and Bettyhill. Perhaps the most spectacular of these reception areas is the now abandoned site of Badbae above the cliffs near the Ord of Caithness, where the slope was so steep

that the children are said to have been tethered to prevent them from being blown into the sea!

The actual details of the evictions have never been satisfactorily established. Undoubtedly the population was moved very much against its will, from lands its forebears had cultivated from time immemorial, without redress and with no right of appeal; inevitably, ugly incidents would occur in these circumstances, though there was no organised resistance. The operation seems more reminiscent of the treatment meted out to the primitive aborigines of a remote colonial area in that period. Apologists are not lacking; James Loch who was responsible for much of the organisation (Loch 1820), Patrick Sellar the factor on the Sutherland Estates and his son Thomas (Sellar 1883),[1] have minimised the atrocity stories and pointed to the squalor and overpopulation of the interior straths at the time. At the opposite extreme is the very well-known history of the Highland Clearances by Mackenzie (1883). The latest contribution has been a biting indictment of the organisers of the mass evictions in Sutherland by Ian Grimble (1962). Controversy can still flare up and become acrimonious as in the recent correspondence in the columns of "The Scotsman" (November-December 1962).

2. *Plans of the Clearance Areas*

It has not been generally recognised that just before the Clearances took place, extensive surveys were made for various parts of the Sutherland Estates. The series so closely preceded the evictions that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Sutherland Clearances were a planned operation in the very literal sense of the word. It was while inspecting the originals of John Home's Survey of Assynt of 1776 (Adam 1960) that our attention was drawn to the existence of some of these later plans of the second decade of the nineteenth century, by Mr. T. Adam who was the factor at Dunrobin Castle at the time. Subsequently, his successor Mr. Scott allowed others to be examined and it became obvious that a wealth of material was available in these private surveys.

In the following paper, attention has been confined to two areas where field work had been undertaken during 1962 in conjunction with Mr. Gordon Petrie of Glasgow University Geography Department. The plans selected cover the lower part of the Strath of Kildonan from the old church and the

adjacent clachan down to the North Sea coast of Sutherland at Helmsdale (Pl. I). A second group portrays extensive stretches of middle and lower Strath Naver, below Loch Naver and running out to Farr Point in the centre of the north coast of Scotland. These plans are of interest for two reasons: they throw light upon a subject in which hard facts have been much obscured by partisan pleading, and secondly, they show the old settlement pattern in some detail in a region where the traditional way of life had been but little affected by the "Improvements" which were making such great changes in the south.

The individual plans comprising the survey of Strath Naver and the Strath of Kildonan vary considerably in size, scale, technique and state of preservation.[2] All but one have been mounted on linen, and the exception is in a very poor state. Some are unsigned, several bear the initials "B.M."[3] with the date, and the latest is "from an accurate survey taken in 1818 by Wm. Cumming". The trials of the latter are graphically illustrated by a carefully inscribed remark in Farr Bay, "here the boat upset", and there is a minute but appropriate sketch. Cumming is mentioned as being active in the Inverness area about 1800 (Inglis 1934:105).

In each case only a linear scale is given in Scots chains, so that the representative fraction must be stated as an approximation. The Scots mile was apt to vary but contained 80 Scots chains; on his plan, Cumming gives the length of the latter as 74 feet, and this has been taken as standard. Individual plans vary from about 1 inch to 4 Scots chains (i.e. 1:*c.* 3452, or just over 18 inches to our mile) down to 1 inch to 12 Scots chains (1:10,656 or nearly 6 inches to the present mile). As regards size, several of the plans for lower Strath Naver measure only about 22 inches by 17 inches and the area surveyed is restricted to a strip rarely as much as a mile wide along the river. The largest covers the lower part of the Strath of Kildonan and is made up of six separate sheets which have been mounted together in a roll 14 feet long by 26 to 33 inches wide. Here again, only the improved land along the river is shown and consists of a strip about 6 inches across, i.e. about one third of a mile wide.

Generally, relief is portrayed by rough brush work in watery black: pasture is indicated by a faint light green and the arable with an equally faint yellow wash sometimes brush lined with a darker shade to suggest the plough rigs. Woodland

is shown by a green dapple, but rough grazing is normally left blank. On many of the plans, individual holdings are outlined in different colours and a key giving the areas of the various types of land involved is provided in a "table of contents". In all cases, individual buildings are shown by small rectangles picked out in a faint red; on the larger scale plans such as that for Kildonan, the appearance suggests meticulous accuracy, but with the work of "B.M." on a smaller scale, the rectangles have a suspiciously vague look.

It has rarely been possible to check the accuracy of most of the Scottish estate plans of the period which have been studied in detail[4] in connection with the buildings pattern for the period before the Improvements. In this case, however, some field work undertaken in a rather different connection has allowed checks to be made and throws light on the nature of the buildings portrayed.

3. *A Clearance Township: Rosal in Strath Naver*

The field work in Strath Naver was undertaken in 1962 at the invitation of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in Scotland by staff and students from the Archæology and Geography Departments, Glasgow University.[5] An investigation was made of the site of a township called Rosal (1 inch O.S. 7th Series, Sheet 10, Tongue, NC 688414). It was cleared in or soon after 1814 to form part of a sheep farm for the notorious Patrick Sellar, and since that time has been kept in sheepwalk so that the ruined buildings have remained undisturbed.

Rosal now lies within the Forestry Comission plantations which will soon transform the scenery of the present wilderness of grass and heather. The country around is an irregular but relatively open plateau through which the Naver flows in a narrow and quite shallow valley. Rosal is wide open to the winds of these northern areas, but although twelve miles inland and set above the haughlands and flood danger, it is at an altitude of no more than about 250 to 350 feet.

About 70 structures were located within the dry stone dyke which surrounded the improved land at Rosal, but of these, only about 15 appeared to be dwellings.[6] The remainder were stackyards, barns, outhouses and kilns for corn drying, each standing more or less in isolation so that it was difficult to recognise the individual farming units involved, i.e. to associate

any particular dwelling with its yard and outhouses. It is probable that at least some of the ruined structures were obsolete and even in disrepair before the evictions took place, but it was very difficult to differentiate them and, in fact, it would appear that only a small proportion was involved. Excavation suggested that the walls were largely of turf built above a dry-stone base about 2 feet high and 2 feet wide; the thatched roof was supported on curved couples, rising from the ground on the inside of the two long walls, to meet at the central ridge. Documentary evidence from several sources confirms this as being the characteristic technique for this part of Sutherland.[7] In all cases, the floor was of earth and the surface was surprisingly uneven.

The dwellings were as much as 108 feet long by about 9 to 11 feet wide. In the example we excavated, about half of the long-house formed the byre (see Pl. VIII). Continuing this and without any obvious signs of a partition between came the living-end around a central hearth, with a small room beyond shut off by a flimsy wall. There was only one door normally, leading straight into the byre, and we found no traces of built chimneys nor of windows. These long-houses were much larger than the barns and outhouses which were perhaps 30 to 40 feet in length; the difference is quite sufficient to be noted on a plan on the scale of 18 inches or even 9 inches to the mile, if carefully drawn. The kilns were contained within round-ended buildings of a diminutive size, measuring about 16 feet by 7 feet.

4. *Plans of the Clearance Areas: the Heights of Strath Naver*

Rosal is covered on a large plan of "The Heights of Strath-naver", on the scale of about 6 inches to the mile, by "B.M." The townlands are shown quite recognisably as an area of arable and pasture within very extensive common grazings shared with the tenants of the neighbouring settlement of Dalharrold. The survey is dated 1811, only three years before the evictions began, but the pattern of the buildings shown is scarcely recognisable in terms of the ruined structures on the ground (see Pl. III). In all, 25 small rectangles of varying sizes appear on the plan, spaced around the periphery in three loose clusters (as in fact, they occur) but individually it is impossible to identify on the ground more than about half a dozen with any degree of certainty. Even the arable land is shown as a

continuous block, whereas in fact it was much divided by peaty hollows and patches of rough ground. Anyone attempting a description of the traditional buildings pattern at Rosal, or estimating the number of families, would be grossly misled by the plan (see Pl. II.)

We may be dealing with one of "B.M."s less happy productions, for the neighbouring settlement at Truderscaig, shown on the same plan, has a good outline and here 15 rectangles are shown, most of them obviously referring to long-houses whose ruins can still be recognised. Truderscaig, however, is known to have been a larger settlement than Rosal, so that only a fraction of the total buildings pattern can have been plotted.

Perhaps the main interest of the plan of "The Heights of Strathnaver" is that it is the only one of the series which makes any attempt to show the extent of the rough grazings and to indicate outlying enclosures. The latter were of two types; in the first place there were the shielings to which the cattle were taken for some weeks during the summer, and secondly, there were a number of small enclosures, about 2 acres in extent, which appear to have been cultivated and in some cases, to have been permanently inhabited.[8] The second group has every appearance of being old shieling ground which had come under continuous occupation. It is interesting to note in passing that much of the evidence at the trial of Patrick Sellar revolves round a man named Chisholm who was said to have been squatting on an outlying patch of land to the east of Rosal; this place called Badinloskin can be identified on the plan. Considerable care must have been exercised in plotting these small outlying patches of arable, though no dwellings are shown.

5. *Plans of the Clearance Areas: Lower Strath Naver*

From Syre Bridge below Rosal down to the north coast, lower Strath Naver is covered by a series of plans bearing the initials "B.M." and on the scale of about 9¼ inches to the Scots mile. In this area, the scenery changes and in place of the shallow open valley of the upper strath, the hills close in to give a deep glen with sides rising sharply up to about 800 feet from the narrow floor. The pattern of settlement of the pre-Clearance population also changed; upstream from Syre, the townships resembled Rosal and Truderscaig which were islands of improved land set amid extensive moorlands from

which they were separated by a dry-stone "ring" dyke. In the lower strath, the townships consisted of strips of improved land on either side of the river, though sometimes they were discontinuous. Here, the dwellings of the early nineteenth century have been badly disturbed as the land was re-settled after being in sheep walk for a time, and was divided into crofts later in the century.

The plans portray no more than the narrow and discontinuous strip along the floor of the valley. Originally, there must have been five sheets numbered consecutively from IV to VIII, but VI of the Carnachy-Dun Viden area has not been located. In general, a fair degree of accuracy has been achieved in showing the area of improved pasture and arable while "Tables of Contents", too, give valuable information about the land use; one of these is given in detail below (page 8). Of the building patterns, however, there is again good reason to believe that only a fraction was recorded, even on these relatively large scale plans. The only detailed check we were able to make was at Auchlochy (NC 716585) where it was plain that "B.M." made little more than a token plot of the dwellings; his plan gives a poor impression of what was an interesting and unusual settlement, tightly knit in linear pattern along a road.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the plans throw some light on the basic settlement pattern in this part of Scotland at the beginning of last century. The houses are normally portrayed in small clusters, but isolated dwellings also occur. This latter point is of considerable interest for, as the writer has argued elsewhere, the traditional settlement pattern in Scotland generally seems to have been related to the method of farming cooperatively in run-rig, in which the joint tenants grouped their dwellings together in loose clusters, sometimes referred to as "clachans" (Fairhurst 1960). The "tables of contents" are of some help in this connection and a characteristic example is given on page 8 from the bottom edge of Plan VII showing the districts of Ravigill, Skail and Rhifail.

Unfortunately, the number of the "small tenants" is not given but additional information is available from two other sources for this particular area. Captain Henderson gives an estimate of the number of families (Henderson 1815:25) and in the evidence given at the trial of Patrick Sellar, witnesses gave information of the number of tenants present at some townships.[9] It becomes quite clear that the average acreage

of arable and pasture for each "small tenant" was extremely small, being 2½ to 4 at Rhifail with no hill grazing at all, and 4½ at Ravigill with some hill and wood.[10] At Skail, the figure was probably about 4 but with no hill grazing again.

No. VII Plan of the farms of Ravigill, Skeal and Rhifele with the small possessions of Girfe and Enishvloundi. B.M. 1810.

Contents

	Arable	Pasture	Wood	Muir	Hill Pasture	Total
RAVIGILL						
Small tenants	34 1 15	11 3 32	26 2 38	17 2 37	. . .	90 2 2
GIRFE						
Dond Macbeath	8 0 35	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8 0 35
RHIFELE						
Captn Mackay	5 3 35	4 . .	. . .	42 2 20	203 2 0	255 3 25
Small tenants	14 1 12	5 3 32	. . .	. . .	. . .	20 1 4
SKEAL						
Mr. Mackay	10 2 26	14 2 32	. . .	. . .	. . .	33 1 13
John Mackay	6 3 37	4 3 8	. . .	16 1 36	. . .	28 1 1
Small tenants	5 2 5	2 3 28	. . .	11 1 34	. . .	19 3 27
„ „	2 2 5	2 2 0	. . .	. . .	. . .	5 . 5
Brown and Macdonald	4 . 17	1 . .	. . .	1 . 29	. . .	6 . 6
ENISHVLOUNDI						
Angus Mackay	3 . 30	5 3 0	. . .	. . .	. . .	8 3 30
	103 2 72	53 1 12		89 1 36	203 2 0	476 3 33

NOTE.—The measurements are given in Scots acres, roods and falls. There were 40 falls to the rood and 4 roods to the acre. According to McKerral, the Scots acre was 1¼ the size of the English acre (McKerral 1943-4). The additions in some of the above columns are inaccurate.

Returning now to the pattern of settlement on the plans of 1810, it is clear that some of the isolated dwellings belong to tenants who held as individuals. Of these, some would belong to the tacksmen class, perhaps retired military officers of the type which was said to have attempted to inflame public opinion at the time of the Clearances. With such small acreages of arable to each "small tenant", however, it may be that some isolated settlement had occurred from time immemorial in areas such as Strath Naver where the fertile ground was in narrow strips and often in discontinuous patches.

6. *The Clearance Areas: the Strath of Kildonan*

Before discussing the settlement pattern further, it is advisable at this stage to turn to another district covered by the plans from Dunrobin Castle, that of the Strath of Kildonan (Pl. I). This is one of the main valleys opening on to the North Sea coast of Sutherland and is drained by the Helmsdale River which enters the sea at the small modern town and fishing harbour of Helmsdale. In its upper course, the river drains an irregular but open plateau stretching over into Strath Naver—at present a desolation of moor, peat bog and shallow loch. On approaching the small present day settlement of Kildonan where the true strath begins, the hills close in on the Helmsdale River until, as with lower Strath Naver, there is only a narrow ribbon of low ground at the bottom of a steep sided glen, widening a little where a side burn enters.

The Clearance took place about the same time as in Strath Naver; the first was in 1813 and caused much uproar but no practical opposition, and the process seems to have been completed about 1820 when a number of longer leases terminated. Nowadays, a modern farm occurs from place to place along the Strath, but it is very sparsely populated and the old church seems remote and lonely; the visible memorials of the former population occur as overgrown ruins spaced at frequent intervals.

The Strath is covered from the neighbourhood of the old church down to the sea, a distance of about nine miles, by the composite roll of six sheets mounted together which was mentioned earlier. The name of the surveyor is not stated but the style is not unlike that of Cumming who was responsible for the Bettyhill plan of 1818, though the lettering is different in detail. The scale is relatively large, 1 inch to 4 Scots chains (about 18 inches to the present mile), and there is reason to believe that the buildings pattern is portrayed with a considerable degree of accuracy.

In this respect, a check on what is in effect a random sample from amongst the settlements was made during the summer of 1962. Under the auspices of the Sutherland Education Committee and with Mr. Gordon Petrie as instructor, a summer school in field survey for amateur archæologists made plans of various ancient monuments, including one of the Clearance site at Kilphedir; this is located near a burn on the north side of the Strath of Kildonan about three miles above the sea at

Helmsdale. A fair copy is shown (Pl. V) together with a reproduction of the relevant part of the old plan from Dunrobin (Pl. IV). It is to be borne in mind, as with Rosal, that some of the buildings were in all probability ruinous before the evictions took place; unfortunately, too, Kilphedir is near the modern road and has suffered some disturbance during the last 150 years. Still, the plan of 1962 does indicate the degree of accuracy obtained on the early survey.

There is another check on the accuracy of these plans of a very different type. At the time of the Clearances, the minister at the Church of Kildonan was Aeneas Sage; his son Donald, born in 1789, wrote an autobiography and family history in a large collection of papers rather late in life and they were published after his death by his son in 1883 in the well known "Memorabilia Domestica; or Parish Life in the North of Scotland" (Sage 1889). Donald Sage has little to say about the earlier evictions of 1813-14, but in 1819 he was a missionary for the outlying parts of his father's parish and that of Farr, living at Achness in Strath Naver, not far from Rosal. He describes in some detail the events of the period and accuses the agents of the Duchess of Sutherland of atrocities in the evictions. He must have known the individuals involved personally, and in fact, Sage's statements provide some of the most damning evidence produced against the former factor, Patrick Sellar.

Many writers have taken Sage's description at face value, as does Ian Grimble in "The Trial of Patrick Sellar", where there is a chapter entitled "What was in the diary 1889". It should be remarked, however, that strictly speaking, Sage was not actually an eye witness, as he left his flock after conducting what must have been a highly emotional gathering at Langdale on the previous Sunday. It is also very difficult to see why Sage, if he had such damning evidence, remained silent all his life during a long controversy which sadly lacked precisely the type of corroboration he alone could have given.

However, "Memorabilia Domestica" will be read as long as the Clearances are discussed. One of the most interesting, and indeed moving chapters describes the Strath of Kildonan and especially the district around the manse, as it was about the year 1800 when Sage was a boy and must have known it intimately. On the plans of 1811 it is portrayed just as he saw it (Pl. VI). There is his father's manse, with the two wings running out on either side, where the roof leaked so badly.

Behind is the kiln house, and then the houses of the eight tenants on his father's farm stretching for about a mile downstream from the glebe and still, as he says on p. 72, "in run rigs". Rarely is it possible to read a description of one of the traditional co-operative farms of that period and to see a detailed plan of the features discussed. And yet, so typical of the man, Sage is tantalisingly vague about the minor details which the modern student would have valued so highly.

7. *Settlements in the Strath of Kildonan*

The plans of Kildonan should not be overrated in comparison with that of the Heights of Strath Naver; although they give the buildings pattern in far more detail, they show little more than the extent of the arable along the bottom of the strath and there is no indication of the nature of the hill grazings nor of the position of the shielings.

What is at once striking on the plans of the early nineteenth century is the large number of buildings along the edge of the strip of arable and pasture near the river. This is only in places more than quarter of a mile wide, but every quarter to half mile along the valley, there appears a small cluster of dwellings with the associated barns, outhouses and kilns suggestive of a group farm. Here again, it is noticeable that isolated dwellings also occur, which do not seem to differ in size and plan from those of the normal tenants. Generally speaking, the buildings are placed at the foot of the slope up to the hills on either side, above flood level, and especially where the valley opens out slightly with the junction of a side valley; sometimes, as at Caën, the settlement extends into a side valley. Kilphedir itself was placed near a burn on a terrace above the cultivable land. Incidentally, it is noticeable that the settlements are more numerous on the north eastern side facing the sun.

In both the Strath of Kildonan and in Strath Naver, on different scales and with different degrees of accuracy, the plans indicate a relatively large population which was crowded on to a small area of arable land. Doubtless the wide extent of the hill grazings, the shielings and perhaps outlying patches of arable mitigated the problem to some extent, but whether consideration is given to the total number of dwellings shown on the maps, or to the calculations of the amount of arable per family, or to the housing conditions as established for Rosal, there can be little doubt that the material standard of living

was very low. Population within the Highlands generally was rising at the time and, although the potato had proved an important addition to the crops, famines were common, as the Reverend Aeneas Sage describes for the Strath of Kildonan in the early years of the century.[11]

The recurrent famines, the need for fresh sources of income and the inevitability of emigration are exactly the points emphasised by the apologists for the Sutherland Clearances such as James Loch and Patrick Sellar. Their scheme to abolish the problem is illustrated equally clearly on some of the other plans from Dunrobin, for the areas of Farr and Helmsdale.

8. *The Reception Areas: Farr*

Two plans of different dates are available for the district at the mouth of the Naver around what is now Bettyhill. To the west of the narrow estuary, there is a most spectacular stretch of sand blown up a rocky hill side which all tourists to the area will well remember. To the east, however, running out towards Farr Point, there is a succession of rocky headlands backed by irregular ground, usually with very thin soil but sometimes with blown sand; it is this area with which the plans are concerned, around the old church of Farr and what is now the modern hotel at Bettyhill.

The first plan is obviously by "B.M.", though all but the tip of the M in his signature has been torn away; the scale is about 13 inches to the Scots mile (i.e. 1:5460 or 11½ inches to the present mile) and the date is 1810. Comparatively few buildings are shown except for three groups around the inn, the manse and a house at Clerkhill. On the shore a "boiling house" is indicated, perhaps for salmon. Although the buildings pattern may be incomplete, the plan seems clearly to indicate a sparsely populated area.

The second plan shows a marked change; it is entitled "The Land loted out in the Parish of Farr" and is signed by Wm. Cumming in 1818, that is, the year before the second and greater Clearance of Strath Naver (Pl. VII). It is on a larger scale than the earlier plan, in this case 7½ inches to 30 Scots chains (i.e. 1:3580, or 17¾ inches to the present mile). At a later time, the site of the Free Church and the School at Bettyhill have been indicated roughly in blue pencil, as well as the modern course of the road.

In the first place, the number of buildings shows a very

marked increase as compared with the earlier map; the shortcomings of "B.M." have been discussed before, but in this case a new township has appeared on the site of the modern settlement at Farr, and another group of houses is to be seen up at Newlands behind the inn. It would be reasonable to suggest that these represent an influx of settlers after the first Strath Naver evictions of 1814.

Secondly, the plan indicates a new division of the land into small or very small parcels as compared with the earlier holdings. On the better land, these "lots" consist of long narrow strips measuring perhaps 300 by 40 yards, and each containing about 1½ Scots acres of arable and about ½ an acre of pasture, the amounts being carefully inscribed on the plan in acres, roods and falls. On the rougher ground as at Newlands, the parcels are larger and less geometrical. The demarcation of these lots brought into being the field boundaries which can be seen in the area to-day (Pl. VII).

The parallel strips run back from the shore along the Naver through the modern Achine, Dalcharn and Bettyhill but very few dwellings are indicated on the plan over and above those already shown on the plan of 1810. Presumably these are the lots marked out in preparation for the influx of settlers expected after the evictions contemplated for 1819-20. At Clerkhill and at Farr, however, similar parallel strips occur which show very little relation to the existing houses. It looks very much as though lots for both the old and the new settlers were in process of demarcation, as though the older inhabitants were being huddled together to make room for the additional tenants. In all, 113 parcels can be counted, and a number of names have been faintly pencilled over some of the divisions.

At first sight, these 2 acre lots do not seem to differ very markedly in size from the area of arable per tenant calculated for the inland farms. Two points can be made: there was no hill grazing as at Rosal, and secondly, if the inland tenants were existing near subsistence level, even a slight reduction would be catastrophic. The idea, as James Loch so clearly states (1820:70, 105), was to force the population to turn to fishing; with the wild sea off shore and the lack of safe harbours, the prospect was bleak for a people from inland areas.

9. *The Reception Areas: Helmsdale*

On the east coast, the position was less hopeless and in fact, several fishing harbours developed rapidly after the evictions,

notably Helmsdale itself. Herring were plentiful at the time and there was a thriving trade in salt herring with the Baltic. Later in the century, the shoals largely disappeared and in any case, the fishing became concentrated on the port at Wick after about 1840. Now the old curing yards and warehouses at Helmsdale stand disused and incomprehensible to the passing tourist, while at Lybster, on the Caithness coast, the wharves, gutting platforms and even the quays are grass grown in a once flourishing harbour.

For the Helmsdale area, two separate plans are available for the period of the Clearances, as with Bettyhill. On the last of the roll of six sheets which cover the Strath of Kildonan, the mouth of the river is shown and the area northwards towards, but not including, Navidale. Easter Helmsdale appears as no more than a typical cluster of dwellings housing a small farming community, one of the many extending up the Strath; it was located northwestwards of the modern town in what is now known as Old Helmsdale. Wester Helmsdale across the river, was even smaller. Of the little modern town itself, there was not a sign, but the road bridge was shown; this suggests that the survey was carried out just before the Clearances of 1813 and the lots have been indicated later in pencil. These resemble the parallel strips at Bettyhill and once more, the ladder-like fields of to-day can be traced back to this period. It is noticeable that no dwellings had as yet been constructed on the lots though a few names had been written in pencil over some of the divisions.

The second plan is on a large sheet of folded paper in very poor condition, badly cracked and barely holding together; it is entitled "Plan of the Ground Alloted for Fishermen at and near Helmsdale" and is dated May, 1817. The surveyor was W. Forbes. The scale is wrongly given in links whereas it is 1 inch to 4 chains, i.e. the same as for the survey of Kildonan. Forbes used a muddy blue wash for the sea and indicated relief very crudely with a large brush, but he took pains over a most attractive water colour sketch in the top right of the plan. This shows the new bridge over the river, with the ruined castle to the right, looking very much as it does to-day, and on the left a cluster of buildings which are named "Corf House" on the plan; the latter was in fact a curing factory.[12]

Rather strangely, the lots are still shown in pencil, but they now extend into Wester Helmsdale and Gartymore. The individual strips vary quite considerably in shape but are for

the most part long rectangles; an average specimen may be taken as being about 350 yards long and 20 yards wide, that is, about 1½ Scots acres. Still there is no sign of the beginning of modern Helmsdale except for the fish curing yards which, James Loch says, were built in 1814.[13] It is very noticeable, too that the surveyor has not indicated any new dwellings on the lots; surely by 1817, a new buildings pattern was coming into being as the people evicted from the Strath in 1813 constructed houses for themselves. Perhaps the evictions and resettlement were far from complete; there is a noticeable discrepancy in the accounts here. Sage, whom many writers have trusted implicitly, states apparently for the year 1813, "The whole north and south sides of the Strath, from Kildonan to Caën on the left bank of the river, and from Dalcharn to Marrel on the right bank were, at one fell sweep, cleared of their inhabitants" (Sage 1889:185). James Loch, however, speaks of the Kirkton of Kildonan, alongside the manse where Sage was brought up, as being cleared in 1820 (Loch 1820:89). On the whole, it looks from the plan as though the lotting was not complete in 1817. It is a minor point in one sense, but not if the veracity of major sources is at issue.

This curious plan of 1817 by Forbes has another intriguing aspect; on the back there is a complete rent roll for the lots in the Helmsdale area—this, of course, explains why the plan has not been mounted on linen. The list gives the names of the tenants, the acreage of the lot held and the rent, the last two averaging about two acres and £4. The contents of the roll have been certified by the famous Patrick Sellar himself with a clear, bold flourish of a signature which could tell something of the inner man of whom so little is known and so much has been said.

10. *Conclusion*

Perhaps two comments may be made in conclusion. The relatively small scale plans of Strath Naver portrayed the buildings pattern only in very general terms, and this casual treatment, while it may be ineptitude, seems to call for further explanation. The dwellings were, we know, both unsubstantial and liable to be replaced at short intervals: possibly "B.M." knew perfectly well that his plans were intended for use in the Clearances. Yet the larger scale plans of Kildonan seem to be accurate enough. Until more detailed studies have been made

of Scottish Estate plans, it would be as well to remember that the surveyors may not have paid too much attention to accuracy in portraying a buildings pattern which they knew was about to be superseded.

Secondly, the buildings everywhere occur in open clusters of very irregular form and size, situated at close intervals and with what appear to be occasional examples of quite isolated dwellings. Traditionally, the buildings pattern was almost certainly related to the agricultural practice of working the land in group farms, whose tenants lived companionably together in loosely clustered settlements. In speaking of a pattern, however, it may be that we impose in our minds far more regularity in arrangement than actually obtained, particularly, it would appear in this northerly region. The occurrence, too, of completely isolated dwellings which might well strike the student of rural settlement as especially significant, is barely noticeable in the straggling clusters of Strath Naver and the Strath of Kildonan.

The traditional settlement pattern elsewhere in the Highlands, and even in the Lowlands at an early period, may have been much more loose than our settlement classifications would persuade us to think.

APPENDIX

Catalogue of Plans from Dunrobin Castle.

NOTE: the "Table of Contents", if present, usually occurs in the lower margin and lists the tenants with the area each occupies, classified by type (arable, pasture, wood, moor, etc.) in acres, roods and falls.

1. "Heights of Strathnaver including Rosshill, Dalharrold and the small possessions of Achaphreish, Auchenrach, Dalmallard, Breckathunahowen and Badilea-oid . . . and hill grazings attached in Colonel Clune's Wadset the Farm of Truderscaig and part of the hill bounds belonging to Rheloisk B.M. 1811."

Scale 6¾ inches to 1 Scots mile. 49¼ by 33 inches. Table of Contents. Mounted on linen but in poor condition with cracks and stains. It is a composite sheet of 4 unequal parts mounted together.

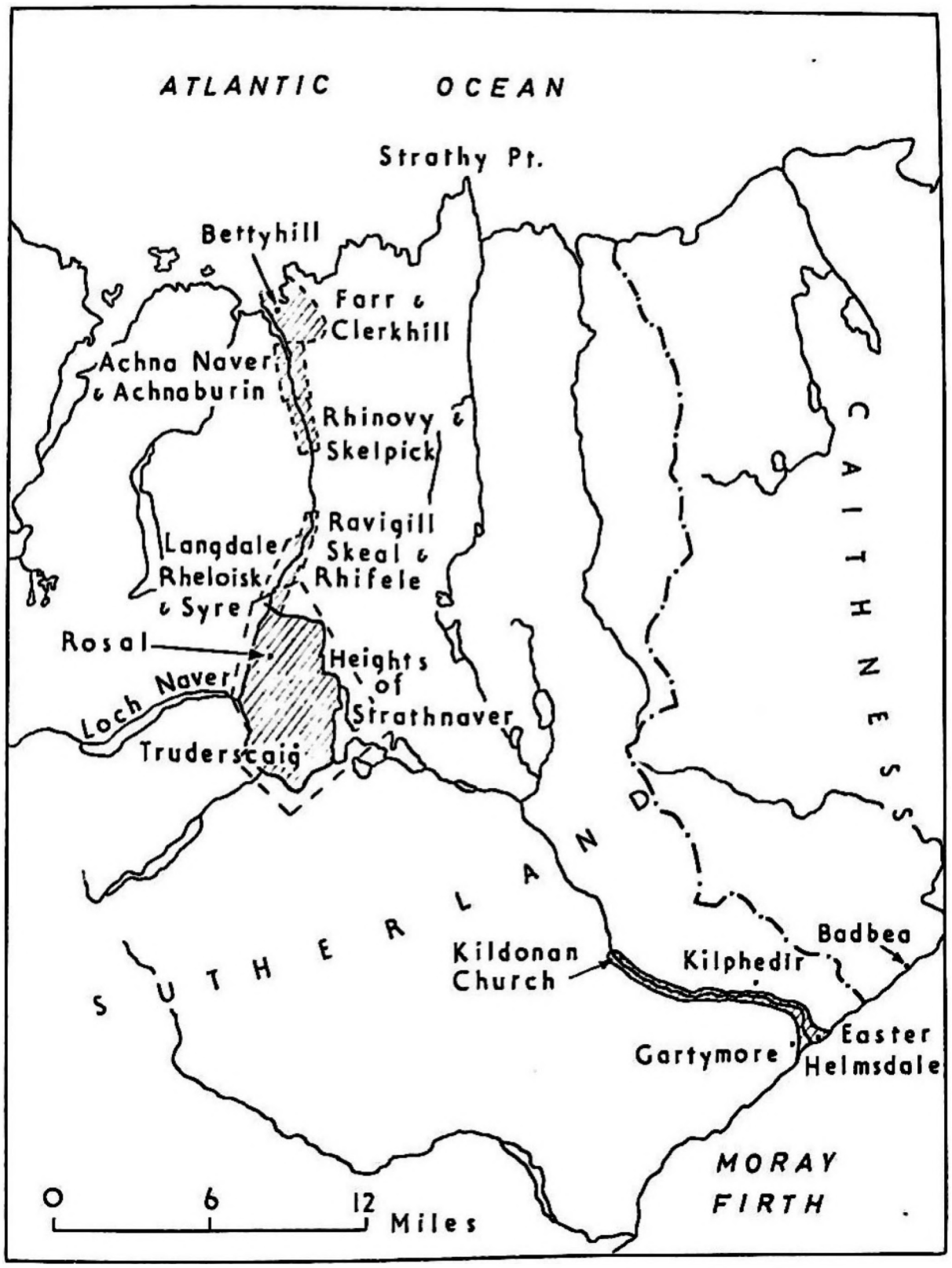
2. "No. IV. Plan of Achna Naver Ackilnaburgie Achlochy and Achnaburin. B.M. 1810."

Scale 10½ inches to 1 Scots mile. 21½ by 17¼ inches. Table of Contents. Good condition on linen back.

3. "No. V. Plan of the Farms of Rhinovy, Skelpick, Aphill, Dalhoraskil, Dalvigas and Achyalagree. B.M. 1810."

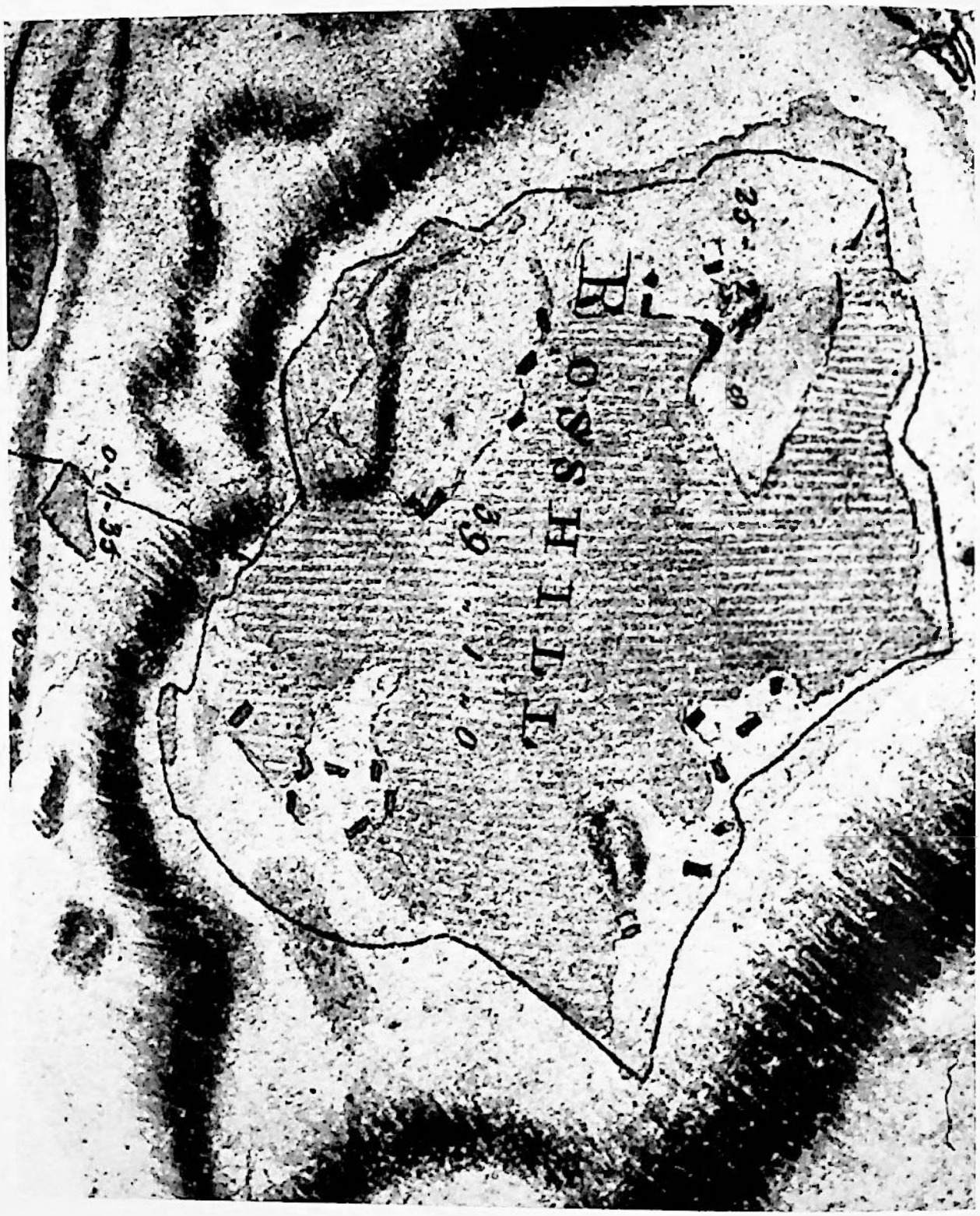
Scale 10½ inches to 1 Scots mile. 22½ by 18 inches. Table of Contents. Good condition on linen back.

4. "No. VII. Plan of the farms of Ravigill, Skeal and Richifele with the small possessions of Girfe and Enishvloundi. B.M. 1810."

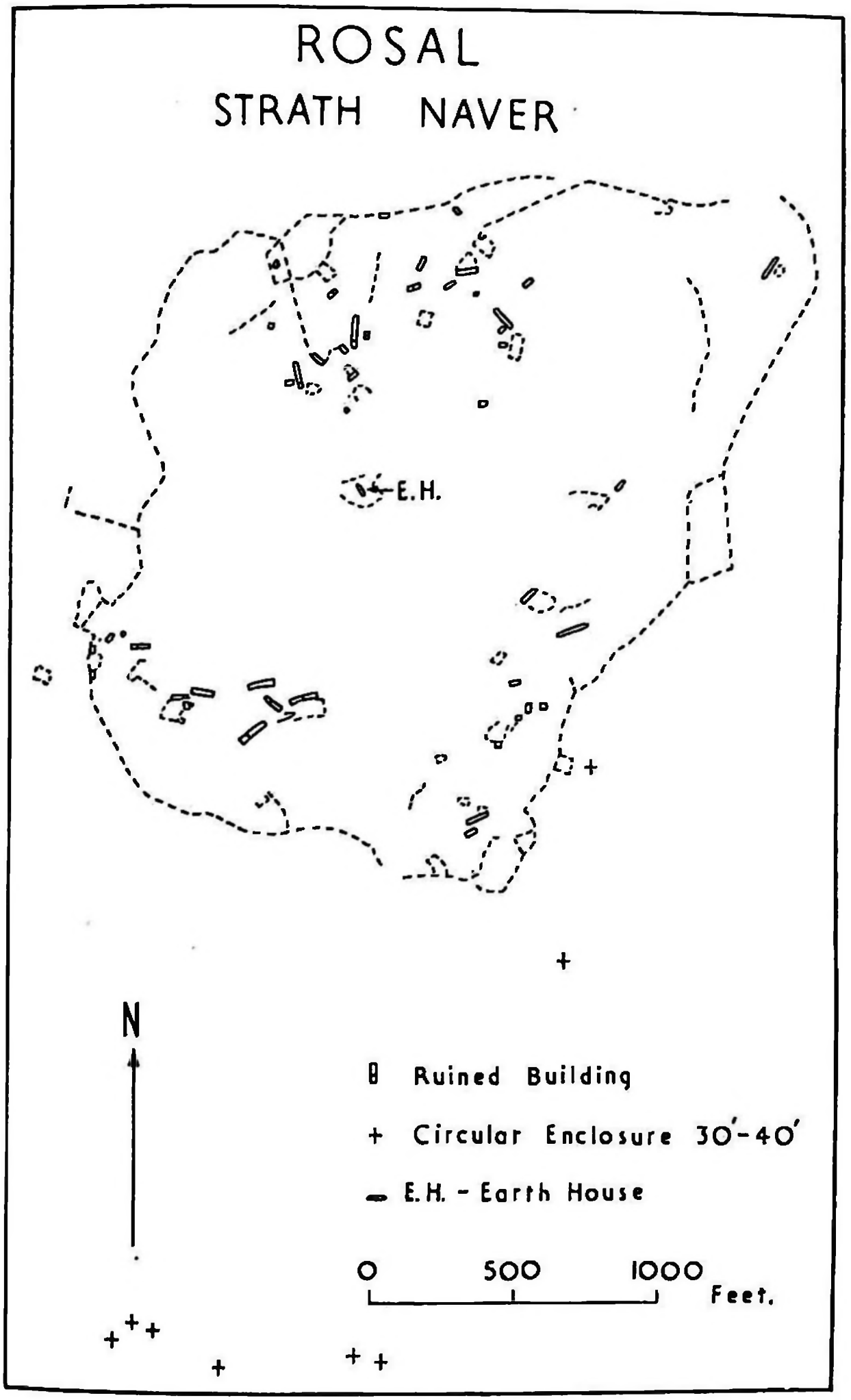


Sutherland showing the areas covered by the plans under discussion (see pp. 2-3 and 9).

PLATE II

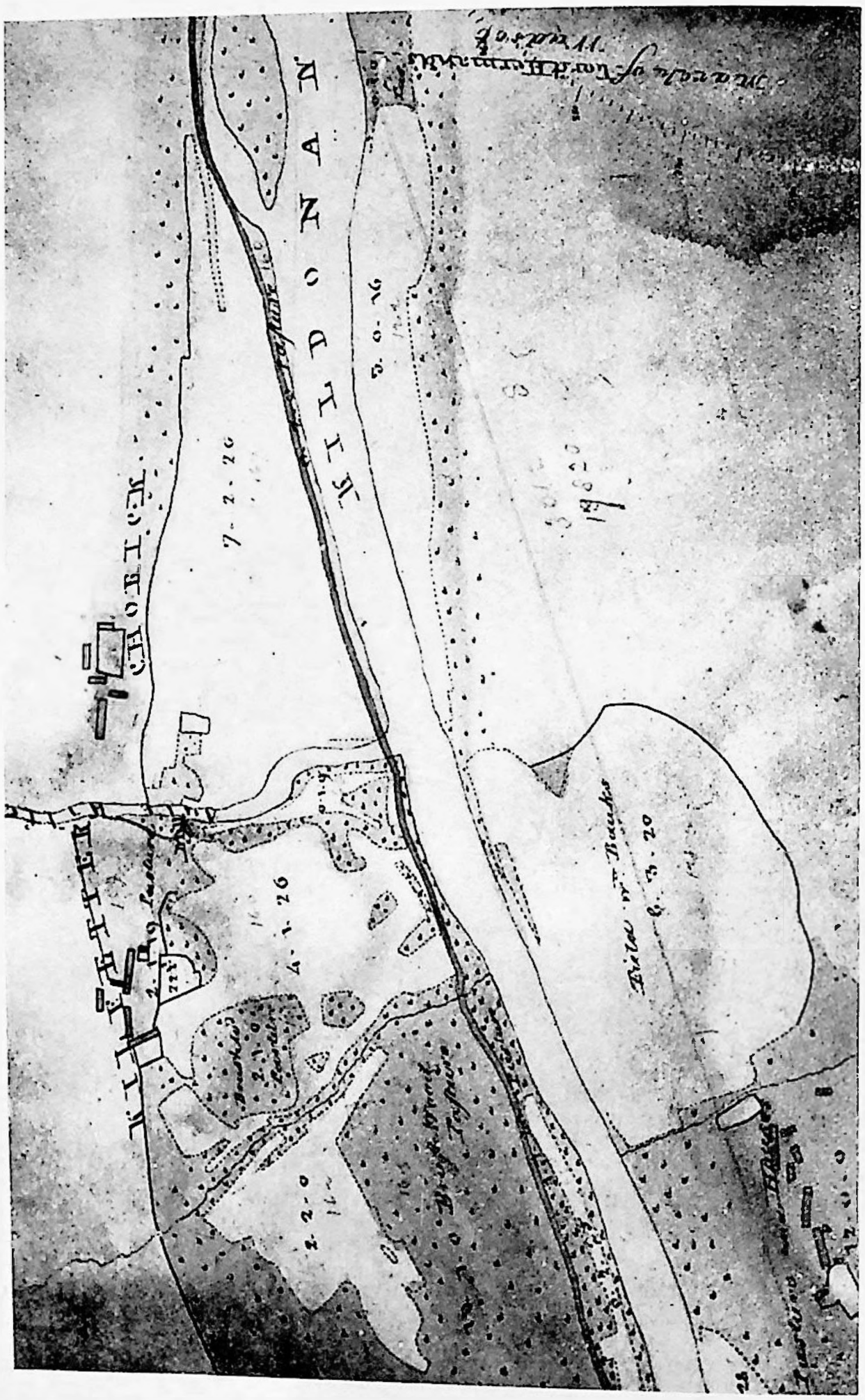


Photograph of the Rosal area as shown on the plan of 1811 and in comparison with the survey of ruined buildings seen in 1962 (Pl. III opposite).

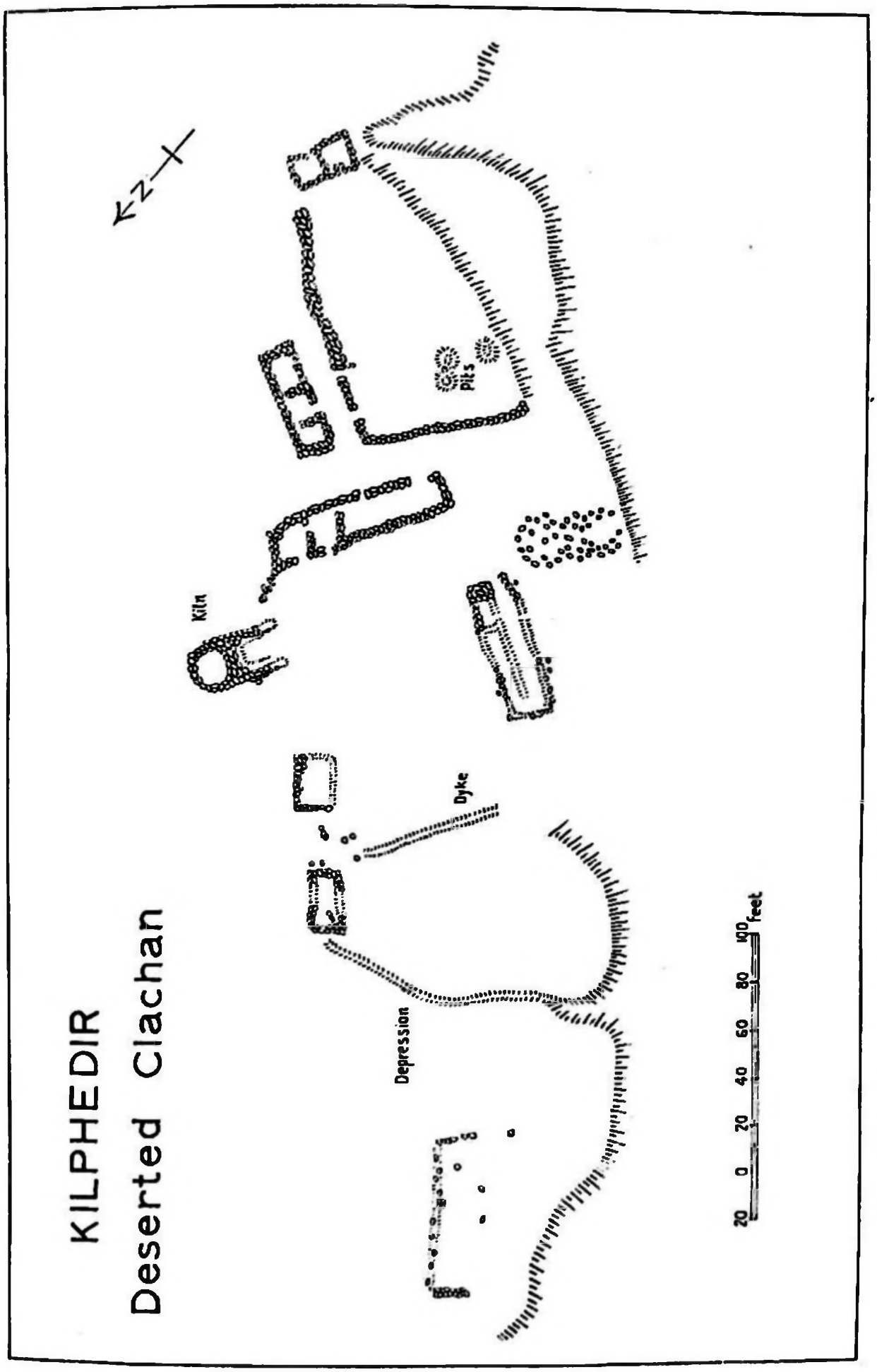


Survey of ruined buildings as seen in 1962 (see p. 5).

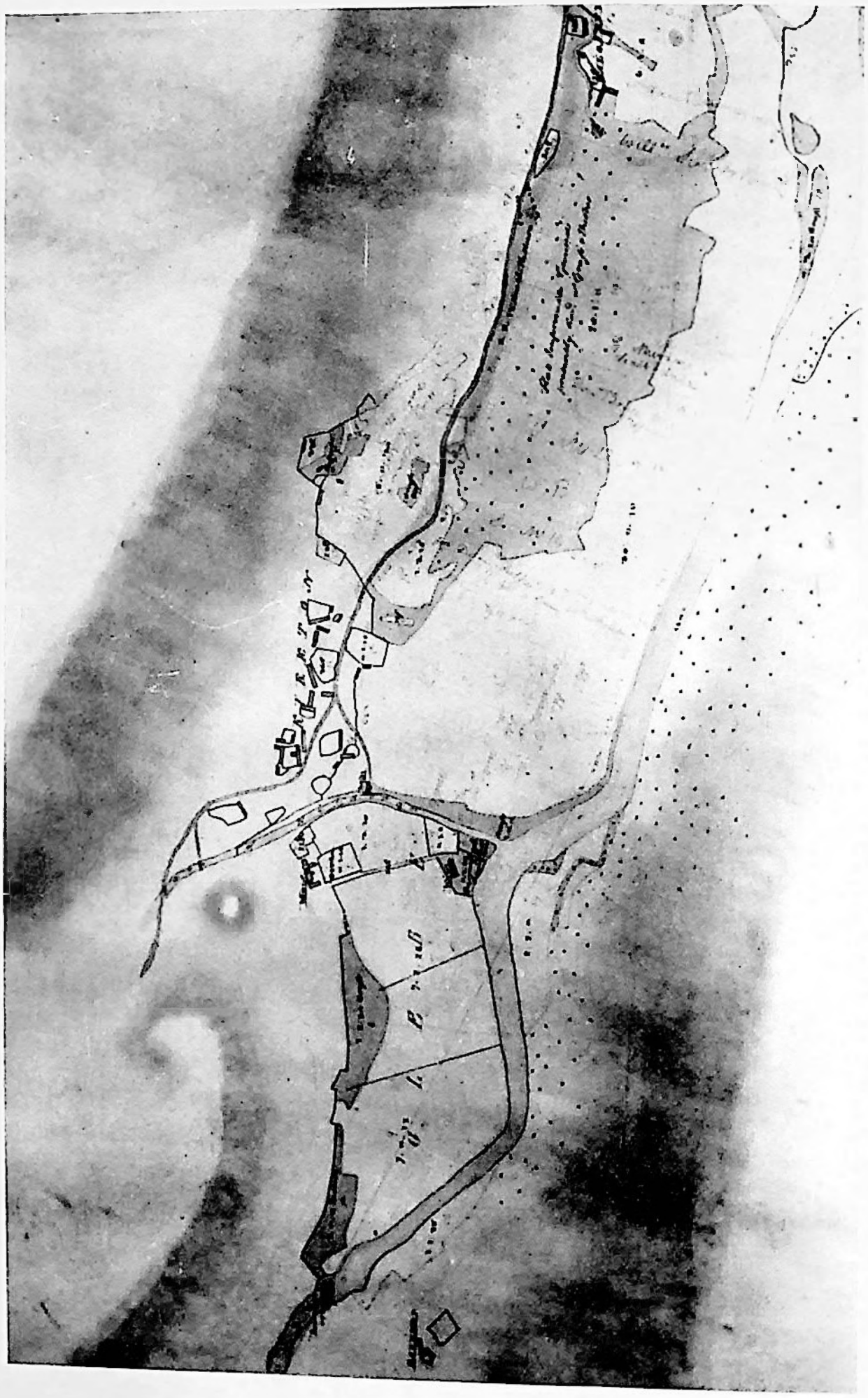
PLATE IV



Photograph of Kilphedir as shown on the early 19th century Dunrobin roll of plans of the Strath of Kildonan, compared with the plan drawn at the Golspie Summer School in Archæological Survey, 1962 (Pl. V opposite).



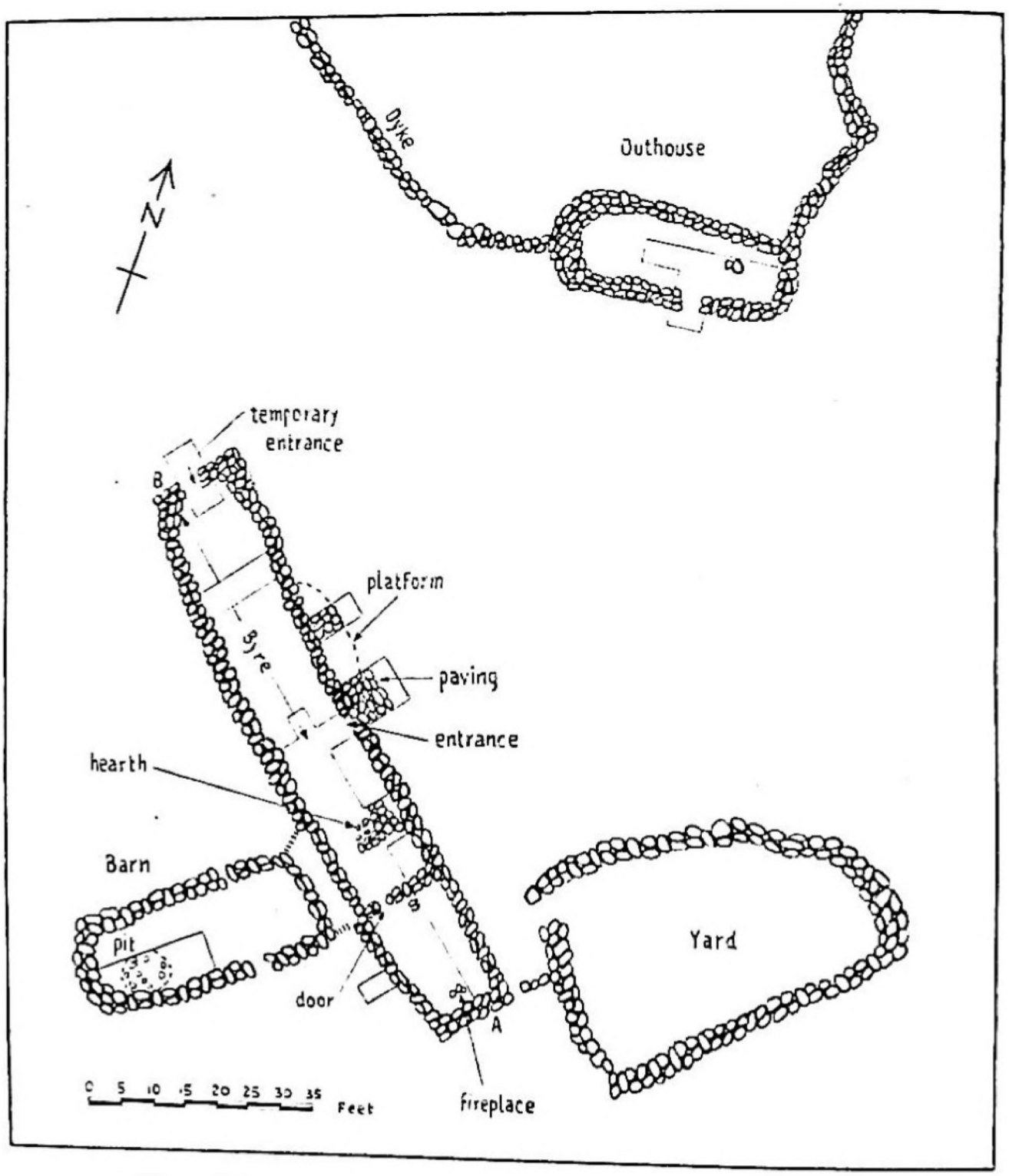
Plan of Kilphedir drawn at the Golspie Summer School in Archæological Survey, 1962 (see pp. 9-10).



Plan of the environs of Kildonan from the early 19th century Dunrobin roll plan (see pp. 10-11).

Photograph of part of Cumming's plan of the Bettyhill area, Strath Naver, in 1818 showing the new lots (see p. 12).

FARM BUILDINGS—ROSAL



Plan of the complex excavated at Rosal in 1962 (see p. 5).

Scale 10½ inches to 1 Scots mile. 22¾ by 18¼ inches. Table of Contents. Good condition on linen back.

5. "No. VIII. Plan of the Farms of Langdale Rheloisk and Syre. B.M. 1810."

Scale 10½ inches to 1 Scots mile. 23 by 18¼ inches. Table of Contents. Good condition on linen back but ink stained along bottom edge.

6. "No. II. Plan of the Farms of Farr & Clerkhill with the small possessions of Crameron Millers Croft and Ministers Glebe, 1810." The signature is almost completely torn off but the work was that of "B.M."

Scale 13 inches to 1 Scots mile. 22¼ by 18 inches. (No table of contents). Condition good on linen back. Vague pencillings occur, e.g. "Lots", "arable".

7. "Plan of the lands loted out in the Parish of Farr from an accurate Survey taken 1818 by Wm. Cumming."

Scale 20½ inches to 1 Scots mile; the plan states that "Scots Chains 74 feet each". 49¼ by 28¾ inches. (No table of contents.) Rather poor condition but on a linen back. The lots are shown as narrow strips with the acreage of (presumably) arable and pasture. Subsequently the site of the Free Church and adjacent School has been sketched in with blue pencil.

8. The Strath of Kildonan from the Kirkton down to the mouth of the Helmsdale River is shown on 6 plans carefully mounted edge to edge to form a roll, 140½ inches long varying between 26¼ and 32¾ inches wide. There is no title, date nor signature but the detail is drawn with meticulous care in a style like that of Cumming in Number 7 preceding, though the lettering is different. Scale 20 inches to the Scots mile. (No table of contents.) Condition good on linen back. The lots of the Helmsdale area have been pencilled in so the plan predates the Clearances and may go back to early in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

9. "Plan of the Ground Alloted for Fishermen at and near Helmsdale. May 1817 by W. Forbes."

Scale 20 inches to 1 Scots mile. 50 by 33¾ inches. (No table of contents.) In the top right is a neat water colour sketch of the bridge, ruined castle and "Corf House" (fish curing house), and the mouth of the Helmsdale River with boats. On the back is a long rent roll signed by Patrick Sellar. The plan, not being mounted, is badly broken and in a very fragile condition. The lots have been indicated in pencil.

NOTES

[1] This volume also contains a report of the trial of his father, Patrick Sellar, and a statement by the latter in his own defence.

[2] A catalogue appears in the appendix.

[3] Mr. R. J. Adam suggests that this may be Benjamin Meredith.

[4] See B. M. W. Third, "The Significance of Scottish Estate Plans and Associated Documents". *Scottish Studies* 1 (1957) 39-64.

[5] It is a pleasure to acknowledge in particular the help of Mr. Gordon Petrie in organising the survey work, and of Dr. John Corcoran in superintending the excavation of an earth house.

[6] The more prominent buildings are clearly indicated on the sheet of the new 6-inch map (O.S. 6-inch sheet NC 74), which pays far more attention to the deserted townships than the old 6-inch map.

[7] See Sage 1889:11, 56-7; *Report of the Trial of Patrick Sellar Esq.*, Edinburgh 1816. (This contains several interesting references); Loch 1820:52-3, 87; Henderson 1815:45.

[8] Similar small enclosures occur frequently in John Home's Survey of Assynt, as noted by R. J. Adam.

[9] See *Report of the Trial of Patrick Sellar, Esq.*, Edinburgh 1816.

[10] A study of the accounts of Patrick Sellar for the period when he was factor on the Sutherland Estates would provide much detailed information on this and many other disputed topics.

[11] Henderson 1815:174 quotes the statement by Aeneas Sage.

[12] Information from Mr. Basil Megaw, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

[13] Loch 1820 describes the planning of Helmsdale as a fish curing harbour; plates are included.

REFERENCES

ADAM, R. J.
1960 *John Home's Survey of Assynt.* Scottish History Society, Third Series, Vol. 52. Edinburgh.

FAIRHURST, H.
1960 "Scottish Clachans." *Scottish Geographical Magazine.* 79:67-76. Edinburgh.

GRIMBLE, IAN
1962 *The Trial of Patrick Sellar.* London.

HENDERSON, Captain JOHN
1815 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sutherland.* London.

INGLIS, H. R. G. (and others)
1934 *The Early Maps of Scotland.* Royal Scottish Geographical Society. Edinburgh.

LOCH, JAMES
1820 *An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford.* London.

MACKENZIE, A.
1883 *The History of the Highland Clearances.* Inverness.

McKERRAL, A.
1943-4 "Ancient Denominations of Agricultural land in Scotland". *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 78:39-80. Edinburgh.

SAGE, DONALD
1889 *Memorabilia Domestica.* Wick.

SELLAR, THOMAS
1883 *The Sutherland Evictions of* 1814. London.

BOATS AND BOATMEN OF ORKNEY AND SHETLAND

J. Y. Mather

He then spoke of St. Kilda, the most remote of the Hebrides. I told him I thought of buying it. JOHNSON: "Pray do, Sir. We will go and pass a winter amid the blasts there. We shall have fine fish, and we will take some dried tongues with us, and some books. We will have a strong-built vessel and some Orkney men to navigate her."

BOSWELL. "Life." *Anno* 1772.

This sea rose very high astern . . . and although the sail was laid down she run in it for a bit (like a field of snow) and took water over both sides . . . I had been brought up with boating since I was a child, but this of course was a bit extra.

CHARLES JOHNSON of North Roe, on the 1881 disaster.

The main purpose of this article is to present, as conveniently as possible, a conspectus of various types of opinion on the boats and boatmen of Orkney and Shetland. The subject is occasionally controversial and has engendered a good deal of devotion on one side or the other. We must try to offer, therefore, some balance and objectivity.

It appears to have become widely and almost conventionally accepted that the Shetland boat has achieved a certain perfection of form denied to others. Thus Captain Halcrow wrote (1950:66): "Through the centuries this *multum in parvo* fishing boat has remained at practically the same stage of development, without alteration in type, hull design, or size. This was because the hull form which gave her better sea qualities than anything else afloat had reached perfection seventeen centuries before she finally vanished from the Northern Seas." Similarly Professor Gordon Donaldson: "Well over a thousand years ago an unknown genius in Norway devised a shape of hull and a method of construction of superlative sea-worthiness. In all the centuries since it has not been found possible to improve on that ancient design in any essential" (Donaldson 1958:47).

The Orkney boat, on the other hand, is often considered to be rather graceless and heavy, and above all, to lack the authentic Norse pedigree with its essential connotation of

perfection of hull form, etc. Thus, "the Shetland boats have nothing in common with the heavily built Orkney 'flatchies' as we call them", wrote R. Stuart Bruce. "Shetland boats are true descendants of Norse longships" (Bruce 1930:200). This from a Shetlander. But even an Orcadian like James Omond (writing in 1882) had to admit that, historically at least, "the boats in use throughout the Orkneys were much inferior in model, construction and rig, to those of the present day. The smaller boats then in use were low 'flattish' things with straight stem and stern-post raking considerably . . . shallow, rudely-constructed 'plashy' things from 11 to 15 feet keel" (Omond 1883:333). And James Hornell, neither a Shetlander nor an Orcadian, and probably not emotionally concerned one way or the other, could at least write: "Shetland boats . . . have little in common with those of the Orkneys, for while the latter have been influenced largely by contact with the East Coast of Scotland, the Shetland craft have maintained the old Norwegian ideas pertaining to boat building methods and design" (Hornell 1946:123).

A somewhat more relative judgment of the virtues of the Shetland boat has been given by Charles Sandison when, in writing of the remarkable lack of Scottish influence on Shetland boat-building, he said: "The reason is clearly that a long period of development has so perfected this model for her particular work that no alteration in form has been possible for at least 70 years, possibly for ten times this period" (Sandison 1954:14). The pragmatic criterion of a perfection qualified by a suitability for a "particular work" will be noted here.

Against all this, however, can be set the developed opinion of James Omond of Stromness in his essay (already noted) on fishing boats for the International Fisheries Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1882 (Omond 1883:332). In dealing with the peculiar problems of cod, ling and haddock fishers who return to harbour daily and are often compelled to sail on a wind and with a weather-going tide, he declared roundly: "The Shetland sixern is certainly not the thing. On a wind and in a hard gale . . . she ships water over the lee side every pitch." We should remember that Omond was writing with the 1881 disaster fresh in his mind. "One is forced to the conclusion," he wrote, "that something is wrong, and the cry for a remedy is a loud one." Something had, in fact, already been heard of the danger to the lee side, for Captain Washington included as evidence in his Report after the Wick disaster of 1848 a letter

from John M. D. Skene of Banff: "The fishermen tell me that no boat was ever lost on this coast by the sea breaking in to windward, that it is invariably the lee lurch which swamps the boat, and they are of opinion that if an inner lee board or plank about 19 inches broad, was run right round the boat to catch the sea as it rolled in to leeward, and run out again as the boat righted, it would be the only improvement they require. . . ." (Washington 1849:63).

In 1899 John Spence gave an opinion which had also been heard in 1849. "Though accidents did occur," he wrote concerning the Shetland haaf-fishing, "yet it is matter for surprise that they were not more frequent. This was not so much owing to the seaworthiness of the boats themselves, as to the skill and dexterity with which they were handled" (Spence 1899:136). Mr. James Peate, Captain Washington's expert assessor, had given precisely this opinion about a variety of boats including the Deal Lugger, the Yarmouth Lugger and the Firth of Forth (Newhaven) boat. The virtue was in the man, he maintained, rather than in the boat. His damning remarks about the Wick herring boat as "having a form that approximates to a spheroid . . . the worst that could be given to a floating body for the useful purpose of a boat", are also well known.

In the light of these types of argument, therefore, we may enquire what sort of development took place in the boats of the Northern Islands, and what sort of influences were at work.

In the first place, we must remember that the sixareen itself is probably the product of a development which took place in Shetland. Christian Ployen, as he sailed from Faroe to Shetland in the schooner "Hector" noted the three-man Shetland boats fishing between Sumburgh Head and Fair Isle. He noted how closely they resembled the Faroese four-man type—a little smaller, that was all (Ployen 1840:3). They were, it is obvious, Ness Yoles or Fair Isle skiffs—without doubt the "true descendants" (as Stuart Bruce said) of the Norse longships. Long and lean, with considerable sheer and high ends, they were eminently suitable for pulling and for the prolific edge-of-tide fishing off Sumburgh (Ployen noted the luxury of a mat of plaited straw to relieve the discomfort of long spells on the thwarts and commended it to the Faroese). Their like might have been seen not only in Faroe, but in Iceland and Norway—in the Nordland type of boat, for instance. They were light, easily beached, and very buoyant in a seaway. They stepped a

single mast amidships and hoisted a square sail which was used for running and not for windward sailing.

Tudor, when he visited Fair Isle (Tudor 1883:438), spoke of them as being very "wet" because of their low amidships freeboard, which is exactly what James Omond said of the sixareen. But we cannot doubt that they were maintained in this very primitive form in order to fulfil a known and unchanging task. For Charles Sandison, in his pamphlet on the sixareen (1954 cit.) notes that saith fishing along the edge of the tide seems to have been confined to the Ness and Fair Isle. The men "rowed the boat as fast as possible through or along the edge of the tide and one worked the line. The boat is long and narrow and no other boat of so extreme a type is found elsewhere in Shetland" (Sandison 1954:11). Until about 1840 such boats were imported, unassembled, from Norway. Warington Smyth (1906:120) maintains that they were most probably the Norwegian three-plank type having, consequently a sharp bilge and a lack of stability under sail, although very easily pulled. (The smaller of the Nordland type is also three-plank.) The purely native boat would have twice as many planks per side and a rounder bilge.

It is this question of a native Shetland development which is crucial. It has been discussed by Sandison who uses Ployen's visit to Shetland as a datum. Now, Ployen was particularly interested in the ling fishing and visited Feideland to observe it (Ployen 1840:39). There, as Sandison notices, he made no reference to any similarity between the boats used and the Faroese type—although he had been quick to notice this on his first sight of the three-man boats off Sumburgh. He had already mentioned, in recounting his passage from Scalloway to Burra Isle in "an ordinary Shetland boat", that "the ordinary fishing boats are of a size of eight-manned boats with us, but considerably broader and rowed by six men. These circumstances evidence that the Shetlanders use the sail more than the oars, and the sail itself indicates the same fact" (Ployen 1840:23). Here, at least, is a development towards the greater use of sail in a beamier boat. Moreover, Ployen also remarked how much more effective was the Shetland bowline than the Faroese, for keeping a taut luff, so essential for sailing on the wind.

What is really significant and important in Ployen's observations on the use of sail is the comparison he makes with the Faroese boat (which, for our purpose, can be relied on to

be of pure, conservative, Norse pedigree). So that in Shetland the tendency was towards something beamier, more adapted to sailing on the wind, and more particularly adapted to a fishing other than the traditional edge-of-tide type, with its basic requirement of a handy, pulling boat.

Some sort of support for the desirability of this tendency is to be found in a recent series of articles in the "New Shetlander" by one of Shetland's most devoted students of the sixareen, J. J. Laurenson of Aith, Fetlar, whose great fund of knowledge and tradition is most engagingly stated and should be attentively studied (Laurenson 1963). In considering the losses in the gale of 1881, Laurenson notices that although the boats of 21 feet keel did quite well (e.g. the Fetlar boats "Spray" and "Maggie"), "still it was found that the bigger boat with higher free-board fared better. This seems to be made clear when it is recalled that the island's largest boat the "Southern Air" sailed through the area where the boats had failed without any appreciable difficulty. It is believed that this sixern was the largest in the North Isles. She had a keel length of 24 feet and was full built. . . ." We can only suppose that the "higher free-board" and the "full-build" saved the "Southern Air". We can imagine that James Omond would certainly have approved.

But there is further evidence of this tendency in Shetland. Hibbert had also visited Feideland in 1817 and had spoken quite precisely of a "fleet of yawls" where "six tenants join in . . . a yawl of six oars" at the haaf-fishing (Hibbert 1822: 222). They were imported from Norway and he gives their measurements which are, Sandison states, "the proportions of a Norway yawl and not of a sixareen". Hence, he concludes, "it is certain . . . that between the years 1817 and 1839 a new type of haaf-boat came into common use, and that for this fishing at least she had by the latter date largely replaced the boats from Norway" (Sandison 1954:28).

Ployen's observations on the use of the sail in Shetland are interesting, for there is a certain body of opinion which points exactly the other way. Thus Tudor, although he noted that Sir Walter Scott seemed to have formed the opinion while travelling in the islands, that the Shetlanders were better at managing a boat under sail than the Orcadians, nevertheless remarked that "whatever it may have been then, it certainly is not the case at the present day among the regular boatmen. When in Shetland, to cross a dirty bit of firth, you require, or

are told you require, a big boat and six men; in the Southern group, where the tideways are much stronger, two men will serve your turn as well. A Shetlander almost always cuts a string of tide under oars, an Orcadian under canvas" (Tudor 1883:321). R. Stuart Bruce explains that the fine lines of the Shetland boat are maintained because the boats are greatly used for pulling, whereas the beamier Orkney boats are generally sailed (Bruce 1930:200). A recent writer in the "New Shetlander" maintained that in the early years of the haaf-fishing, sixareens were always rowed unless the wind was fair, and that tacking was unknown as a technique or at least not practised. In fact, "I have heard it said that this way of sailing was first introduced by men who had served as hands on sailing ships in the south, and had there learned to use the sail in this way" (J.H.J. 1962:12).

However this may be, it is certain that the Shetlanders used the sail with most redoubtable skill in really bad weather. Indeed, the whole subject of the dual management (towsman and steersman) of a sixareen in a gale of wind is of the deepest technical interest. There are one or two classical, and by now almost legendary, accounts. (And to these J. J. Laurenson has added one or two more.) The account given by an 1881 survivor, Charles Johnson of North Roe, for example, says, "We close-reefed the sail, put the tack forat and two men took the halyards. The sail was not meant for speed. It's to set to take her away from the seas, and they will be better able to manage her among the seas having the sail to set" (Halcrow 1950: Appendix I). Or again, in the account given to Hibbert of a voyage to the Haaf by a Feideland fisherman "we row'd oot upon him till we sank a' da laigh land . . . de'el a stane o' Shetland did we see except da tap o' Roeness hill and da Pobies o' Unst." But when the bad weather came it was "fit da mast and swift da sail" for the boat was heavy with fish, and "wha's geean ta row under her sic a dae?" Almost immediately a sea made and broke into the low waist of the sixareen almost swamping her, but eventually by sailing when conditions were suitable and rowing when not "we wrought on rowing an' sailing till, by God's Providence we gat ashore about aught o'clock at night" (Hibbert 1822:224).

These considerations in the development of the sixareen, whether indigenous or not, will serve as a convenient point to return to an examination of the opinion with which we began, namely, the *absolute* virtues of the Shetland boat.

It is possible to see, in comparing the types of boats used in the Northern Islands, a microcosm of a historical dichotomy in boat types in Europe. The study of this dichotomy has been developed in a somewhat controversial book by T. C. Lethbridge (1952) to which we now draw attention. Lethbridge's thesis is: first, the fine-lined double-ended "longship" (i.e. the Shetland type) did not originate in the North but in the Mediterranean—the Ligurian pirate galley, for instance, is such a type; and second, the "roundship" (i.e. the Orkney type), which also came from the Mediterranean is a safer, drier and altogether finer sea-boat—it is the ancient Roman trading-vessel and it has, in fact, made its way at the expense of the other type, as witness scaffies, fifies, zulus and modern motor fishing vessels. What the North *did* contribute, especially to the "longship", was clinker-build. And it is this fact which has often been a source of error on the actual provenance of the type. Thus Lethbridge writes: "In Britain itself the round Roman boat type has remained in favour everywhere. Norfolk beach-boats, Scottish skiffs, fifies, and zulus, and so on round the coast to Cornwall and the Channel, all retain the body form of the Roman type even though the build is clinker . . . . Because many of these boats are clinker-built and some are known as yawls, it has long been believed that the type originated in the North . . . I do not believe this. The type originated in the Mediterranean and the build came from the North. One has only to compare the yoles of Orkney with those of Shetland to see this. The Orkney yoles are of the round type, which can be found right down to Cornwall or East Anglia, while the Shetland boats are the long narrow form of the Faroes, Norway and Iceland" (Lethbridge 1952:144).

I am aware, of course, that there are two main types of boat in Orkney which can themselves conform to a "long" type (the Westray skiff) and the "round" type (the South Isles yole), but I do not pursue this here, except to state that Lethbridge's remarks obviously refer to the South Isles type in particular. (This is even "rounder" in form than the North Isles yole.) I add, however, for interest some measurements I took in Summer 1963 of an old North Isles yole and a Westray skiff (both over 50 years old) lying in the punds at Bewan, North Ronaldsay. The yole: overall length 15 feet (keel 12 feet 3 inches) by 6 feet 6 inches beam. The skiff: overall length 18 feet (keel 14 feet) by 6 feet 4 inches beam. Thus the yole is 3 feet shorter for approximately the same beam. There is,

incidentally, a fine selection of old Orkney craft (of ages up to about 80 years, and by builders like Scott and Oman) drawn up at Kettletoft, Sanday. And there is a fine type of South Isles yole (aged about 60 and built on Swona) at Bur Wick, South Ronaldsay.

Now, one way of interpreting the significance of Ployen's observation of the beamier Shetland boat is to think of it as developing, quite pragmatically, in the direction of the "round" type. It is interesting to notice that such a development did in fact take place within the historic Norse tradition. G. J. Marcus, for instance, notes the existence of a *byrðingr*, which was not a *langskip*, but "which was short and broad in the beam . . . (it) was largely employed in the coasting trade, notably in the carriage of stockfish from the Lofoten Islands to Bergen" (1953:115). Professor Brøgger also directs attention to the early similarity and subsequent differentiation of Norse warships and merchant ships. "Till about 1300," he writes, "there was no great difference of basic type . . . . But the different use led by degrees to an inevitable change in shape. . . . The main object in the warships was sailing speed, in the merchant ships a large capacity. And gradually another standard of measurement creeps in for them than we are used to with warships, which are measured in rooms. The trading ships are measured in *lasts* according to capacity. . . . They had a rounder form, a bigger free-board and a deeper draught than the longships. As they were designed almost exclusively for sailing, in most cases the mast was fixed" (Brøgger and Shetelig 1951:234).

