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.

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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 John Lorne Campbell kindly contributes the following additional note, from an unpublished report on the Highlands made in Rome in 1737, referring to the people who lived in the Garbh-chriochan, Clanranald's mainland territory in western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."

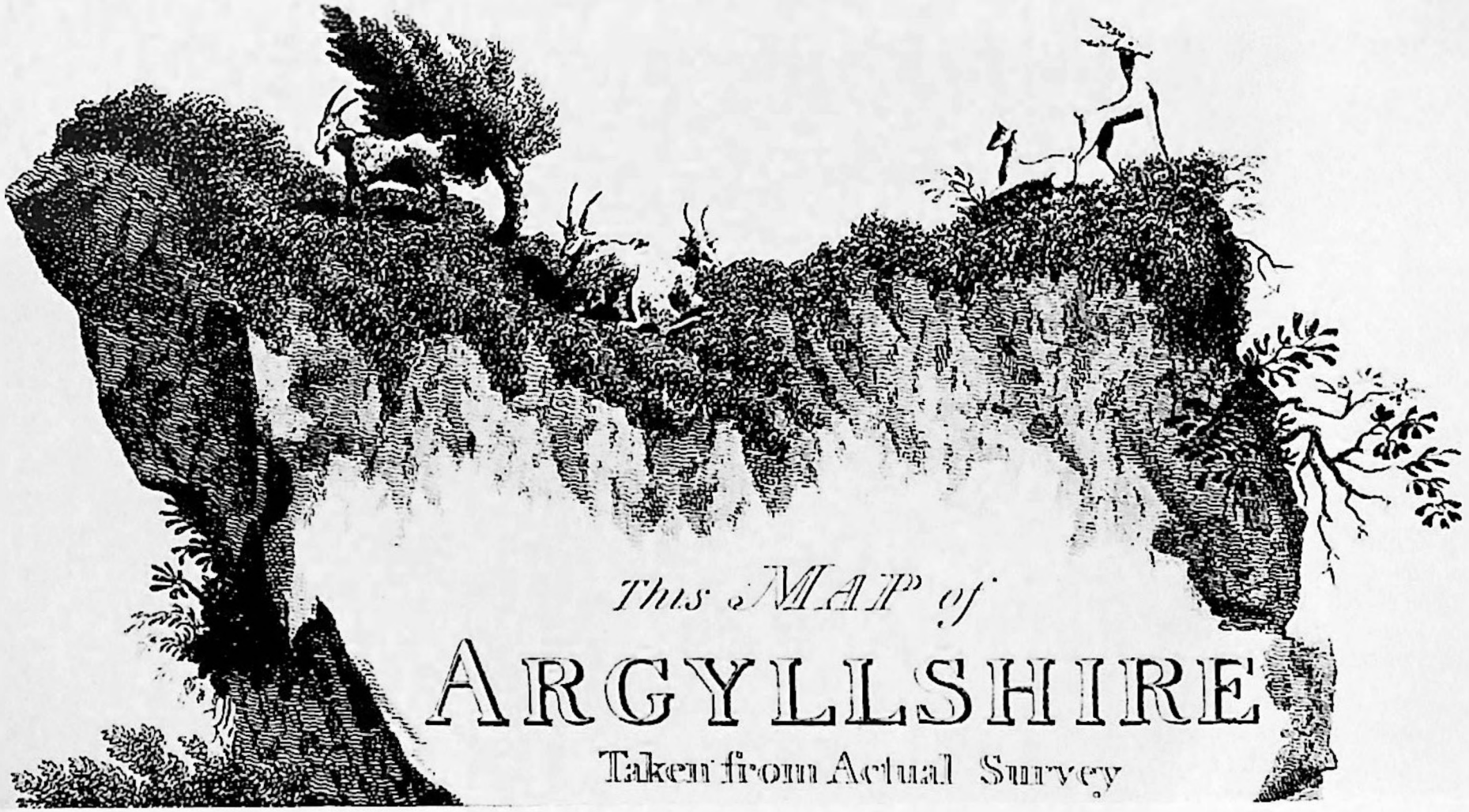
The limited information previously noticed on this topic (Megaw 1963:201 ff.) suggests that goats were especially associated with the lower ranks of Highland society, though not confined to these, rather than with particular regions. Before the efforts of the improving landlords to eliminate the goat—already 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:

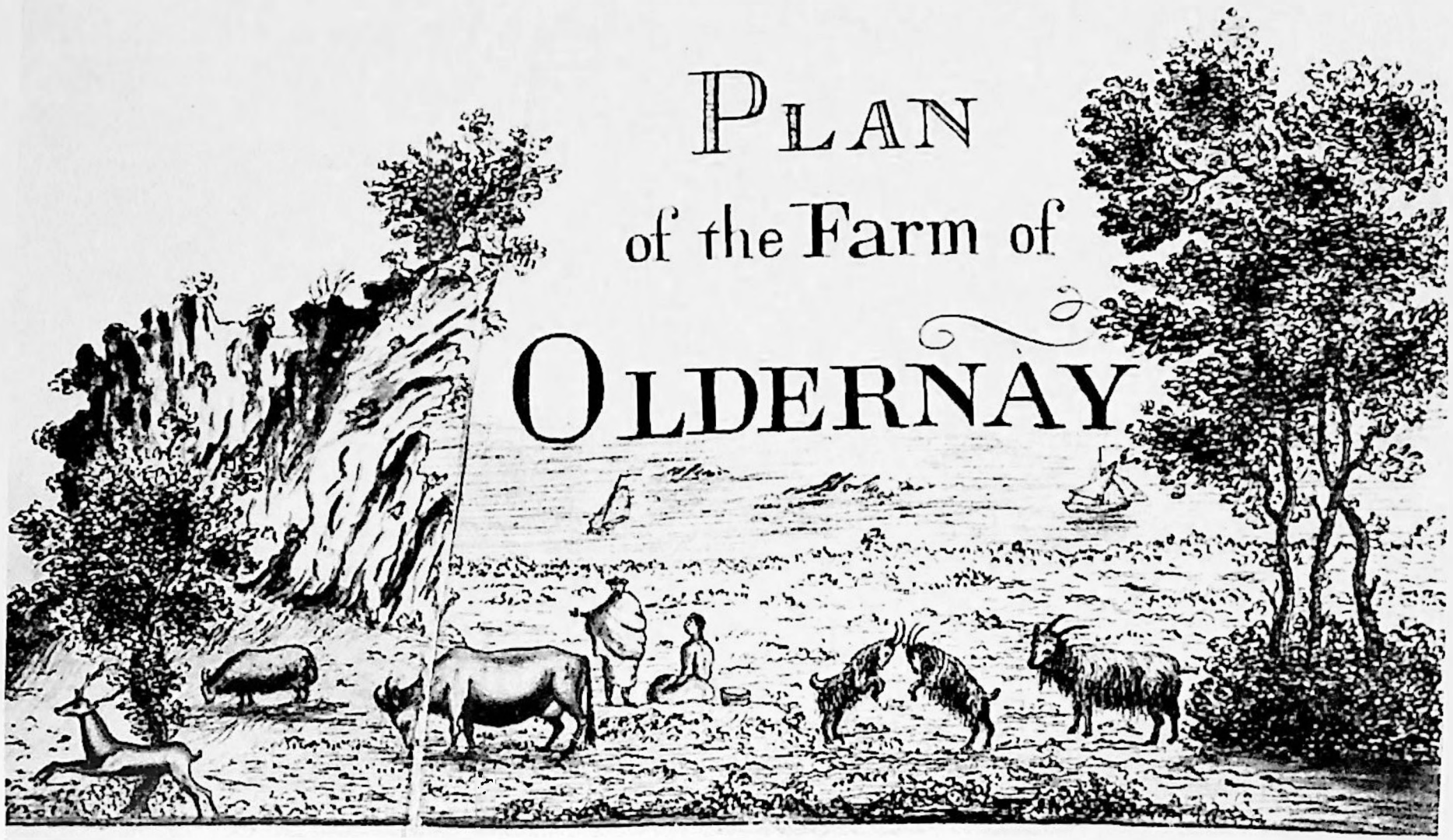
> Goats are all banished from this place, because they prevent the growth of woods by peeling the bark off and croping [*sic*] the tops of young trees, of which here are great plenty, chiefly oak. About



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.

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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).

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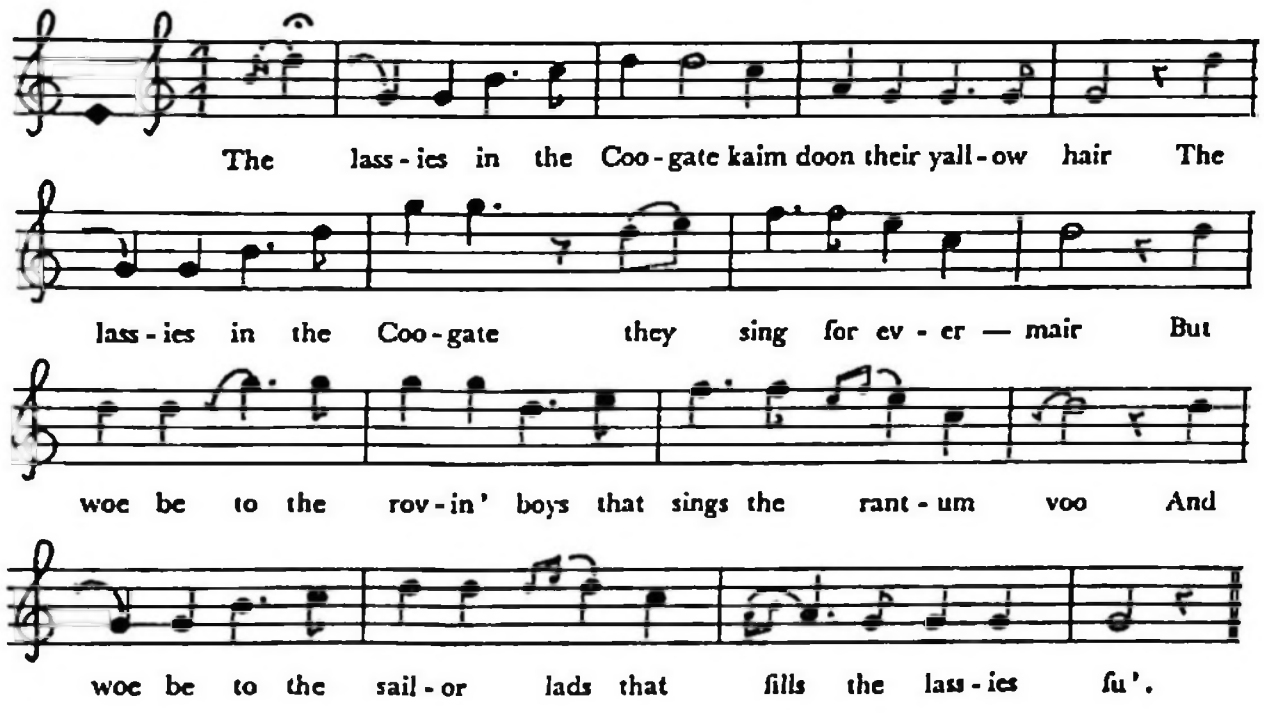
D. A. MACDONALD