Omond maintained that the development in Orkney from the flat "plashy" vessels to something more seaworthy was a deliberate development to meet particular conditions. The South Isles yole was developed in the strong tidal conditions of the Pentland Firth as the Stroma and Swona pilot-boat. (Here, Omond claims to speak with special knowledge as having lived on Swona for some time.) The main hazards here, perhaps even more than in Shetland, were the dangerous "tide-lumps" and the menace of swamping leewater which Omond considered such a weakness in the sixareen. So that the Orkney boat developed, as he said, with a deeper hold, "and the mould fuller in general". Furthermore, it is now sprit-rigged. Although these boats are still wet when close-reefed in a head sea, yet "their qualities are swiftness, they carry a good cargo, scud well and are fairly weatherly under

double reefs. . . . My object in drawing attention to these smaller boats is to bring under notice their qualities, and because they are the origin of the larger herring fishing-boat peculiar to the Orkneys" (Omond 1883:335).

This last is the important point. We must remember that a herring-fishing vessel, especially when working in the offing, must have all the virtues, including the virtue of carrying-capacity for her catch. She must be *byrðingr* as well as *langskip*. And this, at least, was the direction in which the Pentland pilot-boat was developing. Now, "fifty years ago" says Omond, (i.e. just about the time of Ployen's visit to Shetland) "the boats employed in the Orkney herring-fishing . . . were the exact counterpart of the pilot-boat previously mentioned, a trifle fuller built in some instances, with more depth of hold, but almost identical in mould and rig" (*ibid*). So much for Orkney. But, if we follow the evidence of Ployen, we shall find that Shetland had come to no sort of certainty about the best type of boat with which to prosecute the herring fishing. In the first place, Ployen noticed that they were smaller than the herring boats of Orkney and Scotland, but although more or less consistent in size were variable in build and rig. "Some of them are sharp both fore and aft, some have a flat stern and broad bow, some have one mast with a large spret sail, foresail and jib, others have two masts and a big lug sail—in short, there is the greatest variety. It is clear that the herring fishery, being still a new industry in Shetland, the people have not yet come to any fixed persuasion as to which is best adapted for the purpose" (Ployen 1840:170).

Nevertheless, these varied types seemed to indicate a growing desire for something new. Gradually the "half-deckers" appeared, i.e. vessels having a short decked fo'castle, but with all else open. It was maintained by many that for the working of nets an open boat with a clear gunwale which could serve as a fulcrum for a man's chest, gave balance and security to the fisherman (Anon. 1851:595). Halcrow calls these half-deckers the "hybrid link between sixearn and smack". And, clearly, some sort of development was required. The fishing tenures in Shetland were becoming exploited by landlords in the direction of this "new industry" of herring fishing—and for this the sixareen was very much less than perfect. Herrings can be caught in vast quantities, and the actual catching and carrying capacity of the sixareen was inadequate. It is true that there were spectacular, if somewhat isolated successes. Captain

Halcrow (1950:134) mentions a sixareen, rowed and sailed to Wick from Northmavine in 1862, which completed a very successful season. And there was even a large sixareen, owned by Robert Irvine, which was built with a foredeck. Nevertheless, the half-deckers brought up from Scotland had the virtue of adaptability for both haaf and herring fishing, and they afforded in addition some slight protection for the men and some facilities for cooking food. Even so the men were conservative. The Scots boats were heavy and could not be hauled up, but had to lie to an anchor and be manned and watched. Nor, to quote Captain Halcrow "did the lugger appeal to the square-rig complex of the Shetlander, who was both fisher and sailor. For once the landmasters do not appear to have pressed the point, nevertheless they brought the luggers north as fast as they could find skippers and crews to assume financial responsibility. Those craft soon proved their value as herring fishers, having twice the catching capacity of the sixearn. This fact and the terrible disaster of 1832 gave the land magnates their opportunity. Realising that a fleet of half-deckers would have a better chance of survival in the same circumstances, the grief-subdued fishermen gave way and accepted them without further protest. But they never ousted the sixearn, although the two fishings were no longer on the same economic plane" (Halcrow 1950:131).

Eventually, at least one "fixed persuasion" to which the Shetlanders came, was the adoption of smack rig, i.e. gaff and boom as against the Scottish dipping lug (Halcrow 1950:136; Norton 1960:97; Warington Smyth 1906:104). Indeed, many luggers brought from Scotland were immediately converted to smacks. Orkney, certainly by 1882, had abandoned the pilot-boat rig, for Omond observed that "at present scarce one of the old yawls remains, being almost if not entirely supplanted by the firthy and the smack rig".

The "firthy" (sc. Moray Firth) rig can possibly still be seen in Orkney. It is usually a dipping high-peaked, free-footed foresail with the tack to the stem-head, and jib, and a standing-lug mizzen with boom. One advantage is that the fore-mast can be shorter and still achieve a considerable peak in the sail. The mizzen can be dispensed with altogether in wintertime. One wonders, incidentally, for just how long two masts have been common on small vessels in Orkney. (The Shetland sixareen, it will be recalled, in conformity with her Norse ancestry, only had one.) The sketches which accompany

Omond's article, even of the old "plashy" vessels, all show two masts. And an interesting entry given by Dr. Hugh Marwick (1926:15) speaks of a boat ordered to be built and "readie upon the shoare of Kirkwall" by March 1633, as being required to have "twa masts, twa raes, and sex oares".

What of the boatmen of Orkney and Shetland? J. J. Laurenson's list of the names and exploits of the Fetlar skippers of old reads like Paul's citation in the eleventh of Hebrews. We have already referred to one or two accounts of quite heroic incident. Hibbert was perverse enough to dismiss the terse and artless account of the incident at the haaf from the Northmavine man (which he included in his "Description" apparently only as a sample of Shetland dialect) as possessing "little or no interest as a mere narrative" and as given "in all its native rudeness and prolixity" (1822:223). This was not the attitude of a hundred years later when Charles Johnson's account of the 1881 disaster, recounted fifty years after the event, was printed in Manson's *Nautical Almanac and Directory* for 1932 and is treasured on the shelves of a thousand Shetland homes. There we can feel all the controlled excitement—terror even—of incidents such as running a breaking sea ("like a field of snow") upon which Johnson comments in a style as laconic as the Sagas themselves: "I had been brought up with boating since I was a child, but this of course was a bit extra". In the same way we feel that Hibbert would have done better to have marked the seamanlike adaptability (as well as the seamanlike piety) of his Feideland fisherman, conveyed in such a gem as:

> "So I guid i' the starn, and just as we gae sail, he made a watter aff o' da fore kaib, and when he brook, he took Hackie aff o' da skair taft, and laid him i' da shott. Dan I cried to Gibbie, for God's sake to strik da head oot o' da drink kig and ouse da boat; da watter wis up at da fasta bands, bit wi' God's help we gat her toom'd before anither watter cam. When the east tide ran aff, noo said I, lads, we'll tak doon da sail an row in upon him. So we did sae,—and when da wast tide made, we gae sail agin and ran east upon him, and faith we lay upo' Vallyfield in Unst, and we wrought on rowing an' sailing till, by God's Providence, we gat ashore about aught o'clock at night. O man, dat wis a foul dae!" (1822:224.)

Dr. Johnson, it is obvious, held the Orkneymen in high esteem as seamen. Indeed, they seem to have been in some demand in the latter half of the eighteenth century. For example, there is a postscript to a letter of Captain Forbes,

factor on the Cromarty (forfeited) estate dated at Beaufort 2nd August, 1763: "None of the sailors will agree to go to Lewis. I have other two boats ready which will be delivered this week, but I am afraid to provide more least the Orkney people don't come" (Miller 1909:113). Later, their public image became somewhat dulled by the devastating opposition of "fisherman" and "farmer" which Tudor popularised. He quoted for his readers what is now a familiar enough aphorism: "The Shetlander is a fisherman who has a farm; the Orcadian a farmer who has a boat" (Tudor 1883:104). Perhaps the opposition was unfortunate. Readers of "Captains Courageous" will remember that it was said of Uncle Salters that "there ain't water enough 'tween here an' Hatt'rus to wash the furrer-mould off'n his boots. He's jest everlasting farmer". Yet Uncle Salters was also a splendid, if somewhat unlucky, seaman—and the finest cod-splitter on the Grand Banks, we are told.

Of course, in these matters there is much that is contingent upon circumstance. Scott, for example (Lockhart 1837:205), observed that the Orcadians neglected fishing in favour of agriculture, which was the very reverse of the Shetlanders. But already, in the First Statistical Account, the Rev. William Clouston had assured his readers that it was kelp-burning which was really to blame, at least on Sanday and North Ronaldsay, where the inhabitants could not even find time to fish for lobsters, at least for commerce. (Dogfish were always fished for and eaten by the Orcadians which apparently earned them the hearty contempt of the Shetlanders.) At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, in 1804, Patrick Neill observed that the shoals of herring which came annually into the Pentland Firth and Scapa Flow were not taken by the Orcadians because they could not afford suitable nets. Hence in parishes like Orphir and Holm, adjacent to Scapa Flow, he observed people starving from want, while the seas teemed with food (1806:64). Seventy years later a professional observer like Holdsworth also observed that cultivation absorbed most of the Orcadians' energies to the great neglect of the fishing. He wrote: "There is no reason to doubt that there are plenty of fish of various kinds on the coast, but they change their localities a good deal, and the Orcadians are not all such thoroughbred fishermen as to follow up their profession under many difficulties" (1874:301).

There has been a rather persistent attitude of mind which

has imputed to fishermen (and, indeed, to all seamen) much that they would not have claimed for themselves. Very often, for instance, they have been thought to possess a mysterious skill in pilotage which in fact is only the unconscious application of an experience patiently and consciously acquired. It can be observed in machine-minders no less than in seamen. Similarly, much has been made of "the call of the sea" or "the sea in the blood", which (in my experience) falls with a somewhat precious jingle on seamen's ears. Latterly, we have schooled ourselves to be unromantic and hard-headed about these fishermen, and we believe that the discipline has enabled us to penetrate, quite realistically, to the heart of their situation. Our analyses show them as fishing, or cultivating, or burning kelp or rendering dog-fish livers for oil, but we forget that these are *our* analyses, not theirs, and they reflect our own preoccupation with society—a society which is also dedicated, in one of its academic aspects at least, to the systematic analysis of theirs. Whitehead, it will be remembered, thought of Gibbon as writing not one but two, histories—the history of the Roman Empire and the history of his own situation in the climate of opinion of the eighteenth century. Thus, in our own limited field, although we scorn the mysterious skills, we hypostatise the sociological patterning. Truly, as R. G. Collingwood observed "the historian's data are the entire present". Hence, a principle of indeterminacy forever dogs us, so that of the matters we have been discussing we might say what Masefield said of sailing ships, but possibly in a more recondite sense than he intended:

> They mark our passage as a race of men,
> Earth will not see such ships as those agen.

REFERENCES

ANON.
1851 "Fishing for Herring." *Household Words*, Vol. III:595.

BRUCE, R. STUART
1930 Note in *Mariner's Mirror* 16:200. London.

BRØGGER & SHETELIG
1951 *The Viking Ships* (English translation. Katherine John). Oslo.

CLOUSTON, J. STORER
1927 *The Orkney Parishes*. Kirkwall.

DONALDSON, GORDON
1958 *Shetland Life Under Earl Patrick*. Edinburgh.

HALCROW, Captain.
1950 *The Sail Fishermen of Shetland*. Lerwick.

HIBBERT, SAMUEL
1822 *Description of the Shetland Islands.* Edinburgh (reprinted Lerwick 1891).
HOLDSWORTH, E. W. H.
1874 *Deep-sea Fishing and Fishing Boats.* London.
HORNELL, JAMES
1946 "The Significance of the Dual Element in British Fishing Boat Construction." *Folk-Liv* 10:113-26. Stockholm.
J.H.J.
1962 "Days of the Haaf Fishing—Some notes from Northmavine." *New Shetlander* 61:11-12. Lerwick.
LAURENSON, J. J.
1963 "Da Sixern Days." *New Shetlander* 63:20-22; 64:25-7; 65:22-3; 66:7-8.
LETHBRIDGE, T. C.
1952 *Boats and Boatmen.* London.
LOCKHART, J. G.
1837 *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott.* Vol. III. Edinburgh.
MARCUS, G. J.
1953 "Navigation of the Norsemen." *Mariner's Mirror* 39:112-31. London.
MARWICK, H.
1926 "Boat Building Specifications. 1662." *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 5:15.
MILLAR, A. H. (ed.)
1909 *A Selection of Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers* 1715-1745. Scottish History Society Publications 57. Edinburgh.
NEILL, PATRICK
1806 *Tour Through Some of the Islands of Orkney and Shetland.* Edinburgh.
OMOND, J.
1883 "Model of the Safest and Handiest Sailing Fishing-Boat, as to Hull, Sails, Spars and Rig." Essay No. XXIV in *Fish and Fisheries.* Ed. David Herbert.
NORTON, P.
1959 *The End of the Voyage.* London.
PLOYEN, CHRISTIAN
1840 *Reminiscences of a Voyage to Shetland, Orkney and Shetland.* Translation Catherine Spence. Second edition 1896. Lerwick.
SANDISON, C.
1954 *The Sixareen and her Racing Descendants.* Lerwick.
SMYTH, H. WARINGTON
1906 *Mast and Sail in Europe and Asia.* London.
SPENCE, JOHN
1899 *Shetland Folk Lore.* Lerwick.
TUDOR, J. R.
1883 *The Orkneys and Shetland.* London.
WASHINGTON, Captain
1849 "Report". *Parliamentary Papers* 51: i-xxiii, 1-73. London.

THREE LEGENDS FROM THE AYRSHIRE COAST

Richard Bauman

Introduction

The three legends presented below were recorded in November, 1962, from the recitation of Mr. Alexander Archibald, Sergeant of police in Prestwick, Ayrshire. Sergeant Archibald was born in Ballantrae in 1912, and has lived most of his life in Ayrshire. He combines the talents of an expert and entertaining raconteur with a love of the stories and traditions of his native district, with the result that his fund of material, and certainly his eagerness to share it, seems endless.

All three stories have been strongly localised, both geographically and historically, along the coast of Ayrshire between Ayr and Ballantrae, yet all have more widespread connections, the most important of which are discussed in the notes following each tale. The discussions are preceded by annotation from standard reference works. For further information the reader is referred directly to the works cited.

The Origin of Ailsa-Craig—Text

This is a tale from Arran. The *cailleach* of Arran—she used to develop cannibalistic tendencies like her pal Sawney Beane,[1] and would straddle the channel between Kilmorey in the south of Arran and Carrick in Ayrshire, and when the ships come up she would drop stones on them, you see, and she would sink the ships and grab the cargo and eat the men. And one day a French skipper saw this, but by a very adroit handling of his mizzen-mast he tickled her in the obvious place that you would expect a Frenchman to tickle a woman, and she let a skelloch out and dropped the stone in a shallow part of the sea, and that was Ailsa Craig. The Frenchman apparently escaped.

Annotation

Motifs: Thompson 1955.
F531.3.2. Giant throws a great rock.
A955.6. Islands from stones cast by giantess.
F531.3.5.4*. Giantess stands astride ocean channel.
G11.2. Cannibal giant.
R219.3*. Escape from giantess by tickling her.
Valerie Höttges 1937.
Type AI—Erklärungssagen: Steinwurf und Steintragen der Riesen. Motiv 1—Steinwurf ohne Ziel.
Cf. no. 3: Riesen von Schwarzenbeck warfen die Steine, die im Hamfelder Teich liegen.
Cf. no. 4: Lübecker Riesen warfen mit Steinen und liessen sie im Spiel übers Wasser laufen. Daher Land und See voller Steine.
Motiv 4—Stein- und Hammerwurf der Riesen gegen Menschen und andere Wesen.
Type B IV—Erlebnissagen: Räuberriesen.
Motiv 45—Riesen als Menschenfresser.
Reidar Th. Christiansen 1958.
Types 5020 ff. "Norwegian legends in which the trolls play a part are usually connected with some local landmark such as isolated boulders and stones, steep valleys and creeks, striking formations of hills, etc.; all explained as being caused by the activities of trolls in former days . . . parallels may be found in many other countries. These have not been included in the index, because of being primarily told as explanations, and accordingly having decided local characteristics."

Discussion

There are several features which make Sergeant Archibald's version of this international legend particularly Scottish. Geographical localisation aside, the most important of these is the nature of the supernatural creature to whom the origin of Ailsa Craig is attributed, the Cailleach of Arran. The *cailleach* is a creature native to Irish and Scots Gaelic tradition, having the same name in both languages. The words "hag" and "witch" are the most commonly employed English equivalents. These hags, sometimes of superhuman size as well as power, are often localised, both in Ireland (ÓSúilleabháin 1942:447) and in Scotland: the Rev. A. M. MacFarlane has written that

in the period between one hundred and two hundred years ago, "there was scarcely a parish in the Highlands but had its 'cailleach,' some more than one" (1927-8:139). The Isle of Arran, being very much a part of the area sharing what might be called Highland culture, would naturally have had its *cailleach* as well. The persistence of the Gaelic name in Ayrshire, long after the disappearance of Gaelic itself, may be accounted for by recalling that the Clyde provided a much-travelled avenue of intercourse between Arran and Ayrshire, a connecting link rather than a boundary. We may note in this connection that the source of Sergeant Archibald's version of the tale was a Ballantrae fisherman, who had in all probability made the voyage to Arran many times himself. It is understandable that the tale of the Cailleach of Arran should have achieved currency in Ayrshire, as her great left foot was firmly planted in Carrick as she watched for ships to waylay.

The motif of the rocks thrown to sink ships subsequently becoming landmarks is also to be found in a story contained in Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *Historical Account of the Belief in Witchcraft in Scotland* (London and Glasgow 1884) 19 f. The tradition relates that Saint Patrick, his holy work in Scotland having antagonised the Devil, was pursued by witches to the banks of the Clyde, where he found a boat and attempted to make his escape over the water. The witches broke off great fragments of rock from a neighbouring hill and hurled them after the fleeing boat. The rocks fell short of their target and formed Dumbarton Rock. So holy a man as Saint Patrick would presumably not have taken the practical course of action followed by the quick-witted French skipper in a similar situation. Without knowing the source of Sharpe's anecdote, it is impossible to say with certainty, but it seems at least possible that the creatures which Sharpe calls witches were in fact *cailleachan* originally.

Some versions of the legend describing the origin of Ailsa Craig omit altogether the element of cannibalism, and therefore the French skipper or any other character with the same function. These merely relate that Ailsa Craig was dropped in the ocean by giants, or witches, or the Devil himself, on their way over to Ireland. Two such versions may be found in Robert Lawson's *Ailsa Craig: Its History and Natural History* (Paisley 1895), and in the *Official Guide to Girvan* (1963 edition). Several of many parallels to this story from elsewhere in Scotland may be found in the section relating to "Landmarks

Formed by Witches," in R. M. Robertson's *Selected Highland Folktales* (Edinburgh and London 1961) 100 f.

The Heir to Knockdolian—Text

Where the River Stinchar runs into the sea—the Waters of Moyle, the lovely poetic name for that part between Scotland, Galloway and Ireland in the old days—there were a lot of mermaids in there. This mermaid was accredited with being very beautiful: she had long yellow hair, fish tail, and all that sort of thing, and she used to swim up the River Stinchar every night to a beautiful pool in which there was a stone, a large boulder; and this pool still is a lovely salmon pool if you want a day's fishing on it. And beside it was the ancient Castle of Knockdolian. Knockdolian is the hill, shaped, funnily enough, the same as Ailsa Craig, but lying five miles up from Ballantrae along the River Stinchar, between Colmonell and Ballantrae. And it was called the False Craig, because the lads beatin' home from Ireland in the old days sometimes got smashed by running . . . taking this hill, the inland hill, you see, as the point for steering instead of Ailsa Craig. They always called it the False Craig.

This castle was inhabited from generation to generation by Kennedys, Grahames, MacAlexanders—I'm not sure—and another family. I think it was a woman, the woman of the house she was a Grahame anyhow—this was long ago—and this night she was sitting before the great fire, you know, in the old ancestral hall, and she'd be spinning or something, or she'd be carding wool, and she was rocking her baby in the huge cradle in front of the big log fire, when she hears this devil of a wailing outside on the stone, you see, and here's this lassie, the mermaid, combing her long yellow hair and singing. Now this pool is covered with trees round about, you know, covered over with trees, and it's a dark and eerie place, you see. Everything is conducive to this hair-raising stuff. She gets so fed up with this continual singing night after night, that she says to the foresters, "go out and smash up the boulder." I went back to prove something to myself: I still think that the fragments of a huge boulder are in the bed of the stream, and the rock, I have been told by some geologist or other, is not the same rock as in the surrounding area. You know the glacial actions supposedly brought it in. However, the lads went out and they smashed this huge boulder. The mermaid

came up the next night, and there was no stone, so they hear the eerie singing then coming through the night:

> "Ye may keep your cradle, while I'll ne'er have my stane,
> But there'll never be an heir to Knockdolian again."

The baby dies under some queer, mysterious circumstance. The story more or less finishes there with this: that there never was a direct male heir in that house. Now I'm telling you a fact. Because I got this from old Jimmie Hannah, the skipper of the sloop Annabella—I'm fifty almost—say forty-five years ago. Jimmie was then, say, eighty. His father would tell him it. So in his lifetime, and in mine, there never was a male heir. Never.

Annotation

Motifs:
B81. Mermaid.
B81.13.8. Curse by mermaid.
M.369.7.2. Prophecy about birth of heir.
Q 556. Curse as punishment.
Christiansen 1958:

Cf. Type 4060. "*The Mermaid's Message.* On a certain occasion somebody (A1) at sea or by a lake (A2), met, saw (A3), caught (A4) or shot at (A5) a mermaid (A6) or some watersprite (A7). The sprite offered to answer a question (B1), or gave valuable information (B2) or prophesied impending disaster (B3), or made some enigmatic remark (B4). The question was asked (C1), and the sprite in derision answered or laughed (C2), hinting that he could have made another question of greater value to himself (C3)."

Discussion

In searching for a kernel of historical truth in this legend, for its basis in reality, one is struck by the number of families which did indeed become extinct while in possession of Knockdolian.[2] The Grahames, about whom Sergeant Archibald relates the legend, were the first holders of the Barony, having acquired it towards the close of the fifteenth century. The title and property passed soon after 1628 into the hands of the Kirkmichael family, and later came into the possession of the McCubbin family, but the circumstances surrounding these changes in possession are not known with any certainty. There

seems to be no tradition or historical documentation connecting any specific member of the Grahame or Kirkmichael families with a prophecy or curse such as the above tale contains.

There is, however, a tradition parallel to the mermaid story related with much more circumstantial detail about the McCubbin family. During the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, the Barony of Knockdolian was in the possession of one Fergus McCubbin, the last proprietor of that name. He was a keen supporter of the Covenant, and upon several occasions gave protection and maintenance to the well-known preacher, Alexander Peden, for which he was severely fined. When Peden again appealed for protection, McCubbin refused him, whereupon, or so tradition asserts, Peden declared that there would be no male heir to Knockdolian. Both of Fergus McCubbin's sons were killed soon afterwards, one by falling from a tree, and the other by drowning in the Bay of Ballantrae. His daughter, Margaret, succeeded to the property, and from her were descended the Cathcarts of Knockdolian, the next line to hold the Barony.

Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London 1892) 331 f., presents a version of the legend which is similar to that related by Sergeant Archibald. It is not particularised, the mermaid's stone being destroyed by an indeterminate "lady of Knockdolian," who found the nocturnal singing an annoyance to her baby. The rhymed curse of the mermaid in Chambers' version runs thus:

> "Ye may think on your cradle, I'll think on my stane,
> And there'll never be an heir to Knockdolian again."

The baby was shortly afterwards found dead beneath its overturned cradle, and "it is added that the family soon after became extinct."

In R. H. Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (London 1810, reissued 1880) 186 f., the story is one of several related about one specific and well-known mermaid, the Mermaid of Galloway. Cromek's version, unconnected with the Barony of Knockdolian, is as follows:

"A devout farm dame, in the time of the last persecution, was troubled in spirit at the wonted return of this heathenish visitant [the Mermaid of Galloway]. A deep and beautiful pool, formed in the mouth of Dalbeattie burn, by the eddy of Orr Water, was a beloved residence of the Mermaid of Galloway. 'I' the first come

o' the moon' she would seat herself on a smooth block of granite, on the brink of the pool, comb her golden links of hair, and deliver her healing oracles. The good woman, in a frenzy of religious zeal, with her Bible in her hand, had the temerity to tumble this ancient chair into the bottom of the pool. The next morning her only child was found dead in its cradle, and a voice from the pool was often heard at day-close, by the distracted mother:

"Ye may look i' yere toom cradle,
And I'll look to my stane;
An' meikle we'll think, and meikle we'll look,
But words we'll ne'er hae nane."

All the noxious weeds and filth that could be collected were thrown into the pool until the stream was polluted, and the Mermaid departed, leaving a curse of barrenness on the house, which all the neighvors for several miles around, are ready to certify has been faithfully fulfilled."

It will be noted that the rhymed curse and its general effect persist in all three versions of the legend, although differently worded and variously applied, as is to be expected in a traditional tale.

False Sir John Cathcart and Jean Culzean—Text

Gamesloup . . . this is a two hundred foot cliff, again in this area north of Ballantrae, and it is a half mile south of the village of Lendalfoot. Where the Lendal Water runs in, there's a little fishing place, you see, and at this Lendal there's a castle called Carleton. And the persons who lived in the Carleton Castle for long and weary were the Cathcart family. And this man, False Sir John Cathcart, lived—let me see—maybe fifteenth to sixteenth century. I'm not sure of the date. But he was a great boy. He cultivated the daughters of the various landlords in the district, and married seven of them, and subsequently disposed of them by various means. Most of the disposals were done, actually, by throwing them over this cliff, this Gamesloup. Well, he took his wives there and threw them over. But in Girvan—my wife'll tell you about this—in the Byne Hill, the big hill that sits south of Girvan, there's a rock face called the Bride's Bed, and that is reckoned to be the dying place of one of Sir John's lassies. On her bridal night, when she saw what he was like, she hopped it and tried to get back home, possibly to Ballochtoul Castle, or one of the castles of the Kennedys from where he took his brides.

So old Sir John would get on his palfrey, you see, and he would ride along and he'd pay court to the girls. In these days, the squires would just pull the clothes off the lassies and say, "pick whatever one you want." You know the idea. And they would get a good tocher or dowry to go home with. You know about this. Well, the last lassie was Jean Culzean, and he takes this lassie with her lovely finery to this Gamesloup cliff, and he says, "light down, light down, and take off your silken gown," he says, "it's o'er good and o'er fancy to rot in the good sea faem." And he tells her, he says, "you're going in there—I've drowned seven already in there, and the eighth one you're going to be." So she turned and she said, "O, turn yourself about, Sir John, and look to the leaf of the tree, for it never became a gentleman a naked woman to see." So he turned round, you see, and she gripped him around the waist and threw him into the sea, and she says, "you lie now in a colder bed than ane you meant for me." So she rides home to her father's castle, which was at Culzean, you see, and that was the demise of False Sir John. We got that as children, you see.

Annotation

Motifs:

K1645. Woman ordered to strip has lover turn his back; pushes him into water.

C312.1. Tabu: man looking at nude woman.

K551.4.3. Making modesty pay. Robber insists on disrobing woman before throwing her from precipice. She pleads to have him turn his face while she disrobes. She pushes him off.

A972.5.5. Rocks or hill-tops flat because persons slept or cooked on them.

Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston 1882-98), vol. I, ballad no. 4.

Discussion

This third legend will be recognised as a strongly localised prose analogue of Child ballad number 4, *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight*. The tale preserves a few lines of ballad verse and the "emotional core" of the ballad, the triumph of the girl over the villain by the same means as he had meant to use in murdering her. The similarity between this theme and that

of the Bluebeard type of international folktale (see Aarne-Thompson types 311, 312, 955) has been noted on several occasions (as, for example, by Tristram Coffin, Introduction to *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* in Helen H. Flanders (ed.), *Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England*, v. 1, Philadelphia 1960, 82), but this should not be taken as an indication that the two traditions are in any way directly connected.

In his extensive headnote to the song, Child writes, "Of all ballads this has perhaps obtained the widest circulation. It is nearly as well known to the southern as to the northern nations of Europe." He goes on to document this statement in detail, with summaries and discussions of many versions of the ballad from throughout the European continent. Holger Nygard, in his excellent study of the ballad in its international relationships, concludes that the ballad originated in the Netherlands, and had already circulated about Western Europe by 1550 (1958:15).

Surprisingly, no versions of the ballad which are definitely from Ayrshire have appeared in print, either in Child's monumental collection or elsewhere. Nevertheless, several writers have attested to the ballad's currency in that area. Robert Chambers, for example, in his *Scottish Ballads* (Edinburgh 1829) 232, presents a composite text, collated from Herd, Sharpe, and Motherwell, but states in his headnote that "the ballad [not merely a prose analogue] finds locality in that wild portion of the coast of Carrick (Ayrshire,) which intervenes between Girvan and Ballantrae." James Paterson, in *The Ballads and Songs of Ayrshire* (Ayr 1846) 38, also informs us that the ballad was popular in Carrick. It would appear that the legend based upon the ballad has superseded the ballad itself.

The tradition connecting the ballad story with the Cathcarts of Carleton and the Kennedys of Culzean has been recorded by a number of collectors. These include Robert Chambers, in the work quoted above, who presents a synopsis of the legend much as Sergeant Archibald has related it, and George Eyre-Todd, in his guide to *Ayrshire* (Dundee, n.d.) 39. A variant tradition, prefixed to a broadside version of the ballad, is mentioned by Motherwell, in his *Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern* (Paisley 1873) lxx, namely, that "the lady . . . celebrated [in the ballad] was of the family of Kennedy, and that her treacherous and murder-minting lover was an Ecclesiastick of the monastery of Maybole. In the parish of

Ballantrae, on the sea coast, there is a frowning precipice pointed out to the traveller as 'Fause Sir John's Loup'." Chambers gives the name of this cliff as Gamesloup, the placename also used by Sergeant Archibald. It is interesting to note from Sergeant Archibald's recitation that the legend has been connected with a second place in the same area, the Bride's Bed on the Byne Hill, south of Girvan, thus intensifying its local ties.

Although the localising tradition is strongest in Ayrshire, the Ayrshire names, in their various forms, occur in versions of the ballad from other parts of Scotland, as for example in those of Herd (Child C), Sharpe (Child D), Scott (Child H), Greig (1925:3) and Gilchrist (1938:189, from Orkney). This proliferation of the names False Sir John, May Culzean, and Carleton Sands, suggests a number of conclusions to Nygard, one of which at least deserves comment in the light of the legend presented above.

Nygard takes the villain's name, False Sir John, "less [as] a name than a denigrating sobriquet for an ecclesiastic, to be met with as early as the fourteenth century, but certainly much in use during the later periods of religious strife." When considered against Ayrshire tradition, this theory prompts certain questions, for in Ayrshire at least, Sir John is used in reference to a specific, if fictional, personage.[3] Did the people of Carrick associate a current generic name, already in the ballad, with a locally prominent family in which John was a common given name, or did folk in certain other parts of Scotland, unfamiliar with the Cathcarts of Carleton, understand the specific Sir John (Cathcart) to mean merely priest, or cleric? Put differently, did the Ayrshire particularisation to Sir John Cathcart occur first, or was the generic Sir John an earlier feature of the tradition? The weight of evidence seems to indicate that the name entered the tradition originally through the Ayrshire localisation.

There are, to begin with, three separate references to ecclesiastical figures connected with the ballad tradition in Scotland: Child's Dd text is from a broadside which identifies Sir John as a Dominican friar, his H text, from Scott's Materials for the *Border Minstrelsy*, makes him a "falsh priest", and a preface to the second broadside mentioned by Motherwell (quoted above) states that he was "an Ecclesiastick of the monastery of Maybole." However, all these occurrences are antedated by many years by the version published by Herd,

the first Scottish version to appear in print which is known to us today (1776:93-5). It is illuminating to note that Herd's False Sir John is "a gentleman," and that his heroine is May Colven, a variant of May Culzean. Thus they correspond to the characters in the dominant Ayrshire tradition.

Furthermore, however the distinctly Ayrshire name of May Culzean spread to other parts of Scotland—whether by oral transmission or through print (broadside) as Nygard convincingly contends—the important thing is that it did in fact diffuse and was taken up outside Ayrshire. It is therefore logical to infer that the name of Sir John Cathcart, intimately bound up with the girl's name in Ayrshire tradition, diffused with it and was the source of the Sir Johns which appear in the other Scottish versions in conjunction with heroines named May Culzean (or variants thereof). If this be the case, we may take Motherwell's "Ecclesiastick of the monastery of Maybole" as an adaptation, very likely by a broadside writer, of the dominant tradition documented throughout the years by Chambers, Paterson, Eyre-Todd, and now by ourselves from Sergeant Archibald. The other two references to ecclesiastics would thus be secondary adaptations.

The few lines of ballad verse which remain in Sergeant Archibald's prose tale are traces of the original ballad tradition. The single version containing the closest parallels to these lines is that of Herd, with all but the "light down, light down" line in Sergeant Archibald's tale. We do not, unfortunately, know the source of Herd's version. The phrase, "light down," occurs in the texts of Peter Buchan (Child A), Sharpe, and Greig.

NOTES

[1] Sawney Beane was a legendary robber, murderer, and cannibal who terrorised the Galloway coast during the reign of James I of Scotland. See J. Nicholson 1843:72-80.

[2] The following discussion is based upon information contained in James Paterson, *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton*, v. 3—Carrick (Edinburgh 1864) 159-64.

[3] The reader is referred to Paterson's *History* for a record of the many John Cathcarts in the family's history. Attempts at identification of *the* False Sir John Cathcart are futile.

REFERENCES

CHRISTIANSEN, REIDAR TH.
1958 *The Migratory Legends*. FFC. 175. Helsinki.

GILCHRIST, ANNE G.
1938 "A Note on the Tunes and Ballads [of *Ancient Orkney Melodies*]." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3:185-94. London.

GREIG, GAVIN
1925 *Last Leaves of Aberdeenshire Ballads*. Aberdeen.
HERD, DAVID
1776 *Scottish Songs*, Vol. I. Edinburgh.
HÖTTGES, VALERIE
1937 *Typenverzeichnis der deutschen Riesen-und riesischen Teufelssagen*. FFC. 122. Helsinki.
MACFARLANE, A. M.
1927-8 "Myths Associated with Mountains, Springs, and Lochs in the Highlands." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 34:135-52.
NICHOLSON, J.
1843 *Historical and Traditionary Tales, Sketches, Poems, Etc., Connected with the South of Scotland*. Kirkcudbright.
NYGARD, HOLGER
1958 *Heer Halewijn*. FFC. 169. Helsinki.
Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, SEÁN
1942 *Handbook of Irish Folklore*. Dublin.
THOMPSON, STITH
1955 *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. 6 vols. Copenhagen.
THOMPSON, STITH and AARNE, ANTTI
1961 *The Types of the Folktale*. 2nd revision. FFC. 184. Helsinki.

STUDIES IN PIBROCH

2. THE METRE OF "BODAICH DHUBHA NAN SLIGEAN": A DEFINITIVE ACCOUNT

R. L. C. Lorimer*

I

In the account of "The Antient Rule for regulating Time & Composition" that he gives (1760-2:[33]) in his *Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*, Joseph MacDonald expressly asserts that those who originally composed our classical pibrochs "were sure to have no odd Numbers in any piece they designd to be regular". More specifically he then goes on to say: that "Their Adagios when regular commonly consisted of 4 Quarters"; that each of these four quarters contained so many "Fingers . . . 2, 4, or 8", as the case might be; that we count these fingers as bars; and that "The ordinar Length of a Pipe Adagio being 16 Fingers, composd about 16 Bars, 4 in each Quarter". By a "Pipe Adagio" Joseph MacDonald means, clearly, the *ùrlar* or ground of a pibroch; and, if his account of the "Antient Rule" substantially is true, it follows that in all regular pibrochs each whole measure must originally have been subdivided into four equal quarters of two, four, or eight bars each, and that no pibroch which does not satisfy this formal requirement can properly be called regular.[1]

According to what may be called the accepted account (for which see all authorities cited and summarised in Lorimer 1962:5-7, and Campbell 1953:intro. 14 n.), there are, however, three regular metres which cannot be squared with Joseph MacDonald's "Antient Rule". Two of these metres are called the "Primary 6:6:4 Metre" and the "Secondary 6:6:4 Metre": but about the third there has been so little certainty that it has variously been called the "4:6:4:1 (or 2) Metre", the "4:6:4:2 (or 1) Metre" and the "Tertiary Metre".

Here we are not concerned with the first two of them, but only with the third. According to the accepted view, its chief

* Sometime Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. The first article in this series was published in *Scottish Studies* 6 (1962) 1-30.

characteristics are: (1) that each whole measure is made up of two bars each, which may be designated Phrs. A and B; (2) that these are arranged in three lines, thus:

A B
A B B
A B

but (3) that "two extra bars, or one extra bar", of "drumming on low A" are, or is, "added at the end of line 3 to make up the numbers"; and consequently (4) that each whole measure is subdivided into four unequal units of 4, 6, 4, and 2 (or 1) bars—or, alternatively, into three unequal units of 4, 6, and 6 (or 5) bars. The accepted view admittedly receives much apparent support from the ways in which most extant pibrochs of this metre are set forth in the earliest manuscript versions of them that we possess. Yet, from a strictly musical point of view, it literally does not make sense; and, for many reasons which have all been fully explained elsewhere (Lorimer 1962), it will here be postulated: (1) that in all regular pibrochs in this metre each whole measure must originally have contained sixteen bars, but that one of its characteristics ceased, in course of time, to be fully understood, and that in the confusion which hence arose the last of these sixteen bars was sometimes omitted in subsequent transmission; (2) that—subject to the reservation that in Phr. A_4 two bars of "drumming on low A" often are substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}—the characteristic phrase-pattern can best be schematised:

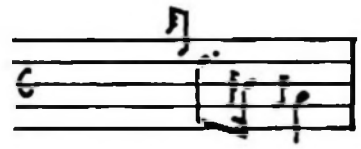
A_1	B_1	A_2	B_2
B_3	A_3	B_1	A_4

and, consequently, (3) that each whole measure consists (*a*) of four quarters of four bars each, and (*b*) of two half-measures of eight bars each; and (4) that the second of these half-measures is essentially a repeat of the first in which Phrs. A and B are interchanged. In the light of these four postulates, we shall presently attempt to work out a definitive account of this metre. But first we must make a few preliminary remarks about some of the conventional *motifs* which so often are used as phrase-endings, not only in all tunes of this particular metre, but also in many other pibrochs.

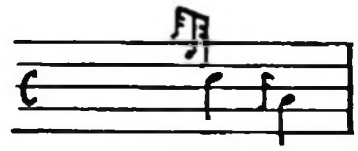
Considering that the chanter, or melody-pipe, of the Scots Highland bagpipe only produces nine melody-notes,[2] that few pibrochs use more than five, six or seven of these nine notes, and that the phrase-patterns on which most pibrochs are based are very repetitive, it is not surprising that classical pipe-music evolved a great many conventional *motifs*. In common time, each such *motif* is equivalent to half a bar; and some of them are used chiefly as beginnings, others chiefly as endings, especially of whole phrases.

All phrase-endings which end on low A (the tonic of the chanter) or on low G (its lowest note) will here be called "closed" endings; and all those which end on any higher note will here be called "open" ones. It is especially important for us to notice:[3]

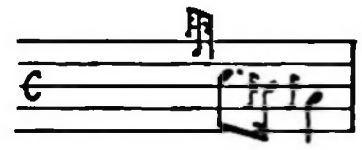
(*a*) The closed D-ending ". . . hi*ha*ródin":



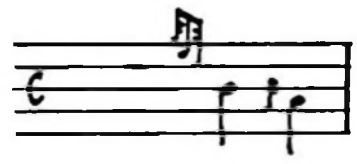
(*b*) The closed C-endings ". . . hi*hò*din":



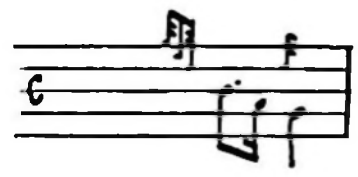
and ". . . hi*hò*ródin":



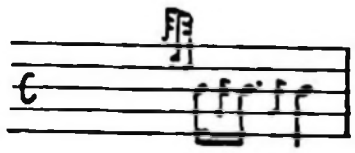
(*c*) The closed B-endings ". . . hi*hió*din":



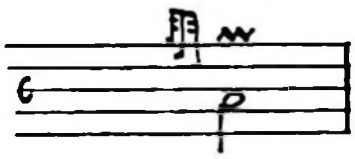
and ". . . hi*hió*endam":



(*d*) The open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*":



(*e*) The closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*":



In this metre, the use of these phrase-endings seems chiefly to have been governed by the following conventions:

1. Both the closed D-ending ". . . hi*har*ódin" and the closed C-ending ". . . hi*hò*ródin" may best be contrasted with the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*endam".

2. The closed C-ending ". . . hi*hòdin*" may best be contrasted with the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din".

3. Both the closed B-endings ". . . hi*hió*din" and ". . . hi*hió*endam" and the open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*" all may best be contrasted with the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*".

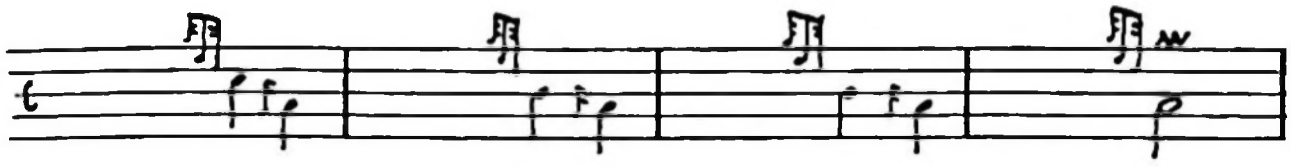
4. Neither the closed D-ending ". . . hi*har*ódin" nor either of the closed C-endings ". . . hi*hò*ródin" and ". . . hi*hò*din" is tonally so conclusive as either of the closed B-endings ". . . hi*hió*endam" and ". . . hi*hió*din".

5. The open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*" is tonally very inconclusive indeed.

6. Of all the phrase-endings already mentioned, only the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*" in itself is tonally completely conclusive; and the single closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*" is not tonally quite so conclusive as the double closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*".

From all this it follows that, of all the ways in which, for example, the closed C-ending ". . . hi*hò*din", the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din", and the closed A-ending ". . .

hiha*rin*" can together be used as phrase-endings, one of the most satisfying is:



In the singlings of all variations, all phrase-endings normally do not undergo any alteration: but from the ways in which those mentioned normally are altered in the doublings of all variations, it may be inferred that they were conventionally deemed to be based on the following theme-notes:

1. The closed D-ending ". . . hi*har*ódin", on D D.
2. The closed C-endings ". . . hi*hò*din" and ". . .hi*hò*ródin", both on C C.
3. The closed B-endings ". . . hi*hió*din" and ". . . hi*hió*endam" and the open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*", all on B B.
4. The closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*", on A A.

3

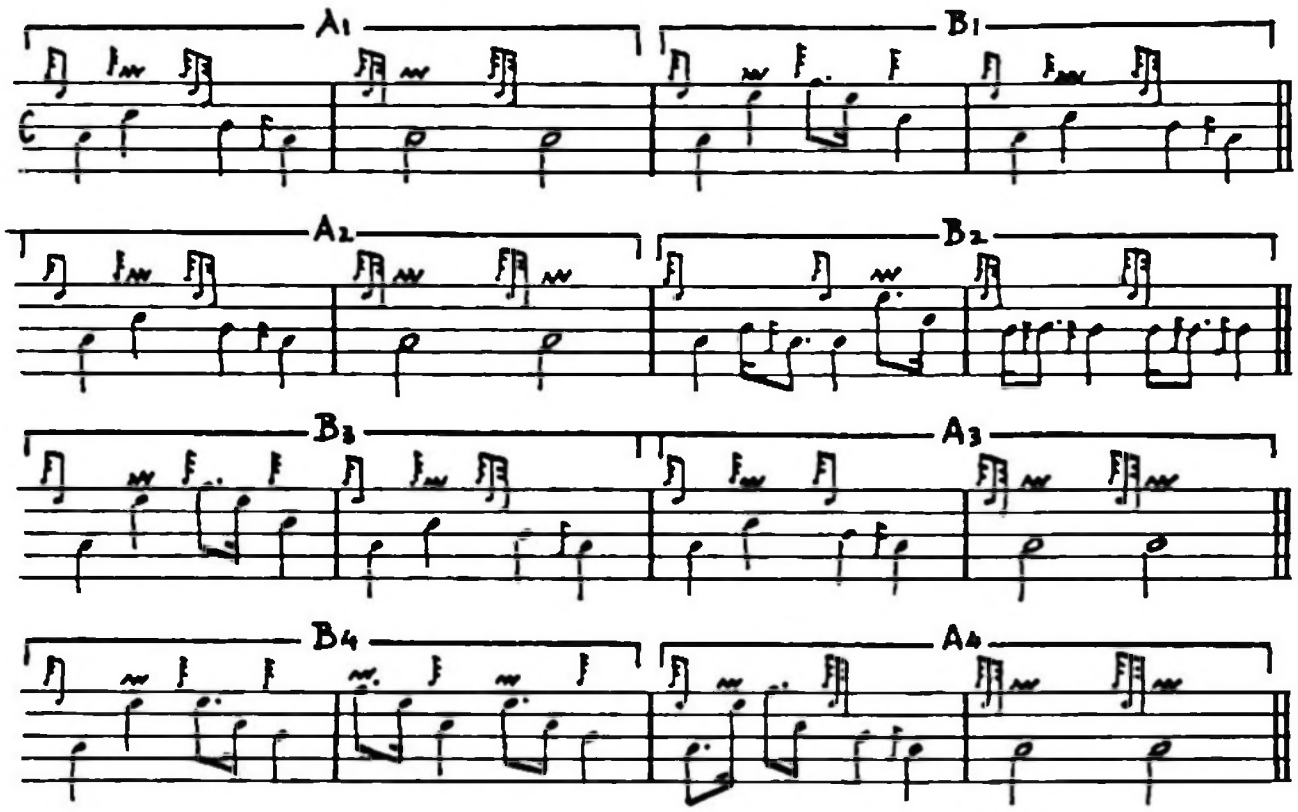
Now let us take two typical pibrochs in this metre and make a rigorous musical analysis of them, in terms of our four original postulates, and with reference to three vitally important questions which no previous account has posed. These are: (1) What strictly musical relationships subsist between Phrs. A_1 and B_1? (2) What further development does each undergo? And (3) What is the tonal structure of the patterns formed by the *motifs* used as phrase-endings?

Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean (*The Old Men of the Shells*):

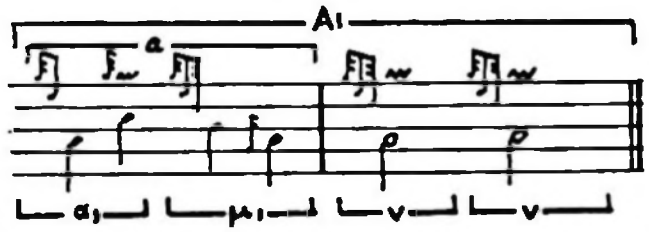
Setting No. 1 [4]

Scales: FE CBA; A FE CBA; E CBAG; CBAG. In the *Urlar* and Var. I of the version printed in P.S., Phr. B_4 has one extra bar; and, for reasons already explained elsewhere (Lorimer 1962:10-11), we here omit the first bar of Phr. B_4 of the *Urlar*, and the third bar of Phr. B_4 of Var. I, as given in P.S. This, however, is solely for purposes of our analysis; and the writer does not suggest that these bars should be omitted in playing the tune.

1. *Urlar*:

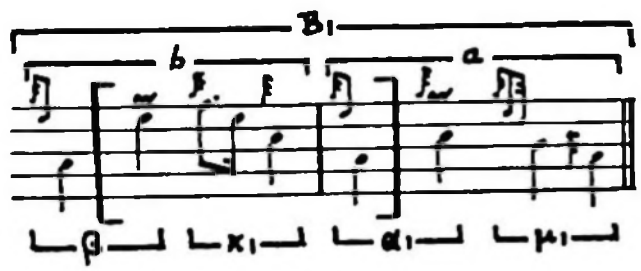


Here Phr. A_1 can best be analysed:



Phr. A_1 = phr. *a* + "Hiharin hiharin"; and phr. $a = a_1$ (the A-beginning "Hi*en*hòdrò . . .") + μ_1 (the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din"). So phr. *a* has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*hòdrò . . .") and a closed B-ending (". . . hi*hió*din"); and it uses all four of the notes E CBA, but not F. Taken as a whole, Phr. A_1 also uses all four of the notes E CBA, but not F: but it has *both* an A-beginning ("Hi*en*hòdrò . . .") *and* a closed A-ending (" Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*"); and it contains the descending sequence of endings ". . . hi*hió*din, . . . hiha*rin*".

Phr. B_1 is a metrically and tonally expanded repeat of phr. *a* which can be analysed:



Thus Phr. B_1 may be said to have been derived from phr. *a* by inserting the notes here enclosed in square brackets:[5] but phr. B_1 = phrs. $b+a$; and phr. $b = \beta$ (the A-beginning "Hi*en*dre . . .") + κ_1 (the open C-ending ". . . hede*hò*"). Hence phr. *b* has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*dre . . .") and an open C-ending (". . . hede*hò*"); and it uses all four of the notes FE C A, but not B. Within Phr. B_1, therefore, phrs. *b* and *a* are tonally complementary to each other, and between them the scale is split:[6]

Phr. B_1:

F	
E	E
C]	C
	B]
[A	[A

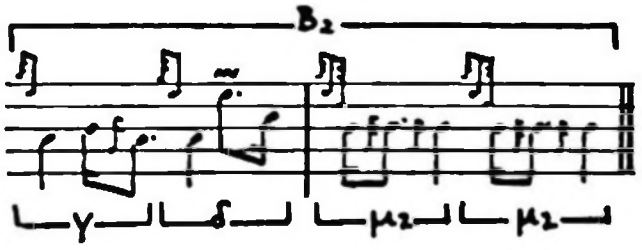
But, taken as a whole, Phr. B_1 uses all five of the notes FE CBA; it has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*dre . . .") and a closed B-ending (". . . hi*hió*din"); and it contains the descending sequence of endings ". . . hede*hò*, . . . hi*hió*din". Hence, within Q. 1 (i.e., within the first of the four quarters of the *ùrlar*), Phrs. A_1 and B_1 are tonally complementary to each other, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 1:

	F
E	E
C	C
B	B]
[A]	[A

And Q. 1 contains the *rising* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi-har*in*, . . . hi*hió*din".

In Q. 2, Phr. A_2 is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_1. But Phr. B_2 is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_1 which can best be analysed:



So the first half of Phr. B_2 consists of γ (the A-beginning "Hi*en*ódin . . .") and δ (the open C-ending ". . . hiendre*ð*"); and, whereas γ echoes and summarises α_1 and μ_1, and thus makes reference, not only to Phr. B_1, but also to the first half of Phrs. A_1 and A_2, δ likewise echoes and summarises β and κ_1, and thus makes reference only to the first half of Phr. B_1. In the second half of Phr. B_2, $2\mu_2$

(the opening B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*") echoes and expands μ_1, and thus make reference, not only to Phr. B_1, but also to the first halves of Phrs. A_1 and A_2. Thus Phr. B_2 makes reference to Phrs. A_1, B_1, and A_2, but especially to Phr. B_1; and all other tunes in this metre have the same characteristic.

The first half of Phr. B_2 has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*ódin . . .") and an open C-ending (" . . . hiendre*ò*"); and it uses all four of the notes E CBA, but not F. But the second half of Phr. B_2 has *both* a B-beginning ("Hi*hóródó* . . .") and an open B-ending; and it uses both the notes E and B, but not F, C, or A. Hence the first and second halves of Phr. B_2 are tonally complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Phr. B_2:

E	E
C]	
B	[B]
[A	

But, taken as a whole, Phr. B2 has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*ódin . . .") and an open B-ending ("Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*"); and although it uses all four of the notes E CBA, it does not use F. (This incidentally shows that it was not so characteristic of Phr. B_1 that it included the note F as that it had an A-beginning and a B-ending.) Hence, within Q. 2, Phrs. A_2 and B_2 are tonally complementary, but only in the minimal sense that between them the scale is split:

Q. 2:

E	E
C	C
B	B]
[A]	[A

Q. 2 contains the *rising* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hiha*rin*, . . . hi*hóródó*". And the first half-measure has the open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", which tonally is very inconclusive indeed.

As we have already postulated, the second half-measure is essentially a repeat of the first in which Phrs. A and B are interchanged.

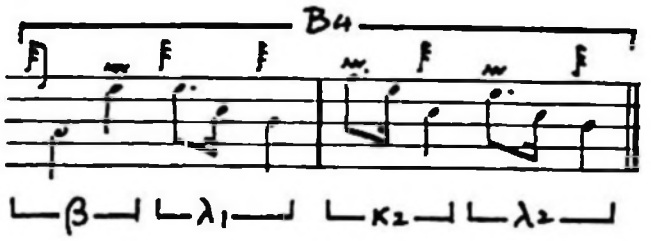
In Q. 3, Phr. B_3 is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. B_1, and Phr. A_3 likewise is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_2, which itself was simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_1. Hence, within Q. 3, Phrs. B_3 and A_3 are complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 3:

F	
E	E
C	C
B]	B
[A	[A]

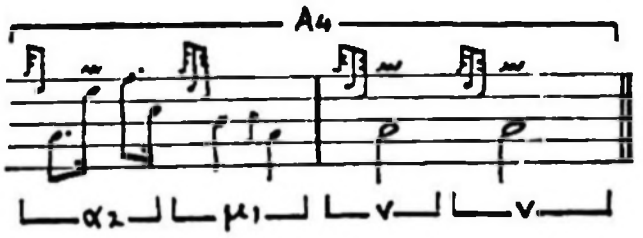
Q. 3, in fact, is simply a repeat of Q. 1 in which Phrs. A_1 and B_1 are changed round; and it contains the descending sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi*hió*din, . . . hiha*rin*".

In Q. 4, Phr. B_4 can best be analysed:



Clearly this is a metrically (but not tonally) expanded repeat of phr. *b*, the first half of Phrs. B_1 and B_3, in which β ("Hiendre . . .") is elaborated into $\beta + \gamma_1$ ("Hiendre cheòhió"), and κ_1 (". . . hedehò") into $\kappa_2 + \lambda_2$ ("Daredehò dreòhió"). These elaborations make a rhythmical and tonal climax, and they also bring it about that Phr. B_4 does not include any repeat of phr. *a*. Phr. B_4 has an A-beginning ("Hi*en*dre . . .") and an open B-ending (". . . dreò*hió*"); and it uses all five of the notes FE CBA.

Phr. A_4 can best be analysed:



Here a_2 ("Hiendreveò . . .") is simply a tonally (but not metrically) expanded derivative of a_1 ("Hienhòdrò . . ."); and as a result of this elaboration Phr. A_4 begins by making a rhythmical and tonal climax which briefly sums up the tonal contents of this whole first measure of the tune. (This incidentally shows that it was less characteristic of Phr. A_1 that it did not use the note F than that it had both an A-beginning and an A-ending.) Taken as a whole, Phr. A_4 has both an A-beginning ("Hi*en*dreveò . . .") and a closed A-ending (". . . hiha*rin*"); it contains the descending sequence of endings ". . . hi*hió*din, . . . hiha*rin*"; and it uses all five of the notes FE CBA.

Hence, within Q. 4, Phrs. B_4 and A_4 have been tonally assimilated to each other, but still are tonally complementary, in the minimal sense that between them the scale is split:

Q. 4:

F	F
E	E
C	C
B]	B
[A	[A]

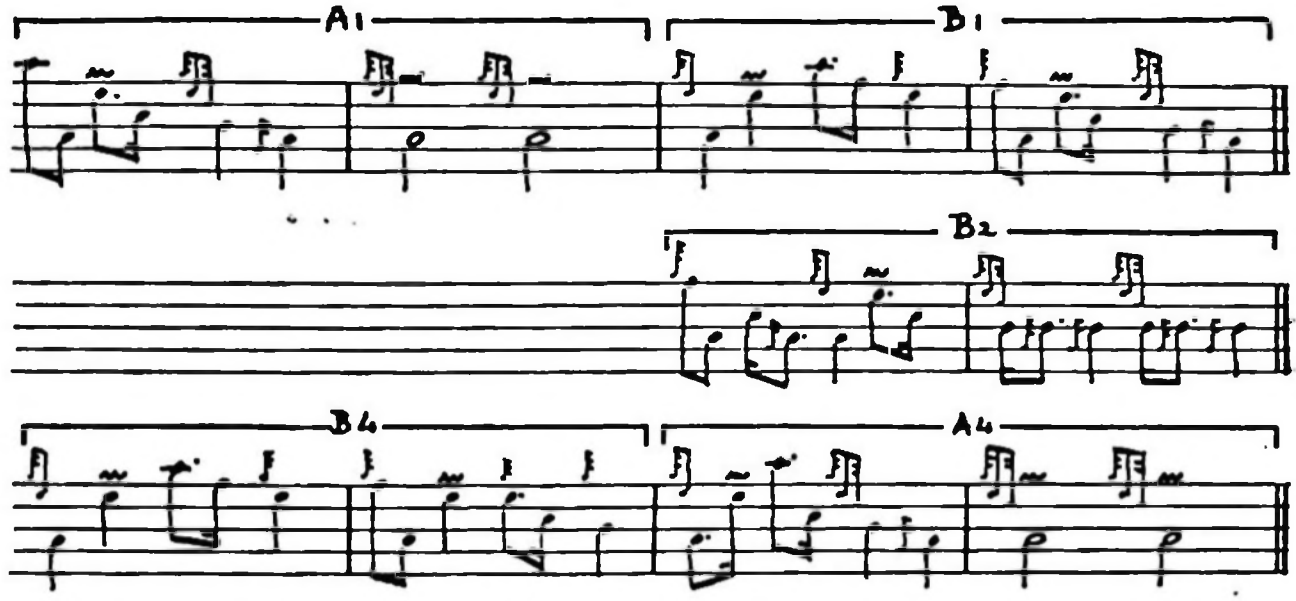
Q. 4 contains the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . dre-ò*hió*, . . . hiha*rin*". And the second half-measure has the closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*", which tonally is completely conclusive.

Thus, to recapitulate, Phr. A_1 contains a *descending* sequence of endings in which the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din" is followed by the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*". Phr. B_1 is directly derived from the first half of Phr. A_1, and is tonally complementary to the whole of Phr. A_1, but has the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din". Phr. A_2 = Phr. A_1; but Phr. B_2 is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_1 which also makes reference to Phrs. A_1 and A_2, and has the open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*". But from all this it results: (1) that Q. 1 has a *rising* sequence of phrase-endings in which the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*" is followed by the tonally less conclusive closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din"; (2) that Q. 2 also has a *rising* sequence of phrase-endings in which the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*" is followed by the tonally still less conclusive open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*"; and (3) that the first half-measure has the open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", which tonally is very inconclusive indeed.

In the second half-measure, all this, however, is turned inside out. Phr. B_3 = Phr. B_1, and Phr. A_3 = Phrs. A_{1-2}. Phr. B_4 is an elaborated repeat of Phrs. B_1 and B_3 which makes a rhythmical and tonal climax, and has the open B-ending ". . . dreò*hió*"; and Phr. A_4 is an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3} which also makes a rhythmical and tonal climax, but still has the closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". Hence: (1) Q. 3 has the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi*hió*din, . . . hiha*rin*"; (2) Q. 4 has the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . dreò*hió*, . . . hiha*rin*"; and (3), whereas the first half-measure has the tonally very inconclusive open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", the second has the tonally completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". Thus all the paradoxes which initially arose out of the fact that Phr. B_1 was directly derived from Phr. A_1 have been most satisfactorily resolved.

The *Urlar* is followed by a "thumb variation"—i.e., a doubling, or altered repeat, of the *Urlar*, in which high A, the "thumb-note", is substituted for certain other notes. This thumb variation is much more elaborate than in most other pibrochs.

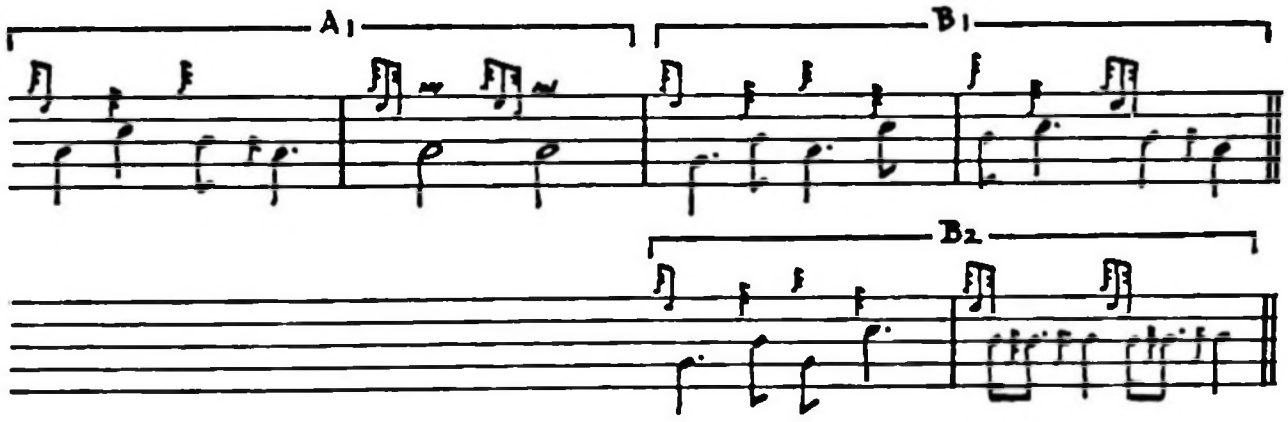
2. Var. I (Thumb):



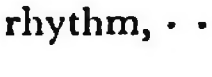
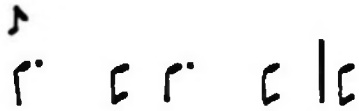
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. In Phr. A_1, "Liendreò . . ." is substituted for "Hienhòdrò . . . " In Phr. B_1, ". . . liveche" is substituted for ". . . hedehò", and "Heendreò . . ." for "Hienhòdrò . . ."; hence Phr. B_1 is not related to Phr. A_1 in the same way as in the *Urlar*. In Phr. B_2, "Heenòdin . . ." is substituted for "Hienódin . . ." In Phr. B_4, ". . . liveche" is substituted for ". . . cheòhió", and "Heendre cheòhió" for "Daredehò dreòhió". And in Phr. A_4, "Hiendreiò . . ." is substituted for "Hiendreveò . . .". Thus in this variation the scale is extended upwards to include high A; and Phrs. A and B have both undergone much tonal expansion.

INTERMEDIATE VARIATIONS

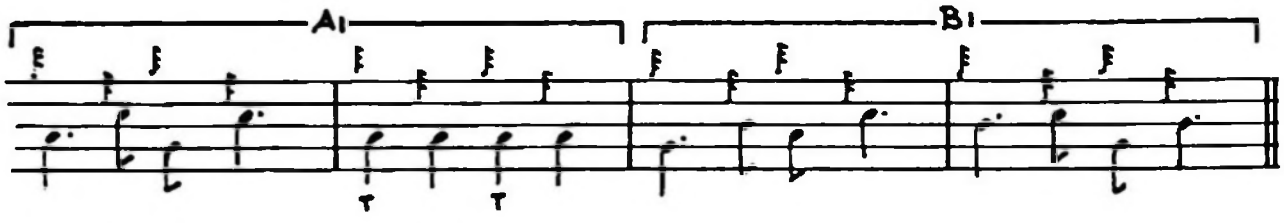
3. Var. II (Singling):



$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Hence Phrs. B_4 and A_4 are not related to Phrs. A_1 and B_1 as in the *Urlar*. High A and F both have ceased to be used as melody-notes: but the scale has now been extended downwards to include low G.

Thus, although the *Urlar* uses all five notes of the pentatonic scale FE CBA, but no others, the variations explore the possibilities of the whole extended scale A FE CBAG. In the first half of Phr. A_1, a new rhythm,  , is introduced; and in Phr. B_1 this is developed into  . But all phrase-endings are still the same as in the *Urlar* and Var. 1.

4. Var. II (Doubling):

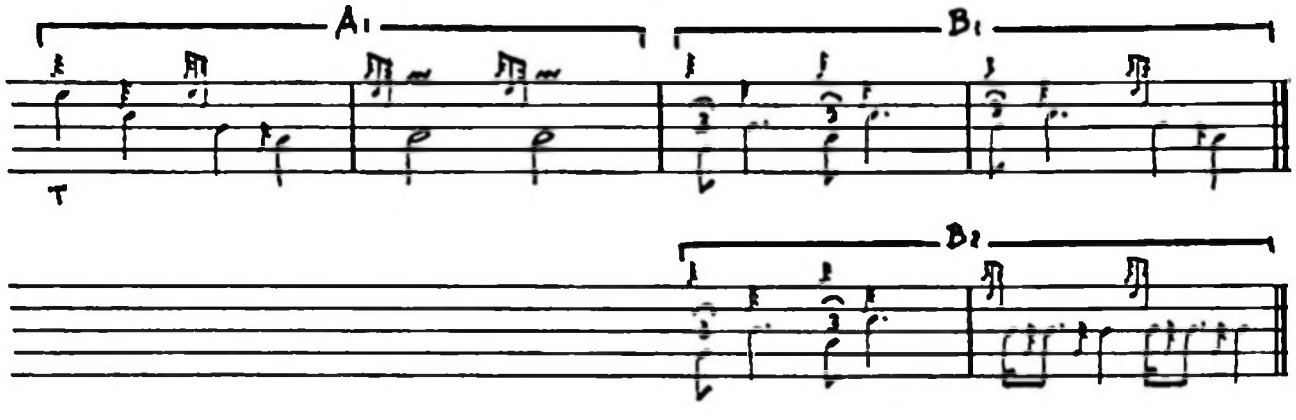


$A_2 = A_1$; $B_2 = B_1$; $B_3 = B_{1,2}$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,2,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Hence neither Phr. A_1 nor Phr. B_1 undergoes any further development. The note E has ceased to be used as a melody-note, and the scale has been reduced to CBAG. In the first half of Phr. A_1, the new rhythm that has been developed in Phr. B_1 of the Singling is developed into  ; in Phr. B_1 this is further developed into  ; and in Q. 3 this, in its turn, is still further developed into

And all phrase-endings have now been reduced almost to their essential theme-notes.

CONCLUDING VARIATIONS

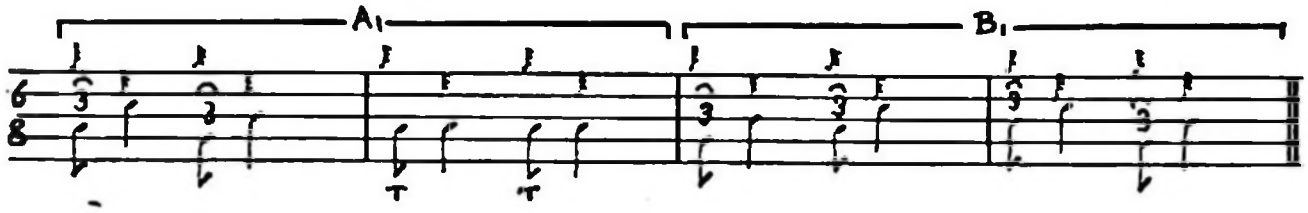
5. *Taorluth* (Singling):



$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Has essentially the same underlying pattern as 3. Var. II (Singling);

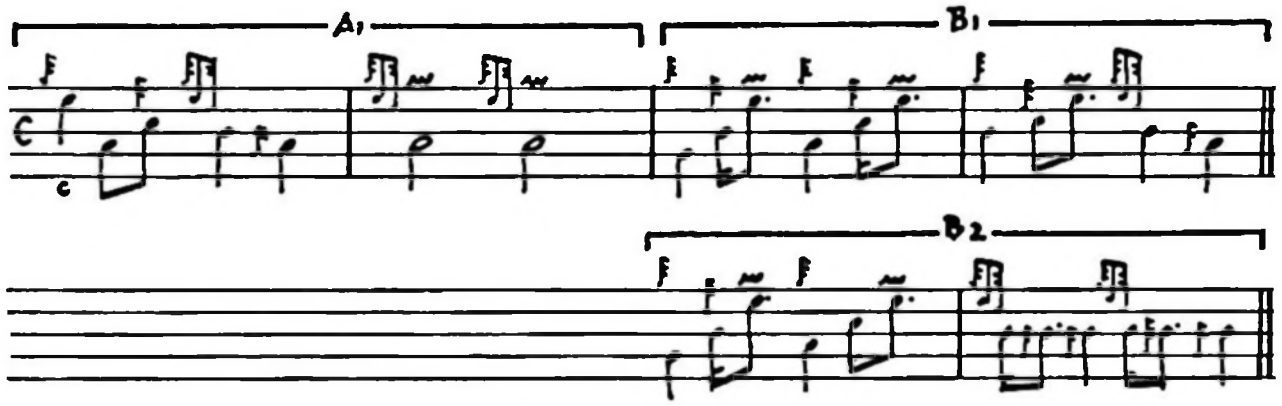
and all phrase-endings are once more the same as in the *Urlar*, 2. Var. I, and 3. Var. II (Singling).

6. *Taorluth* (Doubling):



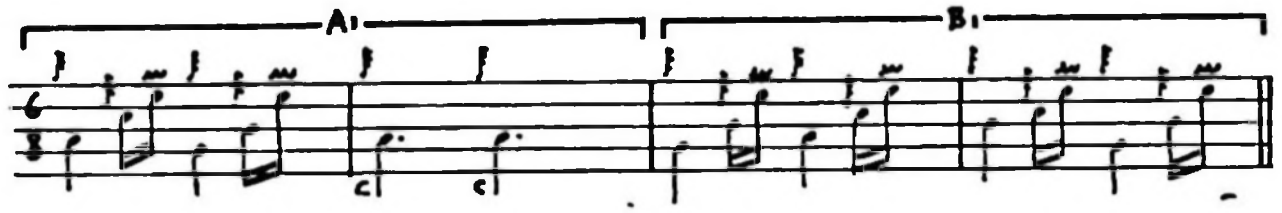
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_2 = B_1$; $B_3 = B_{1,2}$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,2,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Has essentially the same underlying pattern as 4. Var. II (Doubling) and all phrase-endings have again been reduced almost to their essential theme-notes.

7. *Crunluth* (Singling):



$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Has essentially the same underlying pattern as 3. Var. II (Singling) and 5. *Taorluth* (Singling); and all phrase-endings are once more the same as in the *Urlar*.

8. *Crunluth* (Doubling):

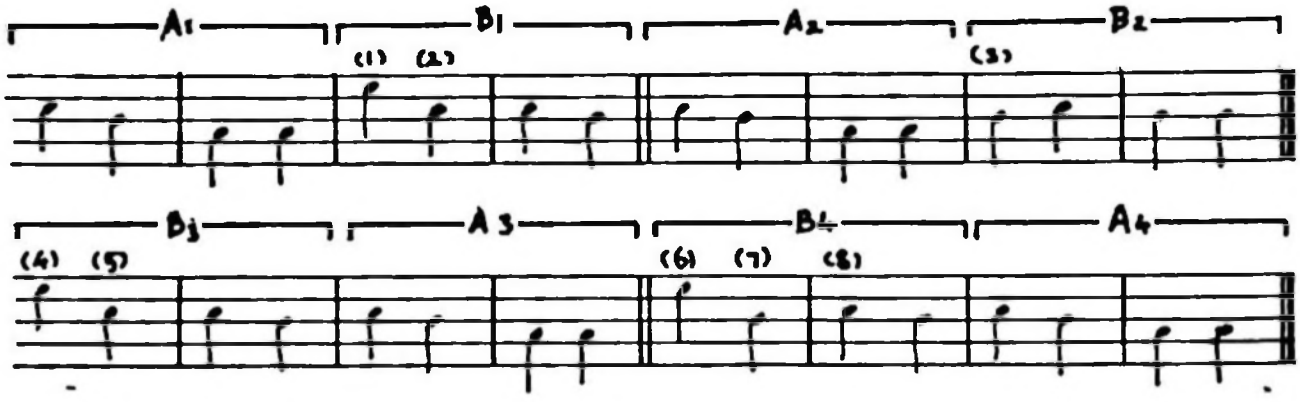


$A_2 = A_1$; $B_2 = B_1$; $B_3 = B_{1,2}$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_{1,2,3}$; $A_4 = A_{1,2,3}$. Has essentially the same underlying pattern as 4. Var. II (Doubling) and 6. *Taorluth* (Doubling); and all phrase-endings have once again been stripped down almost to their essential theme-notes.

THEME-NOTES

The variations thus depart from the *ùrlar* with much more freedom than in most other pibrochs. But, except as noted, the

Urlar and all variations throughout are based on the following theme-notes:



1. In Var. II (S.), and in all further variations, this E is replaced by B. 2. In Var. I this C is replaced by E. 3. In Var. I this B is replaced by C. 4. As 1. 5. As 2. 6. As 1. 7. In Var. I this B is replaced by E: but in Var. II (S.), and in all further variations, it is replaced by C. 8. As 2.

This pibroch undoubtedly is one of the most enchanting that has come down to us; and it is tonally of great interest. For, although the *ùrlar* uses all five notes of the restricted scale FE CBA, but no others, the variations fully explore the possibilities of the whole extended scale A FE CBAG. And several of the variations—especially the doublings of Var. II, *Taorluth*, and *Crunluth*—show (1) that it is not so characteristic of Phr. A_1 that it originally has an A-beginning, and uses the notes E CBA, but not F, as that it originally has an A-ending, and (2) that it likewise is not so characteristic of Phr. B_1 that it originally has an A-beginning, and uses all five of the notes FE CBA, as that it originally has a B-ending. But, despite the freedom with which the variations depart from the *ùrlar*, all phrase-endings throughout the whole tune conform to the same underlying theme-notes; and the pattern to which they thus conform can best be stated:

A	B	:	A	B
B	A	:	B	A

This means: "Q. 1 contains a sequence of phrase-endings in which an A-ending is followed by a B-ending, and so does Q. 2: but Q. 3 contains a sequence in which a B-ending is followed by an A-ending, and so does Q. 4".[7] Thus, in *Bodaich Dhubha*, Q. 1 contains a *rising* sequence of phrase-endings, and

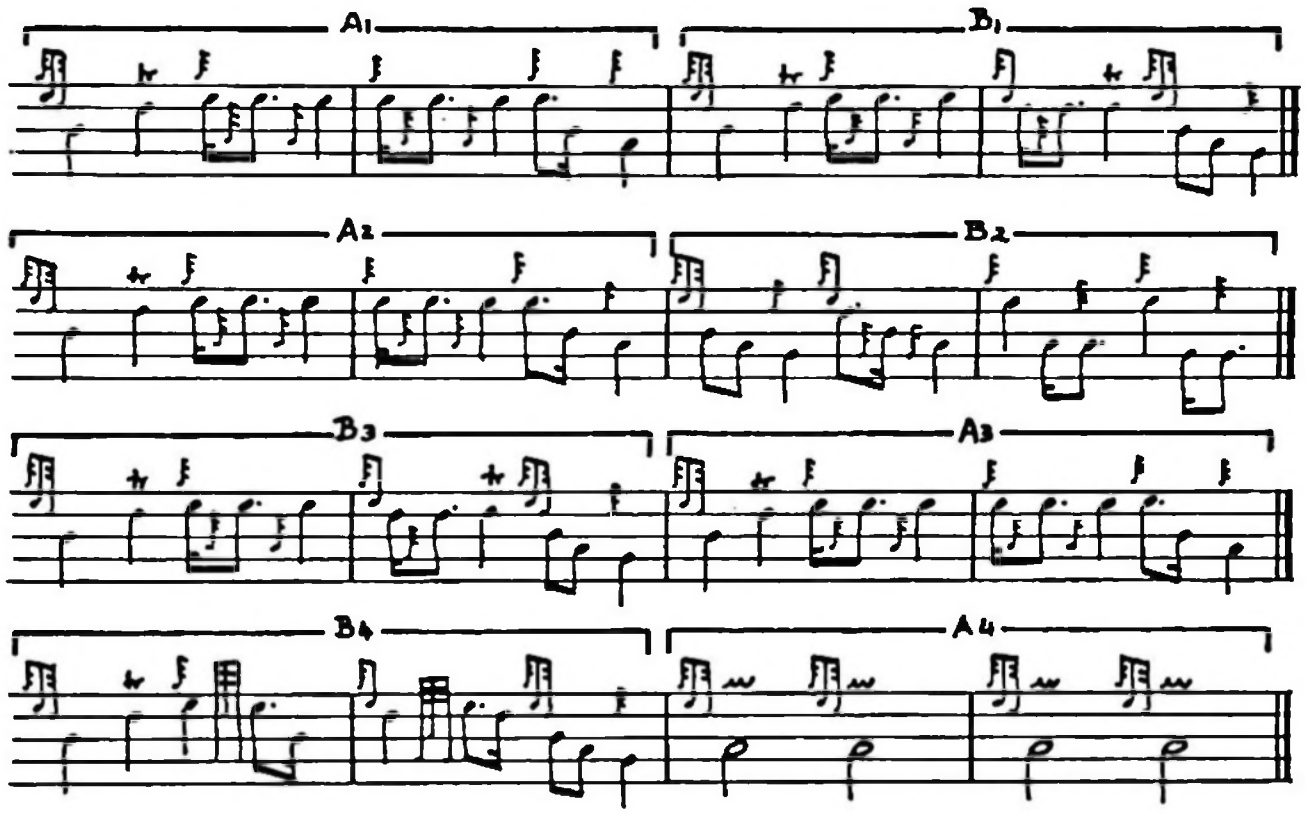
so does Q. 2; but Q. 3 contains a *descending* one, and so does Q. 4. This, however, is not the only possible arrangement.

Bratach Bhàn nan Stiubhartach (*The Stewarts' White Banner*)[8]

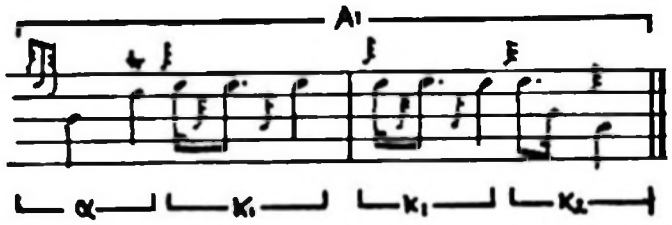
Scale: ED BAG; A ED BAG. But low G is not used as a theme-note; neither is low A, except in Phr. A_4.

GROUND

1. *Urlar*:

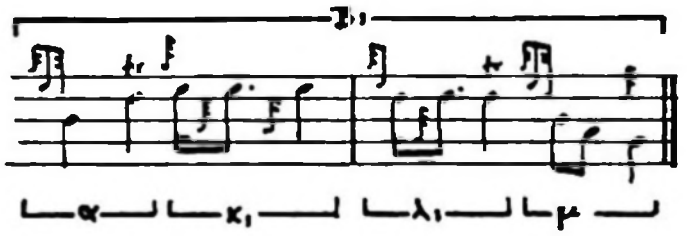


Here Phr. A_1 can best be analysed:



The first and second halves of Phr. A_1 may conveniently be designated phrs. *x* and *a*. Now, phr. $x = a$ (the B-beginning "Hi*hió*tra . . .") + κ_1 (the open E-ending ". . . chere*de*"); and in phr. *a*, κ_1 is developed into κ_1 (the E-beginning "*Chere*de . . .") + κ_2 (the closed E-ending "*Che*óhin"). Taken as a whole, Phr. A_1 uses all four of the notes ED BA, but not low G; it has a B-beginning ("Hi*hió*tra . . .") and a closed E-ending (". . . *che*óhin"); and it contains the level sequence of endings ". . . chere*de*, . . . *che*óhin".

Phr. B_1 can best be analysed:



The first half of Phr. B_1 is simply an unaltered repeat of phr. *x*, and the second can conveniently be designated phr. *b*. Now, in phr. *b*, *a* ("Hi*hió*tra . . .") is developed into λ_1 (the D-beginning "Hi*hara*ra . . .") + μ (the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*endam". Hence, whereas Phr. A_1 = phrs. *x*+*a*, Phr. B_1 = phrs. *x*+*b*; and phrs. *a* and *b* are both developments of phr. *x*. Taken as a whole, Phr. B_1 uses all five of the notes ED BAG; it has both a B-beginning ("Hi*hió*tra . . .") and a closed B-ending (". . . hi*hió*endam"); and it contains the descending sequence of endings ". . . chere*de*, . . . hi*hió*endam".

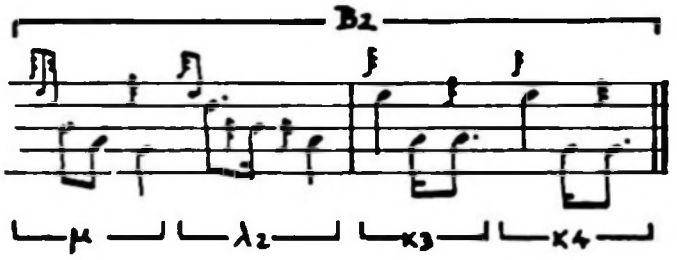
Hence, within Q. 1, Phrs. A_1 and B_1 are tonally complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 1:

E]	E
D	D
[B	[B]
A	A
	G

Q. 1 contains the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . *che*óhin, . . . hi*hió*endam".

In Q. 2, Phr. A_2 is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_1. But Phr. B_2 is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_2 which can best be analysed:



In the first half of Phr. B_2, *a* ("Hi*hió*tra . . .") is further developed into μ (the B-beginning "Hi*hió*endam . . .") + λ_2 (the closed D-ending ". . . hi*har*ódin"); and, in the second half, κ_1 (the open E-ending ". . . chere*de*") and κ_2 (the closed E-ending ". . . *che*óhin") are developed into κ_3 and κ_4 (the closed E-endings "*Che*endan

*che*embam"). Phr. B_2 thus makes reference to Phr. A_1, B_1, and A_2, but especially to Phr. B_1. Taken as a whole, Phr. B_2 consists of the rising series of beginnings and endings "Hi*hió*endam hi*har*ódin, *Che*endan *che*embam". It uses all five of the notes ED BAG; it has a B-beginning ("Hi*hió*endam . . .") and a closed E-ending (". . . *che*embam"); and it contains the *rising* sequence of endings ". . . hi*har*ódin, . . . *che*embam".

Within Q. 2, therefore, Phrs. A_2 and B_2 are complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 2:

E]	E]
D	D
[B	[B
A	A
	G

Thus, whereas Q. 1 contains, as we have seen, the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . *che*óhin, . . . hi*hió*endam", Q. 2 contains the *level* one ". . . *che*óhin, . . . *che*embam". And the first half-measure has the closed, but tonally not very conclusive, E-ending "*Che*endan *che*embam".

As in *Bodaich Dhubha*, and in all other pibrochs in this metre, the second half-measure is essentially a repeat of the first in which Phrs. A and B are interchanged.

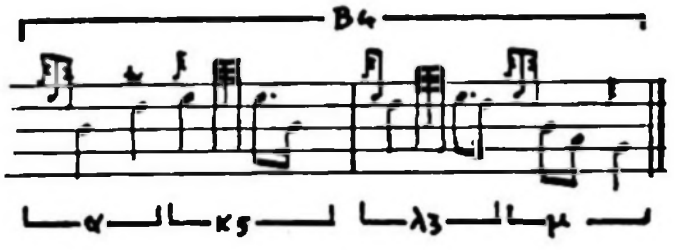
In Q. 3, Phr. B_3 is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. B_1; and Phr. A_3 is simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_2, which itself was simply an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_1. Hence Q. 3 is simply a repeat of Q. 1 in which Phrs. A_1 and B_1 are changed round. Within Q. 3, Phrs. B_3 and A_3 are complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 3:

E	E]
D	D
[B]	[B
A	A
G	

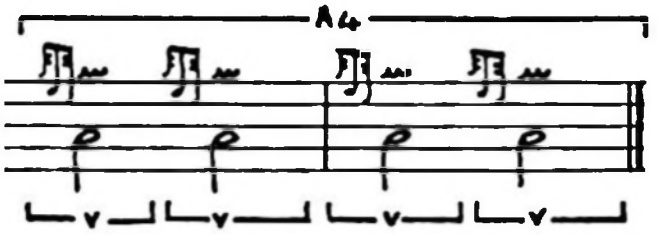
And Q. 3 contains the *rising* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi*hió*endam, . . . *che*óhin".

In Q. 4, Phr. B_4 can best be analysed:



Phr. B_4, in fact, is an altered repeat of Phr. B_3 in which κ_5 (the open E-ending ". . . che*bare*ò") is substituted for κ_1 (the open E-ending ". . . chere*de*"), and λ_3 (the D-beginning "Hi*ha*barea . . .") for λ_1 (the D-beginning "Hi*hara*ra"). One effect of these substitutions is that they make a rhythmical and tonal climax; another is that Phr. B_4 does not contain any repeat of phr. *x*.

Phr. A_4 can best be analysed as follows:



For reasons which have already been fully explained elsewhere (Lorimer 1962:16), 4*v* (the closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*, Hihar*in* hihar*in*") is here conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}; and since Phrs. A_{1-3} do not have an A-ending, but an E-ending, Phr. A_4 therefore has no obvious musical relationship with them, but only a purely conventional one. Phr. A_4 uses both the notes E and A, but not D, B, or low G; and it has *both* an A-beginning ("Hihar*in* . . .") and a closed A-ending (". . . hiha*rin*"); and it contains the sequence of endings ". . . hihar*in*, . . . hihar*in*".

Hence, within Q. 4, Phrs. B_4 and A_4 are complementary, and between them the scale is split:

Q. 4:

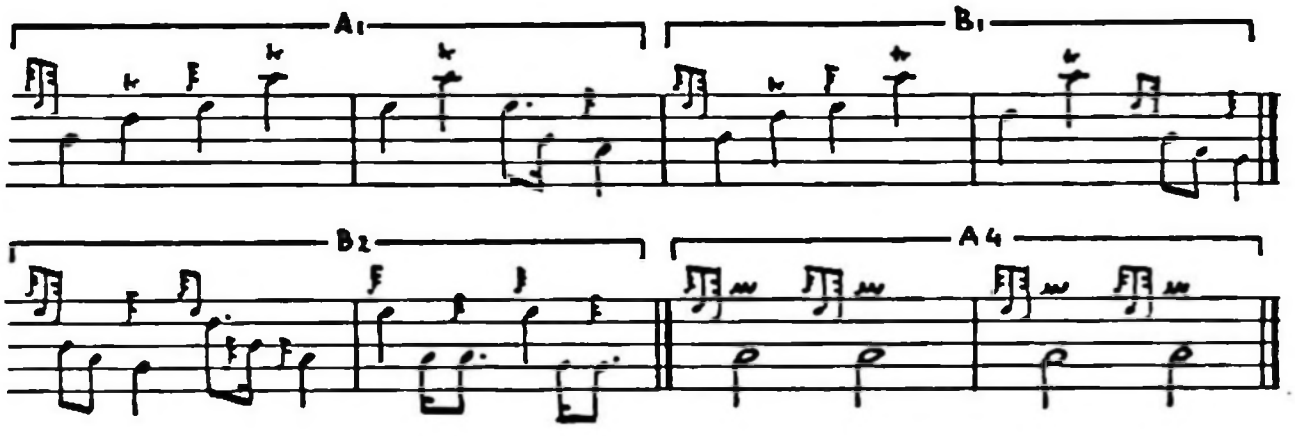
E	E
D	
[B]	
A	[A]
G	

As we have seen, Q. 3 contains the *rising* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi*hió*endam, . . . *che*óhin"; but, solely because of the substitution that has drastically, but quite conventionally, been made in Phr. A_4, Q. 4 contains the *descending* sequence ". . . hi*hió*endam, . . . hihar*in*". And the second half-measure has the tonally completely conclusive A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*".

Thus, to sum up, Phr. A_1 = phrs. $x+a$; Phr. B_1 = phrs. $x+b$; and phrs. *a* and *b* are both developments of phr. *x*. Phr. A_1 contains a *level* sequence of endings in which an open E-ending ". . . chere*de*" is followed by the closed E-ending ". . . *che*óhin": but Phr. B_1 is complementary to Phr. A_1, and contains a *descending* sequence of endings in which the open E-ending ". . . chere*de*" is

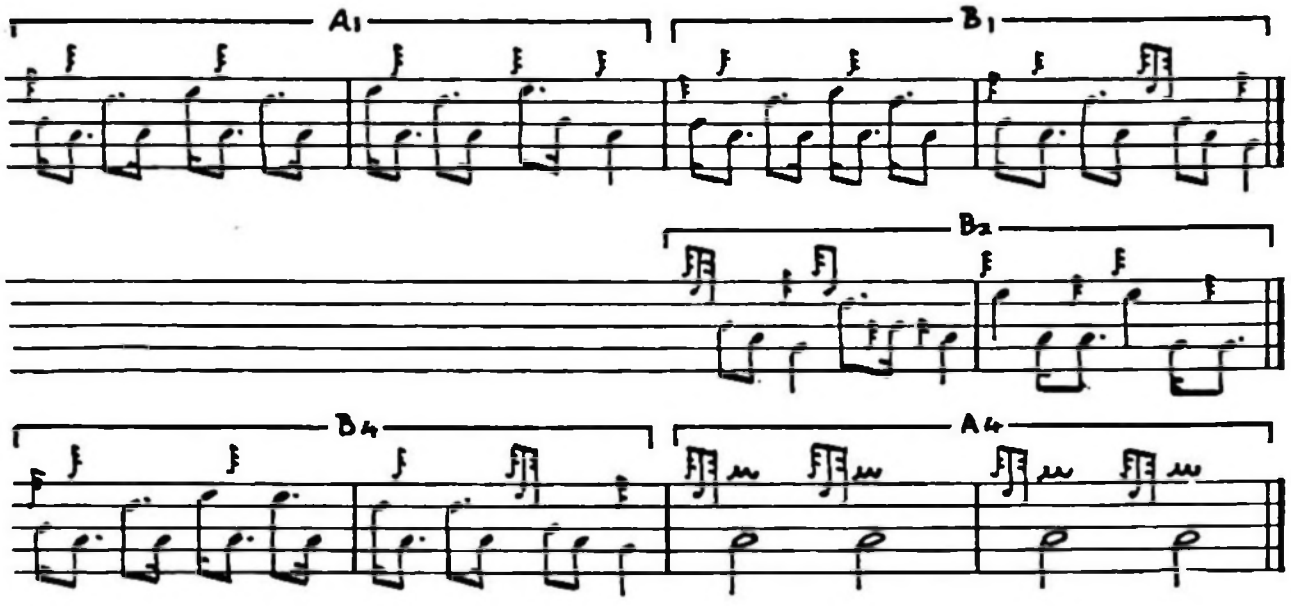
followed by the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*endam". Phr. A_3 = Phr. A_1: but Phr. B_2 is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_1 which also makes reference to Phrs. A_1 and A_2, and has the closed E-ending "*Che*endan *che*embam". But hence: (1) Q. 1 contains the *descending* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . *che*óhin, . . . hi*hió*endam"; (2) Q. 2 contains the *level* one ". . . *che*óhin, . . . *che*embam"; and (3) the first half-measure has the tonally not very conclusive closed E-ending "*Che*endan *che*embam". In the second half-measure, however, Phr. B_3 = Phr. B_1, and Phr. A_3 = Phrs. $A_{1,2}$; Phr. B_4 is an altered repeat of Phrs. B_1 and B_3 which makes a climax; and in Phr. A_4, the closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*, Hihar*in* hihar*in*", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}. And hence: (1) Q. 3 contains the *rising* sequence of phrase-endings ". . . hi*hió*endam, . . . *che*óhin": but (2) Q. 4 contains the *descending* sequence ". . . hi*hió*endam, . . . hihar*in*"; and (3), whereas the first half-measure has, as we have seen, the tonally not very conclusive open E-ending "*Che*endan *che*embam", the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*". Thus here, too, the paradoxes which initially arose out of the way in which Phr. B_1 is related to Phr. A_1 have all been satisfactorily resolved.

2. Var. I (Thumb):



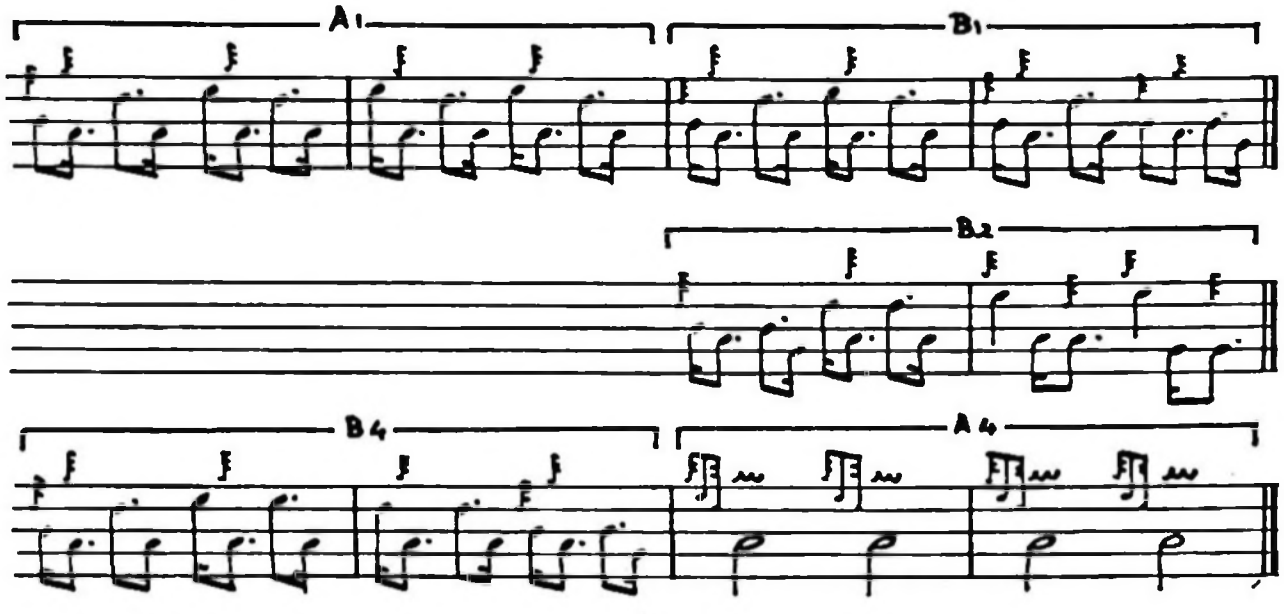
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$; $B_4 = B_3$ (and therefore is not related to Phr. B_1 in the same way as in the *Urlar*). In Phr. A_1, ". . . chedili, Chedili . . ." is substituted for ". . . cherede, Cherede . . ." In Phr. B_1, ". . . chedili" again is substituted for ". . . cherede", and "Hadili . . ." for "Hiharara . . .". This substitution of high A for D perhaps is rather unusual.

3. Var. II (Singling):



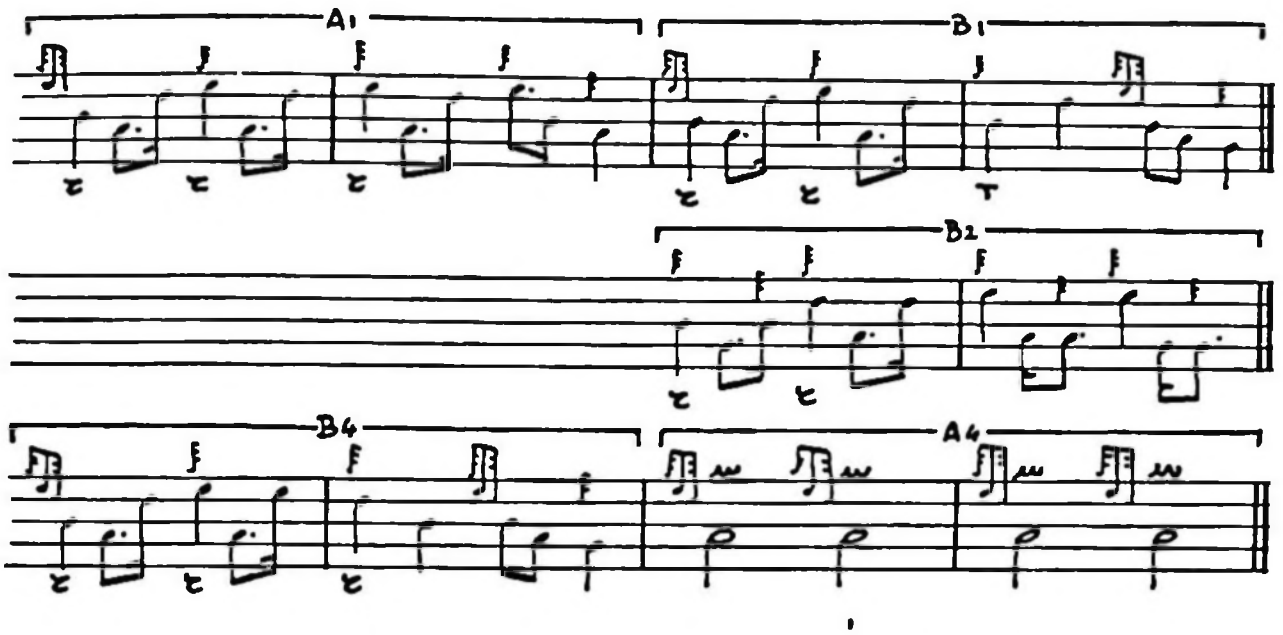
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. All phrase-endings are still the same as in the *Urlar*: but, apart from that, all phrases now have virtually been stripped down to their essential theme-notes.

4. Var. II (Doubling):



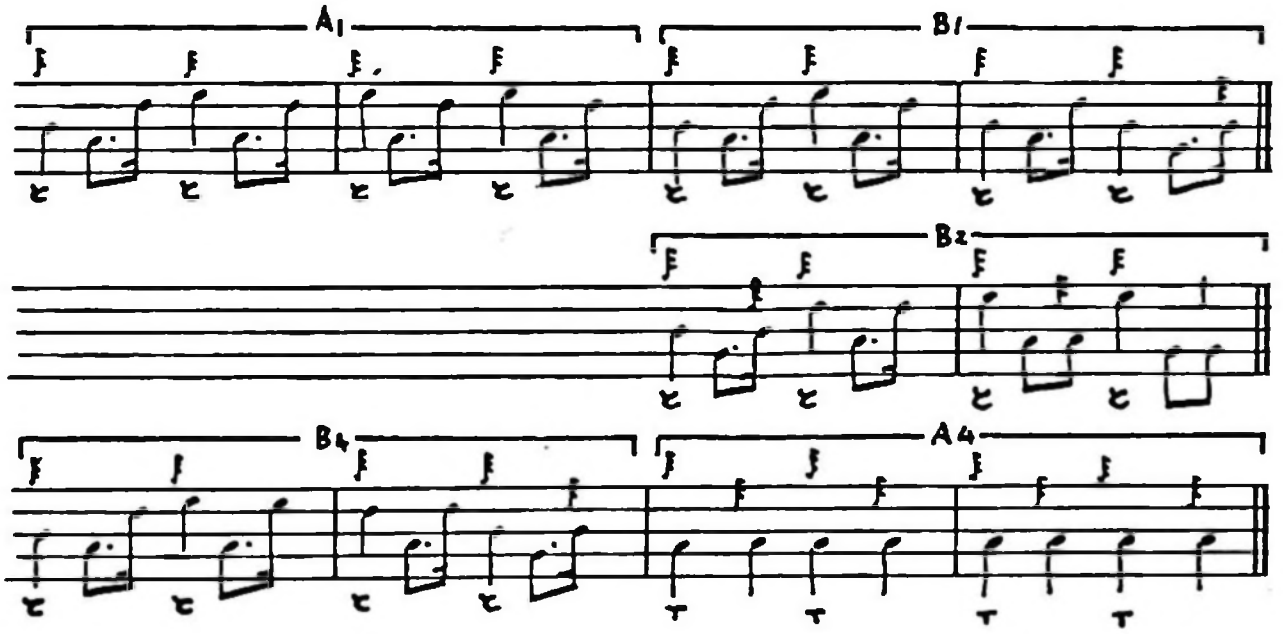
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. All phrase-endings have now been reduced to their essential theme-notes.

5. *Taorluth* (Singling):



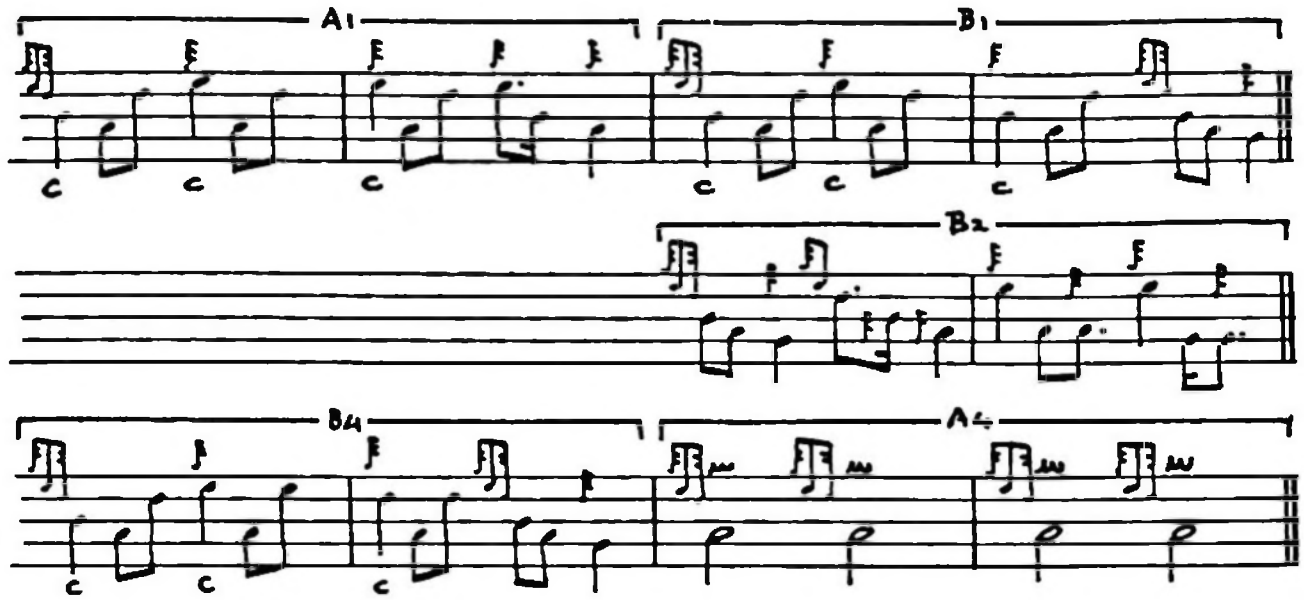
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. Has the same underlying pattern as 3. Var. II (Singling); and all phrase-endings are again the same as in the *Urlar*.

6. *Taorluth* (Doubling):



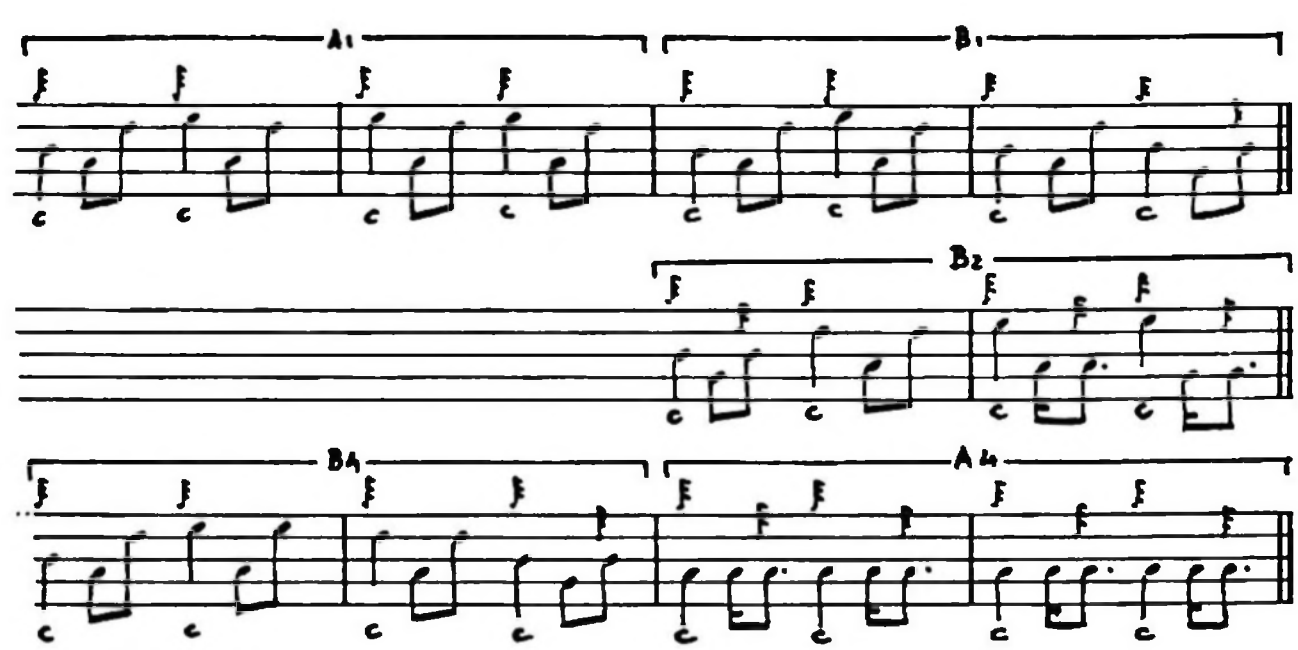
$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. Has the same underlying pattern as 4. Var. II (Doubling), and all phrase-endings have again been reduced to their essential theme-notes.

7. *Crunluth* (Singling):



$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. Has the same underlying pattern as 3. Var. II (Singling) and 5. *Taorluth* (Singling); and all phrase-endings are again the same as in the *Urlar*.

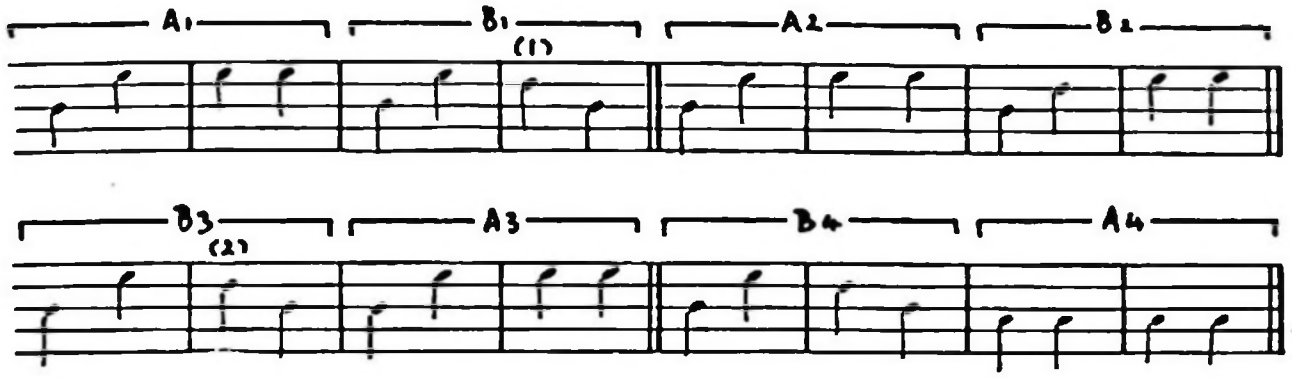
8. *Crunluth* (Doubling):



$A_2 = A_1$; $B_3 = B_1$; $A_3 = A_{1,2}$. Has the same underlying pattern as 4. Var. II (Doubling) and 6. *Taorluth* (Doubling); and all phrase-endings have once more been reduced to their essential theme-notes.

THEME-NOTES

Except as noted, the *Urlar* and all variations throughout are based on the following theme-notes:



1. In 3. Var. II (S.), and in all further variations, this D is replaced by B.

In this magnificent tune, all phrase-endings throughout conform to the following pattern:

E	B	:	E	E
B	E	:	B	A

Hence, as we have already seen, the first half-measure contains a *descending* sequence of phrase-endings followed by a *level* one, and the second contains a *rising* sequence followed by a *descending* one. All that this has in common with the pattern of phrase-endings found in *Bodaich Dhubha* is that in both of them Q. 4 contains a descending sequence in which a B-ending is followed by an A-ending. *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean* and *Bratach Bhàn nan Stiubhartach* evidently do not belong to the same metrical and tonal group.

4

A strict comparative analysis of the metrical and tonal structure of all sixteen extant examples of this metre shows that they can best be classified as follows:

Category A	Type A (1)	Group I
	Type A (2)	
Category B	Type B (1)	
	Type B (2)	
Category C	Type C (1)	Group II
	Type C (2)	
	Type C (3)	
	Type C (4)	
	Type C (5)	Group III

Type A (1) is probably the most primitive; and in the following survey all other types will be defined by reference to it.

CATEGORY A

In all tunes which belong to this category, Phr. A_4 is an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}, and has, therefore, an obvious musical relationship with them.

Type A(1)

There are three extant examples, which all have the following characteristics:

1. The first half of Phr. A_1 has a closed B-ending, and the contents of the second half are "Hiharin hiharin". Hence Phr. A_1 has the closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*".
2. Phr. B_1 is directly derived from the first half of Phr. A_1, but is tonally complementary to the whole of Phr. A_1, and has the same closed B-ending as the first half of Phr. A_1.
3. In one extant example Phr. A_2 is an altered repeat of Phr. A_1: but in both others Phr. A_2 = Phr. A_1.
4. Phr. B_2 is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_1 which also makes reference to Phrs. A_1 and A_2, and has the open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*".
5. Phr. B_3 = Phr. B_1.
6. In the only extant example in which Phr. A_2 is an altered repeat of Phr. A_1, Phr. A_3 = Phr. A_2: but in both others Phr. A_3 = Phrs. A_{1-2}.
7. Phr. B_4 is an altered repeat of Phrs. B_1 and B_3 which makes some sort of climax.
8. In the only extant example in which Phr. A_2 is an altered repeat of Phr. A_1, Phr. A_4 = Phrs. A_{2-3}: but in all other extant examples Phr. A_4 is an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3} which makes some sort of climax; and in all extant examples Phr. A_4 ends "Hiharin hiharin".

Hence Phr. A_1 has the closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*", and Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", the second has the tonally completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*". And the phrase-endings conform to the pattern:

A	B	:	A	B
B	A	:	B	A

Examples: *Lasan Phadruig Chaogaich*,[9] *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill*,[10] both D-tunes; and *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean*, Setting No. 1,[11] a C-tune.

Type A(2)

Much more elaborate than Type A(1), and seems to have been directly derived from it. There is only one extant example of it, and these are the respects in which it differs from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 does not end "Hiharin hiharin", but ". . . hiharin".
2. Phr. B_1 is not directly derived from the first half of Phr. A_1, but is indirectly derived from the whole of Phr. A_1.
3. Phr. B_2 does not have the *open* B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", but has the *closed* B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hió*din".
4. Phr. B_3 is an altered repeat of Phr. B_1.
5. Phr. A_4 is a much-altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3} which also makes reference to Phr. B_1, and does not end "Hiharin hiharin", but ". . . hiharin".

Hence Phr. A_1 has the closed A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*"; and, as in Type A(1), Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the closed B-ending ". . . hi*hió*din", which in itself tonally is fairly conclusive, the second has the tonally completely conclusive A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*". And, despite the differences that have here been noted, all phrase-endings conform to precisely the same pattern as in Type A(1). Example: *Cumha Mhic Shuain a Ròaig*, [12] a D-tune.

CATEGORY B

In all tunes which belong to this category, Phr. A_4 is no longer an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}, but still has a fairly obvious musical relationship with them.

Type B(1)

Seems to have been directly derived from Type A(1). There are three extant examples, and these are the only important respects in which they differ from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. B_2 does not end "Hihóródó hihóródó", but ". . . hihóródó".
2. In Phr. A_4 the ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}: but since Phrs. A_{1-3} all end "Hiharin hiharin", Phr. A_4 still has a fairly obvious musical relationship with them.

Hence, as in Types A(1-2), Phr. A_1 has the closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*", and Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open B-ending ". . . hi*hóródó*", the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*". And all phrase-endings conform to precisely the same pattern as in Types A(1-2). Examples: *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois*,[13] a D-tune; *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean*, Setting No. 2,[14] a C-tune; and *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig*,[15] a CD-tune.

Type B(2)

Seems to have been derived from Type B(1) in the same way as Type A(2) from Type A(1). There are two extant examples of it, and these are the chief respects in which they differ from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 does not end "Hiharin hiharin", but ". . . hiharin".
2. Phr. B_1 is either directly or indirectly derived from the whole of Phr. A_1.
3. In the second extant example Phr. B_2 does not end "Hihóródó hihóródó", but ". . . hihóródó".
4. In the second extant example Phr. B_3 is an altered repeat of Phr. B_1.
5. In the second extant example Phr. B_4 is an altered repeat of Phr. B_3 which does not have a B-ending but a D-ending.
6. In Phr. A_4 of both extant examples the ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}: but since Phrs. A_{1-3} all end ". . . hiharin", Phr. A_4 still has a fairly obvious relationship with them.

Hence in both extant examples Phr. A_1 has the closed A-ending ". . . hihar*in*", and Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", or ". . . hi*hóródó*", the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hihar*in* hihar*in*". In the first extant example all phrase-endings conform to precisely the same pattern as in Types A(1-2) and B(1): but in the second all phrase-endings conform to the slightly different pattern:

A	B	:	A	B
B	A	:	D	A

Examples: *Cumha Mhorair Bhraighid-Albainn*,[16] a C-tune; and *Aontlachd Mhic Neill*,[17] a CD-tune.

CATEGORY C

In all tunes which belong to this category, Phr. A_4 is not an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}, and has no obvious musical relationship with them.

Type C(1)

May perhaps have been derived from Type B(2). There is only one extant example of it, and these are the chief respects in which it differs from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 does not end "Hiharin hiharin", but has a D-ending.
2. Phr. B_1 is directly derived from the whole of Phr. A_1.
3. In Phr. A_4 the familiar ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}; and since Phrs. A_{1-3} all have a D-ending, Phr. A_4 no longer has any obvious musical relationship with them, but only a purely conventional one.

Hence Phr. A_1 has a D-ending: but, as in Types A(1-2) and B(1-2), Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". And all phrase-endings conform to the pattern:

D	B	:	D	B
B	D	:	B	A

Example: *Fàilte Sheòrais Oig*,[18] a D-tune.

Type C(2)

There are three extant examples, and these are the chief respects in which they differ from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 has a C-ending.
2. Phr. B_1 is derived from the whole of Phr. A_1.
3. In Phr. A_4 the ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}; and since they all have a C-ending, it has no obvious musical relationship with them, but only a purely conventional one.

Hence Phr. A_1 has a C-ending, and Phr. B_1 has a B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open B-ending "Hi*hóródó* hi*hóródó*", the second has the

completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". And all phrase-endings conform to the pattern:

C	B	:	C	B
B	C	:	B	A

Examples: *Fàilte Siosalaich Srathghlais*,[19] and *Cumha nam Marbh*,[20] both C-tunes; and *Cumha Mhic Neill*,[21] a CD-tune.

Type C(3)

There is one extant example; and the only respect in which it differs from tunes of Type C(2) is that Phr. B_2 has the closed A-ending "Hihióendam hiha*rin*". Hence, whereas the first half-measure most exceptionally has the closed, tonally conclusive A-ending ". . . hiha*rin*", the second has the closed, still more conclusive A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". And all phrase-endings conform to the pattern:

C	B	:	C	A
B	C	:	B	A

Example: *Dastram gu Seinnim Pìob*,[22] a CD-tune.

Type C(4)

There is only one extant example, and these are the chief respects in which it differs from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 has a closed E-ending.
2. Phr. B_1 is derived from the whole of Phr. A_1, and has a closed D-ending.
3. Phr. B_2 has the open D-ending "Hió*traea* hió*traea*".
4. In Phr. A_4 the closed A-ending "*Hin*darid *hin*darid, *Hin*darid *hin*darid", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}; and since they all have a closed E-ending, Phr. A_4 has no obvious musical relationship with them, but only a purely conventional one.

Hence Phr. A_1 has a closed E-ending, and Phr. B_1 has a closed D-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the tonally inconclusive open D-ending "Hió*traea* hió*traea*", the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "*Hin*darid *hin*darid". And all phrase-endings conform to the pattern:

E	D	:	E	D
D	E	:	D	A

Example: *Cogadh no Sìth*,[23] a CD-tune.

Type C(5)

There is only one extant example, and these are the chief respects in which it differs from tunes of Type A(1):

1. Phr. A_1 has a closed E-ending.
2. Phr. B_2 has the closed E-ending "*Chee*ndan *chee*mbam".
3. In Phr. A_4 the ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}; and since Phrs. A_{1-3} all have a closed E-ending, Phr. A_4 has no obvious musical relationship with them, but only a purely conventional one.

Hence Phr. A_1 has a closed E-ending, and Phr. B_1 has a closed B-ending. Whereas the first half-measure has the closed E-ending "*Chee*ndan *chee*mbam," which tonally is not very conclusive, the second has the completely conclusive closed A-ending "Hiha*rin* hiha*rin*". And all phrase-endings conform to the unique pattern:

E	B	:	E	E
B	E	:	B	A

Example: *Bratach Bhàn nan Stiubhartach*,[24] a D-tune.

As this survey has shown, there are four extant examples of Category A, five of Category B, and seven of Category C. Each of these sixteen tunes, of course, has certain peculiarities of its own: but they all have the same general phrase-pattern; and, besides that, there are five other characteristics that they all have in common. First, Phrs. A_1 and B_1 always are tonally complementary. Secondly, Phr. B_2 always is a much-altered repeat of Phr. B_1 which also makes reference to Phrs. A_1 and A_2, and has a tonally inconclusive, or not completely conclusive, ending. Thirdly, Phr. A_3 always is an unaltered repeat of Phr. A_2. Fourthly, Phr. B_4 always is an altered repeat of Phr. B_3 which makes some sort of climax. And, fifthly, Phr. A_4 always has a tonally completely conclusive closed A-ending.

Now, whereas all but one of the nine extant examples of Categories A and B have precisely the same pattern of phrase-endings, the seven extant examples of Category C have no less than five different patterns of phrase-endings between them. All extant examples of this metre accordingly may now finally be sorted out into three somewhat different groups. These are distinguished from one another by the fact that in

each the phrase-endings conform to a different *type* of pattern; and they do not exactly coincide with Categories A, B and C.

In Group I, which comprises all nine extant examples of Types A(1-2) and B(1-2), Q. 1 has a *rising* sequence of phrase-endings, and so has Q. 2, but Q. 3 has a *descending* sequence, and so has Q. 4. In Group II, which comprises all six extant examples of Types C(1-4), Q. 1 has a *descending* sequence, and so has Q. 2, but Q. 3 has a *rising* one, and Q. 4 has a *descending* one. And in Group III, which only comprises the one extant example of Type C(5), Q. 1 has a *descending* sequence, and Q. 2 has a *level* one, but Q. 3 has a *rising* sequence, and Q. 4 has a *descending* one. Thus there are three very important respects in which Groups II and III both differ from Group I. First, they are not so numerous; for whereas there are nine extant examples of Group I, there are only seven extant examples of Groups II-III. Secondly, they are less homogeneous; for whereas all but one of the nine extant examples of Group I have exactly the same pattern of phrase-endings, the seven extant examples of Groups II-III have no less than five different patterns of phrase-endings between them. And, thirdly, Groups II-III have one musically anomalous characteristic that Group I does not possess; for in all extant examples of Group I Phr. A_4 has an obvious (or, at least, a fairly obvious) musical relationship with Phrs. A_{1-3}, but in all extant examples of Groups II-III Phr. A_4 has no such relationship with Phrs. A_{1-3}, but only a purely conventional one.

5

There cannot, in fact, be much doubt that the types included in Group I were all evolved before any of those included in Groups II-III; and the types included in Groups II-III all seem to have been evolved in the course of an attempt to break away from the original pattern of phrase-endings, presumably because it no longer was felt to be sufficiently sophisticated. But, before any of the types included in Groups II-III were finally invented, it must already have ceased generally to be appreciated that even in Types B (1-2) Phr. A_4 still has a fairly close musical relationship with Phrs. A_{1-3}; and between the dates at which the latest of the types included in Group I and the earliest of those included in Groups II-III were first invented there must, therefore, have been a fairly long interval. All this tends to confirm the writer's own

impressions that most of the tunes included in Group I were originally composed well before the end of the seventeenth century,[26] and that most of those included in Groups II-III probably were not originally composed until well on in the eighteenth.[27] Perhaps we shall not be much mistaken if we suppose that all the types included in Groups II-III were first invented at various dates between 1700 and 1750.

Some of the tunes included in Groups II-III seem to have enjoyed a vogue which lasted from well before the end of the eighteenth century until well on in the nineteenth.[28] But in all the printed collections of pibroch which have since then been published—including Angus Mackay's (1839), Thomason's (1900), and P.S. (1925-57)—all extant examples of this metre have been set forth in various ways which unfortunately do not disclose their true metrical form; and "in modern days", as P.S. (1936:6:167) rightly remark, ". . . tunes of this particular metre are under suspicion and are seldom played". The writer hopes that, despite its apparent novelty, this account of them at least has shown how little strictly *musical* warrant there is for any such misgivings. And since the various names by which this metre has hitherto been called all clearly are very tendentious, he proposes henceforward to call it the "Metre of *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean*"—or, for short, the "B.D.S. Metre".

If all the foregoing analysis also has had the effect of enlarging our comprehension of the rigorous musical logic which governs the metrical and tonal structure of even the simplest classical pibrochs, the effort that it has cost us has not entirely been wasted; and when we finally go on to re-examine the "Primary 6:6:4 Metre" and the "Secondary 6:6:4 Metre" in the light of Joseph MacDonald's "Antient Rule", many of the insights that we have gained may perhaps stand us in good stead.[29]

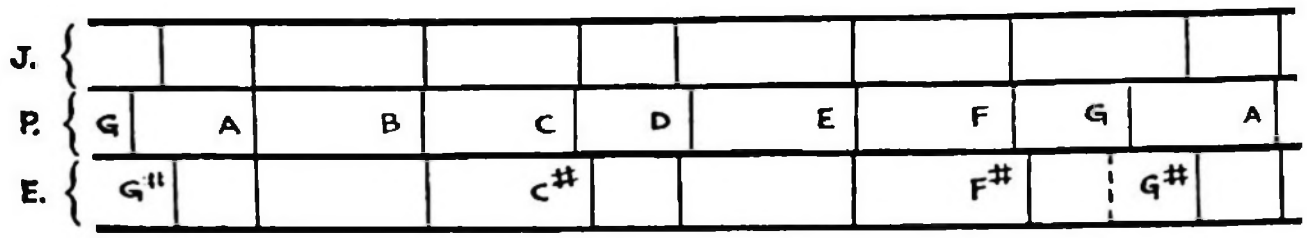
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Professor S. T. M. Newman, C.B.E., I am deeply grateful for much stimulating criticism, and for much other encouragement that he kindly has given me. All the research on which this study is based has had to be done during the week-ends; and I wish once more to thank my wife for having enabled me to spend so much time on it.

NOTES

[1] For a fuller account of Joseph MacDonald, and of his *Compleat Theory*, see Lorimer 1962:1-5.

[2] Here is a comparison of (P.) the scale used in Highland pipe-music with (J.) the just scale, and (E.) the equal scale:



For the measurements on which this diagram (approximately) is based, see MacNeill & Lenihan (1961), the only authoritative account of the pipe-scale that has hitherto been published. In conformity with all modern practice, none of the transcripts of pipe-music in this article includes a key-signature. An approximation—but *only* an approximation—can be obtained by playing them (e.g., on the pianoforte) with C and F both sharp, but with G natural.

[3] The *canntaireachd* (syllabic notation) used in these studies in pibroch is practically the same as Colin Campbell's "Nether Lorn" *canntaireachd*, except that high A is represented by li, C by ò, B by ó. For full details of the Nether Lorn *canntaireachd*, see P.S. 1925: v-vi; for specimens of the modified system used in these studies, see Lorimer 1962:25-7; and for most of the standard abbreviations here used in writing pipe-music out in staff-notation, see P.S. (*passim*), and Campbell 1948:intro. 17, *et passim*.

[4] P.S. 1938: 207, 209), and R.L. (1863.A.1): but cp. also Lorimer (1962:10-11, 20-4). In both the following analyses, the Greek letters α, β, γ, δ . . ., and κ, λ, μ, ν, respectively, denote beginnings and endings. Unlike the analysis of the *ùrlar* of *Bodaich Dhubha* given in Lorimer 1962:20-4, both these analyses are based on a comparative study of all extant tunes that have the same general phrase-pattern; and consequently they are much more illuminating.

[5] Cp. *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill* (Thomason 1900:178-9), in the *ùrlar* of which Phr. B_1 is derived from the first half of Phr. A_1 in almost exactly the same way as in *Bodaich Dhubha*.

[6] This is simply a diagrammatic way of saying: (1) that the first half of Phr. B_1 has all four of the notes FE C A, but no others, and has an A-beginning and a C-ending; and (2) that the second half of Phr. B_1 uses all four of the notes E CBA, but no others, and has an A-beginning and a B-ending. This "splitting" of the scale between two halves of one metrical unit ensures that each tonally is less complete than both together; and it is perhaps the commonest of the technical devices used in composing our classical pibrochs.

[7] Here it is, of course, merely a coincidence that the same letters of the alphabet have had to be used to designate Phrs. A and B, and also to designate the theme-notes on which the phrase-endings of this tune are based.

[8] P.S. 1938: 201-2. But for lack of space, it might also be demonstrated that, as in *Bodaich Dhubha*, both halves of every phrase (except Phr. A4) are tonally complementary to each other.

[9] P.S. 1934: 139-40. The only extant example of this metre in which it is not the case that Phr. A_2 = Phr. A_1, but that Phr. A_2 is an altered repeat of Phr. A_1.

[10] Thomason 1900:178-9. The variations given in this version all are grossly corrupt. *Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall*, for which see P.S. 1957: 260-1, and Lorimer 1962:9, 28[8], is clearly a derivative of *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill*, and has not here been counted as a separate tune.

[11] P.S. 1938: 207, 209. The *ùrlar* now has 17 bars, and so has Var. I: but cp. Lorimer 1962:10-11.

[12] P.S. 1925: 39-40; and cp. Lorimer 1962:13.

[13] Thomason 1900:201-2. Some of the phrase-endings appear to have been somewhat garbled in transmission; and the versions that we possess are probably related to a now lost original in much the same way as *Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall* to *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill*.

[14] P.S. 1938: 208-9. The *ùrlar* now has 18 bars: but cp. Lorimer 1962:11-12.

[15] P.S. 1925: 25-7). Each whole measure now has only 15 bars: but cp. Lorimer 1962:12.

[16] Campbell 1797: 159-62. The known history of this tune, for which see Lorimer 1962:14, affords an excellent example of the way in which all tunes of Categories B and C (i.e., all those in Phr. A_4 of which the ending "Hiharin hiharin, Hiharin hiharin", is conventionally substituted for an altered repeat of Phrs. A_{1-3}) were all too liable to be mutilated in transmission.

[17] P.S. 1939: 244-5. Each whole measure now has only 15 bars: but cp. Lorimer 1962:14.

[18] Campbell 1797: 110; and cp. Lorimer 1962:15.

[19] Campbell 1797: 190-3; and cp. Lorimer 1962:15.

[20] Mackay 1862-40: 64. Each whole measure now has only 15 bars: but cp. Lorimer 1962:15-16.

[21] Thomason 1900:119-20.

[22] P.S. 1936: 166-7. Each whole measure now has only 15 bars: but cp. Lorimer 1962:15.

[23] Thomason 1900:132.

[24] P.S. 1938: 201-2.

[25] This classification broadly confirms the one provisionally worked out in Lorimer 1962:9-16; for, of the "six distinct metrical types" which there were postulated, "Types I-IV" coincide with those here included in Group I, and "Types V-VI" with those here included in Groups II-III. Considering that the criteria we initially adopted were so much blunter than those on which we have relied in this article, this final result is all the more gratifying.

[26] This supposition at least does not conflict with such other evidence as we possess. Of the nine extant examples of Group I, *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois* is traditionally attributed to Donald Mòr MacCrimmon, who flourished early in the seventeenth century; Joseph MacDonald quotes it (1760-2:[32]); and, if we are right in thinking (above, n. 13) that some of its phrase-endings have been garbled in transmission, they had already been garbled by then. *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill* (and its derivative *Ruaig air Caiptein nan Gall*), *Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean* (both settings), and *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois*, all seem to have been much elaborated or altered in transmission; and in *Thainig mo Righ air Tìr am Muideart* (a "secondary 6:6:4" pibroch said to have been composed in 1745) the opening phrases have clearly been borrowed from *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill*. All this suggests (1) that these four

extant examples of Group I were all originally composed at a relatively early date, and (2) that all four of them once were very widely disseminated, but (3) that by 1745 *Fàilte Cloinn Dhòmhnuill*, at least, was no longer very well-known. The fact that Joseph MacDonald quotes *Spaidsearachd Iarla Rois* and (1760-2:[38]) *Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig* of course is evidence that both these tunes were still current in the mid-eighteenth century, but not that tunes of any similar type were still being composed.

[27] Of the 9 tunes included in Group I, 4 are D-tunes, 3 are C-tunes and 2 are CD-tunes: but of the 7 included in Groups II-III, 2 are D-tunes, 2 are C-tunes and 3 are CD-tunes. Thus about 44 per cent. of the tunes included in Group I are D-tunes, and only about 22 per cent of them are CD tunes: but about 43 per cent of those included in Groups II-III are CD-tunes, and only about 29 per cent of them are D-tunes. Although the sample on which they are based is only a very small one, these percentages are very striking; and at least they suggest that most of the tunes included in Groups II-III are probably of later origin than most of those included in Group I. But Joseph MacDonald (1760-2:[32] also quotes *Cogadh no Sìth*; and Type C (4) must, therefore, have been invented before 1760 at latest.

[28] Thus according to P.S. 1936: 167, 1938: 202, and 1957: 253, 255, some of the tunes included in Groups II-III were often played in competitions held during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and some also figure in several early MSS.

[29] For one outstanding example of the advantages that may accrue from a working knowledge of the musical logic of pibroch, see P.S. 1930: 94-5. As the writers shrewdly remark, such knowledge may "also assist in the emendation of tunes which have come down to us in an obviously mutilated form", but perhaps its "greatest value would be as a guide to the would-be composer of piobaireachd". It is probably because such knowledge ceased, *c.* 1780, to be transmitted that so many of the "pibrochs" composed since *c.* 1825 are musically worthless. The writer, however, hopes that in the end these studies in pibroch may help to bring about a revival of pibroch-*composition.*

REFERENCES

CAMPBELL, A.

1953 *The Kilberry Book of Ceol Mor.* 2nd ed. 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.

1962 "Studies in Pibroch—1. The '4:6:4:1 (or 2)' Metre reconsidered in the light of Joseph MacDonald's 'Antient Rule'." *Scottish Studies* 6:1-30.

MACDONALD, J.

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

MACKAY, A.

[1826-40] Bagpipe Music Mss. Vols. I and II. N.L.S. mss. 3753-4.

MacNeill, Seumas and Lenihan, John, M.A.
1961 "The Scale of the Highland Bagpipe", chs. vii-viii. *Piping Times* 13:6, 8-10; 7, 8-10.
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.

THE CHILCARROCH PLOUGH

AN OLD SCOTCH PLOUGH IN STRANRAER COUNTY MUSEUM

Alexander Fenton

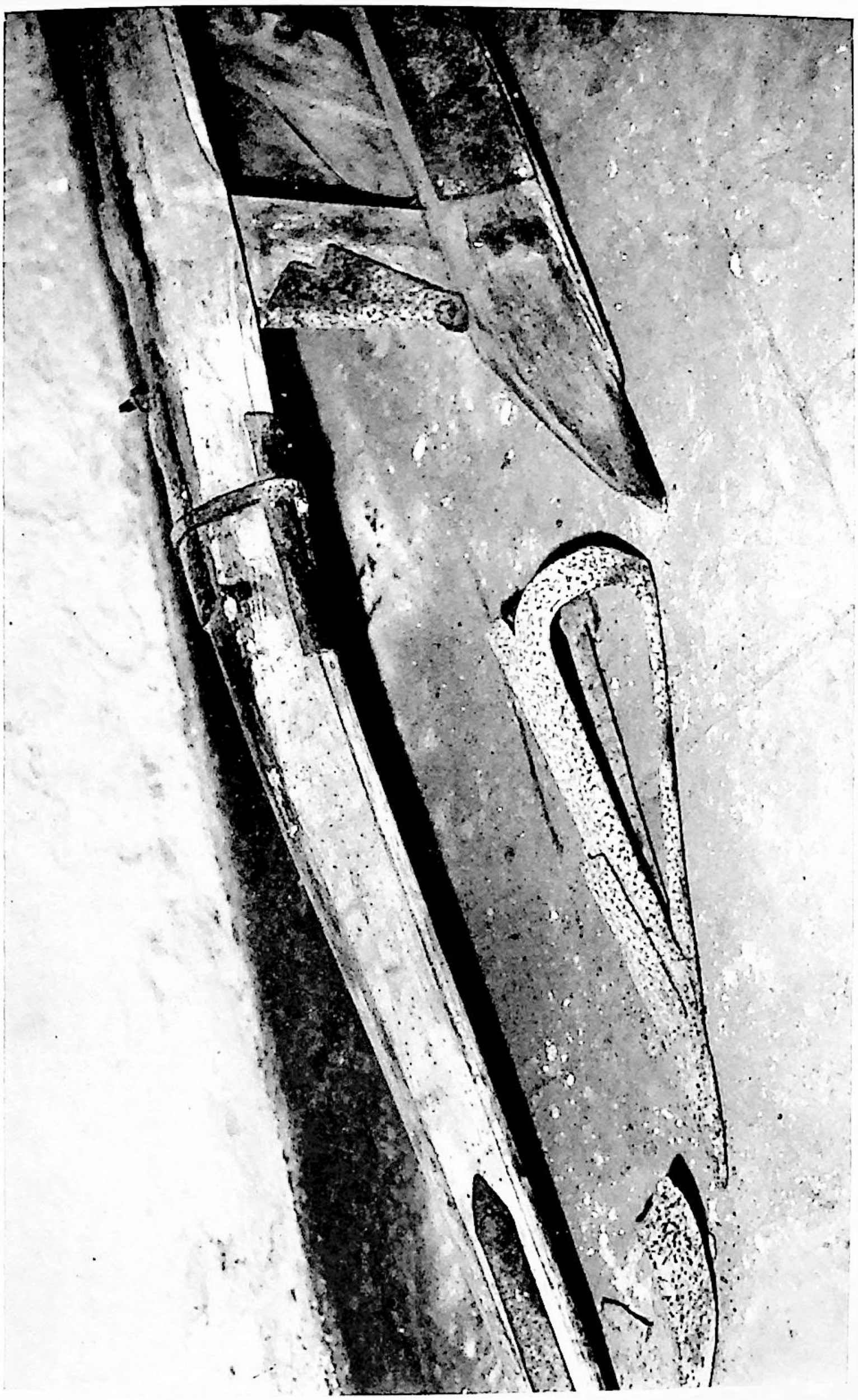
The heavy, rectangular-framed plough commonly referred to by agricultural writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the "old Scotch plough", has already been illustrated in diagrammatic form in the pages of this journal (Jirlow and Whitaker 1957:80). The first recorded surviving example of such a plough has now come to light in Stranraer County Museum. Its existence was brought to the attention of Miss E. McCaig, former County Librarian and Curator of the County Museum, by William Ronnie, blacksmith at Mochrum, and the late W. McLellan of Mochrum Schoolhouse, in 1955. It had last been in use about 1880-90. When brought to Stranraer, it was found to be badly worm eaten, its beam was broken, and the main handle was missing, having broken off at the point where the beam was mortiсed into it. The coulter is missing. Treatment has been given against wood-beetle, and the beam has been repaired. The missing stilt and coulter will ultimately be replaced, and it should be possible to achieve accuracy from the evidence of the surviving part of the stilt and from the diagrams in Dickson 1770:facing p. 182, and Gray 1814: I, Plate I. The plough is in store at present in the Old Castle of Stranraer. For the convenience of readers of this note, Gray's diagram, which is in all respects similar to the Chilcarroch plough, is reproduced in Fig. 1, along with a key to the names of parts.

This type of plough was universal in Scotland (apart from some areas of the Highlands and Islands) until it began to be replaced by the lighter, two horse ploughs that evolved in the eighteenth century, the best known being the chain plough developed by the Berwickshire ploughwright James Small in 1767. It was the old Scotch plough that carried out the hard, back-breaking task of bringing under cultivation more and more of the land in Scotland from early feudal times onwards, and made the way comparatively easy for the light swing-plough of the last two centuries. It must therefore, be awarded a prime place in the history of cultivation in Scotland,

The Chilcarroch Plough, showing the upswept rear of the mouldboard and the metal plated land-side.

PLATE X

The rectangular frame of the Chilcarroch Plough. The iron ring round the coulter mortice is known as the "sleeband".



The gridded share of the Chilcarroch Plough.

and the Chilcarroch plough will form a most important exhibit in the extension that is being planned to the present Museum building in Stranraer.

The plough has a sturdy rectangular frame formed by the sole, the sheath, the lower part of the great stilt and the rear part of the beam. The flat wooden mouldboard has its ground-wrest and lower part plated with iron. The breast, or fore part of the sheath, the land-side and underside of the head and the side of the lower part of the great stilt, are also iron plated. The small stilt is bolted to the inside of the mould-board, and was originally linked to the great stilt by three wooden rungs. The iron bridle is bolted to the end of the beam,

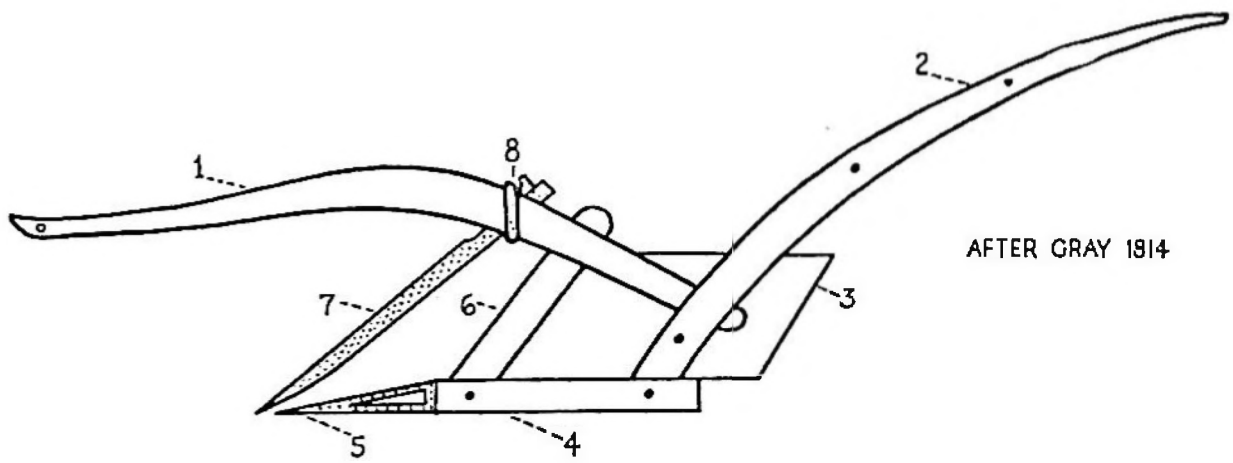


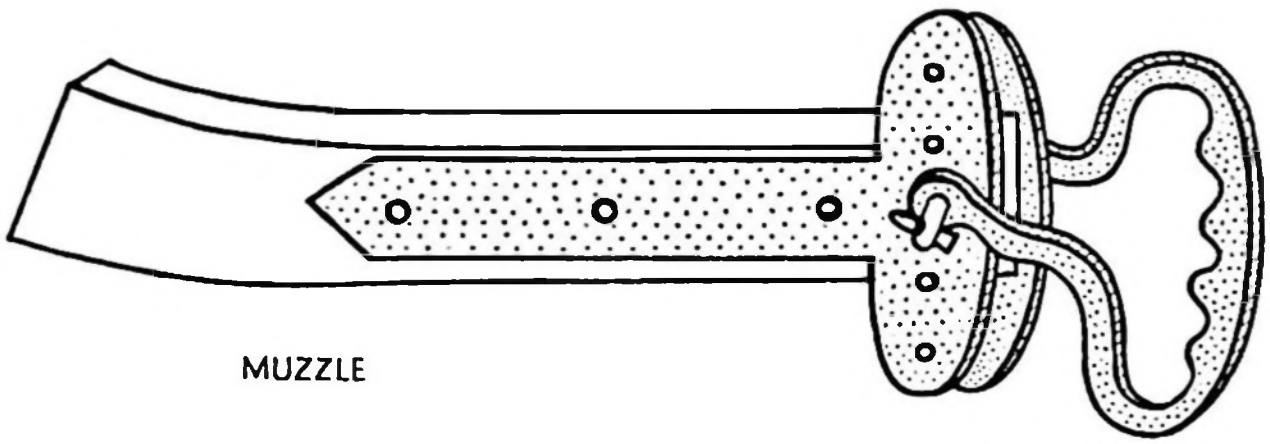
FIG. 1. GLOSSARY OF TERMS.

1. Beam
2. Stilts or handles. The "great stilt" was at the land-side, and the "small stilt" at the furrow side
3. Mouldboard
4. Plough-head
5. Sock or share
6. Sheath
7. Coulter
8. Wedge for retaining coulter

and lateral adjustment of the plough in yoking was probably achieved by a detachable, horizontally notched iron loop, such as that illustrated by Dickson (Fig. 2).

The plough is furnished with two massive shares or "socks", which were retrieved by John McQuaker, president of the Wigtownshire Antiquarian Society. One is spear-shaped, and of an open, gridded construction, suitable for use in stiff, stony soil. The other has a share with a feather or fin, of the type commonly found on horse-drawn ploughs of recent times, suitable for cutting through roots in weed-infested soils. Farmers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially those in Angus, Perthshire and Stirlingshire, liked to have plough-irons represented on their grave-stones. Shares of both kinds appear (Christison 1902:280-457; 1904:55-116), the gridded ones often being shown with a coulter thrust through

them. A share of each type was evidently part of each plough's equipment, as Dickson also shows (Fig. 2). Numerous examples of gridded shares are preserved in Scottish museums, and those from Aberdeen have been published (Payne 1957:184). They occur also in Northern Ireland, where, indeed, they were being used at least till the 1950s on wooden drill ploughs



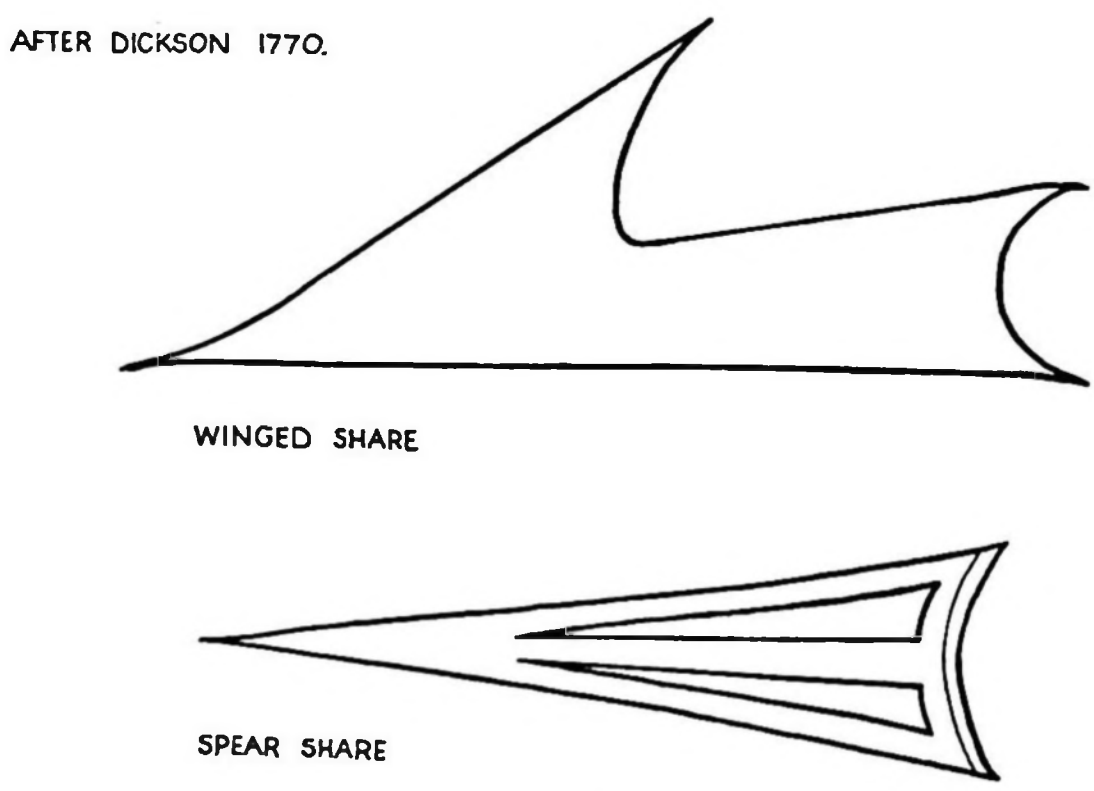


Fig. 2.

(Seaby 1958:85-6). The Scottish ones vary considerably in size, and were used on the light ploughs introduced in the eighteenth century as well as on the old Scotch plough. The Chilcarroch share is the longest so far found, though this is explained by the fact that the blacksmith at Mochrum Smithy, Mr. Milhench, put extra long points on when he was dressing them so that they would not need re-doing too soon at a busy period. There is little doubt that these old Scotch ploughs made

continuous demands on a smith's services. The markedly different planes of the land-side and the beam of the Chilcarroch plough would mean that the point of the share was digging hard into the land at an angle all the time. The friction and amount of wear must have been very considerable, and one of the reasons for the large plough-teams of anything up to twelve animals becomes evident.

The plough can be dated with reasonable certainty. The farm of Chilcarroch from which it originally came was tenanted by the family of Anderson for over 200 years. From Chilcarroch it went to the farm of Culbae, Whauphill, and then to the farm of High Elrig. It lay in the rafters there for eighty years before it came to the Museum. It is thought locally that it may have come to Chilcarroch about 1793. This view is supported by the literary evidence for the types of cultivating implements in Wigtownshire in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. The parish descriptions in the Old Statistical Account show that there were in use in the 1790s four types of plough: a light, two-horse, chain plough similar to James Small's model, sometimes, known as the "English" plough, a light two-horse version of the old Scotch plough, a light, two-horse plough described as the "Carlisle" plough and the old Scotch plough for heavy or stony land, drawn by three to four horses with a driver at their head as well as a man holding the stilts. The latter was already rare in Mochrum by the 1790s (Steven 1796:567), and had gone almost completely out by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1814, it was written about in the past tense as follows (Smith 1814:99-100):

"The old Scotch plough, but with some improvements, and of neater workmanship, long maintained its reputation, from the idea that the broken stony lands of Galloway were not adapted for any other. But it is now found that ploughs on the model of Small's, with the latest improvements made upon it, answer much better on almost every species of soil; and that the additional expence is more than compensated by durability arising from superior workmanship. It is proper to mention, that, at some of the ploughing matches in Galloway, ploughs were brought from Roxburghshire, Berwickshire, Northumberland, and other counties, the most celebrated for agriculture. Their respective merits being accurately ascertained; the tradesmen in the country afterwards copied from the most approved models among them, and soon equalled the originals."

Smith's statement, taken in conjunction with the evidence of the Old Statistical Account, completely supports the date of 1793 based on local information.

Dimensions: Overall length of plough, 10 feet 3 inches.
Overall length of beam, 7 feet.
Mortise in beam for coulter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
Length of sole, 2 feet 9 inches.
Length of mouldboard, 3 feet 1 inch.
Depth of mouldboard, 1 foot 2 inches, tapering (upswept) at the rear to 9 inches.
Maximum width of plough, 1 foot 6 inches.
Gridded share, 2 feet 1 inch by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Winged share, 1 foot 3 inches by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This note is intended rather to draw attention to a unique survival than to be a definite study. Thanks are due to Mr. Wilson, Curator of the Stranraer County Museum, and his assistant Mr. Pilling, for their help and co-operation.

REFERENCES

Christison, D.
1902 "The Carvings and Inscriptions of the Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands; Particularly in Perth, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Lothian." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 36:280-457.
1904 "Additional Notes on Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39:55-116.

Dickson, Adam
1770 *A Treatise of Agriculture*, 2 vols. Edinburgh.

Gray, Andrew
1814 *Explanation of the Engravings of the Most Important Implements of Husbandry used in Scotland.* Edinburgh.

Jirlow, Ragnar and Whitaker, Ian
1957 "The Plough in Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 1:71-94. Edinburgh.

Payne, Francis G.
1957 "A Scottish Ploughshare Type." *Gwerin* 1:184-6.

Seaby, Wilfred
1958 "The Ulster Drill Plough." *Gwerin* 2:85-6.

Smith, Samuel
1814 *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway.* London.

Steven, John
1796 "Parish of Mochrum." *The Old Statistical Account* 17:559-73.

THE AGRICULTURE OF CRAIL, 1550-1600

Joan E. L. Murray

The general picture of agriculture in Scotland, until the widespread improvements in the eighteenth century, is familiar enough. However, there were bound to be regional variations in crops and productivity, as there are to-day. I have tried to form a picture of agriculture in the neighbourhood of Crail, in the period 1550-1600, for which there are fairly full burgh records (unpublished). These are supplemented by such national source material as refers to Crail. In what follows, the references by date alone are to the burgh court books.

Because of trading contacts with relatively advanced countries, this area might be expected to be early in introducing certain improvements. Crail merchants traded with England, France, the Low Countries, the Baltic area and Norway. Fishing provided the main exports, but agriculture played an important part in the economy of the burgh. In an incomplete "census" of 1556-7, there are 29 occupiers of land (and 14 fishermen), out of 65 men for whom details are given. The holdings range from 2 to 10 acres, the total being 156 acres. Many of the 29 were at the same time active as merchants, as is clear from court cases. Some of the merchants were closely connected with land-owning families, by birth or marriage, so that the purchase of land would be a natural investment to them, when they prospered. Thus in the "census" we find "Maister George Meldrum ane merchant & seruand to his fader Mayster Thomas Meldrum of Sagey and lyfis sua only", the last phrase showing that he held no land then. By 9 March, 1569-70, when he obtained four acres of the burgh muir in feu, he held the lands of Trostrie, which bounded these acres on the south.

The medieval custom of a periodic redistribution of arable land had evidently not survived here, and a fair amount of consolidation of holdings had taken place before this time, as indeed is apparent in the descriptions of properties acquired

by Sir William Myrtoun around 1500 for his foundation of the Collegiate Kirk of Crail (Rogers 1877). A reasonably typical holding is one which was inherited in 1566, held in feu from one of the prebends, consisting of six acres which lay in parcels of two acres, one acre, one acre and the other two acres as five contiguous butts, four butts and four butts. Some lands in Pottergate, feued in 1561-2, lay in runrig (R.M.S. 1578-9, ch. 2839), but this can be explained by the fact that they pertained to the service of St. Katherine's altar, which was founded before 1457. Similar circumstances seem to account for all the cases of arable land in runrig within the burgh roods. A large part of the burgh land did in fact belong to various ecclesiastical foundations—the Collegiate Kirk and older chaplainries in Crail, the Abbey of Haddington, and others.