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.

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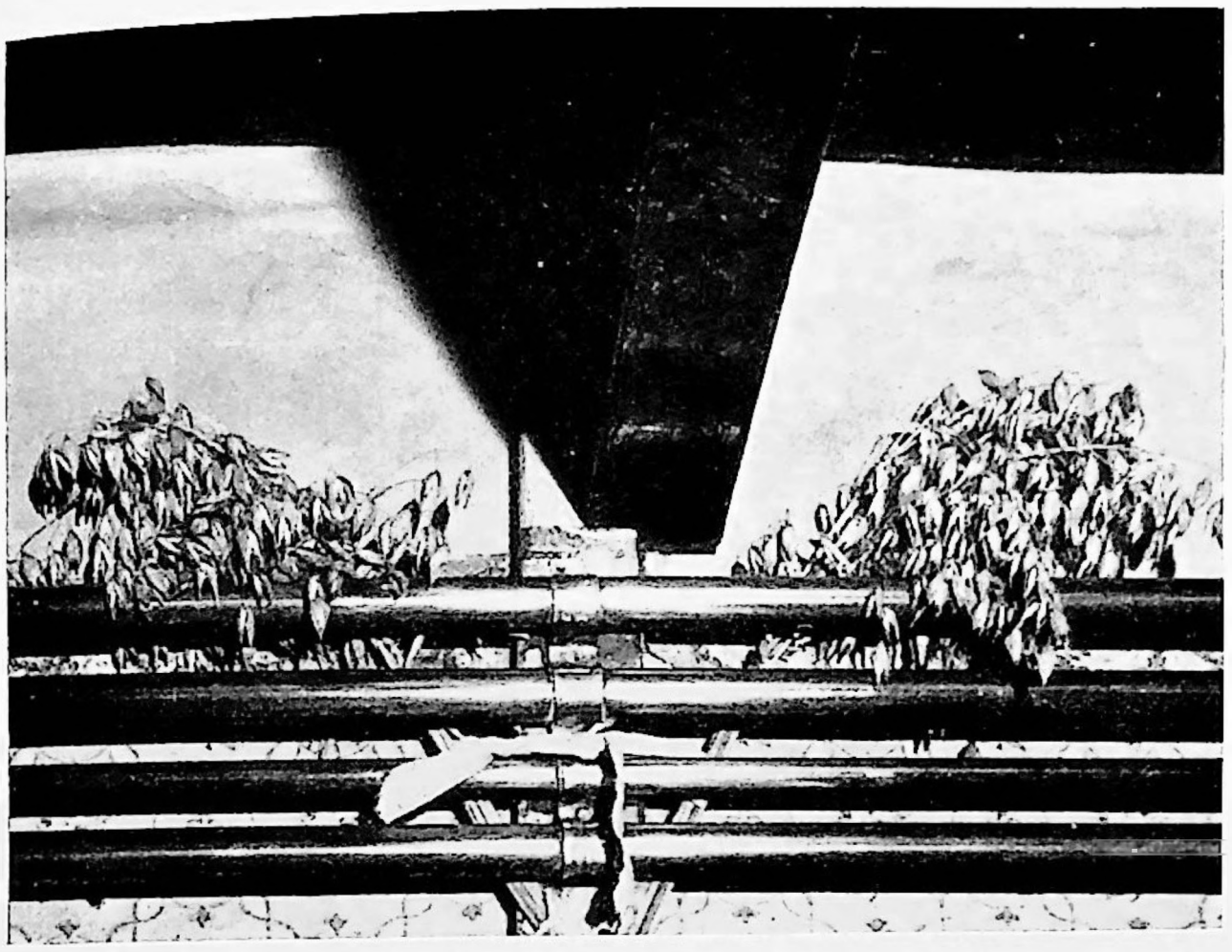
HAMISH HENDERSON

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



The "Maiden" cut in October 1964 on William Forbes' farm at Camserney, Perthshire, tied with blue ribbon. (See p. 230.)

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

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