The inconvenience of scattered holdings is obvious. There is a contract preserved in Crail, dated 22 August, 1577, between various proprietors of the lands of Boarhills, "bearing that the said lands then lay in runrig, and on that account they sustained great loss and inconvenience, therefore agreeing that the same should be divided into three parcels or shares, according to their respective interests" (Conolly 1869:153).

Of the 156 acres mentioned in the "census" of 1556-7, only three are specified as held in feu, but there was soon a great increase in this form of tenure, (which was encouraged by Acts of Parliament, from 1457-8). Shortly after the Reformation, most of the lands in Crail belonging to the prebendaries were set in feu. In 1565-6 (R.M.S., ch. 1700), Cunningham of Barns was given special licence to feu to the occupiers thereof his lands of West Barns and Gallowside, just west of Crail. Parts of the burgh muir were also set to burgesses in this way. The occupier gained the advantage of security of tenure, which might encourage him to improve the land; the landlord could obtain an augmented rent, as well as a capital sum, the grassum.

The standard rent was two bolls of bere per acre, but fixed money rents were not unknown, and rents expressed in kind were sometimes paid in money, according to the current prices. Here are some examples of rents.

1556/7 "census"—Jhone Costrophyne eyster lawberer and occupiar of x akaris of ferme land payand thairfor yeyrly xx bollis beyr wyth the cherite . . .

The cherity was a small additional amount, often one peck per boll, originally given as a good-will gift.

29 Nov. 1568—It is appoyntit concordit and finallye agret betuix honorabill personis that is to say Allexander Gray seruitour to our souerane lord the Kyngis maistye one that ane part the portionaris of the Kyngis Barnis addettit to pay to the said Allexander thair yeirly fermis and kaponis . . . one the wthir part ar contentit of thair avin fre moty vill that thair be yeirly payit foir ilk ane of the kaponis aboue wretin yeirly xxxij d. alennerlye nother eikand nor deminisent indurand the said Allexander Gray and his wyf vptakin of the samyn . . .

7 Sep. 1571—Ninian Hammylton induellar in Preston Pannis be the tenour heiroff settis and for the sowme of tuolf powndis money of this realme yeirlie lattis To ane honest man Robert Arnote burgess of the brugh of Craile . . . All and haile thre akaris of arable landis callit the Smythislandis lyand within the burrow ruidis of the said brugh.

The land of Crail's muir was set in feu at a much lower rent; presumably a lot of clearing was needed before it could be ploughed. When part of it was set in 1566 "for vj s. viij d. yerly for ilk aker of few maill", several of the consenting burgesses "in this mane tyme" refused "thair part thairoff sayand thay vald noht haif it one that price nor na part thairoff". There is no mention of a grassum here.

The feudal services which many tenants owed to their lord as well as rent would not arise with burgh land, but the inhabitants were of course astricted to the town's mills, and had the duties of "walk and ward, scot and lot", i.e. watch and guard duty as required, and payment of their assessed share of local or national expenses.

As regards security of tenure and consolidation of holdings, it does appear that Crail was in advance of much of the country. This is likely to be true of the burghs in general, where there was a money economy in contrast to the subsistence farming of much of the countryside.

Let us now consider the evidence about crops, stock, methods of cultivation, etc. We are particularly well-informed about David Fermour's half-quarter of Kingsbarns.

Protocol Book, 17 Apr. 1569—Comperit in presens of me notar publik vnderwrytin honorable men [4 names] jugis arbytratouris amicable chosin betuix honorable men Maister Thomas Ramsay and Dauid Fermour portionaris of the quarter parte landis of Kyngisbarnis for the diuisioun methyng and marchyne of the

landis of Kyngisbarnis occupiit be thame instantlie, The foirsaidis landis beyng weseit seine considderit and merchit this day be the foirsaidis jugis, The jugis present with expres consent and assent of the saidis parteis pronunsis decernis and ordanis the merchis of the heid of the Sefeild land to abyd stand and remane perpetually in all tyme cummyng in the samin places as thay ar at this present and neuer to be removit, . . . and the said parteis to haif free passage be the see syd to the twa wellis aboun the boit hewin that is to say the said Dauid to watter alenarly and the said Maister Thomas bayth to watter and pasture, And siclyk decernis and ordanis ilk ane of the saidis parteis in all tyme cummyng to weynd [turn the plough] vpoun all the landis occupiit be thame except vpoun ane breid daile with twa rygis nixte adiacent lyand be sowth the samin in the nether Langlands aboun the well heidis At the quhilk parte the said Dauid Fermour sall full ane fowsa cassin be hym to the effect the said Maister Thomas may mak ane heidryg thair . . . And the foirsaidis jugis decernis and ordanis the saidis parteis to haif fre passage throw the sowth lone the wall heidis and throw the sowth dame to the lones reseruit to thame vpoun the nyxt quarter passand to the Kyngis mwir with carte or wayne with sax kattell or hors and na ma, And the said Dauid Fermour of his awin fre motive will bindis and oblesis hym yeirlie to reserue to the said Maister Thomas ane sufficient fre passage to his land throw his land callit the nether Rasche Cruik sa lang as the samin is one telit or sawin, and quhan it is telit or sawin to reserue and keip to the said Maister Thomas ane sufficient passage to pass to his land with ane tedderit kow & hors throw, And the said Maister Thomas . . . licences the foirsaid Dauid to haif ane passage to Newhall burne with his cattell for watteryng of thame Quhansaeuer that parte of the said Maister Thomas land salhappin to ly ley.

There is also a testament giving the crops and stock of the farm, in 1597. This was after a series of bad harvests. 1594-7 were years of great dearth in Scotland, and the accounts of the customer for Crail, Pittenweem and Anstruther (Exch. Rolls *passim*) make it clear that this area was affected. They show exports of grain for four years up to July 1593, and then none for five years, while there was a considerable import of English victual in the year to July 1596.

31 Oct. 1597—Elspot Fouller spous to the said Dauid Fermour maid hir testament as followis

Inventar

Inprimis the said Elspot hes the guidis geir & vtheris quhilkis perteinis to hir & hir said spous in commone betuix thame as thair awin proper guidis viz. inprimis thrie hors price of thame all lx lib.

Ane meir price x lib. nyne oxin by the airschip price of thame all ourheid jᶜlxij lib. Item tua ky price of thame bayth xxxvj lib. Item xxiiij yowis price of thame all ourheid xlviij lib. xx lambis price of thame all ourheid xiij lib. vj s. viij d. xvj gymmer & dillmount price of thame all ourheid xxiiij lib. Item in the barne ane half chalder quheit price of the boll x lib. summa lxxx lib. In the barneyaird ane stak of quheit estimat to xl thraiffis & to x bollis quheit price of the boll corne & fodder x lib. x s. Summa jᶜv lib. Item four stakis baer estimat to lxxx bollis baer price of the boll corne & fodder vij lib. Summa vᶜlx lib. Item In the barneyaird xiiij rwikis of pis & beinis estimat to lxxx bollis beinis price of the boll corne & fodder vj lib. Summa iiijᶜlxxx lib. Item fiwe stakis aetis estimat to vˣˣ bollis aetis price of the boll corne & fodder v lib. x s. Summa vᶜl lib. vtenceillis & domiceillis of the hous by the airschip estimat to l lib.

Summa of the inventar is ijᵐjᶜlxxviij lib. vj s. viij d. Na dettis awand in

Dettis awand to vtheris

Inprimis to his maiesties baxter Patrik Rannald for my fewferme landis of the lxxxxvj yeiris crope for the price of xviij bollis quheit at xvj lib. the boll ijᶜlxxxiiij lib. Item to the said Patrik of the lxxxxv yeiris crope jᶜ lib. Item for my fewferme of the lxxxxvij yeiris crope to the said Patrik xviij bollis quheit price of the boll xij lib. Summa ijᶜxvj lib. Item to William Craig his maiesties brouster for my fewferme baer of the lxxxxvj yeiris crope ijᶜlxiiij lib. Item mair to the said William for this yeiris ferme xxij bollis baer price of the boll viij lib. Summa jᶜlxxvj lib. Item to Maister Dauid Lindsay maister in Leith for the teindis of the lxxxxvj yeris crope lx lib. Item mair to him of the lxxxxvij yeris crope xvj bollis half baer half meill price of the boll ourheid aucht lib. Summa jᶜxxviij lib. Item to Maister James Meldrum . . . for the teind of the lxxxxvij yeiris crope ij bollis quheit price of the boll xij lib. summa xxiiij lib. Item to his maiesties factouris & chamberlanis for his maiesties ken kapones xj of the lxxxxvj yeiris crope price of the peice xvj s. Summa viij lib. xvj s. Item for his maiesties ken of the lxxxxvij yeiris crope xv capones price of the peice xiij s. iiij d. Summa x lib. Item for his maiesties few maill of the lxxxxvij yeiris v lib. . . . [The total debt is £3070 18s., against assets of £2173 6s. 8d.].

Two further testaments are interesting because they give the estimated yield of the sown crops. Here are the inventories, omitting the prices.

27 Apr. 1597—Jhone Mitchill in the north quarter of Kippo maid his testament as followis

Inprimis he hes perteining to him the guidis geir cornis cattell insycht plenesching & vtheris vnderwrittin as his awin proper

guidis viz. ane hors ane staig & twa meiris . . . foure oxin . . . twa ky and ane stirk . . . sax yowis with thair lambis & twa hogis. . . . Item sawin in the ground thrie firlottis twa pekis quheit estimat to the thrid turne. . . . Item sawin xxviij bollis aitis estimat to the thrid turne. . . . Item in the barne twa bollis baer. . . . Item sawin ane halff boll peis estimat to ane boll . . . vtenceillis & domiceillis of the hous. . . .

3 Sep. 1597—Agnes Gibsone spous to Dauid Alexander in his presens maid hir testament as followis

Inprimis scho hes perteining to hir & hir said spous thrie hors. . . . Item ane staig. . . . Item foure ky . . . twa yeirling calffis. . . . Item fiwe scheip . . . item in the malt barne ten bollis malt. . . . Item sawin in the ground ten bollis baer estimat to the ferd turne Inde xl bollis. . . . Item sawin nyne bollis bennis estimat to the ferd turne Inde xxxvj bollis. . . . Item sawin sewin bollis aetis Inde xxviij bollis. . . . Item vtenceillis & domiceillis in the hous. . . . [Debts include "for the Ferme of nyne aker of the landis of West-barnes . . . xviij bollis cheretie baer". This couple seems to have lived in the burgh.]

A yield of three times the seed sown was considered normal for the country. The better yield of four times for the West Barns land was probably attributable to manuring with seaweed, although there may also have been an inherent difference in the quality of the land. Kippo is about two miles inland, on higher ground. It seems likely that, by the use of seaweed, nearly all the land cultivated by the inhabitants of the burgh was treated as infield, i.e. cropped every year. There is, however, a reference which appears to distinguish between infield and outfield.

25 Nov. 1567—Wilyeam Curstrophyne grantis & confessis the tua ackaris of land [in Kingsbarns] . . . was mensionat & continit in the frist decryt but rememberit nocht of the bundin of it but rememberis vill ane of the saidis ackaris to be of mukit land ane vthir ackar of feild land but rememberis na boundin thairof. . . .

There was also mention of land lying fallow, in the agreement, already quoted, about David Fermour's land in Kingsbarns.

The recurring burgh statutes about the ware show how highly it was valued. The regulations were designed to ensure fair shares.

3 Nov. 1590—Item It is dewy seit statut and ordaneit that na persone nor personis nychtbour or inhabitant off this burgh be

thame selfis or thair bairnis or serwandis in thair nameis gadder ony wair at ony tyme heirefter befoir sewin houris in the morneing nor that thei pas or waide within the vater For gaddering thairoff, forther nor thei mey stand vpon the dry land and draw the samyn to land with thair cleik, And that na wair be keipit togidder or putt in middingis within this burgh or owtwith the samyn narrer the sey nor the eist grene or wind mylne wnder the pane off aucht s. vnlaw. . . .

The rights to the sea ware of the inhabitants of the burgh were strenuously defended.

6 Oct. 1572—Item it is statute and ordinate . . . siclyk that na vther persoun duelland owtwith the burrow ruidis off the said brugh collecte gadder transporte or cary away ony wair or fuilyie fra the sea cost within the limitis libertie and priuelege off the said brugh . . . withowt licence & tollerance of the bailyeis & cownsall for the tyme. . . .

14 Nov. 1570—. . . the said Jhone Bowsy & remanent persones beyng inhibited be Cunner Hwnyman officiar at the bailyeis command to . . . suffer the saidis persones with the rest of the inhabitantis of this brugh transporte & laid away quhatsumeuer wair & fuilyie inbrocht vpoun the sea cost within the bowndis and limitis of this brugh be violence of the sea accordying to thair awld priuelege vse and possesioun obseruit & vsit past memoir of man, . . . the said Johne Bowsy confessit . . . And the jugis present . . . decernis thame . . . to desist and ceis fra ony stoping or berewyng of ony persoun in the collectyng gadderyng of quhatsumeuer wair or fuilyie . . . in all tyme cummyng vnder the pane of tynsall of thair fredome. . . .

There are property descriptions mentioning the mire pool in Nakedfield and latches in Pottergate and Kingsbarns, which remind us of the undrained condition of the land. That nearest the sea, however, is very light and dries quickly; it is tempting but probably unsafe to assume from the two following references that it could be ploughed with a single yoke of oxen. In the New Statistical Account for this parish the writer refers to "two or four oxen with a couple of horses and two men to conduct the slow motion of each cumbrous plough", fifty or sixty years earlier.

Protocol Book, 27 Mar. 1567—Jhone Mortoun eldest sone and air to umquhile William Mortoun in Pittowy Grantit . . . him . . . to haif ressavit . . . his airschip gair . . . . Thay ar to say ane yokit plewche with twa oxen . . . ane harrow . . . ane wayne . . . [the rest being clothes, furniture, etc.]

On the death of William Bowsy, a leading merchant in Crail, the following are among the heirship goods:—

10 Mar. 1583/4—Tua pleuche oxin . . . ane pleuche with sewin sok coulter of irone . . . ane pair of quheillis tred with irone with cart and *craicit*(?) gair belonging to hir . . . ane harrow tyndete with irone . . . ane graipe . . . ane pair moukcreillis laidsaddill ane shuill ane muk hake ane barrow. . . .

The main crops have already been mentioned. Bere and oats were universal; no wheat was grown by the smallholder David Alexander, but it was included in both rent and teinds of Kingsbarns, and the price of white bread was regularly fixed by the burgh. It is perhaps worth observing that David Fermour's wheat crop in 1597 was 18 bolls, while his rent and teinds came to 20 bolls, suggesting that he sowed no more of this than he had to. Peas and beans were also an important crop, and they were dried and milled like cereals. Rye was grown, as is proved by a statute of 6 Oct. 1590, quoted later. We have found one reference to barley malt, but the barley was not necessarily grown locally.

17 Jan. 1569/70—. . . iiij lib. iij s. iiij d. as for the price of five firlottis barley malt. [This is at the rate of 3s. 4d. per firlot more than for ordinary malt, as quoted the same day.]

Apart from the food crops, lint and hemp were grown, probably only on a small scale. "Reis hemp" [Russian] is mentioned in a court case, and the customer's accounts show considerable imports of flax and hemp in 1589-99 (Exch. Rolls *passim*).

25 July 1573—[The "tack and assedatioun" of certain tenements on the south side of Nethergate changes hands]. . . . thay and ilk ane of thame ar contentit that athir off thame sall peceable bruik and joise the cornis lynt and hempe sawin and growand vpoun the croftis and yardis off the said tenementis and at thair plesur to scheir and transporte the samin away. . . .

7 Aug. 1566—My letter vyll is . . . that Gelis Cowstoun my spows may jois and bruyk the sammyne bayk howse with the thrid of the yerd and als meykill of the croyft to schaw ane pecce of linyget [sow a peck of flax seed].

The beasts which were kept in the burgh would be pastured mainly on "the proper muyr of Craill". The small East Green, just outside the town, was presumably also common pasture, but the West Green, within the gates, was gradually used as

building plots, before and during this period. There is a mention of "Todis Gren", but it seems to be the same as "Toddis Croft" or "Toddis Aker", privately owned and probably cultivated. There are parts of the east and west braes, too steep or rocky to be cultivated, which were probably grazed, just as Maister Thomas Ramsay in Kingsbarns had pasture by the sea. After the harvest, the arable fields were used for grazing, but of course, it was most important that the beasts should be kept off the crops in these open fields.

22 Mar. 1556/7—Johne Youll is chosyne commoun hird wyll Wythsunday nixt to cum for vj d. ilk best iij d. thairoff to be payt in hand and that ilk nyhtbowr that hes ony bestis wythin the toun put them to the sammyne hrid [*sic*] vnder the pane of viij s. ilk persoun vn forgevyne.

6 Oct. 1590—Item the saidis bailleis and counsell considdering the grit hurt and skayth sustenit be the nychtbouris and inhabitantis off this burgh throw the eiting destroying and doun stramping off thair corneis be hors nolt and scheip fra tyme the samin be first sawin in the ground wnto the scheiring and leiding thairoff, Hes for that caus concludeit statut and ordaneit that fra the first day off Januar in tyme cuming wnto the tyme the haill corneis growing and to be sawin about this burgh be schorne and led na hors nolt nor scheip be sufferit to go lows vpon the feildis vpon quhatsumewer cullour or pretence withowt ane hird to attend and await vpon the saidis bestiall that the samin enter nocht vpon ony manis corneis sic as quheit beanis eatis ry or beir to eit destroy or stramp doun the samin, And iff ony hors nolt or scheip beis fund going lows withowt ane hird vpon the feildis vpon ony manis corneis fra the said first day of Januar . . . [a scale of fines is laid down].

Pigs were kept—in 1572, for example, swine must not be "haldin be ony inhabitant . . . outwith thair awin hows", and might be slain without recompence, if found straying. Geese are mentioned more than once, and the same fine was imposed for geese found in the kirkyard as for horses, sheep and swine. Other poultry were presumably kept in yards of houses, and no regulations about them were necessary.

23 Jan. 1581/2—In the actioun and caus dependyng mowit be the said Thomas aganes [Andro Moreis] for the skayth sustenit be hym in the said Andro default throw the wyrreing of certane geis pertenyng to hym . . . the judges . . . referris the persewaris clame . . . to his probatioun to wit that the said Androis dowgis befoir the wyrreinge of his geis wyrreit vtheris fowllis geis or scheipe quhilk was notoriouslie knawin to the said Androw and that sen syn the foirsaidis dowgis hes vyrreit his geis lybellit. . . .

There is also evidence of townsmen owning sheep and cattle which were kept elsewhere.

17 June 1572—. . . the actioun and caus mowit be Andro Geordy aganis Alexander Curstorphen for the sowme of lv s. for the gyrs maile of lv schipe . . . .

31 July 1571—The quhilk day in the actioun and caus mowit be Andro Fermour in Kippo . . . for the price of vij firlottis atis comprisit atyne be the said Thomas cattell at the fest of mydsomer last bypassit the said Thomas . . . alegit that his cattell ait onlie quarterlie in his fald and confessit that thair was sevin firlottis aitis atin to the said Andro & comprisit & that his cattell ait the half thairof. . . .

It is interesting to find that some cattle got better feeding than the rough grazing of the muir, straw, and the weeds of the arable fields.

Some agricultural products were exported from this area. The customer's accounts for Crail, Pittenweem and Anstruther (Exch. Rolls *passim*) for this period show occasional exports of hides, woolfells and woollen cloth. Exports of wheat, bere and rye are also occasionally specified, and some more may have gone as "Norroway stuling" i.e. the cargo of ships sailing to Norway for timber. Grain also left the area in payment of rent and teinds, e.g. in 1559, "iij yeris sensyne owr boyt crarit the Quhynis grate ferme of Kyngis Barnis to Lyht". The customer's accounts would not record shipments to other parts of Scotland, but it is unlikely that any regular trade of this sort would fail to be reflected in the Crail court books, since written agreements on any subject were frequently entered in the court books. From a lengthy court case in 1565, we do know about a Crail merchant's speculation in victual; this was purchased in Buchan and Aberdeen, and could not be sold at a profit in Leith. A local surplus of grain must have been rare; it was sometimes imported, and the frequent mentions of dearth in connection with the burgh's assyse of bread and ale must be set against the good years when exports were possible.

Certain of the worst agricultural practices which are on record for Scotland, as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, are contradicted in our evidence. Thus the burgh statute that beasts must not be allowed to go loose in the fields from the first of January shows that they were not here kept indoors all winter, and that ploughing might begin as early as that, instead of "no farmer would yoke a plough till

Candlemas" or later (Graham 1950:158). Our "harrow tyndete with irone" is noteworthy, instead of "its being thought impossible for iron teeth to produce a good crop" (Graham 1950:156). The fact that the iron is mentioned here, and in "ane pair of quheillis tred with irone" may indicate that its use for these purposes was exceptional in Crail at the time.

The windmill, which stood in the sea field of West Barns, just west of Crail, is first mentioned in a charter of 1560. This is the earliest known record of a windmill in Scotland, except for a Windmillhill at Aberdeen.[1] It may have been built as a result of direct contact with the Continent.

In spite of those favourable features which I have noted, the only possible conclusion from the low yields and frequent dearths is that the general state of agriculture was bad here, and in agreement with Scotland as a whole.

NOTE

[1] A. J. Aitken (Editor, Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue), in a private communication.

REFERENCES

(*a*) *Crail Burgh Records, in manuscript*:

Court Books: October 1552-August 1553, October 1554-February 1559-60 (Scroll books with many gaps), April 1566-February 1568-1569, June 1569-March 1574-5, March 1576-November 1580, November 1580-April 1584, February 1588-9-February 1591-2.

Protocol Books: 1567-1574, 1590-1600 (Now deposited in the Record Office).

Town Clerk's Scroll Book, of mixed content, 1597-1600.

Loose documents of which there is an inventory in Conolly 1869.

(*b*) *Printed Sources*:

CONOLLY, M. F.
1869 *Fifiana*. Glasgow.

EXCHEQUER ROLLS
Rotuli Scaccarium regum Scotorum, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edd. G. Burnet, A. J. C. Mackay and G. P. McNeill, Edinburgh 1891-1908.

GRAHAM, HENRY GREY
1950 *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 4th edition. London.

R.M.S.
Registrum magni sigili regum Scotorum, The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, ed. J. M. Thomson. Edinburgh.

ROGERS, Rev. D. C.
1877 *Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail*. London.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

22. Old Norse *þveit*, etc.

When I discussed the distribution of Norse place-names in S.W. Scotland in a paper published in this journal four years ago (Nicolaisen 1960), I established three different linguistic strata represented by (*a*) Old Norse (ON.) *bekkr*, and *býr*, (*b*) ON. *fjall*, and (*c*) "Inversion compounds" in *Kirk-*, respectively. For these I provided distribution maps which showed a detailed geographical scatter of these elements on the Scottish side of the border but, in the cases of *bekkr*, *býr* and *fjall*, only covered the adjacent English counties by giving approximate quantitative figures for each county. I also stated that it had "proved unnecessary to plot the distribution of . . . the element ON. *þveit* 'a clearing, a meadow, a paddock' ", as all Scottish examples were apparently found in Dumfriesshire (Nicolaisen 1960:57-8). I now feel, however, that although the arguments put forward and the conclusions reached at the time are still valid, the maps provided were in fact inadequate and that the decision to omit any visual representation of the distribution of place-names containing *þveit* was based on insufficient evidence.

This note and the following which are to be regarded as supplementary to my article of 1960, are therefore intended to remedy these faults and to fill a gap as far as *þveit* is concerned. The maps which illustrate them are not only designed to provide a clear picture of the Scottish evidence, they are also meant to emphasise that the present-day Scottish-English border is practically meaningless in discussions of this kind as it bisects distributional patterns, the two parts of which must be seen, and can only be properly understood, together. In designing these maps it has been possible to include in addition to the areas covered in the 1960 set most of the North Riding of Yorkshire and part of the East Riding. Their southern limit is still artificial and not significant from a distributional point of view, but then this series of Notes in general is primarily intended to present the Scottish material, and when the English evidence is added it is to show the respective relationship between the two regions, in each individual case. It is

obviously more than desirable that, in some other context, the evidence should be presented as a whole, neither stressing the Scottish nor the English point of view but rather emphasising its underlying Scandinavian character and interpreting it as evidence of historical growth and settlement movement; however, this cannot be the place for such a comprehensive project.

It must also be pointed out that the balance between the Scottish and the English material mapped is uneven and therefore possibly misleading. Whereas the source for Scotland has been the collections of the Scottish Place-Name Survey taking into account both one-inch and six-inch maps and early evidence, the English material for the *þveit-* and *býr*-maps has been taken from the relevant volumes of the English Place-Name Society, supplemented by the studies of Mawer (1920), Sedgefield (1915) and Ekwall (1922); here it must be borne in mind that the four counties covered by the last three authors —Northumberland and Durham, Westmorland, and Lancashire—are therefore less exhaustively documented than those included in the E.P.N.S. volumes, particularly Cumberland and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The *fell*-map does not take into account any historical evidence but has been compiled from the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland and their quarter-inch counterparts in England; differences in the density of the distributional patterns of the two countries are therefore potentially due to the different scales of the maps consulted. This does not, however, affect the overall picture.[1]

(*a*) ON. *þveit* "a clearing, a meadow, a paddock".

When discussing this word just over seventy years ago Christison (1893:279) remarked that it was "almost unknown in Scotland. *Murraythwaite* and *Crawthwaite*, Dumfries, are the only examples I have noted." His failure to identify more must be attributed to the fact that he was looking for an element *thwaite* which is the form in which *þveit* normally appears on English maps. This is indeed rare in Scotland although *Thorniethwaite* could be added to Christison's examples. The usual modern Scottish spelling is *-that* as in *Cowthat*, *Howthat*, *Lairthat*, *Murthat*, *Slethat* and *Twathats* (plural), or *-what(e)* as in *Butterwhat*, *Harperwhat*, *Robiewhat*, *Thorniewhats*, *Raggiewhate*, and possibly *Dalwhat* although it is by no means certain that the second element in this name is in fact *þveit*. Modern *Branteth* is *Brandthwaite* in 1516-7 RMS, and other earlier forms are *-thet*, *-thweyt* [and *-thweytes*], *-twayt*, *-pheit*, *-weit* and *-wat*.[2]

This variety indicates that the history of the written forms of the Scottish names has not been as stereotyped as the main two modern alternatives *-that* and *-what* might lead one to believe, and the difference between Scotland and England in this respect is also not as great as the fairly consistent Modern English *-thwaite* might suggest, for both earlier spellings and modern pronunciation link the English with the Scottish evidence, where a spelling convention apparently divides it: A name like *Great Crosthwaite* in Cumberland, for instance, shows practically the whole range of the above spellings in its earlier forms recorded between 1150 and 1750, and the modern pronunciation [krosθət] refers it straightaway to our Scottish *-that* group of names (Armstrong *et al.* 1950). Similarly *Curthwaite* in the same county is [kərθət] (ibid. 329), and *Branthwaite* is pronounced [branθət] (ibid. 276).

The linguistic unity of the Scottish and English evidence becomes even more obvious on the lexical level. If one examines the significant words which feature as first elements in the Scottish compound names containing *þveit*, one discovers that the majority of them appears in the same combinations in England, i.e. many of the Scottish *þveit*-names have identical equivalents south of the present border. This applies to names like *Murthat* and *Murraythwaite* in Dumfriesshire and *Moorfoot* (*Morthwait*, *-thwayt*, *-thuweit* 1142 ESC) in Midlothian for there are two *Moorthwaites* and two *Murthwaites* in Cumberland and an additional *Murthwaite* in Westmorland, all of which derive from ON. *mór* or Old English (OE.) *mōr* "moor". *Slethat*[3] (*Slachquhat* 1459-60, *Slaithwait* 1516-17 RMS) is identical with *Slaithwaite* ['slauwit] in the West Riding of Yorkshire; these two names have as their first element ON. *slag* "blow", with the whole compound meaning something like "clearing where timber was felled" (Smith 1961:II, 307-8).[4] *Butterwhat* is also paralleled in the West Riding where we have *Butterthwaite* which Smith (1961:I, 245) explains as "clearing with rich pasture", from OE. *butere* "butter". *Thorniethwaite* "thorn clearing" repeats the Cumberland and West Riding *Thornthwaites* all of which might well contain ON. *þorn* "thorn-tree" rather than its OE. equivalent, as the Old Danish name *Thornthwed* shows (Lindqvist 1912:125). Even the plural *Thorniewhats* (*Thornythaite* in 1583 however!) occurs in England as *Thornythwaites* in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Smith 1961: IV, 249), similarly recorded in the sixteenth century as *Thornethwayte*. For the two *Howthats* (*Holthuayt c.* 1218 HMC

Drumlanrig) we have a parallel in Hoathwaite (*Holtwayt* 1272-80) in Lancashire (Ekwall 1922:215), both from ON. *holr* (or OE. *hol*), meaning "clearing lying in a hollow"; and it is just possible that *Heithat* is identical with *Haithwaite* in Cumberland and *Haythwaite* in the North Riding. In those the first element could be either OE. *heg* or ON. *høy*, *hey* "*hay*" which would give them a meaning like "clearing where hay is cut".

Three "lost" names, too, have identical equivalents in England: (1) *Appiltretwayt* of 1317 (RMS) which is compounded with ME. *appel-tre* "apple-tree" also occurs in early Lancashire documents as *Apiltretuait* and *Appeltrethwayt* (see Sedgefield 1915:132 under *Applethwaite*); here the English word may have replaced an earlier ON. *apaldr* of the same meaning. (2) *Brakanepheit* (1194-1214 HMC Drumlanrig), also *Brakansweit* (*post* 1275 ibid.) is the same as several *Brackenthwaite* in Cumberland and one in the West Riding, as well as *Brackenfield* (*Brakenthwait*, etc. in 1269) in Derbyshire (Cameron 1959:217), "bracken clearing". (3) *Langesweit* (*post* 1295 *ibid.*) is the "long clearing", like *Langthwaite* in the North Riding and Cumberland, and *Lanthwaite* (*Green*), also in the latter county.

In other instances again which have no identical equivalent in England, the first part of the compound occurs in conjunction with other generic terms of Norse origin, in English place-nomenclature. *Carthat*, for example, which apparently contains ON. *kjarr* "brushwood, marsh", can be compared with Kirkgate (*Kergate* 1275), a street-name in Wakefield, *kjarr*+ ON. *gata* "road, street" (Smith 1961:II, 164). *Lairthat*, a compound of ON. *leirr* "clay" and *þveit*, has the same first element as *Lear Ings* (*Leyrynge* 1439) in the West Riding (Smith 1961:III, 193). Similarly, both the Scottish *Raggiewhate* (*Ragaquhat c.* 1544 Dumfries Commissariot Record) and the Yorkshire *Ray Gill* (Smith 1961:VI, 173) contain OE. *ragu* "moss, lichen"; *Cowthat* and *Cow Gate*, again in Yorkshire, share the OE. word *cū* "cow" as a first element; and the "lost" *Blindethuayt* of *c.* 1218 (HMC Drumlanrig) has a parallel in the Lancashire *Blind Beck*. In these last two names the first part could be either ON. *blindr* or ME. *blind* "blind, hidden". Another thirteenth-century "lost" name, *Litelsweit* (ibid.) shows the same hybrid formation as the Yorkshire *Littlethorpe* and possibly the Cumberland *Little Dale*.

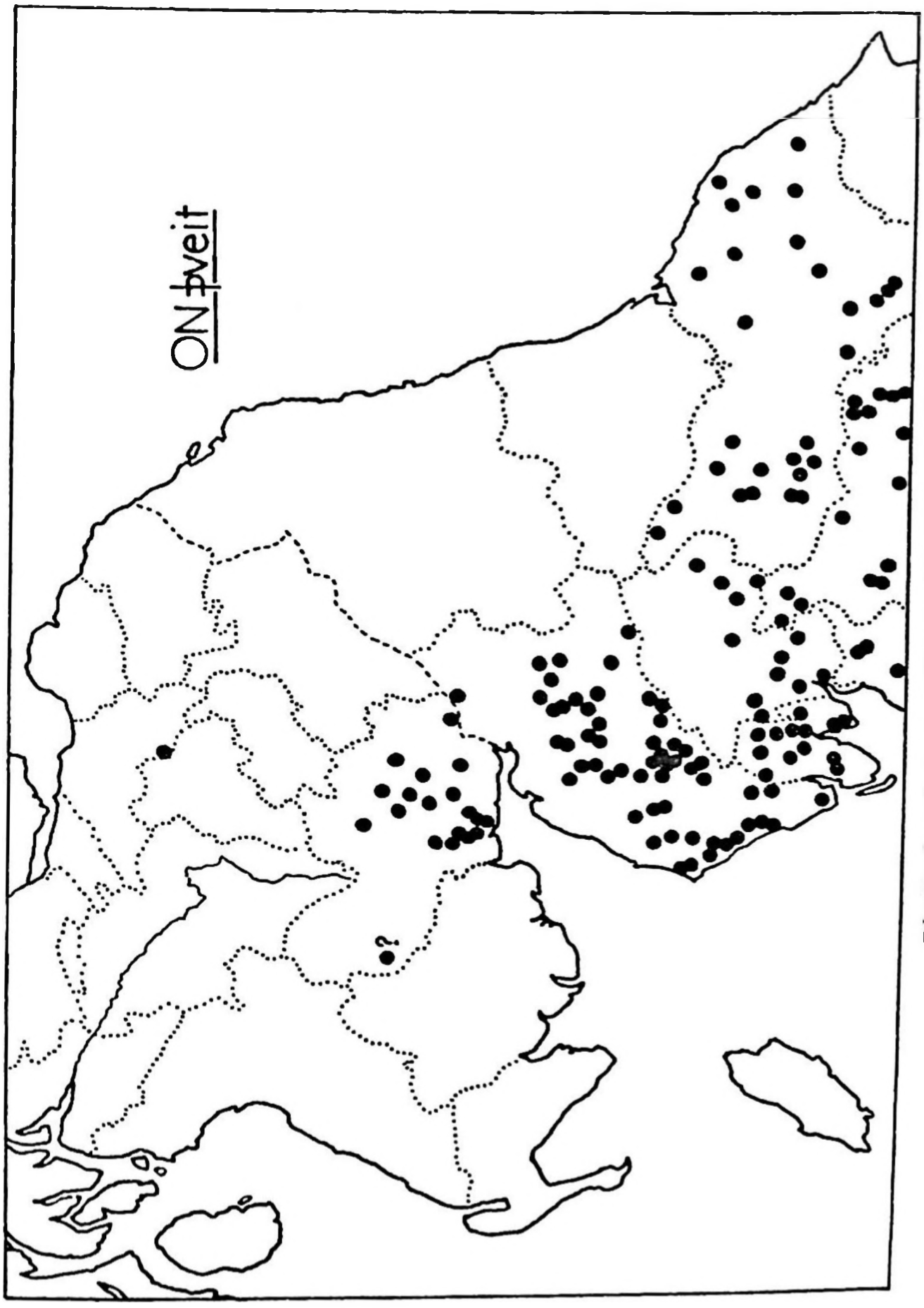
This leaves us with a handful of names like: *Branteth* (*Brandthwaite* 1516-17 RMS), possibly containing ME. *brant*

"steep", or OE. *brand* "place cleared by burning", or even ME. *brame* "bramble" which has been postulated for the two Cumberland *Branthwaites*, pronounced [branθət) (Armstrong, *et al.* 1950:276, 366); then *Twathats* (*Twathweytes* 1304 CDS), apparently Middle Scots *twa thwaytes* "two clearings" (Williamson 1942:293); *Harperwhat* "Harper's clearing", *Robiewhat* (*Roberquhat* 1542 RMS) the first element of which may have developed from a Norse personal name like *Hróðbiartr* or *Hróðbiorg* (Williamson 1942:294); also *Crawthat*< (?)OE. *crawe* "crow" (Johnson-Ferguson 1935:91), and the strange, now "lost", *Panthawat* (1516 RMS), *Panthuat* (1516 HMC Drumlanrig). In these instances the first element is either difficult or obscure, or it is a personal name or significant word which is, to the best of my knowledge, not on record with any Scandinavian generic term in English place-nomenclature. These exceptions by no means spoil the picture; their small number rather emphasises the strong link between the Scottish and English *þveit*-names which we postulated on lexical and morphological, as well as phonological grounds.

From a distributional point of view, place-names containing *þveit* are strongly associated with those in *bekkr* and *býr* although their scatter is not identical with that of either of the two (for further details see Nicolaisen 1960:58). In Scotland, the county of Dumfries is the obvious centre and even here the distribution is limited to the so-called "Norse parishes" (Johnson-Ferguson 1935:VI), as *þveit*-names occur almost exclusively in its eastern half.[5] An interesting outlier is *Moorfoot* in Temple parish in the county of Midlothian, better known probably in conjunction with the Moorfoot Hills. Its early forms are very conveniently set out by Dixon (1947:296), and from these it becomes clear that the substitution of *-foot* for *-thwaite* or the like is not older than the seventeenth century, with a form *Morfat* of 1559-60 (RMS) paving the way. Not shown on our map are the two or three examples from the Northern Isles. In Orkney there are two farms called *Twatt*, one in Stenness and one in Birsay (Marwick 1952:113, 138), and Jakobsen (1936:9, 45) mentions *de Gērdins o' Twatt* in Aithsting, Shetland. The word does apparently not survive in the place-names of the Hebrides or of other parts of the Scottish mainland where Scandinavians are known to have settled.

If our maps were extended to the southern parts of Lancashire and of the three Ridings of Yorkshire, as well as into Nottingham- and Derbyshire we would have a complete

picture of the English evidence. As it is, we are missing only a very small percentage of our English *þveit*-names in this



Distribution of place-names containing Old Norse *þveit*.

way, names which would in no way invalidate our contention that our southern Scottish names do not form a separate

entity but must be seen and studied together with the English material. What is really significant is that Northumberland and Durham are completely empty of names in *þveit*, as far as the evidence at present available goes. One wonders, however, whether a detailed examination of the place-names of these two counties along the lines of the English Place-Name Survey might not produce some minor name or field-name just north of the Tees, containing this element; but even if such names are found the borders of the *þveit*-country as it emerges from our map will not be substantially altered.

The revised maps of names containing *býr* and *fjall* will be published in the next issue of this journal.

NOTES

[1] I have refrained from re-drawing the *bekkr*-map of the original article because of the difficulty of obtaining, on this scale, a lucid distributional pattern in the graphic representation of geographical features varying considerably in length and importance. It was also apparent that such a map would have been approximately congruent with the *býr*-map. For the inversion compounds in *Kirk-* a comprehensive map was already provided in 1960 (p. 62).

[2] For a detailed account of the phonological development of the Scottish forms see Williamson (1942:291) who also deals with many other aspects of our group of names very satisfactorily.

[3] This and all the following Scottish examples are from Dumfriesshire.

[4] This seems to be preferable to Ekwall's derivation from an Old Scandinavian word corresponding to OE. *slāh* "sloe" = "clearing where sloes grew" (Ekwall 1960:426).

[5] It is doubtful whether the most north-westerly example shown on the map, *Dalwhat* (*Dalquhot* 1511 RMS), does in fact belong here. Williamson (1942:293) thinks that it stands for ON. *dalr-þveit* "thwaite in the valley" but Johnson-Ferguson has Gaelic *dail chat* "field of wild cats" (1935:46). Much depends on the present-day pronunciation of the name.

REFERENCES

Armstrong, A. M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F. M. and Dickins, Bruce
1952 *The Place-Names of Cumberland.* 3 vols. English Place-Name Society Vols. XX-XXII. Cambridge.

Cameron, K.
1959 The Place-Names of Derbyshire. 3 vols. English Place-Name Society Vols. XXVII-XXIX. Cambridge.

Christison, D.
1893 "On the Geographical Distribution of Certain Place-Names in Scotland". *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 27 (1892-3):255-80. Edinburgh.

Dixon, N.
1947 *The Place-Names of Midlothian.* Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.

EKWALL, E.
1922 *The Place-Names of Lancashire.* Manchester.
1960 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.* Fourth Edition. Oxford.
JAKOBSEN, J.
1936 *The Place-Names of Shetland.* London.
JOHNSON-FERGUSON, Col. Sir EDWARD
1935 *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire.* Dumfries.
LINDQVIST, H.
1912 *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin.* Uppsala.
MARWICK, H.
1952 *Orkney Farm-Names.* Kirkwall.
MAWER, A.
1920 *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham.* Cambridge.
NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.
1960 "Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 4:49-70. Edinburgh.
SEDGEFIELD, W. J.
1915 *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland.* Manchester.
SMITH, A. H.
1961-3 *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire.* 8 vols. English Place-Name Society Vols XXX-XXXVII. Cambridge.
WILLIAMSON, M. G.
1942 *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties.* Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

An Oil Painting of a Highland Shinty Match

Some years ago Professor J. H. Delargy, Honorary Director of the Irish Folklore Commission, drew our attention to a reproduction of an old painting of a Highland shinty match. This had been published in 1932 by the late Father Ninian Macdonald, O.S.B., of Fort Augustus Abbey, by way of frontispiece to his little book on the history of shinty (Macdonald 1932).

Through the kindness of Mr. Basil Skinner, of the Scottish

A Highland Shinty Match, *circa* 1840. After the original oil painting in the possession of Dr. Joan MacKinnon (*Block by courtesy of the Arts Council of Great Britain*). See pp. 103-4.

National Portrait Gallery, who ascertained that the painting had been presented by Sir Alec Martin, of Christie's, to the then Prime Minister, the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, we were soon able to locate the original, for Mrs. Ishbel Peterkin, of Lossiemouth, informed us that the painting remained in the family after her father's death, and now belongs to her sister, Dr. Joan MacKinnon, of Leeds. Dr. MacKinnon at once agreed to lend the painting to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for its 1962 exhibition, *Sport in Scotland*, and subsequently gave permission for its reproduction here (Plate XII).

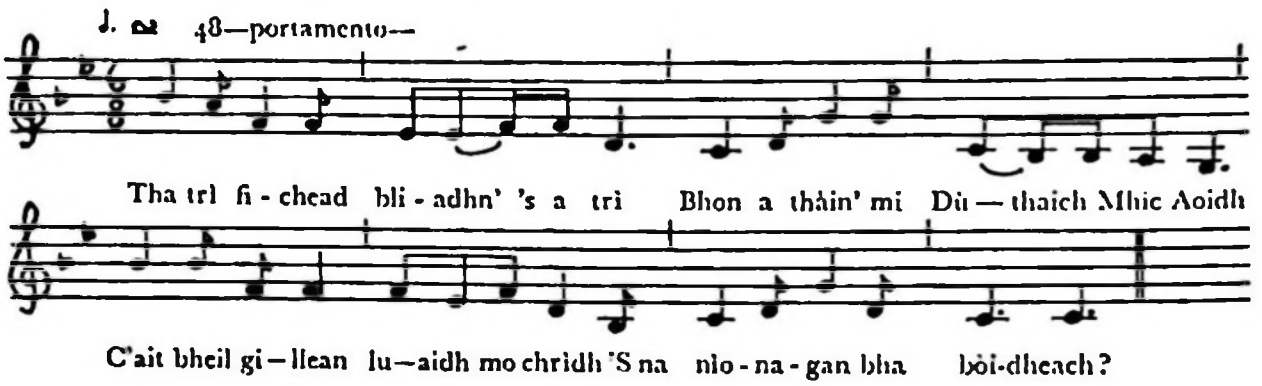
The painting (which measures 29 by 37½ inches) is unsigned, and the identity of the artist has not yet been conclusively established, though D. Cunliffe, and A. Smith, of Mauchline, have been suggested. The period of the painting is, on stylistic grounds, put at about 1840. Despite the tendency towards romantic exaggeration characteristic of that period, the painting is of considerable interest as perhaps the earliest-known visual representation of the game of shinty in Scotland. This interest would be enhanced if it could be related to a particular place and event. It is not impossible, of course, that the landscape setting is an ideal one, for some of the more notable games of Highland shinty took place at this period in quite other surroundings. Such, for instance, was the match arranged on 23 June, 1841, by the "Society of True Highlanders" in Copenhagen Fields, an extent of rich meadow land lying on the outskirts of Islington, for which, however, "half the glens of Lochaber had been ransacked for shinty clubs before the gathering".

REFERENCES

MACDONALD, [JOHN] NINIAN
1932 *Shinty: A Short History of the Ancient Highland Game.* Inverness.
SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY
[1962] *Sport in Scotland . . . during the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* Edinburgh.

B. R. S. MEGAW

A Gaelic Song of the Sutherland Clearances



Tha trì fichead bliadhn' 's a trì
Bhon a thàin'[1] mi Dùthaich Mhic Aoidh
Càit bheil gillean luaidh mo chrìdh
'S na nionagan bha bòidheach

Mo mhullachd air a' chaora mhór
Càit bheil clann nan daoine còir
Dhealaich sinn nuair bha sinn òg
'S mas robh Dùthaich 'c Aoidh 'na fàsach

Ach nis, a Shellar, fhuair thu bàs
'S ma fhuair thu ceartas fhuair thu blàths
An teine leis 'n a loisg thu càch
Gum faigh thu fhéin gu leòr dheth

It is sixty-three years
Since I came to MacKay's country
Where are the lads I loved
And the pretty girls?

My curse on the big sheep—
Where are the children of the kindly folk?
We parted when we were young
Before MacKay's country had become a wilderness

But now, Sellar, you are dead
And if justice has been done you are warm!
The fire with which you burnt others
May you yourself have enough of it.

These three verses belong to a song composed in the north of Sutherland, probably in the early eighties of last century. The author, according to Mr. Ian Grimble in *The Trial of Patrick Sellar* (London 1962), Appendix pp. 158-60, is said to have been Ewen Robertson (1842-95), a native of Tongue. Mr. Grimble publishes eleven verses: a main text of eight quatrains from a Durness source, and illustrative variants from Dornie and Invernaver tradition. The version published above differs slightly from all of these, and may be considered to represent still another variant. It is printed here, however, mainly for the sake of the melody. In his note on the song Mr. Grimble points out that none of Ewen Robertson's poems had up to then been published, "and this, his most famous poem to-day survives in variant versions, sung to at least two airs that appear to belong exclusively to it" (*ibid*).

The words and air printed above were recorded in April 1958 from Mr. Andrew Stewart, Durness, a native of Melness.

Since verse 3 loses almost all its force in English—and the

idiomatic use of *fhuair* in any case resists translation—my colleague, Mr. Hamish Henderson, produced this trim stanza in his own Scots:

> Sellar, daith has ye in his grip;
> Ye needna think he'll let ye slip.
> Justice ye've earned, and, by the Book,
> A warm assize ye winna jouk.
> The fires ye lit tae gut Strathnaver
> Ye'll feel them noo—and roast forever.

I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Gillian Johnstone, for transcribing the melody.

NOTE

[1] *Thàin mi*, "I came", of verse 1 is simply a slip on the singer's part for *dh'fhàg mi*, "I left" (which is also Grimble's form) as is seen by *Dùthaich*.

JOHN MACINNES

The Buckie Wife

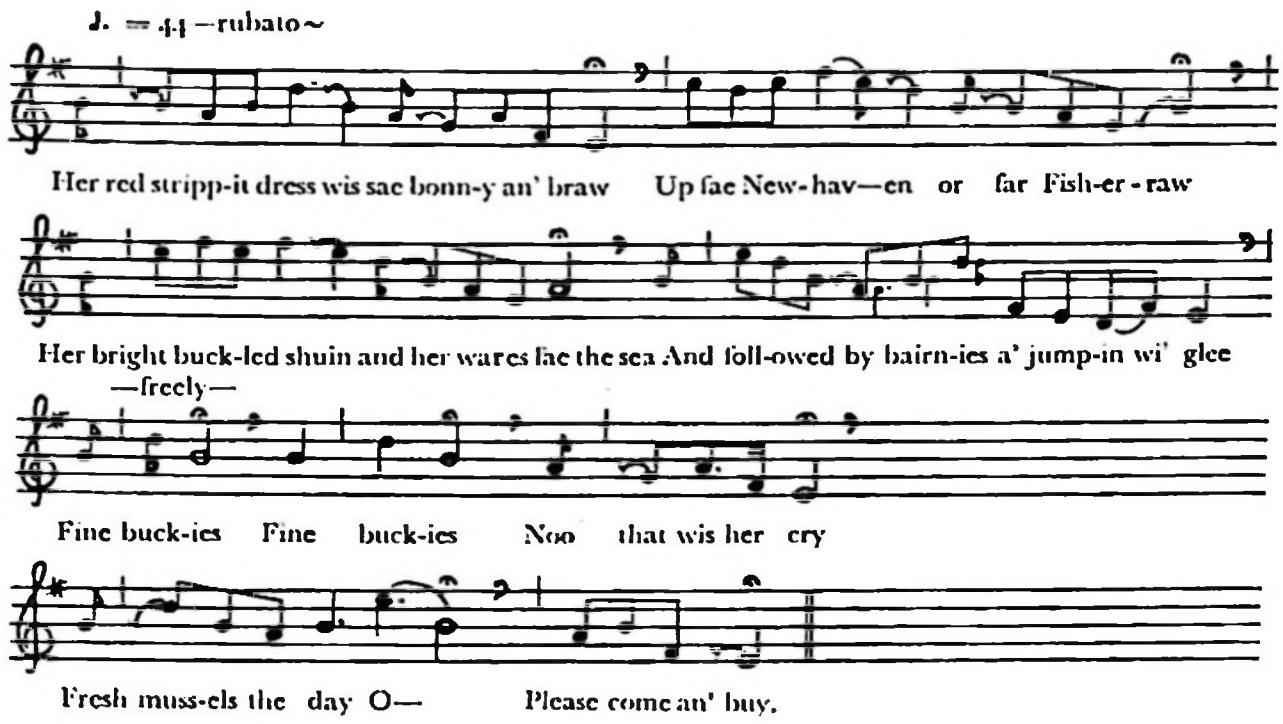
The present folk-song revival has already thrown up some excellent folk poets. In Glasgow there is Matt McGinn, a native of the Gallowgate, whose songs have all the smeddum and sardonic verve of a great proletarian city. Edinburgh has (among others) Bob Bertram, who has written over fifty songs in the last five months. Some of these are mere ephemeral squibs about current affairs such as the Profumo imbroglio, but others look as if they might prove more durable.

These song-writers are nearly all products of the folk-song clubs which have sprung up all over Britain in the last two years. The clubs often invite famous traditional singers like Jeannie Robertson to sing to their predominantly youthful audiences, and the results are nearly always beneficial; the introduction to the world of traditional song thus afforded stimulates the more gifted of the club members not only to sing but also to create in the "auld style". In one or two cases, the results have been extraordinary.

Before he began visiting the evening sessions in the Waverley Bar, St. Mary's Street, Bob Bertram had never had any knowledge of, or interest in, Scottish folk-music. Although born in Melbourne, Australia, he has lived nearly all his life in Edinburgh. He went to Niddrie Marischal school, left it at 14, and after six months in a biscuit factory and two years in the army he got a job with Scott's, the wholesale ironmongers in the Grassmarket. At present he is working in

the costing department. He is a bachelor, thirty-five years of age.

For most of his songs Bob takes over and adapts already existing tunes in the time-honoured fashion, but he has also composed some striking original tunes of his own. The air of "The Buckie Wife" is somewhat reminiscent of a gangrel family of Irish ballad tunes, but it has its own very marked identity. Bob says that the song "is about life in Edinburgh, when the Newhaven fisherwives used to come around selling buckies and mussels, and actually it echoes a lot of the thoughts . . . and the scenes I witnessed when I was a boy". It was given its first public performance during my seminar on "Scots Folk-Song Today" in the School of Scottish Studies on 27th November 1963.



When I was a laddie in Auld Reekie toon,
I looked for the buckie wife comin' aroon—
Wi' a creel on her back, and a strap tae her broo;
In each hand a tin pitcher o' mussels quite fu'.

(Chorus)

Fine buckies
Fine buckies
Noo that wis her cry.
Fresh mussels the day O
Please come an' buy.

Her red-strippit dress was sae bonny an' braw,
Up frae Newhaven, or far Fisherraw.
Her bright buckled shuin, and her wares fae the sea,
And followed by bairnies a' jumpin' wi 'glee.

A' shoutin' for buckies, as roon her were seen;
Each wi' a poke and a wee tiny peen.
If we wanted mussels, wi' spoons there we ate,
And supped them a' up fae oot o' a plate.

And late at night, when the pubs a' shut doon,
It's there she'd be seen at the tap o' the toon;
Wi' drunks a' aroon, when the hunger did gnaw—
Fair gled o' her wares fae far Fisherraw.

Bit alas and alack, noo, this sight is quite rare.
Yon frienly fish-wife we'll see there nae mair;
Wi' the passin' o' time nae mair tae be seen—
The buckies, the mussels, the wee tiny peen.

HAMISH HENDERSON

Gual Gaidhealach: Peat Charcoal

The purpose of this note is twofold; to describe a technological process for which considerable antiquity may be postulated, and to publish a first hand account, in Gaelic, of the preparation of peat charcoal for iron-smelting in North Uist indicating the importance of oral tradition, not only as a source of literary and social history, but of economic history also.

The necessity for a concentrated fuel for metal working has been known for some 5,000 years. Charcoal has been the answer to this need for most of that period and indeed without "chars" it is difficult to envisage the progress of metallurgy at all. Charcoal is almost the perfect fuel with high temperature, minimal ash and no smoke. In addition, by chance, it happens to convert iron to a metal superior to copper or bronze in a functional sense. Wrought iron objects in the presence of heated charcoal acquire a surface coating of steel by the diffusion of carbon and thereafter, of course, will take a sharp edge. Indeed R. J. Forbes would argue that the Iron Age does not properly begin until this cementation process, the carbonisation of wrought iron, occurs (*circa* mid-2nd Millenium on present evidence). Furthermore, pottery kilns also required a fuel concentrate. Wood charcoal became a vital product and deforestation proceeded apace until by early medieval times attempts were made in parts of Europe to ban its production—the possibilities of coal becoming by then apparent. Although, to quote Forbes on the medieval period, "metallurgy remains

in essence a charcoal process" (Forbes 1956:62) the disappearance of the forests in the immediate post medieval centuries killed large scale charcoal production.

Non-forested or deforested areas, however remote from coal were, and in the former case had always been, at a severe disadvantage in an age of iron technology. In the Outer Hebrides (treeless within the historic period) this problem was clearly severe and peat provided a first class substitute for wood as a raw material—perhaps even an improvement. We have, for instance, an account of peat reduction for charcoal in the nineteenth century by Alexander Ross who observed this process indoors in Jura where a small stone lined pit some 2 feet in diameter and with a perforated stone covering was filled with pre-heated peats (Ross 1885-6:409).

Relatively large-scale production of peat charcoal continued in North Uist into the first decade of this century. It is a technique which I would argue on the grounds of necessity, effectiveness, and simplicity to be of very early origin, as old as the specialist smith in the area, an argument which will remain hypothetical, of course, until archæological evidence is forthcoming. I print now the transcription of an interview which I recorded between my colleague D. A. MacDonald and Mr. Donald MacLean of Carinish, North Uist, in October 1962 (R.L. 1900).

D.A.M.: Seadh, 's bha sibh ag ràdha, ma tha, gu'm biodh sibh a' deanamh gual—rud ris an canadh 'ad gual Gàidhealach —'s gu 'm biodh sibh ag obair leis as a' cheàrdaich.
D.M.: Bha; bhiomaid 'ga dhèanamh. Bhiodh an gual gann co dhiùbh. A' dol dha'n mhointich 's a' toir linn spaid 's a' fosgladh toll ann am mòinteach—nam biodh mòinteach mhath, gun a bhi ro fhliuch ann—'fosgladh toll as am biodh aon ochd traighean a dh'fhaid, agus aon trí traighean a liad 's doimhneachd a rithist aon-ò, deagh thrì traighean a dhoimhneachd. Bhith 'g a lìonadh, an uairsen, sen le mòine—mòine mhath a bhiodh slàn.
D.A.M.: 'N e mòine dhubh, na mòine chiob, na . . .?
D.M.: Mòine dhubh. Sheadh, mòine dhubh. O, té sam bith ach i bhi rudeigin . . . gun i bhi ro phrann. Agus 'n uair a bh' e làn go bhial, bha sibh an uair sen a' cur teine as gach ceann dheth, 's teine as a' mheadhoin.
D.A.M.: A robh sibh a' fàgail àite airson gaoth a thighinn threimhe na sian?

D.M.: Cha robh, cha robh, ach a' leigeil leis gabhail an uairsen. Bhiodh e gabhail suas gobhail: 's ligeil leis an uairsen go'n biodh e gu math dearg, gos nach biodh . . . Bhiodh direach a' ghabhail air stad as. 'N uair a bha sibh a' smaointeachadh an uairsen a bha teas air a dhol thromh 'n fhàd uileag, 's e uileag 'na ghual, bha thu 'n uairsen a' tòiseachadh air gearradh sgrathan: tòiseachadh air cur na sgrathan as an dala ceann 's a' cur t'éil' as deaghaidh na té sen 's i' breith air . . . 'greimeachadh air a' sgrath eile, go ruigeadh sibh an ceann eile.

D.A.M.: 'S bhiodh e dùinte buileach an uairsen?

D.M.: Toir dheth na h-èidhear, 's ma bha ceò a' tighinn as an uairsen badan beaga do cheò a' tighinn threimhe bha sibh an uairsen a' faighinn, leis a' spaid, mòine bhog 's 'ga bualadh air na tuill a bh'ann a shen, 's bha e 'n uairsen a' toir dheth na h-èidhear, 's cha robh sian a' tighinn . . . ri fhaicinn idir: 's thu 'ga fhàgail ann a shen go cionn, ò, latha na dà latha. 'Ga thoir as an uairsen 's ga thoir dha'n cheàrdaich ann am pocannan.

D.A.M.: 'S ciamar a gheibheadh sibh an uairsen e . . .?

D.M.: Bhiodh e aotrom. Aotrom. Shaoileadh sibh nach robh móran feum ann idir.

D.A.M.: Agus bhiodh e prann, am bitheadh?

D.M.: Bhithead. Bhiodh feadhainn dhe na fòidean dìreach nan dà leth. Feadhainn bu lugha na sen, bhiodh e uiread ri . . . ò, ged bhiodh e, abraibh . . . bhiodh e uiread ri bocsa mhaidseachan na mar sen.

D.A.M.: Agus an ann dubh a bhiodh e?

D.M. Chan ann. Glas a bhiodh e: glas: liath-ghlas mar sen.

D.A.M.: Agus dé na ghabhadh sloc mar seo? Dé na chuireadh sibh ann a' mhònaidh?

D.M.: O, do mhònaidh? O dh'fheumadh sibh aon dà luchd cartach.

D.A.M.: Dà luchd cartach. 'S dé *size* a thuirt sibh a rithist a bhiodh as a' chlaise bha seo. . . .

D.M.: O, bhiodh aona n-ochd traighean a dh'fhaid innte, 's aon trí a liad, 's doimhneachd mhath, sios aon trí traighean.

D.A.M.: Seadh gu dearbha. 'S dheanadh seo obair sam bith as a' cheàrdaich?

D.M.: Dheanadh e . . . uamhasach math as a' cheàrdaich . . . Cha robh e salach idir. Cha robh . . . *chars* as a dheaghaidh idir, mar a chanas sìbh as a' Bheurla . . . Dheanadh e tathadh cho math ri gual sam bith.

D.A.M.: *Well, well!* 'S a robh e cho teth ris a' ghual?
D.M.: O, *well*, 's dòcha nach robh e cho teth ach, *well*, cha robh e fad air deireadh.
D.A.M.: Agus a robh e buan an uairsen? A maireadh e? . . .
D.M.: O, mhaireadh. Cha mhaireadh e cho fad ris a' ghual ghallda, ach dheanadh e obair mhath. Dheanadh sibh obair mhath leis—math fhéin.
D.A.M.: Agus chunnaig sibh péin seo 'ga dhèanamh tric gu leòr?
D.M.: Chunnaig. Bha mi 'ga dhèanamh cuide ri m'athair uair is uair.
D.A.M.: 'S cuin a rinn sibh seo ma dheireadh, bheil dad a bheachd agaibh?
D.M.: O, bhitheadh, tha mi creidsinn, ann a . . . ach, a' 1909, na 1910.
D.A.M.: Díreach. 'S bhiodh a' cheàrdach gu math trang an uairsen?
D.M.: O, bha i trang an uair ad; bha.

Translation

D.A.M.: Well, you were saying then that you used to make charcoal—a thing called Gaelic coal—and that you used to work with it in the smithy.
D.M.: Yes; we used to make it. Coal was scarce anyway. We would go to the peat moor taking spades and open a hole in the moor—if there was a suitable place that was not too wet—opening a hole that would be some 8 feet long and some 3 feet broad and depth again some . . . oh a good 3 feet of depth. Filling that, then with peats—good peats that were whole.
D.A.M.: Was it black peat, or fibrous peat, or . . .?
D.M.: Black peat. Yes, black peat. Oh any kind provided that it was somewhat . . . that it was not too crumbling. And when it was full to the top you then lit a fire at each end of it and a fire in the middle.
D.A.M.: Did you leave a place for a draught to pass through it or anything?
D.M.: No, no. You just allowed it to burn then. It would catch alight right up to the mouth: you let it be then till it was pretty red, so that there was not . . . the flames would just have died down in it. When you thought then that the heat had gone completely through the peat and that it was one

mass of glowing embers you then began to cut turfs: beginning to put the turfs at one end and putting another after that one catching . . . gripping the other turf until you reached the other end.
D.A.M.: And it would be completely closed then?
D.M.: Shutting the air off from it, and if there was smoke coming out of it then—little patches of smoke coming through it—you then got soft peat with the spade and plastered it on these holes and it shut the air off from it then, and there was nothing coming . . . to be seen at all. And you left it there for, oh, a day or two days. You took it out then and took it to the smithy in bags.
D.A.M.: And in what condition would you find it then?
D.M.: It would be light. Light. You could imagine that there was not much use in it at all.
D.A.M.: And it would be brittle would it?
D.M.: Yes. Some of the peats would be just broken in half. Smaller pieces than these would be as big as . . . or perhaps it might be, say . . . it would be the size of a box of matches or thereabouts.
D.A.M.: And it would be black would it?
D.M.: No it was grey; grey; blue grey somewhat.
D.A.M.: And how much would a pit like this take? How much peat would you put in it?
D.M.: Oh, of peat? Oh you would need some two cartloads.
D.A.M.: Two cart loads. And what size did you say this trench would be again?
D.M.: Oh it would be some 8 feet long and some 3 feet broad and a good depth some 3 feet down.
D.A.M.: Yes, indeed. And this would do any kind of work in the smithy?
D.M.: It would do . . . exceedingly well in the smithy . . . it wasn't dirty at all. There were no "chars" after it at all, as you would say in English. It would do welding/joining as well as any coal.
D.A.M.: Well, well! And was it as hot as coal?
D.M.: Oh. Well perhaps it was not as hot but, well, it wasn't far behind.
D.A.M.: And it was long-lasting then? Would it last?
D.M.: Oh, yes. It would not last as long as (foreign) coal but it would do good work. You could do good work with it—excellent.
D.A.M.: And you yourself saw this being done often enough?

D.M.: Yes. I used to make it with my father time and again.
D.A.M.: And when did you do this last, have you any idea?
D.M.: Oh, it would be I believe in . . . ach, in 1909 or 1910.
D.A.M.: Very good. And the smithy would be pretty busy at that time?
D.M.: Oh, it was busy then; yes.

I think this graphic description requires no amplification. I am indebted to Mr. Donald Maclean, Carinish, for his expert commentary and courtesy and, of course, to my colleague D. A. MacDonald for the pertinence of his questions.

REFERENCES

Forbes, R. J.
1956 "Metallurgy" In: Singer-Holmyard-Hall-Williams (eds.). *A History of Technology*. Vol. II. Oxford.

Ross, A.
1885-6 "Old Highland Industries". *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 12: 389-415.

IAIN A. CRAWFORD

C. OTHER NOTES

The Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme

During the last forty years there has been a remarkable decline in the Hebridean fishing industry. Around the islands the waters still teem with valuable and varied fish, and naturally much fishing continues to take place, but the islanders themselves now have little to do with it. For example, probably fewer than 200 Lewismen are engaged in fishing other than for themselves at any time in the year, half of them only for a brief summer season, and even for local consumption their island depends for some of the year on the efforts of mainland crews. The contrast with forty years ago is complete, for then every mobile man and woman took part in the fishery, afloat or on shore.

In the old days of sail it was easy for men to combine the two occupations of crofting and fishing. However, when, in the early years of this century, power replaced sail, and the steam drifter took over from the sailboat, the whole nature of the fishing industry changed. The fishermen of the Western Isles were unable to adjust themselves to the new situation by acquiring modern boats—partly because of lack of sufficient capital, partly because of lack of suitable anchorages and

harbours, and partly because the combination of crofting and fishing had created a seasonal tradition which was incompatible with the use of expensive boats which needed to be kept continually at sea if they were to be made to pay—and in the lean years of the inter-war period they had no option but to carry on as best they could in their old traditional role. Even in this humble role they were at a serious geographical disadvantage, for changes in the means and methods of fishing had been accompanied by equally sharp changes in the size and nature of markets, both at home and abroad. Deprived of the continental markets which had formerly bought large quantities of cured herring, the Hebridean ports were now forced to rely mainly upon the smaller and more selective home market, in relation to which they were badly located. The resultant decline of the Hebridean fishing industry between the two World Wars meant that, when new opportunities did eventually arise in the form of grants and loans schemes introduced in 1945 by the Fisheries Division of the Scottish Home Department and subsequently by the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board, the bulk of the men living in the Isles—lacking experience in handling modern boats and equipment as well as confidence in fishing as an occupation—were unable to take advantage of them. By 1959 there were only 25 boats of 40 feet or more in length based upon Hebridean ports (Fleck Committee, 1961:para. 177) and only six full-time crews in Lewis and five in Harris (*Glasgow Herald*:2.6.1959).

The decline of the local fishing industry has undoubtedly contributed towards the high level of unemployment and depopulation in the Hebrides, especially the Outer Hebrides, in recent decades. As the Taylor Commission remarked: "A good part of the difficulties under which the crofting districts labour has been caused not only by the decline of production on the croft but also, and even more, by the failure of the auxiliary occupations which used to be followed. In some parts of the Western sea-board and in many of the Isles, it is the failure of the fishing industry which creates the difficulty" (Taylor Commission, 1954:para. 233). Furthermore, the lack of a modern local fleet fishing on a full-time basis has meant that the Minch is only fished at all intensively when the East Coast fleet is operating in the area, with the result that landings at Minch ports tend to be both seasonal and irregular in occurrence. But any investment in harbour improvements

and processing facilities at Minch ports will clearly fail to yield a full return on the capital invested in them so long as they remain largely unused during the summer months. Just as surely as the Minch fishing is essential to keep the capital invested in East Coast boats employed in winter, so the development of a local fleet is necessary to keep the capital invested in processing plant in the area employed in summer.

It has long been realised, of course, that there is both ample scope and need for a local fleet in the Minch. Lord Leverhulme was well aware of this when, shortly after the First World War, he formulated his ambitious plans for the development of a full-time fishing fleet based on Stornoway. More than thirty years later, the Taylor Commission again drew attention to the need for a full-time fishing fleet off the North-West coast of Scotland. As it commented in its Report: "Gone are the days when the crew of the fishing boat could haul their craft up on the beach and leave it there in safety. The modern scine-netter is much too heavy to be beached in that way and far too costly to be exposed to risk in unsafe anchorages. . . . The capital outlay required for their purchase is such that it is not economic to operate them except on a full-time basis. It is still possible for smaller boats to be employed in fishing for lobster or crab, but the general trend of development is against the man who combines fishing with the work of the croft. We do not think it possible to reverse this trend; it should be accepted and an attempt made to establish a full-time fishing industry in Western waters" (Taylor Commission, 1954:para. 233). It is only within the last four years, however, that such an attempt has finally been made.

The first vital step came in January, 1959, when the Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust[1] announced the introduction of a scheme designed "to increase the number of modern boats with efficient crews operating from or based on Lewis". All persons applying for assistance under this scheme were required to give an undertaking that they would prosecute fishing on a full-time basis, and if this condition was broken within a period of ten years the Trustees reserved the right to recover any monies provided by them. Furthermore, no person would be assisted unless, in the opinion of the Trustees, he was likely to make "an energetic and successful fisherman", and applicants for assistance were accordingly required either to show that they were adequately trained in modern fishing methods or else to undergo a period of training by working on an

approved vessel for anything up to two years. Subject to these conditions being satisfied, the Trust declared that it would provide the initial capital needed to obtain a new boat under the grants and loans schemes operated by the Herring Industry Board and the White Fish Authority. In the case of groups acting together as a crew this would amount to up to 5 per cent of the cost of a new boat (with an upper limit of £3,000)—which, subject to the approval of the appropriate fishing authority, would enable them to acquire a boat worth about £20,000 at the end of their period of training—or up to 5 per cent (with an upper limit of £1,000) in the case of individuals.

Announcing the introduction of the scheme, the Trust's Local Advisory Committee stated: "It is obvious that East Coast fishermen are earning good money from the Minch. . . . The prospects, given a modern boat and all-out fishing throughout the year, are very different from what they were before the war. We do not agree that the Lewisman has lost his taste for the sea and fishing, or that he is in any way less enterprising than the East Coaster. We have come to the conclusion that there are two difficulties—the young Lewisman lacks the capital to buy a modern boat and the experience to use it. We are trying by this scheme to solve these two problems together. If there are any young men prepared to acquire the experience, the Macaulay Trust is prepared to assist them with capital. . . . The scheme covers only the Island of Lewis, but if it succeeds, it may open the way for a general revival of fishing in the Western Isles by showing that there are young men in the area who will take an opportunity when it is offered to them" (*Stornoway Gazette*:27.1.1959).

The Macaulay Trust scheme was a pioneering venture, but it had two important consequences. Firstly, it was directly responsible for assisting three young men in Kirkibost, Bernera, to acquire one of the best-equipped lobster boats in Scotland. Apart from one other boat, this was the first fishing vessel of 40 feet or more in length to be built for a Lewis crew since the end of the last war. Secondly, the scheme acted indirectly as a useful prototype for the Government scheme which was to augment and largely replace it a year later.

The possible introduction of a Government-sponsored scheme was intimated in the White Paper of June, 1959, which stressed that "the development in the Minch area of a modern local fleet fishing on a full-time basis is needed to strengthen the economy of the Outer Hebrides" and went on to declare

that "the Highlands Panel are of the opinion that a most important step in reviving a local fleet in the Minch is to educate young fishermen there in modern fishing techniques, and the Secretary of State, with the White Fish Authority and the Herring Industry Board, is considering how best this suggestion can be put into practice" (Review of Highland Policy, 1959:para. 23). The result of these deliberations became apparent in January, 1960, when the Government officially instituted the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Under this scheme, free training was offered to men who were prepared to make fishing their career, together with financial assistance to those who satisfactorily completed their training and who wished to acquire boats of their own. For men with no previous fishing experience, practical training as an extra hand was to be given for a period of up to six months on a commercial fishing vessel operating in the Minch area and selected as suitable for the purpose. For men who completed their initial period of training or who had other suitable experience and who proposed to form their own crew locally and to acquire a boat, the scheme offered a further period of at least six months' training under an experienced skipper and second hand on board the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries' own training ship, the "Islesman". The implementation of this scheme, which applied solely to able bodied men of 18 or over whose permanent homes were in the Outer Hebrides, was to be supervised by the Chief Inspector of Sea Fisheries, Mr. Charles Sim, and organised by the Scheme's Training officer, Mr. J. W. Dunningham, from his base in Stornoway.

The provision of financial assistance for the purchase of boats was only made possible by the generosity of the Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust and the Highland Fund Limited who agreed to grant suitably trained applicants the capital required to meet the normal 15 per cent deposit on a new boat. The remainder of the cost was to be met by grants from the White Fish Authority or the Herring Industry Board and loans from the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. Except under special circumstances, this assistance was not designed to cover the acquisition of second-hand vessels, for the likelihood of higher maintenance expenses being added to the repayment burden was considered too heavy a commitment for men embarking upon a fishing career. In addition to their preliminary period of training on the official training vessel, an

extra training skipper was also to be available to sail with crews during the working-up period following the acquisition and delivery of their own boats.

The implementation of the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme was not without its difficulties. Firstly, in June, 1961, the funds of the Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust were suddenly depleted by an unforeseen tax liability, causing its Trustees temporarily to suspend their scheme of assistance for Lewismen acquiring their own boats. Three crews had been or were then being assisted to purchase boats under the Government scheme, and the extension of this assistance to other Lewis crews was only made possible by the Highland Fund Limited agreeing to advance to fishermen the sum they would otherwise have expected to receive from the Macaulay Trust. Under the terms of the agreement between these two bodies it was arranged that the Macaulay Trust would repay these sums to the Highland Fund Limited over a long period, thereby avoiding any immediate drain upon its depleted financial resources. Secondly, when the Highlands and Islands Advisory Panel made their initial recommendations to the Government, the rate of interest on long-term loans for new fishing boats was 5¼ per cent. By the time the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme came into operation, this figure had risen to 5⅝ per cent. Then, thrice within the first three months of the scheme, interest rates advanced again. When the credit squeeze was eventually introduced the rate of interest on new boats was further increased to 7¼ per cent. Though the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme was exempted from the general restrictions then imposed upon the provision of Government assistance for new boats, these high rates of interest came at a most unfortunate time, for on a large boat a rise of 2 per cent could add up to £240 to the annual burden its owners had to meet, and even on a smaller boat the difference might well be sufficient to turn a possible success into failure. There has since been a reduction in interest rates, but those fishermen who bought their boats during the credit squeeze must of course continue to repay their loans at the higher rates prevailing at the time of purchase.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme has successfully reached its declared target of a dozen new boats. By the end of 1962 nine boats, ranging from 46 feet to 66 feet in length, had already been

acquired and were actually fishing, while the remaining three were in course of construction with their crews completing their periods of training. Of the nine boats then in service (all but one of which were new) five were manned by crews from Lewis, two by crews from Barra, and one each by crews from Scalpay and Eriskay. In addition, the three boats on order were all for Lewis crews, thus bringing that island's ultimate figure to eight. A point of particular significance is that most of these boats are equipped for dual-purpose fishing. For example, the four boats owned by fishermen in Barra, Scalpay and Eriskay are each fitted out for ring-net fishing during the normal herring season and for nephrops trawling at other times; of the first four boats built for Lewis crews under the scheme, two are fitted out for great line fishing and nephrops trawling, one for seine-net fishing and one for white fish trawling (the latter being equipped for stern trawling instead of the normal side trawling). As the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland remarked: "The introduction in this way of dual-purpose fishing to the fishermen in the Outer Isles should enable fishing to be prosecuted on a full-time basis in the Islands throughout the year" (Fisheries of Scotland, Report for 1961:p. 15).

The Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme will come to an end when the twelfth boat has been delivered and its crew has completed its course of training. Altogether, about 60 men will then have been provided with employment under the Scheme—which in the Hebrides is a considerable number—and with the exception of one crew who underwent training on a commercial vessel and had also had previous experience, all will have received a course of training on the official training ship.[2] However, for several reasons, this achievement will have a significance quite apart from its practical contribution to the employment situation in the area. Firstly, it will have clearly illustrated the benefits that are to be gained by close co-operation among the various organisations whose activities affect the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme has been a combined effort in which many bodies, official and unofficial, have worked together towards a common end, and its success would have been impossible but for that co-operation. Secondly, it has shown that—given access to both capital and training—the people of the Outer Hebrides are as willing and able as those of any other area to take advantage of the

opportunities which are offered to them. Indeed, the pattern of the Fisheries Training Scheme, which combined the offer of capital in the form of grants and loans with the provision of technical instruction, was exactly the same as that which has proved so effective in promoting the recent expansion of pasture improvement schemes in the Outer Hebrides. Finally, of all the lessons to be learned from the scheme, perhaps the most important is the value of flexibility. A rigid scheme would probably have broken down long ago but, under the guidance of Mr. J. W. Dunningham, the Fishery Officer in charge, every crew has been given individual treatment and the training tailored to suit their precise requirements.

It would seem that the long decline of the Hebridean fishing industry has at last been halted and that the embryo of a new fleet has now been created on sound modern lines. Mr. Donald Gunn, skipper of one of the new Lewis boats acquired under the scheme, has been reported as saying: "Before our boat was purchased we had difficulty in gathering a crew, but now that we've got it quite a few want to join us" (*Stornoway Gazette*:30.10.1962). These words, more than any statistics, testify to the success of the Outer Hebrides Fisheries Training Scheme. Indeed, it is perhaps a pity that the scheme has to come to an end so soon for, as the Crofters' Commission recently remarked: "The scheme has demonstrated that there are quite a number of young lads in the area, especially in Barra, who are eager to take up fishing, and it is questionable whether the fleet of twelve boats which has been established is sufficiently large to provide openings for them all" (The Crofters' Commission, Annual Report for 1962: para. 98). Nevertheless, a foundation has at least been laid upon which it should be possible to build in future years. Most important of all, the scheme has helped to remove some of the apathy and defeatism which has for so long characterised the Islanders' attitude to the fishing industry, and in the long run this achievement may prove to be of greater value than any of its more immediate results.

NOTES

[1] The Macaulay (Rhodesia) Trust was set up under the will of the late Murdo Macaulay of Ness, who left Lewis with hardly a word of English and no money but who later acquired a considerable fortune in Rhodesia and, when he died, bequeathed the bulk of it for the good of his native island.

[2] The men now owning and/or making up the crews of the boats acquired under the scheme came almost exclusively from the following occupations:—

(*a*) Merchant navy and whaling fleet.

(*b*) Harris tweed weavers.

(*c*) Deckhands aboard East Coast fishing boats.

It would be difficult to give any accurate figures for the proportion of men who came from each of the above sources as many of them formerly combined two and sometimes three of these occupations.

REFERENCES

Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Fishing Industry (Fleck Committee), 1961, H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 1266.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions (Taylor Commission), 1954, H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 9091.

Review of Highland Policy (Secretary for Scotland's report on Highland Policy), 1959, H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 785.

Fisheries of Scotland: Report for 1961, September 1962, H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 1674.

The Crofters' Commission: Annual Report for 1962, April 1963, H.M.S.O.

JOHN L. BLAKE

NOVEMBER 1963

D. BOOK REVIEWS

The traditional tunes of the Child ballads with their texts, according to the extant records of Great Britain and America. By Bertrand Harris Bronson. Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press. Vol. II. £10.

The second volume of Professor Bronson's work covers the tunes to nos. 54-113 of Child's collection, and includes a preface in which the author deals further with certain matters raised in the introductory essay to Vol. I. The latter was not reviewed in this journal, and it will be necessary to refer to it several times.

In his chosen field, Bronson has undertaken something that is comparable in intention to that of any literary editor who seeks to add illumination to the past by the increased light provided by the latest knowledge and method. Inevitably, this process of critical re-appraisement means the exposing of errors of judgment by earlier scholars, due to their lack of access to material only subsequently available; but this fact

does not diminish the value or importance of their contribution to knowledge of their subject. For example, nobody questions the competence or integrity of David Laing merely because John Small and W. M. Mackenzie were able in later generations to correct him on many matters connected with his edition of Dunbar's poems published in 1834.

These are pertinent reflections when one comes to examine the scholarly relationship between Professor Bronson and Child, of whose famous collection the present work is an extension, though not a completion. Bronson's first volume opens with an introductory essay which immediately makes the charge that ballad-scholarship has in the past been basically deficient, in its concentration upon the literary aspect of balladry and its ignoring of its music.

This implicit criticism of his basic text leads the author into a discussion of other shortcomings in Child's collection, particularly in the matter of system; Child's difficulties are regarded sympathetically, and in fact, after ventilating the matter Bronson finds himself forced, for practical reasons, to follow Child's ordering of his material as a basis for his own work. Had he attempted to improve on Child's labours in this respect before embarking on his main task, it is unlikely that one lifetime would have sufficed, and we should never have seen these volumes in print at all.

As it is, the mind is staggered by the formidable size of Bronson's undertaking, and by the mere contemplation of some of the problems he has had to face. One senses from the introductory remarks to the first volume (some of which are re-stated, in answer to critics, in the second) that Professor Bronson recognised two main directions in which a theoretical perfection could never be achieved in this work, and in which he has been forced by practical considerations to compromise.

The first of these, referred to above, is concerned with the shortcomings of Child's own collection, primarily in the matter of system and order. The second lies in the sheer bulk of material that has been added to the available store since Child's day, at an accelerating rate, and to-day far from showing signs of exhaustion. Faced with this physical fact, Bronson finds himself forced to adopt a tapering-off method of presentation, whereby he has endeavoured in the first place to "make the record virtually complete to the end of Child's century". Next, for the first quarter of the present century he has tried, under increasing difficulty, and with diminishing

success, to continue the process; third, for the second quarter-century, he has tried to take in all the *published* records; but thereafter he has felt himself handicapped by the ethical problems posed by any suggestion of making use of the work of other scholars whose writings have "not been in print long enough to have exhausted their first wave of purchasers". (It is surely one of the advantages to be set against obstacles to freedom of thought in Communist countries that scholars there do not have to consider this particular barrier to unfettered public utterance.) Further, he has had to face the sheer impossibility of keeping track of all new material, particularly of the vast amount of commercial phonographically-recorded music of local or regional interest and now available "only by lucky encounter".

By way of justification of this chronologically-diminishing completeness of his record, Bronson reasonably draws attention to the considerable and ever-increasing archives of recorded folk-song which "offer ample room for further research", sugaring this pill by underlining the indisputable fact that sound-records are very much more reliable than printed transcripts, and leaving future researchers to make their own arrangements for exploring the superabundant archives.

Within this framework the scholarship which Bronson brings to bear on his subject is fully worthy of comparison with Child's own, and his meticulous attention to detail in his editorial method goes far beyond anything that Child was able to accomplish at a time when the scientific aspects of modern editing were practically unknown. The system of symbols used for classification purposes is not difficult to grasp, granted as prerequisite sufficient technical knowledge on the reader's part to make serious study worth while; though one is grateful for the supplementary clarification of the symbols relating to the modes and scales which the author gives in his introduction to Vol. II.

It would be absurd to expect a short review to enter into critical discussion of the detail of a work so gigantic in its scope. Bronson himself indicates that one of his main functions has been to provide the material for the start of many followers' research, and it may be assumed that in due course there will emerge points in plenty for debate and criticism.

Some idea of the possibilities may be gained from a mention of a few of the most spectacular of Professor Bronson's achievements, such as the printing here of 199 versions of "Barbara

Allan" (plus an indication of the published whereabouts of 29 more): the 158 versions of "Lord Thomas and fair Eleanor" known to the author, and mostly given in the text: the eleven ballads for which from 30 to 80 tunes are printed, with chapter and verse for many others published elsewhere. At the other end of the scale, Bronson is scrupulous, in the case of "Willie and Lady Maisrie", in not printing the single tune whose connection with the ballad is slender and very dubious, even though it means his giving no music at all in this instance. It seems to me that an author of even a little less integrity would have printed the tune, however hedged about with warnings, for the sake of filling up a blank space in his scheme, and that this is a certain indication of reliability and scholarly honesty in the whole.

In a very important passage in his introduction, Professor Bronson draws attention to the worrying implications of the scramble for "copyright" in these public treasures, and to the tendency to deliberate mutilation in the endeavour to establish such copyright. He issues a warning that applications to reproduce or perform copyright versions are to be made to the holders, and not to him or his publishers.

This part of the introduction should perhaps be taken very seriously by the sophisticated and other modern singers of folk-song, who are certain to find in the work a well-nigh inexhaustible source of supply. However much some of the results of their quarrying may be deplored, we see here a secondary, and on the whole valuable, use for a work that must surely remain standard for generations.

CEDRIC THORPE DAVIE

Agricultural Sir John, The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster 1754-1835. By Rosalind Mitchison. London: Geoffrey Bles. 1962. ix+291 pp. 14 plates, 35s.

Of all the leading personalities of the Scottish Renaissance, few have languished so long in obscurity as Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, editor of the Old Statistical Account and father of the first Board of Agriculture. Burns, Scott, Hume and Smith, like Watt, Telford and the Adam brothers on a different level, left memorials so spectacular that posterity was bound to be curious about their history. Sir John simply bullied other

people into writing the main works associated with his name; although generations of scholars and general readers have enjoyed the fruits of his coercion, and though all of us may lie under an even deeper debt to him than we presently acknowledge, Mrs. Mitchison is the first to have paid him the compliment of a biography since his own son performed the act of filial piety immediately after his death. We should all be grateful for the scholarly (and entertaining) manner in which she has executed her task: she produces striking proof that academic history need not be dull to be good.

The book is a comprehensive biography on a chronological pattern. The first two chapters deal with the Sinclair family and the Ulbster estate in Caithness before Sir John was born in 1754. The next five deal mainly with his early career in politics before he became a well-known national figure in the 1790's. Mrs. Mitchison shows a deft hand in unravelling the intricacies of the St. Albans Club and Sir John's part in toppling the ministry of Lord North, and reaches the top of her form in chapter eight—a study of eighteenth-century electioncering in the Caithness contest of 1789 which ensured for her hero a firm place at Westminster in the age of Pitt and Dundas.

The remaining eleven chapters portray Sir John after his arrival at maturity—that is to say, from the point when he discovered that his heart was not in political life for its own sake, but in the work of "condensing useful knowledge into a moderate compass", and in "the introduction of a spirit of industry and improvement" into his country. Asking a multitude of questions that he regarded as useful and important, badgering all he could for the answers with no regard to the inconvenience he caused the questioned, tirelessly offering advice and exhortation on a multitude of agricultural and monetary problems, Sir John was the arch bore and busybody of his age. His complete lack of tact or humour often made him ridiculous—as when he advised Sir Walter Scott to marry the Dowager Duchess of Roxburgh only four months after the unfortunate novelist had lost his first wife, or when his pet hypochondriac remedies for indigestion were proffered to Canning and the Prince Regent. Yet such was his sincerity, his driving energy and his restless enthusiasm that no contemporary could fairly deny him a certain respect and stature.

Mrs. Mitchison deals thoroughly with the main targets of his enthusiasm—the British Wool Society, the Board of

Agriculture, the Statistical Account, the bullion controversy and his private attempts at "improvement" in Caithness. In one way or another all these ventures were something less than a success. The Wool Society, which aimed primarily at improving the breeds of Highland sheep, became moribund as soon as Sir John's personal attention was transferred to a wider field, and in its four years of existence (1790 to 1794) its concrete achievements were slight. The Board of Agriculture lasted longer: born in 1793 as Pitt's payment for Sir John's timely intervention in the liquidity crisis of that year (a service for which he could easily have claimed a peerage) and killed in 1821 when Lord Liverpool quarrelled with Sir John about free trade, it was very much a "personal" affair, with the President (Sir John in its most active years) and the Secretary (initially Arthur Young) running it like a comfortable gentlemen's club rather than a bureaucratic Government office. Its best achievement was in carrying out the incomplete double series of Agricultural Reports, of which the Scottish volumes were the most satisfactory: in almost everything else, and especially in its repeated but futile attempts to get a General Enclosure Act through Parliament before the end of the Napoleonic Wars, it was haunted by the ineffectiveness of mere powers of persuasion against prejudice and vested interest.

The Statistical Account—Sir John's third major venture of the 1790's—appears on the face of it to have been a more complete success. Certainly it achieved the limited aims of a parish-by-parish survey of his native country. Even this, however, was only a ghost of his original conception of an investigation to cover the whole British Isles, consisting not only of these parish surveys and the Agricultural Reports, but also of a digest in the form of a General Report, topped by a summary Analysis of the whole—the imaginative "Statistical Pyramid" which was actually achieved only for Scotland, and then only in very imperfect form.

As a political economist, Sinclair came to fruition in the following decade, arguing the case for inconvertible paper against Huskisson, Ricardo and the bullionists in a more sensible and cogent manner—as Mrs. Mitchison points out—than historians have usually given him credit for. He won the short term victory, only to lose in the long run when resumption of cash payments was permitted in 1821, and all his later fulminations in alliance with Attwood were unable to obtain a reversal of what was to become monetary orthodoxy for a

hundred years. Finally, as the model improver in his own country, he poured capital into his estates as an example to the neighbours, and so redesigned and rebuilt Thurso that the modern town remains a living memorial to his energy and vision—characteristically he bit off more than he could chew and went bankrupt in 1811, thus teaching the neighbours an additional lesson that he had not intended. Indeed, his whole career reads as a catalogue of endeavour overthrown, and Mrs. Mitchison pulls no punches in pointing out how far its basic pathos was due as much to Sir John's personal shortcomings, particularly to his intellectual confusion and diffuseness of aim, as to any of the outside blows of fate.

Was Sir John Sinclair, despite all this, truly a great man? The reviewer may perhaps be forgiven for raising a question which the author may not have thought it her business to answer quite in this form: certainly there is no direct assessment of his historical importance in this otherwise excellent book. For Scotland, at least, the answer must be that he was. Here Sir John was the outstanding propagandist of planned rural "improvement" in an age when agrarian progress depended to an enormous extent on infecting society both with the enthusiasm for change and the knowledge of how to set about it: nothing did more to carry these germs into every corner of North Britain than the Statistical Account and the Agricultural Reports, and the sheer pleasure that we get from reading them to-day should not blind us to the very practical and important functions they had when modern Scotland first took shape.

Was Sir John more than a purely Scottish figure? To this the answer is more uncertain, since he failed to make the immediate impact on Britain as a whole that he made on Scotland. Yet because he was not only "Agricultural Sir John" but also "Statistical Sir John", it is not unreasonable to bracket him with the more original minds of such great contemporaries as Smith or Scott. He was not the first to see the importance of collecting and publishing exact facts about the economy and society, any more than Smith was the first to consider "political economy" or Scott the first to write a "romantic" novel. Yet he was certainly the first to plan and execute a comprehensive factual survey of any nation, and the example, if not as joyfully followed by contemporaries as he had hoped, was not lost on posterity. This "collecting of useful information" has become the modern science of Government to such an extent that twentieth century Britain would be

unthinkable without it, though of course, this has not happened only or even mainly because of Sir John (the complexities and horrors of nineteenth-century life would have made it inevitable even if the Statistical Account had never been written) and modern economists and sociologists, both in the questions they ask and in the tools they have for obtaining and analysing the answers, are vastly different from and superior to him. But both he and they meet in recognition of the fundamental importance of describing the human economic and social condition as accurately as possible before attempting to prescribe the necessary alterations. It was here Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster was a pioneer, and for this he surely deserves a more prominent niche on Olympus than we would guess from the story of his career alone.

T. C. SMOUT

A Shetland Riddle

In 1960 this journal published "A collection of Riddles from Shetland" by the late Dr. Calum I. Maclean and Mr. Stewart F. Sanderson (Vol. 4:150-86). Below we are printing a variant of the riddle listed as No. 91 in this collection. It was submitted by Mr. John Hay of Hayfield, Delgatie Castle, Turriff, Aberdeenshire:

Come a guddick, come a guddick
Come a rot tot tot
Da peerie peerie maan i' da red red cot
Wi' da staff i' his haand n' da stane i' his trot
Come a guddick, come a guddick
Come a rot tot tot

Answer — a cherry.

EDITOR

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 8 PART 2

1964

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

★

EDITOR
B. R. S. Megaw

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
W. F. H. Nicolaisen

★

VOLUME 8 PART 2
1964

OLIVER AND BOYD LTD
EDINBURGH

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 8 : PART 2

★

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

A. J. AITKEN, M.A., Editor: Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN, DR.PHIL., B.LITT., Senior Research Fellow, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

PHILIP T. WHEELER, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer, Dept. of Geography, University of Nottingham.

CALUM I. MACLEAN, M.A., PH.D., late Senior Research Fellow, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

B. R. S. MEGAW, B.A., F.S.A., F.M.A., Director; D. A. MACDONALD, M.A., and HAMISH HENDERSON, M.A., Senior Research Fellows; ANNE ROSS, M.A., PH.D., and IAIN A. CRAWFORD, M.A., Research Fellows; ELIZABETH SINCLAIR M.A., Archivist, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

JAMES DOW, M.A., Assistant Lecturer, Dept. of Economic History, University of Glasgow.

JOHN BUTT, B.A., PH.D., Lecturer, Dept. of Economic History, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

*COMPLETING THE RECORD OF SCOTS**

A. J. Aitken

From about the sixth century in Southern Scotland and since the twelfth century throughout the eastern and southern Lowlands from the Moray Firth southwards there has been in use a northern variety of Anglo-Saxon speech which is now known as Lowland Scots. This language reached its zenith between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries. During this period, which was almost exactly the time-span of the Stewart dynasty, it was not only the universal spoken language of all ranks of the Scottish nation from the kings downward, but also, in a fairly standard form, the chief literary, official and legal language—the language of poetry, of narrative, didactic and polemical prose and of all sorts of official records. This is the stage of the language recorded by the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST).[1]

By the early eighteenth century, as a result of the Unions of the Crowns and the Parliaments and certain other factors, many of the functions that Scots had had in the older period were usurped by its near relative, standard English. Thereafter Scots remains chiefly as a group of mainly working-class and rural regional dialects, and also of course as the vehicle of a considerable vernacular literature. This is the period which falls to the *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND).[2]

It appears from one or two recent books and articles on aspects of general and legal Scottish history which bypass not only the new Scottish dictionaries but also the *Oxford* and the *English Dialect Dictionary* that for some Dr. John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* may still hold the field as the principal Scottish dictionary.[3] Jamieson, a Secession Church minister, produced his dictionary in two sections of two large volumes each in 1808 and 1825, and for

* A slightly modified version of a paper on the Scottish dictionaries read at a meeting of Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in Aberdeen on 3rd September 1963. A summary of this paper has also appeared in *Folklore* 75 (1964) 34-6.

more than a century his work remained the chief support of Scottish philology. To this day it continues to be useful as a source of the language and folklore of Jamieson's time.

But as a general dictionary of Scots it had of course been wholly superseded by 1928. In that year the *Oxford English Dictionary*,[4] which had been begun some fifty years previously by one of the greatest of Scottish philologists, James Murray, was completed by another great Scottish philologist, William Craigie. Among many other things the Oxford Dictionary is by far the fullest and most reliable dictionary of Older Scots to date, and a great improvement on Jamieson. It is thus the chief predecessor of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*.

It is also an important predecessor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, since it contains a good deal of modern literary Scots. The other and more important of the *National Dictionary's* predecessors, however, is Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*,[5] completed in six large volumes in 1905, which has as its field the English and Scottish regional dialects from about 1700 onwards. Among the outstanding features of this work, in which the Scottish element is prominent, are the arrays of illustrative quotations, full of information and interest, which it provides for each word, and the clear picture it often gives of a word's geographical distribution. As a dictionary of modern Scots it is in almost every way superior to Jamieson.

Between Jamieson's time early in the nineteenth century and the appearance of the *Oxford* and the *English Dialect Dictionaries* at the end of the century, philological knowledge and theory had advanced by the largest stride they have ever made, and this naturally results in the later dictionaries in incomparably sounder philological treatment, including far more trustworthy etymologies. Again, there are the many new and improved editions of earlier literature and records produced in the nineteenth century by the great publishing clubs, such as the Bannatyne, Maitland and Spalding Clubs and the Scottish Text and Scottish History Societies. Both the *Oxford* and the *English Dialect Dictionaries* were based on vast reading-programmes which employed hundreds of voluntary readers. Between them they multiply by about four the coverage of Scottish sources which Jamieson, working largely on his own and really only in his spare time and with far fewer adequate editions, was able to achieve. Hence they disposed of a much larger volume of Scottish evidence and this is of course the

secret of the impressive advance in all-round informativeness which, in fact, they make over Jamieson.

The lexicography of Scots has had three principal eras—the age of Jamieson succeeded by that of Murray and Wright, which I have just been discussing, and the age of Craigie, to which I now turn. William Craigie, a native of Dundee and alumnus of St. Andrews, who died just over six years ago at the age of ninety, was co-editor of the *Oxford Dictionary* from 1901. In 1907 he gave an address to the English Association in Dundee in which he suggested that members should collect surviving examples of Scottish words, ballads, legends and traditions. Out of this suggestion was born the Scottish Dialects Committee with William Grant, Lecturer in Phonetics at Aberdeen Training Centre, as its Convener,[6] and it was Grant's and the Committee's collections which some twenty years later went to provide the nucleus of the *Scottish National Dictionary*. Then on 4th April 1919, in an address to the Philological Society, Craigie propounded his historic plan for following the *Oxford Dictionary* with a series of separate, specialist, large-scale dictionaries, one for each of the main stages or periods in the history of English and Scots.[7] These "period dictionaries", as they came to be called, would then supplement and to some extent supersede the *Oxford Dictionary* itself. Only in this way, Craigie insisted, could each period be fully documented and properly treated from the point of view of its own special problems and peculiarities.[8] So far the "period dictionary" scheme has realised as its practical outcome two large historical dictionaries of American English,[9] one of which had as its first editor Craigie himself, a huge and immensely detailed dictionary of Middle English,[10] now published to the letter F, and the two big Scottish dictionaries. A great amount of preparatory work was also spent, at the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan, on a large-scale dictionary of English of the Tudor and Stuart periods, until unfortunately funds ran out just before the last War.

Each of these "period dictionaries" is important first as the completest record of its own period. Each is also important as an indispensable unit in this grand scheme to survey in detail the whole history of English and Scots. The Scottish dictionaries also have a key position in the survey of Scottish language and traditions in which they complement the work of Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies and the same University's Linguistic Survey of Scotland. And they also

take their place alongside the similar large studies of the languages of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries and because of our early linguistic and historical relations with these lands they have some importance to scholars of these countries.

On the Scottish side of his scheme Craigie's eventual idea was to have two dictionaries, one of Older Scots from the earliest records in the twelfth century until about the year 1700, and this he decided to undertake himself, and one of modern Scots, bringing the record down from 1700 to the present, and as is mentioned above, this in due course came out of the work and enthusiasm of William Grant and the Scottish Dialects Committee. As early as 1919 Craigie had begun enlisting helpers for his Older Scots Dictionary, in 1921 he appointed his first full-time assistant and in 1931 the first part of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* was published by the University of Chicago Press, as Craigie was then in Chicago editing his American dictionary. Meantime in 1928 William Grant retired from his post as Phonetics Lecturer and began assembling the material for the modern Scots dictionary which he entitled the *Scottish National Dictionary*. With the backing of many distinguished Scots, a non-profit-making limited company, the Scottish National Dictionary Association Ltd.,[11] was formed as manager and publisher of this dictionary and the *Scottish National Dictionary's* first part also appeared in 1931. Both dictionaries are now approximately halfway through the alphabet in publication under Mr. Murison and myself as successors to the original editors.

The *Oxford* and the *English Dialect Dictionaries* are more informative than Jamieson as a result of their fuller coverage of the sources. The "period dictionary" scheme provides for a still more exhaustive coverage of sources, by much more intensive cultivation of a number of separate limited fields. The figures are something like this: the Oxford Dictionary's cohort of readers examined some 16,000 titles, over the whole range of English. Of these I estimate some six or seven hundred as Scottish works and the *English Dialect Dictionary* adds about another 600. In contrast, the two modern Scottish Dictionaries between them draw on upwards of 8000 volumes for a total of one and a half to two million quotations.[12] This covers virtually everything of consequence so far in print and also some hundreds of manuscript volumes which were read for the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, whereas the *Oxford*

Dictionary relied exclusively on printed editions. In addition, the *Scottish National Dictionary's* coverage of oral material depends on a well thought out and productive system much superior in its results to Joseph Wright's for the *English Dialect Dictionary*.[13] Where this improved coverage is probably least is in the well-known standard literary classics—such as Barbour, Henryson and Dunbar for Older Scots, and Burns and Scott for Modern—for of these reasonable texts were always available, and they were naturally always the first target of lexicographers from Jamieson onwards. If all that is wanted is a mere crib of these writers or the likes of them, then this will often, though by no means always, be just about as well supplied by the older as by the new dictionaries. On the other hand the latter are far ahead in their coverage of the more obscure literary works and also of a great variety of official and private record sources such as the parliamentary and legal records, local records such as burgh court books and kirk session records from every corner of the land, the account books of, for example, coal-mine managers, skippers and farmers, and such things as private correspondence, wills and diaries.

Inasmuch as this very exhaustive coverage of the sources is resulting in a quite striking and measurable improvement in the record they give of the language, the new Scottish dictionaries are fully vindicating Craigie's "period dictionary" thesis. This naturally includes philological and literary matters, but I propose now to itemise only certain features of this improved record which seem to me of some relevance to historians, antiquarians and other students of, so to speak, non-linguistic aspects of the past and present life of Scotland.

The most obvious improvement which a dictionary can show over a predecessor is of course in wholly new entries—in words which it now registers that have entirely escaped its predecessors. In fact, the new Scottish dictionaries have large numbers of these, mostly from the record sources which they explore so much more thoroughly. Between pages 500 and 540 of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue's* volume III, I counted at least 25 words or important compounds which had hitherto never appeared as Older Scots in a dictionary at all.[14] Certainly some of these are pretty rare words, attested by only one or two examples each. Yet others are not so rare. For example, in this particular stretch of the alphabet, the word *ladegallon* or *lagallon*, which was the name of a sort of ladle-bucket used by

brewers and others, is attested in a variety of Older Scots forms by no fewer than 21 occurrences, and similarly *laich hous* in its various senses by 26 and *landmercat*, the name in certain burghs for the countrymen's meat-market, by 19, yet none of these had been recorded at all before this.

As well as whole new entries like these many other words appear in the new dictionaries with some newly recorded meanings and uses. This is true of virtually every word which has to be treated at some length, including therefore many common words of major cultural importance. One important instance is the noun *lord* which, with its innumerable special senses, many of them new to the record, occupies as many as 20 pages of the two dictionaries between them. Sometimes, too, new evidence such as the uncovering of an older form of the word will cast quite a different light on its origins. We can now see, for example, that *jackteleg* or *jockteleg*, the old Scots word for a clasp-knife, had nothing to do, as was previously thought, with an imaginary Flemish cutler *Jacques de Liège*. Its original form is *Jack the leg*, and it is a nickname-word, paralleled in its formation by the modern Scots *Jock the leear* (Jack the liar), an almanac. Like the seventeenth-century French name for this sort of knife, *jambette* "little leg", *jack the leg* doubtless alludes either to the leg-like folding action of the knife or possibly to the fact that some early examples had their hafts shaped to look like legs, some of them at any rate elaborately carved feminine ones —but this of course may have come after the name not before it. At any rate its connections are no doubt with legs rather than with Liège.

The new dictionaries' more abundant evidence also makes possible a more precise and reliable account of the distributions of words and word-uses in time and space. Many words now have their histories extended by up to four centuries in one or both directions. Also, since these now follow on a more nearly exhaustive examination of the sources, far more reliance can be placed on first and last recorded dates as time limits than was possible with the *Oxford* or indeed any previous dictionary. Thus from the fact that the dressing of agricultural land with *lime* is recorded half a dozen times of places in the south of Scotland during but not before the seventeenth century one can now draw at least a tentative historical conclusion. *Leith axe*, the name of one type of sixteenth century Scottish pole weapon, is another of those words which have not hitherto appeared in any dictionary. It was common enough, however,

between 1512 and 1546, after which it never appears, whereas the similar *Jedburgh staff* and *Lochaber axe* survived into modern times. I would think then that anyone interested in the history of such weapons would now be justified in trusting these two dates as genuine limits of the common currency of this term.

These are examples of the thousands of words which the new dictionaries more precisely delimit in time. As a result of their wide coverage of localised texts such as burgh and local court records, many words are also being much more precisely located in place. *Landimer*, a word of Anglo-Saxon origin for a boundary, which survives in Lanark's march-perambulation festival known as *lanimer-day*, not only has its history carried back 400 years in time from the nineteenth century occurrences which are the only ones noted by the *Oxford Dictionary*, but is also shown to have had from the beginning a fairly restricted local currency, namely to the north-east, in an area bounded by Aberdeen, Kintore and Elgin, and the south-west, between Lanark, P isley and Ayr, though isolated early examples do turn up in other places. In earlier times certain Scottish burghs levied a petty custom known as the *ladle*—as its name suggests, it was a ladleful taken from every sack of certain goods brought into the burgh market for sale. The single quotation for this provided by the *Oxford Dictionary* tells us that this duty was being levied in Glasgow in 1574. With some fifty-odd quotations the modern dictionaries carry on the history of this word to its final obsolescence in Glasgow in the nineteenth century and also define those burghs, which are all in the southern half of Scotland, from Dundee southwards, which used it. Other words are yet more narrowly localised: the expression *lowand-ill*, literally "lowing-disease", as the name of a certain disease of cattle, is exclusive to the records of Haddington and the writings of John Knox, another small item of evidence to confirm that he hailed from that area.

Some of even these very few instances already illustrate the truism, as I suppose it is, that the chronological and geographical distribution of the name of a thing and of course its etymology can often throw light directly or indirectly on such matters as the sources and directions of its contacts, dates of innovation and obsolescence, and directions of drift, of the object or concept itself. Another example of this that occurs to me that has already received some attention from scholars is the terminology of early land-divisions in Scotland, the Gaelic *davach* only in the north-east, the Northumbrian

husband-land only in the south-east, and so on. I believe that the dictionaries' improved account of this aspect of the language may therefore prove useful in various historical and anthropological fields. More often than not, I dare say, they will prove to be the only sources of this sort of distributional information. Nor am I forgetting Edinburgh University's Linguistic Survey of Scotland which will in due course be publishing extremely precise and detailed information on the regional distributions of modern Scottish words, but of course only of a fairly limited number.

In this matter of geographical distribution the *Scottish National Dictionary* especially is a powerful tool, since for every single word it provides a clear indication of the area the word or its use or its pronunciation occupy. Partly because the visible evidence of Older Scots is that of a fairly standard literary and official language which tended to exclude some of this local or provincial material and partly perhaps because the language was less regionally differentiated anyway, the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* contains fewer localisations of words and its main strength lies in the other direction, that of defining accurately chronological distribution; even so, it too is providing for the first time a great deal of information on the regional distribution of scores or hundreds of words.

Already the *Oxford* and the *English Dialect Dictionary* had devoted the larger part of their space to setting out within each subdivision of each word-article considerable numbers of illustrative quotations. How much more copious is the new dictionaries' provision of quotations my examples will have shown you. Though these quotations are there primarily to establish the word's forms, meanings, range of usage and so on, they can hardly fail to convey also as a sort of secondary by-product a great deal of descriptive information of a historical or encyclopaedic kind about the idea or thing each word denotes. This is something to which we naturally give some attention in the editing.

A recent example of this is the word *lockman*. This name for the burgh hangman probably originated in Edinburgh in the fifteenth century as a result of the hangman's having a perquisite of a *lock* or small quantity of meal from every sack brought into the burgh market—in some towns apparently he simply took over the *ladle* dues that I mentioned a little while ago. From Edinburgh this name for a hangman spread to other south Scots burghs and finally to Orkney. The articles

on this word in both dictionaries provide in fifty-odd quotations from the original sources, as against seven in the *Oxford Dictionary*, an abundance of information which I do not think can be got anywhere else on this functionary's duties, remuneration, perquisites, uniform and status, as well as odd facts such as which burghs had their own hangman and which merely borrowed from their neighbours as the occasion arose. There is also a reminder that it was by no means unheard of, in fact as well as in fiction, to fill this unpopular post by promoting the next condemned man. In Haddington in 1545, for example, it was statute "that quha ever first servis the punishment of deid be remittit to be comon lokman wythin this toun". Another informative quotation about Haddington given this time by the *National Dictionary* is a Situations Vacant advertisement which appeared in an Edinburgh newspaper of 1772, which begins: "Wanted immediately for the town of Haddington A Lockman who will meet with all due encouragement". The advertisement then goes on to detail his money wages (£3 a year), free house, and perks.

In the half million or so quotations which are already printed in the two dictionaries to the letter M there exists an almost inexhaustible supply of similar detailed information on innumerable other objects and institutions and concepts. On, to specify a few more instances, *aldermen*, *grieves*, *baillies*, *deans of gild*, *deacons* and *kirkmaisters*, on *callers* and *gadmen*, *lairds* and *louns*, *hielandmen* and *lawlandmen*, *dyvours* and *baremen*, *hallanshackers* and *gaberlunyies* and all *Jock Tamson's bairns*, on *horologes* and *knocks*, *kirtles* and *kells*, *jawholes* and *langsettles*, *harrows* and *heuks*, *hose-nets* and *herrywaters*, *creels*, *cruves*, *halves*, *kists* and *loups*, on *futefalls* and *lentrinware*, *dinmonts*, *gimmers* and *harvest hogs*, on *the branks*, *the cuckstule* and *the jowgs*, *blackmail* and *bangstrie*, *bludewite* and *hamesukkin*, *last heirs* and *lesing-making*, *assythment*, *kinbute* and the *law of clan Macduff*, on *forpets* and *haddishes*, the *Linlithgow firlot* and the *Stirling joug*, on *Aitchesouns*, *auld Geordies*, *bagchekes*, *bodles*, *crookies*, *demies*, *doits*, *auld Harries* and *hardheids*, on *Black Monday* and *Flitting Friday*, *blythemeats*, *bridal lawings* and *lykewakes*, *baps*, *bannocks*, *fadges*, *farls* and *kebbocks*, *crowdie*, *hattit kit* and *lappered milk*. My point is that this represents a vast amount of handily accessible and potentially valuable source-material for students of innumerable aspects of Scottish life, history and traditions. Since the quotations are accurately referenced and since we sometimes give several references to occurrences of the word in

addition to the quotations we actually print, the dictionaries can also be used as indexes to a body of text larger no doubt than any one student on his own could command. The dictionaries are indeed already being used as detailed source-books in this sort of way by one or two scholars whom we know of—students, namely, of agricultural history, of rural crafts, of mediaeval arms and armour, and of old weights and measures—but they could, and doubtless ultimately will, be similarly used for many other purposes.

The collection from thousands of books and manuscripts and from current dialect speech of the quotations and references which have realised these results has been carried out in the main by some hundreds of volunteer workers, mostly not specialist philologists or historians but people of various trades and professions, from University professors and civil servants to engineers and housewives. Their sole reward has been the interest of the work and the satisfaction of carrying out a patriotic task. Many of them have given thousands of hours of painstaking and skilled work. Several have excerpted well over a hundred printed volumes each, supplying many thousands of quotations. Another, the late Professor Mark Anderson, read over 50 large volumes in manuscript—a contribution of very special value.

There have been other contributions, of a different nature, but equally indispensable, to this very large co-operative enterprise. I mean, of course, that of the trusts, above all the Carnegie but also the Pilgrim, Macrobert and other Trusts, the University of Chicago Press, the Scottish Universities, the British Academy, many public corporations, business firms and hundreds of private persons, all of whom between them have contributed the funds which have carried the dictionaries thus far. Nor could the dictionaries have survived but for the many hours of hard work given by the members of the Council of the Scottish National Dictionary Association and the Scottish Dictionaries Joint Council.

The Scottish Dictionaries Joint Council consists of representatives of the Scottish Universities, of the Carnegie Trust and of the Scottish National Dictionary Association. It was set up in 1952 by the Courts of the Scottish Universities to secure the future of both dictionaries when Sir William Craigie was about to retire at the age of 85 from the editing of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary* was in one of its recurrent financial crises. Following the

establishment of the Council, the two dictionaries were brought together from Oxfordshire and Aberdeen respectively into their present quarters in the same building, 27 George Square, Edinburgh, along with the School of Scottish Studies and the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. Thanks to the generosity of the Trusts, the Universities and the many other donors, the Joint Council was enabled to provide for the editor of each dictionary a small trained staff of two or three assistant editors. These staffs are just now being enlarged to four assistant editors and one clerical assistant, in an effort to complete the dictionaries in under fourteen years, something which would not otherwise have been conceivable. Even so, these staffs will still be smaller than those of, I should say, any other dictionaries on a similar scale known to us. Indeed, what the Scottish dictionaries have already achieved has been done on a shoe-string compared with the resources of similar national dictionaries in other countries, many of which have been or are being directly and generously maintained by the state on the same footing as the national museums and institutes of academic research. We hope that, if we can reach and maintain a high rate of output, the Carnegie Trust and the Universities will continue their very generous support, but they are insisting that this help be matched with gifts from a wide public such as we have had in the past.

A moment ago I hinted at a comparison of dictionaries of this sort with the national museums. It has always seemed to me that these dictionaries fulfil the same sort of purpose, the collection, ordering and setting out on display of data—in this case in the form of words, quotations and references—which throw light on the past and to some extent the present life of the country. I believe they too are a valuable cultural asset to the nation and worth the effort they have and will cost.

NOTES

[1] *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth.* Edited by Sir William A. Craigie, LL.D., D.LITT., F.B.A. (1925-55) and A. J. Aitken, M.A. (1955-). Chicago and Oxford 1931- .

[2] *The Scottish National Dictionary, designed partly on regional lines and partly on historical principles, and containing all the Scottish words known to be in use or to have been in use since c. 1700.* Edited by William Grant, M.A., LL.D. (1929-46) and David D. Murison, M.A., B.A. (1946-). Edinburgh 1931- .

[3] See, e.g., S. G. E. Lythe *The Economy of Scotland, 1550-1625* (Edinb. 1960) 148 and note 30; V. Gaffney, *Scottish Historical Review* 38 (1959) 31.

[4] Originally entitled: *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles founded mainly on the materials collected by The Philological Society.* Edited by James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, William A. Craigie, C. T. Onions. Oxford 1888-1933. Re-issued (1933) as: *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

[5] *The English Dialect Dictionary being the Complete Vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years.* Edited by Joseph Wright, M.A., PH.D., D.C.L. London 1898-1905.

[6] See the prefaces to the various issues of *Transactions of the Scottish Dialects Committee* (Aberdeen 1914-21).

[7] "New Dictionary Schemes presented to the Philological Society, 4th April 1919," in *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1925-30 (London 1931) 6-11. See also Leonard C. Wharton, "Footnote to Sir William Craigie's paper of 1919 and its Addendum of 1925," *ibid.* 12-14.

[8] Among the numerous progress reports by Craigie on the dictionaries the most important are "The Value of the Period Dictionaries" in *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1936 (London 1937) 53-62, and *Completing the Record of English*, Society for Pure English Tract No. 58 (1941). In the latter he refers to a lecture he first gave to the English Association "more than 25 years ago" (i.e. *circa* 1916) advocating his scheme for new dictionaries. It seems however that it was the 1919 Philological Society address which first stimulated really active interest.

[9] *A Dictionary of American English* (Chicago 1936-44), and *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (Chicago 1951).

[10] *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1954-).

[11] Incorporated 8th April 1929.

[12] A "Combined Register of Titles of Works Quoted" will appear with Part XXI of DOST. SND's register of titles will appear when the work is completed.

[13] A draft version of each part of the dictionary is circulated to a small body of voluntary sub-editors, who serve as authorities on the usage of the regional dialects, so that their comments and suggested additions may be incorporated in the published version. With each published part is issued a questionnaire on the local forms, occurrences and usages of words due for inclusion in the following part and these briefer comments from a larger circle of contributors are also considered before the part is sent to the press.

[14] viz. (in addition to words mentioned in the text) *ladinster*, *laggerit*, *lair* n.[3], *lair-silver*, *lance-staff*, *land* n.[4], *land-baillie*, *-court*, *-flesh*, *-fleschour*, *-flesch-mercatt*, *landis-laird*, *-lord*, *land-lyar*, *landmale*, *landmarch*, *land-meither*, *-meithing*, *-mesour*, *-mett*, *landrent*, *landwine*.

CELTS AND ANGLO-SAXONS IN THE SCOTTISH BORDER COUNTIES

THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE *

W. F. H. Nicolaisen

In his book on *Archaeology, Place-Names and History*, the late F. T. Wainwright quite rightly demanded "that if one wishes to co-ordinate three different kinds of evidence one must become a specialist in each of three separate fields. It is not enough to rely on exchanges of question and answer, it is not enough to rely on opinions extracted from other specialists, it is not enough to rely on general familiarity with the technical problems involved. It is necessary to practise in each field, as a historian tackling historical problems in the field of history, as an archaeologist tackling archaeological problems in the field of archaeology and as a philologist tackling linguistic problems in the field of place-names. It is necessary to become a specialist in the separate fields, accepting the standards and measuring up to the criticism of other specialists in each" (Wainwright 1962:126). Being much more one-sided in my academic activities, I lack the training—although by no means the interest—which would enable me to claim that I could investigate the relationship of the "Celts and Anglo-Saxons in the Scottish Border Counties" in this ideal fashion, as Wainwright might have done. I have therefore chosen to restrict myself to that aspect of the study of this relationship which has formed the basic theme of, and supplied the essential material for, my own researches for a number of years now: the place-name evidence. I do so all the more gladly since somebody with an impressive list of authoritative publications on the history of Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Dark Ages fairly recently bemoaned the fact that "no ordinary mortal can expect to be properly qualified to interpret late Roman, old Welsh, old English and medieval Latin

* This paper was first given by the author on 28th February 1964, as the O'Donnell Lecture for 1963-4 in the University of Edinburgh.

records, to say nothing of the archaeological evidence" (Blair 1947:50). Being an ordinary mortal and an ordinary linguist into the bargain, I gratefully take the hint and stick to my last.

However, restriction, as I see it, does not mean exclusion but rather emphasis. Modern toponymists are only too well aware of the fact that it is hardly ever possible to establish an absolute chronology in the sequence of place-name types and elements in any country—not when studying and relying on place-name evidence alone, anyhow. Although they are basically linguistic evidence, and the results of research into them therefore primarily linguistic too—place-names are, after all, first and foremost words, lexical items—they do have unintended and normally unbiased extra-linguistic qualities which make them suitable for non-linguistic investigation. Primarily they are valuable raw material for the *linguistic* history of a given country or region: Where place-names—and I am using the term in its widest sense as referring to both natural and man-made geographical features . . . where place-names belonging to a certain language are found in great number the language to which they belong must have been spoken in that area, or rather more positively, people speaking that language must have lived there. If that were not so, they would be useless in our enquiry. And another important point: We must assume place-names to have been meaningful when first created. We are so accustomed nowadays to using place-names which are absolutely meaningless to us, unless we are experts, because they admirably serve their purpose as *names*, as distinctive marks distinguishing one part of a city from another, one town from another, one hill from another, one river from another, and so on. An Edinburgh person will be able to direct a motorist from, let us say, Colinton via Currie to Balerno without knowing the meaning of any of these three; and it is not necessary that we should know because, as I have said already, Colinton, as well as Currie and Balerno, unambiguously fulfil their function as *names* without being understood as words. This is also the reason why they have survived although the language of which they are part has, in the case of Colinton, developed further and so obscured their meaning, or in the cases of Currie and Balerno, has not been spoken in the Edinburgh area for many centuries.

What applies to the region around the Scottish capital,

is equally true of other parts of Scotland, or any country, and consequently applicable to the counties which we are going to examine. We are, in fact, going to deal with place-names, both Germanic and Celtic, which were once meaningful words and structurally part of the relevant language spoken at the time but which over the centuries have to a large extent lost their meaning as words or are morphologically obsolete. In one way or another they all bear the linguistic hallmark of the Dark Ages. But place-names will only be a pre-occupation because in spite of their great possibilities, the scope of what they can tell us is limited. Hardly ever do they tell us the name of the king who ruled when they were coined and used, very seldom do they give an account of battles fought, of dynastic troubles during the time of their creation, only incidentally do they provide a glimpse of the technological processes and artistic achievements of that era. For this reason, the attempt must be made, however tentatively, to link them with both historical, that is documentary, and archaeological evidence.

This, then, is our theme: The examination and interpretation of the place-names of the Dark Ages in the Scottish Border Counties or more precisely during the first few centuries following the arrival of the Angles in that area. The evidence I want to present will be mainly of a distributional nature, that is I shall choose certain elements, both lexical and morphological items, Anglian as well as Celtic, and put them into their geographical settings. I do not expect these distribution maps as such to convince alone but intend them rather to be illustrative of the points I want to make. In this respect it would be nonsensical to show the names for the counties concerned—Berwickshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire—in isolation. Both the Lothians and what are now the English counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire must be taken into consideration, and by way of contrast or comparison, other Scottish areas as well. It has always been slightly disappointing to me that the otherwise so valuable and illuminating maps published by the English Place Name Society end abruptly at the present-day Scottish-English border, leaving one guessing as to whether the blank area to the north indicates that there is no evidence of the particular feature illustrated or, if there are instances of it, whether they are to be found all over the country or only in certain parts. For this reason, quite a number of the items I want to discuss, and

therefore of the distribution maps to be shown, are in fact continuing as it were distributional patterns north of the border which have already been worked out in detail in the south. For the first time, the picture regarding these individual features will be as complete as our present knowledge allows it to be. The discussion itself will, of course, centre round the Scottish material but English names will be considered for comparative purposes. The term "Scottish Border Counties" should therefore not be taken too seriously.

With the geographical area in question consequently wider than the title might suggest, I propose to narrow the context of the first part of the title by concentrating on the Anglo-Saxon, or better Anglian, advance rather than on the survival of the Celtic element although this will always be borne in mind. For this decision, I have two reasons, one factual, one sentimental. Firstly, place-name evidence has figured quite prominently in quite a number of publications on the problem of the Celts in Southern Scotland, a complex subject of which especially Professor Jackson has made an intensive and detailed study over the years (Jackson 1939; 1955; 1958; 1959; 1963*a*; 1963*b*; and others). Secondly, I am in the peculiar position of being able to claim direct and personal connections with the part of the Continent from which the Angles must have originated, the peninsula still called *Angeln*, on the western shores of the Baltic, between the Flensburger Förde in the north and the River Schlei in the south. But then, the advance of one language and one people is intimately connected with the survival or disappearance of another, and so we are still operating within the frame-work of our theme.

But to our tale: Even a casual glance at the modern map shows that before any person of Germanic origin ever set foot in Scotland, the area which is at the centre of our dicusssion must have been inhabited by Celtic, or to some extent pre-Celtic people, for practically all the river-names in our region are non-Germanic, like Tweed, Teviot, Yarrow, Lauder, Kale, Ale, Ettrick, Tyne, Almond, etc., and I would even include the rivers Eye and Adder, although the former has been said to be a "back-formation" from the place-name Ayton (Williamson 1942:164) and although the two Adders have been identified with both OE *aedre* "vein" (Watson 1926:467) and OE *ædre* "swift" (Ekwall 1928:156). I am convinced that the colour adjectives *black* and *white* in *Blackadder* and *Whiteadder* here serve exactly the same purpose as in, let us say *Black Esk* and

White Esk, or *Black Cart* and *White Cart*, or, in the Gaelic speaking region *Deveron* and *Findhorn*: they distinguish two already existing identical names of water-courses flowing near or into each other, without necessarily implying the marked difference in colour suggested by these epithets. River-names have at all times and in all places shown the greatest power of survival, and it is therefore not surprising to find them alive even now, but they could, of course, not have survived without oral, and later also written, transmission in linguistic contact, and the mere fact of their survival necessarily points to such contact between the Celts already settled in the region and the incoming Angles.

That such contact existed becomes even clearer when we look at some of the settlement names which still bear Celtic—and here again I mean non-Gaelic Celtic—names. *Melrose* ROX (in Bede *Mailros*) represents *Moelros* "the Bare Moor" (Jackson 1963*b*:78), *Peebles* PEB (*Pobles c.* 1124 Glas. Reg.,[1] *Pebles c.* 1126 ESC; *Pebbles* and *Pebles c.* 1141 St. A. Lib.) must be based on the plural of W. *pebyll* "tent, pavilion" as it shows an English plural in its Anglicised form (Watson 1926: 383); the MLO *Penicuik* which appears as *Penycok* in the Dunfermline Registrum is most likely *Penn y Gog* "Cuckoo-head" (Watson 1926:355), with the same first element as *Pencaitland* ELO which is compounded with British *cēd* "wood" and *llan* "enclosure", meaning as a whole "end of the enclosed wood" (Jackson 1963*b*:77); *cēd* is also seen in *Dalkeith* MLO (*Dolchet* 1144 ESC, *Dalkied* 1142 *ib*; and *-ke(i)th(e)*, *-ket*, *-ketht*, *-keyth* as later medieval variants) whose first part appears to be O.W. *dol* "meadow, valley"; and *Ancrum* situated on a bend of the river Ale perfectly describes its situation as its early forms testify (Lat. *Alnecrumba c.* 1124 Glas. Reg., *Alncromb c.* 1150 ESC, *Alnecrum* 1296 and *Allnycrom* 1304 CDS) which point to W. *crwm* "bent adj.; bend n." as the second part—"Alne bend" (Watson 1926:467-8). To this we could add names like Lanark, Bathgate, Linlithgow and many others, but this selection must suffice and is, I think, impressive enough. They amply prove the existence of a Brittonic speaking population in these parts when the Angles moved in, and speak of linguistic contact with each other. What I want to emphasise is that their meaning does not primarily imply human settlement. All of them refer to natural features and it is possible that they were adopted by the Angles in that capacity, becoming settlement names only during the Anglian occupation. Some of them may

have applied to human habitation before but there is no reason why Melrose should have had any such connotation before it became an Anglian ecclesiastical centre.

One such element which almost certainly retained its original meaning and usage until passing into the Anglian place-nomenclature of the region is Welsh *pren* "a tree" which presumably originally referred to conspicuous individual trees which could be seen from afar or were of significance in the locality in which they stood. Now the word appears in place-names either uncompounded or with a qualifying element which can be an adjective or the genitive of a noun: In its uncompounded form we find it as *Pirn* PEB (near Innerleithen) and *Pirn* MLO (Stow parish) which is *Pryn* in 1463 RMS and *Pyrn*(*e*) in 1489 ADA and 1490 ADC, indicating the late fifteenth century as the time in which metathesis from *pryn* to *pyrn* took place. *Pren* plus an unknown suffix seems to be the basis of *Pirnie* ROX (near Maxton), *Pirny Braes* ELO (Pencaitland par.), *Pirniehall* DNB (Kilmaronock par.), as well as the Perthshire *Pairney* and *Kinpurnie* in Angus. In the examples from north of the Forth-Clyde line Gaelic *-ach* in the meaning "place of" may be the ending. Colour adjectives qualify it in *Prinlaws* FIF which stands for *pren las* "green tree" and *Primside* ROX which, as we learn from the *Prenwensete* of the Melrose Liber is *pren wen* "white tree" with the late OE *sete* "seat" added to it. Surely we can infer from this that Primside only came to refer to human habitation after having passed into Anglian mouths. We may also have a glimpse here of a slight difference between Northern British (or what Professor Jackson calls Cumbric) and Welsh, two dialects which are normally very close to each other, for in Welsh the word *pren* "tree" is masculine and one would therefore expect unmutated forms like *pren glas* and *pren gwyn* for our two names which are not justified by the evidence before us. Nouns in the genitive seem to have been added to our word, in cases like the beautifully sounding modern name *Primrose* (three examples) which is to be interpreted as *pren ros* "tree of the moor", *Barnbougle* WLO which in RMS I is *Prenbowgall*, *Pronbogalle*, and *Pronbugele*, spellings which stand for *pren bugail* "herdman's tree", and *Printonan* BWK which according to earlier name forms (*Printanno* 1652 Blaeu and *Prentonen* Retours) appears to contain W. *tonnen* "sward, bog". In *Traprain* ELO (*Trepren* 1335 CDS), *pren* forms the second element after *tref* "a homestead". None of these places is terribly

important and none of the evidence is very early. One has the feeling that these British names were adopted by the Angles only after a considerable period of co-existence, and if one wanted to point to an area in which the Brittonic language may have survived longest in the Border Counties and the

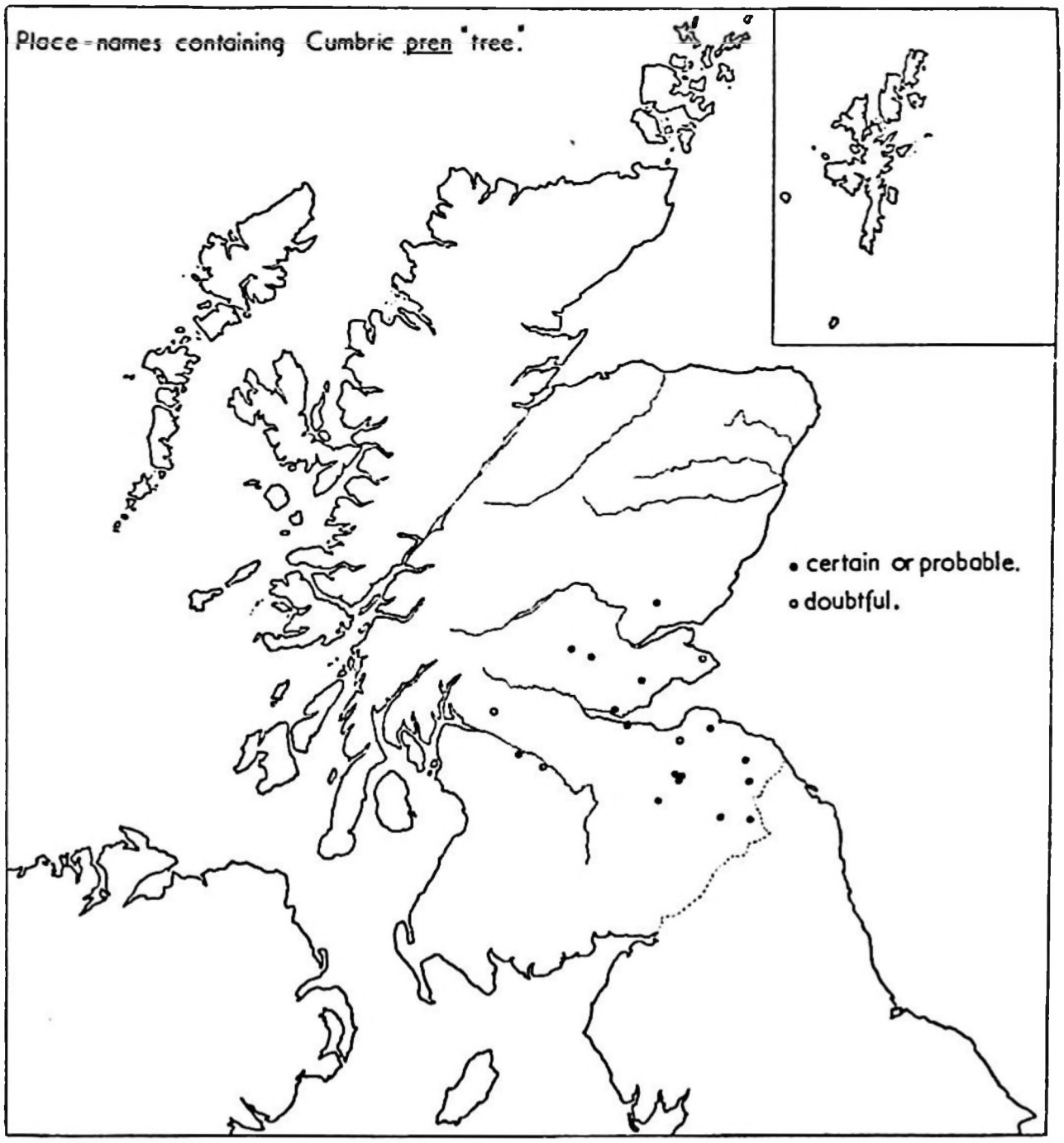


FIG. 1.

Lothians, one might like to single out the not very accessible, hilly district in upper Midlothian which we now know as the parish of Stow where, apart from the *Pirn* already mentioned, we have *Pirntaton* and a now obsolete *Pirncader* forming a very noticeable little cluster of three on our map. It is also of interest to note that the *Pirny Braes* are in *Pencaitland* parish, where *pren-* and *cēd* might refer to the same wooded area. The distributional pattern of place-names containing *pren* (Fig. 1) is,

of course, singularly interesting in so far as it is mainly located in that part of Scotland in which ancient writers placed the Romano-British tribe of the *Votadini*, whose capital was probably on Edinburgh Castle Rock (Jackson 1963:67), the *Gododdin* or "Men of the North" of Welsh poetry. It is absent or almost absent not only from the regions covered by the other two important kingdoms of the northern British, i.e. Strathclyde and Rheged, but also from English place-nomenclature where it does not seem to have been noted. However, I would be a bold man indeed if I were to call a feminine *pren* "tree", as evidenced by our place-names, *Votadinic*, when the ever present imp called "chance survival" may have blurred the true picture (see additional note on p. 171).

So far the impression may have been given that the Angles only adopted Brittonic place-names referring to natural features. This was, of course, by no means so as the next two examples and maps will show. For these I have chosen two Cumbric place-name elements which must, in the language of the Northern British, have been settlement names from the start: *tref* and *caer*. The first of these, *tref*, normally with loss of the final consonant, is still current in Modern Welsh in the meaning of "town, home", and the map reveals it as a prolific place-name element not only in Wales but also in Cornwall. A map of Scottish names containing *tref* (Fig. 2) will therefore similarly provide a picture of the location and survival of Cumbric village names during and since the Anglian occupation, for it is "homestead" or "village" rather than "town" which we have to assume as the connotation of our word at that time.

It can be seen at a glance that the distribution of *tref* names differs essentially from that of those containing *pren*. Names with *tref* as a first element are exclusive to the South of the Forth-Clyde line, with those followed by the definite article *yr*+noun apparently of a more easterly distribution than those in which neither the present nor the historical forms do imply such usage. I must point out, however, that this first impression is deceptive, for it has been impossible to plot a number of "lost" names in Carrick and Kyle unquestionably containing the definite article which, incidentally, is always *yr*, or rather [ər]. Some of the better known examples of names belonging to this category here illustrated are *Tranent* ELO (Trauernent *c.* 1127 Holy. Lib., *Treuernent* 1144, 1150 *ib*) = *tref yr neint* "village of the streams". *Traquair* PEB (*Treverquyrd c.* 1124

ESC; *Treuequor a* 1153 Melr. Lib.) "village on the (river) Quair"; *Trabrown* BWK (*Treuerbrun c.* 1170 Dryb. Lib.) and *Trabroun* ELO, both from *tref yr bryn* "hill village", and *Terregles* KCB (*Travereglys* 1365 RMS) which is obviously *tref yr eglwys* "village with the church". The two names across

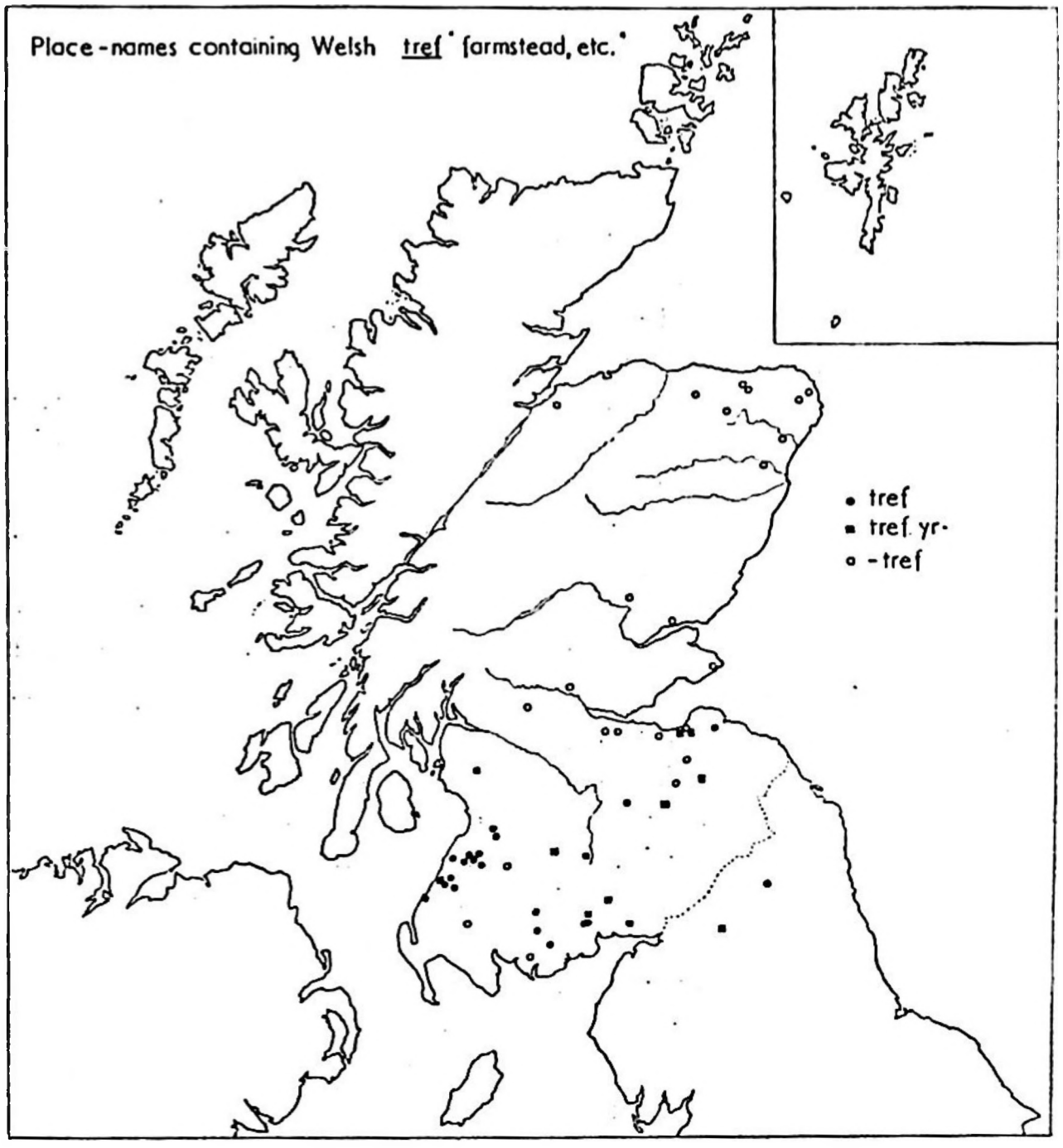


FIG. 2.

the border are *Triermain* in Cumberland, on record as *Treverman* from 1169 onwards and therefore *tref yr maen* "homestead of the rock" and *Troughend* in Northumberland the old forms of which—*Troquen* 1242, *Trequenne* 1279, *Trehquen*, *Troghwen* 1293 (Ekwall 1960:481; Mawer 1920:201)—appear to make it identical in origin with *Torquhan* MLO (*Torquhene* 1593 RMS), in Stow parish. *Troquhain* KCB (*Trechanis* 1467 RMS, *Troquhane* 1590 RPS) and *Troquhain* AYR (*Treu(e)chane*

1371 RMS, *Troquhan* 1511 RMS, *Torquhane* 1506 TA), showing the same rounding and velarisation of the vowel in the first element which we also find in names like *Tralorg*, *Traboyack*, *Tranew*, *Tradunnock*, *Troax* (all in Carrick) apart from the ones already mentioned. This is, I think, due to labialisation and subsequent vocalisation of the final voiced [v] in *Tref-*, although this has not operated in all cases (cf. *Triermain* Cu, *Trailtrow* and *Trailflat* DMF, *Terregles* KCB, etc.).

From a distributional point of view the picture is valid for both Scotland and England, for the only other isolated instance of this formation between Cumberland and Wales is *Treales* in Lancashire (Ekwall 1960:479), emphasising the close relationship between Cumbria and Wales, in this case particularly between Strathclyde and Wales, for it appears from our map as if this type of name must have flourished in the Cumbric kingdom of Strathclyde for many a century after the Border Counties and the Lothians had become thoroughly Anglicised, although we must reckon with a good deal of Gaelic influence on the western seaboard of the kingdom, especially in Galloway and Carrick.

As far as *tref* as a second element is concerned, the almost "Pictish" distribution in the north-east is very striking and surprising and the question arises whether we are not perhaps dealing with the Goidelic cognate *treabh* evidenced in a couple of Irish place-names (Watson 1926:357) rather than Cumbric *tref*, especially as none of the first elements in that area are necessarily Brittonic, with some of them being indeed definitely Gaelic, like *fionn* "white" in *Fintry* STL and *Fintray* (1) ABD. Further south there is, on the other hand, no doubt about the Brittonic linguistic affinities of these names, as is demonstrated by the three names *Ochiltree* in WLO, AYR and WIG which all stand for *Ucheldre*(*f*) "high village", as well as *Niddry* WLO (*Nudreff* 1370 RMS), *Niddrie* MLO (*Nudref* 1290, Vet. Mon.) and *Longniddry* ELO (*Nodref c.* 1315 RMS), all compounded with Cumbric *newydd* "new". Another interesting name is *Trostrie* KCB (*Trostaree* 1456 ER, *Trostre* 1527 Ms.) from *traws tref* "thwart village"; this has a parallel in the Fife *Troustrie*, and in connection with our remarks about the parish of Stow in MLO (see pp. 147 above), it is of interest to note that *traws* also occurs in the now "lost" *Trously*, W. *trawsle* "thwart-place".

If we compare this distribution of *tref* with that of *caer* on our third map (Fig. 3) two features stand out: (*a*) the absence

of names containing this element, in both the north-east and the south-west of Scotland, and (*b*) the very definite participation of the area straddling the upper reaches of the Solway Firth, i.e. the Cumbric kingdom of Rheged possibly commemorated in *Dunragit* WIG and having its capital at

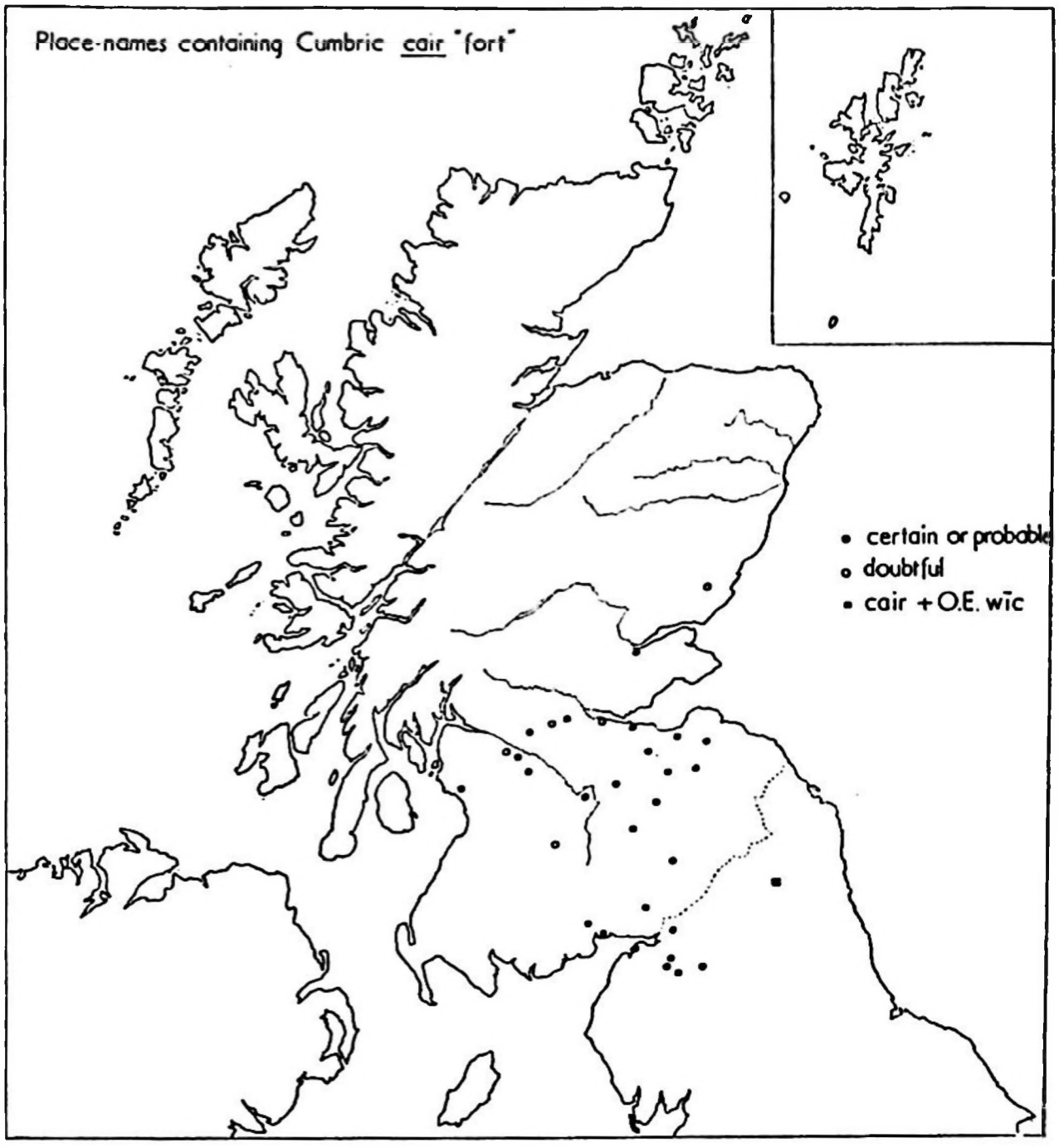


Fig. 3.

Carlisle, one of the names here depicted. The first feature, the more restricted distribution in southern Scotland, may be due to the fact that our word is very difficult to distinguish from some other elements when the name occurs in an area in which Gaelic was spoken at a later date (see Watson 1926: 366 for such words), and I have in fact refrained from including such doubtful names on our map, assigning the many *Keirs* and *Kiers* of Central and North-East Scotland, as well as the first

part of *Kirkcaldy* FIF (*Kirkaladunt* 1070-93 ESC) to Gaelic *cathair* rather than Cumbric *caer*. As Professor Jackson has pointed out (1963*b*:80) "*Car-* names in Cumberland mostly refer to places that were never of any importance". He therefore suggests a secondary meaning in Cumbric of "small hamlet, manor-house, farm, originally protected by some kind of defensive stockade", rather than the Welsh meaning of "fortress" or "city", and undoubtedly this also applies to the majority of *Car-* names in Southern Scotland. Whether these protective stockades were still an essential feature of the places so named when the names were given, or whether they still existed when the names passed from Celtic to English mouths, our place-names do not say, but then this lack of detailed knowledge of the material circumstances should not worry us too much as our chief interest in this toponymic category lies in their evidence as *names* of human settlements in the Cumbric period.

On the Scottish side we have names like *Cramond* MLO (*Karramunt* 1166-1214 Holy Lib.; *Caramonde* 1178-9 Inchcolm Chrs.) which is "fort on the (River) Almond", here actually referring to a Roman station; then *Caerlanrig* ROX (*Carlanerik* 1610 RMS) = *caer lanerch* "hamlet in the glade", *Carfrae* in BWK and ELO, "hill farm" from Welsh *bre* "hill", and also *Cathcart* RNF, for which the spelling *Kerkert* of 1158 APS, indicates a derivation *Caer Gart* "hamlet or fort on the (River) Cart". The English material includes such Cumberland names as *Carlisle* in which *caer* is prefixed to an older *Luguvalium* "place of Luguvalos", *Cardew* containing Cumbric *du* "black", and *Cardurnock* "pebbly farm". These three and the other examples from Cumberland appear to be late for various reasons and were, according to the latest opinion (Jackson 1963*b*:81), probably "given by British immigrants from Strathclyde who reoccupied Northern Cumberland in the tenth century". In *Carrick* Nb, on the other hand, OE *wīc* "dwelling" was apparently added to Cumbric *caer*, making the linguistic and ethnic sequence, Cumbrians→Angles, quite clear (Mawer 1920:40). Again, as is the case with the *Tref-* names, we do not find any *Car-* names till we get to Wales, apart from some Welsh names for places in England, of course.

This is as far as we can take the story of the Celtic background in this context. We have found that the names of the important rivers, individual names of natural features secondarily utilised as settlement names, either by the Cumbrians

themselves or by the incoming Angles, and the distributional patterns of names with elements like *pren* "tree", *tref* "village", *caer* "fort, (fortified) hamlet"—with three different and individual pictures as to the extent of the distribution—bear witness of and prove, if proof were necessary, the existence of a Celtic speaking population which has its closest counterparts in Wales, a population to whom we have referred as Cumbric. The evidence here provided is incomplete and patchy, and could be reinforced by the study and mapping of other place-name elements and individual names belonging to the same language and period, but it has nevertheless given us an impression of the settlement area of the Celtic Cumbrians at the time of and during the first few centuries after the beginning of the Anglian occupation of the Border Counties and the Lothians.

We can therefore now turn from the Celtic inhabitants of our region to the Germanic incomers, and again, as we had to do in the case of the Cumbric names, we must take the historical events (set out for us by such scholars as Stenton, Myres, the two Chadwicks, Hunter Blair, Jackson, Kirby and others) which produced the early Anglian nomenclature of Southern Scotland, for granted, and shall only refer to individual aspects of them when they have some bearing on, or connection with, whatever evidence we can adduce. There is no internal reference in our names to these events, and all we can hope to do is to link certain distributional patterns with certain phases of the Anglian settlement, basing our conclusions on such evidence as established sequences and the relative chronology of early Anglo-Saxon place-name material in England on the one hand, and the few known historical data on the other. In fact practically our only linguistic guidance in this respect can come from the extensive research already carried out in England by the authors of the English Place-Name Society volumes and a number of Scandinavian scholars who have investigated the English material, sometimes dealing with detailed individual problems (Ekwall 1962; Karlstöm 1927, and others), sometimes presenting the evidence as a whole (Ekwall 1960).

Our hope to find Anglian place-names of a comparatively early nature in Southern Scotland stems, of course, from our knowledge derived from the meagre historical, literary and genealogical sources for the period, of a gradual northward movement of Anglian raiders and settlers, beginning—at

least so Bede alleges—with the founding of the kingdom of Bernicia by King Ida in 547, probably consisting of no more than a small band of Anglian pirates on Bamburgh Rock. This small colony expanded rapidly and considerably during the reign of King Æthelfrith (*c.* 593-616), victor of Degsastan in 603 against the Scots of Dalriada, and creator of the Kingdom of Northumbria by gaining control over Deira to the south. Christianity came to the Northumbrian Angles under his successor Edwin of Deira (616-32), the date normally given for this decisive event being the year 627. During the rule of the next king, Oswald of Bernicia (633-41), the fortress of Edinburgh or Cumbric *Eidyn* was besieged and captured, allowing occupation and subsequent settling of the Lothians. Oswy who reigned after his brother Oswald from 642-71 had acquired the Cumbric kingdom of Rheged by marriage about 635, and under him the westward and north-westward movement along the shores of the Solway Firth to the west coast of Cumberland and to Galloway must have taken place, leaving Strathclyde the sole survivor of the three Brittonic kingdoms in existence at the beginning of the Anglian occupation. By the middle of the seventh century, then, the Firth of Forth was the northern boundary of the Northumbrian kingdom and about 680, in Ecgfrith's reign (670-85) Trumwin was installed as "Bishop of the Picts" at Abercorn. In 685 Ecgfrith was killed in the battle of Nechtansmere or Dunnichen in Angus in an unsuccessful attempt to subdue the southern Picts; as a result of this event, in Douglas Simpson's words, Bishop Trumwin "gathered up his skirts and bolted from Abercorn to the safer distance of Whitby" (Simpson 1963:269). The Anglian northward movement was halted, and even in Bede's time about 730, shortly after Whithorn (or *Candida Casa*) had become an English bishopric, the Forth was still the frontier between the Picts and the Angles. In 750 Eadbert appears to have added the Ayrshire district of Kyle to the Northumbrian possessions, and in the last decade of the same century the Vikings attack the monasteries at Lindisfarne and Yarrow, as well as Iona.

The events just depicted in this very rapid survey cannot, as I have said already, be expected to be mirrored in their personal and dynastic details in our place-nomenclature, but how far does this nomenclature in fact reflect the Anglian advance and what does it tell us about the area and the extent of early Anglian settlement?

From the results of place-name research in England we know that the element OE *-ing* as a name-forming suffix is of the greatest significance in this respect, as it is known to belong in some formations to the earliest strata of Anglo-Saxon settlement. In order to understand its meaning and chronology fully, we have to distinguish four main categories (Smith 1956*b*:74): 1. Final singular *-ing*; 2. Final nominative plural *-ingas*; 3. Medial *-inga-*, which is the genitive plural of *-ingas*, in compound place-names; and 4. Medial *-ing-* meaning "associated with". The composite distribution map published by the English Place-Name Society shows place-names in *-ingas* and *-ingaham* but not in singular *-ing*, and it must suffice here to say that the 49 OE names ending in this suffix are most prevalent in Kent, Hampshire, Essex and Berkshire although they are also found further up the Thames valley and in East Anglia and the East Midlands (Smith 1956*a*: I, 288). They do in fact belong to such an early phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement that they are of no interest to us in Southern Scotland. Names in *-ingas*, on the other hand, and those in *-ingaham* do occur in Northumbrian territory, and as they have also been claimed for Scotland, we must examine the justification of such claims.

First, the names in final *-ingas*. These were originally folk-names with the generalised meaning of "an association of people dependent in some way or another upon the leader whose name forms the first theme" (Smith 1956*b*:76). They therefore first applied to communities of people, later also referring to districts or some place within the district. In their original meaning and function they quite clearly belong to the age of migration, but in the OE period we have to distinguish between two main groups, those expressing a personal and those expressing a geographical association. How far does this type which in England has a more easterly and south-easterly distribution particularly in areas of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, occur in Scotland? It has been suggested that five place-names contain this element: *Binning* in WLO and *Binning Wood* in ELO, *Crailing* in ROX, *Simprim* in BWK, and *Cunningham* in AYR. The first, *Binning*, now *Binny*, has been shown by Macdonald (1941:49) to be an analogical development, with *Bennyn*, *Benyn*, *Bynin*, *Binin*, etc. representing the original ending; and as *Binning Wood* ELO is probably a transferred name based on this WLO *Binning*, these two will have to be rejected as candidates. Next,

Crailing in ROX of which these are the medieval recorded forms:

Craling 1147-50 (17th) Lawrie, Charters;
1301 Index Brit. Mus.
Cralingis (pl.) 1147-50 (17th) Lawrie, Charters;
Creling 1147-52 (Morton) *ib.*
1295 Instrumenta Publica
Craaling 1165-1214 Nat. MSS. Scot.
Treiling (p) 1180 Acts Parl. Scot.
Creglinge 1256 Cal. Docs. Scot.
Crelenge 1296 *ib.*
Cralyng 1456 Hist. MSS. Comm. (Roxburgh)

At first sight this looks like a *ling*-formation from a Celtic river-name identical with the rivers *Crai* in Wales and *Cray* in Kent. The OE form of this would have been something like **Cræg*, the water-course in question being the Oxnam Water on which Crailing is situated. However, a compound of OE **Crā*, cognate with ON *Krá*, "nook, corner", and OE *hlync* "ridge, slope" must be taken into consideration and is indeed more probable, as the geographical position suits this analysis. There is no trace of a plural *-s* anyhow, so that this name can at the very most be classed as doubtful.

Simprim in the Swinton parish of Berwickshire is the fourth name supposed to be a possible *-ingas-* formation. On record it appears thus:

Simprinc 1153-65 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Liber
Simprig 1159 *ib.*
1246 Pont. Off. St. Andrews
Semprinc 1251 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Liber
Sympring *c.* 1280 *ib.*
1370 Cal. Docs. Scot.
Sempring *c.* 1300 Coldingham Corresp.
Sympryng *c.* 1415 Kelso Liber

Ekwall thinks of a personal theme as its first element which he also finds evidenced in *Sempringham* Li, but as the oldest recorded spelling of the English name is *Sempingaham* in 852 (Ekwall 1960:412) the *r* appears to be intrusive. Our Berwickshire name could, of course, still quite independently be based on the personal name in question, a nickname belonging to the stem of the English verb to *simper*, for which Ekwall adduces Scandinavian parallels in Norw. *semper*, Swed. *simper*, *semper*

"affected, prudish" (1962:79). Although this might not be a particularly suitable name for a hero or leader it is not impossible, and bearing in mind that again there is no indication of plurality, we can still class it as a possible *-ingas* name, as final *-s* rarely appears in the ME sources of the Midlands and Northern Counties of England.

The last candidate is *Cunningham*:

Incuneningum (regio) *c.* 730 Bede Hist. Eccl.
In (*On*) *Cununingum* (Cunigum) *c.* 890 Old Eng. Bede.
Cunegan 1153 Glasgow Registrum
Cuninham 1180 *ib.*

Here there is no doubt about it that Bede's reference presents us with a genuine dative plural of an *-ingas-* name after the preposition *in* which is supported by the fact that it is a regional name. There are therefore no linguistic difficulties. The doubt that arises stems from the geographical position of this district name, in fact the question is whether the identification is right and whether Bede is indeed referring to Cunningham in North Ayrshire. The full quotation from his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Lib. V, Cap. XII) is: "Erat ergo pater familias in regione Nordan hymbrorum, quae uocatur Incuneningum", and we also hear that his name was *Drycthelm*. Now, even some one as single-minded as Bede would not have claimed that Cunningham was a district of Northumbria at about 700 when Drycthelm was apparently there, nor even at the time of the writing of the Historia. As we know, Kyle which lies to the south of Cunningham, and therefore nearer to Bernician territory in Galloway and Carrick, was not annexed until 750, and it is difficult to understand what a man with the good patriotic Anglian name of *Dryhthelm* "helmet (or protector) of the people" (Ström 1939: 12, 21 and 164) was doing in North Ayrshire half a century earlier, even if one is willing to stretch a point as far as the *regio Nordanhymbrorum* is concerned. Personally, I am not convinced that Cunningham is in fact meant, and I find the temptation great to revive the theory which identified Bede's *in Cuneningum* with the area around *Chester-le-Street* in Durham which is first on record as *Cunca-* or *Cunceceastre* about 1050 (Mawer 1920:43-4; Ekwall 1960:101). Chester-le-Street lies in the heart of Northumbria, but even if this identification is "difficult" (Mawer *ib.*) this does not strengthen the case for Cunningham in which both the *-ing-* and the *hām* appear

to be late adaptations (the former indeed later than the latter).

All we can say then with respect to the presence of folk- or settlement-names in *-ingas* in Scotland (Fig. 4) is that we have three doubtful candidates, two for linguistic, one for extra-linguistic reasons. Of these, *Simprim* is perhaps the strongest

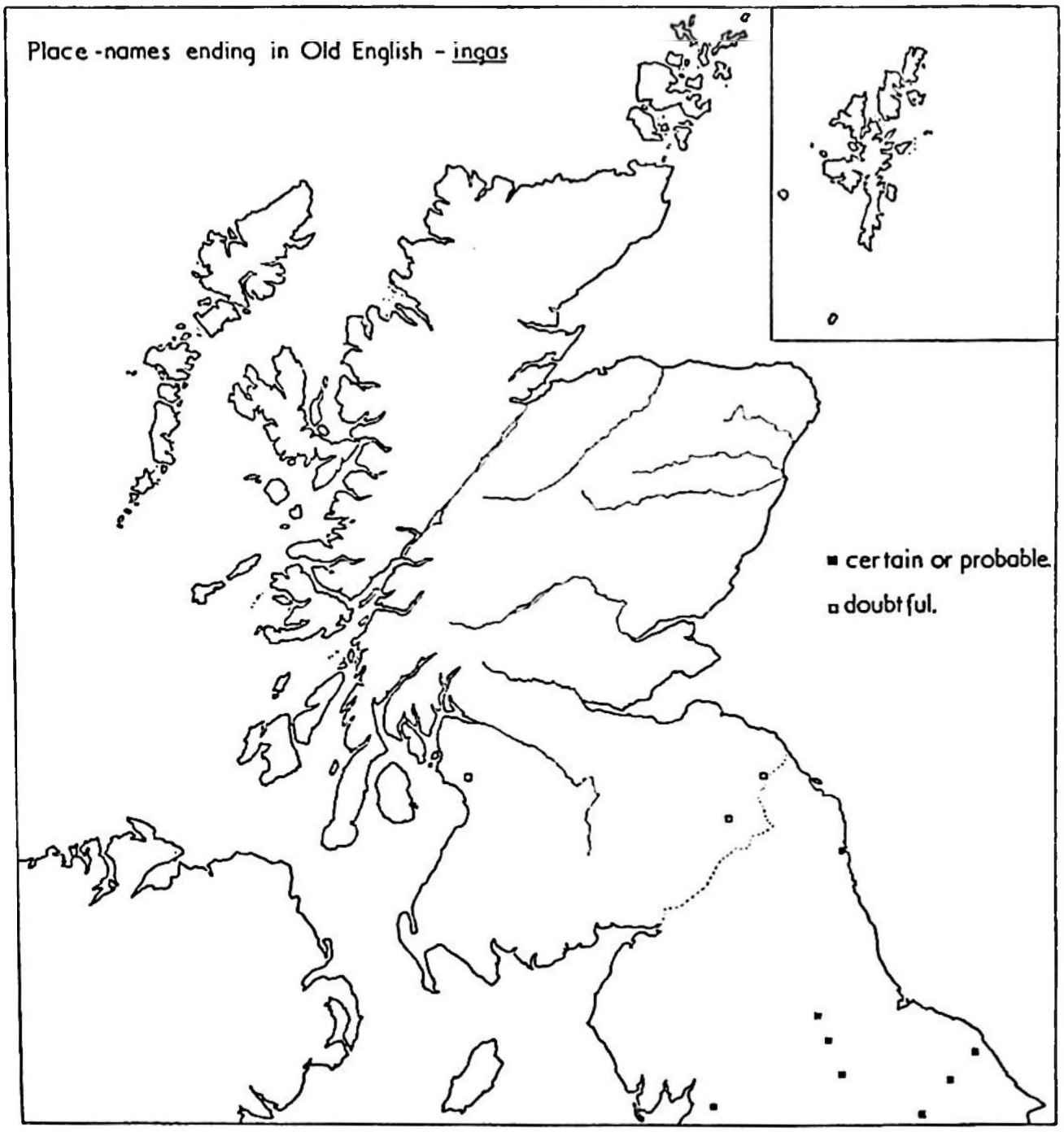


FIG. 4.

claimant, but it would be fairer to state that we have no certain examples of this kind of name, just as singular *-ing* is totally lacking. In this connection one might also add that there is no trace whatever in Scottish place-names of words such as *alh*, *hearg*, *wīg* all denoting "temples", or *bēl* "funeral pyre" with its compounds *bēl-stede* "place of the funeral pyre" and *bēl-haga* "funeral pyre enclosure", or names of divinities

such as *Woden*, *Thunor* or *Tiw*, in fact the whole vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon heathen worship. The absence of both this terminology and of names in singular *-ing* and plural *-ingas* taken together surely implies that the Angles cannot have occupied much ground in the Border Counties before their official conversion to Christianity in 627, and if one dares to come to non-linguistic conclusions from this place-name evidence, I would hazard a guess and say that the chances of finding an extensive pagan Anglian cemetery in Scotland are probably very slender—but then this is just the kind of conclusion a linguist should not come to.

What then are the earliest Anglo-Saxon *ing-* formations we find in our area? These belong to the *-ingahām* type, i.e. names ending in OE *hām* "village, homestead" (itself an early word) in which the first part is the genitive plural of a folk-name in *-ingas*. Of these we have three definite examples and one doubtful one: The definite ones are *Whittinghame* and *Tynninghame* in ELO, and *Coldingham* in BWK, the doubtful one is *Edingham* in KCB. Names like *Penninghame* WIG (*Penygham* 1644 Synod of Galloway, *Pennygham* 1652 Blaeu, *Pennegem* 1756 Barnbarroch Ms.) and *Fotheringham* ANG (*ffodryngay* 1261 Panm. Reg., *Fodringeye* 1291 CDS, after the English *Fotheringhay*) are non-genuine examples similar to *Cunningham*, and therefore practically irrelevant, in the same way in which *Stirling* and *Bowling* DNB and names containing words like *bigging* or *shieling* had to be excluded from the discussion of the first two groups of *-ing-* names because they are not early material. Of the three genuine *-ingāham* names, *Whittinghame* ['hwitindʒəm] (Whitingham 1254 CDS, Whityngham 1336 *ib*) is identical with *Whittingham* Nb (*Hwitincham c.* 1050), *Whittingham* La (*Witingheham* 1086) and *Whicham* Cu (*Witingham* 1086), all of which presuppose as their basis an OE pers. n. *Hwīta*. We are therefore dealing with an OE **Hwītingahām* "settlement of Hwīta's people" or perhaps rather **Hwītingiahām* as every single one of these names shows palatalisation of the velar g in *-ing-*; this is most clearly seen in *Whicham* but is, of course, also implicit in the modern pronunciation of our ELO name, ['hwitindʒəm]. For *Tynninghame* the genitive plural form *-inga-* is beautifully preserved in the early spellings:

In Tininghami	756 Ann. Lindisf. (first hand)
Tinningaham	*c.* 1050 (*c.* 1180) Hist. St. Cuthb.
Tiningaham	1104—8 Sym. Durh. (s.a. 757)

The meaning is evidently "village of those dwelling by the River Tyne" in which **Tīningas* is a similar formation to that of *Avening* Gl. "dwellers on the Avon".

Coldingham also contains an earlier geographical name, but the old forms pertaining to it must be divided into two streams:

(*a*)	*Coludesburh*	679 (*c.* 1120) Angl. Sax. Chron. (E)
		c. 890 (*c.* 1000) Old Engl. Bede
	Colodesbyrig	699-709 (late 9th-early 10th) Anon. Cuthb.
	Colodaesburg	*c.* 710 (11th) Eddi
	Coludi urbem	*c.* 730 Bede Hist. Eccl.
	Coludanae urbs ib.	
(*b*)	*Collingaham*	1095-1100 Lawrie, Charters
	Coldingham	1097-1107 Nat. MSS. Scot.
		1100 Lawrie, Charters
		c. 1255 Cal. Docs. Scot.
	Coldingeham	*c.* 1100 Lawrie, Charters
	Goldingeham	1126 *ib.*
		early 13th Scalacronica
	Coldingham	1176 Chron. Melrose

Of these, the series in *-burh* or *byrig* "a fortified place" is probably the older, perhaps part-translating a Brittonic *Caer Golud* or the like with reference to a fortress on St. Abb's Head. Coldingham might then be interpreted either as **Coludingaham* "village of the people at Colud", or as an elliptical form based on the name *Coludesburh* and so meaning "village of the people of Coludesburh" (cf. *Happisburgh* Nf which may be present in *Happing Hundred* as "the folk belonging to Happisburgh", rather than "the folk of a man called *Haepp*" [Smith 1956*b*:78]).

Edingham north of Dalbeattie in the Stewartry is recorded too late (*Edinghame* 1554 RMS) to provide a sound basis for such a thorny problem as the earliest Anglian names in Scotland, unless it can be equated with the *Edyngaheym* of *c.* 1124 ESC (Kermack 1941:85); but this seems to apply rather to a "lost" name *Ednemland* near Annan in DMF (ESC p. 303).

From the map of the English Place-Name Society it becomes clear that the distribution of *-ingahām* is rather more northerly and easterly than that of *-ing* and *-ingas*. Without wanting to revive the old theory which saw tribal associations in German place-names ending in *-ingen*, *-ingheim* or *-heim*, the *-ingahām* names are certainly more characteristic of Anglian territory than, for instance, of Saxon (see also Smith 1963*b*:84), and our

three Scottish names near the coast (Fig. 5) are probably the northernmost appendix of this Anglian *-ingahām* area; their formation must have been just possible and no more, in the early phases of the Anglian settlement of Votadinic territory.

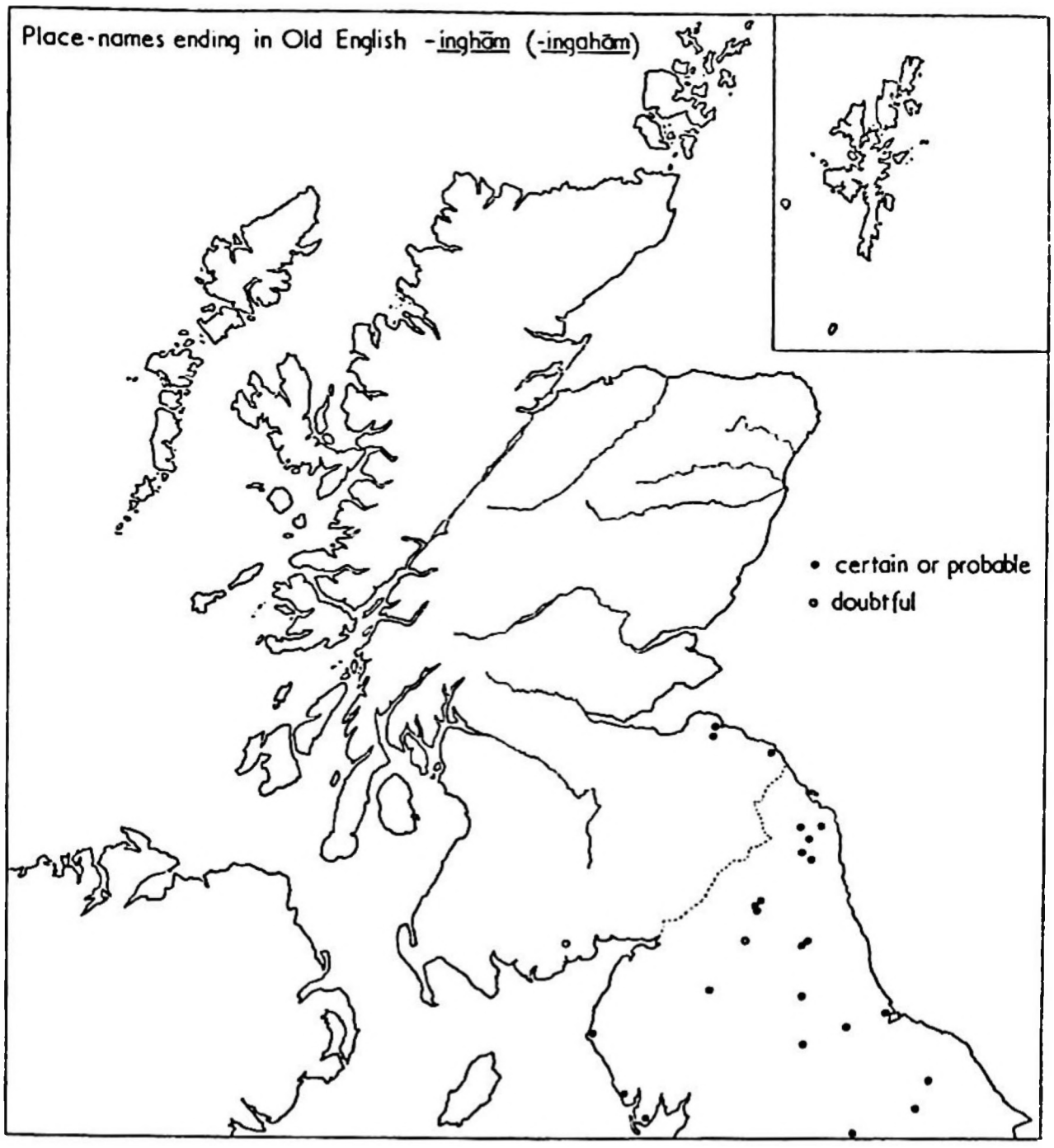


FIG. 5.

In the same way in which *-inga-* appears to be only attached to *-hām* in Scottish place-names and not to other words like *burna*, *feld*, *ford*, *halh*, etc., as in England (Smith 1956*a*:I, 301), the connective particle *-ing-* appears only with *tūn* so that we can class the next group together as names in *-ingtūn*. Just as *tūn* is slightly later in Scotland than *hām*, so names ending in *-ingtūn* belong to a later period than those in *-ingas* and *-ingahām*. When we have performed the difficult task of eliminating the numerous non-genuine late adaptations like *Abington* LAN

(Albintoune 1459 Johnston 78), *Newington* (Edinburgh), *Symington* (several) from pers. n. *Symon*, and others, we are left with a genuine residue of early material in such Berwickshire names as *Edington* (*Hadynton* 1095 (15th), *Hoedentum* 1095-1100 (15th), *Edingtonam* 1095 (15th), all ESC) "farm associated with **Ead(d)a*"; *Edrington* (*Hadryngton* 1095 (15th) ESC) "farm associated with the R. Adder"; *Mersington* (so 1291 Inst. Pub.) "farm associated with **Mērsa* or *Mērsige*; *Renton* (*Regninton* 1095 (15th) ESC, *Reningtona* 1235 Cold. Corr.) "farm associated with Regna or Regenwald"; *Thirlington*, perhaps from an OE pers. n. **þyrla*, although OE *þyrel* "hollow" is a possibility as in *Thirlmere* Cu (EPNS. XX:35-6; Ekwall 1960:466), and *Upsettlington* (*Upsetintun* 1095-1100 (15th) ESC, *Hupsetligtun* (p) 1153-65 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Lib.; *Upsedilington c.* 1240 *ib*), from OE *Setling-tūn* "farm by the shelf, ledge", and probably also *Carrington* MLO, *Haddington* ELO, *Hassington* BWK, and *Shearington* DMF, the old forms of which leave some doubt as to whether we are dealing with genuine *-ingtūn-* names or not. The distribution of those which can be identified as such (Fig. 6), links nicely with the rest of the Northumbrian evidence and appears to point to a slightly more advanced stage of Anglian occupation, probably in Oswy's time. The absence of names of this type along the northern shores of the Solway Firth (apart from one possible exception) should be noted.

Another place-name element which must have a definite bearing on our decision as to where the Angles first began to carve their kingdom out of the Cumbric territory in the south of Scotland, is *hām*. In contrast to *tūn* which originally meant "enclosure", *hām* always meant the "homestead" or "group of homesteads" itself. The English distribution suggests that it was "becoming obsolete as a p.n. term as the settlement advanced towards the west" (Smith 1956*a*:I, 227). Its Scottish distribution is therefore of the greatest importance to our investigation (Fig. 7). From this distribution we must again exclude the obviously later type of name like the several *Cauldhame*, and also the very curious *Letham* with its strange distribution. Here we are dealing with names of various etymologies and perhaps even belonging to different languages, a name type which demands a separate investigation. These names which can be used as sound evidence are all situated in ROX, BWK and ELO, with one exception in DMF, *Smallholm* (*Smalham* 1304 CDS) which has an identical equivalent in *Smailholm* ROX (*Smalham c.* 1160 (16th) Dryb. Lib.),

both deriving from OE *Smael hām* "small village"; the tendency to substitute *-holm* for *-hām* is also evidenced in *Leitholm* BWK (*Letham* 1165-1214 Melr. Lib.) "village on the Leet Water", and *Yetholm* in *Town* and *Kirk Yetholm* ROX (*Gatha'n c.* 1050 (12th) SD; *Yetham* (p) 1165-1214 Melr. Lib.) from OE *gæt*

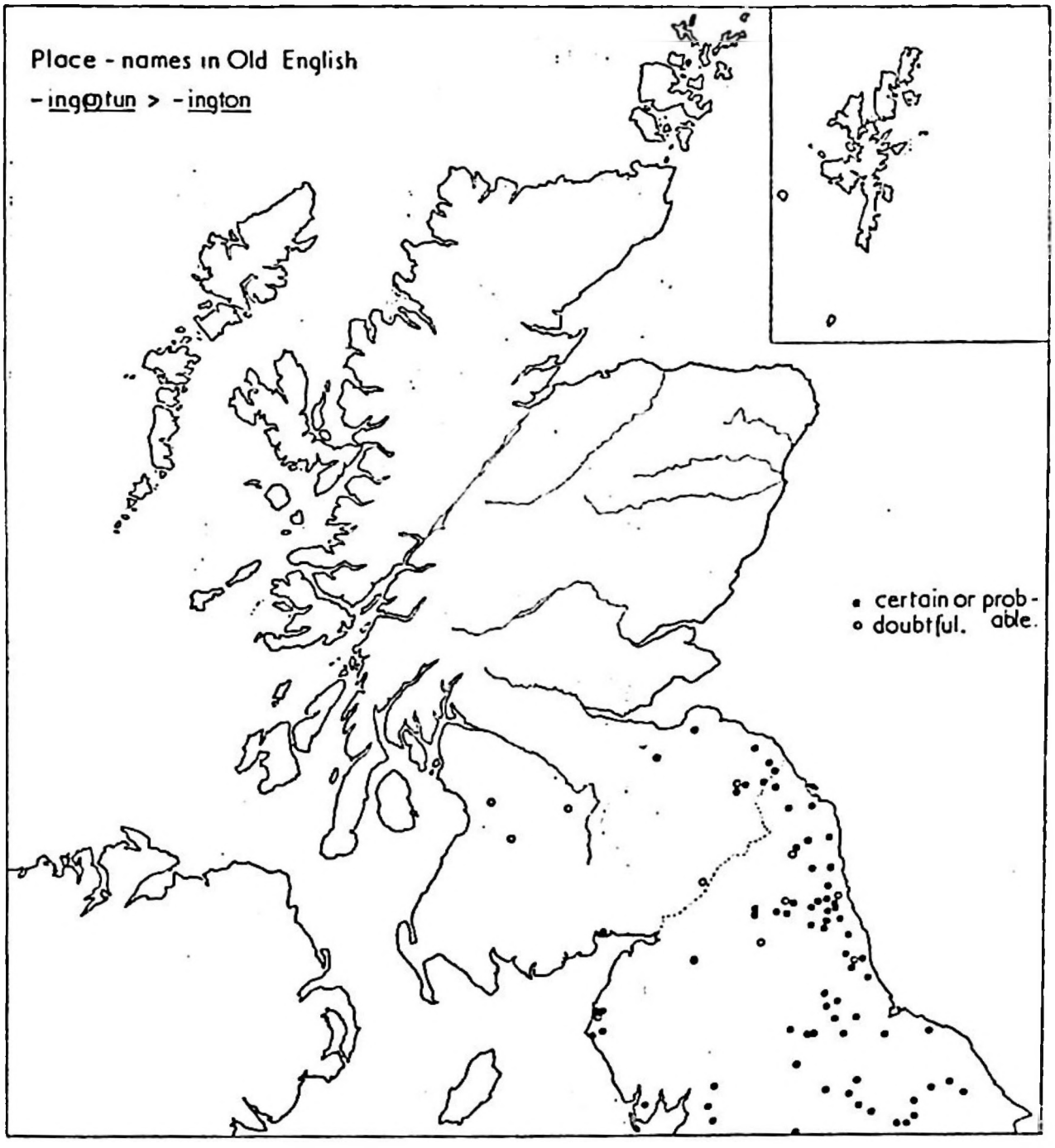


FIG. 6.

hām "village near the gate or pass". Others are *Ednam* (*Ædnaham c.* 1105, *Ednaham* 1107-17 ESC) "village on the R. Eden", *Oxnam* (*Oxenham* 1165-1244 Nat. MSS. Scot.), from OE *Oxenahām* "village of the oxen", *Midlem* (*Middleham c.* 1120 (*c.* 1320) Kelso Lib.) "the middle village", all in ROX; *Birgham* ['bɛ:rdʒəm] (*Brygham* 1095 (15th) ESC) from OE *brycg* "bridge", *Edrom* (*Edrem* 1095 (15th), *Ederham* 1095 ESC) "village on the R. Adder", and *Kimmerghame* ['kimərdʒəm]

(*Chynbrygham* 1095 (15th) ESC) possibly based on an OE pers. n. *Cyneberht*, all in BWK; and in ELO we finally have *Morham* which in the thirteenth century is also called *Morton* "*hām* or *tūn* by the moor", **Aldhām* "old village" in *Oldhamstocks* (*Aldehamstoc* 1127 Johnston 265), and one of the *Lethams*

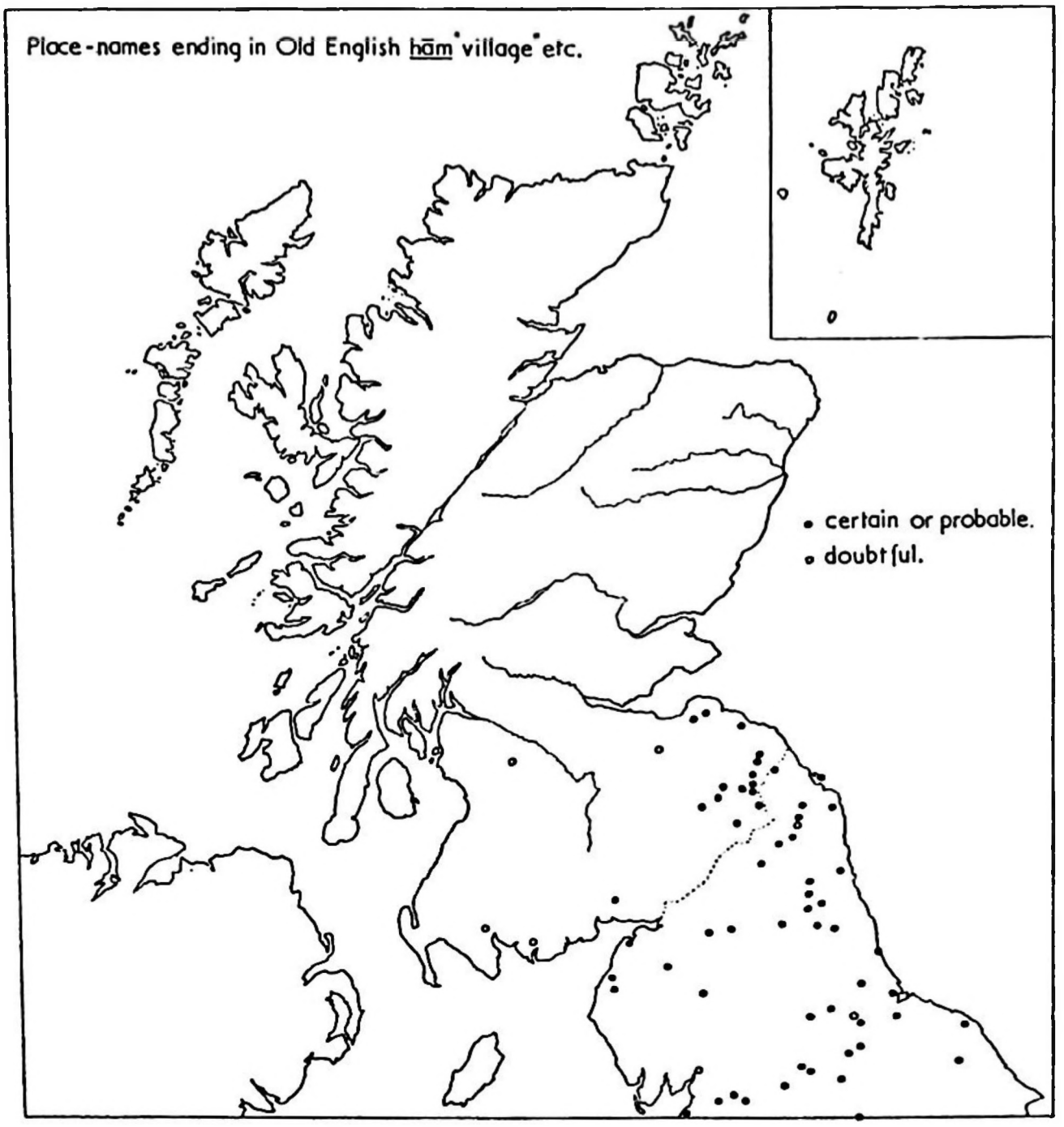


FIG. 7.

which should perhaps rather be marked as doubtful. *Twynholm* in KCB may or may not contain our element (*Twyneme* 1605 Retours), and the same applies to *Penninghame* WIG (*Penygham* 1644 Synod of Galloway, *Pennygham* Blaeu, *Pennegem* 1756 Barnbarroch MS). Puzzling is *Eaglesham* RNF which appears to contain W. *eglwys* or Gaelic *eaglais* "church". If the second part is indeed *hām*, the name may stem from a possible period of temporary Anglian overlordship over Strathclyde

in Ecgfrith's reign. Otherwise our material is again well in keeping with what we have seen already. In a way, names in *hām* cover the same area as those in *-inghām* and *-ingtūn* combined, that is the coastal strip to East Lothian and the main river valleys of Roxburghshire and Berwickshire, linking up without a break with Northumberland. The Tweed appears to be rather a magnet than a divide.

Having established a basic area of Anglian settlement, I should like to add just a little additional material which completes the English evidence already gathered and mapped for Northumbria. There is an OE *worð* meaning, like *tūn*, "an enclosure"; it is known from documents as early as the seventh century and it can further be proved to be early because it forms compounds with *hām* and folk-names in *-ingas* (Smith 1956*a*:II, 273-5). Although it is obsolescent or obsolete in the literary period it continued to be used in place-names, and the reason why it is of such importance to us is that it—like some other elements—appears to have been very productive in Northumbria and especially Bernicia, as the names in Nb and Du testify. In Scotland three names contain or contained this element, all of them in the most "Northumbrian" counties of BWK and ROX, two of them in fact south of the Tweed (Fig. 8). There is *Polwarth* in BWK (*Paulewrhe* (p) 1182-1214 Melr. Lib., *Paulewurth* (p) 13th Melr. Lib.) probably compounded with a pers. n. *Paul*. This is the only one which has preserved its original ending, for in *Cessford* ROX (*Cesseworth* 1296 CDS) "Cessa's enclosure", *worð* has been replaced by *ford*, and in *Jedburgh* ROX (*Gedwearde c.* 1050 (12th) SD, *Gedwirth* 1177 (16th) Dryb. Lib.) "enclosed village on the R. Jed", *burh* has taken its place. This shows that our word must have gone out of use at an early date when a better-known element was substituted. This process of substitution is closely paralleled in the neighbouring county of Nb where in at least five cases *wood* has replaced *worð*. Another early word.

The other element appears to belong to a slightly later period. It means "a dwelling, or dwelling-place, house" and in OE takes the form *bōðl*, *bōtl*, and *bold*. Of these only the first two interest us here, the first in the compound *boðl-tūn* (= Bolton) which is clearly Northumbrian, the second, also chiefly northern, in its later form *bottle* or, unrounded about the seventeenth century, *battle*. *Bōðl* alone, of which there are four instances in the rest of Northumbria does not occur in Scotland. To the English *Boltons* we can add one example

from ELO (*Bothel-*, *Bowel-*, *Boeltun c.* 1200 Johnston 110); and for *bōtl* we have the simplex *Buittle* KCB (Botel 1296 Maxwell 51; *Butil* 1456 ER, 1471 RMS) which practically coincides in its earlier forms with the *Bootles* of Lancashire and Cumberland, as well as the compound names *Morebattle*

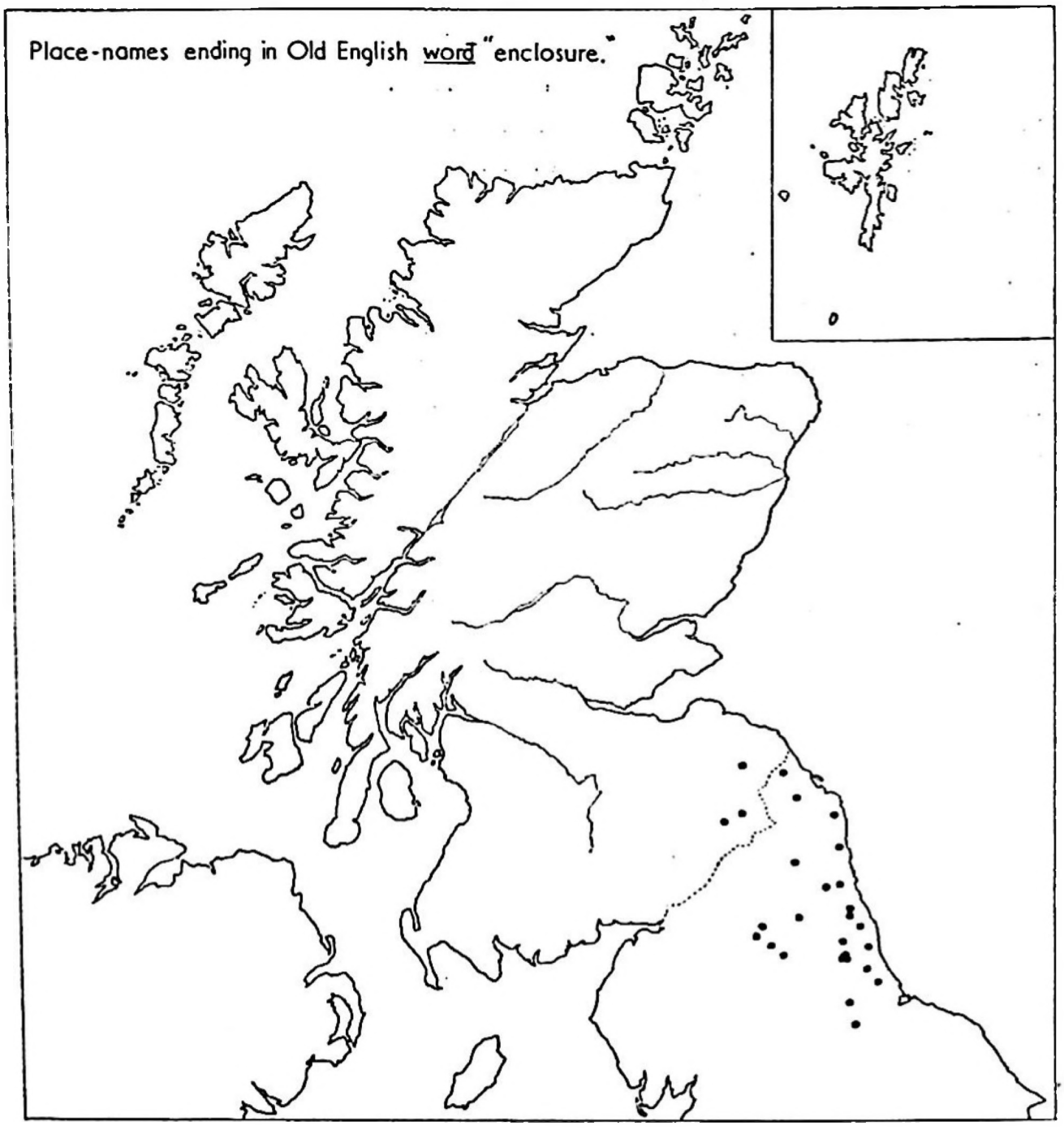


FIG. 8.

ROX (*Mereboda c.* 1124 (12th) ESC, *Merbotil* 1174-99 (1500) Melr. Lib.) from OE *mere-bōtl* "dwelling by the lake", *Eldbotle* ELO (*Elbotle* 1128 ES; *Ellebotle* 1160-2 RRS) and *Newbattle* MLO (*Neubotle* 1140 ESC) which when founded as a Cistercian monastery by David I in 1140 is supposed to have been called this to distinguish it from *Eldbotle*, the "old building" (Mackinlay 1904:268). In the distribution of this element (Fig. 9) the example from the Stewartry is certainly noteworthy but

even this isolated instance only confirms our impression of a thin ruling class of Anglians after Oswy's marriage, rather than of a thorough settlement (see also additional note on p. 171).

This more or less completes the place-name evidence which I have been asked to put before you in this lecture. An account

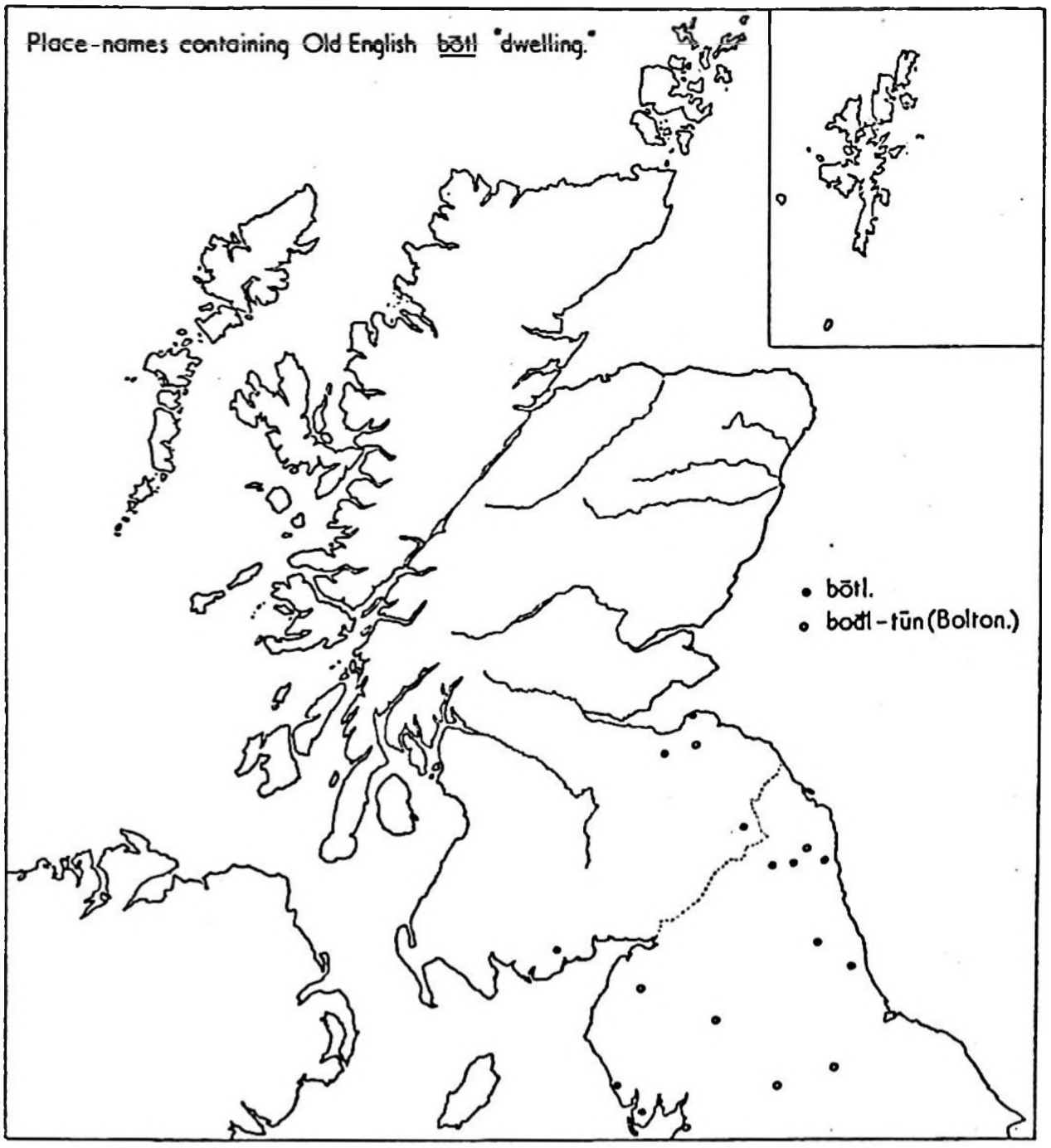


FIG. 9.

of later Scandinavian and particularly Gaelic influence in our area must, I am afraid, be given in a different context. This also applies to such fascinating problems as the later spreading of English names throughout Southern Scotland and the phonological investigation of the chronology of borrowings from Cumbric into Anglian. The temptation is great but time is short, too short. I should therefore like to ask just one further question. If the linking of our place-name evidence with

historical events in the process of the Anglian occupation of the Border Counties and the Lothians is difficult and of a comparatively vague nature, how do we fare with regard to the findings of archaeology? Our "principal archaeological check on the expansion of Northumbrian power" (Radford 1962:128) are the fine Anglian sculptured crosses of Ruthwell, Hoddom, Closeburn, Aberlady, Abercorn, Morham and so on, which are generally assigned to the 200 years between *c.* 650 and *c.* 850 A.D., and for our purposes we shall leave it at that. About two years ago a map showing their Scottish distribution was published (Radford *ib.*:129, Fig. 14), and this coincides remarkably well with the distribution of our relevant place-name elements. Maybe it does not have the amazing congruency which emerged for the settlement area of the historical Picts when names beginning with *Pit-* and the location of symbol stones were plotted side by side; when comparing evidence provided by two completely different lines of investigation continuously hampered by chance survival and late records, one cannot ask for too much delicacy. I feel that on the whole we are more than justified in stating that the archaeological and place-name evidence tally in a most satisfactory manner and certainly do not contradict each other.

Let us finally remind ourselves then of what the place-name evidence for the Angles and Celts in the Scottish Border Counties and beyond is: A host of Brittonic or pre-Celtic river-names and names of other natural features passed on to the incoming Angles in linguistic contact, various elements productive in Cumbric habitation names with different distributions pointing to a much larger survival of Cumbric speech in Strathclyde than to the east of that kingdom, although it is not impossible that a small colony of Cumbric speakers survived in the hilly country around Stow for some considerable time. Then the Anglian advance: Not to be dated before the official acceptance of Christianity in 627, then settlements near the coast and in the valleys of the important rivers evidenced by *-ingahām*, *-ingtūn* and *-hām*, this picture consolidated by the analysis of other early place-name elements, with some settlements higher up the river-valleys, obviously as part of a secondary occupation but still in the fertile valleys and not on the hills. East Lothian and Berwickshire, and that is the whole coast line from near Edinburgh to the present Scottish-English border, combining with Roxburghshire in forming the main early settlement area of the Angles, and this

again to be seen as the northern part of the whole of the Kingdom of Northumbria, or at least Bernicia, with the Tweed not a dividing line but a central life line. Not a consecutive narrative but glimpses only: nevertheless, I hope, Anglian Scotland in the seventh, eighth and perhaps ninth centuries come to life!

NOTE

[1] The source abbreviations here used are those recommended in the "List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560" (*Scottish Historical Review* 42, 1963). This list is also available as a separate reprint.

REFERENCES

BLAIR, P. HUNTER

1947 "The origins of Northumbria." *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 25:1-51. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

1954 "The Bernicians and their Northern Frontiers." In *Studies in Early British History*. Ed. N. K. Chadwick. Cambridge, pp. 137-72.

1962 *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge.

CHADWICK, H. M.

1949 *Early Scotland*. Cambridge.

CHADWICK, NORA K.

1963 "The Conversion of Northumbria: A Comparison of Sources." In: *Celt and Saxon*. Cambridge, pp. 138-66.

1963*b* *Celtic Britain*. London.

CRAMP, R.

1961 "The Anglican (*sic!*) Sculptured Crosses of Dumfriesshire." *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., 38:9-20.

DIXON, N.

1947 *The Placenames of Midlothian*. Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.

EKWALL, E.

1928 *English River-Names*. Oxford.

1960 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. 4th ed. Oxford.

1962 *English Place-Names in -ing*. 2nd ed. Lund.

JACKSON, K. H.

1939 "The 'Gododdin' of Aneirin." *Antiquity* 13:25-34. Gloucester.

1953 *Language and History in Early Britain*. Edinburgh.

1954 "The British Language during the Period of the English Settlements." In: *Studies in Early British History*. Ed. N. K. Chadwick. Cambridge, pp. 61-82.

1955 "The Britons in Southern Scotland." *Antiquity* 29:77-88. Gloucester.

1958 "The Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern." In: *Studies in the Early British Church*. Ed. N. K. Chadwick. Cambridge, pp. 273-357.

JACKSON, K. H.
1959 "Edinburgh and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian." In: *The Anglo-Saxons*. Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins. Ed. P. Clemoes. London.
1963*a* "On the Northern British Section in Nennius." In: *Celt and Saxon*. Ed. N. K. Chadwick. Cambridge, pp. 20-62.
1963*b* "Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria." In: *Angles and Britons*. Ed. H. Lewis. Cardiff.
JOHNSTON, J. B.
1934 *Place-Names of Scotland*. 3rd ed. London.
KARLSTRÖM, S.
1927 *Old English Compound Place-Names in -ing*. Uppsala.
KERMACK, W. R.
1937 "The English Settlement in Tweeddale and Lothian." *The Scottish Educational Journal* (October 15th).
1941 "Early English Settlement, Southwest Scotland." *Antiquity* 15:83-6. Gloucester.
KIRBY, D. P.
1962 "Strathclyde and Cumbria: a Survey of historical development to 1092." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*. N.S. 62:77-94 Kendal.
[LEWIS, H. (ed.)]
1963 *Angles and Britons*. O'Donnell Lectures. Cardiff.
MACDONALD, A.
1941 *The Place-Names of West Lothian*. Edinburgh.
MACKINLAY, J. M.
1904 *Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-Names*. Edinburgh.
MAWER, A.
1920 *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*. Cambridge.
MAXWELL, SIR HERBERT
1930 *The Place Names of Galloway*. Glasgow.
MYRES, J. N. L.
1936 "The Teutonic Settlement of Northern England." *History* N.S. 20:250-62. London.
RADFORD, C. A. R.
1962 "From Prehistory to History." In: *The Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland*. Ed. Stuart Piggott. London, pp. 125-54.
SHARP, L. W.
1927 *The Expansion of the English in Scotland*. Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Cambridge.
SMITH, A. H.
1956*a* *English Place-Name Elements*. 2 vols. English Place-Name Society Vols. 25 and 26. Cambridge.
1956*b* "Place-Names and the Anglo-Saxon Settlement." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 42:67-88.
STENTON, F. M.
1943 *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford.
STRÖM, H.
1939 *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*. Lund.

WAINWRIGHT, F. T. (ed.)
1955 *The Problem of the Picts*. Edinburgh.
1962 *Archaeology and Place-Names and History*. London.
WATSON, W. J.
1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
WILLIAMS, Sir IFOR.
1952 "Wales and the North." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*. N.S. 51:73-88 Kendal.
WILLIAMSON, M. G.
1942 *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties*. Typescript Ph.D. Thesis. Edinburgh.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

After this article had gone to press and after the blocks for the distribution maps had been made, Prof. G. W. S. Barrow very kindly drew my attention to the following additional material:

(*a*) *Maybole* in Ayrshire appears as *Maybothel* (*Maybothil*) in North Berwick Carte 1189-1250, and as *Maibothel* 1204-30 in the same cartulary. Other references to Maybole are *Meibothelbeg* and *Meibothelmor* 1185-96 Melrose Liber. This is obviously an additional example of Old English *bōtl* "dwelling" and should therefore be added to the Carrick part of Ayrshire in Fig. 9 on p. 167. It does not alter our chronological assessment of the position of this word in the history of the Anglian settlement of southern Scotland. Interesting are the later (!) additions of Gaelic *beag* "small" and *mór* "big" to this Anglian name. The first element is most likely the same as in Mawbray (Cumberland) which is *Mayburg*' in 1175, *Mayburch* in 1262, etc.; see A. M. Armstrong *et alia*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (Cambridge 1950) 296, and Smith 1956: II, 32. If so, it would be from OE *mæge* "a kinswoman, a maiden", with the whole name meaning "the kinswomen's (or the maidens') dwelling", but other explanations are, of course, also possible.

(*b*) Further examples of Cumbric *pren* "tree" to be considered are: (1) *Barnweill* in Craigie AYR (*Berenbouell* 1177-1204 Fraser, Lennox; Brenwyfle 1306 Palgrave, Docs. Hist. Scot.). (2) *Brenego* and (3) *Roderbren* (both 1177-1204 Fraser, Lennox) associated with Enterkine (*Nenterkan* 1177-1204 *ibid.*) in Tarbolton AYR. (4) *Prenteineth* (*David I* RRS), unidentified like the last two but associated with Loudoun AYR. If all or most of these additional names are in fact instances of *pren*, the more westerly distribution would certainly rule out the epithet "Votadinic" which I very tentatively applied (p. 148).

THE SUTHERLAND CROFTING SYSTEM *

Philip T. Wheeler

Sutherland is fourth in order of size among the seven Crofting Counties, but last in order of population—in 1961 it had only 13,442 inhabitants, or 6½ persons per square mile (Table I; Fig. 1). Of this scanty population over 60 per cent live in

TABLE I

The Crofting Counties 1961

(*a*) Crofting Counties in order of size

County	Acres
Inverness	2,695,094
Argyll	1,990,521
Ross and Cromarty	1,977,248
Sutherland	1,297,913
Caithness	438,833
Shetland	352,337
Orkney	240,848
Total	8,992,794
Scotland	19,068,724

(*b*) Crofting Counties in order of population

County	Population
Inverness	83,425
Argyll	59,345
Ross and Cromarty	57,607
Caithness	27,345
Orkney	18,743
Shetland	17,809
Sutherland	13,442
Total	277,716
Scotland	5,178,490

primarily crofting settlements. Taken together there are 2100 registered crofts in Sutherland—say 2150 croft-type holdings in all—the occupiers of which have the use of almost 320,000 acres, or very nearly one-quarter of the area of the county,

* This article is substantially a paper read to Section E of the British Association at the Aberdeen Meeting, 1963. It embodies some of the results of doctorial research undertaken at Birbeck College, University of London, 1957-60.

the rest being almost entirely occupied by forests, farms, sheep farms and deer forests. With so many crofts scattered over so

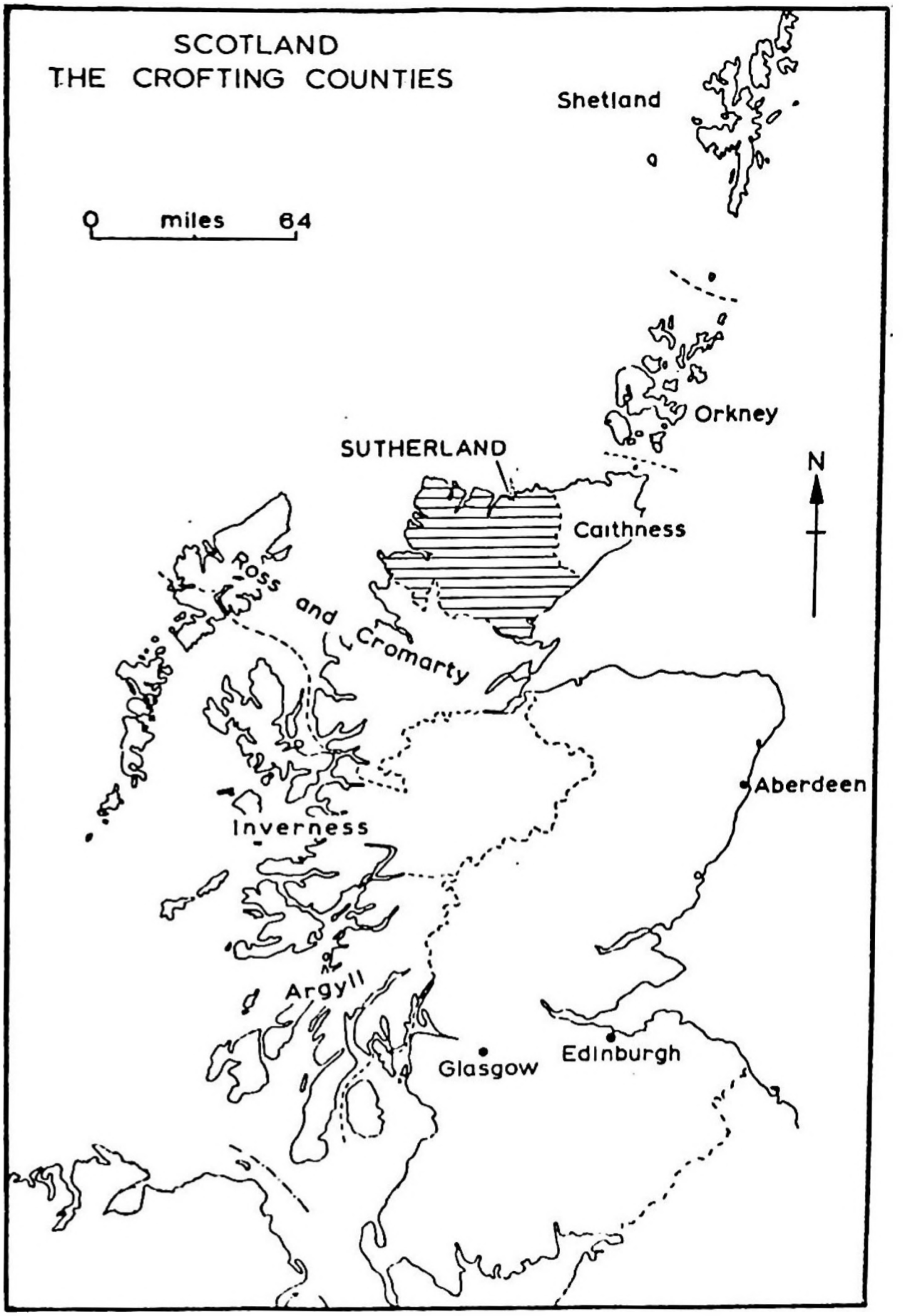


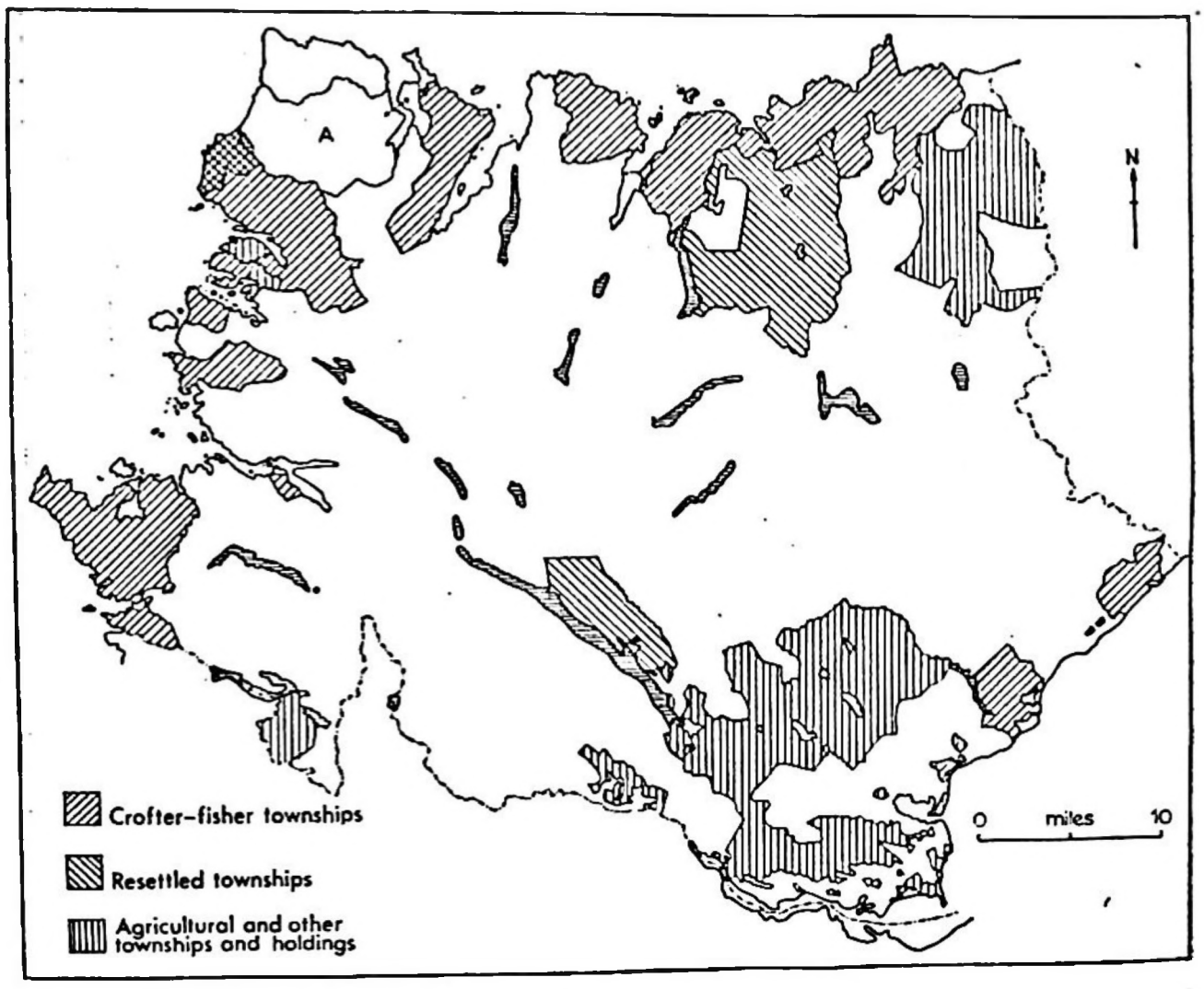
FIG. 1.

wide an area it is not surprising that the actual crofting system varies a good deal. Some of this variation derives from the

original establishment of the crofting townships, and some has developed since—occasionally in the face of legislation which is meant to be protective but which can sometimes be restrictive.

On the basis of a sample of 1000 croft and croft-type holdings examined in 1958 and 1959, it is suggested that four main types of crofting township may be distinguished in Sutherland (Fig. 2):—

1. Townships round the coasts of the county designed for crofter-fishermen in the Clearance settlement of the



The Crofting Lands of Sutherland, 1960

FIG. 2—Compiled from information kindly supplied by the Crofters Commission, the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, and the Scottish Land Court, and from fieldwork. (A—Kcoldale Club Farm.)

early nineteenth century. Whether on old or new sites, they were lotted or relotted so as to give small holdings providing a home and some subsistence for families gaining their main income from the sea.

2. Townships either undisturbed by the Clearance or set up at about that time, and consisting of units of a primarily agricultural type, though most of the holdings

were small enough to make a supplementary income increasingly desirable.

3. Resettlement townships set up as a result of post-1886 legislation. These were mostly designed to give full-time agricultural holdings. As such they were just what many of the crofters had always asked for, and therefore their success or failure has assumed an added significance.

4. Miscellaneous townships and single crofts. The latter, relatively small in number, include some holdings set up by post-1886 legislation which are among the biggest crofts in Scotland, 2000 acres and more, modest sheep farms in effect; others are small holdings tied to certain forms of employment such as smithying or gamekeeping, and are therefore not crofts at all in the strict legal sense; but all these townships and holdings operate within the general ambience of the crofting system.

In spite of this classification, however, it must always be remembered that each township has its own individuality, deriving often from very local factors, much more affected by one or two dominant personalities within the township than by broad trends and widespread influences.

The crofter-fisher townships form much the largest class dealt with. Almost all the townships on the north and west coasts of Sutherland are of this type. The holdings are small, averaging about 8 to 12 acres inbye, though amalgamation by inheritance, family co-operation and sub-letting official or unofficial, frequently increases the size of actual working unit (Table II). Sometimes the crofts are grouped in small townships, strictly differentiated, and with individual common grazings—Assynt, for example, is an area where congestion was serious, hill land limited, and where enlargements had sometimes to be at some distance from the inbye. In other cases the crofts form townships of a dispersed type, with many hamlets sharing one common grazing—for example, Tongue Skerray. In both cases the average acreage of hill land per working unit is not ungenerous, but the low carrying power of the grazing, especially on the wet, bleak hills of the west, and the occasional lack of systematic care in shepherding and township co-operative grazing organisation, reduce the value of the hill lands. As a result, the stint or soum of stock theoretically allowed is not very large—on average the equivalent of between 40 and 50 sheep per working unit—but even so,

TABLE II

Holdings and areas of inbye and outrun

	No. of complete townships*	No. of tenancies	No. of working units	Working units per cent tenancies	Inbye in acres			Outrun in acres		
					Total	Per tenancy	Per working unit	Total	Per tenancy	Per working unit
Crofter-fisher townships—										
West coast	20	266	223	83·9	3637·8	13·7	16·3	45,543·5	171·2	204·2
North coast	6	241	186	77·2	1905·8	7·9	10·2	27,769·3	115·2	149·3
East coast	6	187	106	56·7	1239·8	6·6	11·7	5951·8	31·8	56·1
Total	32	694	515	74·2	6783·4	9·8	13·2	79,264·6	114·2	153·9
Resettled townships—										
Total	3	60	58	96·7	2450·5	40·8	42·2	27,766·8	462·8	478·7
Agricultural and other townships—										
Total	13	184	154	83·7	3203·6	17·4	20·8	39,540·4	214·9	256·7
County (sample)—										
Total	48	938	727	77·5	12,437·5	13·3	17·1	146,571·8	156·2	201·6

* In this and in Tables III and IV only those sample townships with data available for every holding have been included.

between a quarter and a half of the working units keep less than half their allotted soum. In most cases, moreover, sheep form nine-tenths of the stock actually kept (Tables III and IV).

As might be expected, therefore, and bearing in mind the difficult climate of the area, both the proportion of the inbye assessed as arable (just over half), and the amount of the assessed arable actually in cultivation (about a third), are low. Hence it will be clear that if one adopts a purely arbitrary criterion of efficiency—that of cultivating at least half of the

TABLE III

Soumings

	No. of complete townships	Soum in sheep units			Acres out-run per sheep unit
		Total	Per tenancy	Per working unit	
Crofter-fisher townships—					
West coast . .	20	9275	34·9	41·6	4·9
North coast .	6	9036	37·5	48·6	3·1
East coast . .	5	1903	12·1	21·6	2·7
Total . .	31	20,214	30·4	40·7	3·9
Resettled townships—					
Total . .	3	5282	88·0	91·1	5·2
Agricultural and other townships—					
Total . .	10	9621	66·8	82·2	3·8
County (sample)—					
Total . .	44	35,117	40·5	52·3	3·4

assessed arable acreage per unit and carrying at least half of the allotted soum—there is widespread inefficiency in the present working of the crofting system of these parts of Sutherland in terms of the original assessment of the capabilities of the area. However, it is true that this assessment was first made when the former intermingled strip or run-rig system was changed to a regular lay-out of individual tenancies about 1810-1830, and then revised or confirmed after 1886, and that the judgments of what was possible then with population pressing hard upon the land and low standards of living are not wholly acceptable now. In any case, as already pointed out, townships even within one class vary considerably: Achriesgill, for instance, has hill enlargements and leases, is one of the most efficient and best organised townships in Sutherland, and is probably the most prosperous and progressive of the crofter-fisher townships, while the Durness crofters jointly control the famous Keoldale Club Farm, which is worked as one large integrated unit (see A in Fig. 2).

TABLE IV

Cultivation and Stock

	Cultivation						Stock					
	No. of complete townships	Assessed arable: total acres	Assessed arable per cent inbye	Cultivated: total acres	Cultivated per cent assessed arable	Per cent working units with less than half assessed arable in cultivation	No. of complete townships	Total stock in sheep units	Total soum in sheep units	Stock held per cent soum	Sheep per cent stock held	Per cent working units with less than half their toum
Crofter-fisher townships—												
West coast	6	263·0	56·3	93·0	35·4	62·1	7	3660	3702	98·9	89·8	44·1
North coast	5	994·5	54·2	367·5	37·0	65·0	2	3030	3558	85·2	88·5	30·3
East coast	5	971·0	88·8	441·3	45·4	51·7	4	1596	1727	92·4	73·3	27·9
Total	16	2228·5	65·6	901·8	40·7	61·2	13	8286	8987	92·2	86·2	34·0
Resettled townships—												
Total	3	993·9	40·6	492·2	49·5	39·6	3	5282	4682	112·8	79·7	12·1
Agricultural and other townships—												
Total	13	1673·8	52·2	1008·6	60·2	48·0	9	4061	4939	82·2	76·4	36·4
County (sample)—												
Total	32	4896·2	54·1	2402·6	49·1	55·2	25	17,629	18,608	94·7	82·0	31·2

There are fewer crofter-fisher townships in the east of Sutherland, partly because two of the fishing ports there tended to have full-time fishermen, and partly because the land available for crofting was restricted by the arable farms of the coastal lowlands and the sheep farms of the interior plateaus. Hence the original crofter-fisher holdings were even smaller than in the north and west, but they have been much affected by subsequent amalgamation—in two townships a total of 72 tenancies has been reduced to 36 working units—and the outrun is still more confined. The townships around Helmsdale and Portgower have true hill common lands, overgrazed and with small soums. In fact, the soums may be somewhat exceeded—though not equally by every shareholder—and the stock consists almost entirely of sheep (95-97 per cent). With the concentration on sheep goes a low proportion of cultivation —less than a third of the assessed arable—though, given the layout of the crofts in uniform strips over good raised-beach lands, which allows an unusually high proportion of improved land, and given the better climate of the east coast, the total area cultivated per working unit is generally better here than in the north and west.

On the other hand, certain of the more favoured townships round Brora have both their inbye and their very limited outrun on raised beach and fluvio-glacial materials, often relatively fertile, fenced, and of easy access. Here only half the heavy total stocking is in the form of sheep, and corresponding to the great increase in horses and cattle (almost entirely the latter) nine-tenths of the inbye is assessed as arable, about half of which is actually cultivated.[1]

It may therefore be said that the crofter-fisher townships of the east of Sutherland differ from those of the north and west in having better inbye, more amalgamation and a better general level of cultivation. Where their outrun is genuine hill their stock regime is like that of the north and west and cultivation is not stimulated, but where the outrun is on lower ground they have a much higher proportion of cattle, and since this necessitates raising fodder crops (oats, turnips and sown grass for hay and grazing) cultivation is relatively intensive.

Having considered some of the more poorly endowed townships of Sutherland it is instructive to turn to some of the best—the resettled townships, most erected with the specific object of providing full-time agricultural employment.[2] Here, the main townships under discussion will be Syre (Strathnaver

1901), Borgie (1916) and Shiness (with West Shiness and Achnairn 1920).

These townships vary in size from 11 to 29 holdings, but, as would be expected, the clearly laid out holdings are much larger than in the crofter-fisher townships. Since they have been recently established and are firmly administered by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, little amalgamation has taken place—there has been less need for it with an adjusted population and an adequate allowance of land. The outrun, too, is on a more generous scale, and so are the soums, which are also realistic in terms of hill carry, unlike the oversoumed hills of the crofter-fisher townships, where population and political pressure may have had some influence in the assessment of soum per croft.

These townships keep their whole soum or more, but only three-quarters of the stock is sheep, and keeping the other stock mainly on the inbye together with careful shepherding relieves the hill of any danger of over-grazing. The proportion of arable to inbye varies, but half the assessed arable is under cultivation, largely for cattle fodder. It is therefore clear by our arbitrary criteria that the agricultural object of these townships is by and large being fulfilled, whatever specific problems of organisation there may be in individual cases.

The agricultural townships surviving from before the Clearances or established as a result of the Clearances contain a wide variety of features, but they tend to fall between the crofter-fisher and the resettled townships. Some of them, such as the Strathalladale townships, have generous inbye and outrun, and have become comparable to the resettlement townships in situation, layout, activity and prosperity. There is, however, this difference, that formerly these townships were much more heavily populated, and that the present position has been attained as the result of a process of depopulation and amalgamation of holdings. Therefore the individual holdings are much more variable and irregular than the planned, resettlement townships.

More typical of this intermediate class are the townships of Rogart, which are scattered over rolling country into some of the highest croft land in Sutherland. Irregularity of layout here reflects the original pre-Clearance situation as complicated by short-distance movements, and the piecemeal lotting of run-rig, and is reflected in the wide range of individual croft

size and of stocking rates; two in five working units keep no stock at all, while most of the remainder are fully or over-stocked. Very few holdings in this district have only sheep, and over a fifth of the stock is actually cattle and horses—mainly cattle. The average amount of cultivation is only one-tenth of the inbye, but if one particular township is omitted, this represents

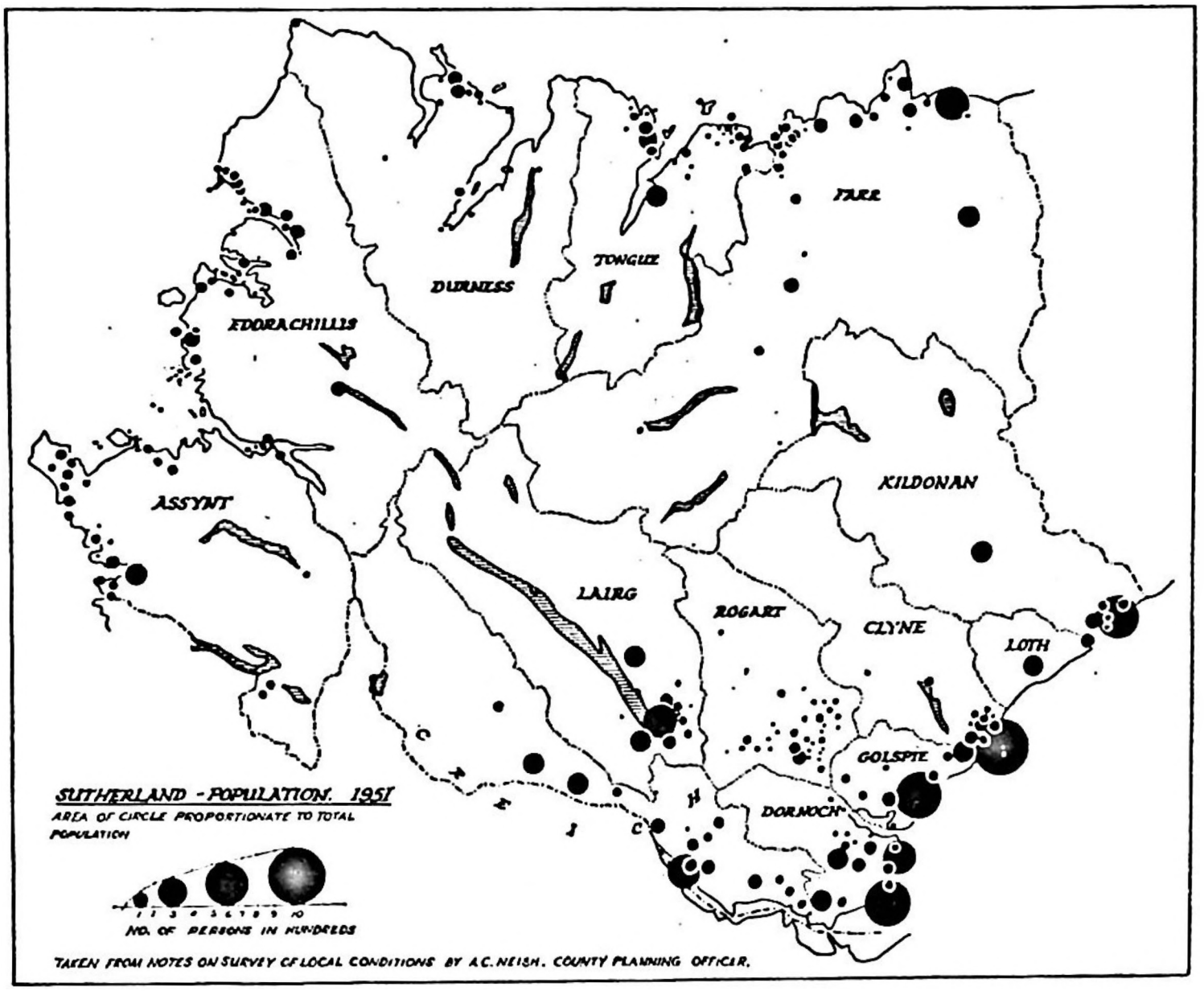


FIG. 3.

well over half the available improved land. Again, the crofts with most cattle tend to have most cultivation.

Some of this intermediate class of township, like the relatively small number of miscellaneous crofts and townships, therefore, are poorly endowed and utilised, others are better off and better used, though it is by no means a necessary conclusion that it will be the best endowed township that is best used.

Questions of rural economy cannot be divorced from questions of rural population: let us, therefore, turn our

attention to the population of Sutherland. A quick glance at the modern distribution shows the extreme peripheral nature of settlement, with a vast, empty, dead heart to the county.[3] This is the first essential characteristic of the population of Sutherland. It also incidentally supports the contention that a large part of the existing population is still, willy-nilly, connected in some way with crofting. The larger settlements—of which only Brora Village exceeds 1000—are primarily, though not exclusively, non-crofting service centres, and stand out clearly—Brora, Golspie Village, Dornoch, Helmsdale, Embo Village, Bonar Bridge and Lairg Village in order of population numbers. Only Lochinver and Tongue Village in the north and west can be included here. Most of the other settlements are in the first place crofting sites. Now, it is not possible to distinguish with exactitude between the crofting and the non-crofting population, but if the service centres are subtracted one is left with 65 per cent of the population in mainly crofting areas, and the further one looks back through the records the greater this proportion becomes.[4]

The second essential and characteristic fact about the population of Sutherland is that it is a shrinking and an ageing one (Fig. 4). From 1755 to 1831 it rose, though the overall rate of increase, mainly because of emigration, was less rapid than for Scotland as a whole. From 1831 to 1851 it oscillated, but thereafter the decrease has been rapid and continuous. Only within the decade 1951-61 does there appear to have been a slightly less rapid rate of fall.

But neither the decease nor its apparent ameliorations have been evenly distributed. A valid distinction may be made, for instance, between the parishes of the north and west and those of the south and east (Fig. 5). In the former the population is almost all in the poorly endowed, isolated crofter-fisher townships—though there is precious little fishing by crofters nowadays. There, numbers have continued to decline rapidly, and the population structure is becoming increasingly unbalanced, whereas in the relatively accessible and prosperous south and east the decline of population and loss of balance are apparently slightly less serious.

But further analysis is necessary, for not even the south and east are uniform—the area, as already pointed out, contains most of the non-crofting service centres as well as considerable crofting areas. One may take Rogart as an example of a parish almost entirely devoted to crofting, with holdings

of the intermediate agricultural type, while Golspie, which over the years has become increasingly dominated by the

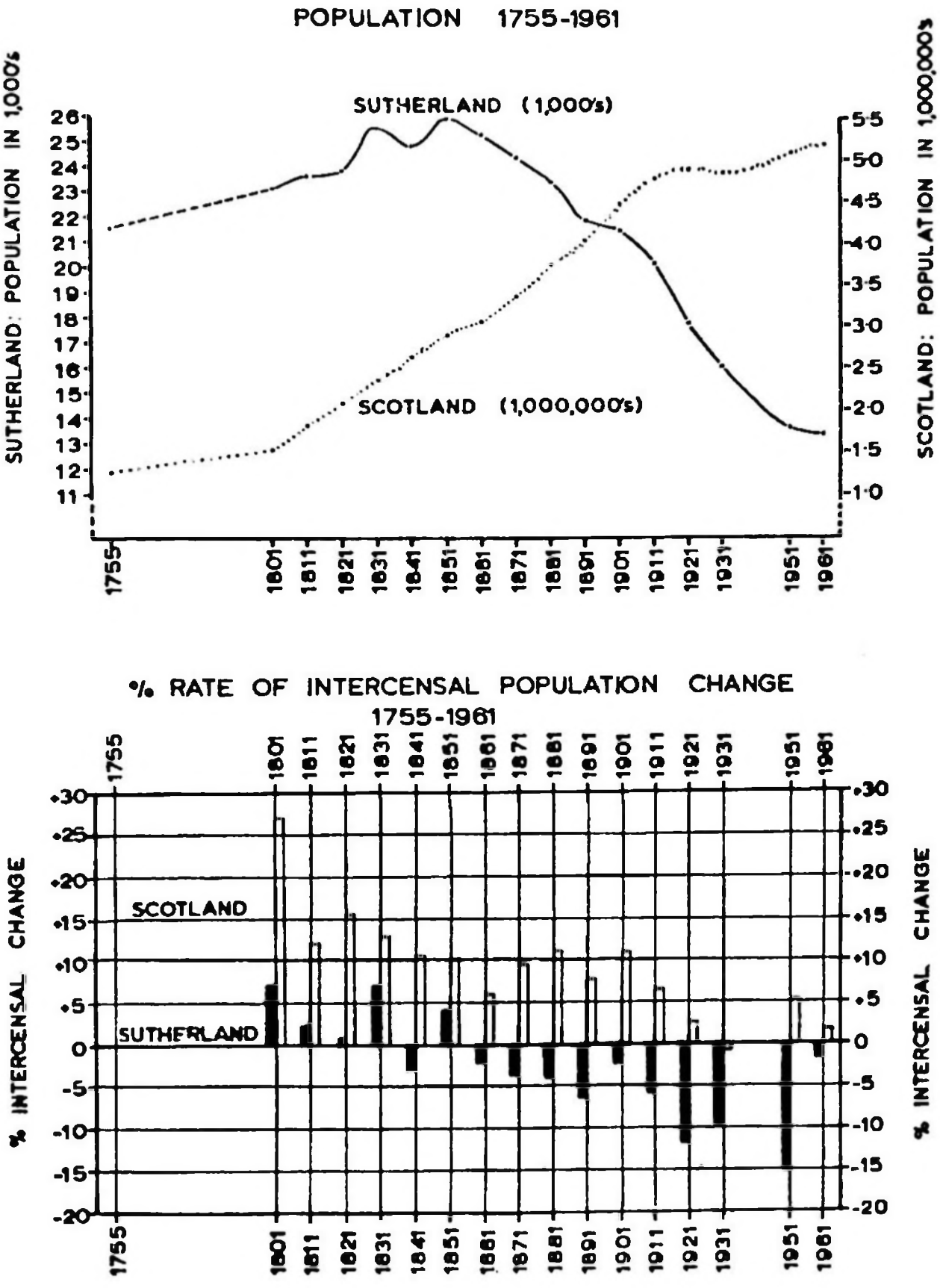
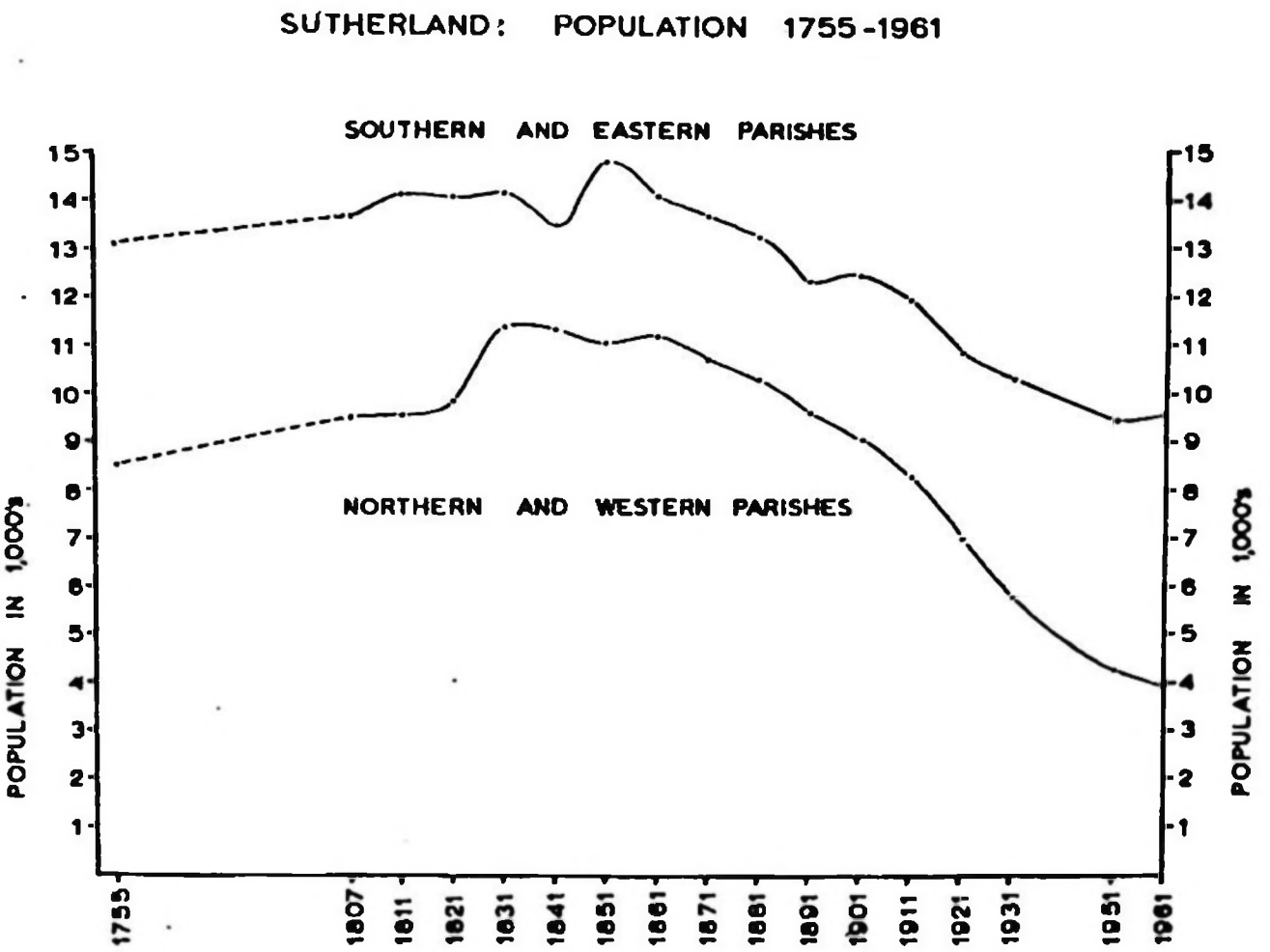


FIG. 4.

non-crofting Golspie Village, may be taken as a largely non-crofting parish (Fig. 6*a* and *b*). The difference in the population trends is striking: Rogart, in spite of its position in the south-east, has lost population in the last 100 years at as rapid a rate

as the northern and western crofting parishes, while Golspie, with its thriving village, has had a completely different population history, and is actually showing signs of a very slight



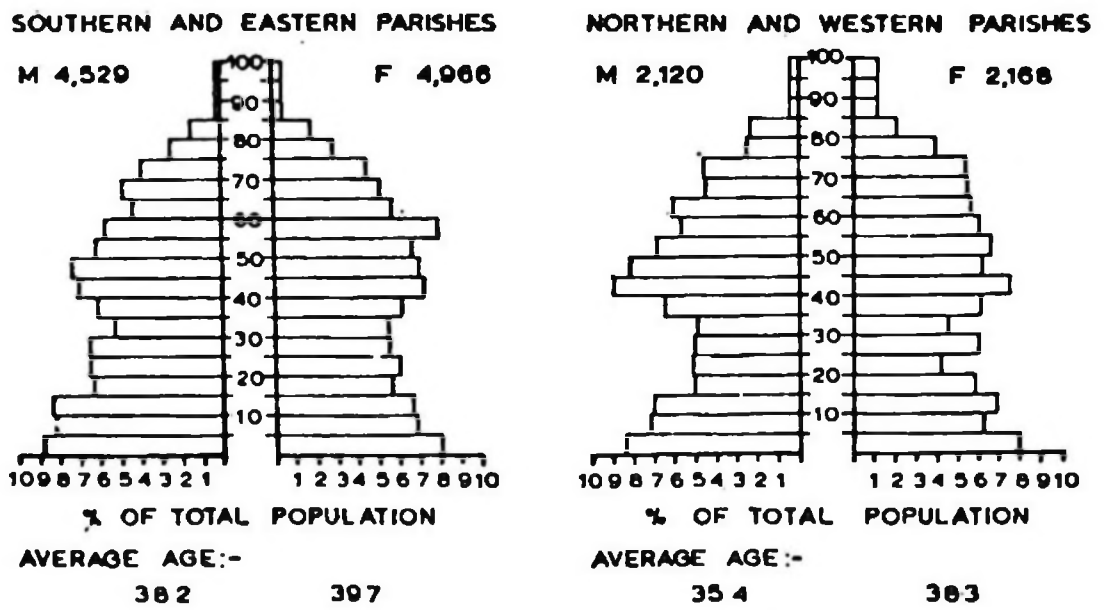


FIG. 5.

recovery in the last decade. It may, in fact, be taken that the population of all the crofting districts has fallen very seriously if unevenly over a long period, and resettlement has not been on a sufficiently large scale to alter this. In contrast, the

population of the non-crofting districts has suffered less severely, especially in the more recent period, and may even have increased slightly, mainly due to immigration from the outlying crofting districts.

It is therefore a feature of the modern crofting system that the population it sustains is declining and ageing: how does this come about? Partly, of course, it is a straightforward matter of emigration: one-fifth of all croft holders in Sutherland are absentees, most of them permanently so (Table V). The

TABLE V

Distribution of Absentee Tenants among holders of 988 crofts or croft-type units

	Male				Female					Total
	Resident		Absentee		Resident		Absentee		Vacant, uncertain, disputed	
	15-64	64+	15-64	64+	15-64	64+	15-64	64+		
Crofter-fisher townships—										
West coast	89	50	32	5	22	20	20	12	18	268
North coast	98	35	28	1	14	16	12	1	7	212
East coast	57	40	16	4	22	30	6	5	7	187
Total	244	125	76	10	58	66	38	18	32	667
Per cent of total	36·6	18·7	11·4	1·5	8·7	9·9	5·7	2·7	4·8	100·0
Resettled townships—										
Total	28	21	...	...	4	5	1	...	1	60
Per cent of total	46·7	35·0	...	...	6·7	8·3	1·7	...	1·7	100·0
Agricultural and other townships—										
Total	115	36	21	4	29	21	15	7	13	261
Per cent of total	44·1	13·8	8·0	1·5	11·1	8·0	5·7	2·7	5·0	100·0
County (sample)—										
Total	387	182	97	14	91	92	54	25	46	988
Per cent of total	39·2	18·4	9·8	1·4	9·2	9·3	5·5	2·5	4·6	100·0

causes of this emigration are clear enough: holdings which are too small and poor to give an acceptable livelihood at a time when standards are rising and opportunities of emigration are increasing cannot retain an intelligent and active population, particularly when that population has been offered the possibility of a good academic education and has an increasingly wide network of contacts all over the world. The result of this emigration—which on the evidence of the croft-holder statistics is concentrated in the active 15-64 age group—is that the declining residual population is an ageing one—in 1951 Sutherland had the third highest proportion of persons over 65 of any county in Scotland—while the number of children born to replace losses by death and emigration falls continuously.

This last is not due to a decline in fertility for the birth rate and the proportion of surviving children to each woman (15-64) has fallen less in Sutherland in this century than in Scotland as a whole. It is due to the small proportion of married

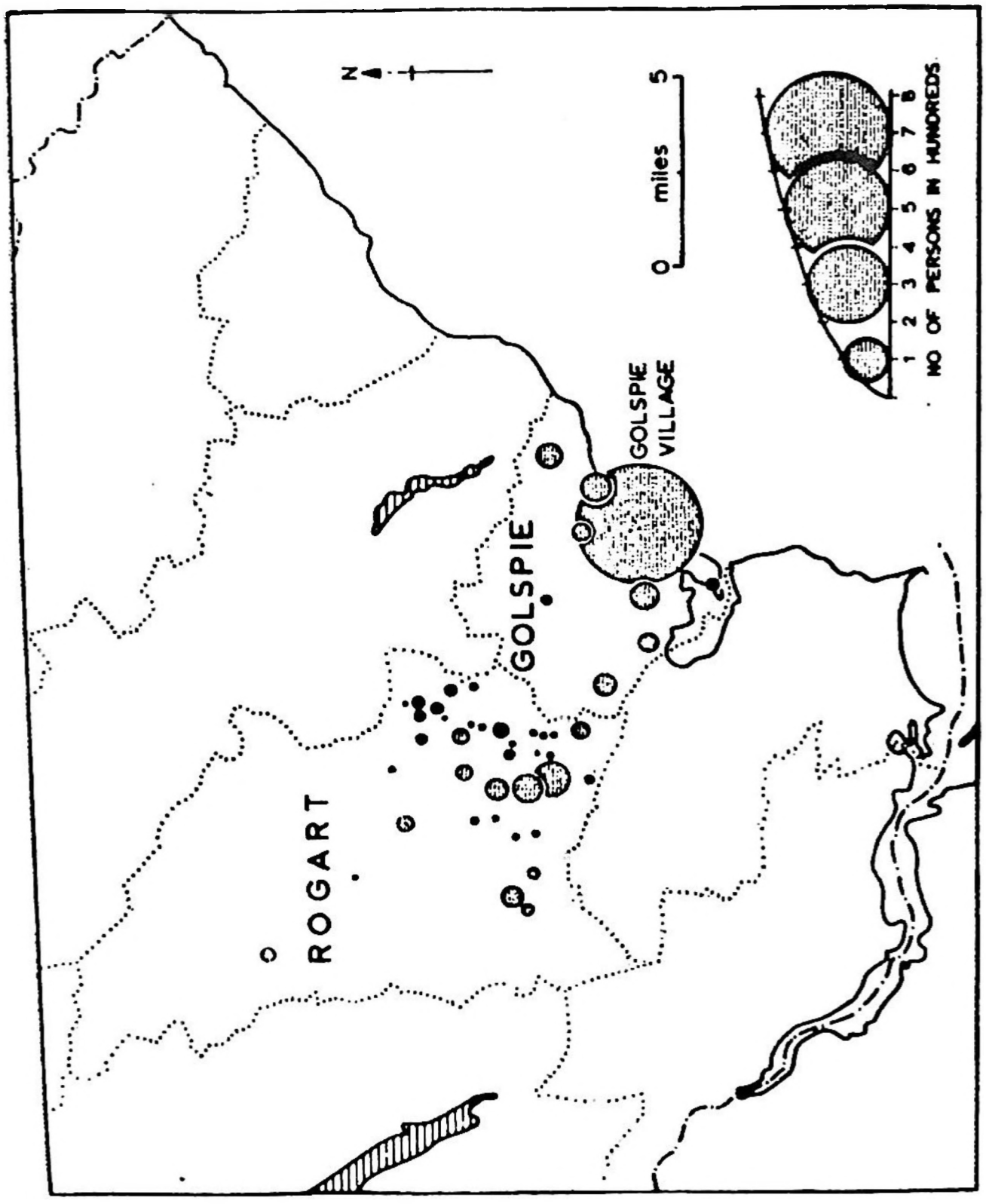


Fig. 6(a).—Rogart and Golspie: distribution of population 1951.

women in the 15-64 age group in the local population (17·7 per cent) compared with that of Scotland (21·7 per cent), and this in turn is largely the result of emigration (Illegitimacy is of small importance in Sutherland.) It may be added that the modern worsening of the position of the local crofting areas *vis-a-vis* the non-crofting areas reflects this differentiation in

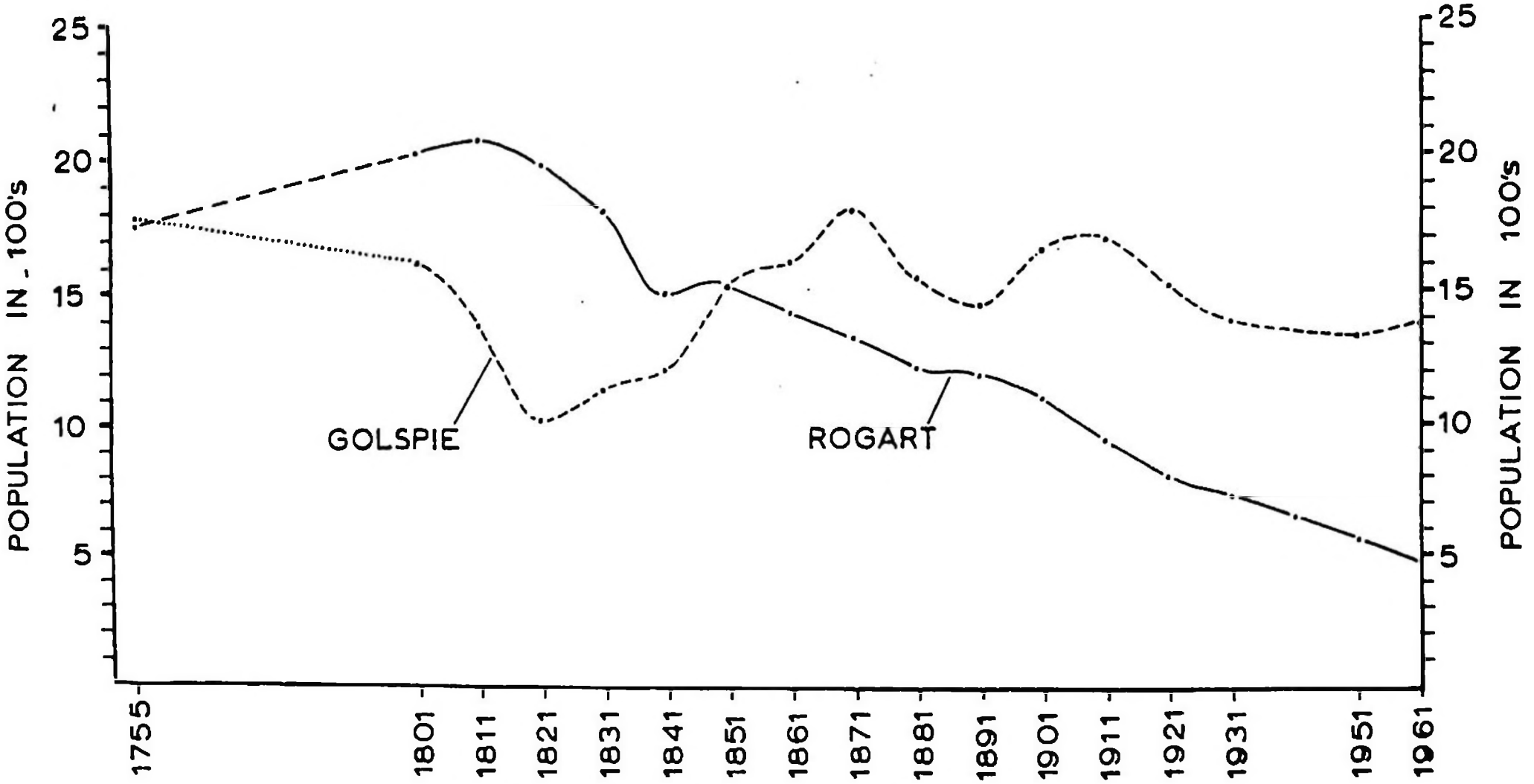


Fig. 6(b).—Rogart and Golspie: population changes 1755-1961.

little, although there is no actual variation of fertility between women in the two types of area.

Emigration of the active, child-bearing population therefore seems a most important factor in the decline of population. What of the people who do not emigrate (Fig. 7)? In this sample of croft holders only about 12 per cent—almost all men—were full-time crofters in the age group 15-64, while in the same age group 5 per cent were entirely non-crofting. Almost exactly half the remaining resident croft holders were over the age of 65, and therefore necessarily of declining efficiency as croft workers. In fact, of the total population of 1600 resident persons in 38 townships, 18 per cent were children below the age of 15, but almost a quarter were over the age of 65. Of the remaining 58 per cent of the population between 15 and 64, 401 or rather less than half were women, of whom only 26 were in employment—for women in particular employment opportunities are very limited except in the neighbourhood of the service centres. So far as crofting work is concerned, it may be fairly said that a prejudice is growing against women having to undertake a great deal of croft work, and their place is less important therefore in some respects than in the past. In fact, women who are active crofters are almost always single, living alone, with no male help. Few women concern themselves much with sheep, though dairy cattle are rarely kept unless there is a woman on the croft.

Men, therefore, provide the main crofting labour force, but even so in these 38 townships, of the total resident male population between the ages of 15 and 64, only 16 per cent (86 out of 524) were full-time crofters of varying degrees of effectiveness. The rest all had regular or periodic employment, of whom 96 were quite frankly non-crofting. The most important sources of employment include firstly transport and communications in various aspects—work on the roads and railways, employment on buses and by the Post Office, and work in garages, smithies, and similar service occupations —and secondly agriculture and forestry—including workers in private and Forestry Commission employment and shepherds and farm labourers. Other important sources are building and contracting, and unskilled work. Fishing is significant but not outstandingly important, employing only 5 per cent of this sample of those in gainful employment—mostly as inshore lobster fishers. One remaining and significant class is those employed by the Dounreay Atomic Establishment,

though this was strictly limited to a stretch of territory along the north coast as far west as Bettyhill.

One may therefore summarise the whole situation by saying that the population of Sutherland has diminished and is diminishing, so that the problems of an ageing and declining population are added to those of a sparsely scattered and largely isolated distribution. Only the non-crofting service centres show vitality, and since they depend ultimately on supplying services to the majority of the population that lives in the mainly crofting districts, they must be affected by any continued decline in the crofting system. The population is falling because of a decline in family size, because the active and child-bearing age groups 15-64 have to emigrate in order to find work, and because the residual population is not supplying enough children to compensate for the outflow. Of the residual population, a large percentage is of old or retired persons who are of declining activity. The unusually small percentage of those in the 15-64 age group who remain in the county, owing to the inadequacy under modern conditions of the crofting system to provide an acceptable livelihood, have to look for alternative and ancillary employment. The range of employment in the county is extremely limited, the best opportunities for the future lying in forestry, in certain very limited industrial occupations, and in work which is ultimately concerned either with services or with transport.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that absenteeism among croft holders, especially in the active age groups, is everywhere serious—and symptomatic of the decreasing attractiveness of a crofting life—and that even where ancillary employment is available there is nowadays a strong tendency to concentrate upon that rather than upon the croft —even where the croft is of good potentiality. The croft tends, in fact, to be effectively regarded as somewhere to live rather than as a unit to be worked as part of the holder's livelihood. Consequently, the agricultural and pastoral efficiency of the crofting areas is frequently below what it was designed to be. The only way to cure this would be to reorganise croft tenancies in an effort to make the rewards of crofting attractive under modern conditions, with as croft holders only those willing to work their crofts fully, and then to enforce the conditions of good husbandry. To do this would involve amalgamating many existing croft holdings to form full-time units. This would invite a catastrophic fall of population unless alternative employment

were offered for the non-crofting population. If it were decided to attempt to retain even the present moderate population, that employment would have to be in the present crofting areas as one of the serious problems already is a population distributed so thinly over the county that the supply of social and commercial services is becoming increasingly difficult. Probably forestry is the only large-scale, full-time activity

TABLE VI

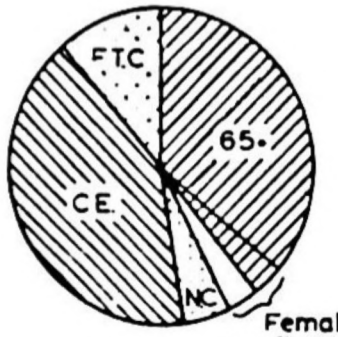
Total resident population upon 654 croft and croft-type holdings

	Holdings	Population					
		Children under 14 years	Male		Female		Total
			15-64	64+	15-64	64+	
Crofter-fisher townships—							
West coast— . .	93	39	67	23	47	23	199
North coast . .	241	82	124	32	85	46	369
East coast . .	187	31	70	34	62	45	240
Total . .	521	152	261	89	194	114	810
Per cent of total .		18·8	32·2	11·0	23·9	14·1	100·0
Resettled townships—							
Total . .	60	24	50	26	39	28	167
Per cent of total .		14·4	30·0	15·6	23·3	16·8	100·0
Agricultural and other townships—							
Total . .	73	114	213	57	168	71	623
Per cent of total .		18·3	34·2	9·1	27·0	11·4	100·0
County (sample)—							
Total . .	654	290	524	172	401	213	1600
Per cent of total .		18·1	32·7	10·7	25·1	13·3	100·0

that could be quoted here, and of such the Fort William pulp mill may be an augury, though it is unfortunate that the major crofting areas are in parts of Sutherland which (in spite of the pioneering work of the Pulford Estates in the Reay Forest) remain unattractive for extensive commercial forestry.

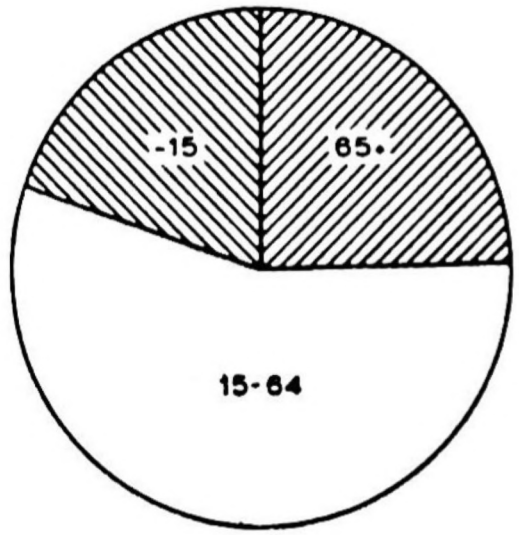
None of these solutions is original, none is easy, but as things stand the population, which hitherto has been largely connected with crofting, is declining rapidly in spite of the fact that the crofters' condition has been continuously improved since 1886, and that the crofters now control more of the county than ever before, in spite of the fact that the crofting system as a whole is very heavily protected and guided, and in spite of the fact that the Highland population in general is heavily subsidised. It has recently been suggested that crofting in its present form is an inefficient means of using natural resources,

RESIDENT CROFT HOLDERS OF KNOWN OCCUPATION



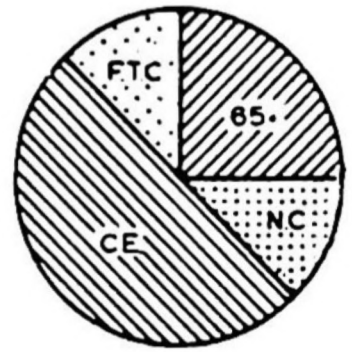
Croft Holders		Number	%	
Males 15-64	Full-time Crofters	71	11·5	FTC
	Crofters with employment	211	34·4	CE
	Non-crofting	3·1	5·0	NC
Males 65 and over		150	24·4	
Females 15-64		80	13·3	
Females 65 and over		71	11·5	
		614	100·0	

SAMPLE RESIDENT POPULATION



Age	Number	%	
Less than 15	290	18·1	
15-64	925	57·8	
65 and over	385	24·1	
	1,600	100·0	

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER



Age	Occupation	Number	%	
15-64	Full-time Crofters	84	12·3	FTC
	Crofters with employment	344	49·2	CE
	Non-crofting	96	13·8	NC
65 and over		172	24·7	
		696	100·0	

FIG. 7.

and in Sutherland at least it is clear that the present crofting system is less efficient than it could be either as an agricultural system or as a means of supporting a virile population. As, although it has its roots in the past, it is a fairly recent and artificial legal creation, and as it is also an expensive and failing one, any measures taken to save the whole area of the Crofting Counties would almost certainly have to be more radical than anything since the Clearances, and might well involve a virtual reasoned abandonment of the crofting system as we now know it.

NOTES

[1] It is worth noting that fishing developed less well in Brora than in Helmsdale, Golspie or Embo Village, and that conversely other sources of employment (coal, salt, brick and tile making, agriculture, services) have at various times developed better.

[3] The chief exception to this rule is the small and isolated township of Sheigra, established in 1912 specifically as a crofter-fisher township at the extreme north-western end of Loch Inchard. An anachronism even at the time of its establishment, it remains one of the few townships in Sutherland to have the arable and hay lands divided equally in small intermingled strips. In view of its character, Sheigra has been classed as a west coast crofter-fisher township, and not as a resettlement township.

[3] Fig. 3 is constructed from data kindly made available by A. C. Neish, Esq., formerly County Planning Officer for Sutherland. It should be noted that for Loth, Strathalladale and Strath Helmsdale consolidated figures only were available, thus accounting for apparent nucleation in districts of scattered population. The 1961 Census, however, confirms both the general distribution and the continued trend towards concentration of population upon the service centres.

[4]

Settlement	1951 population	Settlement	1951 population
Dornoch Burgh	748	Embo Village	374
Brora	1074	Bonar Bridge	355
Golspie Village	915	Lairg Village	318
Helmsdale	705	Tongue Village	164
		Lochinver	156

Total population in service centres, 1951—4809 or 35.2 per cent county population.

THE LAST SHEAF

Calum I. Maclean

In the course of one seminar [1] it is impossible to deal with more than one, or at least, a few Harvest customs, and today, I think we must limit ourselves to beliefs and practices relating to the last sheaf of the harvest. The custom of cutting and bringing home the Last Sheaf survives still in Scotland. On the 14th of October last year [1958] I went into a house in Craignish in the county of Argyll and there, on the wall of the living-room, I saw a small sheaf of oats hanging. It had just been brought home a week or so before that. The following week I met two farmers at Balquhidder, Perthshire, and both of them had brought home the Harvest Maiden, and in the case of one sheaf it was cut with the scythe by the farmer's younger daughter and bound by her elder sister. Both the girls were on the eve of leaving to return to a boarding school in Edinburgh.

Still the best and most exhaustive account of the custom is given by the late Dr. Gregor in *Revue de Traditions populaires* III (October 1888:532-5), and translated back into English by Sir James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, Part V, 1:158-61).

Dr. Gregor's account describes the practice in the north-eastern corner of Aberdeen and he admits that the custom varies from parish to parish. Even within the bounds of one parish, however, the sheaf may have two or even three different names, and be treated in more than one way. The practice regarding the sheaf may even change within the limits of one township. One informant from Skye states:

"There was great strife, as you know, to complete the harvest first. When a crofter finished cutting the corn, the last handful was taken up and bound with care. Some called it *a' Ghobhar Bhacach*, others *claidheag* and others *Deir' Bhuana*, Harvest's end. Now some, and it might be in fun or through spite, threw this last handful into the plot of a neighbour and when that was done it was called *a' Ghobhar Bhacach*. In

that way they showed that they had finished first and boasted about it. Now those who called the last sheaf the *Maighdean Bhuana*, Harvest Maiden, brought it home, kept it carefully and dressed it up in all kinds of finery. And again those who made the *claidheag* put it in the top of the last stack of corn that they completed. These were the customs that they had."

Thus we see that in one area the sheaf has three different names and serves three different purposes.

Another Skye informant aged about 35 and from an area not far distant from that of the above informant, states: "The Last Sheaf was called *a' Ghobhar Bhacach* in Skye. I saw it being brought home, but people had ceased throwing it over on to their neighbour's land. When they brought it home in my memory, they kept it in the house. They put a handful—*cas mu sheach*—in the form of a cross. That was how they had it and it was very pretty. There was a *stiom*, a ribbon, of cloth binding it.

But in the old time there was more to it than that. They called it the *Gobhar Bhacach*. The way they did it was as follows: the last handful that the crofter cut on his patch, he did not put it into the sheaf or stook, but brought it home—that was the last handful cut with the sickle. He divided it in half and crossed and bound it. And it was called the *Gobhar Bhacach*. If his neighbour was behind him with the harvest, he threw the *Gobhar Bhacach* across to his land. The neighbour understood what that meant—he had beaten him. It was something that was taken in good part and treated as fun (*fealla-dhà*). The neighbour did not resent it. The person last to finish the harvest was always helped by his neighbours.

I saw it (the last sheaf) hanging on the wall all the year round. They called it the *Maighdean Bhuana*. Four handfuls were crossed and hung on a nail in the wall. The crofter himself cut and bound the last sheaf.

When the harvest was finished there was a gathering *Deir' Bhuana*—and the neighbours were invited. The woman of the house made a *stapag uachdair*—whipped cream with oatmeal added. Everyone at the *Deir' Bhuana* got this."

According to this informant the form as well as the function and name of the sheaf was changing. The two main functions of the sheaf were (*a*) to taunt or bring the neighbour who was late with harvest into disrepute—and this was either in earnest or in fun—and (*b*) to serve a decorative purpose at the Harvest

home festival, or to serve as a present or reward to the best milk can on Christmas Day, or the first cow that calved or mare that foaled in spring, or to the horses when ploughing started. When the sheaf, and it may not always be the last sheaf or handful cut, or a figure dressed up as an old woman is sent by a crofter or farmer to his neighbour who is still engaged in the cutting of his harvest or to a neighbouring township that has been beaten in the race to finish, the term then applied is *Cailleach* or *Gobhar Bhacach*, and as far as Scotland is concerned this tradition is confined to the Western Isles and parts of the Highlands. But then the term and the tradition do not coincide. In Islay, for instance, the term *cailleach* is used, but all the practices are those relating to the *maiden* or *clyack*. In Bernera, Lewis, for example, the term *cailleach* is used, but the practices are, as it were, a sort of compromise between one tradition and another. The last sheaf is dressed up to look like an old woman, but instead of being sent to the neighbouring croft or township, it occupies a place of honour at the Harvest celebration (1895). When it had served its purpose at the celebration it was shorn of its finery. In North Uist it was the habit as late as 1896 that the *cailleach* was put among the corn of lazy crofters. In South Uist the *cailleach* was sent from person to person in a township according as they finished the harvest and the last person had to keep it and had to feed it, as it were, through the winter. The belief was common in the last century that misfortune overtook the person on whom the *cailleach* was inflicted, he would lose some of his stock or even he himself would die. In certain areas in the west the *cailleach* was much feared and during harvest time certain people remained on guard all night in case the *cailleach* was sent to them. One informant from Eochar in South Uist stated that the *cailleach* was made of *cuiseagan ruadha*, dockens, and dressed up in old woman's clothing and was given slippers to wear. Another informant from the same island stated that it was made of *raoid arbhair*, sheaf of corn, clothes wrapped round it and it was given some head-dress. The *cailleach* was sent not only from crofter to crofter, but also from township to township and from farm to farm. A farmer in Cill Donnan in Eigg sent the *cailleach* to his neighbour in Laig across the island. A servant riding on a swift, black mare, brought the sheaf and placed it on a wall near the victim's house. He was seen and fled, pursued by the angry farmer, who fired several shots at him but missed. That took place towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the

late sixteenth century Clanranald in South Uist sent a messenger on horse-back from Ormicleit to Geirinish. The *cailleach* was left in Geirinish, in a patch of standing corn. The messenger was seen, pursued and killed within one half-mile of his own township. Had he gone a half-mile further he could have been safe. In the last century, however, in Uist, the sending of the sheaf gave rise to nothing more than an occasional outburst of vituperative verses about the *cailleach*, reviling her as if she were an ugly old woman. According to the late Fr. Allan Macdonald, the townships of Daliburgh and Kilphedar fought about the *cailleach*, but the practice has now ceased in South Uist. When one crofter finishes his harvest before his neighbout he says "*Chuir mi a' chailleach ort*", "I have put the *cailleach* on you".

In Strath Fillan a *cailleach* was made of sticks, old clothes and a turnip and passed from farm to farm and finally to the innkeeper, the innkeeper being regarded as the person best able to support it.

The Lame Goat, *Gobhar Bhacach*, had the same function as the *cailleach*, and like the *cailleach* was not necessarily the last sheaf. It could be any sheaf or bundle of corn sent to a neighbour's land or built up into a stook on it by the crofter who had first finished. According to one account, it was the last sheaf pleated at both ends and placed on the dyke or boundary between the crofter who had finished and the one who had not. On the mainland, in Glen Elchaig, Kintail, the last sheaf was called the *Gobhar Bhacach* and was thrown on to the land of the farmer who had not finished. In Skye, it was a custom, although not general, to retrieve the sheaf and place it behind the *maide ceangail* in the barn or byre and give it to one of the cows when the first snow fell. One published account says that the Goat brings ill-luck, another that it is humiliating to have it.

As we have seen from one account from Islay and another from Skye, the customs connected with the *cailleach* and Lame Goat on the one hand and the Maiden on the other were confused.

The Clyack and Maiden differ in name mainly and are not thrown on to the land of the person who has not yet finished. Dr. Gregor's account deals with the Clyack-sheaf, the name common in Easter Ross, Moray, Nairn, Banff, Aberdeen and in the Eastern Highlands, but traditions and customs connected with the *Maighdean Bhuana* in Gaelic areas

and the Maiden in non-Gaelic areas are much the same with minor variations from parish to parish.

The Clyack-sheaf, according to one account from the North-East, was much smaller than an ordinary sheaf and was given to the favourite horse. It was made into a female figure and given a drink of ale, but the informant states that he had only seen this once. Another account, presumably from Buchan, states that the Clyack was either known as the *Maiden* or the *Carlin Clyack*, according as the Harvest was early or late. An account from Banff states that the Clyack was dressed up to resemble a girl of the agricultural community. It remained in the kitchen till New Year's morning, when it was undressed and shared out among the animals. When the sheaf was brought home, the harvesters were treated to "Meal and Ale", oatmeal, whisky and sugar or syrup, made thick. A ring was put in it and the finder would be married before the next harvest.

Dr. Gregor also states that the sheaf was named according as the harvest was early or late. In Corgarff, Aberdeenshire, when all the crop is cut before St. Michael's Day, 29th September, it is called a *maiden gliack*, but if the crop is cut later, the sheaf gets the name of "a fusset-ower maiden", i.e. deluded or betrayed maiden. The man who cuts the last sheaf in a late harvest, marries a widow or unchaste woman, and if a woman cuts it, she marries a widower or unchaste man. One other important point he makes is that the Clyack-sheaf was not allowed to touch the ground when being bound. Another account from Aberdeen says that the sheaf was divided among the stirks on New Year's Day. In Kincardineshire, the sheaf was kept till Christmas and given to a cow in calf, and another account says that it was kept till old Christmas Day and given to the best cow in the byre.

In the North-East of Scotland although the beginning of the ploughing was attended with important ceremonies, the Clyack-sheaf did not play any important part in them, as it did in the west and central Highlands. In the north-east, ploughing generally began in autumn after the Harvest while in the west it did not begin until well after New Year. The Clyack could not have been given to horses beginning the ploughing in autumn as in that case it would have had only a very short period in the farm-house, steading or byre. The common feature about the Maiden in Argyllshire and Western Perthshire was that it was divided between the horses the first day they went out to plough.

Sir James Frazer himself witnessed the cutting of the Maiden in Balquhidder in 1888.

From the printed sources we learn that the maiden was cut and the girl that secured it became Queen of the Harvest: That evening a supper and dance was held to entertain the reapers. The sheaf was made into a rude doll and tied with ribbons, and hung on the wall till next Spring. Another account from Fife says that in former times (written in 1924) two sheaves were cut and were called the Old Woman and the Maiden. In the same county the date of events was fixed by the day in which maiden was cut. In Lochaber men toasted the Maiden suspended in the barn at the Harvest Home Dance 1893. An account from Glen Moriston (1889) states that the informant as a boy remembered the last bit of corn being taken home, tied up with a ribbon and stuck in the wall across the kitchen fire-place, where it remained till next Spring. There was no ceremony attached to it. One account from Argyll—locality is not given—states that the Maiden was a three-cornered wall ornament decorated with ribbons. An account from Kilmartin has it that part of the Maiden was given to the horses the day they started leading home the corn and the other part as a *sainseal* (handsel) for luck on the day they started ploughing. An account from Lochaweside has it that the first shearer to complete his strip got the maiden, but the last to finish was nicknamed the *cailleach*. From the same locality it is reported that the Maiden was hung up for the purpose of preventing the death of horses in the Spring. In Glencoe, it appears, there was both a Maiden and a *cailleach*, but the Maiden was cut in an unusual manner for this area. The reapers threw their sickles at it. The person who succeeded in cutting down the Maiden got possession of her. In Aberdeenshire too the last sheaf was called the Maiden and was given to the first mare that foaled. Another account has it that the Maiden was cut by an unmarried man who chose as his bandster a maiden. The sheaf was dressed in coloured paper with coloured ribbons, and the company at the harvest home danced round it. It was hung over the mantle in the sitting-room and remained there till Auld Yule, when it was given to the pet animal in the farm. Another account from Aberdeen has it that the Maiden was given to the first mare that foaled, otherwise the consequences would be disastrous for farm operations generally. In Sutherland too they kept the Maiden hung over the mantle-piece until the next harvest. They have

always a kirn, 1889, whipped cream with often a ring in it, and sometimes meal sprinkled over it. On some farms in the Gareloch, in Dunbartonshire, about the year 1830, the last handful of standing corn was called the Maiden. It was divided in two, plaited, and then cut with the sickle by a girl, who, it was thought would be lucky and would soon be married. When it was cut the reapers gathered together and threw their sickles in the air. The Maiden was dressed with ribbons and hung in the kitchen near the roof, where it was kept for several years with the date attached. Sometimes five or six maidens might be seen at once hanging on hooks. The harvest-supper was called the Kirn. In other farms on the Gareloch the last handful of corns was called the Maidenhead or the Head; it was neatly plaited, sometimes decked with ribbons and hung in the kitchen for a year, when the grain was given to the poultry.

As to material of a more recent date, one informant in Balquhidder in October of last year [1958], stated that the youngest member of the family cut the *Maighdean.* It had been cut on his farm by his younger daughter, a week or two previously. It was to be dressed up and given to the horses, divided between them, when they go out to plough next spring. It was kept and given to the horses to ensure good luck for the coming year. A mile or two away another informant said that he had taken home the Maiden a week or two previously. On the other side of Loch Voil, another informant, said that he had often cut and brought the Maiden home and had ceased doing so only four years ago. The oldest person on the field cut it and the youngest bound it. It was bound in the form of a cross. He had not noticed that precautions were taken to ensure that it did not fall on the ground. When ploughing started in spring, each horse got a portion of the sheaf. He ceased bringing the sheaf home, when he put away his horses and started ploughing by tractor. A couple of miles away another farmer's wife stated that the Maiden was given to the first mare that foaled. Another informant in Fortingall stated that he had last seen the Maiden in the spring of 1920. He was a ploughman and the sheaf was divided between two horses on the morning they were due to start ploughing. It was a *seana-chleachd*—he translated this into English as a "superstition"—and it was to prolong good luck till the next year. He maintained that anyone could cut the sheaf. The colour of the ribbon did not matter, but the one he had last seen was blue. Another informant in the same area said that the Maiden was put in a

specially made glass case. It remained there until the next Maiden came in the following autumn. Two brothers, natives of Glen Lyon, stated that the *Maighdean Bhuana*, Harvest Maiden, was divided in two halves; one was kept in the kitchen and the other half was given to the horses when ploughing started. In August 1952 an informant from Rannoch, Perthshire, who was then aged 88, said: "In Rannoch we had the Maiden. It was dressed and bound with ribbons. They kept the sheaf. They imagined that misfortune would overtake them if they did not keep it. It was called *Maighdean*. There was a dance when the harvest work was completed."

In Argyllshire the practice is just beginning to go now, as I have stated earlier I saw the sheaf this last autumn in Craignish. It was given to the horses in spring on the start of ploughing. An informant who lived on Loch Fyneside said that there the Maiden was kept all the year round. An informant on Loch Etiveside said that it was given to the horses, as at Craignish. An informant in the parish of Kilmore said that the oldest person in the field cut the Maiden. It was bound with a long, trailing red ribbon, brought home and placed above the fireplace. It was kept there until given to the horses on the start of ploughing. An informant from Benderloch, an old lady aged 84, said that there was much fun when the sheaf was about to be cut. The shearer, often hid some uncut stalks under sheaves in order to keep them to the last so that his sweetheart would get the Maiden. She herself had also hidden uncut corn under sheaves. The last sheaf cut was taken home and bound with a green ribbon. It was divided among the horses when they finished the first furrow (*sgriob*) of ploughing in spring. She herself had stopped bringing the sheaf home eight years ago, when she had to stop working on her croft. An informant from Duror said that he had often seen the *Maighdean* hanging above the fireplace. It could be bound with a ribbon of any colour, but the practice of bringing it home ceased about 20 years ago. An informant from Glencoe, aged about 75, said that he had often seen his mother bring the Maiden home. The practice ceased about 20 years ago, but other informants in Glencoe told me that it continued until much more recently. Further to the west, Acharach, Ardnamurchan, an informant said that he himself had often cut the Maiden in his croft and had ceased only four years ago. He is now 82. The sheaf was bound with a red ribbon and was in the form of a cross, like the St. Andrew's Cross, *Gobhlach*—

diagonal. He also gave it to the horses when ploughing commenced.

The form of the sheaf is interesting. Dr. John MacPherson in his *Primitive Beliefs in the North-East of Scotland* stated that "In the upper districts of Banffshire, as at Glenlivet, the sheaf was made in the form of a cross. Here is the influence of the Catholic religion." He does not state, however, whether the cross was diagonal or horizontal. In Acharacle, Balquhidder, Banff, Badenoch and Skye the cross was diagonal.

One informant from South Uist did state that she had seen the *Maighdean Bhuana* as distinct from the *cailleach*. She was born in Snaoiseabhal in the Parish of Bornish on the west of the island. "There was always a race to get the last sheaf. It was not really a sheaf but a small handful—*làn an dùirn*. It was not allowed to fall on the ground and was bound with a red ribbon. It was brought home and kept till the next harvest."

In central Inverness-shire the older people were quite familiar with the Harvest Maiden, as many of our recordings in the School of Scottish Studies show.

In the south of Scotland and especially the south-east the last sheaf is called the Kirn, Kirn-baby, Kirn-dolly, Kirn-bobby, Kirn-cut. Popular etymology explains the terms as kirn, churn, which arose from the fact that churned cream played such an important part in the Harvest Home celebration. There seems to be no knowledge as to the earlier history of the name. The term kirn may have been extended from the Harvest Feast itself to the last sheaf. Two accounts from Berwickshire have it that the sheaf was cut by throwing sickles at it. Another account tells that the reapers were blindfolded. This went on till someone succeeded in locating the last straws and cutting them. The successful reaper was then thrown up in the air. The kirn-dolly decorated the room at the harvest supper. In Berwickshire the kirn-dolly was also called the Queen. A recent informant from Haton, near Kelso, confirmed that the farmer was thrown up in the air on the completion of the reaping, while another informant from Peebles recently stated that in his youth the last sheaf was tossed up in the air. In Galloway, again, the last sheaf, also called the Kirn there, according to two accounts, was cut by casting sickles at it. The person who succeeded in cutting it wore it, decked with ribbons, in his or her hat during the Kirn feast. One report from Stirlingshire, 1897, has it that the last sheaf cut was plaited and twisted. A twig of rowan with berries

was tied into the middle of it, and it was laid on the table at the Kirn feast. In Northern England, Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire the term *kirn* or *kern* was used. I doubt if the term was actually used in Scotland further north than Stirling.

In Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and South Ayrshire the last sheaf was termed the *hare*. All accounts agree that it was cut by casting the hooks at it. It was brought home, hung over the door, and used for purposes of divination, and when it had served its purpose, servants played pranks with it and it was torn to bits. The term *hare* is quite understandable, as young hares hiding in the corn would gradually retreat before the reapers and were supposed to go finally to the last patch that remained standing and jump away as the reapers came too near. Casting the hooks for purposes of divination was common after all the corn was cut. In Gaelic it was called *cur nan corran*. How the hook fell would indicate whether death, ill-luck, good fortune or marriage were in the offing. Casting the hooks to cut the last sheaf, however, belongs more to Lowland tradition, although there is one account of it from Glencoe, and another from Bute and Kintyre.

As to variations of the custom in Scotland, we finally go to Orkney and Shetland. One account from Stromness, Orkney, has it that there was much laughter over the last sheaf and all avoided the job of tying it as well as the job of bringing in the last load. The sheaf was made into the form of a bitch (*bikko*) and placed stealthily about the neighbour's steading. An account from Sanday has it that the *Bikko* was a figure of straw placed on the yard gate to salute the person bringing in the last load or sheaf. When the last load was being brought in everyone in the yard barked in derision. When the last sheaf was brought into the stack-yard by a young boy, he was given a piece of bread as a reward, but those in the yard were permitted to pelt him with clods. In Shetland also the child bringing in the last sheaf was given a piece of bread.

The main difficulty that we face in evaluating the material from Scotland is that there is yet too little material available. Most of the material from printed sources dates back to about 1900 and there has not been much since then. Only a very vague pattern emerges. In the Outer Hebrides, the Inner Hebrides, down to Mull and some parts of the Western Mainland the last sheaf is sent as a taunt to the farmer, crofter or township late with the Harvest. In the Southern Inner Hebrides,

the western mainland of Argyll, Perthshire, Inverness-shire, Banff and the other north-eastern counties, the Clyack and Maiden—closely related—are cut sometimes by special people, serve a decorative function at the Harvest feast, and are given to the first animals that have young (in the east) and the horses at the start of ploughing in the west. The southern limit of the Maiden seems to be from Fife across to Dumbarton. To the south the *Hare* and *Kirn* show a similar mode of cutting, hooks are cast at them, but the practice of cutting the sheaf by throwing the sickles at it extends although not by any means generally, into the Maiden area in the west, through Kintyre and Bute and Glencoe. Further north the practice of casting the hooks is divinatory and not so directly concerned with the cutting of the last sheaf. The practice in Orkney approximates somehow closely to that in the Outer Hebrides and Skye.

There are two main theories relating to the practices, beliefs and customs connected with the last sheaf, the first propagated by Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831-80) in *Wald- und Feldkulte* (1877) and later adopted by Sir James Frazer (1854-1941). Their standpoint was based on the belief that there were supernatural beings or spirits in trees, corn and in the soil. Sayings such as "There comes the corn-mother" said in Germany when the wind makes the corn wave, the expressions used by the Poles and Czechs that the corn-mother sits in the corn and will strangle children that tread on it, illustrate that belief. It is also found in the names given to the Last Sheaf or to the person cutting or binding it, and the symbolic shapes into which the sheaf is formed. The spirit of the corn which influences human fortunes for good or ill must be propitiated. Many rites and customs may be explained as the survivals of sacrifices to the spirits of corn. The corn spirits possess special powers and several rites are performed to capture this power and make sure of good crops. When the last sheaf is given the name of a man or animal or when animals are said to be captured, e.g. the hare, it is thought that the vegetation spirit has been captured so that the farmer may avail himself of its supernatural power. Many symbols belonging to other seasonal festivals are said to be survivals of a belief in vegetation spirits, such as dress-up figures at Shrove-tide, Whitsuntide, Midsummer and so forth. Decorations such as green branches, maypoles, ribbons associated with seasonal festivals are looked upon as elements in the vegetation cult. In short almost all seasonal beliefs and customs are regarded as part of a widespread fertility cult.

Sir James Frazer summarises his own theory (*The Golden Bough* V, 1:167-8): "As in the spring customs the tree-spirit is represented both by a tree and a person so, in the harvest customs the corn spirit is represented both by the last sheaf and the person who cuts, binds or threshes it. The equivalence of the person to the sheaf is shown by giving him or her the same name as the sheaf, by wrapping him or her in it and by the rule observed in some places, that when the sheaf is called the mother, it must be made up into human shape by the oldest married woman, and when it is called the Maiden, it must be cut by the youngest girl. Here the age of the personal representative of the corn-spirit corresponds with that of the supposed age of the corn-spirit, just as the human victims offered by the Mexicans to promote the growth of the maize varied with the age of the maize. For in the Mexican as in the European custom, the human beings were probably representatives of the corn-spirit rather than the victims offered to it. (2) Again the same fertilising influence which the tree-spirit is supposed to exert over vegetation, cattle and even women is ascribed to the corn-spirit. Thus, its supposed influence on vegetation is shown by the practice of taking some of the grain of the last sheaf (in which the corn-spirit is regularly supposed to be present), and scattering it among the young corn in spring or mixing it with the seed-corn. Its influence on animals is shown by giving the last sheaf to a mare in foal, to a cow in calf and to horses at the first ploughing. Lastly its influence on women is indicated by the custom of delivering the mother-sheaf, made into the likeness of a pregnant woman, to the farmer's wife: by the belief that the woman who binds the last sheaf will have a child next year; perhaps, too, by the idea that the person who gets it will soon be married."

He goes on to say, harvest customs are based on ancient modes of thought and bear the stamp of primitive ritual; (*a*) no special class of persons is set apart for performance; (*b*) no special places are set apart for performance of the rites, but performed anywhere as the occasion arises, (*c*) spirits, not gods, are recognised, spirits restricted in their operations to definite departments; (*d*) the rites are magical rather than propitiatory. The favour of divine beings is not sought by sacrifice, prayer or praise but by ceremonies which are believed to influence the course of nature though physical sympathy or resemblance between the rite and the effect which it is the intention of the rite to produce, e.g. the sheaf is made heavy

in order to get a heavy crop the following year, the last sheaf is given to cattle to make them thrive.

The modern theory as propounded by Von Sydow and other Scandinavian scholars, such as Eskeröd, challenge the hypothesis behind Mannhardt and Frazer's theories that the traditions of the folk developed from some primitive philosophy, i.e. that speculation and attempts to build up a system engender folk belief. They maintain that a close study of folk tradition shows that it is not a matter of philosophical speculation, but more or less chance formations, arising from associations of various kinds, short isolated lines of thought that, even if they are bound up with one and the same object, often lack all internal connection. A primitive philosophy with everything organically coherent is something that never did exist. The last sheaf, for example, meant that hard and important work was at an end and this fact gave rise to serious considerations about the future as well as a lot of fun and games. In tradition the last sheaf is important because it is unusual and stands apart from other sheaves. In some cases it is not cut at all, just as sometimes no one wants the last apple on a tree or to spend the last copper in his purse. There is also a belief that the last bite of food is more important than all other bites. Similar beliefs also that certain weather conditions in the last hour of a certain day portent a long spell of weather, a person should not be the last to cross a swamp or last to leave a room, the devil takes the last person to leave a room, an abducted woman can be rescued from the last horse in a procession of fairies, the last person buried in a graveyard has to keep watch and so on. Thus the last sheaf can be studied only in the light of such analogies. The last sheaf, because it is last, is surrounded with special power. That is the primary reason why it is given to the horses on the first ploughing, with the cows that calf and the mare that foals. The first ploughing is a very important event in the year's work and something special must be given to the horses and what could be better than a very special sheaf. The female animals are important for the increase of farm stock, and therefore must be given special recognition when they contribute to that end. The best cow in the byre similarly must get some special food on New Year or Christmas Day. When the folk identify the last sheaf with a goat, a wolf, bull, cow, cat, witch, fox and so on, they do so because they want to prevent children trampling on the corn and scare them by inventing fictitious beings that gradually retreat to the last

sheaf when the corn is cut. The beings are large when the corn is standing, but when it is cut down they are no higher than the stubble. The hare in the corn can be easily explained, as hares do hide in the corn and are chased away when the cutting is nearing completion. The sending of the *Cailleach*, Lame Goat or *Bikko* to a neighbour who is late with the harvest will thus be explained as arising from a natural competitive spirit among farmers and also as a result of the release from anxiety as to the fate of the year's crop. It, according to the Swedish theory, is nothing more than a prank or joke. Eskeröd points out that in Sweden when the last sheaf is cut the reapers gather round the person who cuts it and call out "little goat" to him. The last corner of the field is sometimes called "goat" in Sweden, Germany and Russia, but the word also means "bunch of straw" or "beard", and the custom is related to the primary meaning of the word.

I do not think, however, that the *Gobhar Bhacach*, or the *Bikko* can have anything to do with a corn-spirit or a fertility cult. It is doubtful too, if the *Cailleach* is more than a nickname, or if the nature of the last sheaf may be taken as an omen of next year's harvest. When the sheaf is small it is weighed down with stones, and it is also made as large as possible to ensure a good crop the following year. The ominal significance in the last sheaf is extended to the person who cuts it, as he will be last in everything. The importance of marriage in an agricultural community also gives rise to looking for omens about marriage from the last sheaf. The one who gets the maiden will be married before next harvest and so on. The fact that many young people are engaged in harvest work results in the fact that coarse jokes, sometimes referring to the sexual act and organs are made about the last sheaf, and that gives rise to such terms as *horunge*—bastard—in Sweden, *Bikko* in Orkney, Maidenhead in Dunbartonshire and so forth.

I think, but I am not yet entirely convinced, that the theory of Von Sydow and the other Scandinavian scholars is the right one. Most customs at the *kirn*, *clyack* and so forth were not any manifestation of a cult, but merely festive frolics. One important point that Eskeröd does make is that, if the customs connected with the last sheaf were part of a fertility cult, the grain from the ears of the last sheaf would almost inevitably be used as part of the seed-corn of the next year. He admits that the practice does occur but only very sporadically throughout Europe. Only this morning I came across the only instance

in Scottish tradition where the grain from the last sheaf is used as corn-seed, the instance is from Shetland where the corn from the ears of the last sheaf are the first to be sown in spring.

NOTE

[1] This paper was read by the late author under the title "Harvest Customs" at an informal seminar at the School of Scottish Studies on Friday, 6th March 1959. It has been transcribed from a pencilled draft found in one of his notebooks. It is here printed with only slight emendations. References to unprinted sources are normally to material in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies. The main printed sources consulted appear to have been: (1) Mrs. M. Macleod Banks, *British Calendar Customs, Scotland*, Vol. I. Publications of the Folk-lore Society, London 1937, pp. 62-84. (2) Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part V, "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild", Vol. I, London 1912, etc., pp. 131-70.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

23. The Distribution of Old Norse *býr* and *fjall*

As a follow-up to the discussion of the geographical distribution of the Scandinavian element *þveit* in the last issue of this journal (Nicolaisen 1964:96-103), I wish to present, in the following, revised versions of two maps originally published four years ago (Nicolaisen 1960:55 and 59). Very little comment will be required as these maps are in the main simply intended to give an improved picture of the geographical distribution of the Old Norse element *býr* "a farm-stead, a village" and *fjall* "a hill, mountain" in place-names in Southern Scotland and Northern England. As far as the Scottish evidence is concerned, this is, in fact, identical with that presented in 1960 but it has now been possible to plot the English names in question in a similar manner rather than simply giving quantitative proportions per county as had to be done four years ago.

The map showing the distribution of place-names in *-bie, -by* (Fig. 1) should be particularly well balanced in this respect as it has been compiled from comparable sources on both sides of the present border, i.e. it takes into account not only modern but also historical evidence supplied for England mainly by the relevant volumes of the English Place-Name Society. The scope of the map has been extended to cover the same area as that showing the distribution of *þveit* (Nicolaisen 1964:99) and now takes in the whole of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, most of the North Riding of Yorkshire and part of the East Riding. I have already commented on the artificiality of the southern limit (*ibid.*: 96) but this is not the place to present the geographical scatter for the British Isles as a whole. All this map is intended to demonstrate is the danger of looking at the Scottish (or English) material in isolation, or, more positively, the unity of the evidence from both north and south of the border. There are, of course, place-name elements to which, for linguistic or other reasons, this does not apply but *býr* is certainly not one of them.

Comparison with the *þveit*-map is unavoidable, and it is

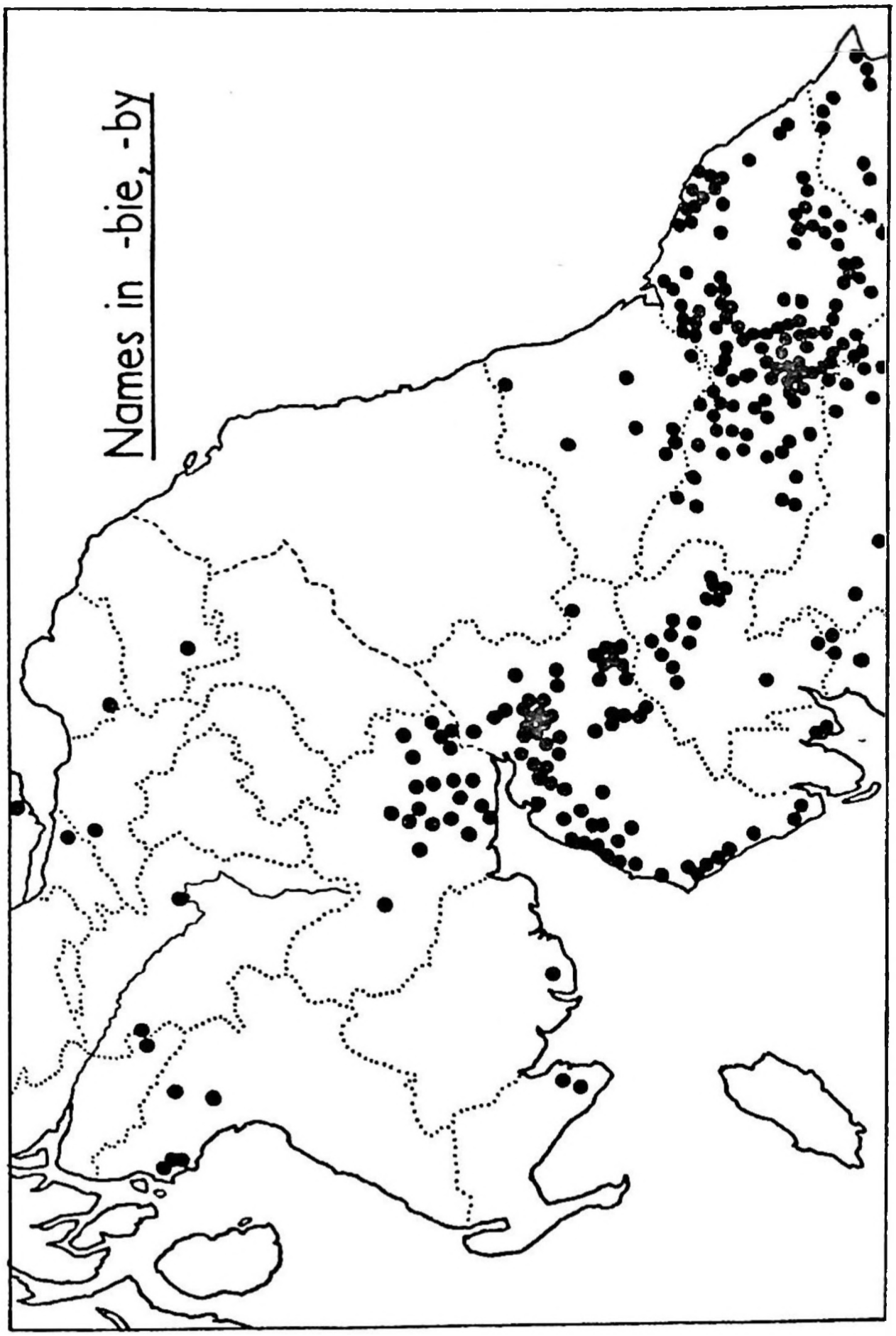


FIG. 1.—Names in *-bie*, *-by* in Scotland and England (exclusive Isle of Man). The Scottish evidence is from the Ordnance Survey one-inch maps, the English names from the quarter-inch sheets.

interesting to note that although the counties involved in the distribution of these two elements are more or less the same, *býr*-names occur in considerable numbers outside these areas of concentration. This not only applies to the parts of England and Scotland shown on the map but also to those off the map. In contrast to the distribution of *þveit*, practically the whole of Southern Scotland has sporadic examples of *býr* in place-names, and whereas the only other instances of Scottish names containing *þveit* are three farm-names in the Northern Isles, *býr* also occurs, although never in large numbers, in the Western Isles and in other parts of the Scottish mainland where Scandinavians settled. In England the inclusion of Durham in the distribution of *býr*-names is shown—these probably late names given by an English-speaking population rather than by Scandinavians—and south of our map names in *-by* occur far beyond the *þveit*-country, i.e. in addition to the evidence presented they not only occur in the southern parts of the counties shown and in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire as do *þveit*-names, but also in all parts of the Danelaw (Smith 1956:I, 68). Both Norwegian and Danish settlers used this word and as it "continued in living use as a place-name element after the Norman Conquest" (*ibid.* I, 70), *by*-names were also created by English and Norman settlers.

If one compares the distribution of *þveit* and *býr* in those counties in which both of them are found, it becomes apparent that the two distribution patterns are by no means congruent. Whereas there are instances of names in *-thwaite* and *-by* occurring closely together, *þveit*-names on the whole cover areas in which *býr*-names are not particularly common, and *vice versa*. In general, *býr*-names especially when traceable directly to Scandinavian speakers must be the primary settlements whereas *þveit*-names are associated with the secondary development of less promising ground, usually on a higher level. This is perhaps not quite so obvious, not anyhow on a map of this scale, in Dumfriesshire as in some of the English counties, especially Cumberland and Westmorland but also the North Riding of Yorkshire.

It is not the purpose of this note to examine in as much detail as for the *þveit*-names the existence of identical equivalents on both sides of the border. There are many of them, and for an indication of some of them and for a number of other aspects concerning the distribution of *býr* the reader is referred to Vol. 4, pp. 55-7, of this journal.

The difference between simply noting the number of names per county containing a certain element and actually plotting them is even more striking in the case of Old Norse *fjall* "a hill, a mountain" which we find as *fell* on our maps. In 1960, for instance, we noted for the very extensive North Riding of Yorkshire the existence of two names containing *fell* as the second element. This gave no indication as to how far east or south these names might be found whereas they are in fact both located in the most westerly corner of this region (Fig. 2), close to the Westmorland and West Riding borders. Similarly, the West Riding examples are all in its western half.

Apart from this obvious improvement in the graphic representation of the English evidence, our new map also corrects a number of figures given in the earlier version. This is due to better information available as we scrutinised the Ordnance Survey maps (scale: 4 miles = 1 inch) for the whole of the English part of our map instead of relying on printed name lists of the counties not yet covered by the English Place-Name Society. This applies to Northumberland, Durham and Westmorland, to which we had only attributed one single name, and that in the last of these three counties, whereas the quarter-inch maps have nine in Northumberland, two in Durham and fifteen in Westmorland. The evidence is therefore more reliable on our new map although there must still be a discrepancy in the respective density of the names north and south of the border; for in Scotland we have extracted all names from the one-inch maps as against the quarter-inch sheets for Northern England.

The *fell*-country, then, appears to be the most north-westerly of all the distribution patterns mapped, taking in the whole of Galloway and Carrick which names in *þveit* and *bekkr* (see Nicolaisen 1960:53) do not enter and where there are only one or two *býr*-names near the shores of the Solway Firth. It is not really part of the Danelaw, partly for linguistic reasons, one presumes, and partly because a word like *fell* is bound to occur in hilly country only. The great majority of this group of names cannot be called Scandinavian as they have obviously been coined by English speakers, mainly using other geographical names as first elements although not exclusively so. *Fell*-names are very much a secondary toponymic stratum and, as the primary names employed in creating them are of a variety of linguistic origin and more or less accidentally compounded with *fell*, it would be useless to look for identical

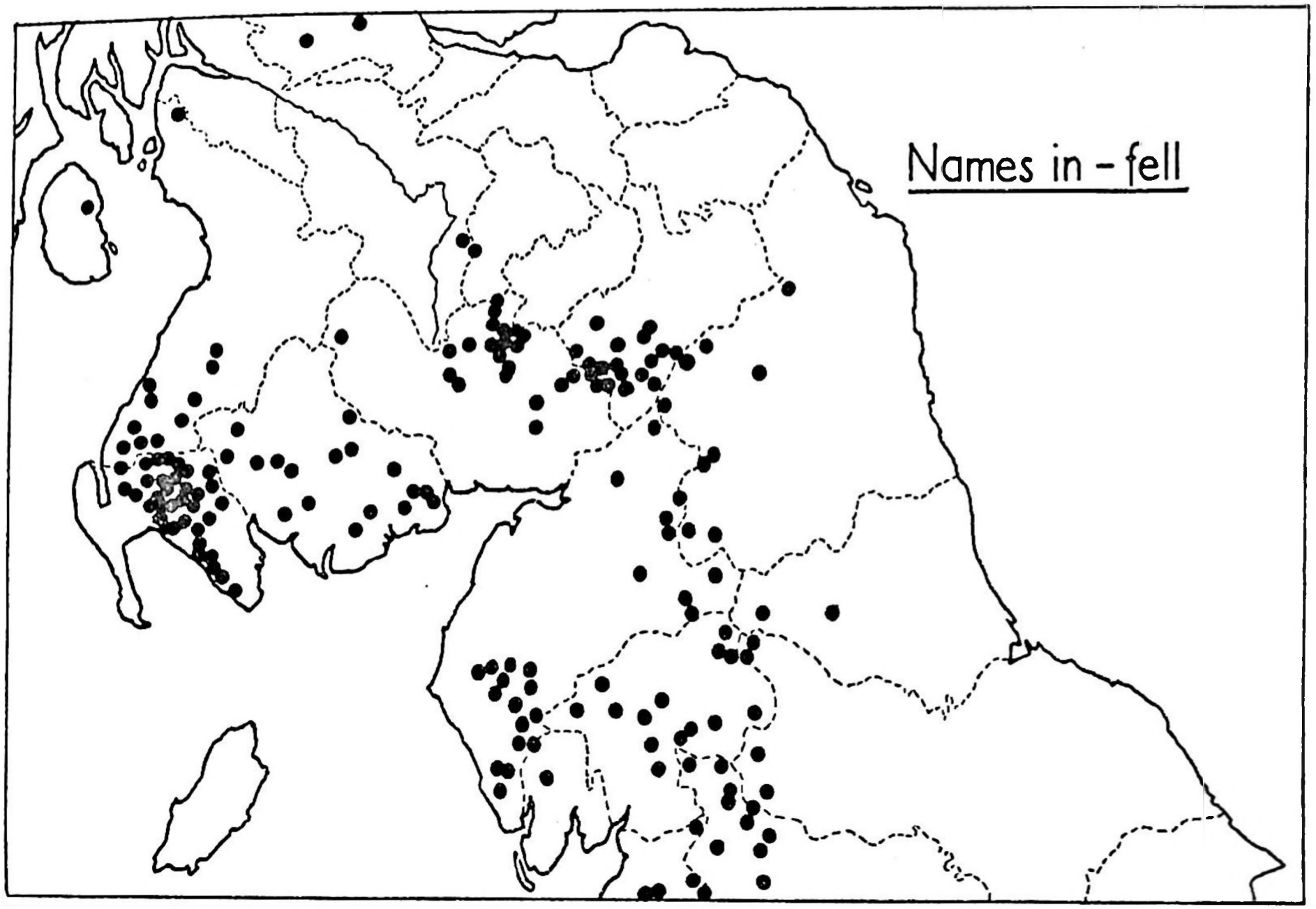


FIG. 2.—Names in *-fell* in Scotland and England (exclusive Isle of Man). The Scottish material is from the Ordnance Survey one-inch maps, the English evidence from the quarter-inch sheets.

pairs south of the border. It must suffice to say that only very few of them can have been given by settlers speaking a Scandinavian language and that fell has to be regarded as an English dialect word borrowed from Scandinavian rather than as a Norse element (for further information see Nicolaisen 1960: 59-61).

We can only hope that, in conjunction with our note on *þveit* and especially with the map showing the distribution of this element, these two new maps have remedied at least some of the faults inherent in the presentation of our material in 1960. The more one studies words like *býr*, *fjall*, *þveit*, *bekkr* and others, however, the more one becomes aware of the need for a comprehensive survey of Scandinavian place-names in these islands. This would lend a new dimension to the study of Scandinavian settlement and influence in Britain and Ireland.

REFERENCES

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.

1960 "Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 4:49-70. Edinburgh.

1964 "Notes on Scottish Place-Names. 22. Old Norse *þveit*, etc.". *Scottish Studies* 8:96-103. Edinburgh.

SMITH, A. H.

1956 *English Place-Name Elements*. 2 vols. English Place-Name Society Vols. XXV and XXVI. Cambridge.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

Goat-keeping in the Old Highland Economy—2 *

Dr. John Lorne Campbell kindly contributes the following additional note, from an unpublished report on the Highlands made in Rome in 1737, referring to the people who lived in the Garbh-chriochan, Clanranald's mainland territory in western Inverness-shire:

> In the hills [i.e. at the summer sheilings] they live well, by their standards. When the cattle, sheep and goats give birth to young, the calves, lambs and kids are killed and eaten, leaving only a single calf to be reared for every two cows, and so too with the other animals. From the milk they make butter and cheese for use in the winter.[1]

* For the first part see *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 201-09.

Dr. Campbell comments: "Goats I suppose were a feature of the poorer parts of the Highlands. The place-name Ardgour (Aird Ghobhar) is significant. There are still feral goats on Canna, Rum and I think Mull.[2] I doubt if goats were much kept in Argyllshire, where land was better than in western Inverness-shire. Goats are only mentioned once in forty waulking songs I am preparing for publication, and then it is disparagingly—the poet says he has not even stolen as much as a goat or a wether and so is being undeservedly punished."

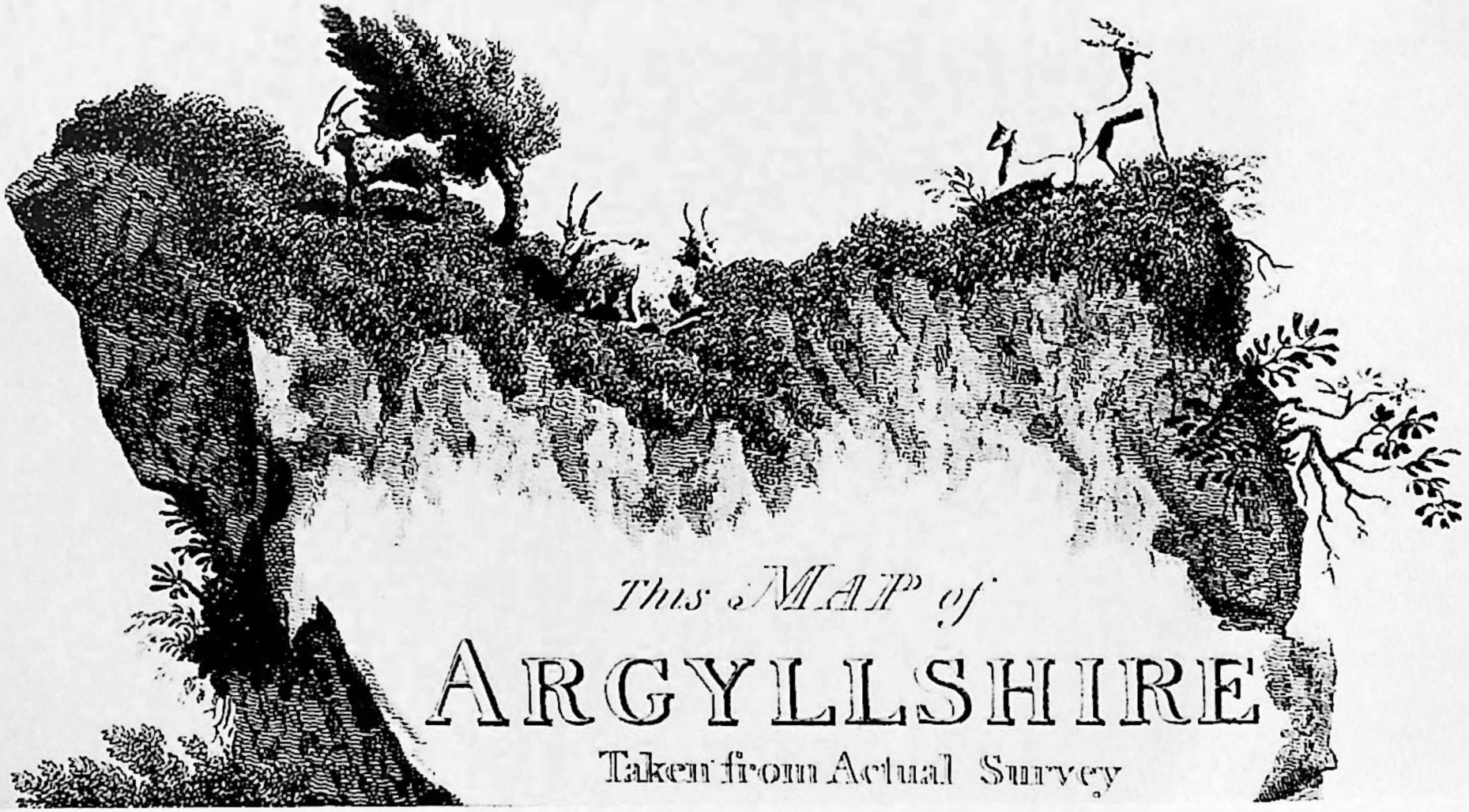
The limited information previously noticed on this topic (Megaw 1963:201 ff.) suggests that goats were especially associated with the lower ranks of Highland society, though not confined to these, rather than with particular regions. Before the efforts of the improving landlords to eliminate the goat—already under way in some Highland areas as early as the 1720's—goats may well have been as numerous in central and southern Argyll, for example, as they subsequently were farther north. Hume of Polwart's gibe against Montgomerie certainly implies that, to the contemptuous Lowlander, goats and Argyllshire were almost synonymous concepts at the close of the sixteenth century:

> In Argyle with the gate [=goats] he gied [=went] amange glennis (Montgomerie 1910:174).

Even two centuries later a spirited group of goats, browsing on a rocky stack, was considered appropriate adornment for the carefully drawn map of the county of Argyll which Langlands published in 1801 (Pl. XIII): these goats (and deer) preside over more conventional farming and fishing scenes, omitted here. Langlands knew the Highlands intimately as a land-surveyor from the 1780's, so his testimony is important. The other view (Pl. XIV), an unpublished sketch of a pastoral scene on the coast of Assynt in 1774, confirms other evidence of the continuing importance of goats throughout the more inaccessible north-west Highlands.

That the position had been similar even in the more southerly parts of Argyll is implied in the following passage, referring to the Ormidale district of Cowall, from an unpublished account by James Robertson of the west coast and islands compiled in 1768:

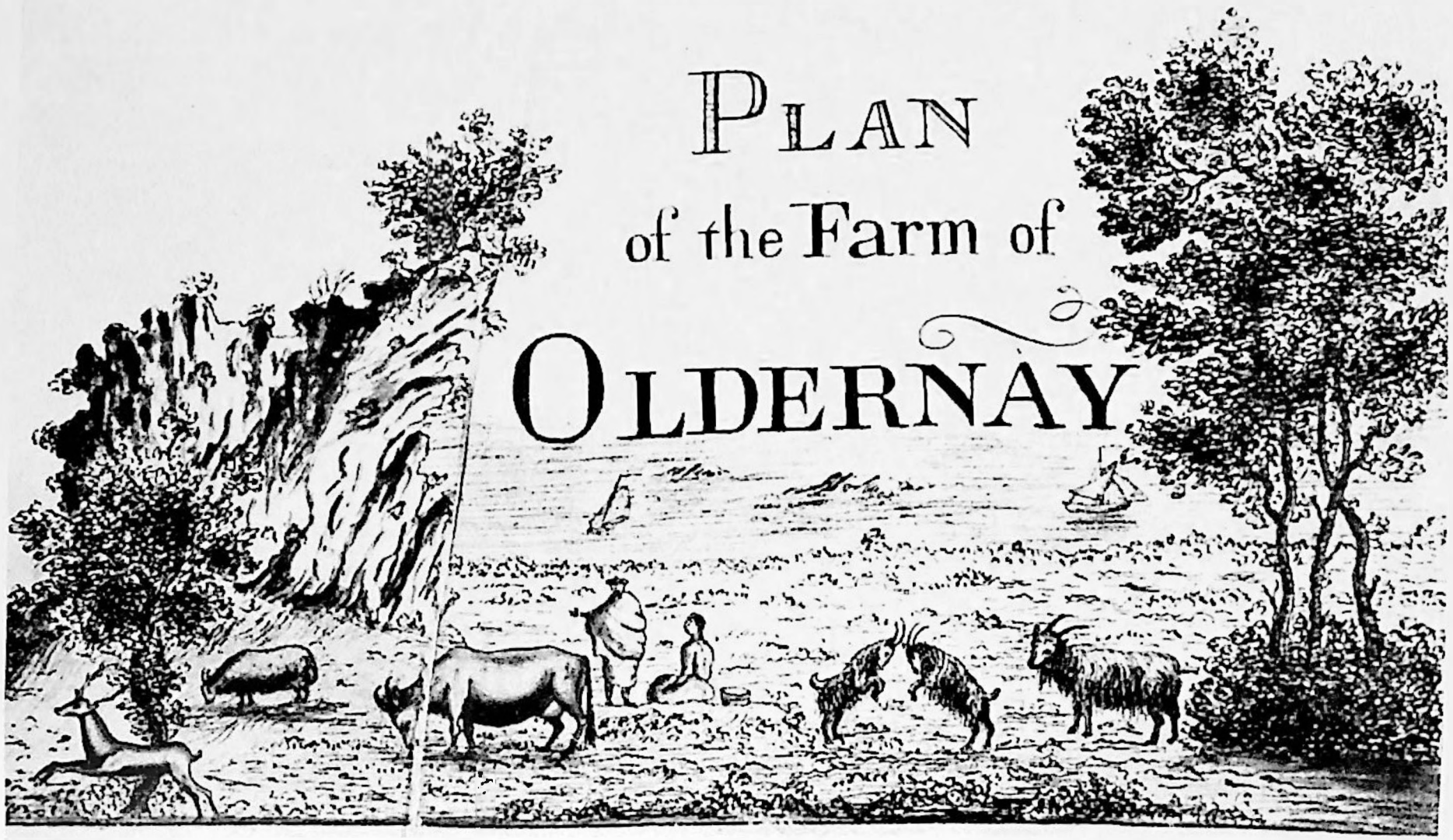
> Goats are all banished from this place, because they prevent the growth of woods by peeling the bark off and croping [*sic*] the tops of young trees, of which here are great plenty, chiefly oak. About



GOATS AND DEER IN AN ARGYLL SETTING, 1801

Detail from George Langlands' engraved map, published 1801. (See p. 214.)

PLATE XIII



GOATS IN A SUTHERLAND LANDSCAPE, 1774

Detail from an estate plan of Oldany, in Assynt, showing a Highlander and milk-maid accompanied by goats, and other characteristic fauna. Note the smack-rigged fishing craft beyond. (From John Home's original *Survey of Assynt*, Sutherland Estate Office, Dunrobin.) (See p. 214.)

ten years ago this Country was infested by Foxes, but of late the Gentlemen have entered into an agreement, and each paying according to the extent of his Land, raised a sum of money to keep a huntsman . . . now their sheep feed undisturbed (Robertson 1768:17).

In Mid Argyll, between Inveraray and Oban, Robertson noticed that the principal livestock comprised

> black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, and some small horses . . . They [the Goats?] are esteemed and kept for their milk, which makes very fine Cheese, and the young kids are delicious eating (Robertson 1768:18).

In the whole of Arran, however, there were only some two hundred goats maintained in 1768, as against some twelve or thirteen thousand sheep (Robertson 1768:8)—clear indication of the progress already achieved by the improving landlords in that hilly island.

Any estimate of the numbers of goats maintained in the Highlands before the pattern was affected by improving landlords is rendered difficult by the practice of grouping sheep with goats in the relatively few early inventories that have survived. In Morvern, for example, the principal proprietor, John Cameron of Glendessary (d. 1697), who was first cousin to Sir Ewen, Chief of Lochiel, is recorded as owning 192 "great sheep and goat", and 50 yearlings, together valued at little more than a fortieth of his estate, the bulk of which lay in horses and cattle (Argyll Testaments 1697). Usually sheep and goats made a somewhat higher proportion, in value, of the estates of lesser tacksmen and tenants of North Argyll at this period, though most of the (combined) totals seem to vary between a dozen and four dozen. Reliable sources agree that goats had formerly outnumbered sheep in the Highlands (Megaw 1963:204), so these "middle" people may therefore have kept up to two or three dozen goats, but cattle, however few, were their real substance. Others there must have been too poor to own cattle, but they are not represented in the records I have seen.

Some inkling of the real size of the goat population in Lochaber and the Garbh-criochan may be deduced from particulars of estates which had belonged to those "vassals" of the Duke of Argyll forfeit following the Rising of 1745 (Sessions Papers 1761-62). Of goats on Locheil's estate generally it is here said that "there are great Numbers in this

Estate, and the tenants esteem them almost equall to their Sheep". Accompanying tables attribute to the farm of Glenpeanmore 100 goats and 80 sheep, for example, though cattle again represent the main wealth of this farm at the head of Loch Arkaig. Comparable "soumings" are given for a number of farms in Moidart also, including one described as "the fourth part of the markland of Ulgary", a hill farm held by Rory McDonald since 1749:

Souming: 56 great Cows
14 2-year-olds
14 Stirks
4 Mares
56 Sheep
100 Goats

Sowing: 12 Bolls small black Oats
Produce: 28 Bolls Meal, at 14 stone to the Boll

A souming virtually identical in proportion is given for the neighbouring hill farm of Assary, though the numbers are halved; but the lochside "Coallis with its pendicles" had more cattle than goats, of which it had 50. Goats were absent from farms held by the laird, or recently set to incomers.

I have few particulars for Perthshire prior to the *Old Statistical Account*. Seventy-four goats were stolen in 1697—by Argyllmen—from the two Perthshire farms of Stang and Kerinich (Justiciary Records 1949:164), which implies an average of not less than three to four dozen for each of these farms. By 1769 only eight of the farms on the south side of Loch Tay still retained their goats—with 198 of them in all. Two or three dozen goats was at this period a usual number for these Breadalbane farms, in each of which the land and stock—always including a number of cattle—were usually shared between two or three tenants (McArthur 1936: *passim*).

These figures, with others in my previous article, give some impression of the actual numbers of goats on a variety of farms in Ardnamurchan, Moidart, Lochaber, Stratherrick and Breadalbane, two centuries or more ago. What is often unclear is the distribution of the goats among the tenants, subtenants and cottars of the joint holdings. Some of the evidence noticed previously indicated the existence of a numerous substratum who depended particularly on goats for their survival, quite separate from the larger tenants and tacksmen who owned most of the cattle. Inadequately documented and unattractive though this servile class may seem, it should by no means be ignored in any assessment of the old Highland society.

The Gaelic song tradition provides some clear hints, which are of great interest, of a corresponding dichotomy in the social background. On the one hand we see the generous hero, boasting of his hunting skill and wealth in cattle, on the other vital occupations such as tilling the land are dismissed as undignified or worse. "Any capacity in the subject for agricultural industry is never mentioned, nor is fishing except when the prey is trout or salmon . . . any reference to the eating of shellfish or seafish can actually be a term of abuse" (Ross 1961:25-6). The same attitude evidently applied to goats, as Dr. Campbell suggests. This must reflect an old social division corresponding to that found in medieval North Wales, for example, where the serfs lived in bond hamlets and provided the grain for the "pastoral" freeman (Pierce 1938: 1-27). How far back in time this apparent duality in Highland society and economy may reach can, of course, only be guessed at. It might well have first arisen as early as the pre-Roman Iron Age, when the cattle- and horse-lords of Celtic society imposed themselves on old-established communities of cultivators and graziers of Neolithic and Bronze Age origins. Among these older settlements goats doubtless had an important role, as they had in the Near East. There they may even have been the first source of milk, and by-products of milk later replaced where the environment proved suitable for sheep and cattle (Zeuner 1963:129-52).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. John Lorne Campbell of Canna for his kindness in allowing me to publish the extract from the 1737 report in the Vatican archives, and for his helpful comments. I am also indebted to my colleagues Mr. A. J. Aitken and Mr. David Murison for drawing my attention to, in the first case, the Hume of Polwart reference, and, in the other, to the Signet Library Session Papers.

NOTES

[1] Fr. John Tyrie, in Vatican Archives of Propaganda; transcribed by the late Rt. Rev. Mgr. Hugh Cameron, and translated from the Italian by the Rev. Colin MacPherson.—J.L.C.

[2] Boyd Watt showed that goats which had become wild survived in many other parts of Scotland and its islands (Watt 1937:15-20). His paper gives some particulars of their history and of their status in the 1930's. Fraser Darling pointed out (in an appendix) that while goats had often been kept by crofters in the west, by the 1930's they were mainly found in the eastern glens, where they were kept by shepherds, stalkers and keepers.—B.R.S.M.

ARGYLL TESTAMENTS
P.M. Register House. Argyll Testaments (MS). 1697, etc.

JUSTICIARY RECORDS
1949 *Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles.* I. (ed. John Cameron), Stair Society. Edinburgh.

MCARTHUR, MARGARET (ed.)
1936 *Survey of Lochtayside,* 1769. Scottish History Society. Edinburgh

MEGAW, B. R. S.
1963 "Goat-keeping in the Old Highland Economy [I]." *Scottish Studies* 7: 201-09.

MONTGOMERIE, ALEXANDER
1910 *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* (ed. George Stevenson), supplementary volume. Scottish Texts Society. Edinburgh.

PIERCE, T. JONES
1938 "Some Tendencies in the Agrarian History of Caernarvonshire during the Later Middle Ages." *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 1:1-27.

ROSS, JAMES
1961 "Folk Song and Social Environment." *Scottish Studies* 5:18-39.

ROBERTSON, JAMES
[1768] *Remarks Made in a Tour through Several of the Western Isles and West Coast of Scotland* [1768]. MS. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Unpublished Communications, 2 (1785-99).

SESSION PAPERS
1761-62 Signet Library, printed *Session Papers* 116 ("Forfeiture").

WATT, H. BOYD
1937 "On the Wild Goat in Scotland." *Journal of Animal Ecology* 6:15-20. Cambridge. With supplement by F. Fraser Darling, "Habits of Wild Goats in Scotland".

ZEUNER, F. E.
1963 *A History of Domesticated Animals.* London.

B. R. S. MEGAW

A' Madadh Ruadh agus a' Madadh Allaidh (*The Fox and the Wolf*)

This text (S.S.S. R.L. 2105 A.2) which I recorded from Hugh MacKinnon, Cleadale, Isle of Eigg, in February 1964, combines two international animal tale types: *The Theft of Butter by playing Godfather*, listed as No. 15 in the Aarne-Thompson classification,[1] and *The Tail Fisher*, listed as No. 2.[2] The result could be classified as Aa.-Th. 15+2. There is also an element of Aa.-Th. 34, *The Wolf dives into the Water for reflected Cheese.*

Mr. MacKinnon, a crofter, aged 70, has a remarkable memory. Apart from some tales and legends he has recorded a considerable miscellany of historical and genealogical tradition, songs, and place-name information. It is a matter for regret

that he did not come in contact with a wider range of tales as a boy, for I am certain that if he had he would still remember them. He told me that the "great tales" had ceased to be told in Eigg in his youth, but that he heard some "innocent little stories" from his mother. This is one of them.

I know of no other text which combines Aa.-Th. 15 and Aa.-Th. 2 as one story.

A' Madadh Ruadh agus a' Madadh Allaidh

Hugh MacKinnon: Seadh, innsidh mi dhut a nise sgialachd a' mhada-ruaidh 'sa' mhada-ghallaidh bha 'ad a' fuireach còmhla. Agus bha 'ad a' seo oidhche agus thuirt 'ad ri chéile gu falbhadh 'ad cuairt a shiubhal a' chladaich. Ghabh 'ad sios go tràigh a bha shios fo'n taigh—fo'n àite 'robh 'ad a' fuireach co-dhiù—agus dé fhuair 'ad air tighinn air tìr air an tràigh ach buideal 's e làn do dh'ìm. Agus chuir 'ad am buideal suas co-dhiù a bhràighe na tràghad os cionn àird a' làin agus bha 'mada-galladh, bha e 'g iarraidh gun itheadh 'ad pàirt dheth dìreach as an t-seasamh as a' robh 'ad, ach thuirt a' madadh ruadh ris:

"O, tha mi 'smaointinn gur fheàrr dhuinn ligeil leis a nochd agus a thiodhlagadh as a' ghainmhich agus thig sinn oidnch' air choireiginich eile'ga iarraidh 's bheir sinn dhachaigh e."

'S ann mar seo a chaidh a dhianamh co-dhiù: dh'aontaich a' mada-ghalla bochd leis a seo 's dh'fhalbh 'ad dhachaigh 's chaidh 'ad a laigh, 's uaireigin air feadh na h-oidhcheadh dh'fhairich a' mada-ghalla ùpraid, agus dé bha seo ach esan ag éirigh, a' mada-ruadh 's dh'fhoighneachd a' mada-ghalla dheth dé bh'air tachairt na cà robh e 'dol.

"O," thuirt e, "nach eil mis' air m'iarraidh gu baisteadh dha'n bhail ad thall."

Co-dhiù, dh'fhalbh e agus an ceann treis a dh'ùine thill e dhachaigh agus:

"Seadh," os a' mada-galladh, "c'ainm a thug sibh air an urr' a bhathas a baisteadh a' nochd?"

"Thug," os esan, "Bi-na-mhullach."

Cha do shaoil a' mada-galladh sian dheth seo ach chaidil 'ad orra gu socair go soilleireachd a' latha la-'irne-mhàireach agus, ó, 'n ceann dha na thri oidhcheannan a rithist thanaig a' cheart theachdaireachd a dh'ionnsaigh a' mhada-ruaidh agus:

"Càit 'eil thu dol a nochd?"

"Tha mir air m'iarraidh a rithist go baisteadh dha'n a' bhail ad thall."

Dh'fhalbh e 's thill e 'n ceann treiseadh mar a rinn e 'n oidhche roimhe sin 's thuirt a' mada-galladh ris:

"Seadh, c'ainm a thug sibh air a nochd—air an duine òg?"

"Thug," os esan, "Bi-ma-mhiadhain."

Bha seo ceart gu leòr 's co-dhiù chaidil 'ad gu sèimheil socair fad na h-oidhcheadh, 's an ceann oidhche na dhà as a dheaghaidh sin thanaig a' cheart theachdaireachd a dh'ionnsaigh a' mhada-ruaidh agus:

"Nach eil mise air m'iarraidh a rithist go baisteadh dha'n a' bhail ad thall."

'S thog e air 's dh'fhalbh e. Thill e . . . an ceann treiseadh 's:

"C'ainm a thug sibh a nochd air an duin' òg a chaidh a bhaisteadh?" ors a' mada-galladh.

"Thug," ors esan, "Sgrìob-a-thòn."

Cha do shaoil a mada-galladh bochd 's e cho neo-chiontach —cha do shaoil e sian dheth seo: cha deach e 'na fhaireachadh ann an dòigh 'sam bith, agus an ceann oidcheannan as a dhéidh sin thuirt e ris a' mhada-ruadh:

"Saoil," ors esan, "nach eil an t-àm againn a dhol a choimhead," ors esan, "air a' . . . airson a' bhuideil im' ud," ors esan, "a thiodhlaig sinn 'san tràigh o chionn seachdainn?"

"'N dà, tha mi cinndeach gu bheil," ars a' mada-ruadh, "a cheart cho math dhuinn a dhol a choimhead as a dhéidh a nochd."

'S dh'fhalbh 'ad 's rànaig 'ad shios an tràigh 's fhuair 'ad an t-àite far an do thiodhlaig 'ad am buideal ime, 's 'n' air a chladhaich 'ad sios as a' ghainmhich 's a fhuair 'ad am buideal, cha robh sian a sin ach an clàr lom—cha robh ìm na càise ri fhaighinn. 'S ann a nise, fhios agu, a dhùisg a' mada-galladh suas agus a thuig e dé bha tachairt fo chionn seachdainn, 's thionndaidh e ris a' mhada-ruadh 's thuirt e ris:

"'S tus," ors esan, "a dh'ith am buideal ime, gura tù 's gura tù. Chiora-chìgein chiora-chuaigein, chiora-chiù chiora-chiù."

Co-dhiù, cha ghabhadh an còrr dèanamh ma dhéighinn— bha 'm buideal ime, bha e air ithe. Agus cha robh ach cur ma dhéighinn a dhol dhachaigh agus air a' rathad dhachaigh ghabh 'ad sligh' ùr agus bha 'ad a' dol tarsuinn thromh bhlarmònadh agus bha na bacannan mònadh ann a sin far a robh na daoine bha ma'n cuairt a' buain na mònadh agus bha baca sònraichte 'sin agus e làn uisge agus chunnaig a' mada-galla—

chunnaig e 'rud sin shios ann an grunnd a' bhaca-mhònadh agus thuirt e ris a mhada-ruadh:

"Ach dé tha siod," ors esan, "shios ann an grunnd a' bhaca-mhònadh?"

"Shin agad," ors esan, "mullachag chàise."

Agus 'se oidhche bhriagha shoilleir ghealaich a bh'ann agus dé bha seo 'bha mada-galla bochd a' faicinn ach faileas na gealaich ann an grunnd a' bhaca-mhònadh.

"Ach saoil o'n t'saoghal," ors a mada-galla, "ciamar a rachadh againn air a faighinn?"

"'N dà, innsidh mise sin dusa," ors esan—ors a' mada-ruadh.

"Suidh thus'," ors e, "air bial a bhaic," ors esan, "agus lig t-iorball sios dha'n uisg'," ors esan, "agus suidh ann a sin," ors esan, "treis, agus 'n air a thòisicheas tu," ors esan, "air slaodadh t-iorbaill as," ors esan, "leanaidh a' mhullachag," ors esan, "ri t-iorball, agus gheibh sinn graoim orra mar sin."

'S ann mar seo a bha. Shuidh a' mada-galla gu (? faighidneach) air bial a bhaice-mhònadh 's lig e iorball sios gu math dha'n uisge agus shuidh e treis mhór ann a sin, agus bha 'n oidhche bh'ann, bha i 'reothadh a cheart cho cruaidh ris an iarunn, agus an ceann treiseadh thuirt a' mada-ruadh ris:

"Tha mi 'smaointinn a nise ma shlaodas tu t-iorball a nuas gu lean a' mhullachag chàise ris agus gu faigh sinn graoim orra."

Ach thoisich a' mada-galladh bochd air slaodadh as iorbaill 's an t-iorball cha d-tigeadh. Bha e air reothadh as a bhac-mhònadh 's cha d-toireadh e as gu bràch e. Agus 'n'air a chunnaig esan seo, a' mada-ruadh, dh'eubh e (air a) air a h-uile cù is madadh is ainbhith (ma) ma'n cuairt. Chruinnich 'ad ma'n cuairt agus dh'ith is stiall 'ad as a chéile 'mada-galladh, 's bha mada-ruadh, bha e coma co-dhiù. Cha robh 'n corr aige ma dhéighidh, 's dhealaich mise riutha.

D. A. Macdonald: Co aige neist a bha i seo?

Hugh MacKinnon: O, tha mi cinndeach gur ann aig mo mhàthair a bha i cuideachd. . . . Na sgialachdan beaga gòrach neo-chiontach ad, 's ann aig mo mhàthair a bhiomaid 'gan cluinnteil . . .

The Fox and the Wolf

Hugh MacKinnon: Yes, I will tell you now the story of the fox and the wolf:

They were staying together. And here they were one

night and they said to each other that they would go beach-combing.

They went down to the beach that was below the house—below the place where they were living, at least—and what should they find washed up on the beach but a cask full of butter. And they put the cask up, anyway, to the top of the beach, above high water mark, and the wolf wanted to eat part of it there just where they stood, but the fox said to him:

"Oh, I think we had better leave it to-night and bury it in the sand and we shall come for it some other night and take it home."

Anyway, this was what was done: the poor wolf agreed to this and they went home and went to bed, and some time during the night the wolf heard a commotion and what was this but himself getting up—the fox, and the wolf asked him what had happened or where he was going.

"Oh," said he, "have I not been invited to a christening in that town over yonder."

Anyway, he went away, and after some time he came back home and:

"Well," said the wolf, "what name did you give to the one who was being christened to-night?"

"We called him," said he, "*Bi-na-mhullach.*[3]"

The wolf thought nothing of this and they slept on peacefully to daybreak next morning and, oh, two or three nights later again, the same message came to the fox and:

"Where are you going to-night?"

"I have been invited again to a christening in that town over yonder."

He went away and returned some time later as he had done on the other night and the wolf said to him:

"Well, what name did you give the young one to-night?"

"We called him," said he, "*Bi-ma-mhiadhain.*[3]"

This was fine, and, anyway, they slept peacefully and quietly all night, and a night or two later the same message came to the fox and:

"Have I not been invited again to a christening in that town over yonder," and away he went. He returned some time later and:

"What name did you give to-night to the young one who was christened?" said the wolf.

"We called him," said he, "*Sgrìob-a-thòn.*[4]"

The poor wolf thought nothing, being so guileless—he

thought nothing of this: his suspicions were not aroused in any way and some nights after that he said to the fox.

"Do you not think," said he, "that it is time for us to go and look," said he, "at the . . . for that cask of butter," said he, "that we buried in the sand a week ago?"

"Indeed I suppose," said the fox, "that we may just as well go and see about it to-night."

And they set off and came to the beach and found the place where they had buried the cask of butter, and when they dug down into the sand and found the cask there was nothing but the bare staves—there was neither butter nor cheese to be found. It was now, you know, that the wolf woke up and realised what had been happening for the past week and he turned to the fox and said to him:

"It was you who ate the cask of butter,
It was you, it was you,
Chiora-chìgein chiora-chuaigein,
Chiora-chiù chiora-chiù."

Anyway nothing more could be done about it—the cask of butter had been eaten. There was nothing left but to set about going back home and on the way home they took a new way and they were going across through a peat moss and the peat hags were there where the people round about cut their peats and there was a particular hag there which was full of water and the wolf saw—he saw this thing down in the bottom of the peat-hag and he said to the fox.

"But what is that," said he, "down in the bottom of the peat hag?"

"That," said he, "is a cheese."

And it was a beautiful, bright moonlight night, and what was this that the poor wolf was seeing but the reflection of the moon in the bottom of the peat-hag.

"But how in the world," said the wolf, "do you think we could get it?"

"Indeed, I shall tell you that," said he—said the fox. "You sit," said he, "on the edge of the hag," said he, "and let your tail down into the water," said he, "and sit there," said he, "for a while, and when you begin," said he, "to pull your tail out," said he, "the cheese will stick," said he, "to your tail, and we will get hold of it that way."

So it happened. The wolf sat (? patiently) on the edge of the peat-hag and let his tail well down into the water and he sat

there for a long time—and on that particular night it was freezing as hard as iron, and, after a while the fox said to him:

"I think now that if you pull your tail up the cheese will stick to it and that we can get hold of it."

But the poor wolf began to pull his tail out, and the tail would not come. It had got frozen in the peat-hag and he could never get it out.

And when he saw this, the fox, he called to . . . every dog and hound and beast about. They gathered round and ate and tore the wolf to pieces and the fox—he was not at all worried. He thought no more of the matter, and I parted from them.

D. A. Macdonald: Who had this one now?

Hugh MacKinnon: O, I am sure it was my mother who had this one too. . . these foolish little innocent stories—it was from my mother we used to hear them.

Aa.-Th. 15

Two other recordings are listed in the Archive both collected by the late Dr. Calum MacLean:

(1) From Angus MacLellan, Frobost, South Uist, one of our most outstanding informants (S.S.S. R.L. 1652 B. 9). This is reasonably close to the Aa.-Th. 15 portion of the present text.

(2) A mere fragment from Hector MacLean, Balincas, Tiree (S.S.S. R.L. 531 B. 11).

John F. Campbell published a text[6] in *West Highland Tales* III and noted that he had often heard the story as a boy (Campbell 1892: 108, 116). Another text was contributed to *Béaloideas* by the late Miss Annie Johnston, Barra, among other items under the heading *Béaloideas ó Innse Gall* (Johnston 1930: 339-45).

In *The Types of the Irish Folktale* fifteen Irish versions are noted (ÓSúillcabháin and Christiansen 1963:33).

The archetype is summarised as follows (Thompson 1961:25):

> "The fox (the hen) pretends that he has been invited to be godfather and steals the butter stored by him and the bear (cock) for the winter. He smears butter on the mouth (tail) of the sleeping bear."

In the present text, the wolf is substituted for the bear, which is not unusual. Thus, the only significant divergence

from the archetype lies in the apparent lack of any attempt by the fox to fix the blame on the wolf. However, there is probably a surviving trace of such an episode to be found in the jingle spoken by the wolf when he discovers the theft.

On the face of it, the jingle could be interpreted as sounds of lamentation; but comparison with the version from Barra, mentioned above, suggests another explanation. The characters there are the fox and the cat but otherwise the two variants are very close to each other up to the point where the theft is discovered. I quote from Miss Annie Johnston's translation (Johnston 1936:343):

> "There is trickery here!" said the Fox.
> "We will curse the thief," said the Cat.
> "It is he who deserves that," said the Fox, "and for fear you will suspect me, I will begin with myself. Listen to this!
> If it was I who ate the butter, and if it was I,
> Chiorram chiotam, chiorram chatam, chiorram chiú!
> But if it was you who ate the butter, and if it was you,
> A gall (bitter) disease on your gray belly in the grave!"[7]

This provides a good context for the jingle as a pretended curse by the fox and it seems likely that here we have a surviving fragment of a blaming episode in Hugh MacKinnon's text also.

Aa.-Th. 2

No other recording is listed in the Archive.

A version was collected in Eigg by the late Dr. Calum MacLean from Lachlan Campbell for the Irish Folklore Commission. The School possesses a microfilm copy (I.F.C. MS. 1028:173).

A text published by J. F. Campbell in *West Highland Tales I* (Campbell 1890:280-1) represents a sub-type.

The Types of the Irish Folktale lists fifteen versions (ÓSúilleabháin and Christiansen 1963:33).

The archetype of Aa.-Th. 2 (Thompson 1961:21):

> "The bear (wolf) is persuaded to fish with his tail through a hole in the ice. His tail freezes fast. When he is attacked and tries to escape, he loses his tail."

It is not uncommon to find the wolf instead of the bear, after the original point of the story as an explanation for the bear's short tail has been lost. In wolf versions, as here, the

victim is generally caught and beaten or killed because he cannot free himself (though in Lachlan Campbell's version from Eigg and in J. F. Campbell's sub-type tail-fishing is given as a reason for the *wolf* having a short tail!).

Fishing for *cheese* is curious. This incident almost certainly represents a fusion of two tale-types: Aa.-Th. 2 *The Tail Fisher* and Aa.-Th. 34 [8] *The Wolf dives into the Water for reflected Cheese* (Thompson 1961:27). In this connection it is worth noting that in J. F. Campbell's text, referred to above, the wolf is persuaded that the reflection of the moon in the ice is a cheese and he agrees to cover it with his tail to hide it till the fox returns. His tail freezes and he loses it in escaping, and that is why the wolf has a short tail. This could represent a rationalisation or an intermediate stage in such a fusion. It should, in any case, be classified as a sub-type of Aa.-Th. 2.

NOTES

[1] Distribution as noted by Thompson: Finnish, Finnish-Swedish, Estonian, Livonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Lappish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Irish, French, Spanish, Catalan, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, German, Rumanian, Hungarian, Slovenian, Serbocroatian, Russian, Greek, Turkish, Indian, Franco-American, Spanish-American, Cape Verde Islands, West Indies (Negro), American-Negro, African (Thomson 1961:25).

[2] Distribution as noted by Thompson: As above but omitting Cape Verde Islands, West Indies and African, and adding Scottish, Italian, Polish Japanese (Thompson 1961:21).

[3] "Be-on-top-of-it."

[4] "Be-about-the-middle-of-it."

[5] "Scrape-its-bottom."

[6] Taken down from Hector Boyd, Barra, in 1860. Here Aa.-Th. 15 is combined with Aa-Th. 1030 and Aa.-Th. 47.

[7] "Tha foill an so," ars am Madadh Ruadh.
"Cuiridh sinn mallachd air a' mheirleach," ars an Cat.
"Is easan a thoill sin" ars am Madadh Ruadh, "agus air eagal 's gu 'm bi amharas agad ormsa tóisichidh mi agam fhein; éisd ris a so!"

"Ma 's e mise dh-ith an t-ím 's gur a mi,
Chiorram chiotam, chiorram chatam, chiorram chiú!
Ach ma's e tusa dh-ith an t-ìm 's gur a tu,
Galair dumblais air do bhronna-ghlais anns an úir!"

(Johnston 1930:340).

[8] Distribution as noted by Thompson: Latvian, Swedish, Danish, Irish, English, French, Spanish, Catalan, Flemish, German, Hungarian, Slovenian, Serbocroatian, Polish, Turkish, Anglo-American, Spanish-American, West Indies (Negro), American-Indian, African (Thompson 1961:27).

REFERENCES

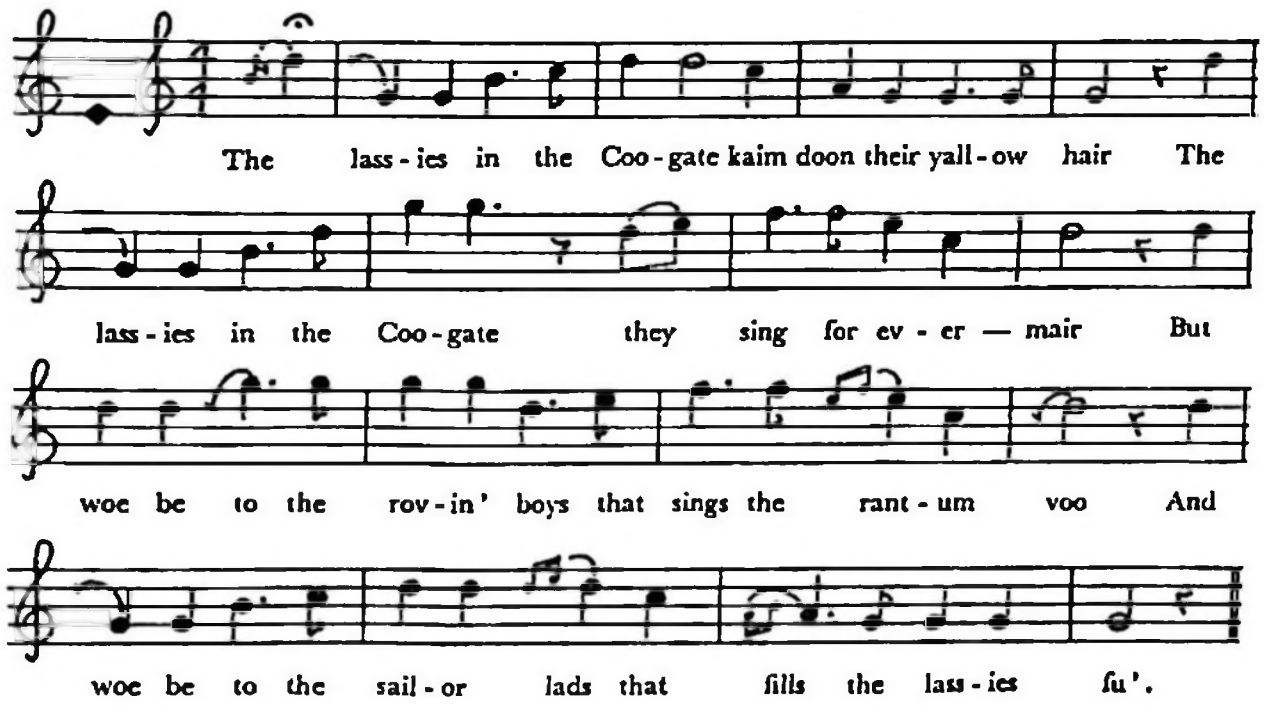
CAMPBELL, JOHN F. (ed.)
1890-3 *Popular Tales of the West Highlands.* New ed., 4 vols. London.
I. F. C. MS.
Irish Folklore Commission Manuscripts.
JOHNSTON, ANNIE
1930 "Béaloideas ó Innse Gall." *Béaloideas* 2:339-45. Dublin.
ÓSÚILLEABHÁIN, SEAN, and CHRISTIANSEN, REIDAR TH. (ed.)
1963 *The Types of the Irish Folktale.* Helsinki.
S.S.S. R.L.
School of Scottish Studies. Sound Recording Archive.
THOMPSON, STITH (ed.)
1961 *The Types of Folktale.* Helsinki.

D. A. MACDONALD

The Lassies in the Coogate

Among the many rhymes inherited by Jeannie Robertson from her mother is the following bairn sang:

The lassies in the Coogate
Kaim doon their yallow hair;
The lassies in the Coogate,
They sing for evermair.
But woe be to the rovin' boys
That sings the rantum voo,
And woe be to the sailor lads
That fills the lassies fu'.



Jeannie thought that this was just a fragment, and when I first recorded it (September 1954) she stated that her mother had had more of it, but that this was all that she (Jeannie) could remember.

In *A Ballad Book*, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edinburgh 1823), there is a short song (No. 2) which goes as follows:

The lasses o' the Cannogate,
  O, they are wond'rous nice,—
They winna gie a single kiss,
  But for a double price.

Gar hang them, gar hang them,
  Heich upon a tree,
For we'll get better up the gate,
  For a bawbee.

Sharpe adds a note saying that this song and No. 3 (*I'll gar our gudeman trow*) were "remembered thirty years ago, by an Old Gentlewoman". No. 2 "seems to be a satire on the Court Ladies of Edinburgh".

The "lasses o' the Canongate" have in Jeannie's version become the "lassies in the Coogate", but the length of the caustic little squib preserved by Sharpe is the same as that of the Aberdeen street song. It seems possible therefore that Jeannie's spritely eight-line song, which has never been recorded from anyone else, contains a thin echo of the days when Edinburgh was a capital with a court, and court ladies, and a stylish Holyrood demi-monde.

A' doun alang the Canongate were beaux o' ilk degree,
And mony ane turned roun' to look at bonnie Mally Leigh.
(Ford 1904:177).

If the two items are related, the song has clearly suffered a drop in social status, and the high-born ladies have turned into somewhat blowzier street-walkers; on the other hand, what was little more than a coarse gibe has become a vivid lyric of Auld Reekie low-life, reminiscent of some of Fergusson's and Burns's essays in the same genre.

REFERENCES

FORD, ROBERT
1904 *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland* (One Volume Edition). Paisley.

SHARPE, CHARLES KIRKPATRICK
1823 *A Ballad Book*. Edinburgh.

HAMISH HENDERSON

Cutting the " Maiden " on Loch Tayside

Ritual attached to the cutting of the last sheaf of corn at the end of the harvest was at one time widespread,[1] the name of the sheaf and details attached to the ritual varying from locality to locality. With the coming of mechanisation to the farms and the dying out of the communal conviviality of the harvest-field, the custom of cutting the last sheaf as a symbol of luck and prosperity for the ensuing year fell into disuse. On Loch Tayside, however, it is not only remembered as a traditional rite, but the custom is kept up by some of the older farming families who still like to observe the end of the harvest in this way. Details differ locally as to who was to scythe the last sheaf, the way in which it was dressed, when it was given to the horses to eat, and the nature of the celebrations which followed. William Forbes, Camserney, for example, remembers that the last sheaf was given to the horses when the first load of the next harvest had been taken in. This is still done on his farm, but it is now given to the cows, the binder having replaced the working horses. On Mrs. MacDermid's farm at Shenlarich, where the "Maiden" is still cut it is given to the animals on the first day of ploughing. Herself a native of Glen Lyon in her tradition, she states that if the harvest was good the last sheaf was called the *Maighdean* and dressed like a young girl; if bad it was called the *Cailleach* "hag" and dressed like an old woman. Although part of the living tradition on Loch Tayside, it does not seem to be so well-known at the Killin end of the loch and is rather a distant memory than a continuing practice. William Walker, aged 80, a native of Killin and of Gaelic-speaking parentage, who has a vast store of traditional lore and knowledge about the district, has only a hazy memory of cutting the "Maiden" and does not remember it at all as an actual practice on the farms round Killin. It was cut in Rannoch, and Henry McMillan, son of John McMillan, when a boy, had the "honour" (as he described it) of cutting the Maiden, being the youngest person on the harvest field. In his district it did not matter whether the youngest person was a boy or a girl. Duncan Campbell, Strathtay, who farmed there until he gave up his farm last year, cut the "Maiden" on his farm every year. According to his tradition it was the "boss" who cut the last sheaf. No special celebrations followed the cutting, and the sheaf, cut to mark the end of the harvest, was given to the horses on the first day of ploughing on the

following year. Miss Ella Walker, Glenlochay, also remembers that the "Maiden" was cut by the "boss" of the farm.

William Forbes, Camserney, aged 75, and a native Gaelic-speaker, a native of Camserney, as were generations of his forebears, recorded some interesting information about the cutting of the "Maiden" on their farm, a ritual which is still regularly observed by his brother Peter, aged 70, and himself. He remembers how the last sheaf was cut in his boyhood. The youngest girl on the harvest field took the scythe and she cut the last sheaf of corn and carried it home. Great celebrations then followed, consisting of a large meal at which curds and cream were traditionally eaten, whisky passed round, and later there were songs and a dance in the kitchen. This was a party to celebrate the end of the harvest. The "Maiden" was tied up with red or blue ribbon. It was known as the *Maighdean bhuana*, the "Reaped Maiden". It was hung up in the kitchen in a conspicuous place until the following year when it was taken out and given to the horses to eat on the first day of the next harvest. If a tinker girl or any other stranger happened to be helping on the harvest field, and was the youngest person present, she would not, apparently, be considered eligible for the cutting of the "Maiden". This privilege was seemingly reserved for the local girls. The cutting of the Maiden as a traditional practice in Camserney stopped about fifty years ago, but the Forbes and one or two other families always kept up the custom.

It was noticing the "Maiden" pinned up on the wall of the kitchen of Mr. Forbes' house (see Plate XV) which brought about this conversation with him. The fact that in April it is still there substantiates his statement that in his own district it was given to the horses to eat at the beginning of the harvest rather than at the start of the ploughing season.

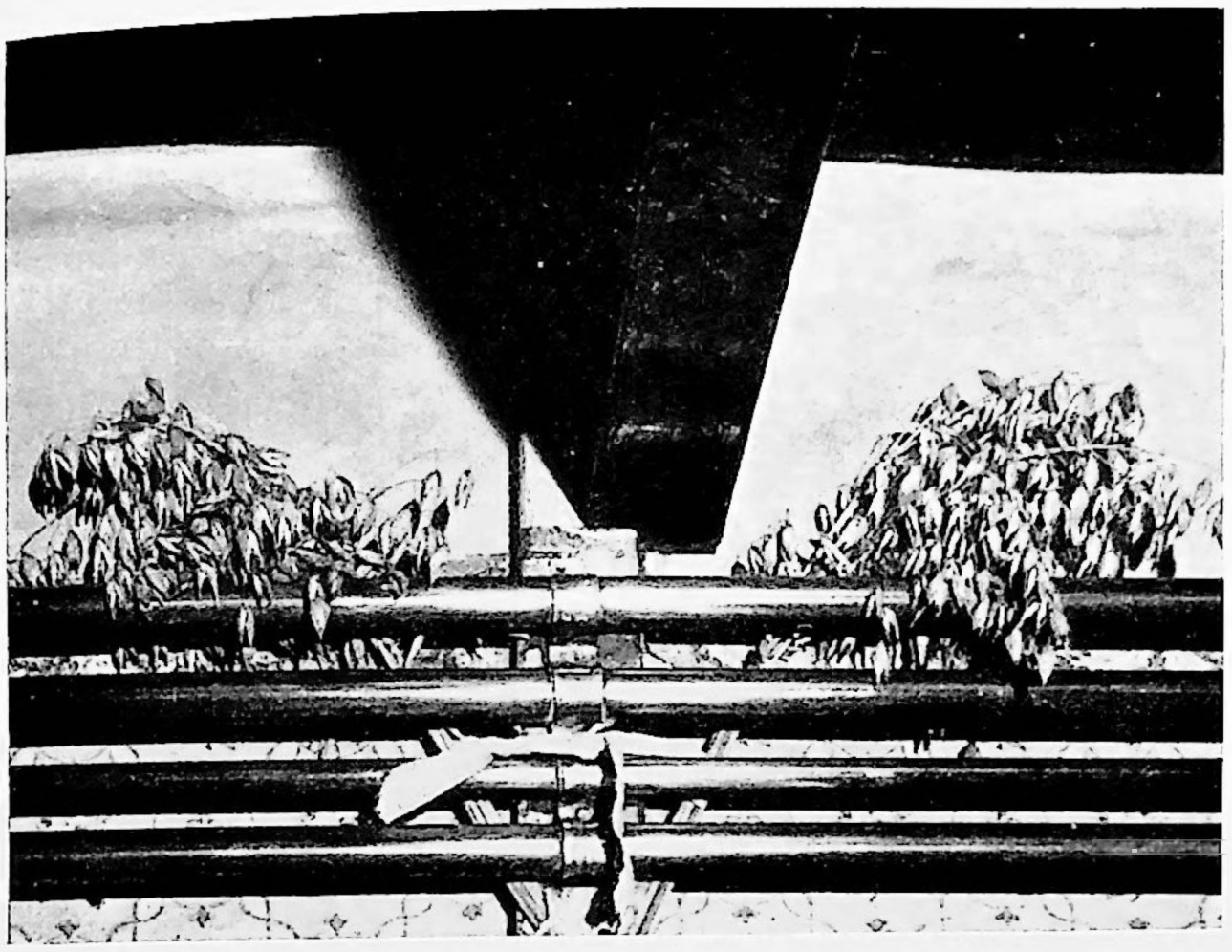
NOTE

[1] See the article by the late Calum I. Maclean in this issue of the journal, pp. 193-207.

ANNE ROSS

The Faroe Islands and the Hebrides: Impressions of a Visit to Faroe in 1964

Thanks to a scholarship offered by the Føroya Landsstýri, I was able to undertake a visit to the Faroe Islands in April and May of this year, with a view to studying comparative ethnological and archaeological material. I spent eight days



The "Maiden" cut in October 1964 on William Forbes' farm at Camserney, Perthshire, tied with blue ribbon. (See p. 230.)

in Faroe, mainly in the isolated community of Mykines. My own observations were thus confined to the islands of Streymoy, Vagur, and especially Mykines, with additional information from local contacts and from literature available in English.

As, in my own work, I have a special interest in N.W. Scotland and the Hebrides, I found it most instructive to study responses to an almost identical environment, to see parallels and divergencies, and to speculate on the element of cultural diffusion involved. The main environmental difference between the Hebrides and Faroe lies in the absence of any equivalent to the West Hebridean machair plain in the latter, and also in the fact that for Europe 62° of latitude marks the extreme northern margin of successful cereal production, so much so that corn is no longer a crop in Faroe.

These considerations apart, the general impression of nucleated villages situated on regularly cultivated infields (*bøir*) held in individually owned strips (often twenty such to each owner), with outfield (*hagi*) and common hill-grazing, presents very much the appearance of West Highland run-rig cultivation on joint farms before croft lotting. Added to this, the intensive spade-worked cultivation in narrow hummocked strips like "lazy beds" (*feannagan*); peat cutting for fuel; the presence of numerous small shieling-type hut circles in the hills; intensive wild-fowling (especially puffin, solan goose and guillemot) and egg collecting; considerable production and use of wool; milling by the use of small "horizontal" mills, now defunct; whale driving (*grindadráp*), admittedly now extinct in the Hebrides; and the general similarity of the two economies verges on identity.

Examined in detail, however, for the individual characteristics which usually indicate cultural traits, the picture which emerges is quite different and, if anything, disparity is the keynote. Peasant farming with individually-held units tends to produce the same pattern of land organisation in most environments. The villages themselves, while nucleated, contain buildings whose structure is radically different to that of W. Scotland. For instance, sixteenth/seventeenth century Faroese buildings, such as on the Tinganess at Torshavn and at Kirkibøur, are log-built structures with interleaved corners of typical Norwegian/Swedish technique and probable E. European derivation. Other, generally more recent, buildings are rectilinear stone structures, but with planked upper storeys and turf roofs. A crucial feature of the turf roof, and one which

prevents the rotting of the roof timbers, is a complete coverage of birch bark between turf and timber (as in Scandinavia). The bark, of course, is imported from Scandinavia. The Faroe spade (*haki*), while resembling the Shetland-Orkney delving spade, has no foot rest and thus bears no resemblance to the *cas chrom* and little to the *cas dhìreach*, and the profile of the *tirgur*—the rig produced by spade cultivation in Faroe—is unlike that of the *feannagan*. The *torvskeri*, linked etymologically to the Highland *toirbhsgeir*, bears little physical resemblance to it, being devoid of foot rest and in fact, in its present form, looking like a derived delving spade. The "bee-hive" like structures in the upper dales are double-walled (stone inner, and turf outer), were in fact never roofed, and are permanent sheep shelters.

Apparently transhumance has never existed in Faroe. Fowling techniques, apart from the obvious ones of pure gathering, diverge. The *fleygastong* is used either rather like a landing net for sitting birds, or like a giant racket striking down low-flying birds. The equivalent in St. Kilda (Hirta) was essentially a running noose and, of course, used for sitting birds only. Most parallels can in fact be related to the similarity of environment between the West Highlands and Faroe; but numerous idiosyncracies stress cultural differentiation in detail. This very limited survey of the evidence, then would suggest that either Norse influence on Hebridean economy was much less marked than in Faroe, or if it was initially equally strong, that there has been considerable and divergent evolution in the two areas since then.

For someone with detailed knowledge of St. Kilda, it was fascinating to study in Mykines a twin island in occupation, and to live in a run-rig village. It is still possible to discern the dividing walls of what were probably the original lots before the fissiparous system of divided inheritance commenced the parcelling out of land, which has led to the current situation where some fragments are the size almost of a tablecloth. Older field-systems exist on the southern cliffs of the island suitable for corn ripening perhaps, and there is the possibility that they may relate to an original Irish, or at least Celtic, settlement. Possible Gaelic place-names exist on Mykines, and it was instructive to see the excavations carried out by Herr Sverre Dahl at the Bönhús, a site which may represent an early church settlement, where two slightly different re-building alignments called to mind Irish parallels. Excavations

are also being carried out at Klingrūgarð, where the remains of an early domestic settlement are appearing. As in the west of Scotland, dating evidence is not plentiful.

I am most grateful to the Landsstýri for this opportunity to study comparative material, which made a most stimulating experience, and one which I should like to follow up in more detail in the future.

IAIN A. CRAWFORD

C. BOOK REVIEWS

Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660-1707. By T. C. Smout. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1963. Pp. xv+320. 50s.

The last few years have seen a great advance in the study of Scottish pre-Union economic history, not least commercial history. Following Professor Lythe's pioneering work on the Scottish economy between 1550 and 1625, we now have Dr. Smout's equally fine study of the half-century before the Union. Together, these two books are an invaluable complement to the existing politico-religious interpretations of the Scottish seventeenth century.

Dr. Smout's period saw both success and failure. Trade did eventually recover from the Cromwellian doldrums, and reached a peak in the late 1670's. But Scottish merchants were not able to diversify their operations significantly, nor, with the exception of the furtive plantation trade, to break into any of the important new markets exploited by the English and Dutch. As a result, the Scottish economy was unable to withstand the shocks of the 1690's: the French war, four successive harvest failures, increased tariffs and trade restrictions and the Darien disaster.

Though modestly disclaiming any "final verdict" on the causes of the Union, Dr. Smout attaches great importance to the economic factors. Since Scotland had failed to win new markets for herself, she had to seek entry to them by other means. Moreover, the Alien Act of 1705 raised the alarming prospect of exclusion from the English market, on which the Scots had become increasingly dependent. This, according to Dr. Smout, was one of the main reasons why many previously militant members of the Scottish parliament finally accepted the Union.

Not everyone will accept this argument. Dr. Smout might

have strengthened it by fuller treatment of the federalist and other alternatives to an incorporating union. But he does show how useful it is to discuss the necessity of the Union rather than its desirability or otherwise. He also emphasises that, apart from securing the English market, the Union was slow to produce any more specific economic benefit than "a more favourable climate" for expansion—in his final words, "the seventeenth century laid the egg of prosperity, the eighteenth century hatched it, and the Union provided a hen-house where the broody could sit undisturbed".

The foregoing is not quite a fair sample of Dr. Smout's style. He is always lively and readable, even if the occasional sentence runs amok. He has a good ear for a telling phrase, and a sharp eye for an apt quotation. These graces, and the book's neat structure, bear up a deceptive weight of accurate scholarship. Few economic historians make such painless reading.

The book is furnished with five rather drab maps, three useful statistical tables, and a short appendix of illustrative documents. But a list of abbreviations is no substitute for a comprehensive bibliography, particularly as source references are not included in the index. And the price is shocking! Presumably the publishers are only interested in selling to libraries. If so, shame on them, for Dr. Smout deserves the widest possible audience.

JAMES DOW

The Industrial Archaeology of County Down. By E. R. R. Green. Belfast: H.M.S.O. 1963. Pp. vii+99, with 3 figures, 4 maps and 33 plates. 25s.

Despite its apparently local nature, this book is likely to become a model for many further studies in Industrial Archaeology; this is fitting since Dr. Green is one of the most active pioneers in this new field of scholarship which concerns itself with surveying and recording industrial remains primarily of the post-Industrial Revolution era. The outcome of a location-survey of the old industrial sites of County Down which began in 1955, this volume is a worthy companion of the forthcoming Survey of Ancient Monuments in County Down.

Dr. Green divides his material into three sections. The first is an excellent essay on the history of the linen industry of County Down as well as an admirable introduction to the inventory of 90 sites of all sorts and sizes carefully listed and delineated: bleachgreens and works, every species of mill,

indications of the sporadic force of the profit-motive as well-integrated enterprises, in all states of repair and dereliction. Without the inventory of sites this section will commend itself to many students because it provides a precise summary of parts of more intensive works such as Conrad Gill's *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford 1925) and Dr. Green's own *The Lagan Valley 1800-50* (London 1949). The second section on grain-milling, brewing, distillery and flax-scutching, because of the disappearance of the essential evidence of earlier estate maps and rentals, is primarily concerned with the period after 1800. The inventory of sites is far less complete; Dr. Green has selected 45 examples of corn and scutch mills, and this group includes all those which have not been stripped of machinery and wheels. All the distillery and flour mill sites are given, and this part of the inventory lists 104 examples and in addition, there is an excellent plan of Ballycopeland windmill drawn by Peter Rhodes; this mill ceased working in 1915 but, despite the depredations of woodworm and dry rot, is preserved as a monument by the Government of Northern Ireland. The third section on Communications outlines the history of the Newry Navigation and of the Lagan Navigation, two very old and important canals. There are also valuable comments on harbours, lighthouses, railways and roads.

The significance of this book goes far beyond County Down and rests not merely in its value as a model. In recent months we have had also Kenneth Hudson's *Industrial Archaeology* and the *Journal of Industrial Archaeology*; these, with Dr. Green's study of County Down, mark the emergence of a frontier area of knowledge. In content, layout and format, in the ample illustrations and excellent plates, in the clear maps and full bibliography, Dr. Green has made a contribution of the highest standard, both in scholarship and taste. He has done the industrial archaeologist a great service by refusing to involve himself in the arid arguments about the meaning or validity of the term "Industrial Archaeology". As he rightly says, the methods of field survey, recording and occasional excavation make the subject properly a branch of archaeology, although those chiefly interested are likely to be economic historians, historical geographers, historians of technology and architecture as well as antiquarians.

The "Industrial Revolution" was the product of Scottish brains, English capital and Irish brawn—a valuable if imperfect aphorism. Dr. Green's book is of interest to Scottish readers

because it illustrates the special nexus between Ulster and Scotland. The migration of Scottish and also English dissenters to County Down provided an exceptional stimulus to industrial development. There was considerable Scottish investment of capital and managerial leadership. For instance, the modern history of the linen thread industry in Ireland began with John Barbour who left Paisley and settled near Lisburn in 1784 where he built the Plantation works and the nucleus of an industrial village; Barbour was an off-shore David Dale! Similarly, William and John Orr and Robert Gemmill began the Ulster cotton industry. The return to industry of descendants of Scottish landed migrants was particularly important in County Down; men like the Lindsays of Tullyhinar whose forbears left Scotland in the third quarter of the seventeenth century developed extensive interests in linen over a century later. At the industrial level the diffusion of special industrial techniques from Scotland to Ulster was significant: Francis Home's description of the bleaching uses of dilute sulphuric acid in 1756 was the origin of the Irish chemical industry; William Bell's beetling engine driven by water-power (*c.* 1745) was primarily responsible for determining the location of the linen finishing trades—and therefore of all the industry—on the Lagan and Bann rivers. In 1817 the Ulster Linen Trustees imported two sets of Scottish scutching machinery into County Down. Ulster flour-milling was much improved by Scottish machinery and capital. The cheapness of Irish female labour coupled with the more militant attitude of the Scottish labour force encouraged several Scottish manufacturers to set up agencies in Ireland between 1820 and 1857, especially for embroidering and muslin-weaving, but the financial crash of 1857 ruptured this harmonious inter-dependence.

The indirect interest of Dr. Green's book to Scots is equally significant. His methodology is perfect for the treatment of Industrial Archaeology in Scotland. His suggestions are: take a county or region, locate its old industrial sites, record them, unearth as much documentary evidence about the most significant as possible. A complete location survey of industrial sites needs to be done for every Scottish county. We have a Scottish Committee on Industrial Archaeology; we have isolated groups from Inverness to Lanark; we need more enthusiasts to do the recording. The task is immense, but considering the interest expressed by the Scottish Universities, the beneficient activities of the Scottish Development Department

and other government agencies, the awareness of Planning Officers and the regard of architects, it is not insurmountable. Dr. Green's book is a goad to all those interested in the history of Scottish economic development; he has shown us the possibilities of the regional approach.

There are difficulties, and they should not be minimised. Should one go for a complete record of every industry or concentrate upon the most significant sites! I would suggest the latter method. How can one get the most out of every site, considering the limitations of one's technical knowledge about industrial architecture or production processes? Essentially, the aim should be to build up local teams who can help each other. Clearly, the handicraft industries such as boat-building, agriculture, kelp-burning are so diverse technically from urban manufacturing that the regional survey conducted by the local team is the real answer to the Scottish situation. I look forward to the day when volumes on Industrial Archaeology appear for every county in Scotland and I hope that they will measure up to Dr. Green's survey of County Down.

JOHN BUTT

The Nordic Riddle: Terminology and Bibliography. By Laurits Bødker in co-operation with Brynjulf Alver, Bengt Holbek and Leea Virtanen. Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning, Skrifter Nr. 3. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen. 1964. Pp. 101. 18.25 (or 26.75 bound) Danish Crowns.

This useful survey, in English, of the varied terminology arising from individual attempts by Scandinavian folklorists to classify their riddles, is arranged in the form of a dictionary (60 pp.) with cross-references, as "a possible basis for a unified Nordic classification". As a link with terms used in other Germanic-speaking countries, four pages are devoted to an alphabetical list of some of the corresponding words in English, Dutch and German, preceded by a bibliography of a dozen works, including Maclean and Sanderson's paper on Shetland riddles in *Scottish Studies* 4 (1960). The main bibliographical section occupies twenty-five pages, and is subdivided as follows: General, Old Norse, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lappland, Faroe Islands and Iceland.

The Nordic Institute for Folk Literature has published this survey because space prevented its inclusion in the forthcoming

second volume of the *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore* (for Vol. 1 see *Scottish Studies* 6 (1962), 259), and the opportunity has been taken to include the Finnish terminology for the first time.

EDITOR

ANNOUNCEMENT

"The Scottish Enlightenment" will be the subject considered by English Section 8 (1750-1800), Modern Language Association, at its meeting in Chicago, December 28, 1965. Anyone wishing to participate, or to have a paper read *in absentia*, should now communicate with the chairman for the 1965 session, Professor William B. Todd, Department of English, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

SCOTTISH STUDIES IN 1963

AN ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Elizabeth Sinclair

Local and Social History

ARMSTRONG, ROBERT A. "Langholm." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 496-505 (September).

BARON, RODERICK. "Bàideanach" [Badenoch]. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 118-28.

CALLENDER, R. M. "Eaglesham revisited." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 70-8 (April).

CAMERON, ALASDAIR. "The Sunartside I knew." *The Scots Magazine* 80 (1963) 220-7 (December).

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD. "The Keppoch murders, 1663." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 167-75.

COULL, JAMES R. "The historical geography of Aberdeen." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 79 (1963) 80-94.

COULL, JAMES R. "Melness. A crofting community on the North coast of Scotland." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 180-97.

CRAWFORD, DOUGLAS. "Anatomy of a burgh: Kirkintilloch." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 33-6 (May), ill.

DRYDEN, DEREK. "A remarkable book about Rannoch." *The Scots Magazine* 80 (1963) 164-72 (November).
(MS. "Memories of Rannoch" by James Robertson, Auchtarsin.)

EDITOR. "Auchindrain: a multiple-tenancy farm in Mid Argyll." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 230-4.

ELDER, MADGE. "Pollart." *The Scots Magazine* 78 (1963) 282-8 (January).
(Reminiscences of Polwarth.)

FENTON, ALEXANDER. "The rural economy of East Lothian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* 9 (1963) 1-23.

FINLAY, IAN. *The Highlands*. London, Batsford, 1963. 208 pp.
GAILEY, R. A. "Agrarian improvement and the development of enclosure in the south-west Highlands of Scotland." *The Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963) 105-25.
GORDON, SETON. *Highland Days*. London, Cassell, 1963. 232 pp.
GRIMBLE, IAN. "Emigration in the time of Rob Donn, 1714-1778." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 129-53.
HANDLEY, JAMES E. *The agricultural revolution in Scotland*. Glasgow, John S. Burns, 1963. 317 pp.
HENDERSON-MOWAT, A. M. D. "Reviving a village in Perthshire." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 36-7 (June), ill.
KERR, JOHN. "Enterprising Elgin." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 38-41 (January).
KNIGHT, ISOBEL. "Callander." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 26-9 (July).
LEEMING, F. A. "Social accounting and the old statistical account." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 79 (1963) 80-94.
MACDONALD, NORMAN. "Mearachdan eachdraidh" [Errors in history]. *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 62-4 (June); 74-5 (July); 87-8 (August).
MACINTOSH, DONALD. "Land on a limb" [Galloway]. *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 18-22 (August).
MACKAY, I. R. "Cùirt a' Mhòintich Mhóir [The Mòintcach Mhór law-suit]. Arisaig and Morar, 1857." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 93-5 (August).
MACLEAN, Rev. MALCOLM. "Extracts from a Lewis MS. The conflicts of Harris and Lewis." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 141-66.
MACLEOD, D. J. "Early Celtic interactions." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 243-61.
MACNAB, P. A. "The church at Croick." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 141-3 (May).
(Glen Calvie clearances, 1843.)
MALIK, BARBARA. "A day in the toun." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 132-7 (May).
(Aberdeen forty years ago.)
MATHESON, WILLIAM. "Traditions of the MacKenzies." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 193-228.

MITCHELL, ALASDAIR. "Galashiels. The town of tweed." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 23-7 (June).
MITCHISON, ROSALIND. "Two northern ports." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 75-82.
MURCHISON, T. M. "Glenelg, Inverness-shire. Notes for a parish history." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 294-333.
—— "Notes on the Murchisons." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 262-93.
PREBBLE, JOHN. *The Highland Clearances.* London, Secker and Warburg, 1963. 352 pp.
REDFERN, RODGER A. "Last days of St. Kilda." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 37-9 (March).
ROY, GLEN. "The ports of Dumfries." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 34-6 (May).
SMITH, RODERICK. "Cuairt air Ceòs" [A tour of Keose]. *Gairm* 42 (1963) 227-9.
SMOUT, T. C. "The Erskines of Mar and the development of Alloa, 1689-1825." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 57-74.
STEEDS, JUNE. "Ceres." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 69-73 (November).
(Village in Fife.)
SWIRE, OTTA F. *The Highlands and their legends.* Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1963, 290 pp.
SYKES, F. G. "Lochmaben, burgh of the seven lochs." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 25-7 (July).
THOMPSON, ALASTAIR R. "The use of libraries by the working class in Scotland in the early nineteenth century." *Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963) 21-9.
TRAIN, VERA. "An island in Shetland." [Fetlar] *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 14-20 (December).
WARDLAW-BURNET, G. "Inveresk." *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* 36 (1963), part 1, 23-8.

Occupations and Crafts

ANON. "Northmavine fishermen in 1812." *The New Shetlander* 67 (1963) 37-8.
CAMPBELL, PETRINA. "On ploughing matches." *The Scots Magazine* 78 (1963) 305-7 (January).
FENTON, ALEXANDER. "Scottish agricultural history museums." *Transactions of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* 7 (1962) 54-62.

FENTON, ALEXANDER. "Skene of Hallyard's manuscript of husbandrie." *Agricultural History Review* 11 (1963) 65-81.
FORSYTH, JOHN. "Lobstermen of the East Neuk." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 132-7 (May).
GAFFNEY, VICTOR. "The south shearing." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 353-6 (July).
(Migrant harvest workers from north-east to south Scotland.)
LAURENSON, J. J. "The sixern days: some odds and ends." *The New Shetlander* 64 (1963) 25-7; 65 (1963) 22-3; 66 (1963) 7-8.
LEASK, PETER S. "Old Edinburgh dairies." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 392-4 (August).
MARTIN, M. M. "Tale of a grandfather." *The Scots Magazine* 80 (1963) 262-3 (December).
(Sandy Huie, maker of grandfather clocks.)
MEGAW, B. R. S. "Goat-keeping in the old Highland economy." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 201-9.
MURRAY, GEORGE. "Inventory of the records of the crafts of Haddington along with extracts from the minute book (1707-1761) of the Cordiner craft." *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* 9 (1963) 1-23.
MURRAY, JANET. "To set before a king." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 36 (November).
(Smoking of finnan haddocks.)
WOOD, JAMES. "A drop of himself." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 477-86 (September).
(Whisky distilling.)

Material Culture

BRANSTON, A. J. "The old rocking chair." *Scottish Home and Country* 39 (1963) 37 (February).
CARR, MONA. "Notes on the demolition of an old house in Berwick-on-Tweed." *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* 36 (1963), part 1, 39-40, ill.
CRAWFORD, IAN A. "Examples of the *toirbhsgeir*, tusker, or peat knife in antiquity." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 102-5.
FENTON, ALEXANDER. "Scottish spinning wheels." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 28-9 (July).
LACAILLE, A. D. "Three grinding stones." *The Antiquaries' Journal* 43 (1963) 190-6.
(One from Dunbartonshire.)

McNeill, F. Marian. *The Scots Kitchen. Its traditions and lore with old time recipes.* Glasgow, Blackie, 1963, 2nd ed., 282 pp.
Michie, Greta, and Fenton, Alexander. "Cheese-presses in Angus." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 47-56, ill.
Murray, Janet. "Food in Scottish song." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 19-21 (October).
Noble, Donald G. "The indispensable potato." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 263-72 (June).
Sandison, Charles. "An Unst sixareen. The story of the Spinaway." *The New Shetlander* 67 (1963) 25-8.
Simpson, Eric J. "Farm carts and waggons of the Orkney islands. The introduction and development of wheeled vehicles in Orkney in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 154-69.
Tranter, Nigel. *The fortified house in Scotland.* Vol. 2. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1963.
Weir, Molly. "A traditional Scottish dinner." *The Scots Magazine* 80 (1963) 43-8 (October).

Costume

Dunbar, J. Telfer. "The Bannockburn tartans." *The Scots Magazine* 80 (1963) 34-42 (October).
Lawrie, Arthur J. "The story of Highland dress." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 73-5 (April).
Lindsay, Thomas B. "Highland dress." *The Scottish Art Review* 9 (1963) no. 1, 6-10.
Mackay, John. "A check on the tartan." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 31-3 (December), ill.
Swain, Margaret H. "The East Lothian ugly." *Scottish Home and Country* 30 (1963) 101 (April).

Custom and Belief

Campbell, Charles. "Death to the witch." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 78-80 (November).
Galbraith, J. J. "Medicine among the Gaelic Celts." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 63-78.
Gibson, Colin. "Nature's weather prophets." *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1963) 9-13 (April).
Knight, Isobel. "Where the minister is not welcome." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 38 (July).
(Fishing superstitions in Newhaven.)

MACDONALD, NORMAN. "A' mhuir ann an saobh-chrabhadh nan Gaidheal" [The sea in the superstition of the Highlanders]. *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 99-101 (September); 112 (October); 127 (November); 140-1 (December).

PETERSON, JOHN. "Up Helly Aa." *Scottish Field* 110 (1963) 22-3 (March).

ROSS, ANNE. "Birds of life and birds of death." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 215-25.

Tales and Local Stories

ANON. "Fearchar Mac Iain Oig" [Farquhar son of Young John]. *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 50-1 (May).

ANON. "Angus MacDonald of Borrowdale." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 55-6 (May).

ANON. "John MacDonald of Dubhchamus. A Jacobite of Arisaig." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 69-70 (June).

CAMERON, ALISTAIR. "Mary of Gaskan." *Scots Magazine* 78 (1963) 469-72 (March).

CAMPBELL, MARY. "Boban Saor." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 89-91 (August).
(Gaelic text of tale.)

—— "Na tri ceistean" [The three questions]. *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 51 (May).
(Gaelic text of tale.)

GILLIES, NEIL. "Mus a's a' chlachan." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 65 (June).
(Gaelic text of tale.)

—— "Spanish Galleon an Tobar Mhoire." [The Spanish Galleon in Tobermory.] *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 118-19 (October).

GOLDSTEIN, KENNETH S. "Riddling traditions in northeastern Scotland." *Journal of American Folklore* 76 (1963) 330-6.

GORDON, SETON. "Corrie of the porridge." *The Scots Magazine* 78 (1963) 455-9 (March).

MACDONALD, DONALD A. "Fear a' churracain ghlais" [The man in the little grey cap]. *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 86-92.

—— "A Uist legend." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 209-215.

MACINNES, JOHN. "Sgeulachd Mhicheil Scot" [The story of Michael Scot]. *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 106-14.

MACLEAN, JOHN. "Sgeulachdan nan uamh" [Stories of the caves]. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 36-62.

MACLELLAN, ANGUS. "Cùirt nan con" [The law-suit of the dogs]. *Gairm* 42 (1963) 163-6.
MURCHISON, T. M. "Coirechatachain." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 116 (October); 125-7 (November).
ROBERTSON, RONALD MACDONALD. "Glen Isla's great storm." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 40 (September).
ROSS, JAMES. "Mac a' Bhutler [The butler's son]: a master thief story from Skye." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 18-36.

Folk Song and Music

ANON. "Ailean Dubh a Lòchaidh." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 3 (January).
(Gaelic text, music and historical background.)
BASSIN, ETHEL. "The debt of Marjory Kennedy Fraser to Frances Tolmie." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 334-9.
BAUMAN, RICHARD. "The Boston Smuggler in Scotland: a note on the diffusion of a broadside ballad." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 235-9.
—— "The Dowie Dens o' Yarrow (Child 214)." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 115-17.
CAMERON, ALASTAIR. "Bard Rathuaidhe" [The bard of Rahoy]. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 20-35.
CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD. "Highland bagpipe music." *Piping Times* (1963) 16-17 (January).
COLLINSON, FRANCIS. "Four songs remembered by Miss Margaret Eyre. Recorded and transcribed by F.C." *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 9 (1962), no. 3, 155-8.
CRAWFORD, THOMAS. "Jean Armour's 'Double and Adieu'." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 37-46; with a note by Kenneth H. Jackson.
CRAWFORD, THOMAS. "Scottish popular ballads and lyrics of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: some preliminary conclusions." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 1 (1963), no. 1, 49-63.
HENDERSON, HAMISH and JOHNSTONE, GILLIAN. "A colliery disaster ballad." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 92-100.
HENDERSON, HAMISH. "The underground of song." *The Scots Magazine* 78 (1963) 419-27 (February).

MACDONALD, MAIRI A. "A compleat theory of the Scots Highland bagpipe." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 129-40.

MACINNES, JOHN. "Tàladh Choinnich Oig" [Young Kenneth's Lullaby]. *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 226-30.

MACKENZIE, ANNIE M. "Lochaber Bards." *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 10 (1963) 25-43.

MACKENZIE, ANNIE M. "Bardachd o Làmh-sgrìobhaidhean Cyril Dieckhoff" [Poetry from the manuscripts of Cyril Dieckhoff]. *Gairm* 42 (1963) 189-92.

MACKENZIE, EILA. "Seven Gaelic songs." *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 9 (1962) 122-8.

MACLEAN, CALUM I. "Traditional songs from Raasay and their value as folk literature." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 176-92.

MACLEAN, SAMUEL. "The poetry of William Livingston." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40 (1963) 1-19.

MONTGOMERIE, WILLIAM. "William MacMath and the Scott ballad manuscripts." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 1 (1963) no. 1, 93-8.

RIMMER, JOAN. "Scottish and Irish popular music." *Recorded Sound* 2 (1963), no. 12, 135-41.

S., J. E. "Jigs." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 57 (May).

—— "Gillie Calum." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 131-2 (November).

SCOTT, JAMES E. "Highland dancing." *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 23-4 (February).

—— [Notes on Scots songs and tunes]. *Piping Times* (1963) January, 16-17; April, 9; June, 11; October, 11; December, 19.

SHULDHAM-SHAW, PATRICK. "A Shetland fiddler and his repertoire. John Stickle, 1875-1957." *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 9 (1962), no. 3, 129-47.

Names

BARNETT, MURIEL J. F. "Early map-makers and nineteenth-century surveyors of Aberdeen." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 79 (1963) 114-17.

DONALDSON-HUDSON, R. "Place names in the Border country." *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* 36 (1963), part 1, 43-52.

GORDON, BRIDGET. "Some Norse place names in Trotternish, Isle of Skye." *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 10 (1963) 82-112.

MACANDREW, ROBERT. "The name MacAndrew in Scotland. A brief outline." *The Scottish Genealogist* 10 (1963), no. 1, 17-19.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. "Notes on Scottish place-names." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 83-5; 198-201.

—— "Some Gaelic place-rhymes." *Scottish Studies* 7 (1963) 100-102.

—— "The story behind the name." *The Scots Magazine* (1963) January, 329; February, 405; March, 523; April, 69; May, 115; June, 201; July, 313; August, 439; September, 531; October, 49; November, 105; December, 261.

—— "The Collection and Transcription of Scottish Place-Names." *Atti e Memorie del VII Congresso Int. di Scienze Onomastiche, Florence*, Vol. IV, 105-114.

"NORTH ARGYLL." "Frith-Ainmean" [Bynames]. *An Gaidheal* 58 (1963) 91-2 (August).

Miscellaneous

CAMPBELL, JOHN LORNE. "Anna Nic Iain" [Annic Johnston]. *Gairm* 43 (1963) 313-14.
(Noted Gaelic oral tradition-bearer.)

CLIFFE, MARGO. "History without tears." *Scotland's Magazine* 59 (1963) 10-12 (November), ill.
(Proposed folk museum at Auchindrain, Argyllshire.)

KERR, ROBERT. "The School of Scottish Studies." *The Folklore and Folk Music Archivist* 6 (1963) no. 3, 1-5.

MACDONALD, D. MACDONELL. "The pilgrims' road." *Scotland's Magazine* 58 (1963) 18-23 (May).

MACKAY, IAN. "Am Forsair Dubh" [The Black Forester]. *Gairm* 43 (1963) 259-61.
(Gaelic oral tradition-bearer.)

INDEX

VOLUME 8, 1964

Items in bold type denote titles of contributions, the names of contributors appear in small capitals. County abbreviations are those used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey.