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PART 1

PART 2

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NEW CHILD BALLAD VARIANTS FROM ORAL TRADITION

Hamish Henderson and Francis Collinson

In the biographical note on Professor Francis James Child which he wrote for *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Professor G. L. Kittredge stated:

". . . Mr. Child made an effort to stimulate the collection of such remains of the traditional ballad as still live on the lips of the people in this country and in the British Islands. The harvest was, in his opinion, rather scanty; yet, if all the versions thus recovered from tradition were enumerated, the number would not be found inconsiderable. Enough was done, at all events, to make it clear that little or nothing of value remains to be recovered in this way."

Gavin Greig's magnificent Aberdeenshire ballad collection (gathered in the early years of this century, and published posthumously in 1925 by the Buchan Club) furnished a decisive disproof of this over-pessimistic conclusion, but the title chosen for it by its editor, Alexander Keith—*Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*—suggested that the time had in fact come to write the final obituary for the Scots traditional ballad, even in its seemingly impregnable ancestral stronghold in the North-East. This elegiac note, as Keith himself has readily and generously admitted, was premature. It is true, to be sure, that since Greig's day there has been a certain falling-away, but the collection in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies has made it abundantly clear that the classical balladry of Scotland is still with us. Even in the last decade it has been possible to collect versions of Child ballads—such as No. 3 (The Fause Knight upon the Road), No. 13 (Edward) and No. 49 (The Twa Brothers)—which are not represented in *Last Leaves*, as well as excellent versions of many which are. Indeed the late Professor Gordon Hall Gerould uttered what was probably, even in the 1930s, a necessary truism when he remarked "Collecting need never come to an end while ballads are stil sung" (1932:15).

Although Greig's belief that Aberdeenshire retained more of the traditional balladry of Scotland than any other area was undoubtedly well founded, much of the School's most valuable work has been done in East-Central Scotland—the Dunkeld area, and Strathmore. Even the great cities have contributed their quota; a version of Tam Lin (Child 39—another ballad which Greig did not find in the North-East) has been recorded in Glasgow. Previously unexplored areas like the Kintyre peninsula have yielded not inconsiderable returns. However, the most spectacular gains have been made not so much as a result of the reconnoitring of new geographical areas as through the investigation of various social groups like the miners, the tinkers, and sections of the urban working class—groups which up till now have been to a great extent neglected by collectors. One single example must speak for many. The late Geordie Robertson, who recorded "Robin Hood and the Peddlar" for the School, knew Gavin Greig quite well; he actually played the pipes at one of the productions of Greig's bucolic comedy "Mains's Woo'in". For years he lived on a croft within easy walking distance of Greig's school-house at Whitehills, New Deer. Yet Greig never made any attempt to collect folk-songs from him. The reason was, in all probability, a social one; Greig got the great bulk of his wonderful collection from the farming community, and Geordie Robertson was a tinker—a settled tinker, a crofter and a "made horseman", but still a tinker. In Greig's day this represented a real social barrier, and—as the School's collectors have found in the recent past—these social barriers, although much less solid these days, do still form a real stumbling block. It does not pay to let some informants know that one has been consorting socially with tinkers—let alone camping with them, or scrounging peats with them.

While we do not, therefore, regard our collection as anything more than yet another stone added to a famous cairn which will receive many additions from others in the years to come, we may perhaps claim that we have opened up a fair stretch of new territory. Without doubt, the collection will continue to grow steadily. A point has been reached, however, at which it is possible to make a provisional assessment of the results of our field-work to date; in this number of *Scottish Studies*, and in several succeeding numbers, we shall present the best of our ballad discoveries to the public.

Like most collections made since the introduction of

mechanical devices for recording, and particularly since the invention of the tape recorder, our collection consists of unaltered and "unimproved" transcriptions of sound recordings. The tape recorder has not only greatly facilitated the work of collecting, it has also made it possible to reproduce both texts and tunes with an accuracy which one suspects was the exception rather than the rule in folk-song publications until fairly recently. If this mechanical aid makes us addedly conscious of the fragmentary nature of some of the material, it at any rate affords us the inestimable advantage of knowing its limits, and hence of reaching a greater understanding of its nature.

There has been scope, also, for a certain amount of revaluation in the field of ballad airs. The thing most often repeated in popular articles about the "typical Scots melody" is that it is constructed upon the pentatonic scale. Although many Scots airs do conform to this construction, a greater number are found to be based on the six-note (hexatonic) scale; while many others are constructed on scales synonymous with the so-called "Church-modes", the commonest being the Dorian, Aeolian, Mixolydian and of course Ionian or ordinary major scale.

The method of classification of the scales on which the tunes are constructed is as follows:

Pentatonic Scales. The form of the pentatonic scale CDE-GA, that is, with gaps at the fourth and seventh, is taken as the basic position and is numbered as Pentatonic I. The other positions are numbered according to the position of the final or "keynote" as it is to be found in the diatonic major scale. Thus the scale DE-GA-C, is classified as Pentatonic II, the note D, which is the final of that scale, being the second note of the diatonic major scale of C. The pentatonic scale with final on the fifth note of the diatonic major scale (G in the scale of C), i.e. GA-CDE, is therefore numbered Pentatonic V, and the scale with final on the sixth degree, A-CDE-G, is numbered Pentatonic VI.

Hexatonic Scales. The hexatonic scales are similarly classified according to the position of the final in the diatonic major scale *according to the key signature*, this note (the final) being expressed by a Roman numeral. Of the scale so located, the position of the single gap is indicated by an Arabic numeral preceded by a minus sign within brackets. Thus the scale DEFGA-C, will be labelled Hexatonic II (—6).

Accidentals which do not occur in the melody are not included in the key signature. In every case the scale is written out for clarity in staff notation at the end of each tune, the final or keynote being shown by a minim.

The compass of the melodies

The compass of the melodies varies, in our records, from six degrees of the scale (though the single example is doubtful, and should perhaps be eight degrees) to one single example of thirteen scale degrees, i.e. an octave and a sixth. The commonest extent of compass is that of an octave.

In this respect these Lowland Scots melodies may be said to differ from a comparable cross-section of Gaelic song tunes, of which a larger proportion might be expected to be of small compass. Six scale degrees is a not uncommon compass for many of the Gaelic waulking-song melodies, for example.

The compass, like the scale, is expressed in staff notation at the end of every tune, the position of the final being indicated by a minim. The number of degrees of the scale to which it extends is added in figures.

Summary of the scales used

Out of a sample of thirty-eight tunes analysed, the scales may be summarised as follows:

Pentatonic	11
Hexatonic	15
Seven-note	12

While one cannot deduce the proportion of scales to be found in the Lowland Scots ballad-tunes from such a small number, it may be said with some confidence from wider experience that the proportions here shown are probably not too wide off the mark.

CHILD 2. *The Elfin Knight*

The first three ballads in Child's thesaurus *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* are "riddling songs"—that is, they are confrontations resolved, one way or another, by the power of the word. No. 1, Riddles Wisely Expounded, is a dialogue between a young man and a girl; the girl successfully answers a series of posers put to her by a suitor, and gets her reward,

which is of course the hand of her antagonist. Sometimes it turns out that the suitor is really the Devil, and he disappears "in a blazing flame" when one of his names is spoken. (This latter is believed by some scholars to be the original form of the ballad.)

No. 2, *The Elfin Knight*, is also a courtship ballad, but in it the girl counters a series of impossible riddling demands (usually connected with the sewing of a Holland or cambric shirt) by challenging her lover to do a series of equally impossible tasks—sowing an acre of land with peppercorns, shearing it with a sheep's shank-bone and so on. The "Elfin Knight" of the title, who appears in most of the Scots versions printed by Child, is believed by the great ballad-editor to be "an intruder in this particular ballad"; in most of the European analogues of the story, the protagonists are ordinary human beings. In America, the wheel has turned full circle; "in this country the elf, an interloper in Britain, has been universally rationalised to a mortal lover" (Coffin 1950:31). In one of the versions collected by Motherwell (Child 2 I) the Elfin Knight has become the Devil; as Child states, "he has clearly displaced the elf-knight, for the elf's attributes of hill-haunting and magical music remain, only they have been transferred to the lady. That the Devil should supplant the knight, unco or familiar, is natural enough . . . the devil is the regular successor to any heathen sprite" (Child 1882:14).

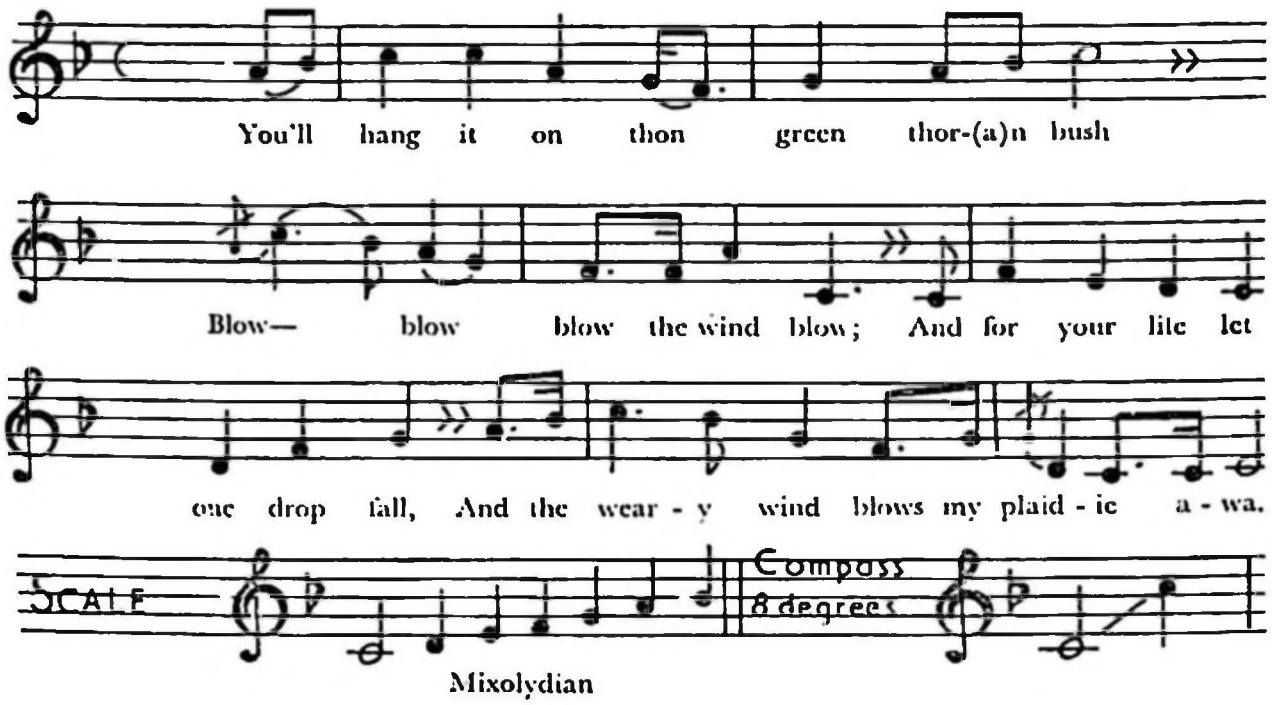
Our A version is a fragment sung by Andra Stewart, a general dealer of traveller stock, in the house of his sister Mrs. Bella Higgins, in Blairgowrie, Perthshire. The date of the recording was July 1956. Andra first heard the ballad from his mother; he did his best to remember more of it, but without success. Before recording two verses, he had a conversation with his sister, who suggested that one of the speakers was "a shepherd on the hill". Prompted by Bella, Andra produced the following verse, which he thought was about "a wool blanket":

> You'll dip it into yon draw-well
> Blow, blow, blow the wind blow,
> And for your life let one drop fall,
> And the weary wind blows my plaidie awa.

Questioned about the end of the ballad, he said: "He says something about the Lord to him; he went away in a ball of fire, the devil, on this hill. That's why he knew he was talking to the devil."

A

Andra Stewart: The Elfin Knight



1. You'll hang it on yon green thorn bush,
   Blow, blow, blow the wind blow,
   And for your life let one drop fall,
   And the weary wind blows my plaidie awa.

2. Since you gave those three tasks to me,
   Blow, blow, blow the wind blow,
   Let me give three tasks to you,
   And the weary wind blows my plaidie awa.

Andra's air for this ballad shows the characteristic common to many Scots tunes of a final cadence which is modally at variance with the rest of the tune. Here, though the final cadence compels us by the rule of the last note to classify the mode as Mixolydian, the melody has much of the feeling of the Ionian mode in the key of F, but in the plagal position, and ending on the dominant.

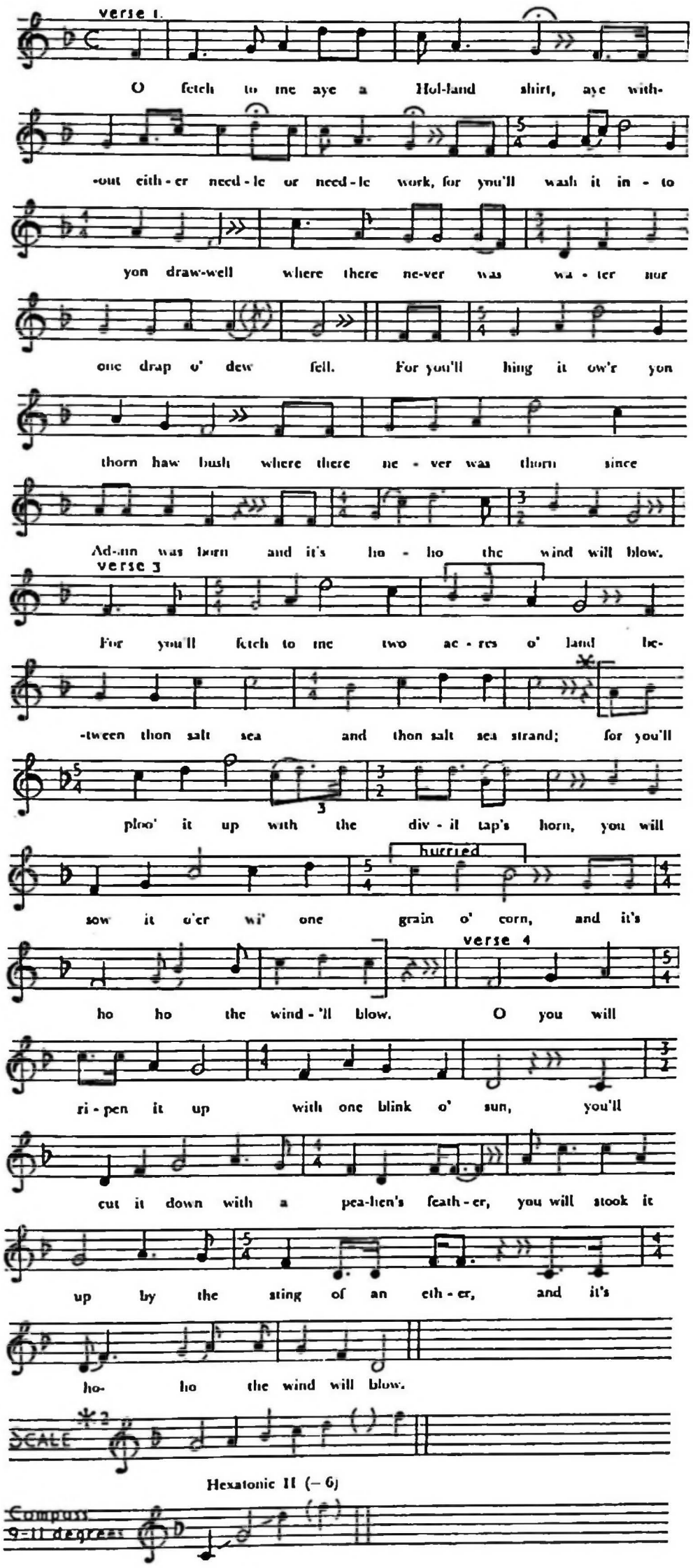
The form is AB^1CB^2.

The version B recorded by Mrs. Martha Reid ("Peasie") of Birnam, Perthshire, in 1955, is much more complete; it is clearly related to the version printed by Peter Buchan in *Ballads of the North of Scotland* (1828:II, 296), and also to the version recited for Gavin Greig by Miss Bell Robertson, New Pitsligo. One stanza (No. 6) recalls Stanza 9 in Child's M version:

> Ye'll shear it wi a peacock's feather,
> An bind it all up wi the sting o an adder.

B

Mrs. Martha Reid: The Elfin Knight



1. O fetch to me aye a Holland shirt,
Aye without either needle or needle-work;
For you'll wash it into yon draw-well,
Where there never was water, nor one drap o' dew fell.

2. For ye'll hing it ow'r yon thorn-haw bush,
Where there never was thorn since Adam was born,
An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow.

3. For you'll fetch to me two acres o' land,
Between thon salt sea and thon salt sea strand.
For you'll plou' it up with the Divil tap's horn,
You will sow it o'er wi' one grain o' corn,
An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow.

4. For you will ripen it up with one blink o' sun
You'll cut it down with a pea-hen's feather
You'll stook it up by the sting of an ether,
An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow.

5. For you'll yoke two sparrows in a match-box
An' cart it home to your own farmyard,
An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow.

6. For surely when you pit sich tasks on me,
I'll surely pit aye as hard on you:
How many ships sails in my forest?
How many strawberries grows on the salt sea?
An' it's ho, ho, the wind'll blow.

The tune of Peasie's "Elfin Knight" is exceedingly irregular. As far as can be established, B♭ does not occur in all stanzas, and the final note differs in several stanzas. The above modal classification is calculated on the *majority* of stanzas.

It is almost impossible to establish a norm for the melody, which is to some extent rhapsodic. The third stanza, however, possesses more regularity than the others, and shows a five-phrase tune. The fourth stanza shows marked differences of mode from the others, particularly in its descent to the note D at the cadence of the first phrase and at the final cadence, which latter, of course, if accepted, will change radically the modal classification set down above.

CHILD 3. *The False Knight upon the Road*

When Professor Child drafted his article on "this singular ballad" he had two versions only to go on—both printed by Motherwell in his Minstrelsy. The first of these was the famous "Fause Knight" of the anthologies, and the second no more than a one-verse fragment, plus a tune. By the time he came to compile Additions and Corrections to Vol. 1, however, there was a third version to be added; this had been contributed by the indefatigable William Macmath of Edinburgh, who got it from the recitation of his Aunt, Miss Jane Webster, formerly of Airds of Kells, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Galloway. His sister also provided, for Child's Appendix of Tunes, an air for the ballad which is "rhythmatically the exact counterpart of Motherwell's first text" (Bronson 1959:34). Collecting in the United States has provided a number of supplementary versions although Coffin states: "American texts of this song are quite rare, and it is [Arthur K.] Davis' opinion they emanate from Virginia . . . to a large extent". Hearing of the Scots versions in the School's archives, Mr. Seán O'Boyle of Armagh asked for, and got, a Northern Irish version in 1958.

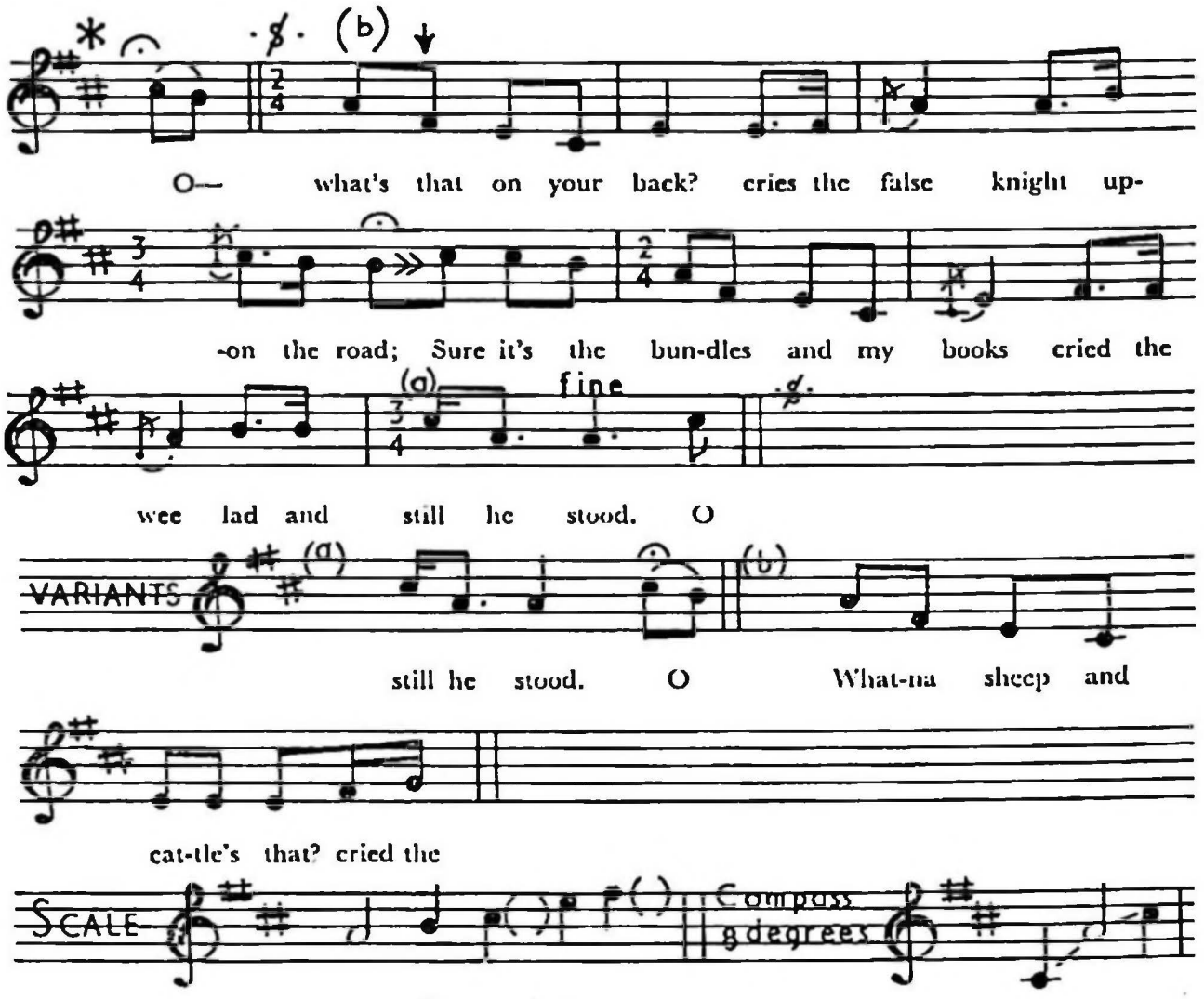
We are dealing, therefore, with what is, and what always seems to have been, a comparatively rare ballad. There is no version in Greig's *Last Leaves*, and all the versions tape-recorded by the School are, to a greater or lesser extent, fragmentary.

Referring to the ballads in which riddles and tricks serve as the material for the narrative, Professor G. H. Gerould says: "Perhaps the strangest of all such ballads is the Fause Knight upon the Road (3), in which a young boy has to find ready replies to the questions put to him, or be carried off, presumably by the devil" (1932:61). The identity of the "False Knight" is never explicitly stated in the Scots variants, but the singers nearly all, when asked to talk about the song, and its meaning, explain that he is meant to be the devil. In the Irish version mentioned above, the homiletic character of the ballad is heavily underlined.

[MUSIC

A

Duncan MacPhee: False Knight



Pentatonic I

1. "O what's that on your back?" cries the false knight upon the road.
"Sure it's the bundles and my books," cried the wee lad and still he stood.

2. "O will you give me share?" cries the false knight upon the road.
"O I canna gie ye share," cried the wee boy and still he stood.

3. "O whatna sheep and cattle's that?" cries the false knight upon the road.
"Sure it's my father's noo, an' mine" cried the wee boy and still he stood.

This variant was recorded in the berryfields of Blairgowrie, Perthshire, in the summer of 1955. The singer was then 19 years of age. His tune is strongly reminiscent of "The Rose Tree", also known as "The Old Lea Rigg", a fiddle tune which appears in Gow's second book of Strathspeys, Reels, etc. (Dunkeld 1788). It is the obvious original of the tune of Sir

Harry Lauder's song "Stop yer ticklin', Jock".—Commenting on the ten recorded tunes from Scotland and the U.S.A., Professor Bronson states: "Perhaps the basic rhythmical pattern of them all is that of a reel" (1959:34). The Nova Scotia tune collected by Helen Creighton seems to have the same dance associations: her indication of tempo is "Very quickly, in jig time" (1933:1).

B

The late Mrs. Bella Higgins of Blairgowrie, whose tune for the ballad is almost identical with that sung by Duncan McPhee, contributed the following text shortly after he recorded his version:

1. "O where are you going?" said the false knight upon the road,
   "I'm going to the school," said the wee boy, and still he stood.

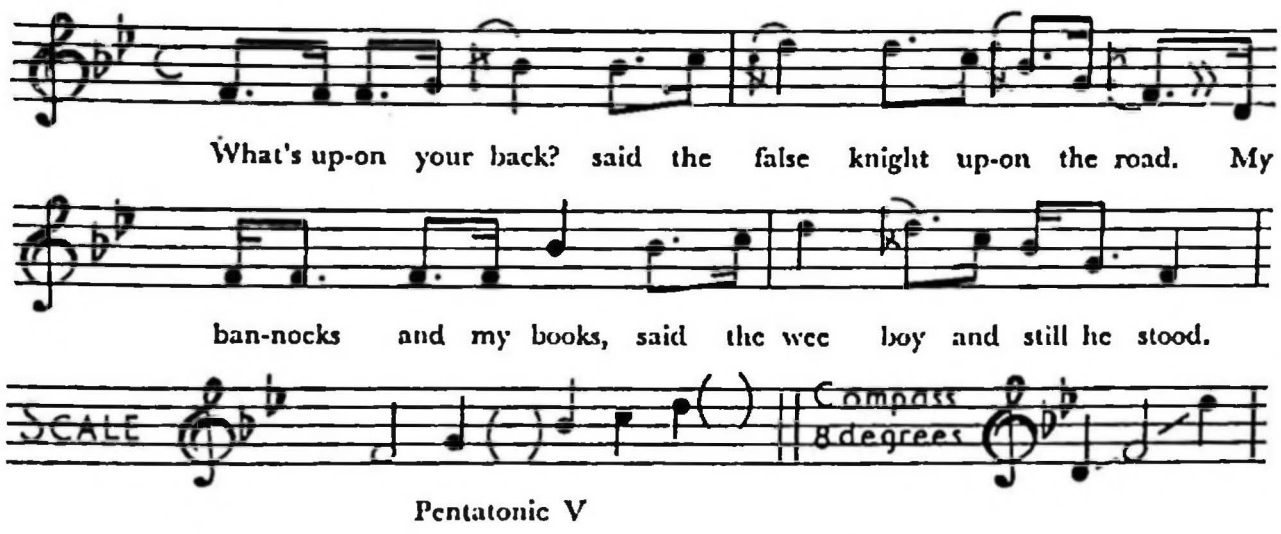
2. "What's that upon your back?" said the false knight upon the road.
   "My bonnock and my books," said the wee boy, and still he stood.

3. "If I had you at the sea," said the false knight upon the road,
   "And a good ship under me," said the wee boy, and still he stood.

4. "If I had you at the well," said the false knight upon the road.
   "And you into hell," said the wee boy, and still he stood.

C

Nellie MacGregor: False Knight



Pentatonic V

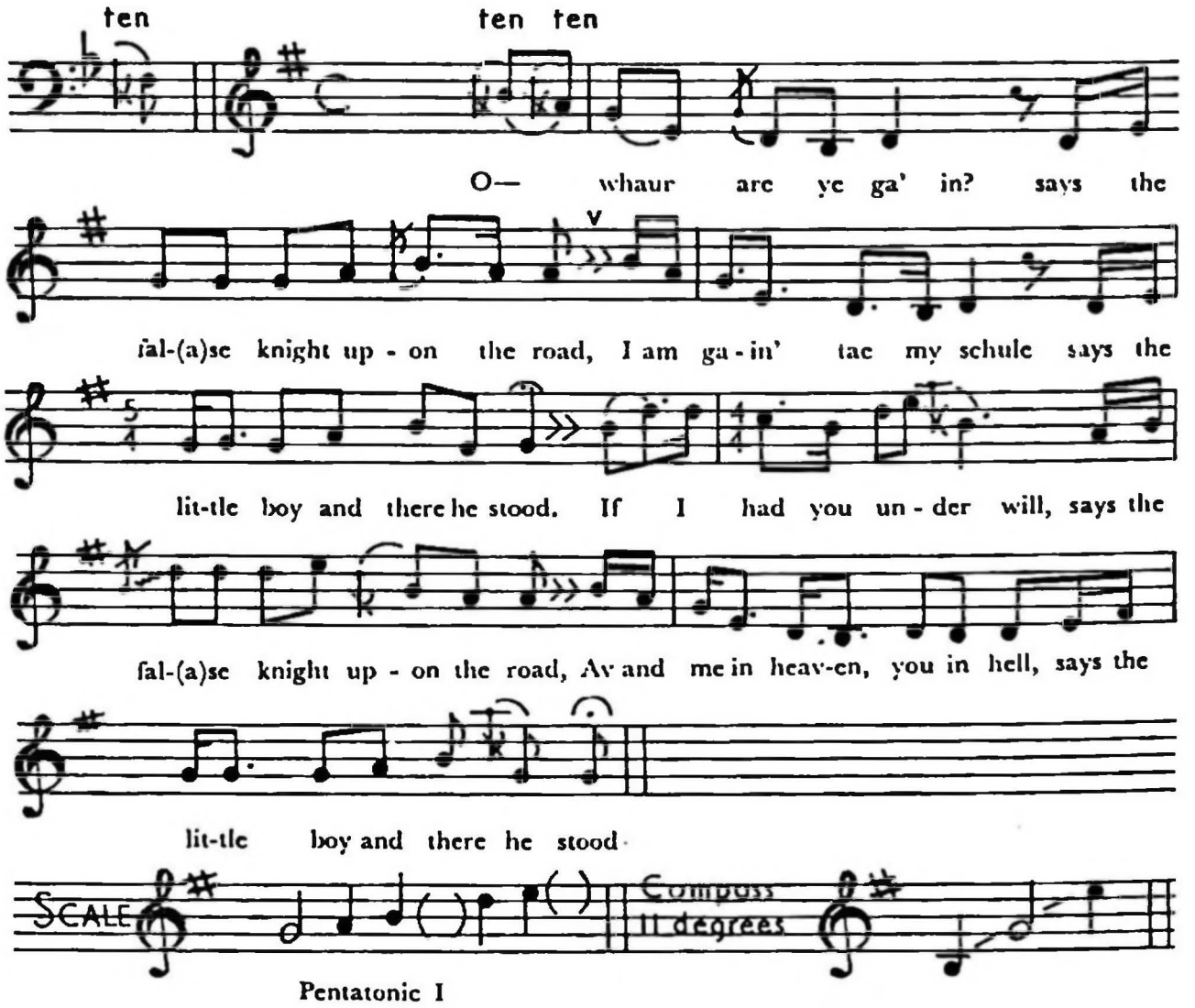
A two-phrase tune, Form AA.

"What's upon your back?" said the false knight upon the road.
"My bannocks an' my books," said the wee boy, and still he stood.

This fragment, which was recorded in Aberdeen in 1954 from a city-dwelling tinker woman, was the first indication we received that this rare ballad was still in circulation in Scotland. The extreme simplicity of the pentatonic tune suggests that it may well have been used as a nursery rhyme.

D

Willie Whyte: False Knight



Form AABA.

1. O whaur are ye ga'in? says the false knight upon the road.
   I am ga'in tae my schule, says the little boy, and there he stood.

2. If I had you under will, says the false knight upon the road.
   Ay, and me in heaven, you in hell, says the little boy, and there he stood.

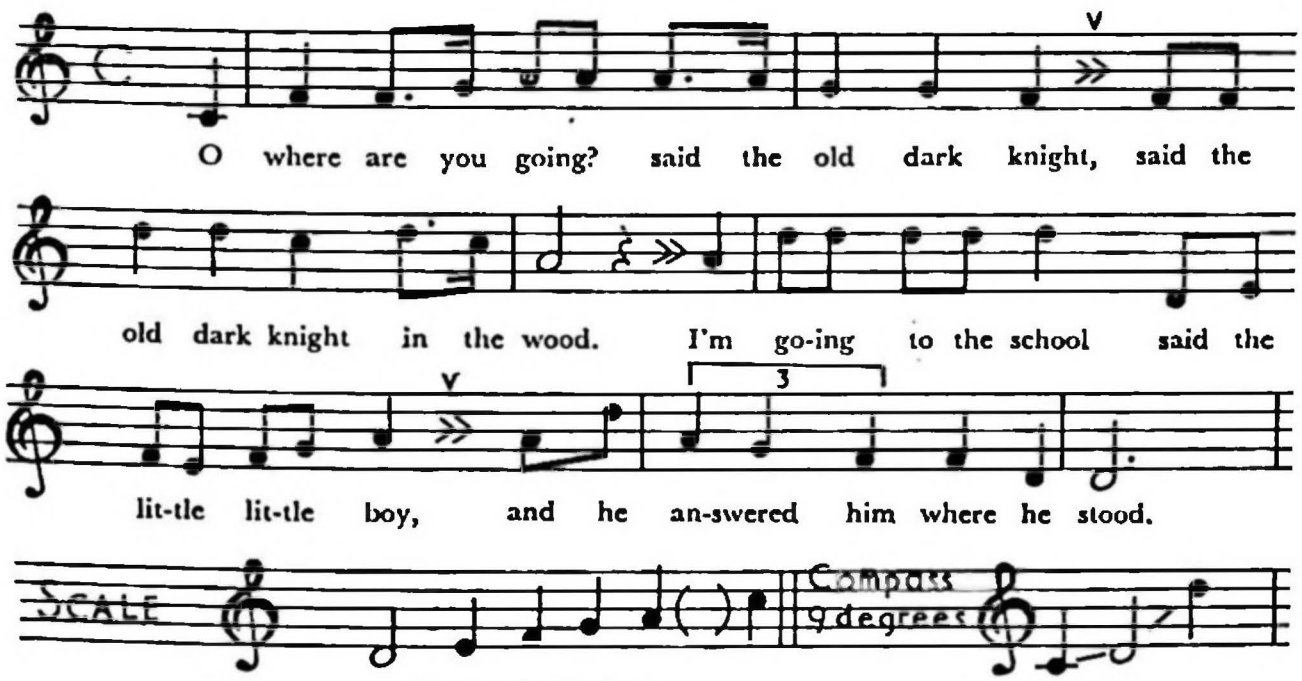
3. Has your mother any more like you? said the false knight upon the road.
   Ay, but none of them for you, says the little boy, and there he stood.

In this version, collected from Willie Whyte of Hayton, Aberdeen in the summer of 1962, the supernatural figure of the False Knight has become more human, if no less sinister; the text suggests the figure of the child-murderer.

The air is another variant of the "Rose Tree" tune, alias "The Old Lea-Rigg". (The third phrase, however, is different from the phrase published by Gow.)

E

Miss Margaret Eyre: The False Knight in the Wood



Hexatonic II (—6)
with secondary tonal centre
on F.

Form A, B, C, D.

"O where are you going?" said the old dark knight,
Said the old dark knight in the wood.
"I'm going to the school," said the little little boy,
And he answered him were he stood.

Miss Eyre's tune is an interesting example of the characteristic of many Scots tunes of beginning in one key or mode and ending in another. Here the first three phrases or sections can all be considered as being in F major (or allied gapped mode) and only in the last section does the melody turn towards and end in the relative minor. By the rule of the last note, the mode must be set down as having its final on D, with the resultant modal classification as set down above; but the feeling of the

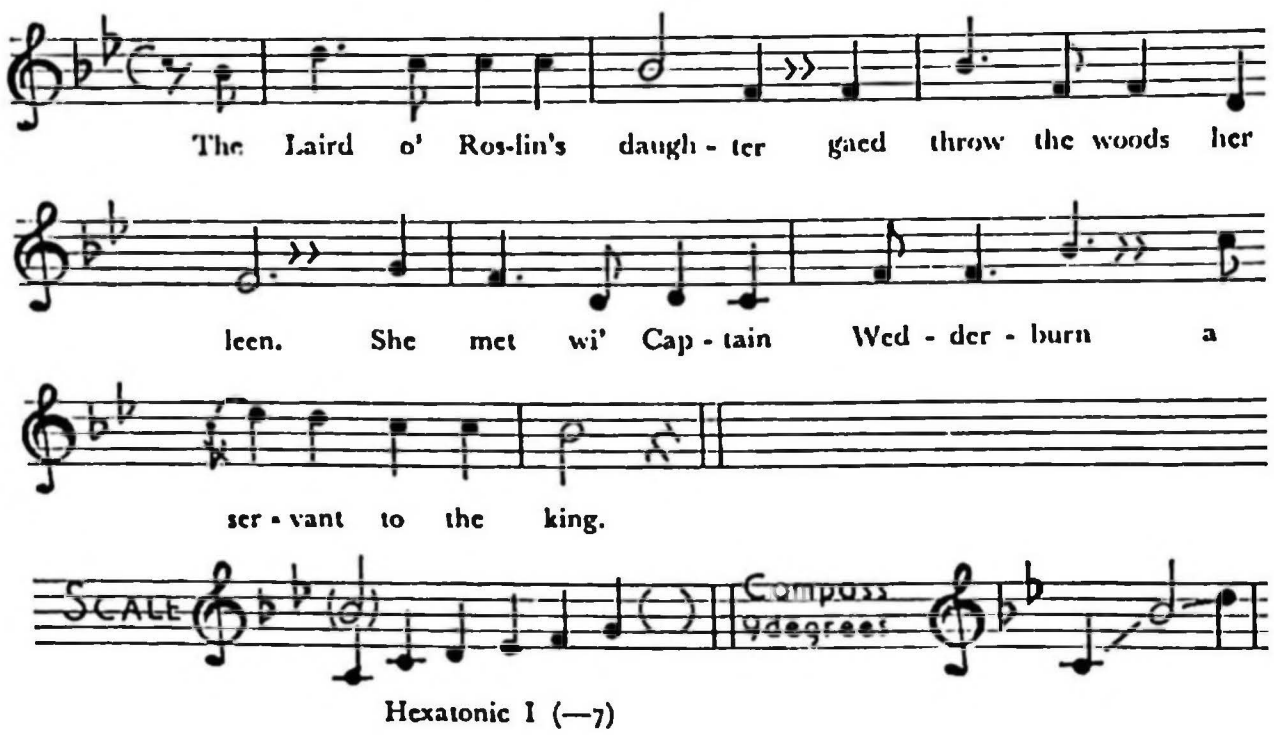
melody as a whole is of centring round a secondary concealed final in F.

Child 46. *Captain Wedderburn's Courtship*

Although there is a considerable gap in Child between the foregoing ballads and Captain Wedderburn's Courtship, it seems entirely fitting to bring them together. Bronson remarks, with evident justice, that the trappings of Captain Wedderburn's Courtship (the "butler's bell", the "livery man" and so on) suggest a comparatively late date for the origin of the ballad as it now circulates, but the riddling motifs which it employs go back to ancient times. In effect (as Child points out) it is a counterpart of the Elfin Knight, and it incorporates a famous riddle song ("I gave my love a cherry") which has long had independent existence, and may well have preceded the ballad of which it is now generally regarded as forming part.

Our version was recorded by the late Willie Mathieson, an Aberdeenshire farm servant who was both folk-singer and collector; he picked up songs and ballads all over the North-East, as he moved around one farm to another, and wrote them down in large ledger books (photographed for the archives for the School of Scottish Studies in April 1952). *Captain Wedderburn's Courtship* is the first of these. Although (or maybe because) it omits the journey to Edinburgh and the landlady's praise of the heroine's beauty, which feature in most Scottish variants, Willie's version achieves a most felicitous lyrical unity.

Willie Mathieson: Captain Wedderburn's Courtship



Hexatonic I (—7)

1. The Laird o' Roslin's daughter
Gaed through the woods her leen:
She met wi' Captain Wedderburn
A servant to the King.
He said unto his servant man,
If it werena for the law
I would tak her hame to my bed
An' lay her neist the wa'.

2. The Laird o' Roslin's daughter
Amang her father's trees—
Oh would you let me walk alone
Kind sir, if that you please.
For the supper bells they will be rung,
And I'll be missed awa.
I winna lie in your bed
At either stock or wa'.

3. Oh haud awa frae me, she said,
And do not me perplex.
Afore I lie in your bed
You'll answer questions six;
Questions six you'll answer me,
And that is four and twa,
Afore I'll lie in your bed
At either stock or wa'.

4. What is greener than the grass,
What's higher than the trees?
What is worse than weemen's voice,
What's deeper than the seas?
What bird's first—what bird's next
And what on them doth fa'?
Afore I'll lie on your bed
At either stock or wa'.

5. It's holly's greener than the grass,
Heaven's higher than the trees;
Auld Nick's waur than woman's voice,
Hell's deeper than the seas,
The cock crows first, the sea bird's next,
The dew doth on them fa',
And we'll baith lie in ae bed
And ye'll lie neist the wa'.

6. Oh haud awa frae me, she says,
Oh haud awa frae me;
Afore I'll lie in your bed
You'll cook me dishes three.
Dishes three you'll cook to me
And that is ane and twa,
Afore I'll lie in your bed
At either stock or wa'.

7. Ye maun gie me to my supper
A chick withoot a bone.
Ye maun gie me to my supper
A cherry withoot a stone.
Ye maun gie me to my supper
A bird withoot a ga',
Afore I'll lie in your bed
At either stock or wa'.

8. It's when the chick is in the shell
I'm sure it hath no bone,
And when the cherry's in full bloom
I'm sure it hath no stone.
The dove she is a gentle bird,
She flies withoot a ga',
And we'll baith lie in ae bed
And ye'll lie neist the wa'.

9. It's ye maun gie me some winter fruit
That in December grew;
Ye maun gie me a silk mantle
Whose warp was ne'er cut through.
A sparrow's horn, a priest unborn,
This night to join us twa,
Afore I'll lie on your bed
At either stock or wa'.

10. My father has some winter fruit
That in December grew;
My mother has a silk mantle—
It's warp was ne'er cut through.
A sparrow's horn ye weel may get,
There's een on ilka claw,
And there's twa upon the nibbie o't—
My love ye'll get them a'.

11. There is a priest stands at the door
Just ready to come in;
There's neen can say that he was born
Withoot committin' sin.
There was a hole cut in his mither's side,
He fae the same did fa',
And we'll baith lie in ae bed
And ye'll lie neist the wa'.

12. Oh little did that fair maid think,
That morning when she rose,
That very nicht would put an end
To all her maiden joys.
She's married Captain Wedderburn,
A man she never saw,
And noo they lie in ae bed,
And she lies neist the wa'.

CHILD 11. *The Cruel Brother*

There is only one recording of a fragment of this ballad in the School's archives, and it does not appear in *Last Leaves*, but—if we are to believe Aytoun—it was once one of the most popular ballads in Scotland. Bronson suggests (1959:185) that "it was probably inevitable that with the dying-out of a family code which could rate the forgetting to ask a brother's assent to his sister's marriage as a mortal affront, the ballad would wither away."

Our version was collected from Mrs. Martha Stewart in the berry-fields of Blairgowrie, July 1955. The fragment begins at the point where the heroine, stabbed by her brother immediately after her wedding (which has taken place without his consent being either asked or given), bestows a series of bequests on her parents, sister, etc., much as in various versions of Lord Randal (Child 12).

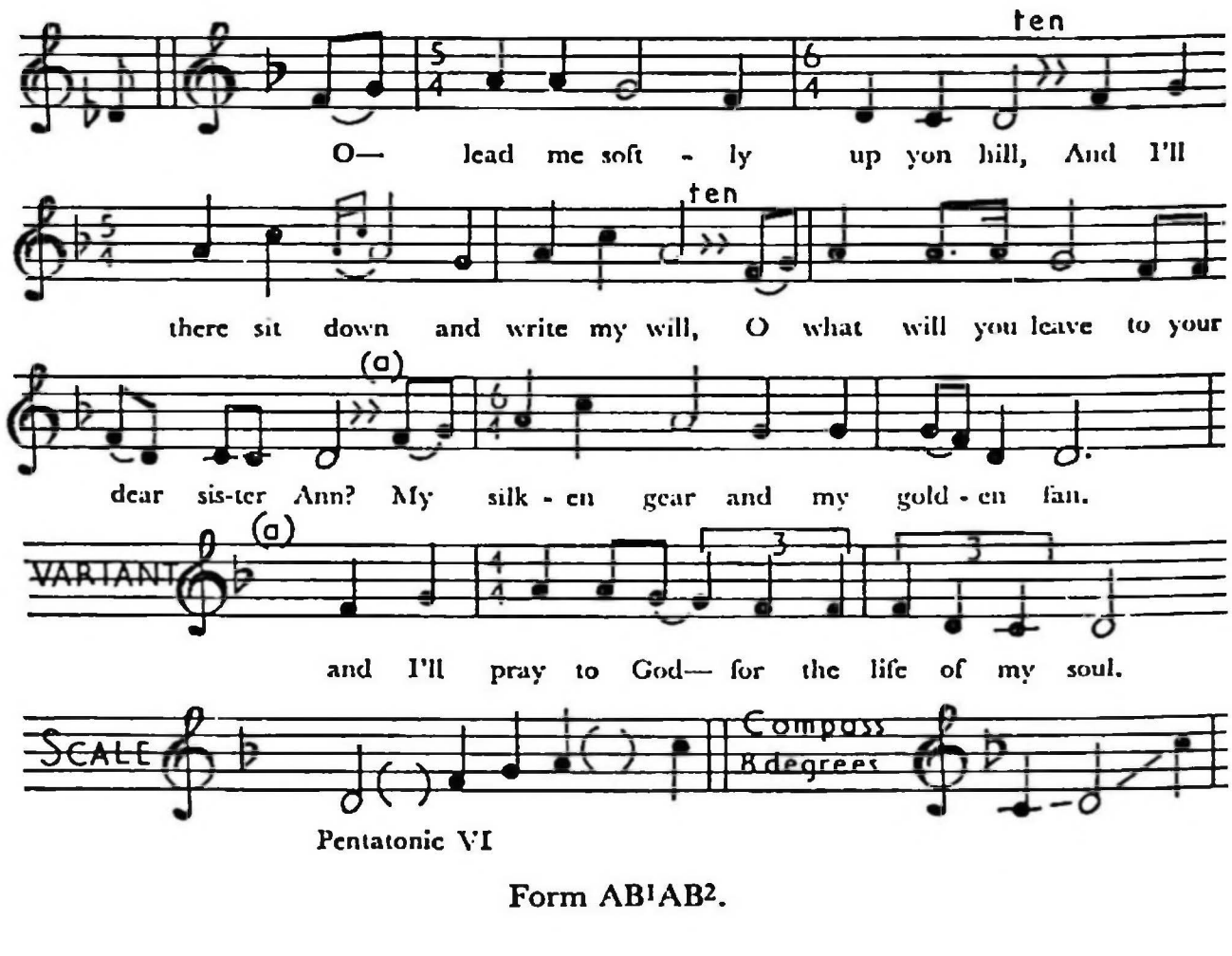
The text bears a close resemblance to that obtained in 1800 by Alexander Fraser Tytler from Mrs. Brown of Falkland (Child 11A), and indeed suggests that at some stage or other this printed text had been seen by one or other of the singers in the line of tradition which led up to Martha's version, although the latter learnt the ballad orally from her father. However, Martha's last verse is not in Child's A version, which ends:

This ladie fair in her grave was laid,
And many a mass was oer her said.

But it would have made your heart right sair,
To see the bridegroom rive his haire.

Nor is Martha's final verse in any of the other versions, Scots and American, printed by Child and by Bronson.

Martha Stewart: The Cruel Brother



Form AB^1AB^2.

1. O lead me softly up yon hill,
   And I'll there sit down and write my will.

2. O what will you leave to your dear sister Ann?
   My silken gear and my golden fan.

3. And what will you leave to your mother dear?
   The silver-shod steed that brought me here.

4. And what will you leave to your dear brother John?
   The gallows-tree to hang him on.

5. And what will you leave to your brother John's wife?
   The wilderness to end her life.

6. And you'll dig my grave right down to the doil,
   And I'll pray to God for the life of my soul.

CHILD 14. *The Banks o' Airdrie*

In Motherwell's Minstrelsy, this ballad is given the poetic title of "Babylon, or the Banks o' Fordie", Baby Lon being the name of the robber who murders two of his sisters for resisting his advances before discovering their identity from the youngest. Curiously enough, our version was collected not very far from the Fordie burn; it was sung by Mrs. Martha Reid ("Peasie") of Birnam, who also gave us the longer of the two versions of the Elfin Knight. However, Peasie's title for it was The Banks of Airdrie, and this locale seems to be that favoured by the travelling folk; it appears in a version published by Francis Hindes Groome in his book *In Gipsy Tents* (1880), and it is also the title of a two verse fragment preserved (without tune) by Gavin Greig's informant Bell Robertson, and received by her "from a tinker boy nearly 70 years ago" (Greig-Keith 1925:15).

As several scholars have pointed out, Child 14 affords a most effective example of the incremental repetition which is one of the characteristic features of much ballad narrative. "While the outlaw brother in *Babylon* makes his proposal to each sister in turn, receives from the first two the same despairing refusal, and kills them one after the other, we look forward to the climactic third with an instinctive expectation of something different to come. Yet there is no immediate change. The formula begins still again:

> He's taken the youngest ane by the hand,
> And he's turned her round and made her stand.
>
> Says, "Will ye be a rank robber's wife,
> Or will ye die by my wee pen-knife?"

Her defiant reply, of course, snaps the thread:

> "I'll not be a rank robber's wife,
> Nor will I die by your wee pen-knife.
>
> For I hae a brother in this wood,
> And gin ye kill me, it's he'll kill thee."

The cumulative effect has been secured. There is nothing more to follow save the revelation of the brother's name and his remorseful death" (Gerould 1932:107).

It is also a ballad which displays the infinite adaptability of folk-song, for in one of the American versions printed by Bronson the "Rank Robber" has become the "Bank Robber"

(1959:250). A version of it has also been recorded from little girls at Kingarth, Bute:

> Three sisters went to gather flow'rs,
> Three sisters went to gather flow'rs,
> Three sisters went to gather flow'rs,
> Down by the bonnie banks o' Airdrie O.
>
> (Reid 1910:78)

In some districts "Airdrie O" has turned, on the lips of children, into "Sweet Rio". Dorothy K. Haynes reports a version learned at a Scottish orphanage.

> Will you be a robber's wife?
> Will you die by my penknife?
> Will you be a robber's wife
> Down by the Bonnie Banks, sweet Rio?
>
> (Haynes 1958:32)

Mrs. Martha Reid: Banks o' Airdrie

1. Three pretty sisters had come to the wood to find
   their brothers,
   When they met in with the robber John.
   He catched the first pretty sister by the hand,
   He wheeled her roond and he made her stand
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

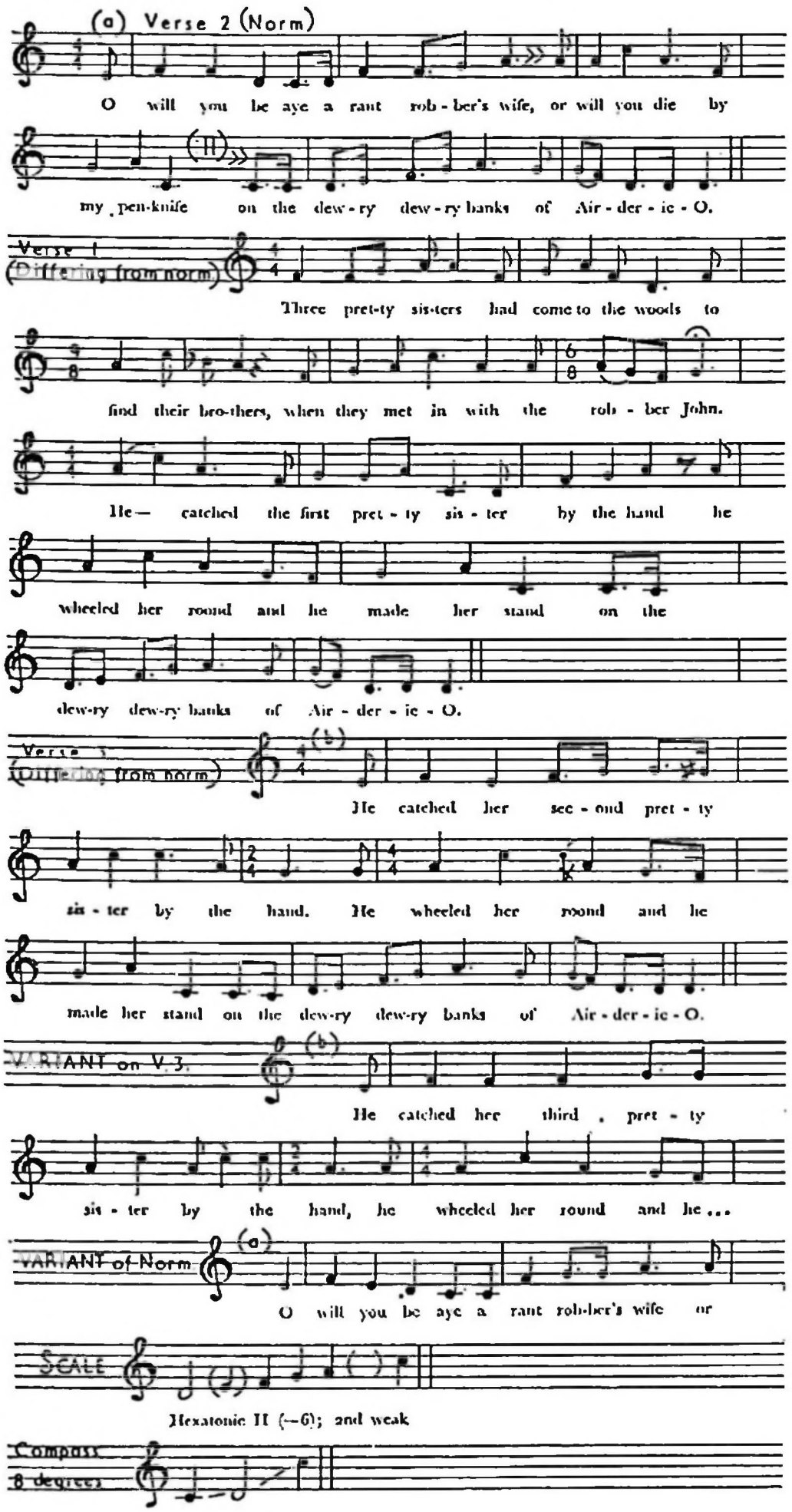
2. O will you be aye a rant robber's wife,
   Or will you die by my pen-knife
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

3. O I'll not be, aye, a rant robber's wife,
   I won't die by your penknife,
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

4. He catched her second pretty sister by the hand,
   He wheeled her roond and he made her stand
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

5. O will you be aye a rant robber's wife,
   Or will you die by my penknife
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

6. O I'll not be, aye, a rant robber's wife,
   I would rather die by your penknife
   On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.


(a) Verse 2 (Norm)
O will you be aye a rant rob-ber's wife, or will you die by
my pen-knife on the dew-ry dew-ry banks of Air-der-ie-O.
Verse 1
(Differing from norm)
Three pret-ty sis-ters had come to the woods to
find their bro-thers, when they met in with the rob-ber John.
He— catched the first pret-ty sis-ter by the hand he
wheeled her round and he made her stand on the
dew-ry dew-ry banks of Air-der-ie-O.
Verse 3
(Differing from norm)
He catched her sec-ond pret-ty
sis-ter by the hand. He wheeled her round and he
made her stand on the dew-ry dew-ry banks of Air-der-ie-O.
VARIANT on V.3.
He catched her third pret-ty
sis-ter by the hand, he wheeled her round and he...
VARIANT of Norm
O will you be aye a rant rob-ber's wife or
SCALE
Hexatonic II (—6); and weak
Compass
8 degrees

7. He catched her third pretty sister by the hand,
He wheeled her roond, and he made her stand,
On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

8. O will you be, aye, a rant robber's wife,
Or will you die by my penknife
On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

9. O I'll not be, aye, a rant robber's wife,
I'll not die by your penknife:
I have a brother in this wood,
If you kill me, he's sure to kill you
On the dewry, dewry banks of Airderie O.

10. O come tell to me, aye, your brother's name,
Come tell to me aye your brother's name
On the dewry dewry banks of Airderie O.

11. I have a brother called Robin John,
I have a brother a minister in the west,
I have another banisht owre the seas
For if you kill me, he's sure to kill you
On the dewry, dewry banks of Airderie O.

12. O dearie me, what is this I have done?
I've killed my three pretty sisters, a' but one,
I've killed my three pretty sisters, a' but one,
On the dewry, dewry banks of Airderie O.

The rhythm and phrase sequence are both inclined to wander, and it is fortunate that the norm can be established with some certainty. In spite of its rhythmic licence and fragmentary repetitions, however, the main contours of the melody remain remarkably recognisable throughout the stanzas.

The single $B^{\flat}$ in verse one cannot be said to be established in the scale. Neither can the $G^{\#}$ in verse three.

Child 39. *Tam Lin*

Although "Tam Lin" is justly regarded, thanks to the splendid version sent by Robert Burns to James Johnson for the *Scots Musical Museum*, as one of the major ballads in our tradition, only four tunes have ever been reported for it—and one of these (Janet of Carterhaugh, from the Blaikie MS. in the National Library of Scotland) is a question mark, with no

text to back it. Of the others, one (of English origin) was collected in the United States, one is Irish (Belfast, but from Connemara originally), and the third is the tune accompanying Burns's text in the Museum. Until Willie White's fragment (our B) was recorded, Aberdeenshire was unrepresented. The two tunes in our archives, therefore, represent one-third of all the tunes ever recorded for this remarkable ballad.

Bessie Johnstone's version (our A) was recorded in Glasgow in 1957. We first heard of the singer in the berryfields of Blairgowrie the previous year, but the Dumbarton address we got for her there proved useless, and the trail we had to follow was long and complicated. Success came eventually after a phone call to Barlinnie; an official very kindly agreed to carry a message, couched in tinker's cant, to one of the inmates who knew the family.

Bessie's version preserves two distinct sections of the first half of the ballad: the opening scene, when Tam Lin (the mortal who was in thrall to the fairies) seduces a girl, and then the series of instructions which he gives her as to how she can redeem him from among the Fairy throng.

A

1. Lady Margret, Lady Margret,
   Bein, sewing at her beam,
   She lookèd east, she lookèd west
   And she saw those merry green woods,
   growing green,
   She saw those merry green woods.

2. As she kilted up her petticoats,
   It's up to them she ran,
   And when she came to those merry green woods
   She pu'd those branches down,
   my dear,
   She pu'd those branches down.

3. For it's there she spied a gentleman
   Comin' through the wood to her side.
   It's I gave you O leave, O leave,
   To pull those branches down,
   my dear,
   It's I'll give you O leave.

4. For it's wonst I could pull those trees, those trees,
It's wonst I could pull those branches.
Its wonst I could pull those trees, those trees,
All athout the leave of you,
my sir,
All athout the leave of you.

5. For he catcht her by the middle small,
And gently laid her down.

---

6. For it's since you've got your will of me,
Come, tell me now your name.

---

7. For to-morrow it is the new Hallowe'en,
An' the quality's goin' to ride,
You'll pass them by at the old mill bridge,
As they go ridin' by,
my dear,
As they go ridin' by.

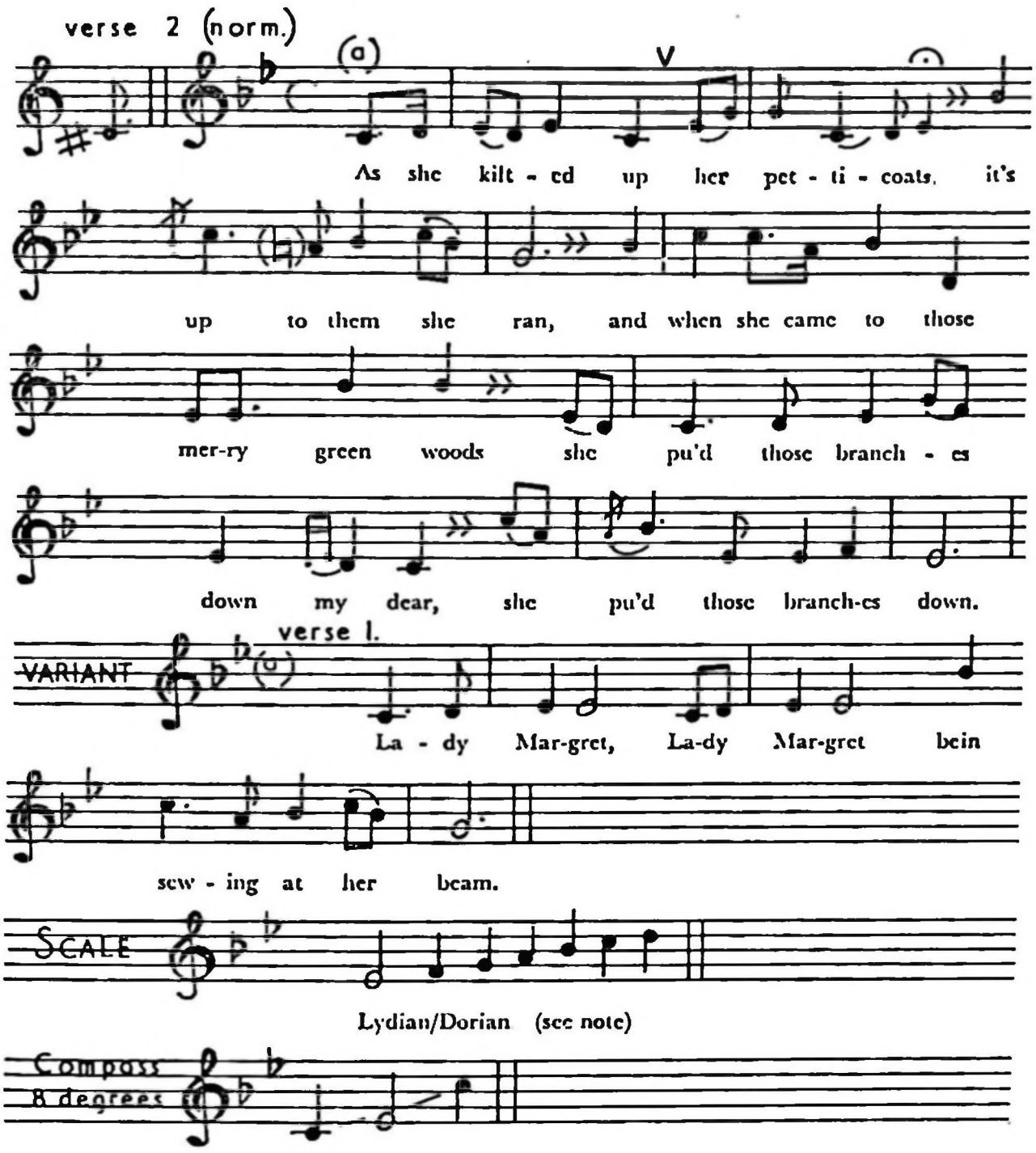
8. For the first will be is a black milk steed,
An' it's then you'll pass a white:
You'll hold him fast, you'll fear no ills,
He's the father of your child,
my dear,
He's the father of your child.

9. For the next it will be
Is into a snake so large;
You'll hold its head, you'll fear not ill,
He's the father of your child,
He's the father of your child.

10. For the next it will be
Is into a naked man;
You'll throw your mantle all around
And cry your win, my dear, your win,
You're the father of my child.

By the rule of the last note of the tune, the scale is that of the Lydian mode, extremely rare in folk-song (similar in intervals to the scale on the white notes of the piano commencing on F). Much of the melody, however, has the feeling

Bessie Johnstone: Tam Lin



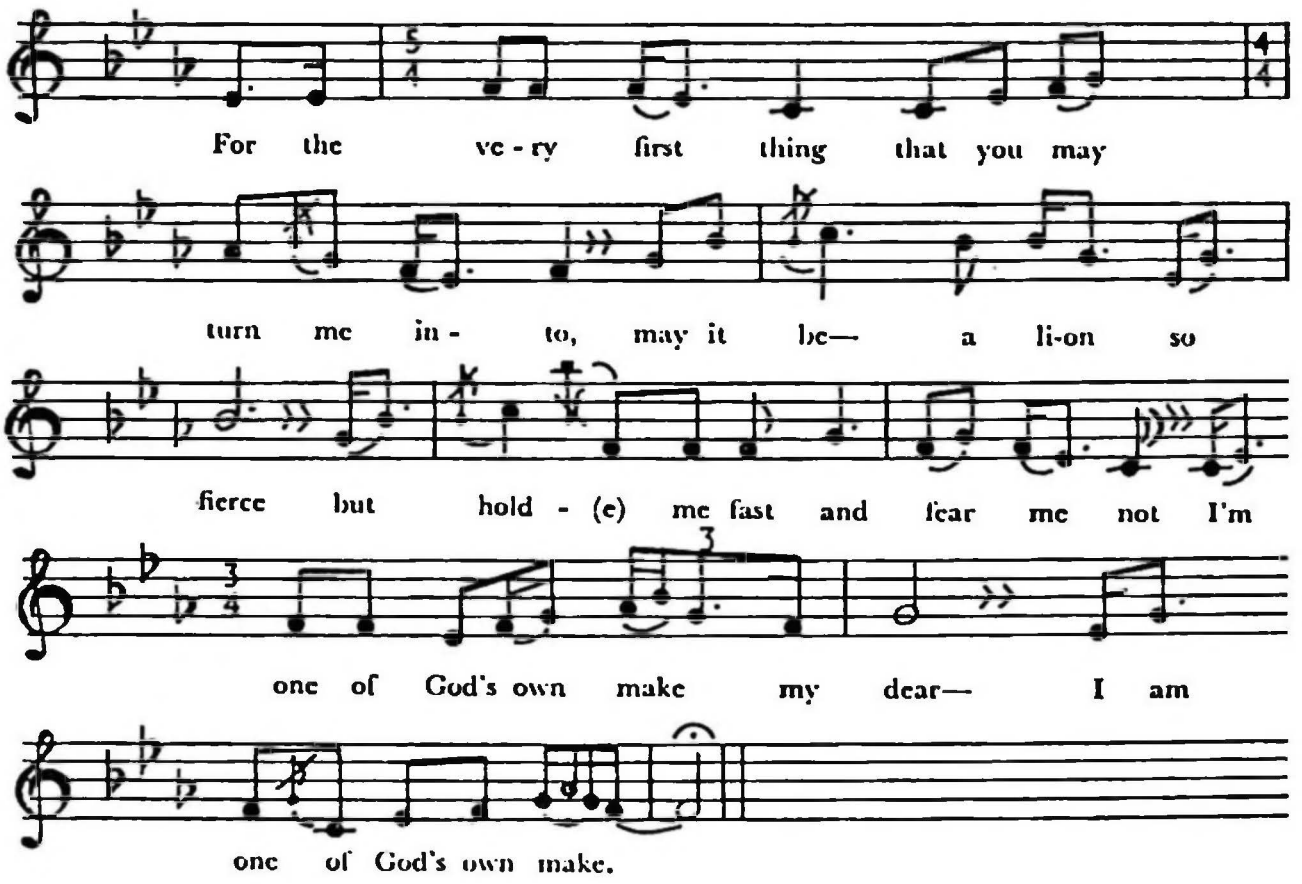
Form A, B^1, B^2, C, D.

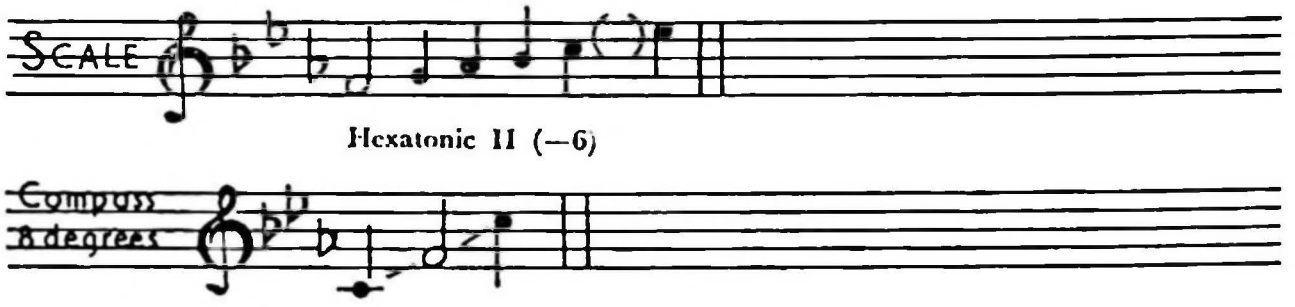
of a tonic on C which would give a Dorian scale. The tune brings the insistent lower "Dorian" part of the tune beginning on C into a relationship of a kind of relative minor to the Lydian mode beginning in E, which is both interesting and unusual.

Alternatively the last phrase could be regarded as a corrupted ending, in which case the scale would be a straightforward Dorian on C. For a parallel instance of such a corrupted ending see "The Grey Cock" in the *Penguin Book of English Folksong* (1959:52).

B

Willie Whyte: Tam Lin





Form ABCD¹D²

1. O for the sea may run dry, and the fishes fly,
   And the rocks melt wi' the sun,
   And if ever I prove false unto you,
   It's my heart's blood it may run, my dear,
   It's my heart's blood it may run.

2. When I am on the sea, O pray think of me,
   When I'm far on the foreign shore.
   For it's hold me fast, forget me not;
   I'm the father of your child, my dear,
   I'm the father of your child.

3. For the very first thing that you may turn me into,
   May it be a lion so fierce;
   But hold me fast and fear me not;
   I'm one of God's own make, my dear,
   I'm one of God's own make.

The singer, Willie Whyte, who was one of the links in the chain which led to Jeannie Robertson, got this version from his grandfather, Davie Whyte.

The wide intervals of the grace-notes are a remarkable feature of Willie's performance, and the grace-note in the fifth bar has been verified at slow speed to be actually the interval of an octave and a fourth above the principal note. See note on the air for "Little Sir Hugh" regarding the similarity of the airs for the two ballads.

C

The elfin queen'll gi'e a shout,
"Tam o Linn's awa'."

This fragment was recited by Adam Lamb, Fuarandearg, Braes of Glenlivet, in April 1956. Adam was not a singer.

CHILD 155. *Little Sir Hugh and the Jew's Daughter*

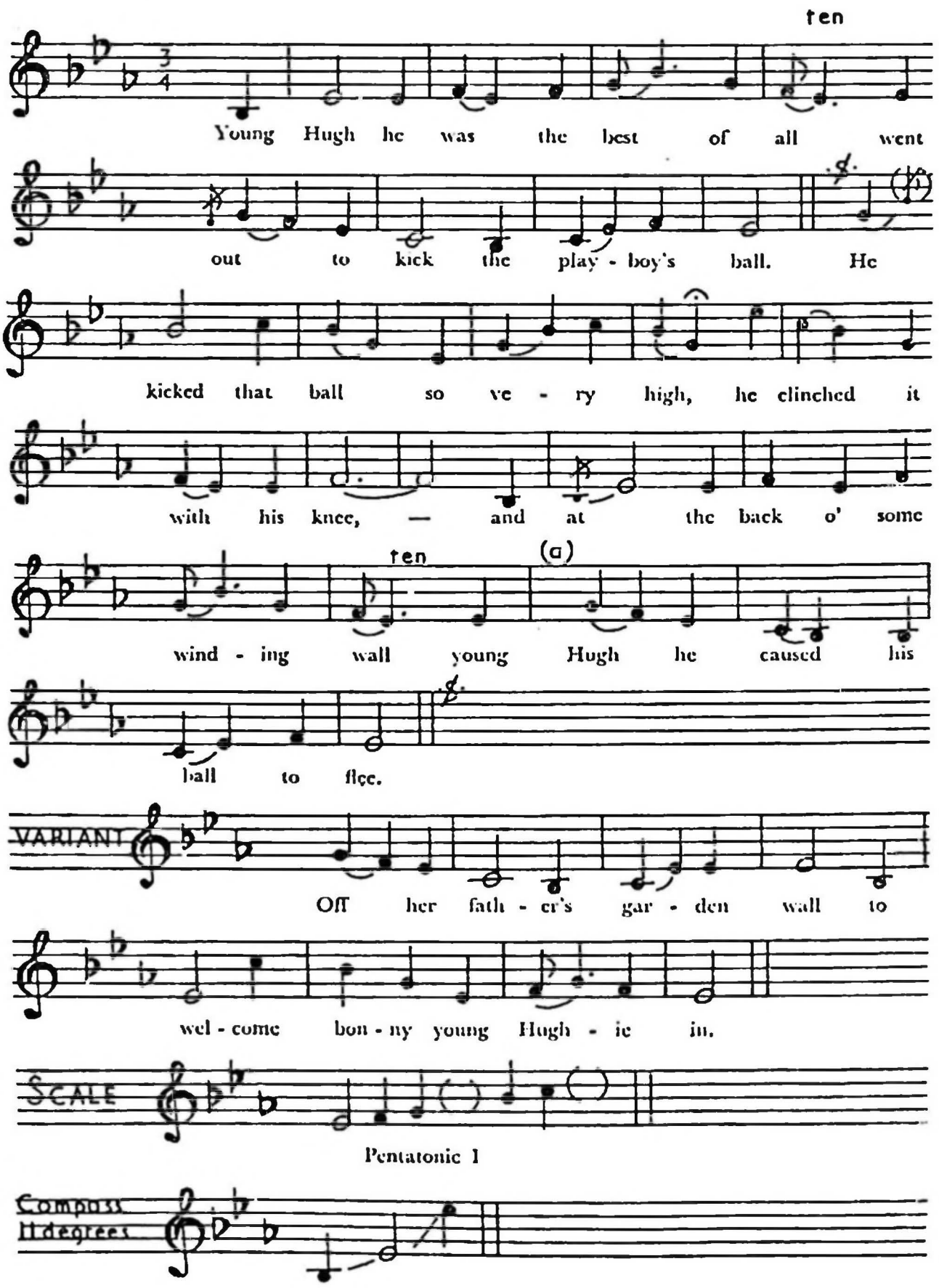
The sinister irrational fury of medieval anti-semitism is recaptured in this extraordinary ballad, which must itself have caused great suffering and hardship when performed among the credulous, in any area where the persecution of the Jews promised material returns of any value. For a very full description of the background of this madness, see Child I: 234-43. His conclusion bears repetition: "These pretended child-murders, with their horrible consequences, are only a part of a persecution which, with all moderation, may be rubricated as the most disgraceful chapter in the history of the human race."

Our A version was recorded by Mrs. Margaret Stewart in July 1954. Mrs. Stewart is an aunt of the renowned Aberdeen ballad-singer Jeannie Robertson; she earned her living as a street-singer for many years, and her versions of classical ballads used to be familiar to cinema queues in a number of towns and villages.

A

1. Young Hugh, he was the best of all,
Went out to kick the playboy's ball:
He kicked that ball so very high,
He clinched it with his knee.
And at the back o' some windin' wall,
Young Hugh he caused his ball to flee.

Maggie Stewart: Little Sir Hugh



2. Fling out my ball, fair maiden, he cried,
Fling out my playboy's ball.
I daur not fling out your ball, young Hugh,
It's till you came and talked to me.

3. I daurna came, I canna came,
Fling out my playboy's ball.
For she pulled an apple both red and green,
Off her father's garden wall,
To welcome bonnie young Hughie in.

4. She welcamet him in to one bedroom,
And she welcamet him intae two:
And she welcamet him intae her awn bedroom,
Where many a duke an' earl had dined.

5. Her little penknife bein' long and sharp,
She bid him take a sleep,
And she wrapped him up in a cake o' lead,
And put him intae yonder wall,
What's fifty faddams deep.

6. And at the back o' some windin' row
It's there it's my young Hugh shall sleep:
When cockle-shells growin silver bells,
It's therein me an' young Hugh shall meet.

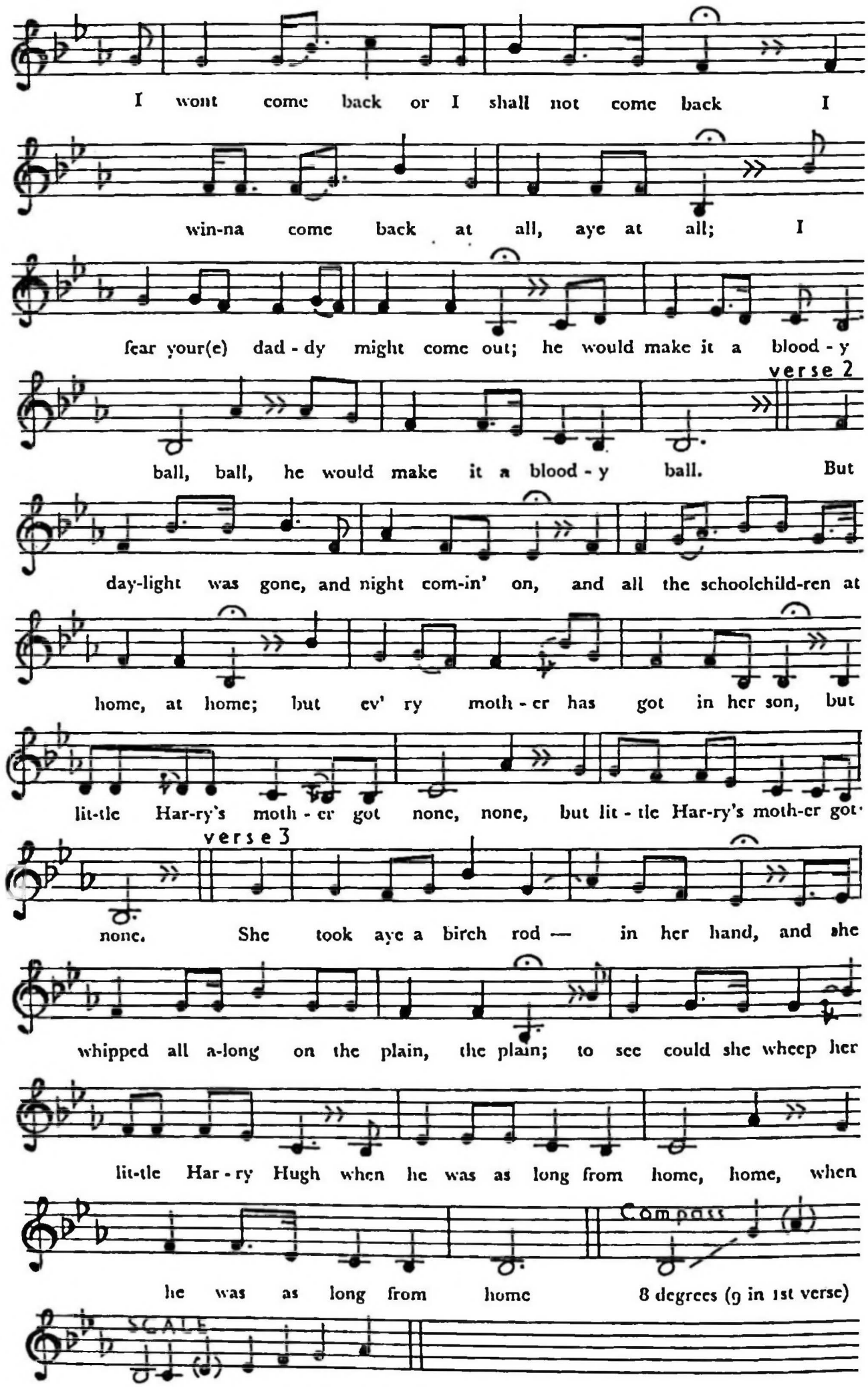
The tune is an interesting variation of the tune of "Ye Banks and Braes".

B

1. Little Harry Hugh and his school-fellows all
Went out to play the ball, the ball;
And . . . (indecipherable) . . . little Harry Hugh
He broke the Jew's windows all, all,
He broke the Jew's windows all.

2. Out then spak the Jew's dochter hersel,
And her all dressed on green, a' green,
Come back, come back, O little Harry Hugh,
And play your ball again, again,
And play your ball again.

Donald Whyte: Little Sir Hugh



Mixolydian: 3rd weak (the 3rd does not occur in all verses)

3. I won't come back, or I shall not come back;
I winna come back at all, aye, at all;
I fear your(e) daddy might come out—
He would make it a bloody ball, ball,
He would make it a bloody ball.

4. But daylight was gone, and night comin' on,
And all the school-children at home, at home;
But ev'ry mother has got in her son,
But little Harry's mother got none, none,
But little Harry's mother got none.

5. She took aye a birch rod in her hand,
And she whipped all along on the plain, the plain;
To see could she wheep her little Harry Hugh,
When he was as long from home, home,
When he was as long from home.

6. But God did direct her to this dry wall,
Was fifty faddom deep, o deep.
If you lie here, O little Harry Hugh,
As I hope in the Lord you're not, you're not;
If you lie here, O little Harry Hugh,
You can speak to your mother dear, dear,
You can speak to your mother dear.

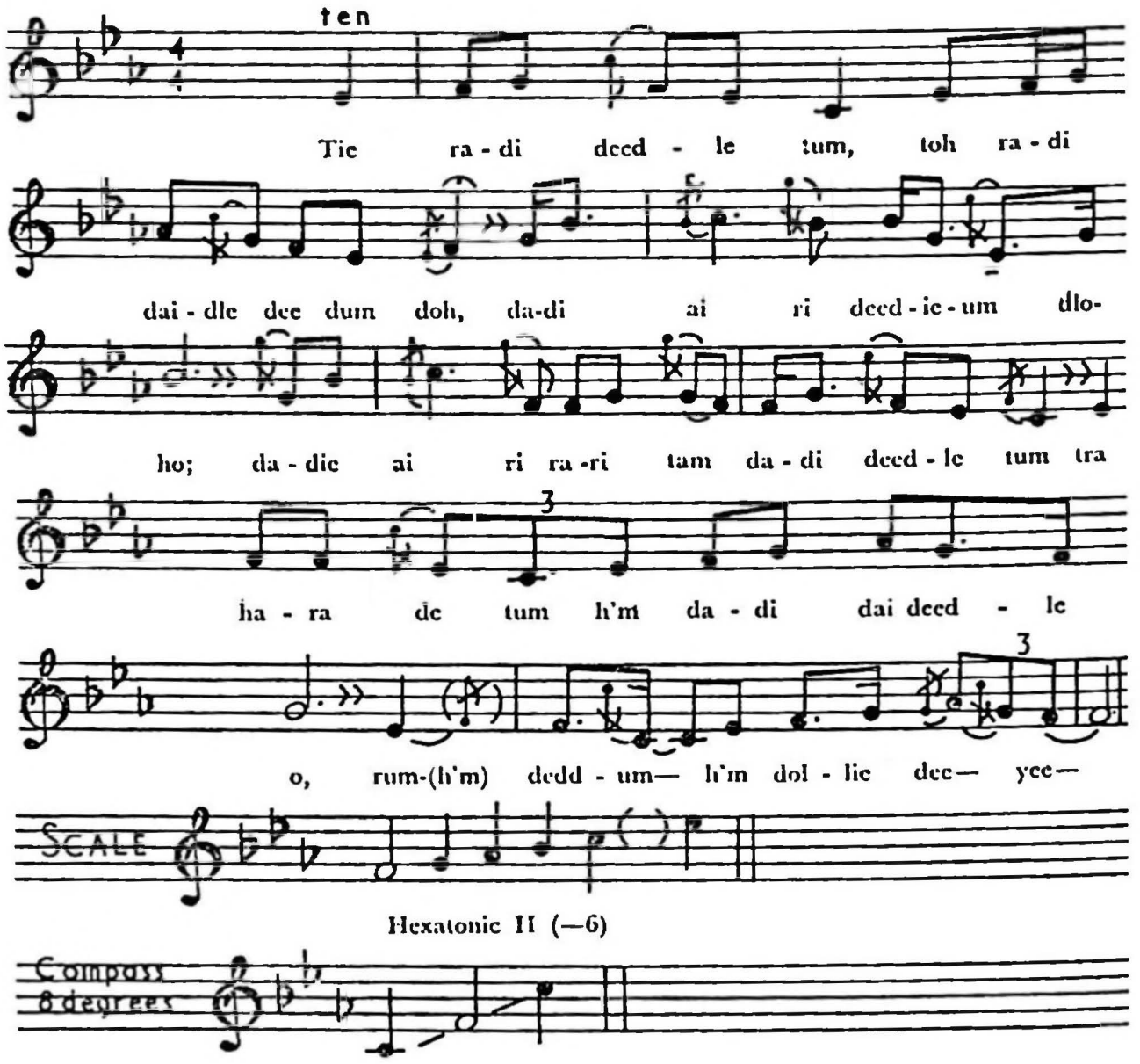
7. How could I speak to you, dear mother,
And me in such 'n a pain, a pain;
Your little pen-knife, it lies close to my heart.
The Jew's dochter, she has me slain, slain,
The Jew's dochter, she has me slain.

This version was recorded in 1961 from Donald Whyte, a 77-year-old Huntly tinker. Donald was born at Gartly; he first heard the ballad when he was 8 or 9 years of age. Owing to breathing difficulties, his enunciation was by no means clear, and there are a few undecipherable words in the first verse which may be due to the illiterate's garbling of an imperfectly understood text. In spite of this, "Little Harry Hugh" is a very forceful short re-telling of the macabre story. The nomenclature recalls Child's N version, which is from Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children*, p. 75, "as sung by a little girl in New York: derived, through her mother, from a grandmother born in Ireland".

The irregular nature of the tune will be clear from the three verses transcribed. It is a four-phrase tune, with varied repetition of the fourth phrase, making five phrases in all. The form is ABCD D.

C

Willie Whyte: Little Sir Hugh



Willie could not remember any of the words of the ballad, but he recorded the above tune for it. The form is A, B^1, B^2, C, C. The last phrase is extended by repetition to make a fifth phrase.

This is a "diddling" of the same air as that sung for "Tam Lin" by the same singer. It confirms a statement by John Leyden in his preliminary dissertation on "The Complaint of Scotland" that "the air of Tamlane is extremely similar to that of The Jew's Daughter", a statement which it has never been found possible to confirm until now.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HISTORY OF DOMESTIC SETTLEMENT IN NORTH UIST

Iain A. Crawford

As Sir Mortimer Wheeler has remarked, "the provincialisation of British history has still far to proceed"; and this remark is of course more appropriate to Scotland than to England. Both provincialisation and particularisation must indeed proceed far in Scotland before we have the necessary data for the "total" historiography which is the modern concept and goal in historical studies. What is required in fact is that all possible aids and techniques, documentary as well as fieldwork, should be applied to small definable localities and to particular themes. Only when this process has been exhaustively undertaken throughout Scotland will we have the information both positive and negative whereon generalisations can validly be made.

The present study is part of an attempt to amass information by all means short of excavation—the last resort—bearing on the history of settlement in the West Highlands prior to the crofting period. It is particularised to a study of domestic settlement evolution, and provincialised to the parish of North Uist. The background to this problem is the very limited nature of historical information relating to the West Highlands (apart from the important single source of genealogy). The questions considered are: what data emerge from a detailed field survey of a sample area; how does this amplify and relate to the documentary evidence; and how far do the combined results contribute towards bridging the gap in time between eighteenth-century Highland settlements and what are conventionally termed the "Iron Age settlements" of the area (the imprecisely dated wheel-houses, aisled-houses, etc.)?

Although this survey of North Uist is only part of a series of parish-by-parish surveys being carried out by the School of Scottish Studies, the island possesses certain characteristics both favourable and typical, which render it suitable for

separate treatment. In particular there is, for its date, a very fine survey of the island carried out in 1799 by Robert Reid for the estate of Lord Macdonald: an excellent, relatively early example of triangulation, this is accurate not only topographically but where it can be checked seems to be reliable for the settlement groups (Moisley 1961:89). This is the only accurate, detailed eighteenth-century map known for the Outer Hebrides. The present-day landscape has a fairly good representation of traditional house-types and also intact "cleared village" sites. Another favourable feature of North Uist is that it is one of the few areas of relatively intensive land use in the West Highlands (O.S. Land Utilisation Map 1944). With Benbecula and South Uist it contains a West Coast *machair* (plain) of wide extent with a light, easily cultivable, calcareous soil, perhaps as suitable as any in Scotland for early agriculture. In recent times the style *Uibhist na h-eorna* ("Uist of the barley") is significant in this connection. A region, then, of relatively high fertility and comparatively low rainfall, North Uist seems likely to have contained a substantial population throughout the historic and much of the prehistoric period. In 1755 the population was 1,909 (Webster census)—approximately a seventh of the population of the Outer Hebrides. We are considering, then, a more favourable environment than the typical West Highland settlement area, one where early settlement evidence is to be expected. Indeed, in terms of fortified sites, this is abundantly true. As an anonymous author of about 1634, quoted in the Macfarlane Geographical Collections, states: "There are sundry litle toures builded in the midst of fresh water loghes" (Mitchell 1906:2, 180). There are in fact nearly one hundred small forts still visible, mostly on islets. The theme of this study however is essentially unfortified domestic settlement, and the evidence for this is by no means so plentiful. Nevertheless, as regards preservation, there is the important insulating factor of sand blow, prevalent in *machair* areas, which has provided a degree of protection for deserted sites unknown in most other areas of the West Highlands.

Historically, North Uist was an important part of the territories of MacDonald of Sleat until the late nineteenth century—the Clan Donald North, or *Clann Uisdein*, descendants of the MacDonald, Lord of the Isles, who had acquired it from the MacRuaris of Garmoran, another branch of the same family in the fourteenth century. The island appears to have been controlled (locally at least) from Caisteal Bheagram, S. Uist,

and from Caisteal Bhuirgh, Benbecula, both medieval curtain-wall structures—no example of which is known (as yet) in North Uist. Most North Uist forts are badly ruined; many are doubtless older than the period of documentation, although some few have clear historical associations which are discussed later. Apart from these few facts our knowledge of settlement in the island can be summarised as follows: completely lacking for the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (although funerary sites exist in some numbers), some early Iron Age and presumed Iron Age sites, then an unassessed void extending from some 1,500 years until the eighteenth century.

In these circumstances one can only proceed from an assessment of conditions as far back as we know them from comprehensive documentation, followed by a critical examination of the earlier zone of partial knowledge. To penetrate beyond that requires not only the support of all available documentary evidence, and the results of a total field survey of the island, but also an attempt to relate these two sources to relevant Gaelic tradition. Documentary, and then physical, evidence for settlement sites must first be considered; then a separate review of evidence for individual house-types based on surviving or ruined structures; correlation and conclusions will be attempted at a later stage.

Settlement Sites—documentary evidence

An attempt has been made to plot the varying aspects of settlement continuity and distribution on a chronological table (Table I).

This table lists the historical *bailtean* of North Uist, including all those plotted on the Reid Survey of 1799, and a few known from other sources. Crofting townships and smaller settlements which were creations of post-1814 date are excluded from the scope of this article, e.g.:

Claddach	Knockline	Ardheisker
,,	Kyles	Carnach
,,	Kirkibost	Locheport
,,	Illeray	Langass
,,	Baleshare	Loch Portain

Oral tradition has recorded a number of otherwise forgotten settlements, for example those cited or lived in by the famous bard John MacCodrum (Matheson 1938) namely Langass, Rubh Eabhadh and Aird an Runnair. Slight physical evidence

TABLE I

A chronology of documentary and physical evidence relating to North Uist domestic settlement sites

Baile sites	Earlier sites	1469 RMS	1505 RMS	1561 (3)	1576 (4)	1596 RMS	c. 1600 Blaeu	1614 RMS	1618 RMS	1644 RET	1666 RMS	Judicial Rental 1718	Balranald Rental 1764	Reid Estate Survey 1799	(Croft Lotting) 1814 onwards	Clearance 1820-50	Recent Status 1918-64
1. Kylesbernera (Baile Mhic Cumhais)							o?					o	o	o		× 1827(1)	→Farm→Cr. T.
2. Baile Mhic Phàil [1]												o	o	o		*ca.* × 1829(RC)	→Farm
3. Baile Mhic Conain												o	o	o		× 1825(1)	→Farm
4. Goulaby			o	o	o								o	o		Pre × 1840(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
5. Sand										See 6. Clachan Sand							
6. Clachan Sand (Clachan Shanda)												o	o	o	Baile	Pre × 1840(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
7. Reumisgarry												o	o	o		Pre × 1840(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T
8. Vallaquey												o	o	o		×?Date	→Farm→Cr. T.
9. Trumisgarry												o	o	?			Cr. T.
10. Ahmore																Pre × 1840(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
11. Oransay		o	o			o		o	o	o	o	o	o	o		×?Date	→Farm→[
12. Grenetote														o		× 1841(1)(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
13. Sollas			o									o	o	o	Baile (part only)	× 1850(2)	→Farm→Cr. T.
14. Veilish/Udal		o	o			o	o?	o	o	o	o	[					
15. Boreray			o									o		o		Ba/Cr. T.	[ ] Farm [
16. Middlequarter (Cearmeanach)													o			×?Date(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
17. Dunskellor	Dùn											o	o	o		×?Date(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
18. Gerrinacurran [2]												o	o	As Sollas			
19. Malaclett									1620-50? (7)			o	o	o		×?Date(RC)	→Farm→Cr. T.
20. Vallay			o									o	o	o		×?Date	→Farm [
21. Griminish/ Foshigarry		o	o			o		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	Baile	× 1820s(OT)	→Farm
22. Scolpaig (Baile Bharcuis)	Dùn	o	o			o		o	o	o	o			o		×?Date	→Farm
23. Kilpheder												o	o	o		×?Date	→Farm
24. Balelone												o	o	o		× 1815(8)	Farm
25. Balmartin (Talawmhartein)		o	o			o		o	o	o	o		o	o			Cr. T.
26. Baleloch												o	o	o	Baile (traces only)	× 1815(8)	→Farm→Cr. T.
27. Hosta												o	o	o			Ba/Cr. T.
28. Vannt (Watna)			o									o	[				1 House (18th-cent. baile)
29. Tigharry												o	o	o	Baile (part only) As crofting township		Cr. T.
30. Hougarry			o				o?					o	o	o			Ba/Cr. T.
31. Balranald	Dùn		o				o					o	o	o	Tacksman's house only		Baile as →Farm→Cr. T.
32. Penmore/ Peighinn Mhoire											o 1694 (5)			o		×?Date	Farm Cr. T.
33. Paible			o			See Hasten (37) Balemore (36) Knocknatorran (35)											
34. Paiblesgarry			o							o 1657 (6)		o	o	o		→Cr. T.	
35. Knocknatorran												o	o	o			Ba/Cr. T.
36. Balemore							o?					o	o	o			Ba/Cr. T.
37. Hasten							o					o		o?			Ba/Cr. T.
38. Knockline							o						o	o		→Cr. T.	
39. Kyles Paible													o	o		→Cr. T.	
40. Heisker	Early Church											o	o	o			Ba/Cr. T. [
41. Kirkibost				o	o		o			o	o	o	o	o			→Farm
42. Illeray/Balilleray			o									o		o	Baile	?	→Cr. T.
43. Baleshare				o	o					o	o	o	o	o		→Cr. T.	
44. Carinish	Early Church			o	o		o			o	o	o	o	o		→Cr. T.	
45. Ungnab				o	o					o	To 44. Carinish						
46. Claddach Carinish														o			Ba/Cr. T.
47. Liernish														o			[?
48. Stromban														o		→Cr. T.	
49. Ardmaddy													o	o			[?
50. Lochmaddy													o	oInn only oFarm			→Urban unit
51. Sponish														o		→Cr. T.	
52. W. Cheesebay																Pre × 1840(RC)	
53. Arisaig												o					Not identified
54. Ashdaill												o					Not identified
Misc. settlements: Baldricym							o	Not identified									
Balchenglish							o	Not identified									
55. Dunamich	Dùn/Broch						o	[? Dun an Sticir									

KEY

Documentary Evidence

o individual references.
o? identification uncertain.

Physical Evidence

——— existing physical evidence—dateable.
- - - - - probable physical evidence—not firmly dateable.
..... presumed physical continuity but wholly or in part overbuilt.

Variable Factors in Site Occupation

→ change of site location (usually also change in character—as *baile* to crofting township).
× Clearance (+date and reference when available).
[unoccupied.
[ ] interoccupation.
] reoccupied.
Dùn or other earlier form of occupation on or near site.
Cr. T. crofting township in physical formation (Blaeu house on its croft). See Table II.
Ba/Cr. T. crofting township retaining *baile* formation (houses not on crofts).

REFERENCES

(1) Macrury 1950;
(2) Mackenzie 1883;
(3) Coll. de Rebus Alban. 1847 (Rent. of Bish. of Isles probably 1561);
(4) *Ibid.* (oblig. I. MacDonald);
(5) MacDonald 1904: III, 372-3, 694-5;
(6) *Ibid.* 135 (Inventory of the effects of Alex. MacDonald—Paiblesgarry);
(7) *Ibid.* 371;
(8) Moisley 1961;
Judicial Rental for N. Uist in MacDonald 1904: III Appendix;
(OT) = Oral Tradition;
(RC) = Evidence before the Royal Commission on Crofting (taken 1883).

NOTES

1. Purely Gaelic forms of place-names are used where no normally accepted anglicisation exists.
2. Gerrinacurran (18). These lands are considered by Beveridge (1911) to have been in the Sollas (13) area. However the 1764 Rental (Appendix B) indicates an association with Baleshare (43) which may or may not indicate physical proximity. As a third alternative, this is a very simple place-name meaning "carrot-patch" and there could be two instances. I have adhered to the Sollas location purely for convenience and quite arbitrarily.

exists in some of these cases, but there is no formal documentation, and these may have been settled in the eighteenth century and evacuated in the tacksmen's emigration of the 1780s. Husabost (Moisley 1961; Beveridge 1911) seems to be known only by unsubstantiated local tradition.

The word *baile* (pl. *bailtean*) is used as the Gaelic term for the clustered houses of a joint farm, the only recorded pre-crofting form of permanent domestic settlement in the area. Fifty-four *bailtean* are listed (and numbered for convenience of reference in the text), and there are three other sites (see Table I). The numerical sequence is generally in anti-clockwise order round the coast, commencing with the extreme north-east of the machair area (see Map 1). Earliest dates shown for settlements are those of the earliest mention in documentary records, although exceptions exist especially where Blaeu's map, which is of course topographically highly inaccurate, suggests earlier settlement than land records. In the case of Blaeu *ca.* 1600 is given as the datum line, as his map of Uist, though published in 1654, was based on a lost original by Timothy Pont, whose manuscript surveys are thought to have been carried out between 1583 and 1601 (Cash 1901:401). Sources (where abbreviated) are given in the reference list below Table I. Crucial among them is the Reid survey of 1799, carried out with a view to estate improvement—namely a lotting of crofts which is indeed projected on to the map, although not commenced in fact until 1814. Early documentation is straight forward, and there are few insoluble spelling variations: names in brackets indicate major variants (where two names appear the first is the land unit, the second the *baile*). There is of course the limitation that the place-names given, applied to land-units, although it is reasonable to expect agricultural settlements on these units. Furthermore, documentation for this area is irregular and haphazard: clearly the townships of Oransay (11), Veilish (14), Griminish (21), Scolpaig (22) and Balmartin (25) extend back into the period before precise references, those of Sand (5), Sollas (13), Boreray (15), Vallay (20), Vannt (28), Hougarry (30), Balranald (31), Paible (33), Paiblesgarry (34), Balilleray (42) may do also; and all those cited in the Judicial Rental of 1718 (Appendix A) may have existed earlier despite the lack of seventeenth-century references. There are unexplained omissions from the 1718 Rental, namely Scolpaig (22) and Balmartin (25)—Scolpaig is still missing on the 1764 Rental

(Appendix B) and may have been part of Griminish (21) at this time. Nevertheless this Rental (1718) provides something approaching a total assessment of rent payers for 1718, and it evidently includes virtually all *bailtean*, with the possible exception of smaller squatter communities which may have come into being as population increased. The background population pattern to this chart has to be borne in mind and, with the reservations cited above, it can be seen that the picture from early to later references is one of expanding settlement, especially between 1666 and 1718 when population increase due to settled conditions and relatively improved health standards, was undoubtedly taking place. The subsequent increase between 1718 and 1799 is represented by the "new" *bailtean* of Goulaby (4), Ahmore (10), Grenetote (12), Kyles Paible (39), Claddach Carinish (46), Liernish (47), Stromban (48), Ardmaddy (49), Lochmaddy (50), Sponish (51) and W. Cheesebay (52), all first mentioned during this period, and this expansion is documented by the Webster Survey of 1755 and by the Balranald Rental of 1764 (see Appendix B).

In detail, however, the picture presented is a complicated one, showing the kind of difficulties met with in attempting to trace the history of such settlements, which may well explain why this has not been attempted hitherto. The pattern is one of a chronologically late interruption, a large-scale resettlement in crofting lots which has obliterated the pre-1814 settlements. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century records refer to certain individual lands, generally larger units described as *tirunga* or *davoch*, i.e. an "ounceland"—comprising eighteen penny-lands —perhaps twenty penny-lands in North Uist (MacKerral 1943-4), e.g. Sand (5), Oransay (11), Sollas (13), Veilish (14), Boreray (15), Vallay (20), Griminish (21), Scolpaig (22), Balmartin (25), Vannt (28), Hougarry (30), Balranald (31), Paible (33), Paiblesgarry (34), Balilleray (42). These names are still borne by some of the major arable lands of the present day and, as can be seen (Map 2), they occupy the machair area exclusively. Expansion took place by subdivision of the lands cited (our knowledge is limited, as already seen, to the increase of site references, implying changes prior to the date of the relevant documents). Baile Mhic Phàil (2), Baile Mhic Conain (3), Clachan Sand (6), Reumisgarry (7) and Vallaquey (8), for example, were all probably part of Sand (5). Subdivision of inheritances and inherited rights, and expanding population, were presumably continuing factors throughout the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. By 1718 (see Map 3) detailed information is available of tacksmen and minor tenants, and it seems certain that the common pattern of eighteenth-century Highland settlement applied also to North Uist—a run-rig joint farm, or *baile*, with or without tacksman, with a variable number of small farmers (MacDonald 1904:Appendix), and a supposed number of landless dependants (see Appendix A and especially B). Actual physical details are represented for the first time on the Reid survey of 1799 (expressed by Map 4) which checking on the ground has shown to be accurate in settlement terms: here we see the small house-cluster which again is characteristic of the North-West Highlands. The period from 1718 to 1814 is that zone of partial knowledge previously referred to: its characteristics were the culmination of many centuries of slow population expansion within a fairly constant economic and social framework. During this period, the Highland chiefs became land proprietors, the warrior aristocracy, tacksmen and the followers became minor farmers, or servants and dependants; arable farming began to play a dominant role, with cattle-rearing a close second, instead of the hunter-fisher pastoral economy which the environment had previously supported. More detailed knowledge of this period would be most instructive, not only as evidence for contemporary conditions but because it would reflect much of the economic organisation of earlier centuries. Unfortunately the succeeding period (from 1814 to 1850) produced the interruptions in settlement which to a great extent destroyed the physical traces of the preceding period. The growth of the kelp industry, accelerated population expansion, alienation from the absent proprietor and the latter's own dire financial straits, were all characteristic interacting features of most West Highland estates in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They produced the usual response dictated by the economic theories of the day: "improvement" as a means to greater efficiency and product. At first this took the form of lotting of crofts of roughly equal value within townships. This commenced in North Uist in 1814, and its precise pattern is superimposed on the Reid Survey. Movement of the buildings of the *baile* into the physical pattern generally characteristic of the crofting townships (one house per croft) was not immediate nor total and some traces of pre-lotting settlement are still in evidence. Some *bailtean* indeed had not moved when cleared two or three decades later, and some uncleared examples never

did. However, from 1814 a movement of primarily local convenience developed which has disrupted settlement continuity quite considerably through re-siting of houses on individual crofts. Outwith the established settlement area on the machair (see Map 1), new black soil crofting-townships were created especially on the south-west coast between Paible (33) and Carinish (44), settlements which (as stated on p. 3) have no significance for earlier periods.

The next juncture in this phase of change was that moment of economic and social disruption known as "clearance". As so often in peasant/large-proprietor relations (cf. Tudor enclosure), an increased population had reached, not necessarily the limit of the resources available for its support, but a stage short of this at which the surplus product had become inadequate to support the proprietor. This economic imbalance was conditioned not only by population increase, but also by the proprietor's inflated living standards. That the proprietor could not longer afford his tenants is one side of the argument: equally the tenants could no longer afford their proprietor—recent emotive writing has swung naturally to the latter view. In North Uist, as in most west-coast parishes, the crucial point was the repeal of the salt tax in 1823, after the Napoleonic Wars, with its implications for the import of Spanish barilla which could, and did, price kelp out of the market (Gray 1957). The production of the industrial raw material *sal alkali* had become the economic basis of West Highland society, and this support was now abruptly withdrawn. The response in North Uist to the legislation of 1823 was so critical as to be almost the classic example.

Two small clearances may have been made in 1815 at Balelone (24) and Baleloch (26) (Moisley 1961) but generally the replacement of many *bailtean* by single large farms began in 1823. The movement commenced in the north of the island, in the large tract on the northern boundary of the main *machair* belt. *Bailtean* nos. 1-9 were all cleared within the next decade or so. Precise dating of clearance is difficult owing to lack of relevant documents (in at least one case in North Uist they have been destroyed deliberately). Nevertheless some dates are known, and evidence before the Royal Commission in 1883 usually provides a *terminus ante quem* (R.C.C. 1884). Clearance continued spasmodically until the climax of the Sollas eviction in 1850 by which time the whole north coast from Baleloch (26) to Kyles Bernera (1) was in the hands of

FIG. 1. Probably the only instance of an eighteenth-century house with little reconstruction. At Huna (NF 716 723).

FIG. 2. At Knocknatorran (NF 734 678).

FIG. 1. Near Paiblesgarry (NF 737 692).

FIG. 2. Baleshare Machair (NF 778 619).

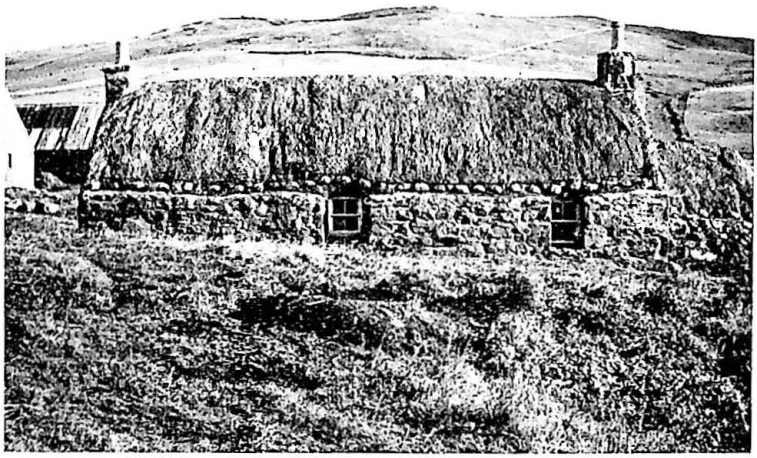


FIG. 1. At Balcloch (NF 724 731).

FIG. 2. At Paiblesgarry (NF 735 694).

FIG. 1. Aerial photograph of Hougarry—a typical township of category 4 (looking north). I wish to thank the Air Ministry and the Department of Health for Scotland for permission to publish this photograph.

FIG. 2. Nineteenth-century Hougarry (Nineteenth-century photograph—source unknown).

large farmers. The violence and publicity aroused by the Sollas eviction seems to have effectively restrained the estate factor's hand until the commission of 1884, when informants stated that no recent evictions had taken place on the island (R.C.C. 1884), and the ensuing legislation terminated all such action. The story is told in Middlequarter (16) of a N. Uist crofter who received a message from the factor about 1860 informing him that the latter would pay him a visit to discuss his pending eviction. On arrival, however, the factor encountered the man in question, a Crimean veteran, loaded musket in hand, and discussion was indefinitely deferred!

Settlement Sites—physical evidence affected by Later Events

In the nineteenth century, the Congested Districts Board, and, after the 1914-18 War, the Department of Agriculture, implemented policies of resettlement which brought crofters (few of the original stock) back to the north coasts of the island. All these movements of lotting, clearance and resettlement have destroyed the physical evidence of earlier settlement either by deliberate and immediate destruction, by gradual ploughing out or by later rebuilding and overbuilding. (As one of the results, much oral tradition has also vanished, especially for the north coast.) The discussion hitherto hardly augments existing knowledge, except that it has not perhaps been collated before in relation to this area. It is important, however, and perhaps an original contribution, to break this picture down into its smallest component parts and look for any traces of early physical evidence which may survive and which can only be discerned by a process of elimination. This is the aim of Table I, supplemented by a summary of relevant information presented in the systematic categories of Table II. These are devised according to the recent history of the *bailtean* concerned, and trace this backwards from current status to the eighteenth century.

Settlement Sites—Physical Evidence surviving from Eighteenth Century and Earlier (Table II)

Category IV*a* is the most numerous group and presents a picture characteristic of the whole West Highland settlement problem—repeated rebuilding on one site from time immemorial. Individual houses (considered later) are clearly on the sites of immediate predecessors, some may incorporate elements from these, or inherit the style of the earlier structures.

Hougarry (30), a typical example of traditional nucleated form, is shown in Pl. V, figs. 1 and 2. Historically significant information is clearly present, by definition, in categories

TABLE II

Categories for historical development of Bailtean

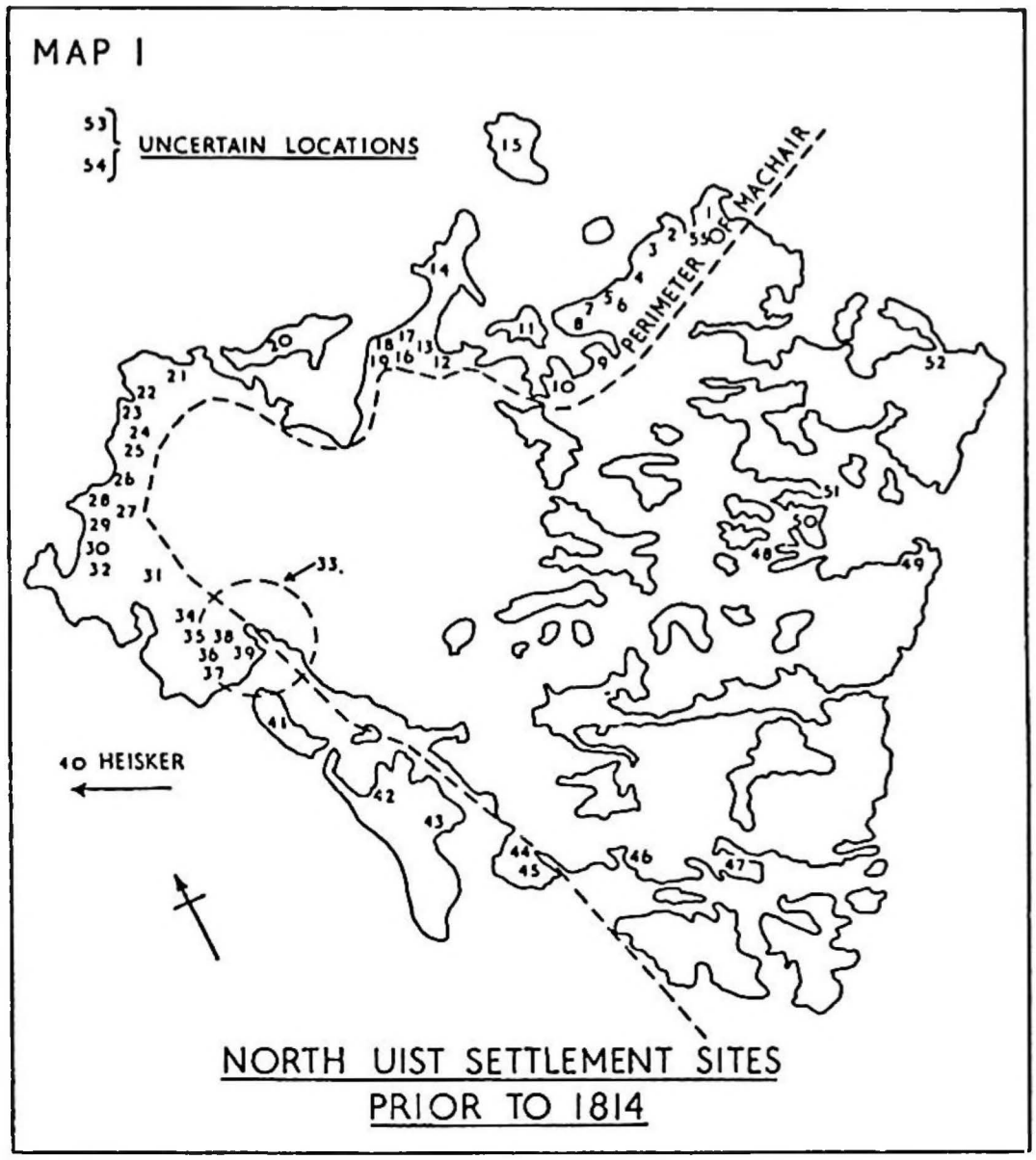
Recent status (or category reference)	19th-century status	Late 18th-century status	Existence of physical evidence for 18th settlement	Totals
I. Single farm or part thereof	Clearance	*Baile*	(*a*) No remaining P.E. 1, 2, 3, 22, 23, 24	6
			(*b*) P.E. exists 21, 32	2
II. Resettled as crofting township	Farm Clearance	*Baile*	(*a*) No P.E. 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19	9
			(*b*) P.E. 6, 13, 26, 31	4
III. Crofting township	Lotted as crofts (1814)	*Baile*	(*a*) No P.E. 34, 43, 44	3
			(*b*) P.E. 29, 42	2
IV. Crofting township settlement in *Baile* form		*Baile*	(*a*) Continuity but no definite P.E. 25, 27, 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 52, 40	12
			(*b*) Nil	
V. Deserted farm		*Baile*	(*a*) No P.E. 11, 15, 20, 28, 41	5
			(*b*) Nil	
VI. Other categories	Lack of information, or unusual status		(*a*) No P.E. 10, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51	6
			(*b*) P.E. Veilish (14) and Dunamich(55) earlier than 18th century	1(+1)
Also—Broken into smaller units accounted for individually: 33, 5				2
Unidentified 53, 54, and Baldricym, Balchenglish				2(+2)
				54(+3)

I*b*, II*b*, III*b* and VI*b*. This means that of the fifty-four historic *bailtean* of North Uist only nine, plus one other site —Dunamich (55)—can be traced physically with any confidence. All these are visible as ruins only, with the possible

exception of a complete house at Tigharry (29). Four of the nine —Sollas (13), Baleloch (26, Tigharry (29), Balranald (31)— exist in small part only. Three—Clachan Sand (6), Griminish (21) and Balilleray (42)—exist as almost complete plans of eighteenth-century *bailtean*, the first two (Plan 1 and 2) virtually in their 1799 form, being cleared some two decades later, whilst Balilleray (42) may be a less certain example as its terminus is later (all this, of course, allowing for rebuilding). Veilish (14), Penmore (32) and Dunamich (55), are probable identifications only. These *bailtean* then (or the relevant elements of them) with the possible exception of the three last mentioned, can be traced with fair certainty to 1799, and there seems every reason to envisage continuity at least back to 1718. Baleloch (26) and Tigharry (29) are not referred to before 1718 and may have their origins in the late seventeenth century. Clachan Sand (6) Sollas (13) Griminish (21) Balranald (31) and Balilleray (42) continue backwards (documentarily at least); Griminish/Foshigarry (21) having the earliest possible dating of 1469. To what extent these *bailtean* represent physically the late medieval sites referred to in the Register of the Great Seal must remain an open question until further information is available. Such information is of course unlikely to be obtained save by excavation. Veilish (14) and Dunamich (55), despite uncertainty as regards their identification, are perhaps the most interesting of all because they represent the only two unfortified settlement-sites in the area which ceased apparently to be occupied before the eighteenth century, our period of partial knowledge. They might provide a vital link between early and more recent settlement, and they will be discussed in detail.

Veilish (14). This is almost certainly the *Waynlis*, *Walis*, *Wainlies* or *Vanilis* of early charters. It is a small headland on the west side of the long strip of low *machair* land which links the major headland of Aird a'Mhorrain to the main island at the Machair Leathainn (see Map 1). This stretch bears the name Udal (?Norse *út val*) and at the base of the Veilish headland there is an area of some twelve acres of high (*c.* 50 feet) sand dunes, called locally Coilcagan an Udail. These dunes are being wind eroded and, some 20 feet below their summits, substantial stratification and extensive remains of settlement are apparent, and traces of considerable iron-working activity imply a dating between the Iron Age and the late seventeenth century (see Table I). These structures have been identified

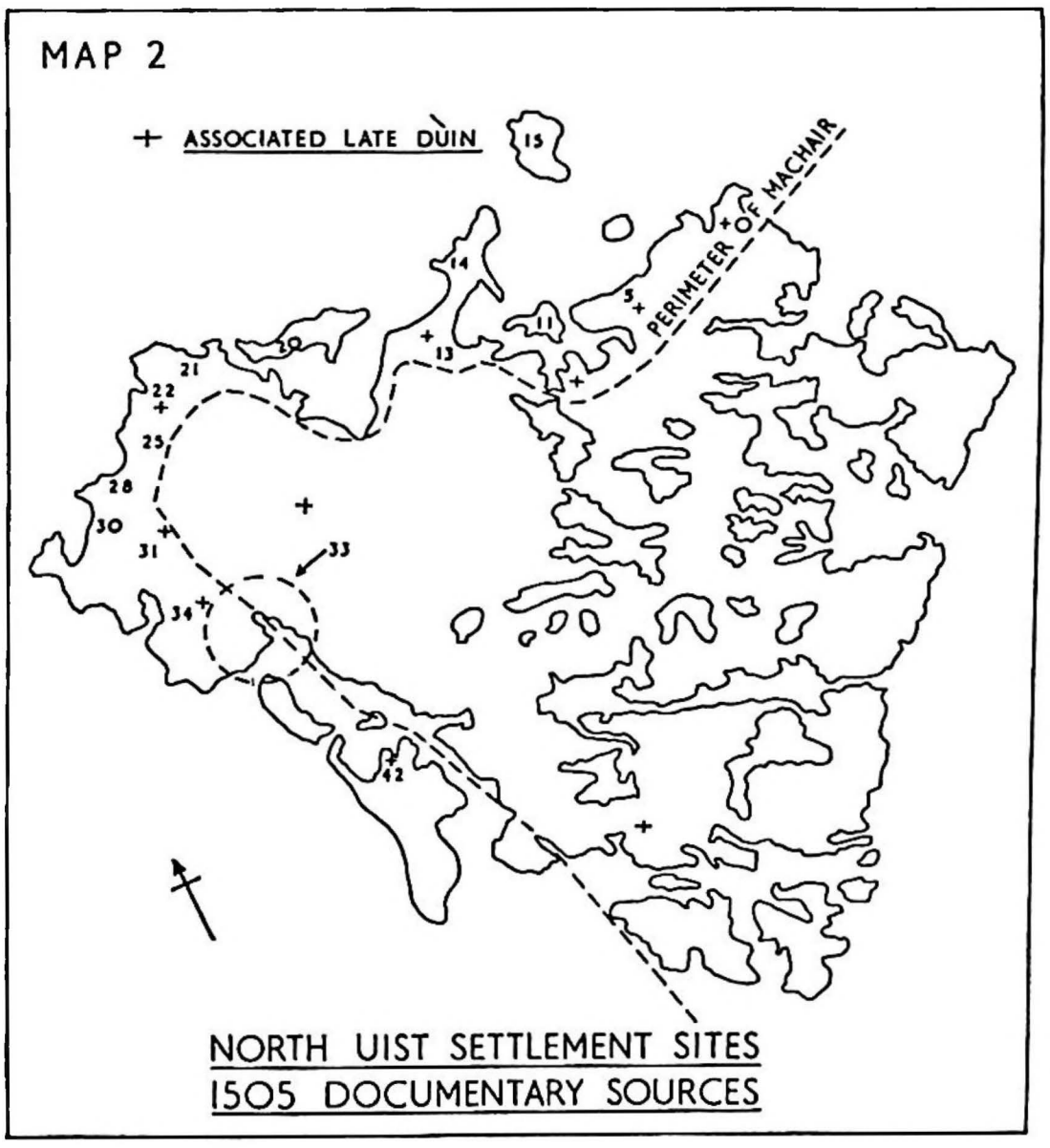
as earth houses (Beveridge 1911; RCAM No. 273), but there is no evidence to show that these are not in fact the remains of a medieval township. It is possibly significant that, when cited in early charters, Veilish, a mere half-penny land, was assessed together with lands ten times its valuation. It is conceivable that this was a prestige site, of considerable antiquity, inhabited



originally by a significant family group: its own arable land may well have been very heavily eroded by the sea—a frequent occurrence on this coast, particularly in this area. This hypothesis is supported by oral tradition still current, recorded by D. A. MacDonald in 1964 (R.L.2123 A.1) and by Carmichael nearly a century ago (E.U.L. M.S. 133*a*). This avers that the area was occupied by the *Sìolachadh Ghoraidh*, the descendants of Godfrey, son of John, Iain Mór Ile, that King or Lord of the Isles who united northern and southern areas of the West Highlands and Islands by his dynastic marriage with the MacRuari heiress of the North *c.* 1337. Veilish, then, if

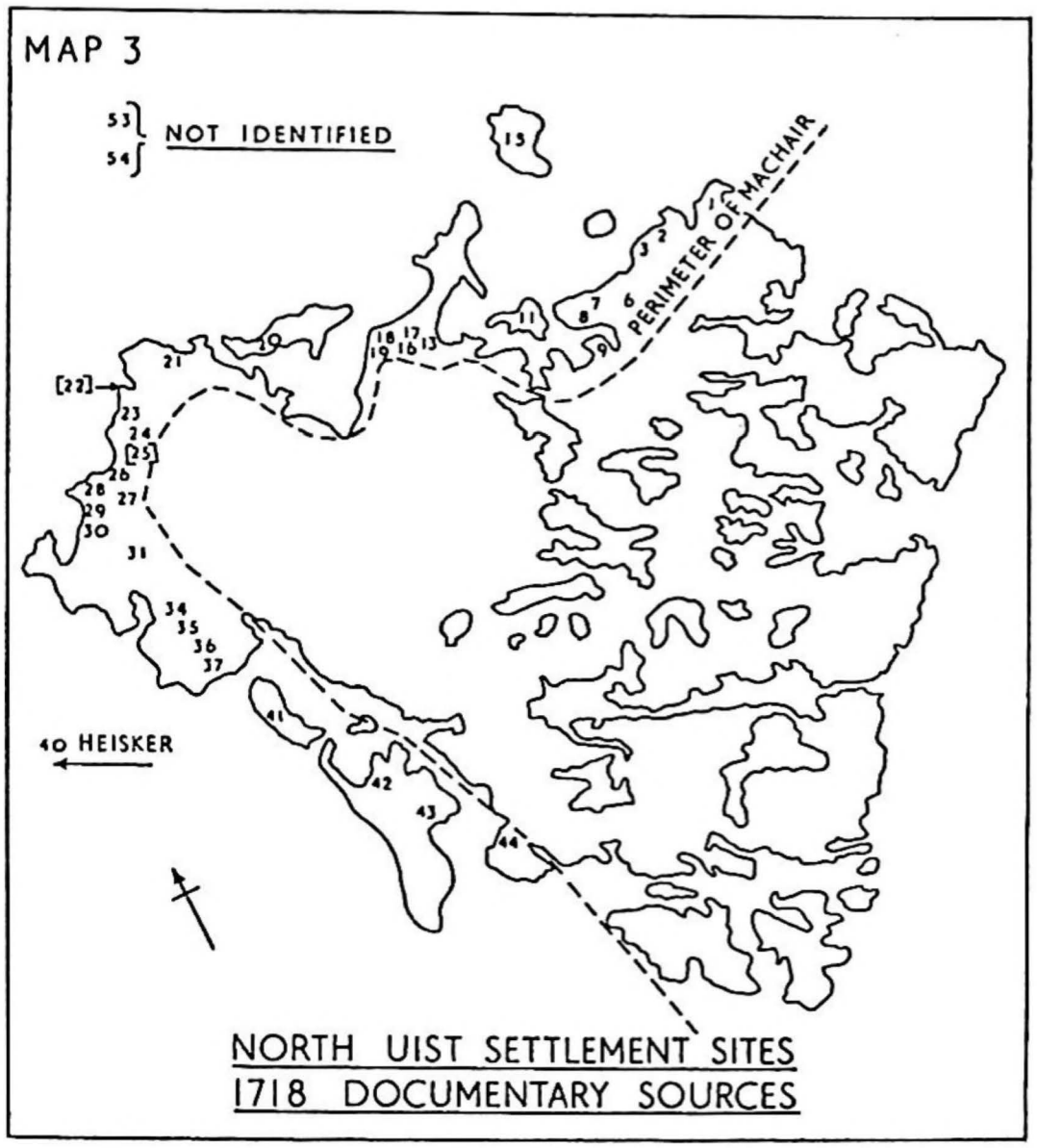
correctly identified, is a vital site for the history of the Uists. As shown in the table, its site may be indicated, though not named, on Blaeu's map.

Dunamich (55) is Blaeu's rendering of what Pont seems to have depicted as an island fort in a north-coast loch draining immediately into the sea opposite Boreray. This suits the site



of *Dùn an Sticir* (RCAM 1928:171) very satisfactorily. *Dùn an Sticir* was occupied, according to local tradition, by the Clann A'Phiocair—the MacVicars (possibly a case, as the Rev. W. Matheson suggests, of post-Reformation continued occupation by a priestly family) murdered and dispossessed by the historical *Uisdean Mac Gilleasbuig Chléirich*, of infamous renown, N. Uist bailie, in 1580 (d. *c.* 1590s). From this centre he may have controlled bailtean *Kyles Bernera* (1), *Baile Mhic Phàil* (2) and *Baile Mhic Conain* (3). The identification of this site and the historical characters associated with it is corroborated by the waulking song *Uisdean Mac Ghilleasbuig Chléirich* (Carmichael

1954:10-15 and footnote). He was succeeded by his son *Somhairle Mac Uisdein 'ic Ghilleasbuig Chléirich*, Tacksman of *Baile Mhic Pháil* and the name Dunamich may be an incomplete rendering of *Dùn Mhic Uisdein*. The *bailtean* just cited lay in close proximity to *Dùn an Sticir*. At an earlier phase than that discussed here, the site may well have been one of Uist's few



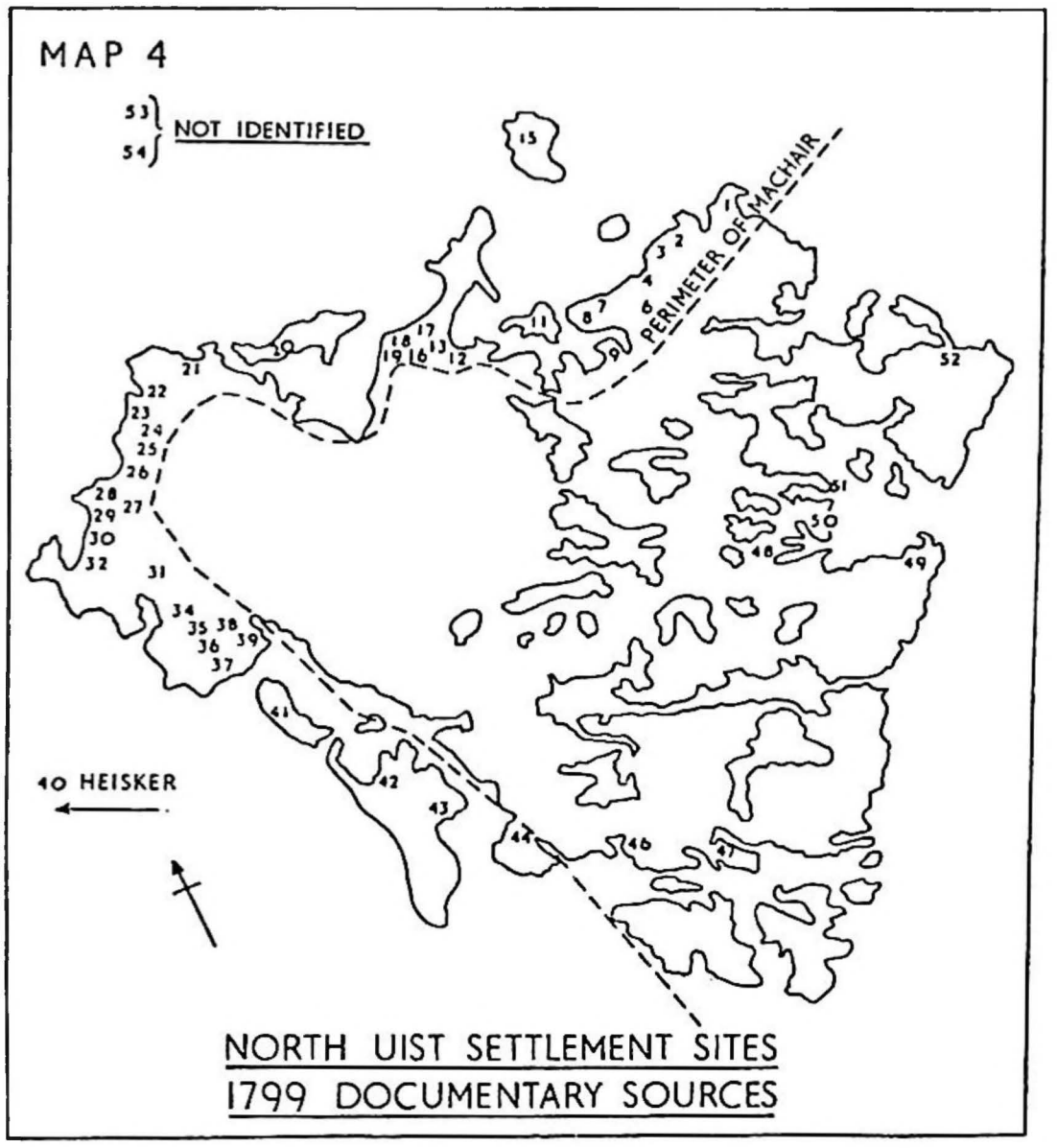
brochs, but it has a rectilinear structure within the original façade and many outhouse remains around it, whilst one of the two causeways is of cart-track proportions and this may also be later in date.

The main archæological task in the Outer Hebrides is the dating of settlement sites, in the face of a total absence of strictly associated dated material in this or neighbouring areas, and indeed in the West Highlands in general. A pottery sequence does not exist for the Iron Age, and general attempts at Iron Age dating for the west remain very uncertain so far. Hitherto, adequately stratified sites have not been identified within the

area or excavated destructively. Excavations now in progress at Veilish/Udal (14) may help to remedy this.

Individual House-Types: Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries

The evolution of rural settlement especially of the domestic house-form within the settlement as evidenced by survivals,



has been studied for some time in England and Wales and with considerable success. Some examples of mainly post-Conquest minor buildings survive, fair documentation exists back to Doomsday, and excavation has produced important type-sites like Wharram Percy for full-scale study of medieval rural communities. Further details have been elicited by surveys of existing house-forms, where traditional building techniques have persisted.

In Scotland the contrast is extreme. Little work has been done and this is, in part at least, due to the paucity of evidence. Few if any extant minor buildings date to the seventeenth

century, and in the Highlands the knowledge barrier is close to 1800. Between those buildings and the mélange of wheel-house, dun, circular farmstead, etc., thrust casually together into an Iron Age of uncertain dating, exists a void of over a thousand years. This is clearly one problem the solution of which must be an immediate concern of historical field-study in Scotland. As suggested earlier, the only sound procedure is first of all to assess thoroughly the known, and in the following a summary will be given of the results of a survey of existing traditional buildings in North Uist.

The traditional house of the Hebrides, where extant, is now commonly referred to as the "black house", an imprecise term of recent invention. *Tigh dubh* is not common in Gaelic, and does not appear in Dwelly, the most comprehensive Scottish-Gaelic Dictionary. As an expression in our area, it is unlikely to be older than the introduction about half a century ago of the improved indigenous house—*tigh geal* (white house). It is presumably the outsider's term for the darkness of the interior of the house; or just possibly a misinterpretation in English of *Tigh Tughaidh* (thatched house)—a term which is common Gaelic usage, and has a precise descriptive value.

All thatched houses in North Uist have been listed, and about half of them measured and photographed. The evidence presented here is concerned with exterior plan and profile. Neither interior divisions, their materials, nor furnishings, are locally made, or apparently of local tradition, or of antiquity, and are thus of little historical significance (there are two houses which are possible exceptions to this, but they cannot readily be investigated). The exterior descriptions of thatched houses of present and recent occupation have been assembled, and by associating these with the general settlement data presented in the earlier part of this paper and with the oral tradition of occupants, a chronological sequence of house-types has been drawn up (Table III). This plan of recent morphological development is based on definite dating evidence where available, and on general knowledge and oral tradition as to the character of the Hebridean house in the nineteenth century.

A Suggested Typology: General Description. The earlier houses of North Uist (Types 0 and 1) are constructed of dry-stone dyking with an outer and inner wall of large undressed stones (often there is a bottom course of orthostats), the space between being packed with rubble, and the whole some four feet thick. By phase 2, however, the walls are tending to become "single",

and in some instances dressed stones are used. Thatch is of bent grass, straw, reeds or heather (this last usually east-coast only, as elsewhere in the Outer Isles), and in the case of Types 0 and 1, and sometimes including 2, the thatch extends to the inner wall-edge only, leaving in effect an external wall-head parapet. In phases up to 2 again, there are generally no lintels on doors or windows. The movement of the hearth—as indicated by the chimneys—is probably critical, and this factor, combined with general sophistication of detail, and precise dating evidence, would seem to justify the typology illustrated (Table III). It should be noticed in considering measurements of breadth in relation to roof-span, especially for early examples (and also in relating to early sites mentioned later), that outer wall-faces are steeply battered, so that roof couples, resting on the inner edge of walls, may have a span some 10 feet less than exterior wall-dimensions indicate. Couples extend from roof-tree to wall head only. "Cruck" framing is unknown in North Uist.

Categories—(see Table III and Plates II-IV)

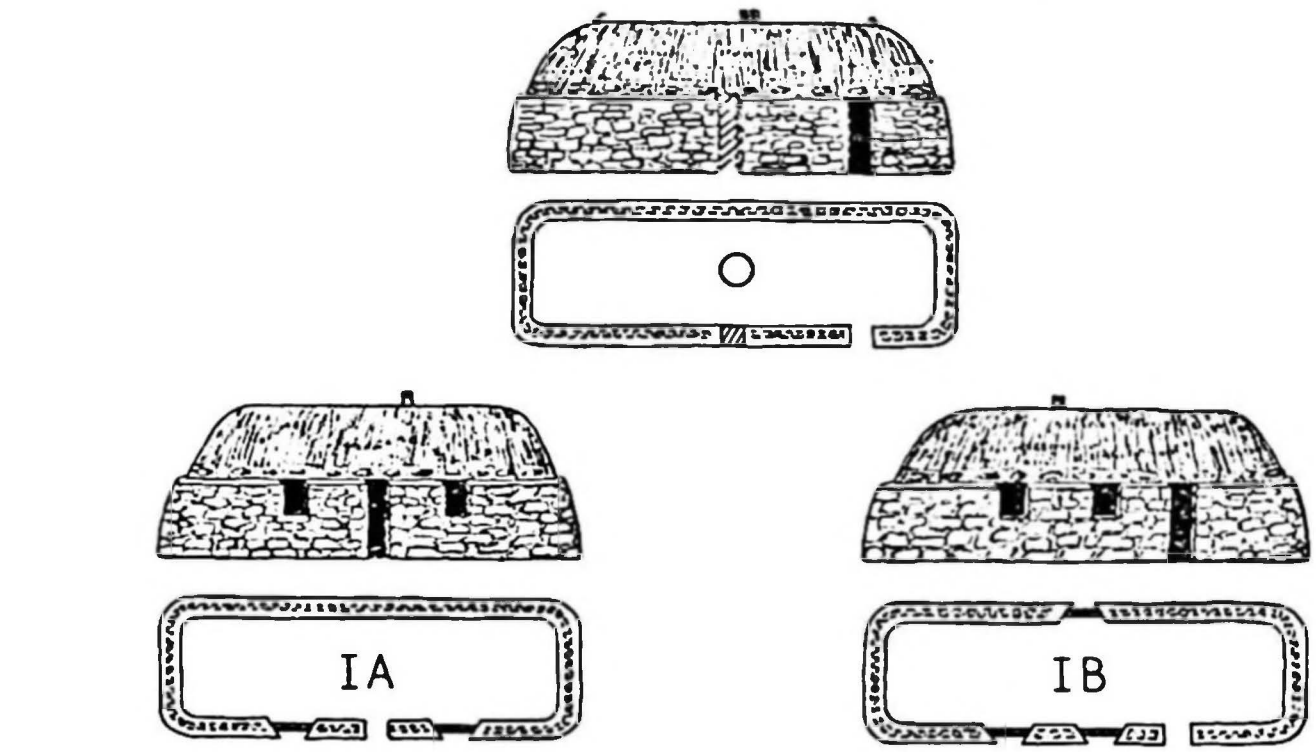
0 Conjectural, no examples exist to-day, but it may fairly be considered as the prototype of existing forms. The generally accepted picture of a windowless structure, with single asymmetrically sited door (though it can be central, as in illustration) and single central smoke-hole seems valid, and old photographs confirm this (see Pl. I, figs. 1 and 2, Pl. V, fig. 2). Oral tradition is firm that a "draught regulator" in the form of a board on a pole extended through the central smoke-hole. This is possibly the eighteenth-century standard type.

1A Commences divergent A tradition (see Table III).
Chimney: central, above stove or hanging lum.
Thatch: to inner edge of wall.
Wall: double, with parapet (3 to 4 feet thick), hip gable.
Windows: two (one on either side of door), and one possible rear window.
Door: central.

1B This is more in direct line from Type 0, and establishes the B tradition, with asymmetric door and originally, presumably as with 0, bipartite or tripartite internal division into byre at door, with communicating living-room or rooms. No examples of this division existed in North Uist in living memory, but whilst comparative published evidence is

TABLE III

Suggested evolutionary sequence of North Uist house types



Plans approximate to average dimensions of recorded types.

eschewed in this article it may be noted that this is akin to Walton's "Skye type" (Walton 1957) (see Pl. II, figs. 1 and 2).

As in 1A except—
Door: off central (occasionally three windows).

2 With 2A transitional from 1A to 3A,
Chimney: two (one at either gable) in thatch.
Thatch: to inner edge of wall.
Wall: double with parapet (3 feet thick) hip gable.
Windows: two, asymmetrically about door, lintelled in some cases with stone or wood.
Door: central, lintelled in some cases with stone or wood.

2A Distinctive Hebridean "tower" chimney type (see Pl. III, fig. 1).
As 2, but—
Chimney: two of "tower" type.

2B In tradition B style (see Pl. III, fig. 2).
As 2A, except—
Windows: three.
Door: asymmetrically sited.

3A Final stage of A before manufactured roofing (see Pl. IV, fig. 1).
Chimney: two in gables.
Thatch: to outer edge of wall.
Windows: two, symmetrically placed.
Wall: single (2 to 3 feet thick), full gables.
Door: central.

3B Final stage of B transition, many examples probably converted to hard roofs in recent times (see Pl. IV, fig. 2).
As 3A except—
Chimney: three (one central, two gable).
Windows: three.
Door: asymmetrically placed.

As regards measurements, these are not given in the case of identical examples, especially type 2A, the most numerous class. As regards dating, it must be remembered that the Reid Survey only enables definite identification of 1799 *sites*, intact survival of actual buildings shown there is unlikely. Dating given as "nineteenth century", without source, indicates that the structure is not recent according to oral tradition and O.S. 1875, nor apparently as old as the 1799 Survey.

TABLE IV

Summary of measurements and dating evidence of extant houses

Type	No.	Measured	Measurements (exterior)	Dating source	Dating and notes
0	—	—	See site-plans for (6) and (21), also Plans I and II	Clearance of 1820s (E.U.L. M.S.)	Probable last examples in late 19th century: see Pl. I, fig. 1
1A	1	—	—	Post 1799 (Reid Map)	Rare instance of transitional type. Occupant refused to allow photography, etc.
1B	6	4	(i) 36′×20′	Post 1799 (Reid)	All but the first (i) and one unmeasured site, a steading, are on 1799 sites (Reid)
			(ii) 64/54′×24′	OT = +100 years old (Reid 1799)	
			(iii) 57′×21′	Reid 1799	(ii) and (iii) are inhabited houses,
			(iv) 51/48′×27′	OT = +60 years old (Reid 1799	(iii) being the only fairly certain example in North Uist of a relatively intact and still occupied 18th-century house: (iv) and the two umeasured sites are now steadings
2	—	—			Examples very probably existed and one still does on offshore island of Grimsay
2A	34	13		(Reid Map) OT	Two examples on 1799 sites
					Ten examples dating to 19th-20th century
					One dating to 1939
2B	11	7	39′×18′	—1799 site	Sites cover period
			48/57′×24′ (orig. 70′)	—19th century OT	1799-1912
			54′×24′	—19th century	
			60′×24′	—1912 built by occupant)	
			60′×24′	—1850 OT	
			54′×21′	—*ca.* 1860 OT	
3A	6	2	42′×24′	—1799 site	19th-20th century
			48′×21′	—1799 site, 19th century rebuilt	
3B	1	1	60′×21′	—1880 OT	1880 (+1933)
					Many probable examples now converted to slate- or zinc-roofs
Grand Totals	59	27			

Note—OT = Oral Tradition.
1799 site = approximate site of house marked in Reid Survey. Steading not generally included.

A further source exists in old photographs: those in Table 5 were published in Beveridge (1911). Especially instructive is the example from Heisker (Pl. I, fig. 1), which contains all types. These photographs were all taken before 1905, and may thus be considered as virtually late nineteenth-century evidence. See Table V.

TABLE V

House types represented in old photographs

Type	Numbers	Dating (Based on Reid; and E. Beveridge photographs)	Remarks
0	3	pre-1905	Heisker and Eilean a Ghiorr (see Pl. I, figs. 1 and 2).
1	3	19th century, and pre-1905	Hougarry 19th century, (1799 site).
2A	3	pre-1905	Heisker.
2B	1	pre-1905 + 1799 site	Tigharry.
3B	1	pre-1905	Boreray.
		pre-1905 (post 1799)	Heisker.

The above summaries (Tables IV and V) show that all the types of buildings were in use in the nineteenth century. It seems likely that the gable was a late nineteenth-century adaptation following directly from the "tower" chimneys of 2A and 2B, which originated perhaps in the mid-nineteenth century. There seems to be no precise knowledge of the date of introduction of the "tower" chimneys, but, their dressed stone, cement binding, tiled orifice, and the changed position of the fireplace away from the central hearth to the end wall, all suggest a mid-nineteenth century origin. In endeavouring to trace the history of vernacular architecture farther backwards it is necessary to assess the datable content in the statistics of Table VI. As indicated, types 2, 2A and 2B, 3A and 3B are stylistically late (none probably earlier than mid-nineteenth century), and are unlikely to throw much light on previous forms: very few are even on eighteenth-century sites, still less incorporate eighteenth-century buildings (see Table VI).

TABLE VI

Number of thatched houses 1963	Types 2, 2A, B, 3A, 3B		Types 1A/1B	
	Total No.	No. on 1799 sites	Total No.	No. on 1799 site
59	54	5	7 (of this total three were converted to steadings probably in the 19th century and are dubious in detail).	4

The paucity of these figures and the almost total lack of continuity is dramatically illustrated by the following summary of the late eighteenth-century totals.

TABLE VII

(1) 1799 Reid Survey approx. total buildings	(2) OSA (1794?) total houses	(3) OSA Houses other than thatched
665	463	3

The discrepancy between (1) and (2) is to be accounted for primarily by outbuildings. The fact which emerges is that four hundred and sixty thatched houses existed in North Uist at the end of the eighteenth century, and of these only four (Table VI, Types 1A/1B) have probably survived more or less intact; some five (Table VI, Types 2-3B) are reconstructions.

It is fortunate that those village sites showing physical evidence datable to 1799 shown on the settlement table No. 1 survive; otherwise evidence of historical continuity would scarcely exist.

As stated on p. 9, definite and detailed evidence remains of *bailtean* Clachan Sand (6), Griminish (21) and Balilleray (42) and, to a much lesser extent, of Sollas (13), Baleloch (26), Tigharry (24) and Balranald (31). The relevance of this to our study of individual house-types is of course that the foundations of these are present and measurable. In the case of Clachan Sand (6), and Griminish (21), the precise buildings of *c.* 1825 (clearance) exist and, allowing for slight increase in numbers, presumably almost in the form of the 1799 settlements. The plans of Foshigarry (21) and Clachan Sand (6) are given, Nos. 1 and 2 (Figs. 1 and 2). Individual buildings are of the following dimensions (all exterior measurements):

TABLE VIII

Foshigarry (2) Larger buildings Numbers: 6	Clachan Shanda (22) Larger buildings 8	Balranald (9) Larger buildings 1
45′ × 25′	55′ × 24′	*c.* 75′ × 30′ (badly ruined)
48′ × 26′	48′ × 27′	
45′ × 25′	54′ × 24′	
51′ × 25′	69′ × 27′	
63′ × 27′	48′ × 24′	
57′ × 25′	57′ × 28′	
	54′ × 24′	
	39′ × 24′	

Measurements are approximate as many of the foundations are turfed over. The exceptionally long fourth house at Clachan Sand perhaps includes a small outhouse. Generally, however, the figures are fairly similar, showing a length to breadth ratio of 2:1, and averaging at Foshigarry 51 × 26 ft. and at Clachan Sand (excluding the fourth house on list) 51·5 × 25 ft. Balranald was a leading tacksman's house and, earlier, that of a cadet

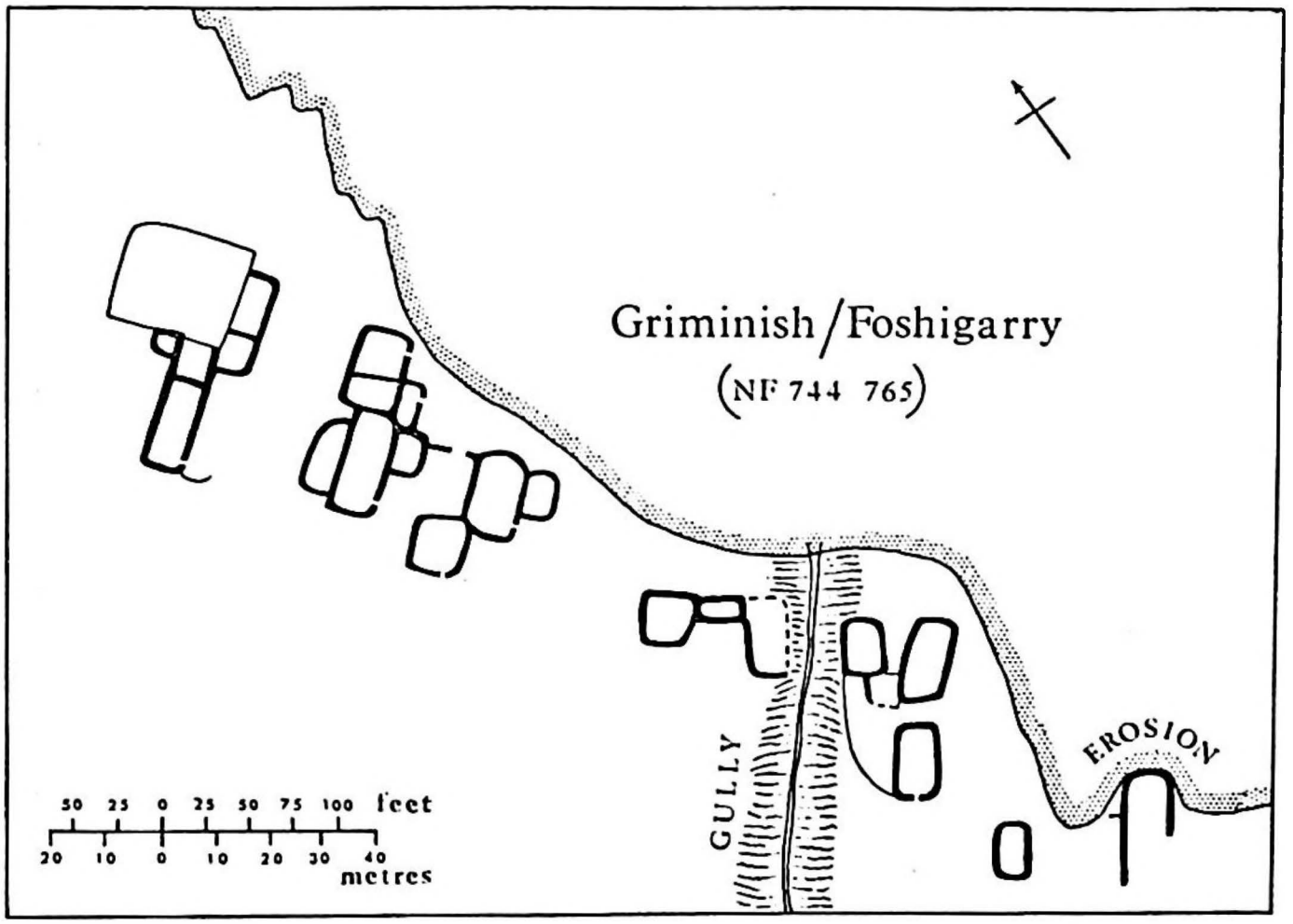


FIG. 1.

family of the Sleat hierarchy; it is of more massive proportions than the usual *baile* buildings. Buildings at Clachan Sand especially are considerable structures with bottom courses of large orthostats often six feet in diameter. Walling is clearly double and about four feet thick, and the door where discernible is usually asymmetrically placed. Further details would only be obtainable by excavation (unpublished excavations at Veilish (14) have revealed buildings of similar character but of still more massive construction even than Balranald).

The four probable surviving eighteenth-century buildings cited earlier (see Table VI) do not correspond in measurement very precisely to the figures for Foshigarry and Clachan Sand, but buildings of this sort tend to be idiosyncratic and raised by the individual. In fact, the four buildings referred to have

average proportions of 50 × 23 ft. Excluded from this consideration are two eighteenth-century houses (one on Vallay, one at Sponish), of typical small laird type, which are not traditional or of indigenous design—nor were they thatched.

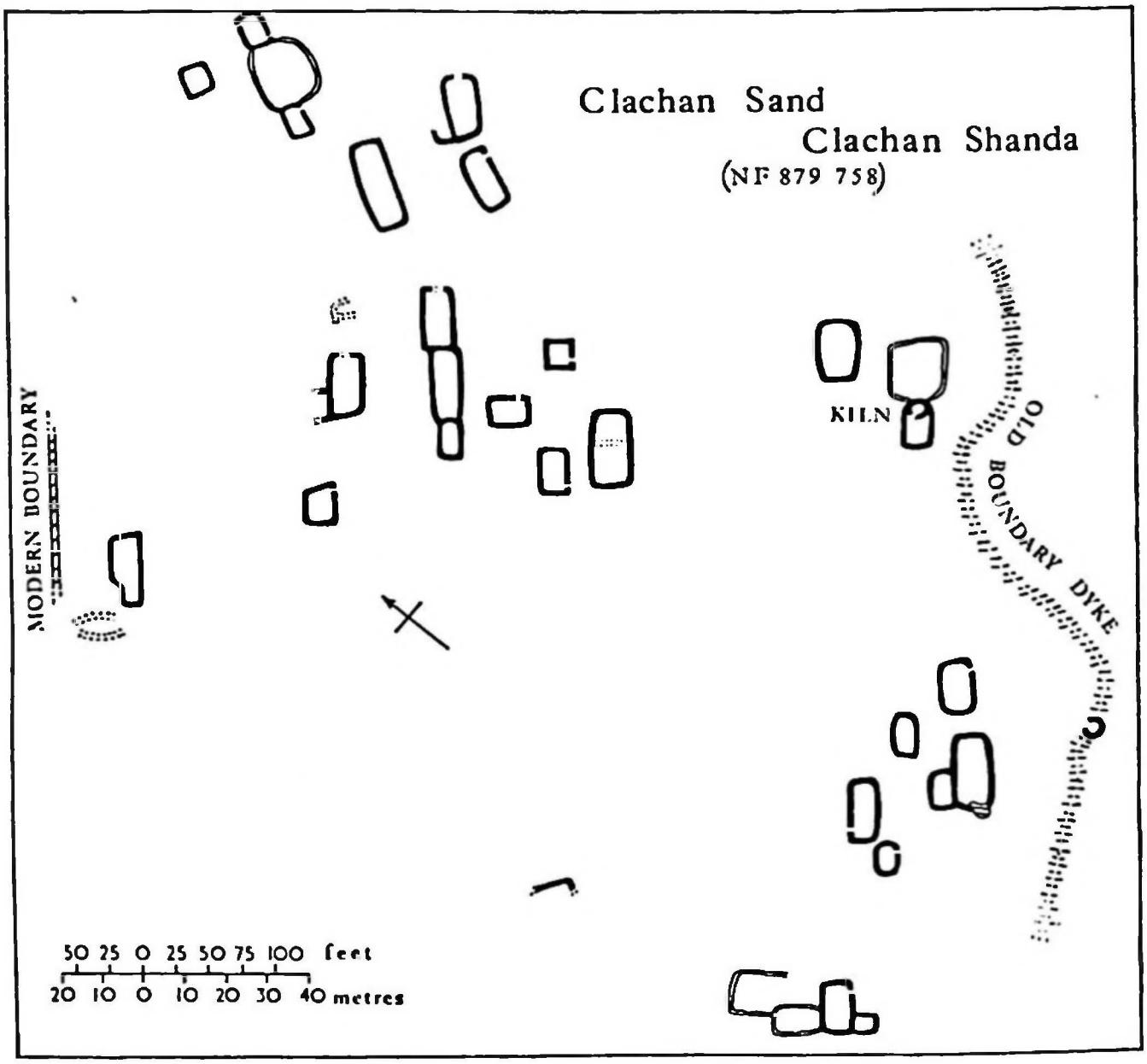


FIG. 2.

The figures for Balilleray (42) have not been given as the terminus of this township is most imprecise, and much conversion and rebuilding might have taken place in the nineteenth century: severe coastal erosion occurred in that century and caused a change of site (R.C.C. 1884). *Bailtean* at Sollas (13), Baleloch (26) and Tigharry (apart from the possible intact house) (29), contain fragments of one or two houses only, the remainder having been robbed or ploughed out. The proportions where they can be recorded, however, are similar to those of Table VIII. There is, then, no evidence here for the "Norse long house" often regarded as the prototype of recent Hebridean housing.

It is possible that small settlements of brief duration such as those mentioned in connection with MacCodrum the bard (Matheson 1938: *passim*) have been omitted from these considerations, but otherwise all available information dating back to 1799 has been presented. The further implications of this survey are that it seems fair to suggest that the settlements

TABLE IX

Evidence for 18th to 20th century continuity of settlement and house type

	Evidence 18th and 19th century			
Settlements	1718	1799	Lotting/ Clearance period	Evidence 20th century
Clachan Sand (6)	o	*Baile*	× Cleared probably late 1820s	Ruins as cleared
Foshigarry (21)	o	*Baile*	× Cleared probably late 1820s	Ruins as cleared
Balranald (31)	o	*Baile* (with Tacksman)	*Baile* as larger Tacksman's farm	Ruins of Tacksman's house. Remainder of *Baile* over built.
Sollas (13)	o	*Baile*	× Cleared 1850	Ruins as cleared—part only
Baleloch (26)	o	*Baile*	× Cleared 1815	Ruins as cleared—part only
Tigharry (29)	o	*Baile*	Lotted post 1815 Part of *Baile* continuous as Crofting Township	Site known as Huna: (*a*) Ruins pre-lotting site (part only) (*b*) 1 extant house Type 1B
Hasten (37)	o	*Baile*?	Lotted post 1814 *Baile* continuous as Crofting Township	1 extant steading (ex house) Type 1B. Remainder out-built
Knockatorran (35)	o	*Baile*	Lotted post 1814 *Baile* continuous as Crofting Township	1 extant steading (ex house) Type 1B. Remainder over-built

o = Documentary reference.
Baile = Existence of *baile*-type settlement.

of 1799 that have been recorded probably represent, in the absence of any known disruptive factors, the situation in 1718 fairly accurately, allowing for some expansion. Furthermore, a certain tenuous thread of continuity can also be postulated on these grounds for three existing individual houses. This continuity can be summarised as above, Table IX. This body of information is unlikely to be appreciably amplified, unless by excavation. Table IX, then, summarises the total evidence remaining of eighteenth-century settlements and of extant individual houses.

This study has been very much a consideration of minor structural details within a small area but it does present the total information available back to the frontier of precise (or semi-precise) knowledge in 1718.

Settlement prior to 1718. Before 1718 definite information is confined to place-names appearing in documents originally written at the remote centres of Stirling or Edinburgh in what was, prior to 1609, virtually another political unit. The absence of land records from the kingdom or lordship of the Isles is a serious handicap, and documentation available is liable to be partial and ill-informed, and, where it exists, it goes back only to 1469. Structural evidence with possible documentation is confined to sites at Veilish (5) and Dunamich (55), described earlier. Oral tradition and occasion incidental references seem to indicate what might be termed a "*baile* and *dùn*" phase persisting into the sixteenth century. Certain island *Dùin* (pl. of *Dùn*) (virtually stone crannogs) have sophisticated features, boat harbours, rectilinear buildings within the enceinte, and in one case mortared stonework. Some are definitely associated with historical characters, not necessarily the first occupants, although this in itself would of course be significant in settlement considerations. Balranald and *Dùn Mhic Raghnaill* constitute a particularly convincing example. Furthermore a few *Dùin* appear on Blaeu 1662. The information is tabled below:

TABLE X

Site	RCAM 1928 No.	Dating features	Associations	Notes
Dùn Mhic Raghnaill	205	—	Baile Raghnaill nearby, Baile of leading cadet family of Clan Donald	On Blaeu as Ylan Dunikrannal
Dùn an Sticir	171	Contains rectilinear buildings (possibly secondary)	Clann A' Phiocair Clann Mhic Chlérich	Possibly on Blaeu as Dunamich
Dùn Aonghuis	213	Contains rectilinear building boat port	Aonghus Fionn—MacDhomhnaill Hearaich Fl. *ca.* 1516	—
Dùn Scolpaig	322	None	Domhnall Hearach *ca.* 1506	Destroyed and replaced by "folly" in 19th century
Dùn Bán, Loch Caravat	215	Contains rectilinear and windowed buildings, boat port, lime-mortar construction	None	Certainly medieval
Dùn Steingarry	316	No structure remaining	Domhnall Hearach *c. ca.* 1506	—
	Also Nos. 204, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 214	Boat-ports and rectilinear buildings	None	All possible medieval structures

It does in fact seem perfectly reasonable to assume for North Uist an overall pattern of Iron Age, and derived Iron Age, fortified settlement (excluding the wheelhouses, which are clearly not fortified) persisting into the late medieval period. The relatively fertile and prosperous conditions could well have supported numerous cadet families distributed among the *Dùin* and controlled titularly at least from Caisteal Bhuirbh in Benbecula (prior to the mid-fifteenth century). The development of more stable and settled conditions following the turbulence of the last years of the Island hierarchies (*c.* 1490-1550), with some resultant population increase, probably enabled much of the population to live in *baile* townships, whilst the local sub-chief or "tacksman" at first continued to live in his *dùn*, but later used it only in case of emergency, and finally settled in his *baile* itself. The last transition is probably indicated in the relative proximity of the *Dùn Mhic Raghnaill* and Balranald Seanaval, to take one example. This is at present, of course, hypothetical but it seems consistent with the possibilities and data available.

Only an outline of the history of West Highland settlement as it affects North Uist has been attempted. Much detailed information is still needed, but this can only be acquired when many particular problems have been dealt with. For further progress in this research, it is first of all necessary that regional surveys should be carried out for every island and parish in the West Highlands. These should define the particular problems of the individual areas, which can then be tackled (if necessary) by excavation of carefully selected sites to answer otherwise insoluble problems. For West Highland studies in general, such are necessary if only to produce the vital archæological indices, pottery, metal types, house types, etc., needed to construct a reliable chronological scale for the area, the total absence of which is perhaps unique in Britain. A few well-stratified type-sites covering a substantial period might well provide (with much else) the detailed links needed to relate the recent historical settlement of the North-West to its prehistoric and medieval origins.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am greatly indebted to my colleague the Rev. W. Matheson (Dept. of Celtic, Univ. of Edinburgh) for his many comments and corrections, and for the use of unpublished material in his possession.

APPENDIX A

Details from Judicial Rental of Sir Donald MacDonald's estate of North Uist, 1718

(MacDonald, A., and MacDonald, A., 1896-1914)

Places	(Baile Nos. as Table I)	Nos. of Tenants
Ballivicphaill	(2)	15
Balliviconen	(3)	4
Clachan	(6)	10
Rimskarray	(7)	4
Vallakuy	(8)	4
Oransay	(11)	1
Hausten	(37)	7
Caranish	(44)	9 (+one unoccupied portion)
Griminish	(21)	1
Kilpheder	(23)	1
Ballekinloch	(26)	1
Pableskarry	(34)	1
Kirkibost	(41)	1
Arisaig	(53)	2
Ulleray	(42)	13 (+one unoccupied portion)
Kerameanach	(16)	11
Malaclett	(19)	5
Balloan	(24)	5
Howgarie	(30)	14
Balmore	(36)	8
Ashdaill	(54)	6
Tromskarry	(9)	1
Vannt	(28)	1
Hosta	(27)	1
Knocknatorran	(35)	1
Ballshare	(43)	1
Heisker	(40)	1
Kyles, etc.	(39)?	1
Gerrinacurran	(18)	1
Tigheary	(29)	1
Balleranald	(31)	vacant
Doun	(17)	1
Sollas	(13)	1
Boreray	(15)	1
Vallay	(20)	1
Gr. Off. Land (Ground Officers Land)		1
Total of (Direct) rent payers		137

Of these, 20 are of tacksman status (the single units); 117 are tenants of joint farms.

The remainder of the population were dependent on the above units with the exception (presumably) of a few craftsmen.

(Spelling of Place-Names as on original Documents)

APPENDIX B

Details from Rental of North Uist—1764

(Balranald Papers MS.)

	(Baile No. as Table I)	Nos. of Tenants
Kyles Bernera	(1)	1
Baile MhicPhàil	(2)	15
Garryvurchie, Balviconan, Peinvanich	(3)	6
Goulbay	(4)	4
The Two Clachans	(6)	14
Rammisgarry	(7)	13
Valaquie	(8)	4
Trumisgarry	(9)	1
Oransay	(11)	1
Sollas	(13)	1
Havisgarry	(with 13)	1
Dunskellar	(17)	1
Middlequarter	(16)	13
Vallay	(20)	1
Malaclett	(19)	
Griminish	(21)	1
Kilpheder	(23)	1
Balelone	(24)	
Balmartine	(25)	5
Balkenloch (Baleloch)	(26)	1
Hosta	(27)	2
Tigharry	(29)	1
Hougharry	(30)	29
Heisker	(40)	1
Paiblesgarry	(34)	1
Knockintorran	(35)	16
Balmore	(36)	14
Knockline	(38)	14
Kirkibost	(41)	1
Balranald	(31)	
Kyles	(39)	
Baleshare	(43)	1
Gerrinancurran	(18)	
Illeray, viz. Linclet and North Quarter	(42)	12
Carinish	(44)	12
The Tack of Boreray	(18)	(1)
Ardmaddie	(49)	1
The Change of Kerseva, The Lands of Kerseva (Cearsabach) (now Lochmaddy)	(50)	1
The Change of Sand		1
The Change of Paible		1
The Change of Carinish		1
Total of (Direct) Rent-payers		194

Of these, 16 were of tacksman status; 4 were innkeepers; 1 (Ardmaddie) was the game-keeper; and thus 173 were tenants of joint farms.

(Spelling of Place-Names as on original Document)

STATUS OF POPULATION

	Tacksmen	Sm. Tenants	Others	Total Population
1718 . .	20	117	?	?
1764 . .	16	173	188 approx.*	1,909 (1755)

* This figure is arrived at by taking total tenants—194; allowing 5 family dependants each = 970 persons and subtracting this from the population total of 1,909 for 1755 and dividing again by 5 to produce family units.

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EASTER ROSS: A RESIDUAL CROFTING AREA

Joy Tivy

The traditional administrative division between Wester and Easter Ross* reflects the peculiar east-west extent, from the Outer Hebrides to the Moray Firth, of the County of Ross and Cromarty, and the consequent regional differences contained within it. In Ross-shire, however, the geographical contrasts between the west and east of the North-West Highlands of Scotland are heightened by the relatively extensive "outlier" of Old Red Sandstone sediments preserved in the down-faulted basin of the Moray Firth. The resulting upland-grit coastal lowlands and peninsulas form a distinct enclave whose relief, soils and associated agricultural and settlement patterns have much in common with those of "lowland" Scotland (Tivy 1963). Easter Ross is in but is not wholly of the Highlands. Its parishes either lie completely within the coastal lowlands, as in the Black Isle, or as on the mainland, run west to east from the main Highland watershed across both the highland and lowland areas of the county.

As a result Easter Ross is, in many respects, transitional in landscape and economy between "highland" and "lowland" Scotland. This transitional character is apparent, as has been suggested by Moisley (Moisley 1962:83-95), in the position it occupies between the main crofting and non-crofting economies of the Highlands. Ross-shire is one of the seven crofting counties of Scotland, and all the parishes of Easter Ross, with the exception of Rosemarkie and Cromarty (at the eastern tip of the Black Isle) acquired crofting status under the original Crofting Act of 1886. Agricultural units of less than 50 acres are characteristic of the eastern part of the county to-day and even on the relatively prosperous coastal lowlands account for a high percentage of the total number of holdings. And although, in

* For the purposes of this article, Easter Ross is used to cover the eastern part of the County of Ross and Cromarty and includes the administrative sub-divisions of Easter Ross, Mid-Ross and the Black Isle.

fact, they occupy only about a third of the total acreage of improved farm land, they contribute a distinctive element to the present agricultural landscape not found in other parts of the non-crofting Highlands nor yet in otherwise comparable

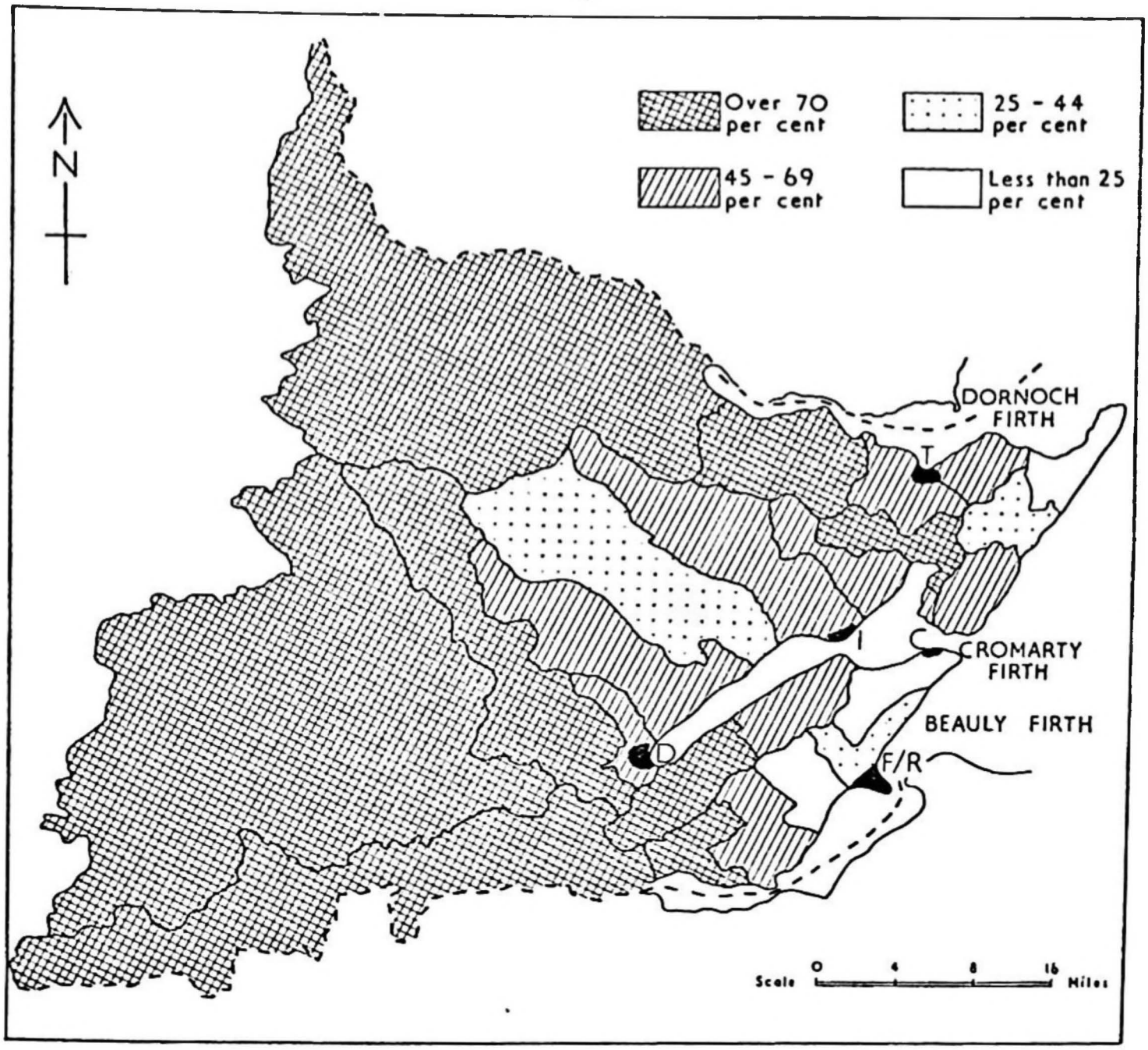

FIG. 1.—Easter Ross: percentage of all agricultural holdings whose acreage of crops and grass is less than 50 acres, 1960. *Based on Statistics Supplied by the Department of Agriculture (Scotland)*. The parish is the basic unit.
T—Tain; I—Invergordon; D—Dingwall; C—Cromarty; F/R—Fortrose and Rosemarkie.

agricultural lowlands south of the Highland Boundary Fault. A great number, though not all, of these small holdings are *crofts* (Caird 1962:547) according to the legally accepted definition of the term (i.e. rented holdings situated within the seven crofting counties of Scotland of less than 50 acres in extent and/or less than £50 per annum rent, which carry security of hereditary tenure), and are registered as such with

the Crofters' Commission. There are, in addition, a considerable number of small holdings which have only recently lost their crofting status as a result of a change of tenure to owner-occupancy. These existing or erstwhile crofts of Easter Ross differ somewhat in origin, organisation and economy from the more numerous and characteristic crofting settlements of the North-West Highlands and Islands of Scotland. And many of these basic differences are related to the more favourable physical and economic conditions found within the Moray Firth lowlands.

The small holdings of Easter Ross contribute a distinctive element to the agricultural landscape by reason of their distribution. While approximately two-thirds of all holdings in 1960, in terms of improved land, were less than 50 acres in size, Fig. 1 reveals a proportion generally greater than this in the inland and less than this in the peninsular and coastal parishes. Such a distribution on the basis of parish statistics is, however, very misleading since a considerable area of the inland parishes lies in the Highlands proper and is largely unimproved land devoted to deer forest, sheep farm and forestry; here the total acreage of improved land is concentrated on the relatively restricted areas of flat land and good soil associated with alluvial terraces, or old lake beds, along the valley floors. The greatest percentage of all the small holdings is, in fact, contained within the "lowland" area of Easter Ross.

Not only is the number of such holdings greater in the coastal lowlands but their distribution here is highly localised. Fig. 2 indicates those areas where there is a concentration marked enough to have produced distinctive field and settlement patterns. Outside these areas small holdings do occur but they are generally scattered at random among the larger farms. In practically all cases the main concentrations of small holdings occupy sites peripheral to moorland (or moorland now partially or wholly forested) and with which local names descriptive of existing or former physical conditions, such as "muir", "moss", "bog" or "heights", are still associated. Within the Moray Firth lowlands the variable lithology of the Old Red Sandstone Series (ranging from conglomerates and coarse sandstones to friable shales and marls), combined with considerable diversity of glacial drift, has resulted in a wide range of physical sites. The majority of the small holdings occupy areas of either relatively stonier soil, steeper slope, poorer drainage or greater altitude than the larger arable farms. Outside the "lowland"

area of Easter Ross, the greatest concentration of small holdings is in the northern parish of Kincardine along the straths of the rivers Oykell and Carron where, in contrast to the former area,

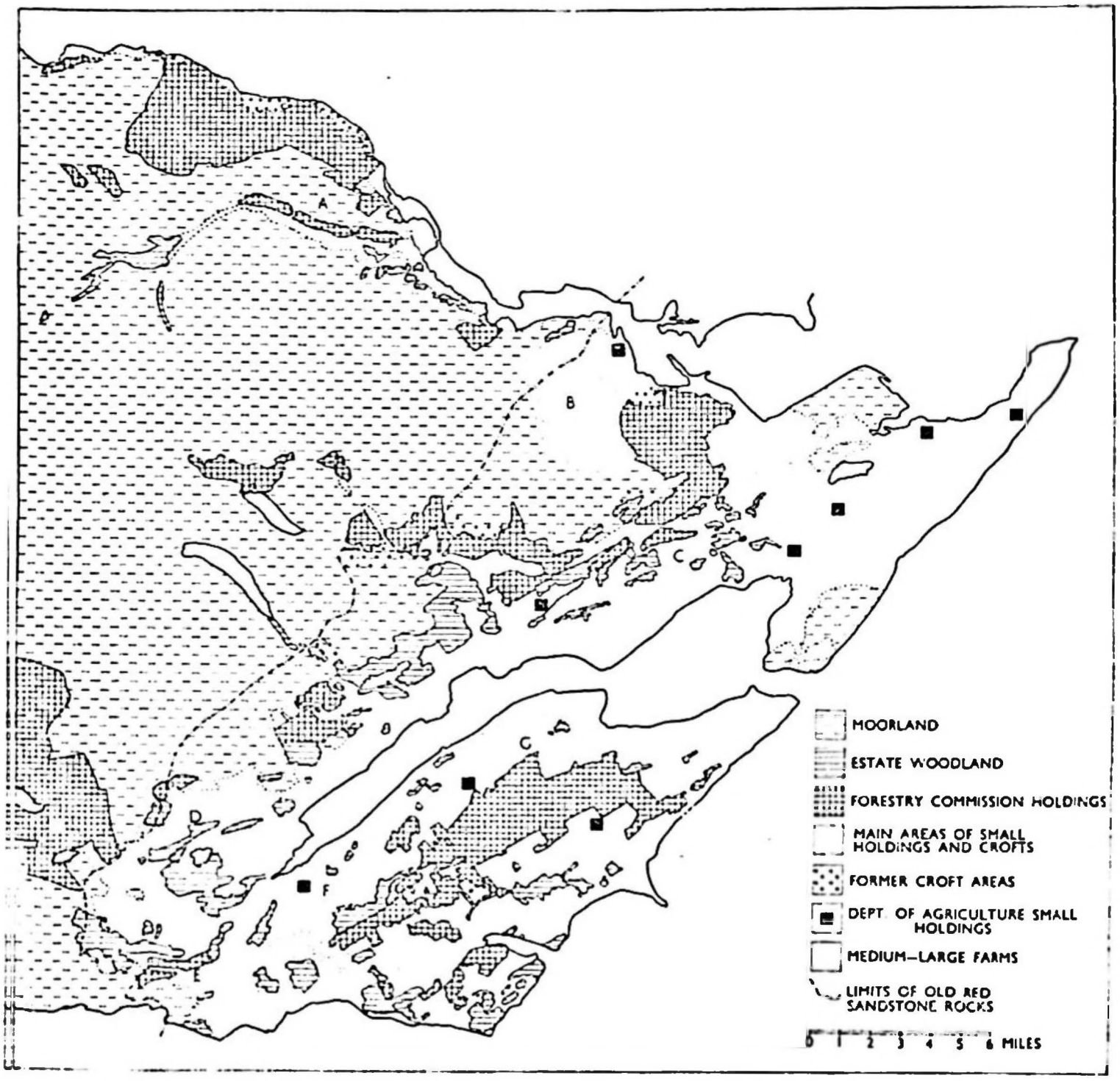

FIG. 2.—Easter Ross: certain elements of the agricultural landscape, showing areas where a small-holding field and settlement pattern is dominant. A—Strath Carron; B—Edderton-Struie area; C—Balnagowan area; D—Strathpeffer area; E—Muir of Ord area; F—Western Black Isle; G—Cullicudden area. Based on field work undertaken during summers 1962 and 1963.

they occupy the better sites provided by alluvial terraces and morainic material. But apart from these two valleys the other highland glens which drain into the Moray Firth are virtually empty, though traces of former settlement are not hard to find.

Within the areas A, B, C, D and F in Fig. 2 the majority of the small holdings satisfy the legal definition of a croft. For

many this status dates from the end of the nineteenth century, while others designated as "land holders" in estate records automatically acquired crofting rights under the Small Landholder's Act of 1911. Of these at least 90 per cent are registered as crofts under the Crofter's Commission to-day. The fact that there are holdings in this category which are not registered crofts, although they enjoy full crofting rights, is usually the result of deliberate estate policy. In areas E and G the groups of small holdings differ only from the crofts in that they are now owner-occupied. When the estates on which they are situated were sold out, in the 1930s or later, the former crofters were given the opportunity to buy their holdings (their occupants still, however, consider and refer to themselves as crofters). This process continues and, together with amalgamation as tenants die intestate or renounce their rights, has resulted in a considerable and continuing decline in the number of legal crofter-holdings, particularly during the last 30-40 years.

In addition there exists a fairly numerous, though more dispersed group of small holdings which although "registered crofts" have little in common with the foregoing. These are the Department of Agriculture Small Holdings created by the subdivision of former large farms in the 1920s and 1930s. Their average size and rent is larger than that of the older crofts—and not infrequently exceed the usual croft limits—and reflects their situation on some of the richest agricultural land in Easter Ross. And for these reasons they will not be included in the following discussion.

The typical crofts and other similar small holdings exhibit a wide range of size, from less than 5 to over 50 acres in some instances, not only from one area to another but within a given locality. Within the areas shown on Fig. 2 they occur either in irregular clusters or in regular "planned" blocks of anything from 3 to 5 up to 100 holdings, each of which has a distinctive name. These groups or blocks are usually referred to as "townships" though their grouping and naming is a result only of their association with a particular estate or adjacent large farm. A few of these so-called townships, as in areas A, B and D have, in addition, common grazings with clearly defined souming rights: these approximate more closely to the usually accepted concept of the crofting township as a social organisation. But in relation to the total extent of rough grazing in Easter Ross they occupy a very small area and in few cases do all those

crofters with shares on them make full use of their rights; in area B, for instance, many of the crofters were unaware of either the existence or exact location of the common grazings which are recorded in estate books. The traditional economic and social organisation which is still the basic characteristic of many of the Western crofts is lacking in Easter Ross. Here the nature, and location, of the townships are the result of the operation of different processes in their origin in a region somewhat more amenable than the Western Highlands and Islands to the agricultural improvements of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The evidence for the origin of small holdings in Easter Ross is fragmentary, and disjointed in time and place. On many estates past records are non-existent, such as exist are rarely complete, while maps showing the location and boundaries of present holdings are only occasionally available. In some areas of the Black Isle and on the "Heights" of Strathpeffer the small holdings were a direct result of the laird's policy of dividing and enclosing former joint-holdings into small units and leasing them to the tenants. A survey of the Cromartie estate, made in 1762 (Fig. 3) before enclosure, shows that on the south-facing side of the Peffer valley arable land had all but attained its present limits. During the period 1790-1810 the upper parts of the joint-farms of Auchterneed, Inchveany, Keppoch, Inchrory and Davochglier were sub-divided into numerous crofts while the lower parts were organised as large single farms (Fig. 4). Old rent rolls of this estate reveal that the crofts here were smaller and more numerous at the beginning of the nineteenth century than to-day; in the township of Auchterneed the average size, however, is still less than 10 acres.

As in much of the richer lowlands of Scotland, however, enclosure and the concomitant improvement of agricultural land resulted in the organisation of the former joint-farms into single large farms only, with the consequent displacement of many of the former tenants and the disappearance of the ferm-toun as a unit of settlement. Some of the tenants so displaced moved into nearby towns or into the newly-created estate villages, some emigrated outwith the area while others supplied the increased demand for agricultural labour. Various sources in Easter Ross indicate that a great number of "mealers" (or "mailers") or "cottagers", as they are referred to in contemporary accounts, settled or squatted voluntarily on the

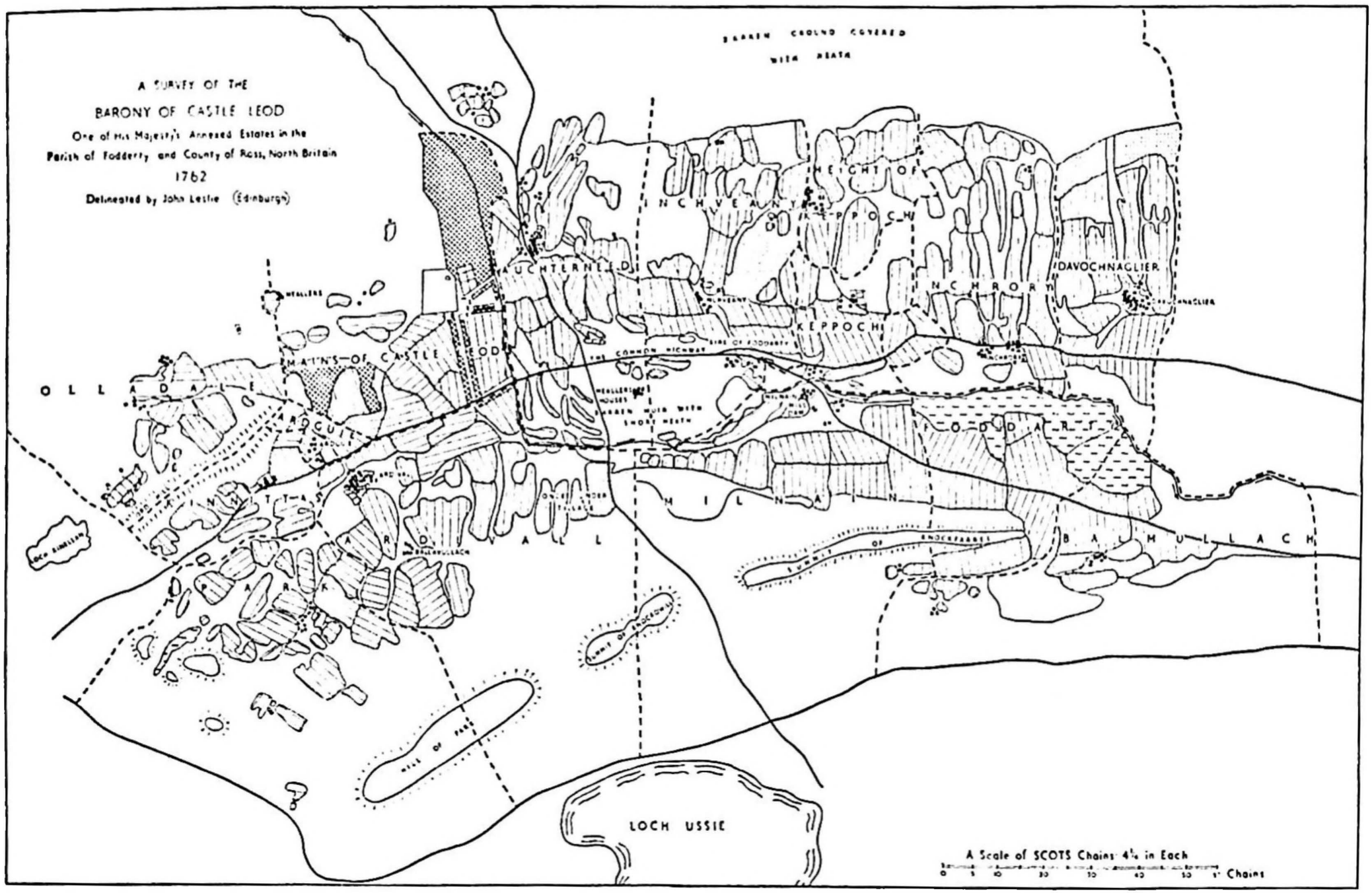

FIG. 3.—Survey of the Barony of Castle Leod, 1762. Arable land shaded; the only planted woodland is that cross-hatched area in the Mains of Castle Leod; remaining areas either moorland or scrubby woodland. *Dashed lines* indicate boundaries between joint-farms each with its small "ferm-toun" in which are the houses of the joint-tenants and "mealers" or "cottagers". *Original of this map is in Castle Leod Strathpeffer; this slightly simplified copy has been reproduced by kind permission of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Cromartie, M.C.*

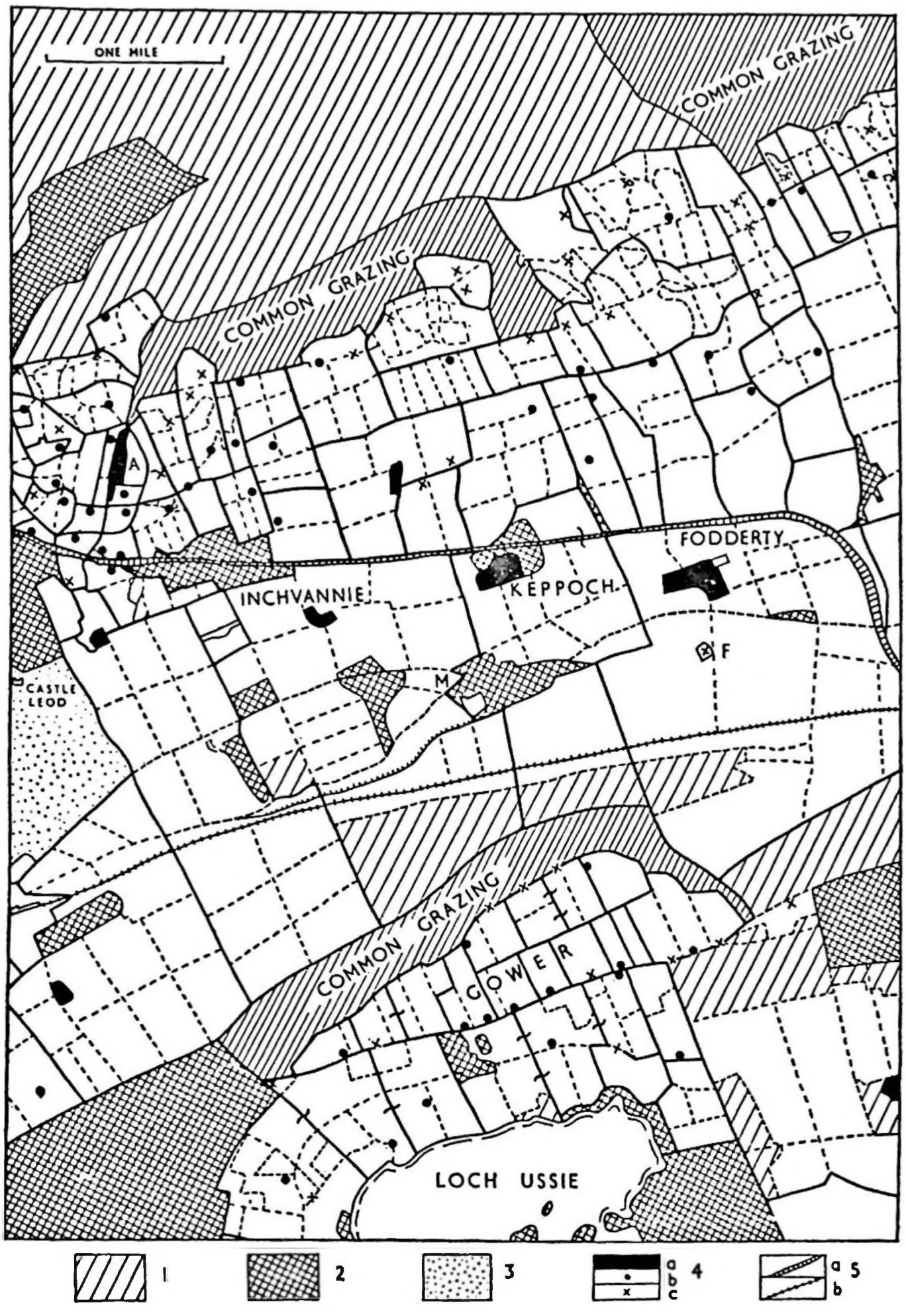

FIG. 4.—Strathpeffer crofting area (cf. Fig. 3). Heavy black lines are boundaries of land holdings; dashed lines indicate field boundaries. Note large farms situated on strath floor and lower valley-side slopes. Crofts are on the valley-side shoulders or benches at 400-600 ft. O.D.; those to the north were created during early period of enclosure 1790-1810; those of the townships of Gower and Loch Ussie were created from formerly unimproved moorland in 1850 to accommodate crofters displaced by the Strath Conon clearances. *Reproduced from Annual Report of the Scottish Field Studies Association, 1963.*

margins of the still unimproved and formerly common moorland, or were actually encouraged to do so by the individual proprietors. Among those who took the opportunity of so acquiring a piece of land were many crofters dispossessed by the early clearances in the West.

In 1795 Sinclair notes that "several gentlemen have improved their large tracts of waste ground by placing mealers or cottagers in such situations as appeared most adapted for improvement" (Sinclair 1795). A little later Mackenzie makes a similar comment: "Improvement of waste land is a favourable object with every proprietor and the desire for having it accomplished cheaply has occasioned a considerable competition for crofters who have been removed from other places (those who have not the means of transporting themselves to America). Some crofters are established without any other condition being imposed on them, except that they shall improve a certain space annually. Others have an allowance of money for rendering a certain extent productive" (Mackenzie 1810). This process is also frequently referred to in both the *Old* and *New Statistical Accounts* of the parishes of Easter Ross. And in the Balnagowan Estate Book, 1962, such entries against existing small holdings as "settled and reclaimed by tenants removed from large farms in early 1840s to make present single farm of Balnagore" point to specific cases.

In a long and detailed account of the estates of Ross-shire in the late-nineteenth century, one James MacDonald summarises the results of this process by that time (MacDonald 1877:64-209). Most revealing is his account of the letting of the former "common lands" of Millbuie which occupied much of the central backbone of the Black Isle. In his earlier account Sinclair had remarked on the unsuccessful efforts in the past on the part of the proprietors of land adjacent to Millbuie to divide it among themselves. At the beginning of the nineteenth century an interim apportionment of the western end had begun but the final division among twelve estates was not completed until 1827. The better "improvable" land on these divisions of the former common was let to crofters in holdings varying from 10-30 acres on 19-year leases, together with encouragement, often financial, to bring them into cultivation; the remainder of the common was planted. The improvement of moorland was more widespread on the western margins of Millbuie while towards the east the Cromarty estate portion was planted up completely. The legacy of this process is visible

to-day in the cluster of "townships", each associated with a particular estate, at the western end of the Black Isle (Fig. 5). In the township of Balvaird for instance the rectangular arrangement of lots remains unchanged since they were first surveyed in 1823 (see Fig. 6). A similar plan for part of the Ferintosh estate shows a comparable arrangement (Fig. 7), but suggests that unenclosed "squatter land" was still being occupied at this time. In the latter example subsequent amalgamation has reduced the original number of croft holdings very considerably and the initial grid-iron pattern is less obvious. In both these examples, however, the distribution of houses and of the patches of improved land suggest that lotting and enclosure succeeded the actual settlement and improvement.

MacDonald also refers to the operation of a similar process in Mid and East Ross. In the coastal lowlands along the north shore of the Cromarty Firth the way in which the existing small holdings cluster around "The Wilderness" of Balnagowan Moss (Fig. 8)—an intractable area of ill-drained, coarse, fluvio-glacial material—is, in the light of the foregoing evidence, significant. Similarly, the crofts above Edderton (Fig. 9) occupy a high, badly drained bench (600-800 ft. O.D.) and here, small irregular patches of improved or formerly improved land must present a condition not dissimilar to that when the first squatters settled the area.

This particular process of improvement, which created the existing crofts of Easter Ross, was most active in the period 1790-1850. And the supply of displaced tenants was maintained by the clearance of much of the Highland area of Easter Ross for deer forest in the period 1840-50. Estate and Scottish Land Court records note, for instance, the creation of the crofts of Gower and Loch Ussie, in the Strathpeffer area (see Figs. 4 and 5), to accommodate tenants displaced from Strath Conon in 1850. This parallels a similar process described by Kay for parts of Aberdeenshire (Kay 1962:100-111). Here, as in Easter Ross, it was a process largely motivated by the lairds, for several reasons: to extend the amount of improved land: to increase the rent rolls; and not least, as MacDonald remarks, "to hold out inducements to careful ploughmen, labourers, etc., to take a small farm or croft and therefore to remain in the area" (MacDonald 1877), and thereby supply the vastly increased demand for agricultural labour.

Evidence would suggest that the squatting process which

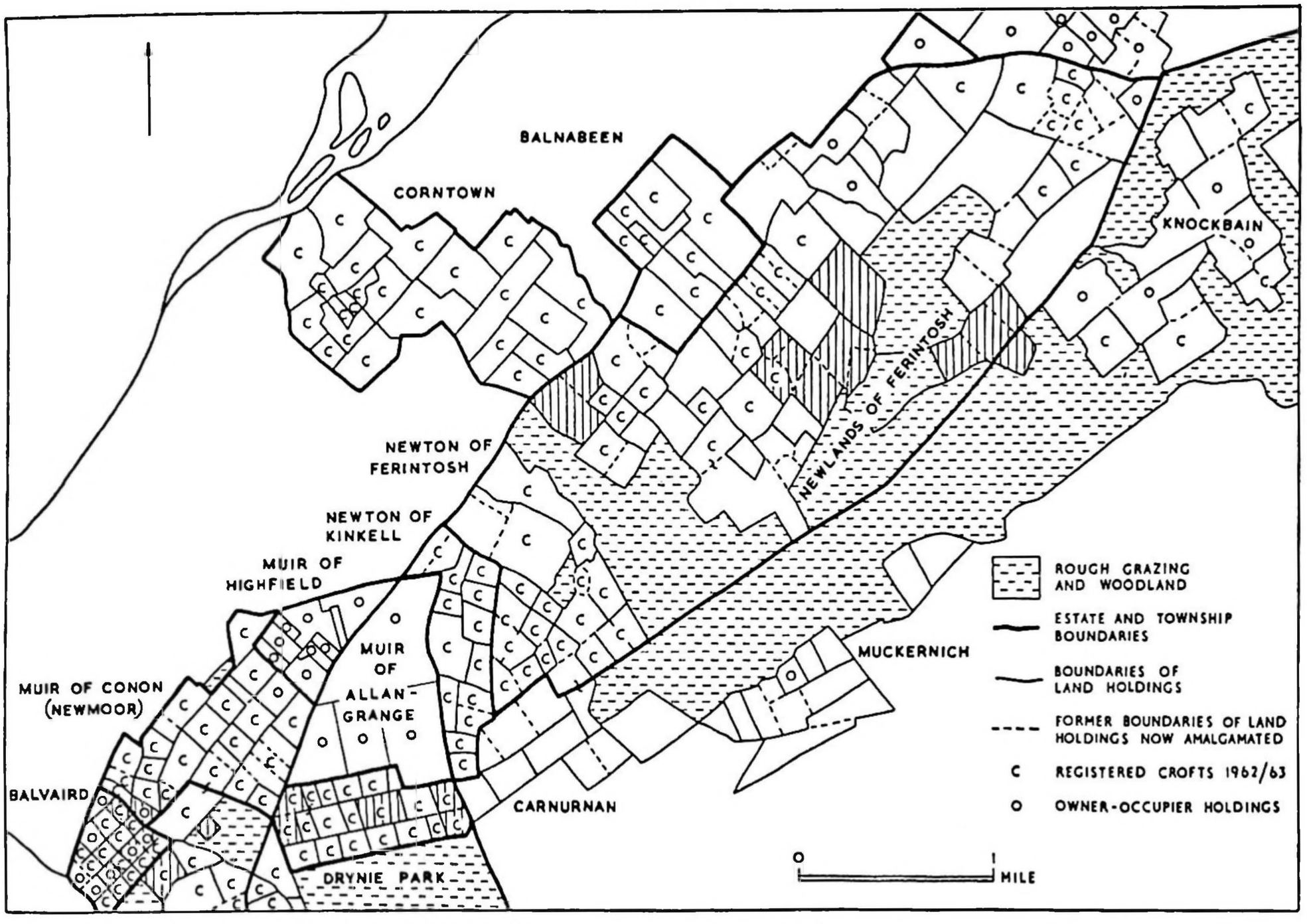

FIG. 5.—Western Black Isle crofting area. Here crofts are arranged in "township" blocks, each with a distinctive name. Corntown and Balnabeen are small holdings created by the Department of Agriculture in the 1930s; the remainder came into existence in the period 1810-50. In the townships of Balvaird (cf. Fig. 6). Drynie Park and Newlands of Ferintosh those holdings worked by one man in each township are cross-hatched.

created the majority of crofts in Easter Ross was one common to many parts of Scotland, and, in particular, to the north-east.

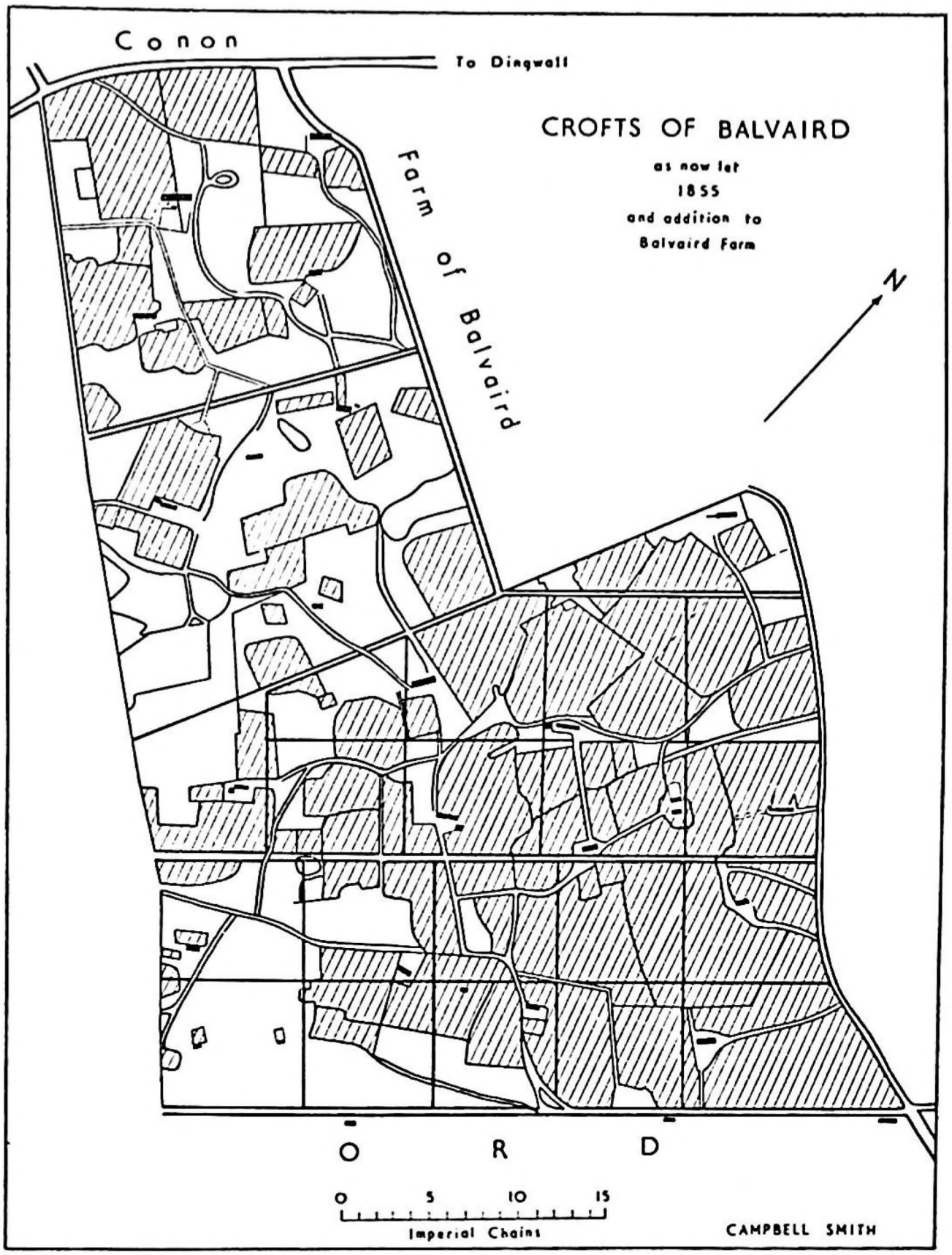

FIG. 6.—Crofts of Balvaird, 1855; this shows the rectangular enclosure, or lotting, of land settled and improved by "mealers". Note that part of this improved land (shaded area) has been assigned to an adjacent farm. *Original MS. of this survey in Conon Estate Offices, Urray, Muir of Ord, Ross-shire.*

In many areas the crofts so created were but an ephemeral, intermediate stage in the improvement of formerly uncultivated land and its eventual absorption into large, compact, farm

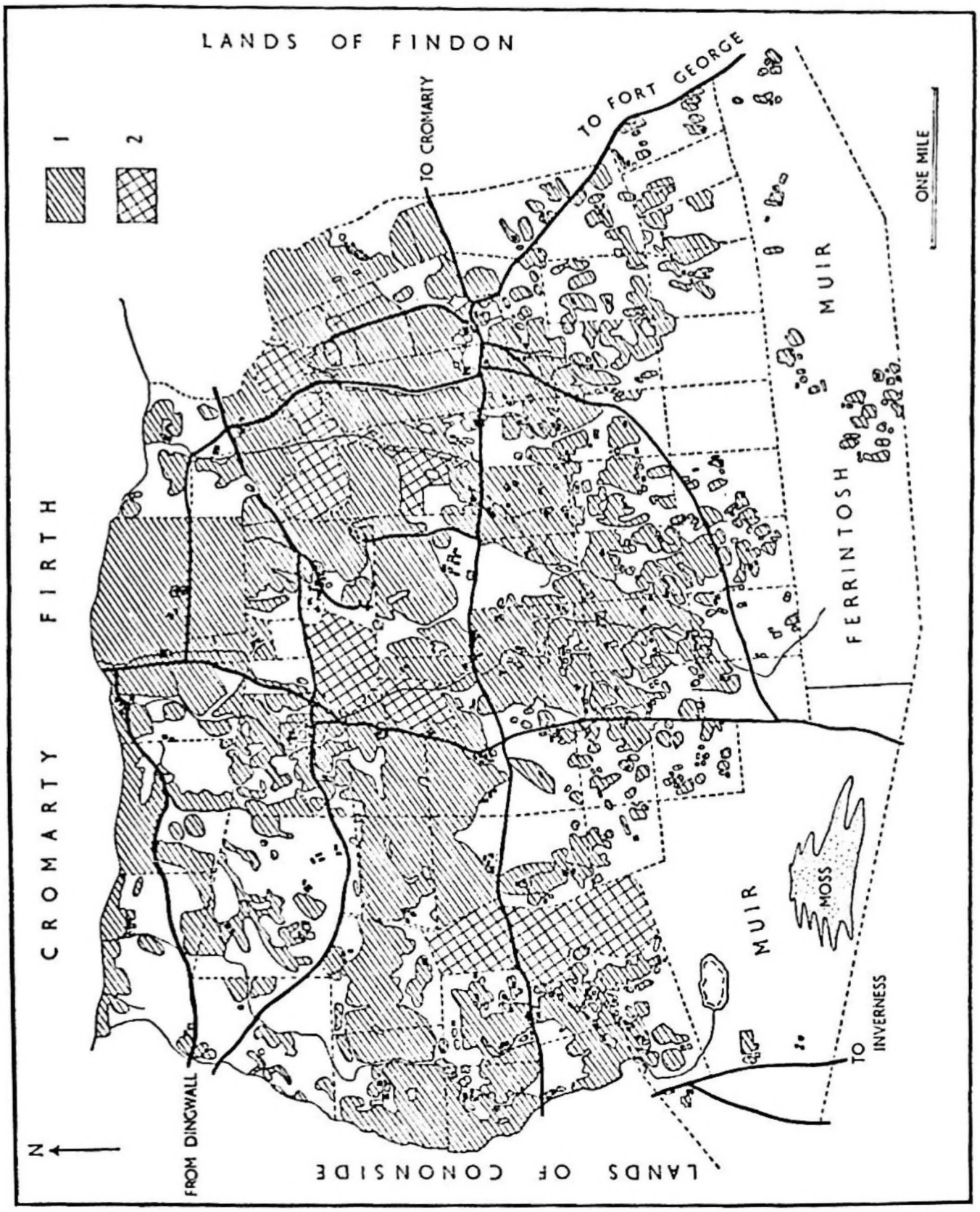

FIG. 7.—Estate of Ferrintosh, Black Isle, Ross-shire, as surveyed by Wm. Crawford, Jun., Land Surveyor, Edinburgh, 1810. *This simplified and generalised version of the original map is reproduced by kind permission of Ferintosh Estate Office, Inverness* 1. arable land; 2. woodland; *solid black lines*—roads; *dashed lines*—farm and croft boundaries. Note south of the Cromarty road the rectangular lotting and enclosure of the moorland edge, already at this date settled and partially improved by "mealers".

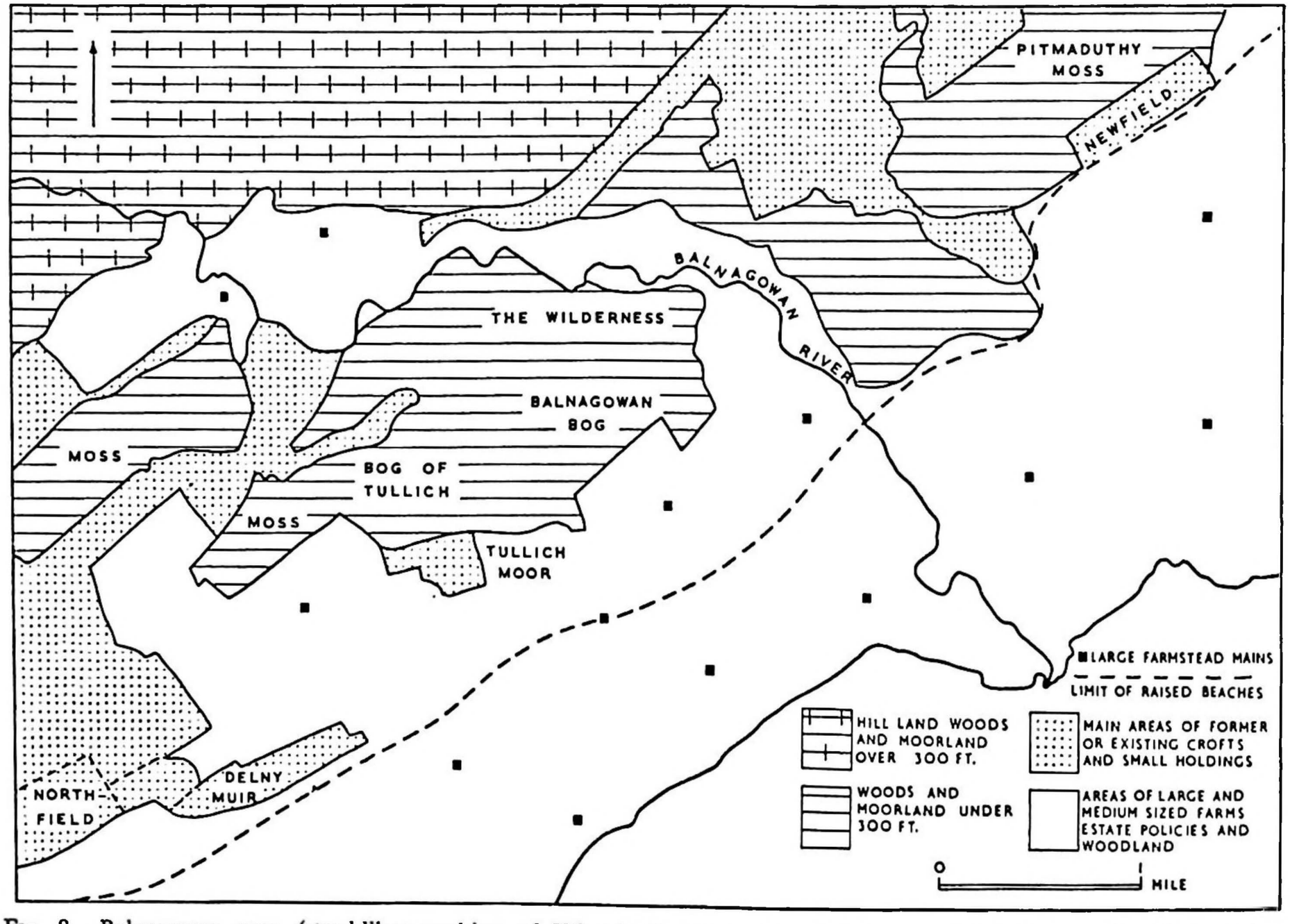

FIG. 8.—Balnagowan area (straddling parishes of Kilmuir Easter and Logie Easter mainly) showing the characteristic location of former or existing small holdings in relation to other landscape features.

units. In Aberdeenshire, Kay notes the relatively early amalgamation of former croft lands or their addition to pre-existing farms. In other areas—and such is the case in Easter

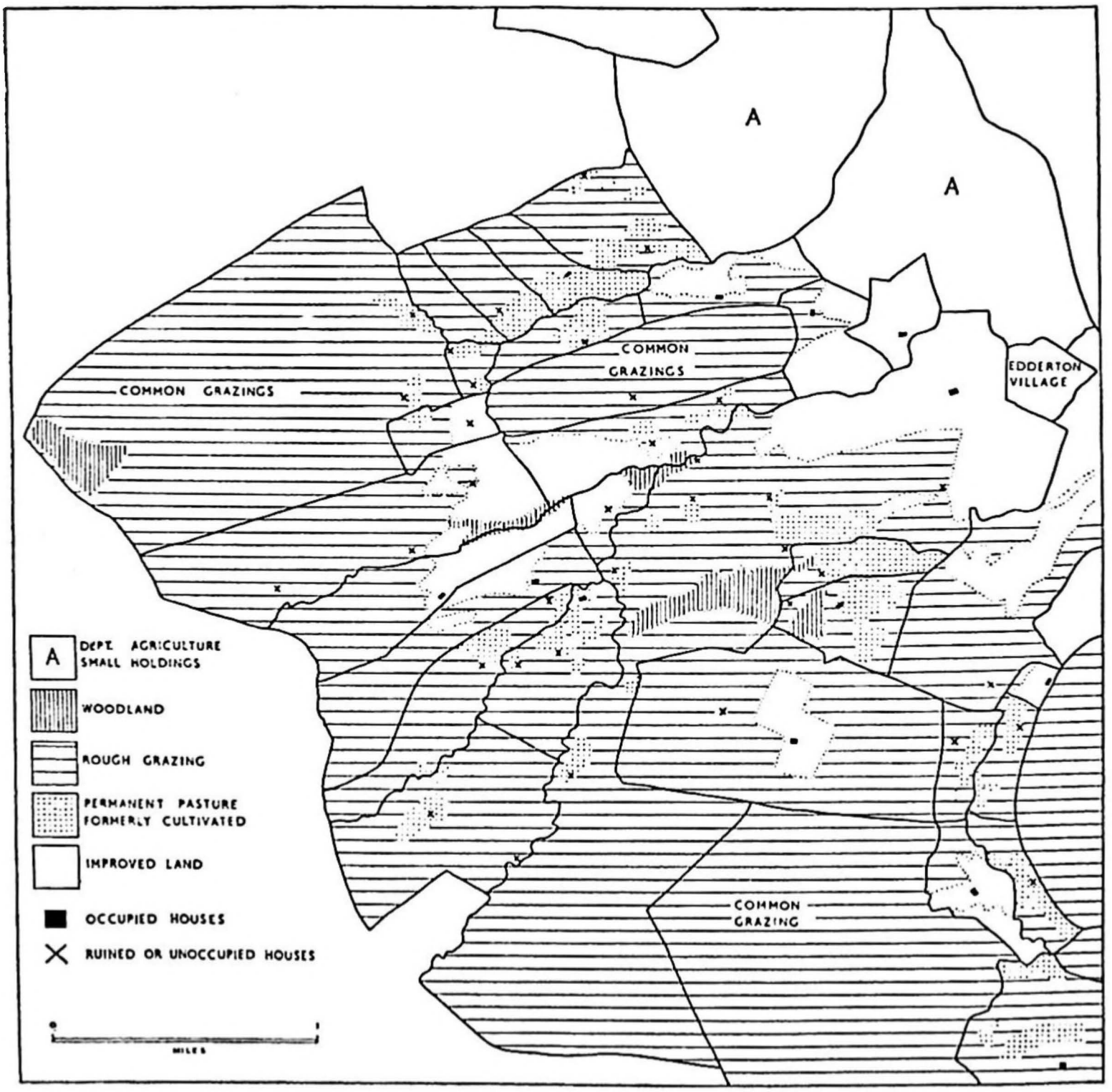

FIG. 9.—Edderton-Struie area; *black lines* are farm and croft boundaries.

Ross—the crofts or their imprint on the landscape have persisted up to the present. Since their initiation, however, this particular crofting settlement and its associated economy has experienced and is still undergoing considerable modification consequent upon increasing mechanisation and commercialisation of agriculture, and rural depopulation. In Easter Ross the

degree and rate of modification varies greatly from one part of the area to another. In some, certain factors have tended to accelerate the eventual disappearance of the crofts, in others, to delay this process or even perpetuate the system.

Within the Highland periphery of Easter Ross, and particularly in the coastal parishes which lie north of the Cromarty Firth, the disappearance and continuing decline of former crofting settlements is most marked (Fig. 2). Once improved land has reverted to heather moorland and has been incorporated into the rough grazings of the adjacent large sheep or stock-rearing farms. Some of the former crofting settlements in these areas have been acquired by the Forestry Commission, renounced croft land has been or will be planted, and only a few isolated holdings still persist within these forested areas. In other places the formerly improved croft-land has been amalgamated with and is now worked by the larger farms to which they lay adjacent. And in areas A, B and C in Fig. 2 the crofts and small holdings which still remain are in a relatively rapid state of decline.

The disappearance and decline of the crofting settlements is then most marked in areas of poorest physical site and/or greatest inaccessibility. The remaining holdings are small, the majority less than 20 acres, while in Strath Oykell, Strath Carron (Fig. 10) and the coastal fringe of the parish of Kincardine along the Dornoch Firth the mean size is less than 10 acres. The number of holdings on which former arable land is either poorly worked, not worked at all or merely used for grazing is high; the rate of renouncement of holdings is rapid and the proportion of old people and amount of absenteeism of tenants is much greater than on small holdings elsewhere in lowland Ross-shire. Sub-letting and amalgamation has reduced the number of working units very considerably and numerous unused or empty houses testify to this process and to a marked decline in population. In such areas the amount of arable land is small and the emphasis on sheep rearing is greater than on the other crofting areas in Easter Ross.

In the Edderton area, for example (Fig. 9) crofts, as such, have all but disappeared although the settlement and field pattern still persists. This is an old-established crofting settlement which dates from the end of the eighteenth century and the existing holdings are but a depleted remnant of a formerly more densely settled area. In 1958 twenty-three holdings were registered as crofts: field work in 1963 revealed that

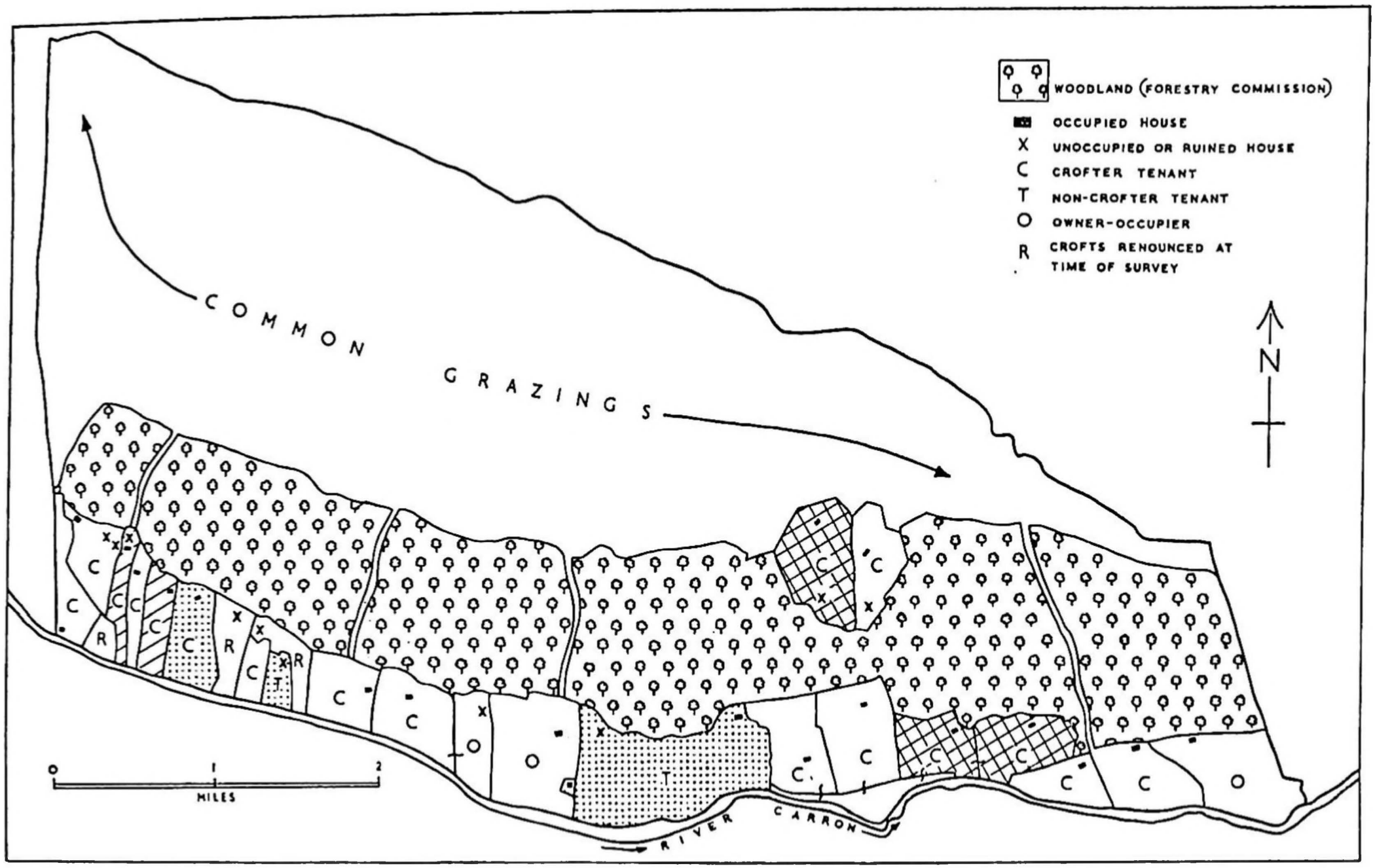

FIG. 10.—Crofts of Strath Carron. These occupy a narrow strip of alluvial terrace; sourning on common grazing on basis of given number of sheep per croft: mean acreage of crofts 8 acres; of 25 holdings existing in 1962, 3 had been sold and 2 renounced in that year and there were 17 working units. Those holdings worked by the same person are given a distinctive shading.

amalgamation and subletting had resulted in a reduction to fifteen working-units. Eight holdings are now worked by one progressive crofter; on eight others, however, the former arable land had not been cultivated for at least thirty years and is rapidly reverting to rough grazing; common grazing rights have lapsed. The result is the gradual, though not yet completed, emergence of a few medium-sized holdings composed partly of improved arable and partly of rough grazings. A little further south, in the Balnagowan area (Fig. 9) (straddling the parishes of Kilmuir Easter and Logie Easter mainly) there has also been a decline in former crofting settlements. Here there is a considerable intermixture of farmland with woods and rough grazings, and of large and small holdings. The latter comprise registered and unregistered crofts and a fair proportion of owner-occupied holdings. Most of the holdings to the south-west of the Balnagowan River have been quite recently renounced and amalgamated with adjacent large farms—though the old crofting house and field pattern still persists. To the north-east of the river there remain a fairly large number of crofts and owner-occupied small holdings. These are smaller than average, with a mean size of 8 acres. Of the twenty-eight crofts, ten were not worked either because the tenant was an absentee or was too old, and another six are used only for grazing.

South of the Cromarty Firth, and more particularly in the Strathpeffer area and the Black Isle, the groups of small holdings have persisted and retained their identity and vitality to a greater degree than elsewhere in Easter Ross. Within all the townships here (with the exception of those in the Ferintosh estate) the size of the original crofter holdings was small, usually less than 20 acres and in many cases (e.g. Auchterneed-Strathpeffer; Balvaird and Drynie Park-Black Isle) less than 10 acres. Sub-letting and amalgamation have progressively increased the size and number of the holdings worked by any one tenant. This is a process which is proceeding rapidly and which, given an impetus by recent Crofting Acts, can operate more easily and effectively than under the traditional and less flexible crofting structure of the Western Highlands and Islands.

In all the townships in this southern part of Easter Ross there are usually only half as many working units as there are individually leased holdings. There is, however, a marked tendency for one or two progressive tenants in each area to

have acquired or sub-leased a large number of, sometimes widely scattered, holdings. In Ferintosh, for instance, where eighty-eight separate holdings are recorded in the estate books, there are only forty-one working units; eight tenants rent or sub-lease three *or more* holdings, while one man has ten with a total of 250 acres. While as many as half the holdings in any one township may be worked by two or three tenants a high proportion of small, single holdings of less than 20 acres still remain. The majority of these, as are the large working-units, are well and fully worked and are situated on wholly improved or improvable land. The proportion of arable to grass is higher than in those holdings in the northern part of Easter Ross and along its highland margins and their stock rearing economy is not dissimilar to that of the adjacent larger farms; they differ from these in the smaller proportion and lesser diversity of arable crops, in the smaller scale of their operations and in a somewhat greater emphasis on sheep than cattle rearing. Some of the smallest and least accessible are used for grazing only or have, in a few cases, been so neglected as to have reverted to gorse scrub; but these are relatively few in number and are usually occupied by old retired people.

Also, in comparison to the small holdings north of the Cromarty Firth, those on the Black Isle and in the Strathpeffer area reveal a healthier age structure, with fewer retired folk and a higher percentage of those of working age (see Table I). Few however of the single holdings of less than 20 acres are full-time crofts, and the tenant as well as members of his family supplement their income by other forms of employment in the surrounding area. Modern hydro-electric and forestry developments in the adjacent "highland" part of Easter Ross combined with ease of access to Inverness and more particularly to a number of small but growing service centres—such as Dingwall, Muir of Ord, Cononbridge and Beauly—in the immediate vicinity, provide opportunities for supplementary occupation. These opportunities have undoubtedly tended to retard rural depopulation and to perpetuate the existence of holdings which would otherwise be too small to be really economic or to provide a reasonable income. In addition the change of tenure from crofter-tenant to owner-occupier, which continues as more and more of these areas are sold out by the respective estates, will also help to ensure the existence of the small holdings longer than might have been expected.

The crofts of Easter Ross are then modified remnants of a

settlement pattern which evolved during and as a result of the agricultural improvements of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. They represent an intermediate, and in other regions ephemeral, stage in the improvement of formerly uncultivated land and its eventual organisation in large, single farm units, which has persisted longer in north-eastern Scotland than elsewhere in the lowlands. However, abandonment together with amalgamation and consolidation of these formerly very small holdings has, particularly since 1920, been proceed-

TABLE I

Township	Area	No. of crofts	No. of working units	No. of full-time crofts	Age structure of Inhabitants A	B	C
Gower . . .	Strathpeffer	12	7	1	7	13	9
Loch Ussie . .	Strathpeffer	16	9	4	1	8	5
Inchvannie . .	Strathpeffer	11	7	?		?	
Heights of Fodderty	Strathpeffer	9	6	1	11	13	3
Auchterneed and Bottacks	Strathpeffer	21	15	4	9	22	4
Drynie Park . .	Black Isle	21	11	3	10	26	3
Balvaird . .	Black Isle	20	13	0	12	32	2
Muir of Conon .	Black Isle	26	19	?	11	41	6

Full-time crofts are taken as those on which the *tenant* does not supplement his income by work off the croft: A = number of children at school; B = number of working age; C = number of pensioners.

ing at varying rates and must eventually result in their disappearance. Factors such as the trend towards increased owner-occupancy and the opportunities which allow of part-time crofting can, in the long run, only be temporary checks in the ultimate elimination of an uneconomic and not very efficient method of using good land. But while crofting may in time disappear as a type of farming in Easter Ross, relics of its former existence will contribute, in distinctive field and settlement patterns, a characteristic element to the agricultural landscape for some time to come.

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THE BUMPKIN

J. F. and T. M. Flett

To-day in Scotland the distinctions between various types of dance have become blurred, but to previous generations there were four main types of dance, Reels, Country Dances, Square Dances and Circle Dances. These four types were clearly differentiated, and each had its own special characteristics (Flett 1964). In addition, however, there were a few miscellaneous dances which did not fit into this classification, and one of the most interesting of these was the Bumpkin.

The dance is a fairly elaborate set dance, i.e. it consists of a sequence of figures performed by a group of dancers all dancing together at the same time (unlike a longways Country Dance, where the bottom couples remain idle until the top couple have progressed down the set to join in the figures with them). However, in spite of its elaborate nature, the Bumpkin was in no sense an exhibition dance, but was purely a social dance.

It was performed by three men each with a lady on either hand, one of the men wearing a hat, and as the dance progressed, each man acquired the hat in turn. In some descriptions of the dance the man wearing the hat is referred to as the "King". Although we have no reference to the dance prior to 1782, the "game" element introduced by the exchange of the hat is reminiscent of some of the dances of the early eighteenth century.

The early history of the Bumpkin is confused by the fact that the name Bumpkin was also sometimes used for the ubiquitous kissing dance, more usually known as Babbity Bowster or The White Cockade (Flett 1964). We are unable to connect the Bumpkin proper with the kissing dance, or to find a common source for the two dances, which, since at least 1782, have had a separate existence. At the best we can point out that the Bumpkin proper, like the kissing dance, seems usually to have been the last dance at a ball, and that in some versions of the kissing dance a hat is used in the process of choosing a partner.

Since the dance is unquestionably one of our older national dances, it seems worth while to gather together what is known of its history.

As far as we know, the earliest reference to the Bumpkin is in a letter to an Edinburgh newspaper, written between 1782 and 1791, which is reproduced in *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces* (Creech 1791:294-5). Signing himself "Peter Paspy", the writer said:

"Sir,

"The rapid decline of dancing in this country, and particularly in the capitol, seems a matter of such serious moment to all admirers of the fair sex, that I hope a few observations on the subject . . . will prove neither wholly useless nor impertinent. The fact will hardly be disputed: It is too well known, that not above three or four assemblies have been attended this winter; . . . So negligent were the men, that one evening the ladies were driven to the sad resource of footing it with one another. . . . It is evident, unless some *steps* are speedily taken, the art itself must be lost among us. The Minuet with its beautiful movement, the cheerful Country-dance, the joyous Jigg, the riotous Reel, the boisterous Bumpkin, the sprightly Strathspey, and the courtly Cotillion, will soon fall into everlasting oblivion."

One of the earliest descriptions of the Bumpkin appears in William Campbell's *14th book of Strathspey Reels, Waltz's and Irish Jiggs . . . with their proper figures* . . . (Campbell 1799). Under the heading "The Country Bumpkin" the description is as follows:

"Six Ladies and 3 Gentlemen in 3 lines—the middle Gentleman dances with his Hat on—all nine foot up the Room to the top in 3 lines and turn and foot back again to their places—then the Gentleman in the middle sets to the Lady at the right hand corner turn her and then set to the Lady on the left hand corner and turn her and Hey [1]:—the other two Gentlemen do the same with their corners and Hey at the same time then fall back to their places and foot up the Room as before and then down again then the Gentleman in the middle foots to the other right hand corner turn round and Hey the other two Gentlemen do the same with their other corner and turn round and Hey all at the same time then fall back to their places foot up as before and back again then the three Gentlemen foot to the three Ladies on their right hand turn then to the three Ladies on their left turn and all Hey then foot up

as before and back again then the middle line set to the bottom line turn round and set to the top line then turn round and all Hey up and down the room the Gentleman in the bottom line takes the Hat off the Gentleman of the middle line then falls into the middle line with his two Ladies repeat all the Figure over again the Gentleman of the top line then takes the Hat off the head of the Gentleman of the middle line and with his two Ladies falls in the middle line and repeats all the figure over again—then finish with a threesom Reel across the Room."

An almost identical description of the dance is to be found in a MS. collection of music, songs, and dances now in the British Museum (B.M., Add. MS. 25073). The description of the dance occurs on a page on the back of which is written "Country Dances of the year 1790".

Another interesting early description of the Bumpkin under the name The Bounky is given in a MS. collection of dances taught at Blantyre Farm in 1805 by a dancing-master, Mr. William Seymour, from Kilbride (S.P.L. Blantyre MS.). In this the gentleman wearing the hat is termed the "King".

"3 Gen' and 6 Ladies begin the dance—A Lady placed on right and left hand of each ge*n*. Sett up, fire once,[2] wheel, sett back again, fire once and turn. M^{d} ge^{n} covered or King, sett right corners, and reel, sett up and down, same way again, then wheel, King sett left corners and reel, sett up and back. All Ge*n* and all Ladies reel, sett up again, and back as usual—sett every ge^{n} to his own partners, do same as beginning, then 3rd in middle covered same as first. Play uncommon time, all hands round, King in middle, fire once, 3 Ge*n* sett to ladies, then King make his bow."

Several descriptions of the dance, in particular those in Gow's *Complete Respository* (Gow 1817:iv) and *The Companion to the Reticule* (*c.* 1820) give an alternative ending to the dance. Here three extra men join in the last "set and reel", and the dance concludes with three Foursome Reels. The writers of *The Companion to the Reticule* remarks that "The Figure of the universally admired Bumpkin . . . is given . . . in the hope that, having been longest in disuse, it may be among the first of the NATIONAL DANCES to be revived", and the description of the dance itself ends with the words "and thus concludes the Bumpkin, as danced all over Scotland prior to the year 1815".

A fascinating picture is given both of the Bumpkin and of dancing generally at the beginning of the nineteenth century

in *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald* (Sibbald 1926:153:246-9).[3] The memoirs were written in Canada when Mrs. Sibbald was aged about seventy, and they cover the years 1783-1812.

Mrs. Sibbald recalls learning her "Scotch steps" at school in Bath and doing "credit to Bath" when she later attended a London "Caledonian Ball". Before her marriage to Colonel Sibbald, she lived near Melrose and her memoirs give several glimpses of the local dancing. She writes of Old David the shepherd, "with his feet turned out in a horizontal position, the heels touching, . . . No doubt David had learnt to dance as all Scotch did, in whatever grade of Society, and therefore his feet being far beyond what Dancing Masters call the first position, I fear he must have found the three most favourite steps 'dooble shuffle', 'cut the buckle', and 'Pigeon's Wing' rather difficult".

Mrs. Sibbald herself was an extremely enthusiastic dancer and her descriptions of her prowess in dancing the Bumpkin at Melrose are so vivid that we quote her at some length.

"In those days, dancing was a favourite amusement, and regularly at Balls the last reel was a matter of contention, as to who should "keep the floor" longest. I was never beat although there were many girls who tried to conquer me. It was in the following manner. The last dance before breaking up was the 'Country Bumpkin'. Three gentlemen stood up with a lady in each hand, one trio before the other. . . . The gentleman in the middle set wore an Opera hat; there was a regular figure after the gentlemen had changed places and each worn the hat. The sets widened. Three other gentlemen sprang up to form the three 'foursome reels', taking plenty of room; then came the tug of war, and you would have been amused to see Neil Gow, the leader of the band, and then so celebrated, come to the front of the orchestra, fiddle in hand, as if he would crush through it so excited he always was, and stamping with his feet, and calling 'high' as the music changed from strathspey to reel alternately.

"You would see after a while ladies beckoning to young friends to take their places and gentlemen do the same but I would never. Once at Lamberton Races, perfectly without my knowledge until afterwards, a bet was made between a Mr. Scott and the Bishop of Durham's son (I forget his name), as to which should keep the floor longest, Miss Johnstone of Hutton Hall (to whom Mr. Scott was engaged) or myself. I was the last to sit down.

"But the most trying time I ever had was at my last appearance at a public ball, . . . the last night of the Caledonian Races in the autumn of 1807. The Honble. Anna Maria Elliott, her sister Harriet, and many others continually changing with each other, all trying to tire me out, fanning themselves and looking so warm while I never fanned myself at all, and thanks to my Bath dancing mistresses, Miss Fleming and Mam'selle Le Mercier, I had been taught such a variety of steps that dancing was not quite as fatiguing to me as to many.

"At last the Earl of Dalkeith as my partner, when all had left the floor but ourselves, led me to a seat, . . . and shaking me by the hand said, 'Indeed, you are a young lady of spirit'."

Mrs. Sibbald suffered for her victory later that night when she found that her feet were bleeding, her efforts having worn a hole in the sole of each shoe and stocking. The next morning she begged her father to return home early so that the other girls would not see how lame she was!

Instructions for the Bumpkin appeared in a few of the small pocket ballroom guides which were produced by Scottish dancing-masters in the nineteenth century, e.g. in *Lowe's Ball-Conductor and Assembly Guide* (Lowe *c.* 1830), and in David Anderson's *The Universal Ball-Room and Solo-Dance Guide* (Anderson *c.* 1899-1902). A version of the dance has been published by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society under the title The Bumpkin or The Ninesome Reel (S.C.D.B. No. 2, 1925), but we do not know whether this was collected from oral tradition or was taken from some printed source.

Dr. H. A. Thurston (Thurston 1954:39) remarks that the dance survived traditionally in Lanark under the name "The Lanark Reel," and we ourselves have collected from Mr. William Lawson of Lanark a dance for nine very similar to the Bumpkin, called The Rob Roy Reel. This Rob Roy Reel, which Mr. Lawson learnt in Lanark about 1890, was an exhibition dance for children. It differed from the Bumpkin as described above in having no progression of the trios, and when the centre person reeled diagonally, the other two trios danced "three-hands-round" instead of reeling; there was also no "King" with a hat. Dances similar to the Rob Roy Reel are given in some of the nineteenth century ballroom guides, with the title Reel of Nine or Ninesome Reel (e.g. Willock 1865, Anderson 1886-1902), and are almost certainly simplified versions of the Bumpkin proper.

To-day the Bumpkin is regarded as a Country Dance, but

unfortunately is rarely danced. On the few occasions when it is performed it is usually as an exhibition dance and not as a "boisterous Bumpkin" to end an evening's dancing.

NOTES

[1] *Hey* is the English term for *reel*.

[2] The meaning of the term "fire" is unknown to us, but it may possibly mean "clap".

[3] We are indebted to Mrs. I. C. B. Jamieson for this reference.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

24. *Slew-* and *sliabh*

In his *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926:184), W. J. Watson stated that "*Sliabh*, a mountain, is common in Ireland, very rare in that sense in Scotland; it does not seem to occur in Dumfries or Galloway". To anybody studying the relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaelic place-names, and therefore naturally concentrating on the few but striking differences rather than the many obvious similarities, such a statement is a compelling invitation to further study. If rare, where does this element *sliabh* occur in Scottish place-names? Does it turn up sporadically all over those areas of Scotland in which other Gaelic place-names are to be found in plenty; or has it a limited distribution? If so, what does this signify? Does it, for instance, allow us to assign to this element a place in the relative chronology of Gaelic place-names in Scotland, i.e. is it of any value in the study of the historical stratification of such names? Which word (or words) have replaced it in the regions in which it does not occur, and what other meanings does it have apart from "mountain"? Is it still alive in present-day Scottish Gaelic dialects, and if so, in which meaning?

It is obvious that it cannot be in the nature of a "Note" to answer all these questions exhaustively. For this, a full-scale article would be required taking into account all the available material, both Scottish and Irish, and also Manx, and linking *sliabh* with other elements rare in Scotland but prolific in Ireland. Such a comprehensive examination is clearly needed if we ever want to exploit our toponymic material to the full in our quest for more light on those very dark first centuries of Gaelic settlement in Scotland, but in this context it is only possible to touch on some aspects of the problem, with particular emphasis on the geographical distribution of our element in Scottish place-names, and some hints of answers to the other questions raised. Other "Notes" might follow at a later date to fill in and improve the sketchy picture which emerges.

As a first step in this direction we might profitably re-examine that part of Scotland in which, according to Watson,

sliabh "does not seem to occur"; Dumfries and Galloway. One glance at Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Studies in the Topography of Galloway* (1887) and his later *Place Names of Galloway* (1930) shows that the assumption of such absence is justified only if *sliabh* is in fact taken in the meaning of "a *high* mountain" and not if applied to slightly lower geographical features; for Maxwell (1887:288-90, and 1930:245-7) has a list of about three dozen names which apparently contain *sliabh* as a first element. In the great majority of them it takes the written form *Slew-*, and Maxwell's geographical references—with three possible exceptions, the names concerned are all said to be in the parishes of Kirkcolm, Leswalt, Portpatrick, Stoneykirk and Kirkmaiden—make it quite clear that their distribution is practically limited to the most westerly part of Galloway, the *Rinns* peninsula. Maxwell consistently translates *Slew-* (<*sliabh*) as "moor" [1] but does not give any other indication of the nature of the features to which the names in question apply. However, as this set of names has recently been used in an investigation of the history of Gaelic settlement in Galloway (MacQueen 1955 and 1961)[2] and as it is undoubtedly of the greatest importance in that respect, I have compiled from the relevant Ordnance Survey sources [3] a detailed list of the data with regard to the exact position, a description of the feature concerned, alternative spellings, etc. In this list, the Ordnance Survey evidence is linked to, and frequently corrects, the information given by Maxwell—where Maxwell differs from the Ordnance Survey, his material is marked (M.)—and will, it is hoped, provide a more reliable basis for a discussion of this group of names (Table I).

A few comments are necessary with reference to the information contained in this table. Not every name mentioned by Maxwell is found on the most recent Ordnance Survey six-inch series, although practically all of them are included in the first edition of the county series and consequently also in the name-books. Names which I have not been able to locate at all are *Slewbarn*, *Slewcairn* and *Slewtennoch*. As it is possible that they were taken down from oral tradition by Maxwell, they are here included but only with the one item of information which Maxwell supplies, the name of the parish in which they are situated. Maxwell's *Slewspirn*, on the other hand, has been omitted because it is quite clear from the variant spellings in the O.S. name-book WIG 4A, p. 28—*Slough Spirn*, *Slouch Spirn* and *Slock Spirn*—that the first element is not *Slew-* (<*sliabh*)

but possibly *sloc* "a hollow". The present O.S. form is *Slouch Spirn Hill*. Of other names which are given the same etymology by Maxwell, I have included *Slacarnochan*, *Slamonia* and *Sluneyhigh* although none of these can definitely be said to belong to this category; *Slacarnochan* is particularly doubtful. Not taken into account are *Slaeharbrie* and *Slannievennach*, possible candidates both but not very convincing ones. Additions to Maxwell are a fourth *Slewdown*, *Meikle* and *Little Slewfad*, *Little Slewmuck* and *Lewtemple*[4] which, because of the alternative spelling *Slew Cample* and the similarity of the geographical feature involved appears to belong here. *Lew-* does not suggest any plausible derivation for a hill-name anyhow.

In the seven cases in which the names concerned no longer appear on the most recent O.S. editions, the grid references have had to be estimated from the first edition of the County series and are therefore prefixed by an asterisk. In these instances the O.S. sheet reference is also to the first edition of the County series for Wigtownshire of 1847-9 and not to the National Grid edition of 1957.

It will be seen from the name-book description of the geographical features to which the names apply that, with two exceptions, all *Slew-* names are hill-names. Only *Slewgulie* and *Slew-whan* are points of rock on the coast. Whether they were named from hills nearby or whether some other etymology should be considered for the first element is difficult to say. As far as all the other names are concerned, they are descriptive of hills varying in height between 150 and 500 feet, mostly between 200 and 400 feet (other common words for the same type of feature in the Rinns are *Knock-* <Gaelic *cnoc*, and *Hill*, the latter frequently added pleonastically to names containing *Slew-* or *Knock-*). The shape of the hill does not seem to have determined whether it could be called a *Slew-* or not, more or less any elevation might have been referred to in this way. It is noteworthy that only two of the "uncertain" examples bear the epithet "heathy" whereas many of them are expressly stated to have *arable* soil.

There is therefore scarcely any doubt that *Slew-* means "hill" rather than "moor" in the Rinns of Galloway, although some of the features so designated may be moorland elevations. It is also hardly necessary to prove that *Slew-* does in fact represent *sliabh*, as implied above. The nearest modern relative in both spelling and pronunciation appears to be Manx *slieau*

TABLE I

Name	Alternative spellings if any	Description in U.S. name-book	Height in feet	Position	O.S. 6-in. sheet reference	O.S. name-book ref.
?Slacarnochan	Slackcarnochan, Slacarnochan	A heathy hill	525	NX 179668	NX 16 NE	WIG 11A, 14
Slamonia Slewbarn (M.)		A heathy hill	500	NX 157657 Kirkcolm par. WIG Colvend par. KCB	NX 16 NE	WIG 11A, 25
Slewcairn						
Slewcart Hill	Slewcarte Hill, Mid-hill of Glengyre	A moderate sized hill . . . of a moundlike shape rather tabular on top	325	NW 992647	NW 96 SE	WIG 9B, 51
Slewcreen	Slockeen	A small hill	350	NX 133 338	NX 13 SW	WIG 35A, 56
Slewcroan Plantation	Slewcroan Planting	A considerable wood or plantation	325	NW *992 635	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 33
Slewdonan	Slew Donan	A considerable hill of a circular shape	450	NX 123 356	NX 13 NW	WIG 35A, 18
Slewdown Hill	Slewdown	A low hill nearly of a moundlike shape but tabular on top	325	NW 987 645	NW 96 SE	WIG 9B, 50
Slewdown Hill		A hill of slight elevation of a ridge like shape	150	NX 096 483	NX 04 NE	WIG 27A, 37
Slewdown	Slew Down	A moderate sized hill	425	NS 123 332	NX 13 SW	WIG 27B, 35
Slewdown	Slew Down Slee Doon Hill Fort Hill	A considerable hill	150	NX 082 436	NX 04 SE	WIG 31A, 3
Slewfad	Slew Fad	Low hill or portion of high ground of a ridgelike shape	250	NS *975 655	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 13
Little Slewfad		A small hill	200	NW *998 634	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 40
Meikle Slewfad	Mickle Slewfad, now Drumlochart Wood	A considerable wood	325	NW *997 637	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 33
Slewgulie	Slew-gulie Slewgalie (M.)	A point of rock [on the coast]		NX 088 341	NX 03 SE	WIG 35A, 35

Name	Alternative spellings, if any	Description in U.S. name-book	Height in feet	Position	O.S. 6-in. sheet reference	O.S. name-book ref.
Slewhabble		A large hill	475	NX 116 334	NX 116 13 SW	WIG 36A, 20
Slewhenry		A considerable hill	400	NW 996 604	NW 96 SE	WIG 15A, 33
Slewhigh Hill	Slew High	A tolerable large hill	250	NW *988 649	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 50
Slewintoo Hill	Slewentoo (M.)		325	NW 995 641	NW 96 SE	WIG 9B, 32
Slewkennen Hill	Slewkennan	A small hill	250	NW 974663	NW 96 NE	WIG 9A, 31
Slewlan Hill	Slewleen	A low hill or portion of elevated ground (or small hill)	375	NX 048 535	NX 05 SW	WIG 22C, 8 and 22A, 24
Slewlea	Slew-lea	A large hill	500	NX 118 353	NX 13 NW	WIG 35A, 47
Slewmag	Kildonan Hill	A considerable hill	355	NX 126 327	NX 13 SW	WIG 36A, 27
Slewmallie		A small hill	275	NX 127 322	NX 13 SW	WIG 36A, 45
Slewmeen Hil	Sleivemein Hill	A small hill	250	NW *978 637	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 27
Slewmuck	Slowmuck	A small low hill	275	NW *979 687	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9A, 14/63
Little Slewmuck	Little Slowmuck	A small hill	200	NW *981 686	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9A, 14/63
Slewnagle Hill	Slewagle Hill Slewnagles (M.)	A low hill nearly ridgelike	275	NS *985 636	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 29/97
Slewnain	Slewnane	A small hill	300	NW *980 645	WIG (1st ed.) 9	WIG 9B, 14
Slewnark	Slewnark Hill Clanark	A small hill	350	NX 017 537	NX 05 SW	WIG 21A, 60
Slewnassie Hill		A considerable hill	500	NX *024 567	WIG (1st ed.) 15	WIG 15B, 36
Slewsack Hill	Slew Sack	A low hill or portion of slightly elevated ground nearly ridgelike	325	NW 996 651	NW 96 NE	WIG 9B, 51
Slewscinnie Hill		A considerable hill	500	NX 014 606	NX 06 SW	WIG 15A, 37
Slewsmirroch		A considerable hill	275	NX 074 481	NX 04 NE	WIG 27A, 29
Slewtammock		A considerable hill	450	NW 998 621	NW 96 SE	WIG 15A, 17
Slewtennoch (M.)				par. Leswalt, WIG		
Slewtorran	Slew-torran	A considerable hill	425	NX 114 346	NX 13 SW	WIG 35A, 45
Slewtrain Hill		A considerable hill	500	NX 021 597	NX 05 NW	WIG 15A, 38
Slew-whan Point		A small rocky point [on the coast]		NX 097 332	NX 03 SE	WIG 36A, 8
Sluneyhigh		A considerable hill	475	NX 004 606	NX 06 SW	WIG 15A, 19
Lewtemple	Slew Cample	A small hill	300	NX 099 352	NX 03 NE	

[Sl'u:] as in *Slieau Chiarn, Slieau Ruy, Slieau lhean, Slieau veg, Slieau Whallian, Slieau Doo, Slieau Freoaghane, Slieau Curn, Slieau Karrin, Slieau Managh, Slieau Ouyr, Slieau Volley.* Kneen (1925) from whom these examples are taken, consistently translates *slieau* as "mountain". At least *Slieau lhean* and *Slieau Karrin* have identical equivalents in the Galloway *Slewlan* and *Slewcairn.* The phonological process involved is set out by Jackson (1955: 73) who postulates the following development: *iav (= *-iabh*) > **iuv* > **(j)uv* > *(j)u*:. As Manx Gaelic pronunciations of *slieau* he has recorded both [ʃl'ju:] and [ʃl'u:] (*ibid.*: 73 and 126). Presumably one can take it that the background to Galloway *Slew-* is similar and that this its post-Gaelic Anglicised form [slu] is a further development of the latter, with initial [s] for [ʃ] perhaps due to transference from Gaelic to English which has initial /sl/- but lacks initial /ʃl/-. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Manx Manorial Roll has *Slew whellin* for *Slieau Whallian, Slewvolly, Slieau Volley,* and *Slew oure* for *Slieau Ouyr* in 1703, as well as *Slewmanagh* for *Slieau Managh* in 1643. These are in all probability Anglicised spellings which occur at a time when the linguistic Anglicisation was also just about complete in Galloway (see Lorimer 1951:42; also Jackson 1962:5).

Only in one of the three dozen or so Galloway instances do we seem to get a glimpse of an earlier (?) form, i.e. in the alternative spelling *Sleivemein* for *Slewmeen.* On the surface this is much closer to the Irish material than the rest of our examples, for *Slew-* is not at all evident on modern or recent Irish maps where *Slieve* is the normal Anglicised spelling. That this has not always been so, however, is shown by some sixteenth and seventeenth century documents. One only has to glance through the *Topographical Index of the Parishes and Townlands of Ireland in Sir William Petty's MSS. Barony Maps* (*c.* 1655-9) and *Hiberniae Delineatio* (*c.* 1672) to become aware of this (Goblet 1932:355). Amongst the townlands in both these sources we find such spellings as *Slewbog, Slewcorka, Slew(c)ulter, Slewduffe, Slewena, Slewgole, Slewmon, Slewmore* and many others. In cases where the two sources differ, the Barony Maps have the *Slew-* form, the *Hiberniae Delineatio* something else, as in *Slewfellinie/Sleaufelline, Slewnaman/Sleaucanaman, Slewnamuck/Sleavenamuck, Slewvaneuer/Sleinanever, Slewroe/Sleroagh,* and *Slewgullen/Slugullin.* If one wants to determine the phonetic value of *Slew-* in these documents, a certain ambiguity must remain unresolved for both *Sleave-* and *Slu-* (apart from some others) appear as

alternative spellings. In cases for which we have diachronic documentation as in *Price's Place-Names of Co. Wicklow* (1945-58), *Slew-* seems to have persisted until the seventeenth century anyhow; cf. *Church Mountain* which is *Slewecod* in 1590, *Slewcod* in 1596, *Slewgod* in 1610, *Slewcod* in 1613, but *Slievegad* in 1760 (Price 1945-58:186). The complete disappearance of *Slew-* may, on the other hand, "be at least partly due to the standardising influence of the Ordnance Survey in the past century" (so de hÓir in a letter of 16/9/64).

As his published Survey of Irish Dialects has so far only covered Munster (Wagner 1964), Professor Wagner of Belfast has very kindly summarised for me (in a letter of 20/1/65) the total evidence for the whole of Ireland, in respect of *sliabh* which appears as item 957 in his word-list (the plural forms which he also lists are not here included):

> "Munster: nom. sg. ʃl′iəv, gen. sg. ʃl′e:
> Connaught: nom. sg. ʃl′iəv, gen. sg. ʃl′e:v′ə
> Ulster: nom. sg. ʃL′iuw, gen. sg. ʃl e:v′ə

In Connaught and Ulster the diphthong is normally half-long to long (ʃL′i·əv, ʃL′i·uw or ʃL′i:uw), and I hear mostly ʃL′-, occasionally also ʃl′-· . . . In Ulster the diphthong varies in the nom. sg., i.e. -iu-/-i:u-/-iə-/-i:ə-."

This naturally tallies with earlier individual accounts of Irish dialects (by Quiggin, Sommerfelt, Holmer, Sjoestedt-Jonval, Ó Cuív, de Bhaldraithe, R. B. Breatnach and others), and it would appear that, if the map-spellings *Slew-* and *Slieve-* have any significance at all, a form more appropriate to Munster and Connaught has replaced one more suitable for more northern Irish dialects. It would also suggest that the affinities of Galloway *Slew-*[5] are not with the Isle of Man alone but also with parts of the Irish North. In any case, there is no doubt about it that our Galloway evidence is convincingly paralleled in Ireland in the records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As far as Scottish Gaelic is concerned, the published studies cover the various dialects only very sporadically. Some of them do not contain the word *sliabh* at all, either because the word is not known or because it (or its nominate singular) does not happen to have been part of the recorded texts. In these cases, words like *cliabh* "basket" and *riamh* "ever, before", have had to be taken into account. This is the picture which emerges: Arran (*cliabh* [kliav] with labiodental [v] (Holmer 1957:110);

Kintyre (*riamh*) [riav] (Holmer 1962: 114); Glengarry [s'l'í:əv] with labiodental [v] (Dieckhoff 1932: 151*a*); Ross-shire (*cliabh*) [k'l'iu], (*riamh*) [r'íu] (Borgstrøm 1941:130 and 131); Skye (*riamh*) [r'iəv] (*ibid.* 80); Barra (*cliabh*) [k'l'iəv] (Borgstrøm 1937:93, 114, 224*a*); Bernera-Lewis (*cliabh*) [k'l'iəv] with [v] between bilabial and labiodental articulation (Borgstrøm 1940:42, 87).[6]

All three words have, of course, been much more comprehensively and uniformly covered by the collections of the Gaelic Section of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, but as this is not a detailed study of the pronunciation of *sliabh* or *-iabh* in Scottish Gaelic, I have only made limited use of Professor Kenneth Jackson's kind permission to refer to the extensive manuscript material, and have primarily checked on the printed accounts and filled in some gaps. The Survey's collections corroborate the impression gained from the published sources that the geographically nearest surviving Scottish Gaelic dialects, those of Arran and Kintyre, differ considerably from our Gallovidian form, as do the Hebridean dialects. The closest connection appears strangely enough to be with Ross-shire and the northern mainland as can also be seen from Borgstrøm 1941. This resemblance, however, must not be regarded as an isogloss, as *-v* is also dropped in the Ross-shire pronunciation of such words as *craobh* "tree [k'r'iu':] and *taobh* "side" [t'u:] (Borgstrøm 1941:132), and as, quite apart from the time factor involved, -iəβ>-iəw>-iu(w) is a development which can occur independently in any language or dialect. One might therefore conclude that, as far as this particular feature, the pronunciation of *-iabh*, is concerned, the dialect association appears to be much closer with Man and the northern parts of Ireland than with the surviving dialects of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*. This may, although not of necessity, imply an ancient connection, but it could also simply be the result of geographical proximity.

From the point of view of individual etymologies, the range is from the easily discernible to the utterly obscure. The three *Slewfads*[7] obviously contain the Gaelic adjective *fada* "long", and the four *Slewdowns* the colour adjective *donn* "brown" (despite the "Fort hill" on the Royal Engineers' Map of 1819 which apparently equated *-down* with *Gaelic dùn*). The second element in *Slewlea* is another colour adjective, Gaelic *liath* "grey", and *Slewlan* is probably an Anglicisation of *Sliabh Leathann* "broad hill"; whereas *Slewmeen* is most likely *Sliabh*

Mìn "smooth, or level, hill". If *Slewmuck* is *Sliabh* (*na*) *Muice* "hill of (the) pig" or *Sliabh* (*na*) *Muc* "hill of (the) pigs" (cf. Irish *Slievenamuck* [Goblet 1932:355; Joyce 1869:478; 1902:83; Hogan 1910:610*b*]), then *Slewhabble* is almost certainly *Sliabh a' Chapuill* "Mare, or Colt, Hill". The unidentified *Slewcairn* must contain a form of Gaelic *carn* "cairn", possibly the genitive plural, and for the second element of *Slamonia* one might think of *mòine* "moss, bog" or its derivative *mòineach* "mossy, boggy" (cf. *Slewmon* in Goblet 1932:355). *Slewdonan* will have to be linked with *Kildonan* = Gaelic *Cill Donnain*, "Donnan's church" (Watson 1926:165, 283; MacQueen 1956:143) whereas *Slewbarn* probably derives from Gaelic *bearn* "breach, gap". *Slewcreen* could be *Sliabh Crìon* "dry hill" or perhaps rather *Sliabh Cruinn* "round hill". In other cases etymologies are much less certain, and although speculation as to the derivation of some of these less definite examples would be an interesting exercise, there is not room for it in this context.[8] What is much more important for the present discussion is that a number of *Slew-* names in the Rinns of Galloway has identical equivalents in Ireland (apart from those in the Isle of Man, see p. 96 above).[9] On the whole, this is simply due to a common vocabulary of words likely to enter into Gaelic hill-nomenclature but the mere fact that these words, and names, are shared by Irish and Rinns of Galloway Scottish Gaelic is nevertheless significant and speaks of a fairly close connection, not at all unexpected because of the geographical proximity of this part of Galloway to Ireland and because of the already established rather similar development in the pronunciation of our word.

Such a link might have existed from the very first years of Gaelic speaking settlements in Galloway right to the time when Gaelic ceased to be the linguistic medium of daily communication in S.W. Scotland. Some of the easier etymologies of *Slew-* names would indicate a later date, some of the more obscure an earlier one. We must now examine whether our group of names does not merely represent a localised usage of *sliabh* in a peninsula with a long coastline facing Ireland (see the distribution map, Fig. 1), and it is therefore necessary to look at place-names containing this element in Scotland as a whole. The first result of a search in the Ordnance Survey Name Books for names of this kind is the realisation of how rare—in any meaning—this word is in Scottish place-names, for there are hardly as many examples in the rest of Scotland as there are

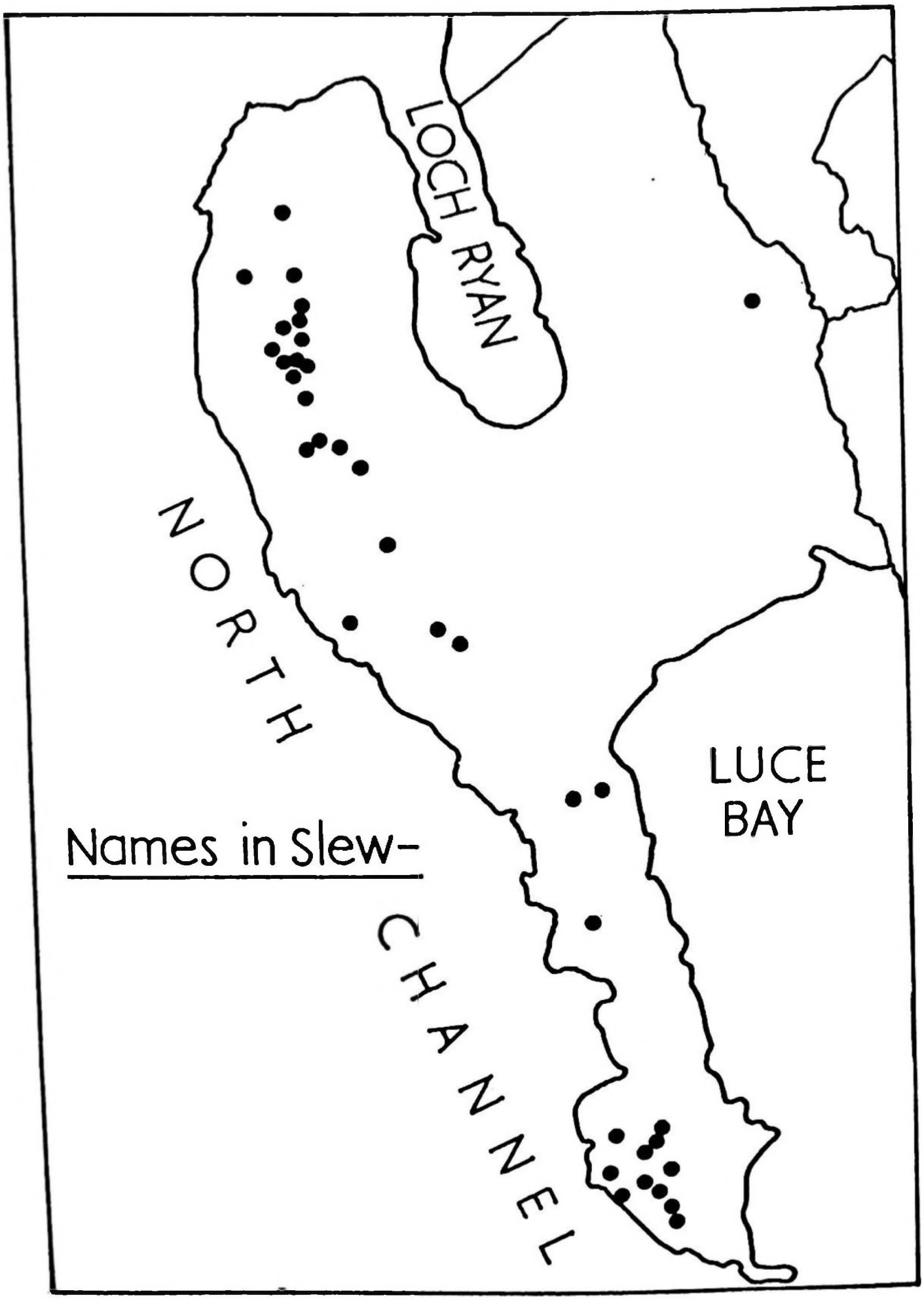

FIG. 1.

in the Rinns of Galloway alone. The second conclusion is that these few names, when plotted, occupy a very limited area (see Fig. 2) with Islay and Jura particularly well covered. There are

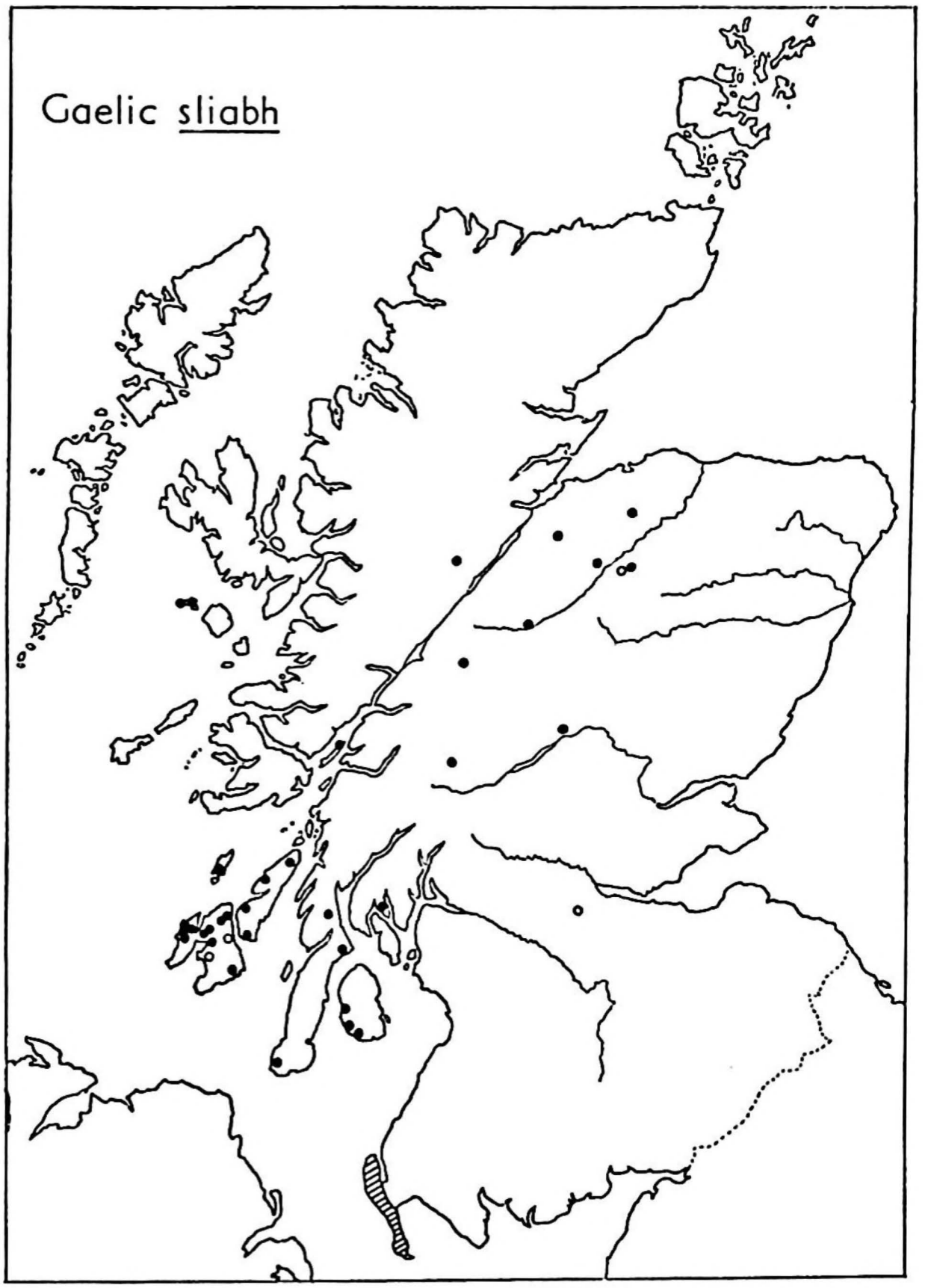

FIG. 2.

also examples in Colonsay and Lismore, Kintyre, Mid Argyll and in Arran, the remainder of a very thin distribution mainly taken up by mainland Inverness-shire and two outliers in the

Island of Canna. The example south of the Forth is *Slamannan* which, as it appears as *Slefmanyn* in 1275 (Theiner) is usually interpreted as "hill or moor of Mann" (see Watson 1926:103, who thinks that in this name "Gaelic *sliabh* is probably a translation of Welsh *mynydd*"). A very large part of the distribution pattern is therefore astonishingly identical with that of the early Dalriadic settlement of Gaelic speakers in Scotland from the middle of the fifth century onwards, although *sliabh* was obviously still a creative place-name element when the Gaelic settlement movement spread further north-east. That it did not remain productive for very long is shown by its absence in the major part of what once was, and partly still is, Gaelic speaking Scotland (and that includes those areas in which the present-day pronunciation of *-iabh* most closely approximates that which must be underlying Galloway [*Sl*]*ew-*). In these areas it was of course—at least in the meaning of "mountain"—replaced by Scottish Gaelic *beinn*.

As far as I am aware there is no instance of *sliabh* meaning "mountain" amongst all the names shown although it sometimes refers to hills of considerable height. In this respect, a few quotations from the Ordnance Survey Name Books demonstrate quite clearly what the range of the word *sliabh* was when these names were given:

Islay: *Sliabh a' Mheallaidh* "a ridge", *Sliabh Mòr* "hill", *Sliabh na Sgáile* "hill", *Sliabh nan Coiseachan* "a large tract of moor", *Sliabh nan Grainnseag* "a piece of moorland", *Sliabh a' Chatha* "a low moorland ridge", *Sliabh Bhirgeadain* "tract of heathy ground".

Jura: *Sliabh na Moine* "large mossy declivity", *Sliabhan Riabhach* "a plot of rough heathy pasture", *Sliabh Aird na Sgitheich* "stretch of moorland", *Sliabh Allt an Tairbh*, "piece of moorland", also *Sliabh a' Chlaidheimh*.

Arran: *Sliabh Fada* "low flat strip of muirland", *Sliabh Meurain* "low flat heath hill".

Canna: *Sliabh Meodhanach* "large hill", *Sliabh na Creige Airde* "heathy hill".

Mainland: *Sliabh Gaoil* (South Knapdale), "large hill", *Sliabh nan Dearc* (Saddell and Skipness) "hillside", *Sliabh Bàn* (Laggan), "small moor", *Sliabh Lorgach*, now *S. Loraich* (Kilmonivaig) "extensive range of moorland", *Sliabh a' Chuir* (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) "large plain or muir", *Sliabh an Ruighe Dhuibh* "large, heathy clad hill".

The other descriptions not mentioned here all come within this range of meanings which, apart from its Biblical usage, also reflects the semantic range of our word in Modern Scottish Gaelic, given by Dwelly (1949:852*b*) as "Mountain of the first magnitude [Bible—W.N.W.N.] 2. Extended heath, alpine plain, moorish ground. 3. Extensive tract of dry moorland. 4. Mountain grass, moor bent grass. 5. Face of a hill.[10] I have been able to confirm all these meanings, with regional variations, from native speakers of Scottish Gaelic. *Sliabh*, then, is still alive in some areas, although not as a very common geographical term, long after it ceased to be productive in place-names.

Returning to our original questions, at least some of the answers now suggest themselves: apart from the Rinns of Galloway, *sliabh* is found in a very limited area more or less identical with that of the Dalriadic settlement and the first few centuries of expansion which followed it on the mainland. It is an early element which, although still alive in Scottish Gaelic in general, is no longer productive in naming and probably has not been so for a number of centuries. Its survival in the Rinns of Galloway, if it is not a later localised infiltration due to geographical proximity (which is less likely),[11] therefore apparently bears witness of another early Irish colony outside the Scottish Dalriada (and the Isle of Man), and *Slew-* <*sliabh* may well be assignable to a pre-Norse stratum of Gaelic speakers in the area (see Nicolaisen 1960:63 and 67).[12] If this is correct or even probable, it would be an important early item in the stratification of Gaelic names in Galloway. Whether, however, many or any of our *Slew-* names go back to "Cruithnian settlers" (MacQueen 1961:47)[13] is another question which the place-names themselves do not answer, and it must suffice at this stage to regard them simply as potential evidence of a pre-Norse Gaelic-speaking settlement in the Rinns of Galloway.

NOTES

[1] In his Introduction he states that "*Sliabh* is a common word in Ireland for a mountain and is pronounced Slieve. In Galloway it is sounded Slew, and signifies moorland" (Maxwell 1930:XXVII; see also 1887:24, and 1894:141).

[2] Both these accounts (1955:90-91; 1961:45-7) are almost identical in their wording, and I shall normally refer to the latter, very slightly revised, version. Prof. MacQueen at one point mentions that he intends to make a closer study of these names beginning with *Slew-* but I have his assurance that my own examination in no way anticipates, or runs counter to, any such future investigation.

[3] These consist of (*a*) The First Edition of the six-inch maps of Wigtownshire (surveyed 1847-9, published 1849-50); (*b*) The National Grid six-inch sheets (Provisional Edition) of the Rinns of Galloway (Revised for major changes only in 1951); (*c*) the original Name Books as stored in the Scottish Regional Office, Edinburgh, where I was given every facility to consult them.

[4] On the National Grid six-inch sheet NX 03 NE this appears erroneously as *Lewtemp*. The inadvertent loss of the last two letters is probably due to the fact that it is situated close to the junction of four sheets.

[5] Professor MacQueen tells me that in those instances in which he has heard the modern pronunciation of Galloway names beginning with *Slew-* —and these names are not known very widely nowadays—he heard it approximately as [slɛ·]. Whether this is a late Anglicised development in an unstressed syllable or originates in one of the oblique cases—like the genitive or dative—of the word is difficult to say, although it is just possible that names in *Sla-* and *Slae-* indicate this pronunciation. When seen together with the Manx and the Irish evidence, however, it is obvious that *Slew-* is not likely to stand for this pronunciation, and it is therefore assumed for the purposes of this "Note" that *Slew-* represents something like [slju·], possibly with a final bilabial fricative. That this is justified is, I think, shown by the early forms in which a now apparently "lost" name in the parish of Kirkinner is recorded in the *Wigtownshire Charters* (Reid 1960). It appears as *Slewheubert* in 1457, *Slouhoabert* in 1470-1, *Slewhebert* in 1498 and 1584-5, *Slewhyrbyrth* 1542-3, and *Slewhibbert* in 1551-2. *Slou-* is here obviously meant to represent the same sound as *Slew-*.

[6] The transcriptions have been copied faithfully from the authors, apart from Borgstrøm's [iɔ] which I have simply written iɔ without the square brackets. The obvious confusion arising from a number of slightly varying systems of phonetic notation employed, fortunately does not affect the sounds with which we are particularly concerned in this context, to the degree of uselessness.

[7] See also *Sliabh Fada* (*a*) in the Island of Arran, (*b*) in the parish of Dull, Perthshire.

[8] Some of Maxwell's suggestions are worth following up, others must be rejected. The difficulty in any definitive interpretation lies in the complete absence of early documentation for these minor names, none of which has found its way on to the one-inch maps, and some of which are even disappearing from the modern six-inch maps (see p. 93). Maxwell's attempt to show that *sliabh* was still a neuter noun when first used in Galloway, is not convincing, as his analysis of *Slewmag* as *Sliabh m-beag* is unacceptable.

[9] Particularly instructive in this connection is a comparison with the relevant entries in Hogan 1910: 604*b*-612*b* (s.v. *sliab*).

[10] For Irish Gaelic, Dinneen (1927:1055*a*) gives the following similar range of meanings for *sliabh*: "a mountain or mount, a range of mountains; a mountainous district, a heathy upland or plain, a moor, a piece of moorland, *oft* low-lying . . ."

[11] Similarly the names themselves do not indicate that they are of Irish-Norse origin or that they have reached Galloway from further north. There is no obvious Norse influence on them, on the one hand, and

both meaning and pronunciation of *Slew-* surely argue against the second alternative.

[12] On the basis of the evidence here presented it would follow that the rest of Galloway did not share in this early stratum to any noticeable extent and that the early Gaelic settlement in question was more or less confined to the Rinns. Perhaps it should also be made clear that the vast majority of Gaelic place-names in the Rinns, as in the rest of Galloway, do not belong to this early phase but are centuries younger.

[13] On nineteenth century "Kreenies" and sixth century *Cruithnigh* see also Professor Jackson's comments in MacQueen 1955:89-90. Professor Jackson doubts the identification.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am most grateful to Professor Kenneth Jackson for reading this "Note" in typescript and for making a number of valuable suggestions and comments on the basis of which I have been able to improve the original argument.

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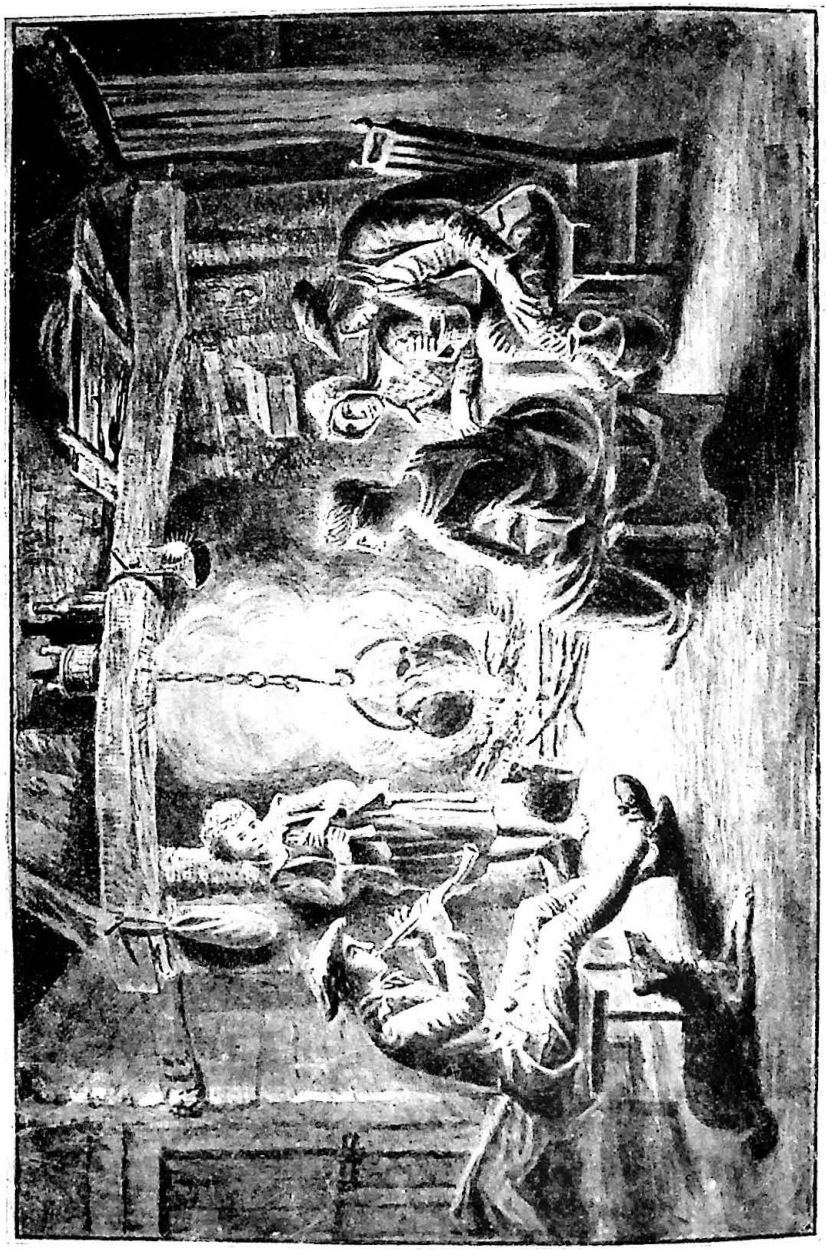
W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

"*Evening in a Scots Cottage*"

The unsigned watercolour drawing reproduced on Plate VI is one of the more convincing of early representations of a Lowland interior, a subject which first became popular during the latter part of the eighteenth century, largely owing to the influence of Allan Ramsay and Burns. This example, assigned to Alexander Carse, who worked in this genre in the 1790s and the earlier years of the following century, shows a Lowland family enjoying a tune played on the "stock-and-horn". Carse's subjects were usually drawn from the Lothians and the Border country, and occasionally from Ayrshire. Mr. R. E. Hutchison, Keeper of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery,

PLATE VI



Evening in a Scots Cottage, attributed to Alexander Carse, *c.* 1805

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland. See pp. 106–08.

informs us that "this sort of picture is almost impossible to date closely, owing to the inconsistencies in the fashions shown. The old man is wearing a coat which shows details that indicate a fashion date of 1770, while the boy's coat suggests 1790. The young girl's dress, though crude, has characteristics of the turn of the century. As these are cottage folk, their dress was probably many years out of date fashionwise. Comparing this with other works by Carse, I would suggest a date of 1805-10."

Despite the bare clay floor, the scene is one of modest comfort, with the entrance screened by a boarded partition and inner door. The broad jambs which support the "lum" and flank the open hearth represent an innovation in Scots rural building, known as the "Lodian brace" from its first appearance in south-east Scotland during the eighteenth century. The curtained bed occupies the angle between fireside and rear wall of the house. The "guidman", seated on the only chair, sups ale from a stave-built "luggie". The projecting shelf above his head is for keeping oatcakes and cheeses out of reach of dogs and children. Behind the "guidwife" is the salt-box on the jamb wall, and her work-bag hangs from a peg above the other jamb. An open cruisie-lamp hangs from the centre of the chimney brace, and wood has been thrown on the fire to add to the light and cheerfulness of the occasion.

The stock-and-horn depicted corresponds to that described in a letter of Burns of 19th November 1794, in which he gently criticised David Allan's portrayal of the instrument in his illustrations to Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1788 edition):

> I have, *at last*, gotten one; but it is a very rude instrument.—It is composed of three parts; the stock, which is the hinder thigh-bone of a sheep, such as you see in a mutton-ham; the horn, which is a common Highland cow's horn, cut off at the smaller end, untill the aperture be large enough to admit the "stock" to be pushed up through the horn, untill it be held by the thicker or hip-end of the thigh-bone; & lastly, an oaten reed exactly cut & notched like that which you see every shepherd-boy have when the corn-stems are green & full-grown.—The reed is not made fast in the bone, but is held by the lips, & plays loose in the smaller end of the "stock"; while the "stock", & the horn hanging on its larger end, is held by the hands in playing.—The "stock" has six, or seven, ventiges on the upper side, & one back-ventige, like the common flute.—This of mine was made by a man from the braes of Athole, & is exactly what the shepherds wont to use in that country (Ferguson 1931:II, 278).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The drawing, Plate VI, is reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland (D.1875).

We are grateful to Mr. David Murison, editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, for drawing our attention to Burns's description of the stock-and-horn.

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B. R. S. MEGAW

A' Ghobhar Ghlas

I recorded this text (S.S.S. R.L. 2105 A.1) of an international animal tale type, listed as No. 123 [1] in the Aarne-Thompson classification, in February 1964 from Hugh MacKinnon, Cleadale, Isle of Eigg, from whom I also recorded the Fox and Wolf tale already published in *Scottish Studies* (MacDonald 1964).

Mr. MacKinnon, now aged 70, learned this version as a boy from his mother who died in 1924.

John F. Campbell published two fragmentary texts in *West Highland Tales III*; noting that "though everybody knows it nobody will tell it" (Campbell 1892:103-4, 114).[2]

The Types of the Irish Folktale lists twenty-nine versions collected in Ireland (Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen 1963:47).

I myself heard the story as a boy from my grandmother in North Uist.

Well, innsidh mi nis dhut sgialachd na Gobhar Ghlas mar a tha cuimhn' agam orra.

Bha 'Ghobhar Ghlas lath' a' sin, bha i falbh dha'n tràigh a dh' iarraidh maorach air son a teaghlach fhein 's bha . . . dh'fhàg i 'staigh na trì Minneinnean Miona-Ghlas 's am Poca Ceana-Ghlas 's an Gille-Puic. 'S 'n'air a bha i 'falbh thug i dh'earalas orra nach robh chridh' ac' an dorust fhosgladh do neach 'sam bith a thigeadh a dh' ionnsaigh an taighe gos an tilleadh ise. Agus bha i dol a chuir comharradh orra fhéin 'n'air a bha i 'falbh, 's e sin . . . an comharr a bha 'sin bha i dol

a cheanghal dà shnàithlein ma cois, snàithlein dearg is snàithlein gorm; agus neach 'sam bith a thigeadh a dh' ionnsaigh an doruist, bha aca ri iarraidh air a chas a chur a staigh fo'n dorust agus . . . mar a faiceadh 'ad a' snàithlein dearg 's a' snàithlein gorm a bha seo air a chois a thigeadh a staigh fo'n dorust, cha b'e ise bh'ann. 'S canaidh sibh ris a' . . . neach 'sam bith a thig . . :

"O, tha mo mhàthair-sa . . . bha snàithlein dearg is snàithlein gorm ma chas air màthair-ne."

Agus mar a robh seo air cas . . . air a' chois a thigeadh a staigh fo'n dorust chan fhaoidte 'n dorust fhosgladh.

Ach, co-dhiù, thàinig am Madadh-Ruadh. Chuir e staigh a chas fo'n dorust agus dh'iarr e 'n dorust fhosgladh. Thuirt e gu . . :

"Tha air màthair a' seo air tilleadh."

Agus 's ann an uairsin a thuirt 'ad ris:

"Cuir a staigh do chas fo'n dorust agus aithneichidh sinn an e air màthair fhéin a th'ann."

Agus chuir e chas a staigh fo'n dorust 's cha robh snàithlein na rud (? 'sam bith) ma chois. Agus thuirt à-san:

"O chan e air màthair-ne tha sin idir. Bha snàithlein dearg is snàithlein gorm ma chas air màthair-ne."

Co-dhiù, dh'fhalbh am Madadh-Ruadh an uairsin agus chaidh e shitinn an fhigheadair agus fhuair e pìos do shnàithlein dearg agus do shnàithlein gorm agus cheanghail e siod ma chois.

Thill e air n-ais go taigh na Gobhar Ghlas agus bhuail e chòmhla agus dh'iarr . . . chuir e 'chas a staigh . . . dh'iarr e . . . thuirt e gu robh 'm màthair air tilleadh a nis as an tràigh. Agus thuirt 'ad ris . . . thuirt ad:

"Cuir a staigh do chas o'n chòmhlaidh is aithneichidh sinn an e air màthair fhéin a th'ann."

'S chuir e staigh a chas o'n chòmhlaidh 's bha snàithlein dearg is snàithlein gorm (? gu h-eireachdail) ma chois.

Dh'fhosgail na creutairean a bha staigh an dorust agus fhuair am Madadh-Ruadh a staigh agus ann am priobadh na sùil, dh' ith e suas a chuile h-aon ac', na tri Minneinnean Miona-Ghlas 's am Poca Ceana-Ghlas 's an Gille-Puic.

Ach ann an ùine gun a bhith fada thill a' Ghobhar Ghlas bhochd as an tràigh, 's thàinig i dhachaigh 's cha robh sgial air a h-aon dhe h-àl. Agus bha i air a toirt as: cha robh fhios aice dé dhianadh i. Agus dh' fhalbh i 'choimhead air a' son agus chaidh i go taigh na Faoileig an toiseach agus dhìrich i

suas a dh'ionnsaigh an fhàrlais agus . . . agus dh' eubh . . . an Fhaoileag 's i staigh:

"Có tha siod air mullach mo bhothain bhig chrùsgaich, chràsgaich, nach lig a mach smùid mo theallachain fhad's a bhios mi bruich mo bhonnachain?"

"'S mise seo, a' Ghobhar Ghlas, 's mi air mo thoirt as a' sireadh mo chuid mheann."

"Air an talamh a tha fodhad 's air an adhar as do chionn 's air a' ghréin ad seachad sios," ars an Fhaoileag, "chan fhaca mise riamh do chuid mheann."

Dh'fhalbh i sin go taigh na Feannaig 's dhìrich i go . . . dh'ionnsaigh mullach an t-simileir a rithist 's dh'eubh an Fheannag 's i staigh:

"Có tha siod air mullach mo bhothain bhig chrùsgaich, chràsgaich nach lig a mach smùid mo theallachain, fhad's a bhios mi bruich mo bhonnachain?"

"'S mise seo, a' Ghobhar Ghlas, 's mi air mo thuirt as a' sireadh mo chuid mheann."

"Air an talamh a tha fodhad 's air an adhar as do chionn 's air a' ghréin ad seachad sios chan fhaca mise riamh do chuid mheann," ars an Fheannag.

Dh'fhalbh i sin is chaidh i go taigh an Fhithich agus dhìrich i go mullach taigh an Fhithich, a dh'ionnsaigh an t-similear a rithist agus dh' eubh a' Fitheach 's e staigh:

"Rochdada, rochdada," ors a' Fitheach, "Có tha siod air mullach mo bothain bhig chrùsgaich, chràsgaich, nach lig a mach smùid mo theallachain fhad 's a bhios mi bruich mo bhonnachain?"

"'S mise seo, a' Ghobhar Ghlas, 's mi air mo thoirt as a' sireadh mo chuid mheann."

"Air an talamh a tha fodhad 's air an adhar as do chionn 's air a' ghréin ad seachad sios chan fhaca mise riamh do chuid mheann," orsa . . . ors a' Fitheach.

Cha robh fhios aice seo o'n t-saoghal dé 'n taobh a bheireadh i 'h-aghaidh, agus dh'fhalbh i go taigh a' Mhadaidh-Ruaidh. Ach co-dhiù thug a' Madadh-Ruadh a staigh i agus bha teine mór briagh aige air agus bha e 'faireachdainn uamhasach toilichte dhe fhéi' 's bha 'ad uamhasach càirdeil, e fhéi' agus a' Ghobhar Ghlas, agus shìn e e fhéin air beulaibh an teine agus thoìsich ise air cniadachadh a chinn le làimh agus thuit a' Madadh-Ruadh 'na chadal.

Agus chunnaig a' Ghobhar Ghlas, chunnaig i seann mheangan do sgian bheag mheirgeach an àiteiginnich agus

leum i agus rug i air a seo agus sgoilt i 'bhrù aige agus a mach a' broinn a' Mhadaidh-Ruaidh leum na trì Minneinean Mìona-Ghlas 's am Poca Ceana-Ghlas 's an Gille-Puic a cheart cho béo 's a bha 'ad riamh, agus tharruinn i fhéi' 's 'ad fhéin dhachaigh agus bha 'ad . . . bha 'ad beò slàn riamh tuilleadh. Agus dhealaich mise riutha.

The Grey Goat

Well, I will now tell you the story of the Grey Goat as I remember it.

One day the Grey Goat was going to the strand to get shell-fish for her family and . . . she left at home the three Grey-Speckled Kids and the Grey-Headed Buck and the Buck's Lad. And when she was going, she warned them that they must never open the door to anyone who came to the house until she returned. And she was going to put a mark on herself when she went; that is . . . that mark was that she was going to tie two threads around her foot, a red thread and a blue thread, and if anyone came to the door they were to ask him to put his foot in under the door and . . . unless they saw this red thread and blue thread on the foot that came in under the door, it would not be she.

"And you will say to the . . . anyone who comes . . :

"O, my mother is . . . There was a red thread and a blue thread round our mother's foot."

And unless this was on the foot . . . on the foot that came in under the door, the door was not to be opened.

But, anyway, the Fox came. He put his foot in under the door and asked that the door should be opened. He said that . . .

"Here is your mother back again."

And it was then they said to him:

"Put in your foot under the door, and we will know if it is our mother."

And he put his foot in under the door and there was no thread or (? any) thing round his foot. And they said:

"O, that is not our mother at all. There was a red thread and a blue thread round the foot of our mother."

Anyway, the Fox went away and he went to the weaver's midden and he got a bit of red thread and of blue thread and he tied that round his foot.

He went back to the house of the Grey Goat and he knocked at the door and he asked . . . he put in his foot . . . he asked . . .

he said that their mother had now returned from the strand. And they said to him . . . they said:

"Put your foot in under the door and we will know if it is our own mother."

And he put in his foot under the door and there was a red thread and a blue thread (? neatly) round his foot.

The poor creatures who were inside opened the door and the Fox got in and in the twinkling of an eye he ate all of them up, the three Grey-Speckled Kids and the Grey-Headed Buck and the Buck's Lad.

But not long after the poor Grey Goat came back from the strand and came home and there was no sign of any of her family.

And she was overcome: she did not know what to do. And she went to look for them and she went first to the house of the Gull and she climbed up to the chimney vent and . . . and the Gull who was inside called:

"Who is that on the top of my little hut who will not let out the smoke of my little hearth while I am cooking my little bannock?"

"I am here, the Grey Goat, worn out looking for my kids."

"By the earth beneath you and by the sky above you and by yonder sun passing downwards," said the gull, "I never saw your kids."

She went then to the house of the Crow and she climbed to . . . up to the top of the chimney again and the Crow who was inside called:

"Who is that on the top of my little hut who will not let out the smoke of my little hearth while I am cooking my little bannock?"

"I am here, the Grey Goat, worn out looking for my kids."

"By the earth beneath you and by the sky above you and by yonder sun passing downwards, I never saw your kids," said the Crow.

She went away then and went to the house of the Raven and she climbed to the top of the house of the Raven, up to the chimney again, and the Raven who was inside called:

"Rochdada, rochdada," said the Raven, "who is that on the top of my little hut who will not let out the smoke of my little hearth while I am cooking my little bannock?"

"I am here, the Grey Goat, worn out looking for my kids."

"By the earth beneath you and by the sky above you and by yonder sun passing downwards, I never saw your kids."

Now, she did not know on earth which way she should turn, and she went to the house of the Fox. Anyway, the Fox took her inside and he had a great fine fire on and he was feeling very pleased with his lot, and they were very friendly to each other, he and the Grey Goat, and he stretched himself in front of the fire and she began to caress his head with her hand (*sic*) and the Fox fell asleep.

And the Grey Goat saw—she saw an old stump of a little rusty knife somewhere and she jumped up and seized this and she slit open his belly and out of the belly of the Fox leaped the three Grey-Speckled Kids and the Grey-Headed Buck and the Buck's Lad as much alive as they ever were, and she and they made off home and they were . . . they were alive and well ever afterwards. And I parted from them.

NOTES

[1] Distribution as noted by Thompson:
Finnish, Estonian, Livonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Lappish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Irish, French, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, German, Hungarian, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Greek, Turkish, India, Chinese, Franco-American, Spanish American, Cape Verde Islands, West Indies, American-Indian, African (Thompson 1961:50).

[2] In a footnote dated May 1861, Campbell adds that he has received a much better version from Alexander Carmichael and goes on to summarise it briefly (Campbell 1892:105). This text is preserved among Campbell's manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland, being item 70 of Vol. XI.

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D. A. MACDONALD

Alexander MacGregor, a Camserney Poet of the Nineteenth Century: some Biographical Notes

Breadalbane has produced many poets, and numerous local people of comparatively humble origin and sketchy education

have commemorated the once-rich traditions of their countryside in commendable prose and poetry, both Gaelic and English. Many of these unpublished writings have been destroyed, while others, like those of the nineteenth-century Camserney poet, have in part survived, due to the fact that their local importance was recognised by those who inherited them or acquired them.

In September 1964, the writer was presented [1] with a quarto notebook containing ninety-six pages of unpublished Gaelic poems written by Alexander MacGregor of Camserney and dating from 1865 to 1889. The hand is a neat copperplate throughout, and, although the poet had clearly a fine vocabulary and a deep regard for his own language, much of the spelling is phonetic, and many local dialect forms for words are used. This is particularly interesting in a locality where native Gaelic speakers, indigenous to the townships there, have all but disappeared.

There are few people alive to-day who remember, or have even heard of the Camserney poet, yet his many writings which do survive, and the knowledge that by far the greater part of his work has been lost and may have actually been destroyed, show him to have been a remarkable man. His own work illustrates this, and, together with what information is now available in the field, demonstrates that he was, by instinct, a true bard, and that his irrepressible urge to compose persisted throughout his life.

That one can draw very erroneous conclusions from field-questioning is illustrated by the fact that one Loch Tayside man, one of the few old people who thought he knew of the poet, said he was a schoolmaster in Dull in the last century. Bearing this in mind, I went to talk to William Forbes of Camserney, aged 75, a native Gaelic-speaker and a first-rate informant. His father was the meal miller in Camserney, and his forebears were blacksmiths there. He himself works a small farm with his brother Peter, four years younger than himself. Not only had he heard of Alexander MacGregor of Camserney, but he knew him personally when he was a young boy and the poet a very old man, in his eighties. Moreover, he himself possessed two complete notebooks and one fragmentary one, and many loose sheets of poems and letters, all in the poet's own hand. The notebooks are numbered. These are now also in the possession of the writer and will become the property of the School of Scottish Studies. It transpired that Alexander

MacGregor of Dull was also a poet, but he was a schoolmaster and must have been considerably older than the Camserney poet. One of his poems was published in the Gaelic song collection, the *Òranaiche*.[2] Thus there were in the nineteenth century two Alexander MacGregors, both poets, living within a mile or so of each other.

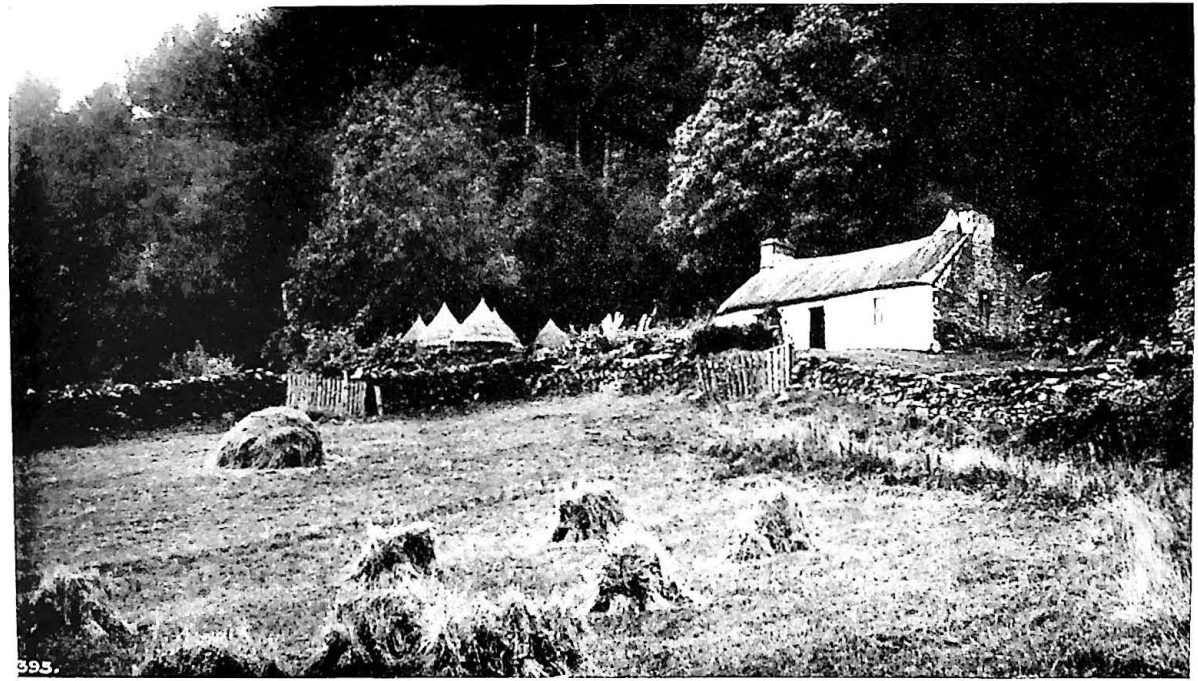
Notebook I, begun in 1865, when the Camserney poet must have been in his late thirties or early forties, contains exclusively Gaelic poems. It is interesting to observe that as the century advances, the poet writes more and more in English, and William Forbes had only one Gaelic poem in his possession. This apparently reflects local conditions at the time for, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Gaelic was dying rapidly in the district. When the Forbes brothers first went to Dull school they were monoglot Gaelic speakers and had to learn English through the medium of English. They were apparently greatly teased by their companions for being unable to speak anything other than Gaelic and were thought to be very backward and old-fashioned. The poems are of varying quality, but are full of interest and local colour. The Gaelic poems contain many references to local places and events, as do the later English compositions, and in true bardic tradition, the poet devotes many to the praise of his patrons, the Menzies of Castle Menzies, and to their offspring and policies. The first poem in Notebook I is in praise of a girl from Rawer, *Maighdean rauar*, Rawer being a farm on the hillside behind Castle Menzies, which has been a ruin for many decades. Another, called *Riflairean thobairfeallidh* contains what appears to be a local form of the name Aberfeldy, one mile from where the poet resided. There is then a long gap, the next notebooks being numbers 7 and 8, 7 dating to 1871 and 8 to 1894. There is no date on the fragmentary notebook. The following biographical material about the Camserney poet is derived from a conversation with William Forbes, farmer, Camserney, recorded on 24th October 1964 (S.S.S. R.L. 2200).

William Forbes remembers the poet when he was an old man in his early eighties before the First World War. He cannot give precise dates, but from what he has said, the poet must have been born about 1835. In English he was called Alexander MacGregor, but in Gaelic he was always known as *Sanndaidh Flèisdeir*, and his family were known as the *Flèisdeirich*. This may perhaps have originated with the proscription of the name MacGregor and the adoption of a different name by members

of the clan. William Forbes, however, is of the opinion that it is related to the fact that some of the poet's family may actually have been arrow-makers. Both Alexander MacGregor himself and his forebears belonged to the district and the poet at one stage lived at Tychraggan, on the east side of Weem Hotel, in a thatched, cruck-framed house, illustrated on Plate VII. Only a few stones of the building now remain. MacGregor had a croft, which he worked, and over and above this, he acted as gardener on the Menzies estate at Castle Menzies. When the Tychraggan house fell into disrepair, the laird, with whom he was a great favourite, gave him an old slated house, the Mid Lodge, on the Camserney side of Weem. The poet was clearly a person of considerable character and attracted numerous stories to himself. He was, as William Forbes put it, "a very pawky man". There was seemingly no family connection with the other poet of the same name, Alexander MacGregor of Dull.

The poet never published any of his works. He was not, seemingly, interested in doing so. He had an overwhelming urge to compose, and that was an end in itself. If he had nothing else to hand, he would write his verses as they came to him on any scraps of paper, including old envelopes, that he could seize. His poems were apparently never sung, but they were recited by local people who knew them. The poet knew a great part of his own repertoire by heart.

William Forbes acquired the English notebooks of the poet at a sale of his effects which were put up for auction some time after his death. He purchased them, together with letters and various jottings, for a few pence. The poems are clearly inspired, in some instances, by Burns and by James Thomson, and in certain less happy examples, by McGonagall, but they all help to document local life in the last century in this area. Their interest and value is greatly increased by the fact that an informant such as William Forbes is able to explain who the various people mentioned in the poems were, where the places are and how the names are pronounced, and to what local events the poet is referring. And it is a pleasing thought that, although a fine Gaelic tradition is at its very end in Camserney, one of the last bearers of it is a true descendant of the old order—a splendid informant and himself a poet. It is hoped that one day we may also acquire the poems of William Forbes to add to the traditional material salvaged from this corner of Breadalbane.



The house of Alexander MacGregor at Tychraggan. See p. 116.

NOTES

[1] Given by Mrs. Lexy Walker, Fortingall, Perthshire, daughter of Alexander Stewart, cobbler, Glen Lyon, the author of *A Highland Parish*. The notebook belonged to her father.

[2] *Buaidh leis na Seòid, An t-Òranaiche*, p. 1 ff. (ed. Archibald Sinclair). Glasgow 1879.

ANNE ROSS

A variant of a poem ascribed to Duncan Ban Macintyre

These two verses are a variant of one of the poems, ascribed to Duncan Ban Macintyre, printed in *Scottish Studies* 6:99-105. They were recorded in June 1963 from Mr. Alasdair Cameron, Strontian, who, as "North Argyll", is widely known as an authoritative writer on the history of the district. Mr. Cameron, however, is equally distinguished as an authentic bearer of oral tradition, and in this role he has contributed some extremely valuable material to the sound archives of the School of Scottish Studies.

Both the poem itself and the story of its composition correspond closely enough to the versions I have already published to make further editorial comment unnecessary. I print them here simply because they furnish corroborative evidence of Duncan Ban's authorship.

Bhiodh Dunnchadh Bàn nan Oran uaireannan a' cleachdadh a bhith dol cuairtean troimh Ghleann Urcha 's a' fuireach aig cìobair d'am b'ainm MacNeacail[1] ann an Airigh Mheadhain.[2] Is chuile h-uair a thigeadh Dunnchadh 's a bhiodh e fuireach oidhche leis a' chìobair bhiodh e cann'n ris gum bu mhath leis adharc boc-gaibhre fhaotainn airson sgian—airson cas a dhèanamh do sgian-dubh. Is bha an cìobair a' gealltainn da sin a dhèanamh. Achd nuair thigeadh Dunnchadh an ath uair cha robh adharc a' bhoc-gaibhre ri fhaicinn. Ma dheireadh bha e fàs car searbh dhe seo is oidhche bha sin thionndaidh e car feargach ris a' . . . MacNeacail . . . is thuirt e ris gu robh an t-am aige nise an adharc . . . "O laochain," thuirt MacNeacail, "Bidh adharc na gaibhre a'ad air do l . . . brat na leabaidh man éirich thu màireach 'sa' mhaduinn."

Dh'éirich e am bristeadh-latha is thug e leis na coin. 'Se . . . airson gum biodh e an Creag nan Cuaran far robh na gobhair a' cuir seachad an oidhche man togadh iad ri ionaltradh. Chuir e na coin riuth is chaidh aig air boc a

bhristeadh. Lean e am boc a staigh do dh'Abhunn Urchaidh agus chaidh aig air a mharbhadh a sin 'san abhunn is an adharc a thoirt dheth, is thug e dhachaigh i is chuir e air brat leapa Dhunnchaidh Bhàin i.

Bha latha fliuch agus cha robh an cìobair dol do'n mhonadh is thuirt Dunnchadh Bàn ris, "Tha mi smaoineachadh fon tha an latha cho fliuch gun déid mi fhìn is du fhéin do'n cheardaich, a Dhail Mhàillidh, is gu faigh mi sgian a dhéanamh airson a chur an adharc na gaibhre."

'Se MacNeacail a bha 'sa' ghobha cuideach. Ràinig iad is rinn an gobha sgian agus chuir e an cas . . . rinn e a adhairc na gaibhre i. Is nuair a bha e deas thuirt am bard ris, "De th'agam ri thoirt dut?" "Chan 'eil," thuirt an gobhainn, "achd rann no dha."

Agus seo mar a chuala mise an rann:

"Fhuair mi mo rogha sgine
Ur as an tine air a deagh bhualadh
'S mo bheannachd air an tì rinn a h-àrach
'S a dh'fhàg gu geur tana cruaidh i.

Tha i dìreach làidir daingeann
'S rinneadh ann an giorag suas i
'S tha i 'n diugh an adharc na gaibhre
Chaidil an raoir an Creag nan Cuaran."

Translation

Duncan Ban of the Songs used to go through Glen Orchy sometimes and stay with a shepherd called MacNicol[1] in Airigh Mheadhain[2]. Every time he came and stayed a night with the shepherd, Duncan used to say to him that he would like to get a male goat's horn to make a handle for a sgian dubh. The shepherd would promise to do that for him. But when Duncan came the next time the buck's horn was not to be seen. At last he was getting a bit irritated with this and one night he turned rather angrily to MacNicol and told him that it was time he (did something about) the horn. "My good fellow," said MacNicol, "the goat's horn will be on the counterpane of your bed before you get up in the morning."

The shepherd rose at daybreak and, taking the dogs with him, set out so that he could be in Creag nan Cuaran, where the goats spent the night, before they should start moving out to graze. He set the dogs on them and he succeeded in separating a buck from the herd. He followed it in to the River Orchy

and there, in the river, he got it killed and took the horn off. He brought the horn home and placed it on Duncan Ban's counterpane.

The day was wet and the shepherd was not going to the moor that day. So Duncan Ban said to him, "Since the day is so wet, I think you and I will go to Dalmally, to the smithy, so that I can get a knife-blade made to put in the goat's horn."

The blacksmith was a MacNicol too. They arrived at the place and the blacksmith made a knife-blade and in the handle he put . . . he made the handle out of the goat's horn. When he had finished, the poet asked, "How much do I have to give you?" "Nothing," replied the blacksmith, "except a verse or two."

And this is how I heard the verse:

"I have got the knife of my choice
Fresh from the fire, well beaten:
My blessing on the man who has shaped it
Who has left it keen and thin and hard.

Firm and straight and strong—
Swiftly was it fashioned—
Today it is in the horn of the goat
That last night slept in Creag nan Cuaran.

NOTE

[1] This MacNicol was one of the MacNicols of Arivean, a family 'celebrated for reciting songs and poems, particularly the songs and histories of the Fingalian race' (*Report of the Highland Society of Scotland appointed to inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* [*Edinburgh 1801*] *270-73*).

[2] Or *Airigh Bheathain.*

JOHN MACINNES

C. BOOK REVIEWS

The Foals of Epona: A History of British Ponies from the Bronze Age to Yesterday. By A. Dent and D. M. Goodall. London: Galley Press. 1962. Pp. x+305, 52 figs., 6 maps, 78 pls. 45s.

This book, as the title indicates, covers a wider field than Scotland, but there are nevertheless many points of particular interest to Scottish studies. It essays first to review current knowledge on the origin and development of the domesticated horse in the British Isles from the Roman Occupation to the

nineteenth century, and then treats of the local variants of ponies still or recently surviving in the various natural geographical areas of Britain. It was an ambitious task to undertake, and to present to a general educated public, not necessarily all hippophil.

Unfortunately, in what was presumably an attempt to achieve a wider reading public than one of specialists, the book has sadly suffered as a work of serious reference. The style is often commendably lively and unpedantic, but in what must have been a desperate endeavour not to be thought stuffy, an embarrassing archness and facetiousness take over from time to time. Worst of all, again presumably following the view of so many commercial publishers to-day, that footnotes and references kill a book stone dead, the often extremely interesting statements and observations in the text are wholly undocumented. A laughable "Select Bibliography of Sources" of 70 entries, most capriciously chosen (according perhaps to some weird *sortes Eponae*), helps us not at all.

These criticisms have to be made because the book does in fact contain a great deal of important material assembled and presented for the first time, and does merit the attention of scholars. It must be admitted that in the early stages the authors are at times adrift in unawareness, but as they move towards source material which can be handled from the practical viewpoint of the horsy man (or woman), they take a firmer grip. Scottish evidence begins to be used with the evidence for the types of horses contained in medieval documents such as accounts in the Exchequer Rolls, or the detailed list of beasts in the Falkirk campaign of 1298. In the seventeenth century the emergence and significance of the Galloway has to be assessed, and we move into a world becoming increasingly familiar in textual and iconographic sources, such as the detail of tinkers' ponies in the Marischal College painting of the 1630s. Such illustrations, of course, tend to show not only the horses, but the carts or ploughs they pulled, and here the value of such representations, many of which are reproduced in the book, is enhanced for students of material culture. Finally, there is an informed discussion of the evidence for regional types of ponies in the north, as elsewhere in Britain.

There are some irritating misprints and perhaps other signs of carelessness. A very minor point, but the "old Berkshire ballad" of the Uffington White Horse quoted on p. 173 is not traditional, as here implied, but was written about 1857 by

Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Or at least, so he told my grandfather.

STUART PIGGOTT

Shetland Folk Book. Vol. IV. Edited by T. A. Robertson and John J. Graham. Lerwick: The Shetland Times Ltd. 1964.

Once again, but after a lapse of seven years, we are indebted to the Shetland Folk Society for another volume of the Shetland Folk Book. This continuing publication is sufficiently concrete evidence of the demonstrable cultural heritage which Shetland is determined both to nurture and to lay before the world. In addition, a new (and successful) venture is now reported—a gramophone record, "Eftir da Hümin", of representative material from the society's records.

As was clearly stated in the first volume of the series, the main object of the Society is "to collect and preserve what remains of our Folk Lore, Folk Songs, Fiddle Tunes, Traditions, Customs, Place Names and Dialect". It must, therefore, be really indefensible for a reviewer to express even a tinge of regret (this is all it amounts to) that in addition to collection, somewhat more of correlation, analysis and classification is not also given. (This regret may be all the more inappropriate, because there is now mention of a small but active Study Group within the Society.) Nevertheless, as every field-worker knows, the excitement of continued collection can sometimes conceal a morbid shrinking from other not less arduous disciplines.

The President of the Society is, perhaps, aware of this. In previous volumes of the Folk Book, proverbs, for example, have simply appeared in rather lengthy lists. But in his article "The Shetland People and their Proverbs", Mr. Graham now gives us a rough conceptual categorisation—Resignation, Privation, Living Together, etc.—which makes his selection manageable. And his introductory notes make it clear that he is after comparison ("Timbuctoo, Tipperary, or Tresta") as well as collection. It is worth recalling here that Calum I. Maclean and Stewart F. Sanderson set out their own problems of categorisation for a similar corpus of Shetland guddicks in *Scottish Studies* 4:150, and that, in Vol. 8:237-8 the Editor has reviewed "The Nordic Riddle: Terminology and Bibliography" by Laurits Bødker. It appears that here we have "a possible basis for a unified Nordic classification".

Similarly, in the new selection of folk song and fiddle tunes

now given to us, some expansion on the lines of the notes given by Mr. Peter Moar in Volumes I and II might have been welcome. There is, for instance, a brief note in this present volume on the similarity of phrasing between "Da Auld Reel 'o Whalsay" (which is printed) and the Norwegian Halling. A fairly casual, but interested, browser would benefit by a reference to Mr. Moar's notes on the Halling in Vol. II. A "distinctive Shetland version" of "The Greenland Ballad" is also printed and some analytical notes on why it *is* distinctive would have been helpful. The words are certainly English.

A "small local Norwegian Study Group" (how commendable this is!) has obviously worked hard to produce a translation from the Landsmål of Einar Seim—"Shetland Food in Former Times". It is a pity that the exact source of the original is not given. What is here referred to as "these notes" is, in fact, part of an article ("Litt om Levemåten på Hjaltland fyrr i Tida") which Seim wrote for the Hordaland Landbruksmuseums Årbok in 1953-4 after his visit to Shetland. The translators have taken the opportunity to correct one or two of Seim's slips—e.g. "O'Neill" is now given correctly as "Neill" (sc. Patrick Neill)—but why should Seim's (quoted from an informant, apparently) "holy water stins" (sc. "stones" or "steens") be rendered "holy water fonts"? Are they so called in Shetland?

It is melancholy to note that the article "Shetland Croft Houses and their Equipment" by Magnie Smith (a member of the executive committee of the Society) is now published posthumously. It stands, as the editors state, as "the kind of memorial he would have liked". It is packed with detailed knowledge both of words and things from which all students will benefit. Perhaps it is rather too generalised. One wishes, now and again, for a particular statement on a particular distribution. For instance, no mention is made of the kiln which E. S. Reid Tait (alas! also no longer alive) identified as an Orkney type all over the Southern parishes in Shetland (Folk Book, Vol. III).

Folk lore is well represented by a fascinating eye-witness account of witchcraft at work in a byre in the 1920s by Ronnie Sill. E. S. Reid Tait adds to the corpus of Press Gang stories, and the Vice-President, George M. Nelson tells of the tragic background to the name "Sinclair's Hole" at Brough in Nesting. Some precise indication as to sources might have added to our interest. There is local lore on Fetlar from J. J. Laurenson, doubly interesting to this reviewer who has heard some of it

from Mr. Laurenson's own lips and recorded it on tape. His concluding note will alarm all lovers of Fetlar—"the prospects for this beautiful fertile island hang in the balance."

A conspicuous lack in this volume is that there is nothing on dialect. Indeed, always excepting J. C. Catford's article "Shetland Dialect" in Vol. III, none of the volumes has had much to say on this important topic. Simply to give a series of folk tales in conventional Shetland orthography is not dialect in an absolutely exhaustive sense. Here, above all, we need careful analytical and descriptive treatment.

And finally, why, in Shetland of all places, is there so little on the sea? Press Gang stories and Greenland Ballads are all very well, but when, in a publication which displays its material so beautifully, is someone going to draw for us a simple boat?

J. Y. MATHER

Gourlays of Dundee—the Rise and Fall of a Scottish Shipbuilding Firm. By S. G. E. Lythe. Abertay Historical Society Publication, No. 10. Dundee. 1964. Pp. 20.

Professor Lythe's pamphlet for the Abertay Society tells the story of the meteoric rise and abrupt collapse of the largest of the shipbuilding firms in Victorian Dundee. Like many such concerns, Gourlays grew from a heavy engineering base, entering the Tayside business world in 1846 with the purchase of the Dundee Foundry (famous in the first half of the nineteenth century for its mill-machinery and high quality locomotive production). Eight years later they branched out into ship-building and converted the foundry to an ancillary, making marine engines. The partners in 1854 "showed a fine sense of opportunity" in launching a shipyard in conditions of booming world demand, and from the first grasped the technical initiative from their more conservative competitors by going whole-heartedly for the iron ship propelled by steam power and screw. In 1869 another "splendidly timed decision" led to the development of the new Camperdown Yard to facilitate the construction of larger vessels, and Gourlays reaped the reward in the great boom of the early 1870s.

Even in the much more uneven business conditions of the last twenty years of the century the partners succeeded in producing about half the total tonnage launched on the Tay. In this period they constructed some remarkable ships—the all-steel *Dundee* of 1883, another ship of the same name in 1885 lit throughout by electricity (only six years after the first use

of electric light at sea) and the *Brussels* of 1902 for the Harwich packet service, "known to travellers as one of the most sumptuously fitted steamers afloat" with a state room "understood to be reserved for the use of Royalty". Clearly, as the author says, "the firm lived by its versatility, its keenly trimmed prices and its growing reputation for high quality passenger accommodation".

Nevertheless, there were already signs of hardening in the entrepreneurial arteries. None of the sons of the four original Gourlay brothers had the technical interest and ability of the first Henry Gourlay; the yard gradually slipped into tradition-bound habits, while the structure of the firm remained on a narrow family basis. Awakening came, but it came too late: the partnership was reconstructed as a private joint-stock company in 1904, and the following year the yard was expensively re-equipped. Now, however, it proved impossible to repeat the lucky breaks of 1854 and 1867; instead of meeting a steady boom that would have justified the costs of modernisation, they met a demand trough at the end of 1907. Labour troubles and complaints about delivery dates and engine performance added to their troubles, and in 1908 the company went into liquidation. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Professor Lythe tells his story well, and the Abertay Society maintains its reputation as one of the few local history societies that can bear comparison with their counterparts in England. It is a scandal that local history, which when well done adds much of value and perspective to the national story as well as being a rewarding study in its own right, should be so relatively neglected in Scotland. The fault does not lie at all with the local historians: it should be placed where it belongs, fairly and squarely on the shoulders of those powerful professionals who have for so long advocated the policy of centralisation of records in Register House. The English renaissance of local history studies has been raised on the establishment of County Record Offices. Until we are as enlightened as the English in granting regional devolution, the problem of the supply of raw materials for historians in the provinces, triumphantly overcome though it was on this occasion, will go from bad to worse. Your reviewer is not grinding a private academic axe: this is a problem about one aspect of our culture which ought to be of concern to everyone interested in "Scottish Studies" in the widest sense.

T. C. SMOUT

Archaeology and Place-Names and History. F. T. Wainwright, London. 1962. Routledge & Kegan Paul. xiii+135 pp. 12s. 6d.

In this book the late author meant to pause and reflect on the problems arising from the material, the techniques and the co-ordination of the results of the three disciplines whose enumeration has provided the title of the "essay". This reflection was, one supposes, to have given him a new impetus and new guidance for future research in three fields in which he had been for many years an active and competent scholar. As it turned out, the slim volume written from January to April 1961, became a summing-up, a record, a personal justification of past activities—and not a programme for the future, for less than three months after the completion of this his last study, the author died at the early age of 43, and it was left to his widow to see the book through the press.

Written originally as a chapter for Dr. H. P. R. Finberg's *Approaches to History*, the work soon outgrew the limited requirements of the purpose for which it was intended, and in its present form is itself divided into nine chapters which, apart from two introductory and concluding ones, deal with such subjects within the theme as "Historical Evidence", "Archaeological Evidence", "Linguistic Evidence", "Britons, Anglo-Saxons and Picts", "Scandinavians"; they also truly wrestle with both the "Conflict of Scholars" and the "Conflict of Conceptions", and again and again, without fear of obvious repetition, Wainwright stresses and re-stresses the fact that it is not enough to be an expert in one of the three subjects under discussion while dabbling in the other two, but that, in order to achieve a competent personal synthesis, one has to study archaeological evidence as an archaeologist, place-names as a linguist, and history as a historian. The one scholar who is really three, is ever present in the pages of this book and those who knew him will realise that here the author is undoubtedly looking over his own shoulder. There can have been few who could have "sat" for the picture of the ideal scholar which he paints, as well as he did himself.

For the studious enquirer with a less ideal background and less adequate training and experience, he has, however, much to say with regard to the approach which is open to him if he is a specialist in only one aspect of this trinity of subjects, and an interested outsider in the other two. At the beginning stands a clear division of both material and techniques, and consequently of the type of results which can be expected.

Unless these differences are realised and historical conclusions are reached on the basis of historical evidence alone, archaeological conclusions on the interpretation of archaeological material, and linguistic conclusions from what place-names have to say, results must be suspect and are indeed usually misleading. In this initial division, however, also lies the ultimate synthesis, for the military advice which demands separate marching towards a combined battle and victory, also holds good here. Once independent conclusions through separate analysis have been reached, their careful co-ordination and synthesis is clearly the next step—but only then and not somewhere half way along the road.

Obviously Wainwright's observations on, and demarcation of, these three lines of enquiry and their ultimate co-ordination are particularly applicable to the period which has come to be referred to as the *Dark Ages*, and his triple approach is consequently peculiarly suited to the problems which arise from the study of the people in Britain's history to whom he devotes two of his chapters, the "Britons, Anglo-Saxons, and Picts" on the one hand, and the "Scandinavians" on the other; the five maps at the end of the book make visible the distribution of the archaeological and place-name evidence (maps which, incidentally, both in arrangement and production are perhaps the weakest feature of the volume). If one really wants to see his philosophy at work, however, one would probably even more profitably turn to the three books which the author edited as arising out of some of the conferences of the British Summer School of Archaeology, of which he was Director. These are *Romans and Natives in Northern Britain* and *The Northern Isles*, but one would particularly think of the first of the three volumes in question, *The Problem of the Picts* which, in an admittedly almost ideal setting, demonstrates the practical value of Wainwright's preaching.

We who can test the principles he lays down, the warnings he gives, the encouragement he provides, should be grateful that the author was at least spared to reflect on his life's work and ambitions in this way, even if we have to take as tentative conclusions what were really only initial thoughts at a new beginning. At least here is more than just a memory to handle.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its review in *SCOTTISH STUDIES*.

Selections from Gavin Douglas. Edited by David F. C. Coldwell. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. Oxford 1964. Pp. xxix+161. 18s.

Buying the Wind. By Richard M. Dorson. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London 1964. Pp. xvii+574. 59s. 6d.

West Country Friendly Societies: an account of village Benefit Clubs and their brass pole heads. By Margaret D. Fuller. Oakwood Press for University of Reading. 1964. Pp. ix+173. 63s.

The Golden Lamp. By Alasdair Alpin MacGregor. Michael Joseph Ltd. London 1964. Pp. 263. 25s.

The Burghs of Scotland: A Critical List. By George Smith Pryde. London: Oxford University Press for The University of Glasgow. 1965. Pp. xvii+88. 20s.

The Life and Death of St. Kilda. By Tom Steel. Edinburgh: The National Trust for Scotland. 1965. Pp. 135. 21s.

Argyll Estate Instructions: Mull Morvern, Tiree. 1771-1805. Edited by Eric R. Cregeen. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society. 1964. Pp. xxxix+227+31.

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ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND: I

J. Y. Mather

I propose to contribute a series of three articles under this general title. The first (which follows) will be concerned with the distribution of one or two bird names; the second with East Coast fishing boats and gear; the third with some movements of population—especially fisher population—in the Moray Firth area and their linguistic correlates. Each of the articles will use material collected by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, and will try to set out concomitant dialectological problems.

Local and particular names of animals, birds, insects and plants have been very considerably used by linguistic geographers as convenient data. It has in fact been suggested, for example by Roedder (1926:285, n. 6) and—especially for plants—by Schuchardt (1922:121) that such names lend themselves particularly to this sort of investigation.

Suggestions like these depend ultimately on one resolution of an internal dialogue within linguistic geography (which need only briefly detain us), on the relative value of words and the *pronunciation* of words as criteria. For instance (Judges xii, 6) a Gileadite and an Ephraimite were distinguished by a phonetic criterion—the pronunciation of Shibboleth. Berwickshire men and Cumberland men are still to be distinguished (of course among other things) by a particular *lexical* criterion—"burn" against "beck" for a stream. In the past 40 or 50 years the autonomy and self-consciousness of linguistics has emphasised *internal* relationships where, perhaps, emphasis was easiest, namely, in sound-systems (likened more than once to a game of chess where the movement of a piece alters *relationship*). But if, on the other hand, vocabulary is stressed we find a corresponding interest, not necessarily in internal and structural schemata, but in the outside world of things. A modern linguistic survey is bound to meet and face such problems.

Thus, Yakov Malkiel speaking of Gilliéron's lexicocentric approach in the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* said (1951:291): "Another consequence of the stress on lexicology has been the growing interest in extralinguistic matters. In classifying a number of sounds into a coherent system, one may freely move within the tightly closed circle of linguistics. A scholar organising into a pattern the names of the lizard needs information not only about sound and form developments, but also about the lizard itself in scientific and popular zoology."

The problem of the outside world, and the problem of the value of a linguistic survey to other disciplines (McIntosh 1949:8 and 1954:175) will necessarily come to the fore in any study in dialectology which is not merely a study of what is random and quaint (cf. McDavid 1961:37). The emphasis which linguistic surveys have usually placed on rural phenomena elicited from rural informants is not at all to be interpreted simply as the desire to record a situation which is rapidly dissolving, but as the necessary conservative and stable background in a study where there is already a sufficiently large number of imponderables. Concentration on a rural situation tends to eliminate what Gumperz (1961:979) has called "supra-local features" or "super-posed styles or dialects".

The prime example, of course, of the use in linguistic geography of a familiar living creature is Gilliéron's study of the distribution of words for the honey-bee throughout Gallo-Roman France (Gilliéron 1918). Here he demonstrated the clash and fight within vocabulary which forms such a large part of his thought. He observed, for example, "abeille" winging its way up from the Midi as a conquering loan-word, but failing to win the north where "mouche à miel" held the field—itself a conqueror over the descendants of Latin "apis", appearing as "ef" and "é" (which Gilliéron called "mutilés phonétiques") and which in turn were only able to hold peripheral territory. In Scotland, the local word for "earwig" was early investigated by the Linguistic Survey as a pilot survey in the lexical field and with such good results, in terms of significant distribution throughout the country, that a full-scale lexical survey was put in hand. This, in two postal questionnaires of 413 items in all, asked for 14 bird names which were themselves included in 66 items in the general category of Plants, Birds, Insects, etc. The sampling density was very high—about one informant for 3,300 of population (Catford 1957:114).

All this is specifically linguistic. But the problems both of the outside world and of relationship to other disciplines become prominent if we examine the possibilities of approaching the subject from the other pole; for ultimately, we may suppose, all disciplines can engage and fortify one another, although each will necessarily observe its own proprieties and priorities. It has always been possible, for example, for ornithologists to extend the range of their subject by an appeal to what to them will generally appear as secondary interests, like bird-lore and bird-names. Hitherto, the conventional method of dealing with such matters has been to discuss etymologies. Harvie-Brown, for instance, begins his book on the capercaillie with a discussion of the meaning of the word. Again, lists of local dialect names are sometimes given, notably in Swainson's *Folk-lore and Provincial names of British Birds*, which combines both etymology and folk-lore, and in Muirhead's *Birds of Berwickshire* which does the same. Similarly, A. R. Forbes's *Gaelic names of Beasts* (*Mammalia*), *Birds*, *Fishes*, etc. is not only a list of Gaelic words in these categories, but also a collection of English dialect names, with notes on folk-lore. (For a note on this type of approach in France and Germany see Iordan and Orr 1937:71.) Another approach is the consideration of the effect of man—his buildings, plantations, reclamations and such like—on natural life. This has been done in works like James Ritchie's *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* or E. M. Nicholson's *Birds and Men*.

There is one fairly early word-list, prepared by an ornithologist and referring in fact to Scotland, which seems to signal an important development. This is J. W. H. Trail's "Bird names in Orkney" which appeared in 1877 in the *Scottish Naturalist* (Trail 1877:9). After giving his list of Orkney names, Trail remarks, rather casually, that many have been imported by Scottish settlers; hence Scottish names refer to Orkney birds. Now, this is significant. For, however facts of this sort become organised into a specific branch of study, it is immediately apparent that they belong neither to etymology nor to folk-lore, but to something different. They show, really, new types of co-ordination with possibilities for new knowledge where studies in the *distribution* of the names and of the birds themselves can fortify each other.

In recent years this idea has been exploited in one or two specialised surveys of bird names, designed *solely* to elicit the local name for a given bird. Thus, in 1953 K. G. Spencer in

The Lapwing in Britain broke somewhat new ground by including in his general account the results of a nation-wide survey, which he undertook personally by means of local correspondents, into the dialect names for the lapwing. The results of this survey are given in his book together with a distribution map (Spencer 1953:108).

Also in 1953, an article by J. C. Maycock, entitled "A Survey of Bird-Names in the Yorkshire Dialects" appeared in the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society* (Part LIII, Vol. IX:29). A short questionnaire was included which asked for the local names of the following birds: chaffinch, crow, cuckoo, sparrow, magpie, tit, starling, owl, robin, thrush, blackbird, lapwing, wagtail, kestrel, yellow-hammer, swift. Maycock asked for sufficient information to give "an intelligible picture of the geographical distribution of the various names used throughout Yorkshire". An interim report on the questionnaire appeared in the following year (Part LIV, Vol. IX:47) and a fuller report, with maps, appeared in Part LVI, Vol. X:28.

The most recent, and the most cogent, example of a co-ordination with ornithology of the type we have in mind is E. A. Armstrong's *Folk-lore of Birds*. In two items in particular—the study of the Wren Hunt and the folk-lore of the diver—Armstrong found it necessary to use *geographical* (that is distributional) techniques rather than historical. There is, for instance, nothing in the literature of classical antiquity on the Wren Hunt, but much to be observed to this very day in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the Isle of Man (Armstrong 1958:141). And one of the problems about the diver—the "rain-goose" of Shetland—is that in Shetland it presages bad weather, but in Faroe both bad weather and good according to its note. Furthermore, in Faroe the bird's call when heard overhead is associated with death and the passage of a soul. Now, as a matter of history (or what Sapir called "the drift of culture") it is possible, as Armstrong points out, that the Shetland version is simply in considerable decay. It is limited merely to weather prediction. But to show the belief in its fullest possible form, Armstrong demonstrates the diffusion of such beliefs between America and Eurasia. So that, "if, returning for this excursion, we now ask why the diver is regarded as a weather prophet in Shetland, we are able, in this wide perspective, to suggest an answer. Throughout circum-polar Eurasia the diver is associated with shamanism and the shaman is believed to be able to control the weather. . . .

The shaman has disappeared from Shetland but his associate—we might almost say his familiar—remains. The belief in the diver as a weather-forecaster is a lingering relic of an element in a culture which once extended around the crown of the world. Here we have . . . evidence of an ancient and extensive Eurasian culture. This culture dates, probably, from Neolithic times and contained Palaeolithic elements" (*ibid.*: 68).

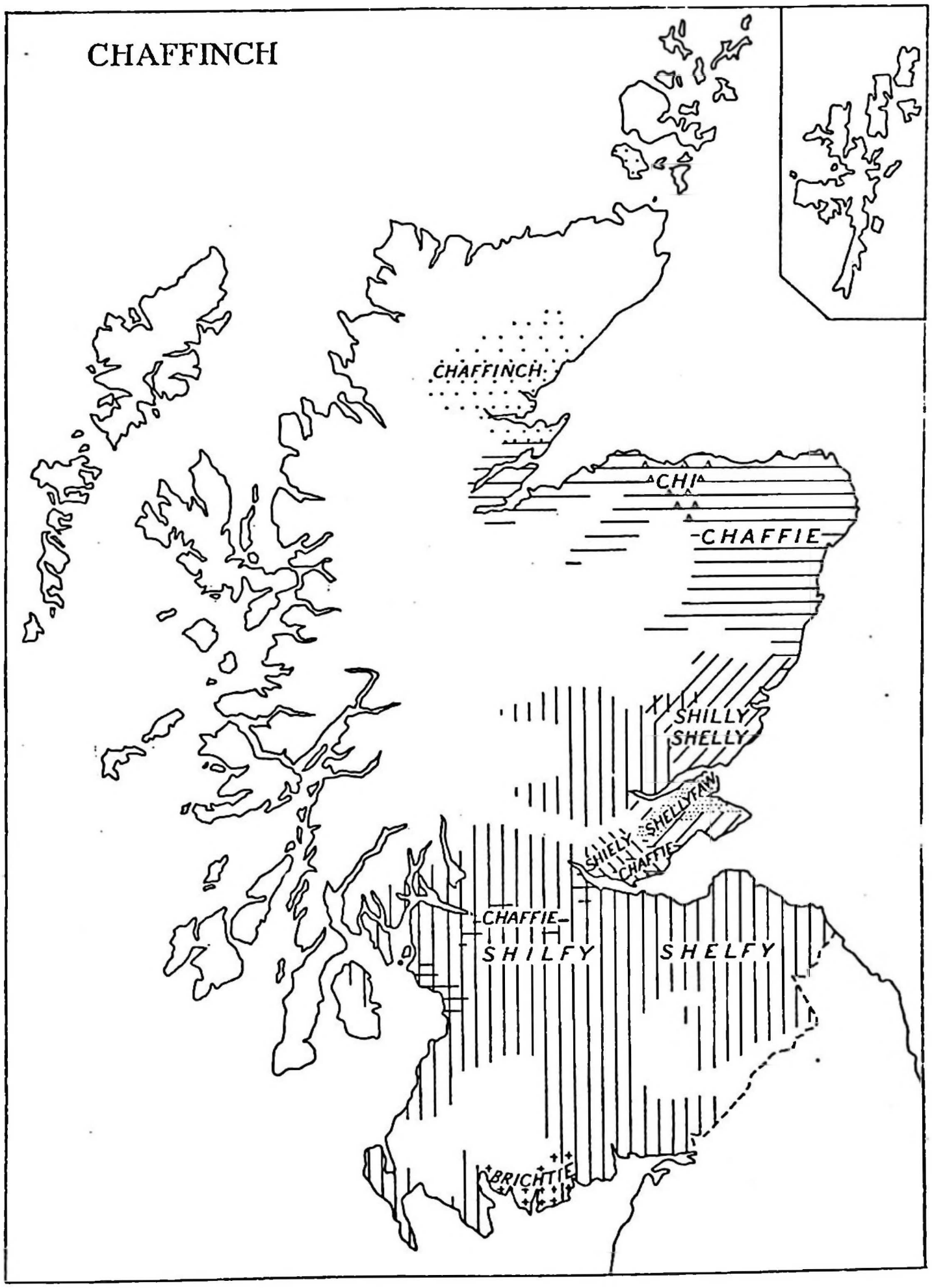
It is, of course, of considerable interest to recollect that within the comparatively recent history of linguistics there has been some criticism of historical method—usually on the grounds of its being too positivist—and a corresponding development of geographical method ("linguistic geography"). Obviously, this is not the place to deal with this in detail, but one very relevant aspect of it can be presented. It is that linguistic geography has claimed to show a *stratified* picture of the linguistic material. The terminology of geology has, in fact, been used more than once. "Le fait capital" wrote Albert Dauzat (1922:34) "c'est que la géographie linguistique—et par là elle nous apparaît comme une véritable géologie du langage—reconstitue, si l'on peut dire, par leurs affleurements actuels, les couches successives des mots en grande partie enfouies". Of course, the stratification is not exact, with one word succeeding another and effacing it completely and without trace. Thus, "toute la difficulté consiste, pour le nom d'un objet ou d'une idée, à retrouver l'âge respectif et les aires successives des types aujourd'hui juxtaposés, comme le geologie reconstitue les mers jurassiques ou crétacées par l'inspection des falaises et des carrières".

Now, it is possible, in examining the data from the Linguistic Survey of Scotland for "chaffinch", to form some sort of idea of "l'âge respectif et les aires successives" from the diatopic evidence presented to us (see Map). Sapir has a well-known aphorism that a society with no knowledge of theosophy need have no name for it; but the study of "chaffinch" will take us further than this simple parallelism, since we can try to correlate the facts of the physical distribution of the bird itself with the dialect names for it on a rough time scale, as well as adduce some ecological evidence in support. Let us admit that had we only the historical evidence of ornithological observation we might interpret this in the most obvious and direct way, and claim thereby to know all we were likely to know of the actual spread of the bird. On the other hand, had we only the linguistic evidence ("aujourd'hui juxtaposé") we

would seem to be presented with a synoptic *situation*, uninterpreted as it stands, but which might be interpreted variously. In fact, an ornithological interpretation might not occur to us. (It did not, for example, occur to anyone in the Linguistic Survey for the "chaffinch" distribution map until two well-known ornithologists—Mr. Waterston and Mr. Williamson—pointed it out.) We might be much more likely to think on social or demographic lines, using the linguistic evidence simply as indices. And, obviously, the ornithological evidence, if we desire to make it so, is worth more than its own intrinsic weight. It, too, can be indexial. The possibility is, therefore, that we can extrapolate, and fill out remote corners in both approaches with material from the other.

The map is a stylised version of a detailed map compiled from the evidence of approximately 1,000 informants. In general, then, it appears that the word "shilfy" or "shelfy" is used in a broad belt across Scotland and this, in its northward extension, runs well into Perthshire and Angus. Southwards it is almost co-extensive with the English borderline. There is, however, a pocket in Galloway where the word "brichteye" is used. There are certain departures from the "shilfy/shelfy" type. Fife, on the whole, seems to use "shiely" and Angus and Kincardine "shilly" or "shelly". It seems fairly obvious, however, that all these words are in some degree cognate. But, over the whole of Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Morayshire, Nairnshire and into Cromarty as far perhaps, as the Dornoch Firth and with outposts into Sutherlandshire, the word is "chaffie", which we might accept tentatively as a reduced form of the English "chaffinch". The outposts are significant. In Sutherland, out of a total of 18 informants, 3 gave "chaffie", 11 gave "chaffinch", 1 gave "finchie" and the remainder made no entry. In Orkney, out of 22 informants, only 1 gave "chaffie", 5 gave "chaffinch" and the remainder no entry. In Shetland out of 33 informants, 31 made no entry. Finally, we must notice in particular the small pocket in an area surrounding the lower waters of the Spey, which gives "chye".

The stratification from S.W. to N.E. seems to be shiely/shilfy—chaffie—chaffinch—no entry. The inference is that in areas where the chaffinch might be supposed to have been long established it bears a dialect name of the shiely/shilfy type; in areas where it seems to have only recently spread it bears the name chaffinch; and in intermediate areas of fairly old, but not very old, establishment it bears the reduced form "chaffie".


CHAFFINCH
CHAFFINCH
CHI
CHAFFIE
SHILLY
SHELLY
SHELLYFAW
SHIELY
CHAFFIE
CHAFFIE
SHILFY
SHELFY
BRICHTIE

In areas where there is no return, it is obviously legitimate to suppose that the bird is not to be found, except occasionally.

We must try to see if all this can be reinforced by a study of what is known, historically, of the physical distribution of the bird itself. Baxter and Rintoul (1953 I:72) have inferred an increase in its range between the Old and New Statistical Accounts (i.e. between 1793 and 1845) on what does not seem to be absolutely indubitable evidence. They do not give exact sources (parishes) but simply state that in the Old Account it was recorded at Dunbarton, Stirling, Fife and Aberdeen, and "by the time of the New Statistical Account it was much commoner and is mentioned in many places" (*loc. cit.* 73). Actually—to deal only with Aberdeenshire—it was specifically mentioned for two parishes only in the Old Account, namely, Birse and Lonmay; but in the New Account for Fyvie, Peterhead, Strathdon, Birse, Drumoak, Methlick, Lumphanan and Leochel and Cushnie. It is well known, of course, that categories in the Statistical Accounts are not absolute. It is not *necessary*, that is to say, to notice the presence or absence of a given bird. In the Old Account about half a dozen parishes mention game-birds only, and a further half-dozen have vague expressions like "a great variety of singing birds" or "almost every kind of birds commonly found in the north of Scotland". The New Account is fuller and more specific in its categories of natural history, and several are very exhaustive. Even so, the New Account is also both selective—game-birds, birds of passage—and vague—"little that could be peculiarly interesting for the naturalist", "about 30 species constantly resident", *etc.*

Much earlier—in 1684—Robert Sibbald mentioned, but without giving an exact location, *Fringilla*, nostratibus *Snowfleck* and *Shoulfall* (1684: II: iii:18). Sibbald, with a family background from Fife, but settled in Edinburgh, was obviously reporting from the "shilfy" (*Shoulfall*) area. It is worth noting that he generally seems to take pains to give a Scottish version ("nostratibus") of a widely distributed and more generally designated species. (Thus, for *Serinus Gesneri* he adds: An qui nostratibus Thrissel-cock dicitur? This, incidentally, is Jamieson's citation s.v. Thrissil-cock.)

The later evidence of individual ornithologists is more positive. Charles St. John, referring presumably to observations in the 1840's or 1850's reported it as common in Morayshire (1843:117). By 1887 Harvie-Brown and Buckley could report for Sutherland, Caithness and W. Cromarty that it was

"resident and abundant, breeding throughout the eastern district wherever there is sufficient wood . . . the species has spread rapidly and increased in the west of the county. Formerly, we only knew of one pair at Inchnadamph, which bred there for the first time about 1877. Now they are common, but a slight check was put on their increase by the severe winters. Also observed at Altnaharrow and Tongue in 1881" (1887:29; *cf.* Harvie-Brown and McPherson 1904:91). In 1883 H. M. Drummond Hay (1883:361) gave it as resident and common in Aberdeenshire, Forfarshire, Perthshire and Fife.

The linguistic evidence and the positive ornithological evidence seem to reinforce each other, and even to add some weight to a more conclusive interpretation of the Statistical Accounts. There can be added some concomitant evidence from climatology which has recently been adduced by W. B. Yapp (1962:219). In fact, what Harvie-Brown and Buckley had to say on the check due to severe winters is significant in this connection. Just as we are here trying to exploit the mobility of bird-life for the purposes of linguistic geography, so Yapp exploited it to suggest (for no other evidence seems to be available) a steady rise in temperature in the north of Scotland within the last 80 years or so. He observed that "birds are more mobile and so can be more sensitive indicators of climatic change" than, for example, the evidence of pollen which might take centuries to show any definitive evidence. There are temperature records from the English midlands which show no detectable rise until 1925; and there are records for Iceland and Finland which show a rise beginning in 1880. But, even though "no figures are available for the north of Scotland . . . the spread of birds there suggests that the rise began at about the same time as it did in Iceland" (Yapp: *loc. cit.*).

We can add to all this the weight of ecological evidence. Professor James Ritchie in his *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* has suggested that the increase in seed-eating birds like the chaffinch, yellowhammer, etc. took place as the result of the spread of cultivation (1920:389). This needs to be elaborated somewhat. We ought, first, to think of the chaffinch as a *woodland* bird—at least for breeding. Lack (1954:147) has noted the correlation between the quality of food supplies and proliferation as, for example, "in Holland . . . more chaffinches and great tits breed in mixed woods of broad-leaved and coniferous trees than in pure pine-woods which are poorer in quality". But after breeding and by early autumn the chaffinch

leaves the woods in a partial migration to fields, hedges, stack-yards, gardens and orchards (Yapp 1962:5). And, in posing the question of its migratory habits about a millenium ago when oak forests were abundant, and its subsequent adaptation to a somewhat different habitat, Yapp has calculated that chaffinches may "have lost a migratory habit that they once possessed and have become resident only within the time of dense settlement of these islands by man, a period of not much more than a thousand years" (*ibid.*: 242).

This period of one thousand years in Scotland is significant for our purpose, for in it the chief continuous event of lowland woodland history took place—the steady denudation of broad-leaved trees (Steven 1950:110). The general pattern of forest legislation reveals a social and economic antagonism between the demand for agricultural land and the counter-demand for wood as a commercial fuel in the smelting of iron, the evaporating of salt, etc. (Murray 1935:7). Even if by the time of some early travellers in Scotland—Aeneas Sylvius, Fynes Moryson, for example—we have to assume that lowland Scotland had as little woodland as they said it had, the chaffinch had probably already found conditions exactly right for its proliferation. Fynes Moryson found Fife "a pleasant little Territory of open fields without enclosures, fruitfull in Corne". There were "no woodes at all", yet if the chaffinch had lost, or was losing its former habits, it doubtless was adapting itself to the "little Groves" which surrounded gentlemen's dwellings (1617:86). About a hundred years later Thomas Kirke observed similar conditions—which he remarked more than once—especially for Berwickshire, East Lothian and Fife. "There were several pretty houses by the way" he wrote, "and above every house a grove of trees (though not one tree elsewhere) which set them off mightily" (Kirke 1677:412, cf. 419). Later still, the Old Statistical Account has many references to the growing practice of planting hedges, as part of a general policy of improvement. Thus, at Kemney (Aberdeenshire), Mr. Burnett improved certain parcels of ground "which he left in a high state of cultivation and paying well for the expense bestowed upon them, [and which] he planted with trees of different kinds, 130 acres, besides hedge-rows in the English mode, round every field in his farm, on each side of the avenues leading to his house and in the little gardens of his tenants" (1793: XII:202). Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum (Mackintosh 1727) suggested that quickset should

be imported from England and Holland until Scotland could provide her own nurseries (quoted Nairne 1890:183). Nevertheless, Dr. Johnson in 1773 passed "for a few yards only" between two hedges in his way from Kirkcaldy to Coupar (Nairne 1890:184).

In the light of such observations it is perhaps possible to view the pocket "chye" centred on Fochabers, and to suggest that this may reflect a much earlier or at least a somewhat special proliferation based on the oak-woods of the lower Spey. Kirke remarks that, for the lower Findhorn, at Forres, he saw "A wood of small oaks, the first that I observed in Scotland" (1677:431). But the special fertility of the area is well known, and would certainly favour the development of new adaptations in the chaffinch which would thus be specially perpetuated on its earlier, traditional, ground. E. Dunbar Dunbar (1866:147) gives part of the text of a contract between Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and his gardeners, dated 7th November 1566, in which it is agreed that the latter shall "labor the gryt orcheart and gardings . . . indewring the space of thrie years and sall dycht and sned all the tries, and sall gude them with sufficient muk. . . ." He also gives a letter from Edinburgh to the Laird of Gordonstoun written by one J. Hunter on 18th February 1684, saying that a variety of fruit trees (apple and pear) had been delivered to the laird's servant (*ibid.*: 148). There is also an "Account of Garden Seeds, Garden Toolls, etc. furnished to Sir Robert Gordon" on 18th December 1718 (*ibid.*: 149). "Silver firr, cyprus, Lym-tree, Yew-tree, Hors Chestnutts, Hornbeam"—all these are included.

It is important to notice that we lay no stress on any possible *etymology* for "chye". We can, of course, suppose that it is onomatopoeic in origin, but this is of secondary interest. What is primary for our present purpose is that it is demonstrably differentiated from other forms and can thus be used as a marker. We lay stress, therefore, on speech as behaviour, using differences as indices. In any case, this is only a tentative correlation for "chye"; nor has any particular work as yet been done for the other pocket—"brichteye" in Galloway—although it is very probably susceptible of similar treatment and interpretation.

I wish to conclude by considering two important points in the technique of linguistic geography, both of which have emerged in the researches of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, and both of which can be exemplified from its data, and in

particular from its data on bird names. The first point concerns density of coverage; the second, misnamings (mistakenly so-called), or what W. Nelson Francis (1959:245) has called the "shifting referent".

The general importance of density of coverage in the work of a linguistic survey has already been noticed (*supra*: Catford: 1957:114), but it can be illustrated more particularly by a reference to K. G. Spencer's *The Lapwing in Britain* (also already noticed). Spencer writes: "The only part of Britain lacking in a local name for its lapwings is Shetland. This may be because the species is a comparatively recent colonist there and no permanent name has yet been created for it. Edmonston (1866) quoted in the English Dialect Dictionary gives 'Tee-wheep' and 'Teewhoap' and Saxby (1874) gives 'Tieves Nicket' and 'Tieves Geit', but G. T. Kay (*in litt.*) tells me that these are definitely not in use today" (1953:109).

Now, the first Postal Questionnaire of the Linguistic Survey received from Shetland (in 1953—the same year as Spencer's investigation) three separate instances of "tieves nacket" and one each of "cattifool", "dockin-fowl" and "whaup". One informant noted that "tieves nacket" was used "by old people" and another "occasionally, by anyone". There were, in all, 33 informants for Shetland as against the single informant used by Spencer. It seems clear, therefore, that only the greater density of coverage sustained by the Linguistic Survey was able to save it from too hasty a judgment.

So-called misnamings have come to be treated rather dispassionately in linguistic geography, and it has become axiomatic to assume that the informant (when fulfilling his proper function as informant) does not err. Dauzat, for instance, epitomised Gilliéron's attitude to his *Atlas Linguistique de la France*: "si le sujet n'a pas bien compris la question, s'il répond à côté, s'il se trompe ou commet un lapsus, tant pis! on ne corrigera pas, on donnera sa réponse telle quelle" (1922:10). From the files of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland there is evidence for "lapwing" given regularly as "peeweet", "teu-chat", or "walloch" according to locality, but also, apparently irregularly, as "whaup" (once in Shetland, Kincardine, Fife, Stirling, Dumfriesshire, twice in Aberdeenshire; and thrice in Northumberland), and as "curlew" (once in Angus, Lanarkshire, Dumfriesshire, and twice in Northumberland). Similarly, a jackdaw is frequently called a crow, or even a "hoodie-crow": James Ritchie noted that in early Scottish records the name

"crane" is frequently applied to the heron (1920:376). In Sutherland the local name for the dipper is "king-fisher" (*ibid.*: 182).

We cannot simply regard data such as these as evidence of ignorance of the "real" name of the bird. Dauzat, speaking of "les confusions de sens" (1922:137) suggested that "la faculté de discrimination, de classification, de spécification n'est propre qu'aux esprits observateurs et doués d'un certain sens scientifique. L'homme distingue, dans son langage comme dans sa pensée, ce qui l'intéresse au point de vue utilitaire, et surtout ce qui touche à ses occupations". Nevertheless, this appeal to utility, although practical and sensible, is not entirely satisfactory, and might be amplified by a more recondite consideration of the influence of the folk-lore of birds. From this point of view, misnamings will probably come to hinge on the fact that "when a belief spreads into an area where the relevant object is missing, rare, or for some reason unsuitable, a surrogate is commonly found" (Armstrong 1958:48). Armstrong exemplifies this from the case of the duck which "sometimes acquires the symbolism of the goose in Europe and Asia", and from designs on early pottery where it is "difficult to decide whether designs . . . represent geese or swans, or even cranes, flamingoes or other long-necked birds" (*loc. cit.*). This might go some way towards covering the case of the confusion between cranes and herons in Scotland. Furthermore, the general feeling that corvine birds are birds of doom might also cover the case of jackdaws, crows and hoodie-crows. Armstrong, in fact, quotes (1958:74) a Scottish saying: "Nae gude ever cam' o' killin' black craws", with the implication that "craws" are to be considered as corvines in general.

We cannot, of course, push the theory of surrogates too far, although it is interesting to speculate on what latent evidence from the files of the Linguistic Survey might not be adduced in support. But there are other possibilities. It may be that so-called misnamings arise out of the complexities of the situation in which a language spreads into new territory. W. Nelson Francis, in considering his problem of the "shifting referent" found that for him (he is an American) the referent to "daddy long legs" was not the crane fly, but a long-legged spider with a small round body; and this, he discovered, was also sometimes so in East Anglia, with obvious implications. The important point is that it is difficult to pin down shifting referents at all if the coverage has not been sufficiently dense.

The two points of technique, therefore, which we have noticed, complement each other and ensure that vital information is not only not lost, but not ignored.

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LUCY BROADWOOD, 1858–1929:

HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE COLLECTION AND STUDY OF GAELIC TRADITIONAL SONG

Ethel Bassin

To the student of Gaelic traditional song the name of Lucy Broadwood (apart from its pianistic overtones) is associated with her editing of 105 songs collected by Frances Tolmie (1840-1926), published as a double number of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* in December 1911. Not only, however, did she edit this important collection—editing which involved extracting from the collector the details that make the documentation and annotation of value—but herself collected and studied Gaelic song tunes.

I had known for some time of the existence of Gaelic material among her papers in Cecil Sharp House in London, but was chiefly interested in the biographical matter in the letters and other communications from Frances Tolmie that she had preserved. It was not until 1960 that I had the privilege of going through a quantity of material, Lowland Scottish as well as Gaelic. As a matter of interest I isolated the Gaelic from the rest and suggested both in London and in Edinburgh that this would be of particular interest to the School of Scottish Studies. Mr. Frank Collinson supported the suggestion in both places, with the gratifying result that through the kindness of the English Folk Dance and Song Society the School received the material on extended loan.

A first glance over the music MSS reveals a small but choice collection of carefully transcribed and well-documented material.

Leaving aside a few tunes noted by others, some correspondence, programmes and other small items, the musical transcriptions and annotations fall into three main groups:

A. 52 tunes collected in Arisaig in the summers of 1906 and 1907, all but two from the same singer, Catrinian (Kate) MacLean, who had learned them from her father;

B. About 20 transcripts of tunes collected in London from April to July 1908 from the singing of Farquhar MacRae, M.D., and John MacLennan;

C. 33 tunes transcribed from 17 phonograph cylinders, recorded by Dr. MacRae for Miss Broadwood from 1908 onwards, from friends and relatives in Lewis and Wester Ross.[1]

The part played by Lucy Broadwood in the folk song movement of the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth and her work for the Folk Song Society[2] as secretary, editor and finally president, is well known. The Society's most important activity was the *Journal*, consisting mainly of songs collected by members, documented and annotated. For several years there was no permanent editor, each issue being handled by a small editing committee of whom one—frequently Miss Broadwood herself—was editor.

Lucy Etheldred Broadwood was the great-grand-daughter of John Broadwood (1732-1812) who left his native Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, and went to London to make harpsichords for the Swiss, Burkhardt Tschudi. The Broadwoods, Northumbrian yeomen, had settled in Lowland Scotland in the seventeenth century. John married Tschudi's daughter, Barbara, the firm later becoming "Tschudi and Broadwood" and eventually "John Broadwood and Sons".

In 1843 his grandson, the Rev. John Broadwood, squire of Lyne, near Horsham, Surrey, made what is now regarded as practically the beginning of the scientific approach to English traditional song by having printed privately a small book of songs collected from singers on his estate and in the neighbourhood. It was notable in that the tunes were printed *exactly as sung* without any supposed improvement or embellishment. Broadwood, who got the village organist to note the tunes as he sang them or played them on his flute, had a tussle with his amanuensis as to the writing of the modal intervals as he gave them—but won the day.

His niece, Lucy, grew up at Lyne, "but the Broadwoods had also a town house which was visited from time to time by many musical celebrities from Europe . . . This combination of rural background and urban culture was the basis of her character . . . Circumstances made it unnecessary for her to adopt the professional career for which she certainly had the aptitude," Vaughan Williams (*JEFDSS* 1948:136).

Her musicianship was of a high order, whether as pianist, singer or composer of accompaniments for the folk songs she

collected. *English County Songs* (1893) in which she collaborated with A. J. Fuller Maitland show not only her musical imagination and taste but bear the same stamp of authenticity as her uncle's *Sussex Songs* half a century before.

Her concern with folk song was not, however, limited to the English counties. On holiday in Arisaig in June 1906 she noted twenty of the songs in group *A* above, all but two from the singing of Kate MacLean. "She learnt the songs almost all from her father, who learnt them from boyhood upwards from boatmen, crofters, weavers, bards, etc." (*JFSS* 35(1931):280).

Kate's father, Ewan, aged 80, had sung to Miss Broadwood, but his voice was too frail and weak for her to be able to note from him; it was only the day before she left that she met his daughter. They went on to a hillside overlooking the sea and from about two until five and again from eight until ten in the evening one sang while the other noted the tunes, eighteen in all. Kate had brought with her, to refresh her memory for the words, *Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach*, or *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* by John Mackenzie (Glasgow 1841), and *An t-Oranaiche* by A. Sinclair (Glasgow 1879).

In 1907 Miss Broadwood returned to Arisaig armed with a phonograph. As well as recording thirty more songs she carefully checked those she had noted the year before. The words, however, were her problem. Without a knowledge of Gaelic she could neither underlay the words to the tunes nor provide translations.

She wrote from Arisaig to Scourie in Sutherland where a young London friend, Winifred Parker, was studying Gaelic with the Rev. Dr. George Henderson. Could she suggest someone who would help? Dr. Henderson at once named Miss Fanny Tolmie, whom he had met some years before at Dr. Alexander Carmichael's in Taynuilt (*JFSS* 16(1911):146). At his suggestion she had later sent him the manuscript, words and tunes, of a number of traditional songs that she had collected from her youth onwards. He had not so far found a suitable repository for this collection; perhaps the F.S.S., described to him by Miss Parker, might be the answer.

So it proved to be. March 1908 saw Miss Broadwood's tunes in Miss Tolmie's hands in Edinburgh, while in London the committee of the F.S.S. were delighted with the offer of Miss Tolmie's own collection for publication under their auspices. The original plan was that it should occupy the next issue but one of the *Journal*, No. 13, in 1909. Unforeseen

difficulties caused delays, however, and it eventually became No. 16, December 1911.

Miss Tolmie re-wrote Miss Broadwood's tunes and underlaid them with the appropriate words. In the case of unpublished words—usually laments of not-too-distant origin—she knew where to turn for information; to the Rev. Thomas Sinton, Dores, for instance, or the Rev. Dr. Archibald MacDonald, Kiltarlity, her niece's husband. Copious notes in Miss Broadwood's hand are to be found in the manuscript. Many years later, after the death of both ladies, these songs were printed in four successive issues of the *Journal*, edited by Frank Howes, while Martin Freeman provided further translations or paraphrases where necessary and Anne Gilchrist added some annotations.

Group B. In London during 1908 Miss Broadwood had still further contact with Gaelic. Winifred Parker introduced Dr. Farquhar MacRae who sang into her phonograph and in turn brought his friend, John MacLennan, precentor at the Gaelic services at Crown Court Church of Scotland, Covent Garden. In a letter to Miss Parker (31.5.1908) Miss Broadwood—after describing how each, in the absence of the other praised his friend's singing and beautiful Gaelic—wrote:

> Between the two I have already got fifty-one songs! Thank you so much. It is entirely owing to you that these delightful old tunes are being saved, and one has had this interesting peep into Gaelic life in London. At present I have only had time to note a very few of the songs.

At the annual general meeting of the F.S.S. following the publication of the Tolmie *Journal*, in the Steinway Hall on the evening of Saturday, 16th March 1912, the customary recital following the business was divided between Gaelic songs from Dr. MacRae and Mr. MacLennan and English songs collected, arranged or both by Lucy Broadwood, Clive Carey, Cecil Sharp and Vaughan Williams. Dr. MacRae and Mr. MacLennan sang seated and without accompaniment, to give the impression of an ordinary ceilidh at a fireside. Miss Broadwood introduced the following programme, notes having been supplied to her by the singers:

Mr. MacLennan

Oran do Bhonnipart[3]
Am bobero b'eibhin
Bhanarach dhonn a' chruidh

MacCrimmon's lament
Mo bhreacain dubh
Rowing songs
(*a*) *Iorram chuain*
(*b*) *Corrie Bhreacan*
(*c*) Tobermory (2 fragments)
Lullaby (composed by Applecross crofter)
Morag (composed by author of Dairymaid),
Cuir a nall duinn am botal (noted by L.E.B. from Kate MacLean, Arisaig)

Dr. MacRae

Shepherd's song
A sea song (by Big Donald MacRae)
The cuckoo of the grove (by William Ross)
My own little Donald (by Neil MacLeod)
Oran gaoil, a love song [possibly *Màiri Laghach* (E.B.)]

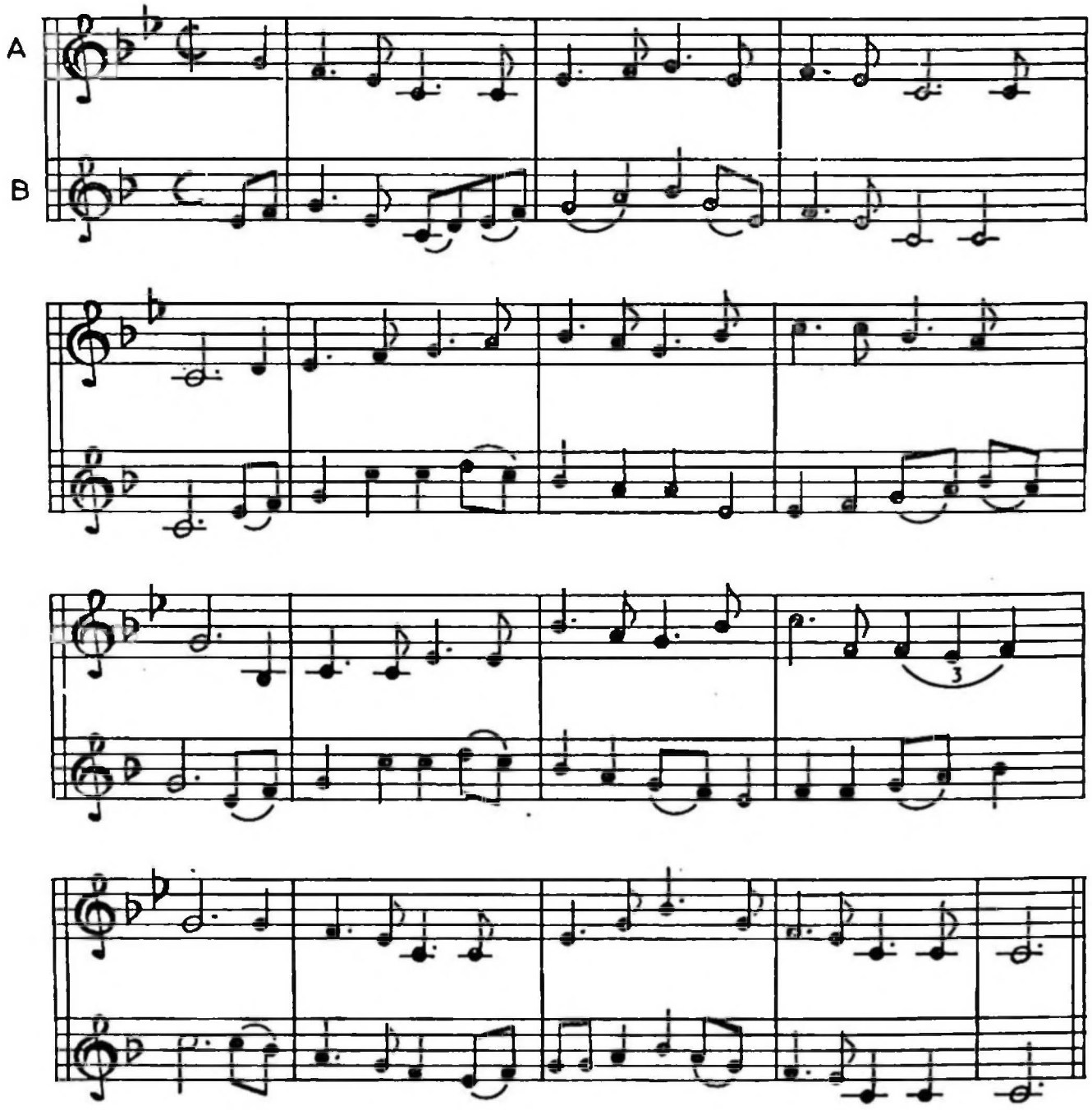
When Lucy Broadwood gave up the editorship of the *Journal* in 1927 Vaughan Williams, after referring to her *English County Songs* and *Traditional Songs and Carols* (1908) "fitted with her own felicitous pianoforte accompaniments" continued:

> Rumour has it there is also a collection of beautiful Gaelic airs known at present only to a privileged few. Is it too much to hope that in the comparative leisure which will now be hers she will find time to issue these also to the world? (*JFSS* 31 (1927):44)

She lived less than two years after that, but it speaks highly for the condition in which she left the MSS that it was practicable to publish the Arisaig part of this collection posthumously.

Her wide knowledge of tunes through actual collecting and through printed sources, Gaelic included, allowed her to make striking comparisons between songs as widely separated by geography and language as, for example, "*Màiri bhàn Dhail-an-eas*" (*A' Choisir-chiùil*, p. 52) and "The London man o' war", sung to Cecil Sharp by Captain Vickery at Minehead, Somerset, in 1904 (*JFSS* 31(1927):15).

The Gaelic tune (A)—perhaps originally in the Dorian mode but harmonised in *A' Choisir-chiuil* in a vague E minor—has been transposed down a third to allow it to end on the same final as the mixolydian English tune (B). Miss Broadwood noted that the tune was a great favourite for the ballad "The



painful plough" in 6/8 or 4/4 time, and cognate with "Lazarus" and "Maria Martin", etc.

One more tune may be mentioned, chiefly for biographical interest, for it is Lowland Scots, not Gaelic. It is one of two versions (words similar but different tunes) of "The little wee croodin' doo", sung by her father, Henry Fowler Broadwood. Alongside is printed for comparison Dr. MacRac's version of "Lord Ronald", remembered from his childhood as sung by his mother while spinning. Lucy Broadwood adds the following note:

> The first musical impression that I ever remember came from this song, sung by my father as I sat astride his knee when little more than two years old, and in our Tweedside home.[4] I understood nothing of the plot and remember wondering why

> tears poured down my cheeks, for I was not conscious of naughtiness but rather of a strange new joy. My father learnt the song when a little child from his mother, the daughter of Daniel Stewart of Glenfinlas and Glenbuckie in the Braes of Balquhidder in Perthshire. (*JFSS* 19 (1915):117-9)

She regarded this tune as a variant of *Cuir a nall duinn am botal*.

Captain Evelyn Broadwood, her nephew, tells me in a letter (6.1.1960) that Daniel Stewart was a surgeon who left Scotland for the West Indies, and there his daughter Margaret —Lucy Broadwood's grandmother and his great-grandmother —was brought up. Referring to Margaret's mother's family, the Murrays, he adds "Hence Lucy Broadwood's admiring recognition of our cousinship with Professor Sir Gilbert Murray".

Frank Howes, who took over the editorship of the *Journal* from her in 1926, wrote:

> Her contribution to folk song was very great in sheer extent: collector, arranger, annotator, she was also an editor who set such a stamp on the business of editing that her methods were universally accepted and adopted. (*JEFDSS* 1948:139)

It was fortunate for Gaelic song that Frances Tolmie's collection found its definitive form in this editorial frame-work; perhaps the last word may come from Mr. John MacLennan in the letter he wrote to congratulate Miss Broadwood:

> I have scarcely dipped into the songs yet, the introduction has claimed my attention. It is perfectly clear to me that you write upon Gaelic song to a far greater extent from within than I had thought possible, and I shall expect to be spoken to in Gaelic the next time I have the pleasure of seeing you. (30.12.1911)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Captain Evelyn Broadwood for information about the family's Highland ancestry.

The late Mrs. Winifred Parker of Fairlie, Ayrshire, kindly lent me in 1953 letters she had received from Miss Broadwood, Miss Tolmie and others. (She had married her cousin, Col. Chevallier Parker of Fairlie, who predeceased her.)

Acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Bayley and Ferguson, music publishers, Glasgow and London, for permission to quote the tune of "Màiri Bhàn Dhail an eas" from *A' Choisir-chiùil*; Dr. Maud Karpeles, O.B.E., for permission to quote the tune of the "The English man o' war", collected by Cecil Sharp.

NOTES

[1] Mr. John MacInnes, casually looking over Miss Broadwood's list of songs, singers and localities, could identify a family here and there. It would be interesting to discover if these songs are still remembered, and how far they have changed in two generations.

[2] Founded in London in 1898 by a number of enthusiastic collectors and distinguished musicians, the Society was amalgamated in 1932 with the English Folk Dance Society, founded by Cecil Sharp in 1911. The story of the Folk Song Society's independent life has been extensively treated in issues of *JEFDSS* celebrating the Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee of the earlier Society (1948 and 1958). For an excellent and informative short account, with portraits of three of the pioneers, Sabine Baring Gould, Frank Kidson and Lucy Broadwood, see Howes 1958:251-2.

[3] Miss Broadwood had discovered four variants in the verses of this song. Here and below the spellings are those of her original notes.

[4] Henry Fowler Broadwood succeeded to the Lyne estate in 1864 (when Lucy was six years old) on the death of his brother, the Rev. John.

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1958 "A Folk-Song Jubilee." *The Musical Times* 99:251-2.

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A SCOTTISH GAELIC VERSION OF "SNOW-WHITE"

Alan Bruford

Introduction

The following story is part of a manuscript collection of folktales and other traditions from Atholl made in 1891 by Lady Evelyn Stewart-Murray, third daughter of John, seventh Duke of Atholl. The manuscripts were kindly presented to the School of Scottish Studies in 1958 by His Grace the present Duke of Atholl.

Lady Evelyn seems to have learned to speak and write Gaelic at an early age, and her collection of Atholl folklore was made when she was twenty-two to twenty-three years of age. Of the 240 separate items now in the School, nearly all seem to have been collected between February and December of the one year 1891, from some eighty different informants in the regions of Blair Atholl, Strathtay, Rannoch and Glen Lyon. Most of the pieces are short local historical and supernatural stories, interspersed with some songs, but there are also a few longer tales, not always of local origin, of which perhaps the most interesting is printed below. It is hoped that other stories from this collection may be printed later, with translations by Mr. Sorley Maclean who assisted the late Duke (Lord James) in preparing for an intended publication.

This story was taken down on Wednesday, 3rd June 1891, from the telling of Mrs. MacMillan, Bridge Cottage, Strathtay, one of Lady Evelyn's best informants. Lady Evelyn notes at the end of this story: "Mrs. MacMillan herself is a Badenoch woman, her father was a MacDonald, Badenoch, & her mother a Fraser from Lochaber. She learnt all her stories from her mother, at least mostly from her mother's mother, also Lochabar [*sic*]—so these are Lochabar tales." All her stories in the collection are full-length international tales: the others are versions of AT 313, AT 425, and the Gaelic oecotypes of AT 315 and AT 2030.

The interest of the present story is that it is one of the only two complete versions yet collected in Scotland (to my knowledge) of the story best known as *Snow-White* (AT 709). The other (Macleod 1888) is much shorter: as with most of this collector's tales, the source is unspecified and seems to have been slightly touched up. The greater length of our version is partly due to conflation with *The Maiden without Hands* (AT 706) an international type better known in Scotland and Ireland than *Snow-White*: Macleod's version shows no trace of this, but he mentions in a note (Macleod 1888:212 *n*) having heard another version of the story which evidently began like ours. They will be compared in the notes.

Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen (1963:142) list 63 Irish versions of AT 709, including related stories ("Cf.") compared with 101 versions and "Cf." of AT 706. This shows that the story is relatively not very popular. A quick survey of the MSS in the Irish Folklore Commission reveals that some ten of these versions of AT 709 are only very remotely connected with the type, and include versions of the unclassified nursery story of *Goldilocks and the Three Bears*. Of the rest, nearly a third lean on Grimm: in many cases they quote the English verses addressed to the mirror in the middle of a Gaelic narration, or use the name Snow-White in English. Another half-dozen are combinations of AT 709 with other international tales. A solid core remains, however, of versions which resemble the Scottish Gaelic ones in replacing the mirror of the international tale with a trout in a well; omitting the seven dwarfs or robbers but proceeding at once to the heroine's meeting with her future husband in the form of a cat, and his disenchantment; and letting the seemingly dead heroine be revived not by her husband but by a second wife whom he has married. Four versions (three English and one Irish, from Counties Louth, Galway and Cork) agree in calling the heroine "The Bright Star of Ireland" (*Réal Gheal na h-Éireann*) and in details of the plot, which suggests the influence of a chapbook at some stage. Various versions omit some details of the plot, or replace the trout by a mirror, but the second wife normally appears. There are also eight versions of a related type which appears as *Fios an Anraidh* in Scotland (McKay 1960: 250-7), where the heroine's jealous sisters, and not her stepmother, attempt to kill her.

The language of our story is comparatively simple, but there are occasional effective passages of alliteration, repetition or parallelism in the manner of Gaelic folktale: the formula at

the end is a particularly good example of a type rarer in Scotland than in Ireland. Some of these passages are almost impossible to translate, and I have treated them freely, sometimes preferring to render the effect of the sound rather than the sense. My colleague Mr. John MacInnes tells me that Lady Evelyn's orthography is in some ways quite a successful attempt to express the pronunciation of Perthshire Gaelic: I have therefore made hardly any changes in it, except to add accents and apostrophes, even allowing some spellings which are not self-consistent to stand.

Lasair Gheug, Nighean Rìgh Eirinn

Bha rìgh ann, 's phòs e ba'righinn, 's bha nighean aice. Chrìoch a' mhàthair an sin, 's phòs e ba'righinn eile. Bha 'bha'-righinn math g' a dalt'. Ach latha an sin thàinig 'n eachrais ùrlair[1] stigh, 's thuirt i ris 'bha'righinn gur i bha gòrach bhi cho math g' a dalt'; "'s fios agad an latha 's bàs do'n rìgh, gur beag do chuid dhe'n oighreachd, seach cuid do dhalt'."

"Gu dé ghabhas deanamh dheth," thuirt 'bha'righinn, "ma bhios rud math aig mo dhalt', gheibh mise pàirt."

"Ma bheir thu dhomhs' na shireas mi, nì mi rud dheth," thuirt 'n eachrais ùrlair.

"Gu dé dh'iarras tu, chaillich?" thuirt 'bha'righinn.

"Tha tullan[2] poit agam, cha bhì mi 'g a cur air ach ainmig; na nì tiugh do mhin i, 's na nì tana do dh'ìm i, 's làn mo chluais do chloimh."

"Gu dé nì tiugh do mhin i?"

"Na chinneas roimh sheachd sabhaltraichean coirc' ann an seachd bliadhn' do mhin."

"'S gu dé nì tan' a dh'ìm i?" thuirt a' bha'righinn.

"Na chinneas roimh sheachd bàthaichean cruidh an seachd bliadhn' do dh'ìm."

"'S gu dé chumas do chluais chloimh?"

"Na chinneas roimh sheachd cataichibh chaorach an seachd bliadhn' do chloimh."

"'S mór a dh'iarr thu, chaillich," thuirt' bha'righinn, "ach ge mór e, gheibh thu e."

"Marbhaidh sinn a' ghalladh mhìol-chù aig an rìgh,[3] 's cuiridh sinn air bac na staidhreach i, gus am bì an rìgh an dùil gur e Lasair Gheug[4] rinn e. Cuiridh sinn trì briathran baistidh air Lasair Gheug, nach bì i 'g a cois, nach bì i air muin eich, 's nach bì i air talamh gorm[5] an latha dh'innseadh i e."

Thàinig an righ dhachaidh, 's chunnaic e 'ghalladh mhìol-chù air bac na staidhreach. Thuirt, thuirt, thuirt an an rìgh; "Cò rinn an fheallach?"

"Cò bu dòcha leat na do nighean mhór fhéin?" thuirt 'bha'righinn.

"Cha'n 'eil sin ann," thuirt an rìgh, 's chaidh e laidhe, 's cha d'ith e mìr, 's cha d'òl e diar; 's ma's a much thàinig an latha, 's muiche na sin dh'éirich an rìgh, 's chaidh e da'n bheinn sheilg.

Lasair Gheug, the King of Ireland's Daughter

There was a king once, and he married a queen, and she had a daughter. The mother died then, and he married another queen. The queen was good to her stepdaughter. But one day the *eachrais ùrlair*[1] came in, and she said to the queen that she was a fool to be so good to her stepdaughter "when you know that the day the king dies, your share of the inheritance will be a small one to your stepdaughter's share."

"What can be done about it?" said the queen. "If my stepdaughter does well, I will get a share."

"If you give me what I ask," said the *eachrais ùrlair*, "I will do something about it."

"What would you want, old woman?" said the queen.

"I have a little saucepan, I only put it on occasionally: I want meal enough to thicken it, and butter enough to thin it, and the full of my ear of wool."

"How much meal will thicken it?"

"The increase of seven granaries of oats in seven years."

"How much butter will thin it?" said the queen.

"The increase of seven byres of cattle in seven years."

"And how much wool will your ear hold?"

"The increase of seven folds of sheep in seven years."

"You have asked much, old woman," said the queen, "but though it is much, you shall have it."

"We will kill the king's greyhound bitch[3] and leave it on the landing of the stairs, so that the king thinks that it is Lasair Gheug[4] who has done it. We will make Lasair Gheug swear three baptismal oaths, that she will not be on foot, she will not be on horseback, and she will not be on the green earth the day she tells of it."

The king came home, and saw the greyhound bitch on the landing. Roared, roared, roared the king: "Who did the deed?"

"Who do you think, but your own eldest daughter?" said the queen.

"That cannot be," said the king, and he went to bed, and he ate not a bite, and he drank not a drop: and if day came early, the king rose earlier than that, and went to the hill to hunt.

Thàinig an eachrais ùrlair stigh. "Gu dé," thuirt ise, "a rinn an rìgh air a nighinn an raoir?"

"Cha d'rinn dad, a chaillich," thuirt a' bha'righinn. "Ga' dhachaidh, 's na faiceam tuille thu an déigh 'n fhearg a chuir thu air an rìgh an raoir."

"Cuiridh mise geall," thuirt an eachrais ùrlair, "gu'm marbh e 'nighean an nochd. Marbhaidh sinn 'n ailleire chrom dhubh aig an rìgh, 's cuiridh sinn air bac na staidhreach i. Cuiridh sinn trì briathran baistidh air Lasair Gheug, nach bì i 'g a cois, nach bì i air muin eich, 's nach bì i air talamh gorm an latha dh'innseadh i e."

Thàinig an rìgh dhachaidh, 's chunnaic e 'n ailleire chrom dhubh air bac na staidhreach. Thuirt, thuirt, thuirt an rìgh, "Cò rinn an fheallach?"

"Cò bu dòcha leat na do nighean mhór fhéin?" thuirt a' bha'righinn.

"Cha'n 'eil sin ann," thuirt an rìgh. Chaidh e laidhe, 's cha d'ith e mìr, 's cha d'òl e diar; 's ma's a much thàinig an latha, 's muiche na sin a dh'éirich an rìgh, 's chaidh e da'n bheinn sheilg.

Thàinig an eachrais ùrlair stigh. "Gu dé," thuirt ise, "a rinn an rìgh air a nighinn an raoir?"

"Cha d'rinn dad, a chaillich," thuirt a' bha'righinn. "Ga' dhachaidh, 's na tig an so tuille, an déigh 'n fhearg a chuir thu air an rìgh an raoir."

"Cuiridh mise geall," thuirt an eachrais ùrlair, "gu'm marbh e 'nighean an nochd. Marbhaidh sinn," thuirt ise, "do mhac-oighre fhé', 's cuiridh sinn air bac na staidhreach e. Cuiridh sinn na trì briathran baistidh air Lasair Gheug, nach bí i 'g a cois, nach bì i air muin eich, 's nach bì i air talamh gorm an latha dh'innseadh i e."

Thàinig an rìgh dhachaidh, matà, 's chunnaic e 'mhac-oighre air bac na staidhreach. Thuirt, thuirt, thuirt an righ, "Co rinn an fheallach?"

"Cò bu dòcha leat na do nighean mhór fhéin?" thuirt a' bha'-righinn.

"Cha 'n 'eil sin ann," thuirt an rìgh. Chaidh e laidhe, 's cha d'ith e mìr, 's cha d'òl e diar; 's ma 's a much thàinig an latha, 's muiche na sin dh'éirich an rìgh, 's chaidh e da'n bheinn sheilg.

Thàinig an eachrais ùrlair stigh. "Gu dé," thuirt ise, "a rinn an rìgh air a nighinn an raoir?"

"Cha d'rinn dad, a chaillich," thuirt a' bha'righinn. "Ga'

In came the *eachrais ùrlair*. "What did the king do to his daughter last night?" she asked.

"He did nothing at all, old woman," said the queen. "Go home, and never let us see you again after the rage you put the king in last night."

"I will be bound that he will kill his daughter tonight," said the *eachrais ùrlair*. "We will kill the king's graceful black palfrey, and leave it on the landing. We will make Lasair Gheug swear three baptismal oaths, that she will not be on foot, she will not be on horseback, and she will not be on the green earth the day she tells of it."

The king came home, and saw the graceful black palfrey on the landing. Roared, roared, roared the king: "Who did the deed?"

"Who do you think, but your own eldest daughter?" said the queen.

"That cannot be," said the king. He went to bed, and he ate not a bite, and he drank not a drop: and if day came early, the king rose earlier than that, and went to the hill to hunt.

In came the *eachrais ùrlair*. "What did the king do to his daughter last night?" she asked.

"He did nothing at all, old woman," said the queen. "Go home, and don't come here again, after the rage you put the king in last night."

"I will be bound," said the *eachrais ùrlair*, "that he will kill his daughter tonight. We will kill your own eldest son," said she, "and leave him on the landing. We will make Lasair Gheug swear three baptismal oaths, that she will not be on foot, she will not be on horseback, and she will not be on the green earth the day she tells of it."

The king came home, then, and saw his eldest son on the landing. Roared, roared, roared the king: "Who did the deed?"

"Who do you think, but your own eldest daughter?" said the queen.

"That cannot be," said the king. He went to bed, and he ate not a bite, and he drank not a drop: and if day came early, the king rose earlier than that, and went to the hill to hunt.

In came the *eachrais ùrlair*. "What did the king do to his daughter last night?" she asked.

"He did nothing at all, old woman," said the queen. "Go

dhachaidh, 's na tig an so tuille, an déigh 'n fhearg a chuir thu air an rìgh an raoir."

"Cuiridh mise geall," thuirt an eachrais ùrlair, "gu 'm marbh e 'nighean an nochd. Gabhaidh tus' ort gu bheil thu gu trom, tinn, teth."

Chaidh gill' air muin eich, 's each air muin gill', dh'iarraidh an rìgh. Thàinig an rìgh. Dh'fharraid an rìgh dhe'n bha'-righinn, gu dé bha fo sheachd ranna rudha[6] an domhain a ghabhadh faighinn dhàs', dheanadh feum dhi, nach fhaigheadh e.

"Tha sin ann," thuirt ise, "nì feum dhomh, ach an rud a nì feum dhomh, cha toir thus' dhomh e."

"Ma tha ann," thuirt e, "na nì feum dhuit, gheibh thu e."

"Thoir dhomh," thuirt a' bha'righinn, "cridhe 's gruthan Lasair Gheug, nighean rìgh Eirinn."

"*Well*," thuirt an rìgh, "'s goirt leam sin thoirt dhuit, ach gheibh thu sin," thuirt an rìgh. Chaidh e far an robh an cocaire claon, ruadh, 's dh'fharraid e dheth an cuireadh e aon oidhche seachad air a leanabh.

"Cuiridh," thuirt an cocaire. Mharbh iad uircean muc, 's thug iad as an cridhe 's an gruthan. Chuir iad 'n fhuil aige air aodach Lasair Gheug. Chaidh an rìgh dhachaidh leis 'chridhe 's leis a' ghruthan, 's thug e dha 'n bha'righinn e. Bha 'bha'-righinn an sin cho math 's bha i riamh.

Chaidh an rìgh rithist far an robh an cocaire claon, ruadh, 's dh'fharraid e dheth an cuireadh e aon oidhche seachad air a leanabh rithist. Thuirt an cocaire gu 'n cuireadh.[7] 'N ath latha thug an rìgh leis an t-each b'fhearr bha 'san stàbull, peic òir, agus peic airgid, 's Lasair Gheug. Ràinig e 'choille mhór, gun cheann, gun chrìoch, agus bha e dol fhàgail Lasair Gheug ann an sin. Gearr e bàrr té dhe na corragan dhi.[8]

"An goirt leat sid, a nighean?" thuirt e.

"Cha ghoirt, 'athair," thuirt ise, "bho 'n 'se sibhse a rinn e."

"'S goirte na sin leams'," thuirt an rìgh, "'ghalladh mhìol-chù chur a dhìth orm." Thug e 'n so corrag eile dhi.

"An goirt leat sid, a nighean?"

"Cha ghoirt, 'athair, bho'n 'se sibhse a rinn e."

"'S goirte na sin leams' 'n ailleire chrom, dhubh, chur a dhìth orm."

Thug e 'n sin corrag eile dhi.

"An goirt leat sid, a nighean?" thuirt an rìgh.

home, and don't come here again, after the rage you put the king in last night."

"I will be bound," said the *eachrais ùrlair*, "that he will kill his daughter tonight. You must pretend that you are sick, sore and sorry."

Men leapt on horses and horses on men to look for the king. The king came. He asked the queen what in the seven continents of the world he could get to help her, that he would not get.

"There is something to help me," said she, "but what will help me you will not give me."

"If there is something to help you," said he, "you shall have it."

"Give me the heart and liver of Lasair Gheug, the king of Ireland's daughter," said the queen.

"Well," said the king, "it hurts me to give you that, but you shall have that," said the king. He went to the squinting sandy cook and asked him if he would hide his child for one night.

"I will," said the cook. They killed a sucking pig, and they took out the heart and liver. They put its blood on Lasair Gheug's clothes. The king went home with the heart and the liver, and gave it to the queen. Then the queen was as well as she had ever been.

The king went again to the squinting sandy cook, and he asked him if he would hide his child for one night again. The cook said he would.[7] Next day the king took with him the best horse in the stable, a peck of gold, a peck of silver, and Lasair Gheug. He came to a great forest, with no edge and no end, and he was going to leave Lasair Gheug there. He cut off the end of one of her fingers.[8]

"Does that hurt you, daughter?" he said.

"It doesn't hurt me, father," she said, "because it is you who did it."

"It hurts me more," said the king, "to have lost the grey-hound bitch." With that he cut off another of her fingers.

"Does that hurt you, daughter?"

"It doesn't hurt me, father, because it is you who did it."

"It hurts me more than that to have lost the graceful black palfrey." With that he cut off another of her fingers.

"Does that hurt you, daughter?" said the king.

"Cha ghoirt, 'athair," thuirt ise, "bho 'n 'se sibhse a rinn e."

"'S goirte na sin leamsa," thuirt e, "mo mhac-oighre chur a dhìth orm." Thug e dhi am peic òir 's am peic airgid, 's dh'fhàg e 'n sin i. Chaidh e dhachaidh, 's laidh e dall, bodhar air an leabaidh.

Bha Lasair Gheug gabhail eagail anns a' choill gu 'n tigeadh beathaichean fiadhaich a dh'itheadh i. A' chraobh bu mhù chunnaic i anns a' choill, dhìrich i 'sa' chraoibh. Cha robh i fad an sin, dar chunnaic i dà-chat-dheug a' tighinn, 's cat cam glas comhladh riù, bó aca agus coire, agus chuir iad teine air bun na craoibhe anns an robh ise. 'S mharbh iad 'bhó, 's chuir iad anns a' choire i 'g a bruich'. Bha 'n smuid a' dìreadh, 's bha na corragan aices' a' fàs blàth. Thòisich iad air sileadh fala, agus bha boinne 's boinne tuiteam anns a' choire. Thuirt an cat cam glas ri fear dhe na cait eile dhol 'n àird 'n a chraoibh choimhead 'dé bh'ann; gu'n robh fuil rìgh no ridir' a' tuiteam anns a choire. Chaidh an cat an àird. Thug ise làn duirn a dh'òr, 's làn duirn a dh'airgid air son nach innseadh e gu 'n robh i ann. Ach cha robh 'n fhuil sgur. Chuir an cat cam glas h-uile gin ann, fear an déigh fir, gus an deach na dhà-dheug 'n àird, 's bha iad uile faighinn làn duirn òir, 's làn duirn airgid. Chaidh an cat cam glas fhé' an aird, 's fhuair e Lasair Gheug, 's thug e mhàn i.

Dar bha 'n t-suipeir deas, dh'fharraid an cat cam, glas dhi, am bu docha leatha a suipeir ghabhail comhladh ris-sa', no comhladh ri càch. Thuirt i gu 'm b'fhearr leatha a suipeir ghabhail comhladh ris fhé', gur e bu choltaiche rithe. Ghabh iad an suipeir, 's bha iad an sin dol laidhe. Dh'fharraid an cat cam, glas dhi, co dhiubh am bu docha leatha laidhe comhladh ris-s', no laidhe comhladh ri cach. Thuirt i gu 'm bu docha leatha dol comhladh ris fhé', gur e bu choltaiche rithe.[9] Chaidh iad a laidhe, 's dar dh'éirich iad 'sa mhadainn, 's ann bha iad an Lochlann. 'S e mac rìgh Lochlainn bha anns a' chat cham, ghlas, agus a dhà-fhleasgach-dheug comhladh ris. 'S ann fo gheasan aig a mhuime bha iad, agus bha an so na geasan fuasgailte.

Phòs iad an sin, 's bha triùir mac aig Lasair Gheug. Dh'iarr i mar fhàbhar air an rìgh gun am baisteadh.

Bha fuaran anns a' gharadh aig rìgh Eirinn, 's bha breac anns an fhuaran, 's bhiodh a' bha'righinn dol h-uile bliadhna 'g a glanadh do'n fhuaran.[10] Agus chaidh i 'n tarruing so ann,

"It doesn't hurt me, father," said she, "because it is you who did it."

"It hurts me more," said he, "to have lost my eldest son." He gave her the peck of gold and the peck of silver, and he left her there. He went home, and he lay down on his bed, blind and deaf [to the world].

Lasair Gheug was frightened in the forest that wild beasts would come and eat her. The highest tree she could see in the forest, she climbed that tree. She was not there long when she saw twelve cats coming, and a one-eyed grey cat along with them. They had a cow and a cauldron, and they lit a fire at the foot of the tree she was in. They killed the cow and put it in the cauldron to cook. The steam was rising, and her fingers were getting warm. She began to bleed, and drop after drop fell into the cauldron. The one-eyed grey cat told one of the other cats to go up the tree and see what was there: for king's blood or knight's blood was falling into the cauldron. The cat went up. She gave it a handful of gold and a handful of silver not to tell that she was there. But the blood would not stop. The one-eyed grey cat sent every one of them up, one after another, until all twelve had been up, and they all got a handful of gold and a handful of silver. The one-eyed grey cat climbed up himself, and he found Lasair Gheug and brought her down.

When the supper was ready, the one-eyed grey cat asked her whether she would rather have her supper with him, or with the others. She said she would rather have her supper with him, he was the one she liked the look of best. They had their supper, and then they were going to bed. The one-eyed grey cat asked her which she would rather, to go to bed with him, or to sleep with the others. She said she would rather go with him, he was the one she liked the look of best. They went to bed, and when they got up in the morning, they were in Lochlann. The one-eyed grey cat was really the king of Lochlann's son, and his twelve squires along with him.[9] They had been bewitched by his stepmother, and now the spell was loosed.

They were married then, and Lasair Gheug had three sons. She asked the king as a favour not to have them christened.

There was a well in the king of Ireland's garden, and there was a trout in the well, and the queen used to go every year to wash in the well.[10] She went there this time, and when she

's dar ghlan i i fhé', thuirt i ris a' bhreac, "A bhricein bhig, a bhricein bhig," thuirt i, "nach mise," thuirt i, "a' bhean a's briaigh' bha riamh an Eirinn?"

"Matà, gu dearbh fhé', cha tù," thuirt am breac, "'s Lasair Gheug, nighean rìgh Eirinn beò."

"Bheil i beò fhathast?" thuirt 'bha'righinn.

"Thà, 's bìdh i, ge b'oil leat," thuirt am breac. "Tha i ann an Lochlann, 's triùir cloinne gun bhaisteadh aice."

"Cuiridh mise," thuirt a' bha'righinn, "lìon tarruing roimpes', agus lìon taimhleis romhads'."[11]

"Dh'fhiach thu ri sin a dhianamh uair no dhà roimhe," thuirt am breac, "ach cha deach e leat fhathast," thuirt e, "'s ged tha mise so an dràsd, 's iomad struth àrd air am bì mi mu 's an tig an oidhche."

Chaidh a' bha'righinn dachaidh, 's bha i trod ris an rìgh gu 'n d'thug e creidsinn oirre 's gu 'n d'thug e cridhe 's gruthan Lasair Gheug dhi, 's i beò slàn ann an Lochlann fhathast. Bha i toileach gu'n rachadh an rìgh comhladh rithe choimhead air Lasair Gheug, ach cha 'n éireadh an rìgh, 's cha chreideadh e gu 'n robh i ann. Chuir i a dà-mhaighdean-deug air falbh da Lochlann, 's thug i bocs' do'n mhaighdean aice fhé' air son thoirt ga Lasair Gheug, 's shir i oirre innse dhi gun 'fhosgladh gus am biodh i làmh ri 'triùir cloinne gun bhaisteadh.

Bha Lasair Gheug 'na suidhe anns an uinneig 'fuaigheal. Chunnaic i suaicheantas a h-athar a' tighinn. Cha robh fhios aice leis an toileachadh co aca an rachadh i mach air an dorus, no an rachadh i mach air 'n uinneig. Thug iad dhi am bocsa, 's leis an toileachadh a rinn i ris, cha d'fhuirich Lasair Gheug ri bhi làmh ri 'triùir cloinne gun bhaisteadh. Dh'fhosgail i am bocsa dar dh'fhalbh iads' dhachaidh. Dar dh'fhosgail i am bocs', bha tri gràinn' sìolan[12] . . . lean sìolan 'n eigh . . . fear dhiù an clàr a h-aodainn, 's fear eile anns gach dearn', 's thuit i fuar, marbh.

Thàinig an rìgh dhachaidh, 's fhuair e marbh i. Cheann-saicheadh e duine b'fhearr ciall na e. Cha leigeadh e'tiodhlacadh leis a' mheas a bha aige oirre. Chuir e an cist luaidhe i, 's bha i glaist' aige ann an rùm. Bha e dol much 's anmoch 'g a coimhead. Bhiodh a choltach dà uair na b'fhearr dar rachadh e stigh na dar thigeadh e mach. Bha sin treis air dol seachad, agus thug a chuideachd air gu 'n do phòs e rithist. Thug e h-uile iuchair a bha 's an tigh dha 'n bha'righinn ach iuchair an rùim so. Bha i gabhail ioghantais gu dé bha anns an rùm, dar bhiodh a choltach cho don' tighinn a mach, seach mar

had washed, she said to the trout, "Little trout, little trout," said she, "am not I," said she; "the most beautiful woman that ever was in Ireland?"

"Indeed and indeed then, you are not," said the trout, "while Lasair Gheug, the king of Ireland's daughter, is alive."

"Is she alive still?" said the queen.

"She is, and will be in spite of you," said the trout. "She is in Lochlann, and has three unchristened children."

"I will set a snare to catch her," said the queen, "and a net to destroy you."

"You have tried to do that once or twice before," said the trout, "but you haven't managed it yet," said he, "and though I am here now, many is the mighty water I can be on before night comes."

The queen went home, and she gave the king a piece of her mind for making her believe that he had given her Lasair Gheug's heart and liver, when she was alive and well in Lochlann still. She wanted the king to go with her to see Lasair Gheug, but the king would not budge, and he would not believe that she was there. She sent her twelve maids-in-waiting to Lochlann, and she gave a box to her own maid to give Lasair Gheug, and she asked her to tell her not to open it until she was with her three unchristened children.

Lasair Gheug was sitting at the window sewing. She saw her father's banner coming. In her delight she did not know whether to run out of the door or fly out of the window. They gave her the box, and she was so delighted with it that she did not wait to be with her three unchristened children. She opened the box when the others had gone home. When she opened the box, there were three grains in it[12] . . . one grain of ice stuck in her forehead and another in each of her palms, and she fell dead and cold.

The king came home and found her dead. That would have beaten a wiser man than he. He was so fond of her, he would not let her be buried. He put her in a leaden coffin and kept it locked up in a room. He used to visit her early and late. He used to look twice as well when he went in as when he came out. This had been going on for a while when his companions persuaded him to marry again. He gave every key in the house to the queen, except the key of that room. She wondered what was in the room, when he looked so poorly coming out, compared with the way he was when he went in. She told one

bhiodh e dol stigh. Thuirt i ri fear do na giullan latha 'n sin, da bhiodh e cluith timchioll air an rìgh, dh'fhiachainn am faigheadh e 'n iuchair so a ghoid á phòcaid. Ghoid am balach 'n iuchair, 's thug e g'a mhuime i. Chaidh i stigh, is 's e bha sin, 'cheud bhean bha aige an rìgh. Sheall i mu 'n cuairt oirre; chunnaic i sìolan 'n eigh an clar a h-aodainn, 's ghabh i prìne, 's phic i as e. Thug an té bha 's a chist, plosgaid. Chunnaic i fear eile anns an dàrn' dearn' aice, 's thug i as e. Dh'éirich i sin 'n a suidhe. Fhuair i sin fear eile anns an dearn' eile, 's thug i as e. Bha i 'n sin cho math 's bha i riamh. Thug i leatha an so mach i, 's chuir i da rùm eile i. Chuir i 'n giullan leis an iuchair an coinnimh 'athar dar bhiodh e tighinn dachaidh, gu 'n cuireadh e 'na phòcaid i gun fhios da rithist.

Thàinig an rìgh dhachaidh, b'e cheud rud e dhol stigh do 'n rùm so mar b'àbhaist. Cha robh dad sin. Thàinig e mach sin dh' fharraid gu dé chaidh dheanamh ris an rud 'bha anns an rùm. Thuirt a' bha'righinn nach d'fhuair ise iuchair an rùim sin riamh. Dh'fharraid i gu dé bha anns an rùm. Thuirt e gu 'n robh 'cheud bhean bha aige, 's leis a' ghaol 'bh' aige oirre nach tiodhlaiceadh e i, gu 'm bu mhath leis bhi 'g a faicinn ged bha i marbh fhé'.

"Gu dé," thuirt a' bha'righinn, "a bheir thu dhomhs', ma gheibh thu beò i?"

"Cha 'n 'eil sùil agam," thuirt e, "ri 'faicinn beò, ach bu toil leam bhi 'g a faicinn ged a bha i marbh."

Chaidh a' bha'righinn an so, agus thug i leatha i air a gàirdean, beò, slàn. Cha robh fios aige an sin co dhiù rachadh e gal no gàireachdaich leis an toileachadh. Thuirt 'bha'righinn eile an so gu 'm faodadh ise falbh dhachaidh, nach robh an corr feum oirre ann an sid. Thuirt Lasair Gheug nach rachadh i dhachaidh, gu'm fanadh i comhladh rith-s', gu'm biodh bòrd 's copan cho math rith-s', h-uile latha fhad 's bhiodh i beò.

Air chionn so bha bliadhn' eile air dol seachad; chaidh ba'righinn Eirinn da 'n fhuaran 'g a glanadh an so rithist.

"A bhricein bhig, a bhricein bhig," thuirt ise, "nach mise bean a's briaigh' bha riamh an Eirinn?"

"Cha tù, gu dearbh fhé'," thuirt am breac, "'s Lasair Gheug, nighean rìgh Eirinn beò."

"Bheil i beò fhathast?" thuirt ise.

"O thà, 's bìdh i, ge b'oil leat," thuirt am breac.

"Cuiridh mise," thuirt ise, "lìon tharruing roimpes' 's lìon taimhleis romhads'."

of the boys one day, if he was playing near the king, to see if he could manage to steal that key out of his pocket. The lad stole the key and gave it to his stepmother. She went in, and what was there but the king's first wife. She looked her over: she saw the grain of ice in her forehead and she took a pin and picked it out. The woman in the coffin gave a sigh. She saw another one in one of her palms, and took it out. The woman sat up. She found another one in the other palm, and took it out. Then she was as well as she had ever been. She brought her out with her and put her in another room. She sent the boy with the key to meet his father coming home and put it back in his pocket without his knowledge.

The king came home. The first thing he did was to go into that room as usual. There was nothing there. He came out then to ask what had happened to the thing that had been in the room. The queen said she had never had the key of that room. She asked what had been in the room. He said it was his first wife, and with the love he had for her he would not bury her: he liked to see her, dead though she was.

"What will you give me," said the queen, "if I bring you her alive?"

"I don't expect to see her alive," said he, "but I would be glad to see her even though she were dead."

The queen went then and brought her in on her arm, alive and well. He did not know whether to laugh or cry with his delight. The other queen said then that she might as well go home, there was no more need for her there. Lasair Gheug said that she was not to go home: she should stay along with her, and should have food and drink as good as herself, every day as long as she lived.

At the end of this another year had gone by. The queen of Ireland went to the well to wash there again.

"Little trout, little trout," said she, "am not I the most beautiful woman that ever was in Ireland?"

"Indeed and indeed you are not," said the trout, "while Lasair Gheug, the king of Ireland's daughter, is alive."

"Is she alive still?" said she.

"Oh yes, and she will be in spite of you," said the trout.

"I will set a snare to catch her," said the queen, "and a net to destroy you."

"Dh'fhiach thu ri sin a dhianamh uair no dhà roimhe so," thuirt am breac, "ach cha deach e leat fhathast," thuirt e. "Gad tha mise an so fhathast, 's iomad struth àrd air am bì mi ma's an tig an oidhche."

Chaidh a' bha'righinn dhachaidh an so, 's chuir i 'n rìgh air chois, 's dh'fhalbh iad choimhead air Lasair Gheug. Bha Lasair Gheug 'na suidhe 'san uinneig an tarruing so, ach cha d'rinn i toileachadh sam bith ri suaicheantas 'h-athar.

Dar thàinig Di-Dòmhnuich, chaidh iad 'n eaglais. Chuir ise feadhainn dh'iarraidh torc neimh' bha anns a' choill; feadhainn eile dh'iarraidh connadh, maidean 's rud dheanadh teine mór. Fhuair i an torc neimh', chaidh i air muin an tuirc neimh', chaidh i stigh air dàrn' dorus na h-eaglaise, 's mach air an dorus eile. Dh'éigh i air a triùir chloinne gun bhaisteadh làmh rithe.[13]

"Cha'n ann do ghin sam bith," thuirt ise, "tha mise dol dh'innse mo naigheachd, ach dhuibhse, 'thriùir chloinn' gun bhaisteadh.

"Dar bha mise an rìoghachd m'athar fhé' ann an Eirinn, mharbh mo mhuime agus 'n eachrais ùrlair a' ghalladh mhìol-choin aig m'athair, chuir iad air bac na staidhreach i, chuir iad trì briathran baistidh orms', nach bithinn 'g am chois, 's nach bithinn air muin eich, 's nach bithinn air talamh gorm an latha dh'innsinn e. Ach tha mise air muin an tuirc nei'. Bha iad an dùil gu 'm marbhadh m'athair mise, ach cha do mharbh m'athair mise fhathast."

Chaidh i stigh air an dàrn' dorus, agus chaidh i mach air an dorus eile, agus dh'éigh i air a triùir chloinn' gun bhaisteadh làmh rithe.

"Cha 'n ann do ghin sam bith," thuirt i, "tha mise dol dh'innse mo naigheachd, ach dhuibhs', a thriùir chloinn' gun bhaisteadh.

"Dar bha mise an rìoghachd m'athar fhé' ann an Eirinn, mharbh mo mhuime 's an eachrais ùrlair 'n ailleire chrom dhubh aig m'athair, 's chuir iad air bac na staidhreach i. Chuir iad trì briathran baistidh orms', nach bithinn 'g am chois, 's nach bithinn air muin eich, 's nach bithinn air talamh gorm an latha dh'innsinn e. Ach tha mise air muin an tuirc nei'. Bha iad an dùil gu 'm marbhadh m'athair mise, ach cha do mharbh m'athair mise fhathast."

Chaidh i stigh air an dàrn' dorus, agus chaidh i mach air an dorus eile, agus dh'éigh i air a triùir chloinn' gun bhaisteadh làmh rithe.

"You have tried to do that once or twice before," said the trout, "but you haven't managed it yet," said he. "Though I am here now, many is the mighty water I can be on before night comes."

The queen went home then, and she got the king moving, and they went to visit Lasair Gheug. Lasair Gheug was sitting at the window this time, but she showed no pleasure at all at [the sight of] her father's banner.

When Sunday came, they went to church. She had sent people to catch a wild boar that was in the wood, and others to get faggots and sticks and stuff to make a big fire. She got the wild boar: she got on to the boar's back, went in at one door of the church and out at the other door. She called her three unchristened children to her side.[13]

"I am not going to tell my story to anyone at all," said she, "but to you three unchristened children.

"When I was in my own father's kingdom in Ireland, my stepmother and the *eachrais ùrlair* killed my father's greyhound bitch and left it on the landing. They made me swear three baptismal oaths, that I would not be on foot, I would not be on horseback, and I would not be on the green earth the day I told of it. But I am on the wild boar's back. They expected that my father would kill me, but my father has not killed me yet."

She went in at one door, and she went out at the other door, and she called her three unchristened children along with her.

"I am not going to tell my story to anyone at all," said she, "but to you three unchristened children.

"When I was in my own father's kingdom in Ireland, my stepmother and the *eachrais ùrlair* killed my father's graceful black palfrey and left it on the landing. They made me swear three baptismal oaths, that I would not be on foot, I would not be on horseback, and I would not be on the green earth the day I told of it. But I am on the wild boar's back. They expected that my father would kill me, but my father has not killed me yet."

She went in at one door, and she went out at the other door, and she called her three unchristened children along with her.

"Cha 'n ann do ghin sam bith," thuirt i, "tha mise dol dh'innse mo naigheachd, ach dhuibhs', a thriùir chloinn' gun bhaisteadh.

"Dar bha mise an rìoghachd m'athar fhé' ann an Eirinn, mharbh mo mhuime 's an eachrais ùrlair mo bhràthair mór, 's chuir iad air bac na staidhreach e. Chuir iad trì briathran baistidh orms', nach bithinn 'g am chois, 's nach bithinn air muin eich, 's nach bithinn air talamh gorm an latha dh'innsinn e. Ach tha mise air muin an tuirc nei'. Bha iad an dùil gu 'm marbhadh m'athair mise, ach cha do mharbh m'athair mise fhathast. Nis," thuirt i, "cha'n 'eil tuille agam ri innse dhuibh."

Chaidh an torc nei' leigeil as. Dar thàinig iad a mach as an caglais, chaidh beirsinn air ba'righinn Eirinn, agus a losgadh 's an teine.

Dar bha 'n rìgh dol dachaidh, thuirt e ri 'nighean, Lasair Gheug, gur don' a rinn i air, gu'n d'thàinig e bho 'n tigh 's bean aige, 's gu'n robh e dol dachaidh nis gun bhean idir. Agus thuirt Lasair Gheug: "Cha'n ann mar sin a bha, thàinig sibh an so le béisd, ach tha ban-chomp'ach agamsa, 's gheibh sibh i, 's théid sibh dhachaidh le bean."[14] 'S rinn iad banais mhór, ghreadhnach, aighearach, aitidh, fhialaidh, ioghantach; latha 's bliadhn' air chumail di. Fhuair mise bròg an pàipeir orm, 's cabhsair ghloineachan, crioman ìme air éibhleag, 's brochan an craoithleag, còt' mór muill, còt' goiread blàthaich. Cha deach mi ach goirid dar thuit mi, 's bhrist an cabhsair ghloineachan, dhòirt an còt' goirid blàthaich, leagh an t-ìm air an éibhleag, thàinig oiteag gaoithe, 's thug e air falbh an còt' mór muill. Dh'fhalbh h-uile dad a bh'ann, 's bha mise cho falaimh 's bha mi roimhe. 'S dh'fhàg mi 'n sin iad.

NOTES

[1] The *eachrais ùrlair* (*eachlach ùrlair*) is a commonplace of Gaelic folktale: she is the character who first inspires the stepmother to wickedness. Sometimes she is called the henwife (*cailleach nan ceare*) as in Irish versions. See McKay 1940:492-9 for an exhaustive discussion. Her demand for a seemingly small quantity of food and wool which then turns out to be immense is part of the convention.

[2] Note in MS: "*poit bheag*".

[3] This motif is apparently borrowed from AT 706: compare for instance the version of the latter in McKay 1940:308-29, where the queen accuses her stepdaughter of killing her brother and setting fire to the orchard. The oath she swears is normally not to tell the truth to any Christian soul: hence the insistence on the unchristened children later in the story, though they are not really required in this version, and

"I am not going to tell my story to anyone at all," said she, "but to you three unchristened children.

"When I was in my own father's kingdom in Ireland, my stepmother and the *eachrais ùrlair* killed my eldest brother and left him on the landing. They made me swear three baptismal oaths, that I would not be on foot, I would not be on horseback, and I would not be on the green earth the day I told of it. But I am on the wild boar's back. They expected that my father would kill me, but my father has not killed me yet. Now," said she, "I have nothing more to tell you."

The wild boar was set free. When they came out of the church, the queen of Ireland was caught and burnt in the fire.

When the king was going home, he said to his daughter, Lasair Gheug, that she had done ill by him: he had come from home with a wife, and he was going home now without one. And Lasair Gheug said: "It wasn't that way: you came here with a monster, but I have a woman friend, and you shall have her, and you will go home with a wife."[14] And they made a great, merry, mirthful, happy, hospitable, wonderful wedding: it was kept up for a year and a day. I got shoes of paper there on a glass pavement, a bit of butter on an ember, porridge in a creel, a greatcoat of chaff and a short coat of buttermilk. I hadn't gone far when I fell, and the glass pavement broke, the short coat of buttermilk spilt, the butter melted on the ember, a gust of wind came and blew away the greatcoat of chaff. All I had had was gone, and I was as poor as I was to start with. And I left them there.

possibly the phrase "*briathran baistidh*". Apparently, however, the story also existed in an intermediate form: the other version which Macleod (1888: 212 *n.*) had heard seems to have borrowed this opening. Instead of opening logically like the printed version with the trout telling the queen that her daughter is more beautiful and so inspiring her to kill her, "the fish is replaced by a witch or wise woman, who bewitches the daughter and *tries to make her kill* the king's three favourite animals—a horse, dog and cock, which the mother herself has to do, but she accuses her daughter to the king, and *suggests the punishment* of eating her heart." The passages which I have italicised seem to deviate from our version and AT 706: possibly Macleod or the teller did not fully understand his source. According to Macleod, the end of the story was as in the version he printed, without the other borrowings from AT 706 (see notes 8 and 13).

[4] *Lasair Gheug*, "Flame of Branches", seems to be a variant of *Lasair Dhearg* (*Fhion-dhearg*, *Fhionn-dhearg*), "Red (Wine-red, White-red) Flame", a frequent name for heroines at least in Irish tales: in other words, the red rather than the white of the heroine is what she is known for. In Macleod her name is *Craobh-Òir* "Gold Tree", and the queen is *Craobh-Airgid* "Silver Tree". The latter is there the heroine's own mother, not her stepmother. This makes her persecution of her daughter more unnatural, but could be a more primitive form of the motif: compare the versions of AT 706, AT 510 (*Cinderella*), and other tales where the king persecutes his own daughter because she will not marry him (e.g. Campbell 1890: I, 226-36).

[5] *Gorm* or *glas* are given as alternatives in the MS throughout: both are used in Gaelic to describe the colour of grass, some dialects preferring the one and some the other.

[6] Usually written *seachd ranna ruadh*, but as the meaning of the epithet is not clear I have left the MS spelling.

[7] There seems no good reason for the repetition of these sentences: perhaps originally the queen was not convinced by the heart which was first shown her. This happens in the Irish versions which seem to be based on a chapbook: the king's two "niggers" kill a lapdog, but the trout tells the queen that she ate a lapdog's heart: the second time two other "niggers" quarrel, and one kills the other and gives the queen his heart, which is convincingly human.

[8] The mutilation of the daughter is part of the borrowing from AT 706. The normal form of the motif is that the girl's hands are cut off. The softening here to cutting off fingers may be simply due to the desire to associate each mutilation with one of the crimes of which she has been accused: she could not lose three hands. However, the less crippling nature of the mutilation means that the later episode of AT 706 where the hands are miraculously restored has dropped out, or has never been borrowed. The heroine's endurance contrasts with other Scottish versions (McKay 1940:312; *Nic Iain* 1934:47) where she prays that a thorn may go into her father's foot until her hand takes it out.

[9] This motif may also be borrowed from a variant of AT 706, where the heroine is sometimes found by her future husband in a tree (McKay 1940:312). In Irish versions, however, the heroine normally meets the prince in the form of a cat, though the details of the disenchantment vary. For the band of cats with their one-eyed leader compare Campbell 1890: I, 108-11, 121-2, where however they are wholly malevolent. In Macleod's versions of AT 709 the connecting motif is different: in the printed text a foreign prince simply comes and asks the heroine's hand from her father, who gives her to him without the knowledge of her mother, who believes her to be dead. In the note "the daughter runs away and hides with the henwife of a prince, who discovers and marries her". I have translated "*gur e bu choltaiche rithe*" as if it were *coltaiche leatha*: this seems more likely than the class-conscious statement that "he was more like her".

[10] The trout (or salmon) in the well is a typical figure of Gaelic folklore. From Old Irish sources (see O'Rahilly 1946: 322-3) it has come into ballads (Campbell 1872: 210, v. 17-18) and hero-tales (Craig 1944:12). This archaic motif is not likely to be a recent substitute for the usual

speaking mirror of the international tale. The fish is addressed, not actually in a rhyme like the German mirror, but in a sort of incantation, more clearly alliterative in Macleod: "a bhricein, a bhalaich bhig, bhòidheich . . ." In the latter version the trout is introduced at the very beginning, providing a single motive for the queen's attempts to kill her daughter, as the international tale, rather than the confusion of motives (envy of her inheritance and of her beauty) here.

[11] I have translated very freely and as though *lìon taimhleis* were *lìon t'aimhleis* "net of thy destruction", but there is probably some contrast between *lìon tarruing* "draw-net" (something which might be used to catch animals?) and *lìon taimhleis* (a net for fish? cf. *tàbh*?).

[12] The text is confused here, but evidently there were three grains of ice (*sìolain an eigh*) or hailstones which flew out of the box and buried themselves in the heroine's forehead and the palms of her hands. In Macleod's version the queen comes to see her: the heroine shuts herself up and will not see her, but eventually puts out her little finger for the queen to kiss: she puts a poisoned pin (*bior nimhe*) into it. This is taken out by the second wife as in our story. In Irish versions a sleep-pin (*biorán suain*) is put into the heroine's finger by the queen, or into the back of her head by a travelling pedlar employed by her. Evidently the Gaelic oecotype departed from the usual European pattern of the story where the heroine is poisoned when staying with the dwarfs or robbers, and later found in her coffin by the prince who revives her. The motif of the locked room (C 611) is more often associated with tales of the Bluebeard type (AT 311-12: e.g. Campbell 1890: II, 279-89) where there is a similar situation—dead woman revived and set free by sister.

[13] The last episode has been borrowed from the variant of AT 706 along with the opening, of which it is the logical sequel—though apparently Macleod had heard a version with the one and without the other. In Macleod's printed version the end is very simple: the queen comes for the heroine with a poisoned drink in her hand, but the prince's second wife says that it is customary in that country for the giver to take a drink from the cup first, and as the queen puts the cup to her lips, she forces it down her throat. This seems less like the standard international ending, where the queen is exposed and punished, than our version, but the foiled attempt to poison the heroine with a cup is the normal end of Irish versions: usually the queen is accused and punished when a lapdog drinks the spilled liquid and dies. The second wife is always responsible for saving the heroine.

Two motifs have been combined here: the usual motif from AT 706 of the oath not to tell the story to a Christian soul, evaded by telling it to an unchristened child, and our motif of the impossible conditions (H 1053). This is usually associated in Gaelic with the story of *The Clever Peasant Girl* (AT 875) and also occurs in a version of the story of Diarmaid and Gràinne (Campbell 1892: III, 50). Other occurrences are discussed in Jackson 1961:108-9. Usually the animal ridden by the girl is a he-goat—the wild (literally "venomous") boar is a picturesque embroidery, and the triplication of the ride through the church is a typical folk method of postponing the denouement. This ending does not fit well with what comes before, however: there

is no explanation why the stepmother should go to visit the heroine and take her husband with her.

[14] This was evidently the end of the version mentioned in Macleod's note: "the king relieves the prince of his second wife". In the printed story the prince keeps both wives for himself. In Ireland the second wife usually becomes the heroine's servant, and later her father's wife. The nonsense formula which ends the story was used by Mrs. MacMillan in another of her stories. It is an elaborate version of a common Scottish Gaelic tale-ending: *cf.* Campbell 1890: I, 317; MacDougall 1891:144.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

25. "Hill of —" and "Loch of —"

The present enquiry is an extension of an investigation which, in two previous issues of this journal, examined the distribution and origins of the type *Burn of* in Scottish river-names (Nicolaisen 1959:92-102) and the more general implications of the use of the preposition *of* in Scottish place-names, with particular reference to its usage in conjunction with the elements *Water*, *Mains*, *Mill(s)*, *Bridge*, *Braes* and *Braeside* (Nicolaisen 1960:194-205). The conclusion reached at the time was that "the origin of our group of names must be sought in the linguistic contact of Scots with Gaelic, or in some instances with Norse dialects" (1960:203-4), and that specifically "*Burn of* —" was "a good example of different linguistic substrata influencing the same incoming language" (1959:100), i.e. Gaelic in North-East Scotland and Norse in Orkney and Shetland. In fact only *Burn of* showed any significant representation in the Northern Isles—especially in Shetland with 95 examples on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, but also in Orkney (20) and in the "Scandinavian" easterly part of Caithness (5)—whereas the striking feature of most of the other types examined (*Water of* —, *Mains of* —, *Mill of* —, etc.) was an extremely heavy concentration in the north-east, with another, thinner, group of names in the south-west, both areas which were formerly Gaelic speaking but subsequently came under the influence of Scots.

Although the type *Burn of* — (like *Burn of Birse* ABD, *Burn of Duglenny* KCD, *Burn of Turret* ANG, etc.) was therefore the starting point of the investigation and also satisfactorily explained, the sequence of events which created this new name pattern in the process of the replacement of Gaelic by Scots in the north-east, it also constituted an exception in so far as it

occurs in large numbers in the Northern Isles. As a substratum could successfully be shown to be responsible for the creation of this type in the north-east—the ultimate origin being a Gaelic pattern of the type *Allt an t-Sluic Léith*—a similar explanation

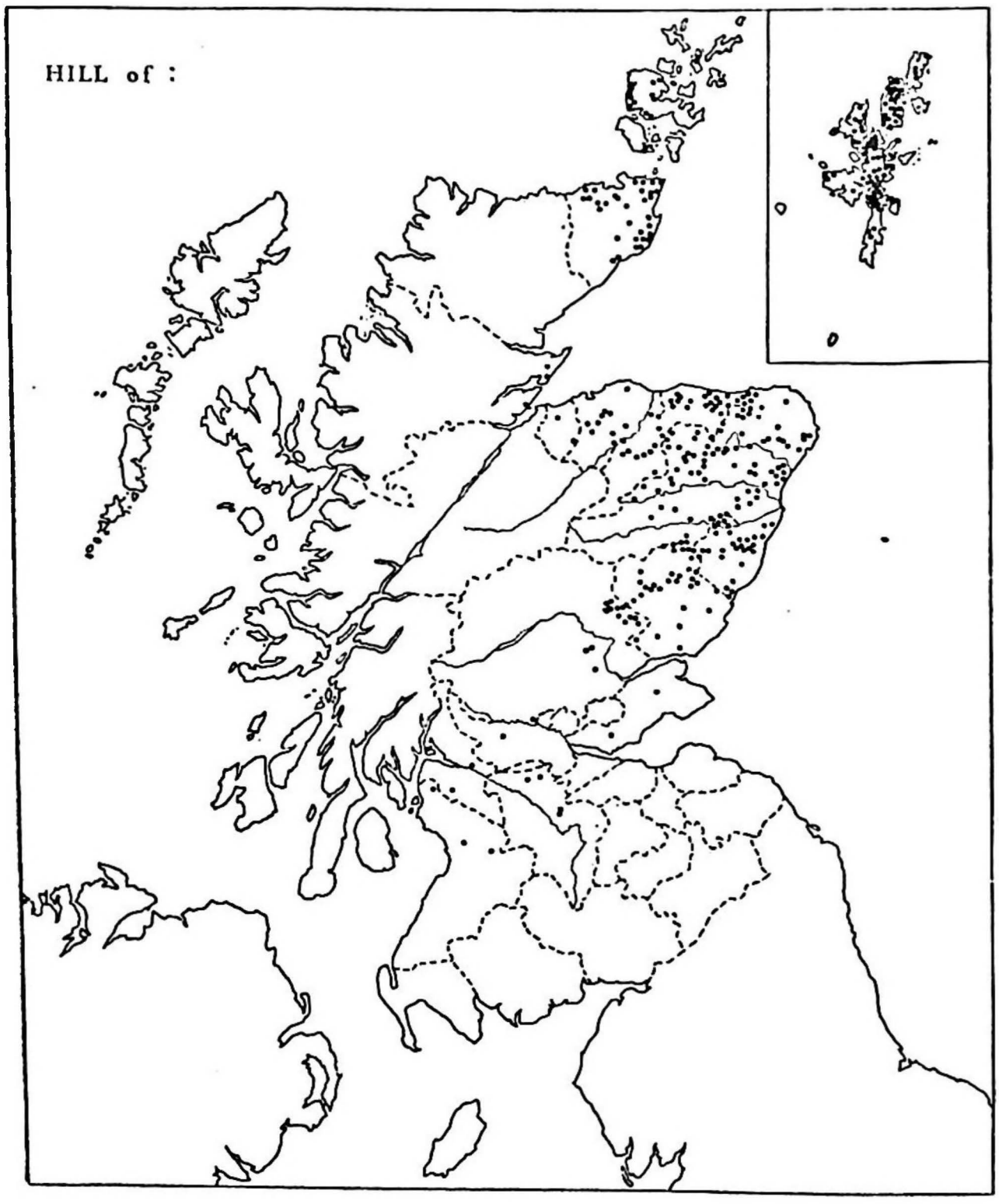

FIG. 1.

appeared likely for the extreme north, as long as the impulse could be demonstrated to have come from the outgoing Scandinavian dialects of Orkney and Shetland, instead of from Gaelic This seemed possible because, in his account of the place-names of Shetland, the Danish philologist Jakob Jakobsen had

suggested the *de Hill o' de Waters* (Yell) probably represents an older **Vatnahul* or **Vatnabrekk* (Jakobsen 1936:5) and *Hill o' Dale* an older **Dalsfell* (*ibid.* 6). He further maintained that "Shetl. *hul* (O.N. "hóll", sb., hill) has been exchanged in several cases in compounded place-names for L.Sc. "knowe" (Eng. "knoll"); in the same way *-fel* (O.N. fell, mountain), and the above-mentioned -hul for Eng. "hill", *-o*, *-wo* (O.N. "á", a stream) for L.Sc. "burn", *-teg* (O.N. "teigr", strip of field) for L.Sc. "rig" (in the names of strips of field). In place-names the word "hill" is either retained as the second part, or placed before the original first part with which it is connected by the prep. "o' " (of), e.g. "Crookseter [*Krukster*] Hill", and "Hill o' Crookseter" (Dc.). Shetl. *vatn*, *vatten* C.O.N. "vatn", water, lake) as the second part in lake-names, has mostly changed to "water", or exchanged for L.Sc. (from Celt.) "loch"; . . . The words "loch" and "water" also occasionally represent an origin. sjon sjøn . . ., O.N. tjarn, small lake, tarn" (Jakobsen 1936:6).

This short note is intended to look more closely at Jakobsen's theory in the light of the evidence afforded by two of the name types cited by him, *Hill of* — and *Loch of* —, and consequently to re-examine the conclusions reached in our previous study of *Burn of* —. Before we do so, however, some comment on the general distribution of these two new examples is necessary. As can be seen on the relevant map (Fig. 1), the distribution of names of the type *Hill of* — very closely resembles that previously published of *Burn of* — names (Nicolaisen 1959:95), i.e. two stray clusters in the north-east and in the extreme north, with some outliers in the Forth-Clyde area. The dot representation stands for a total of 375 names extracted from the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland although the great density of names in some areas, particularly in Shetland, did not allow us to show every single name, on a map of this scale. In fact, the *Burn of* — and *Hill of* — maps are practically interchangeable as far as the regions are concerned in which these names occur; even the numerical proportions and percentage figures are very similar: whereas 120 (or 46 per cent) of the 261 names of the *Burn of* — category are found in the originally Scandinavian settlement areas of Shetland, Orkney and Caithness, and 131 (or 50 per cent) in the "Gaelic" counties of the north-east, 155 (or 41 per cent) of the *Hill of* — names come from the Northern Isles and Caithness, and 201 (or 53·6 per cent) from the north-east, including

Eastern Perthshire. Figures for the individual counties are (using the same geographical subdivision as for *Burn of* —):

Extreme North: Shetland 109, Orkney 14, Caithness 32.
North: Ross-shire 3.
North-East: Moray 11, Banffshire 35, Aberdeenshire 81, Kincardineshire 29, Angus 33, Eastern Perthshire 12.
Southern Perthshire 3, Stirlingshire 2.
East: Fife 2.
West: Dunbartonshire 2.
South (of Forth-Clyde line): Renfrewshire 1, Ayrshire 3, Lanarkshire 4.

Not counted in these figures nor represented on the map are such names in which the word *hill* is preceded by a qualifying adjective like *East*, *West*, *North*, *South*, *White*, *Black*, *Round*, *Wee*, *Big*, *Mid*, *Fore*, etc., as in *East Hill of Bellister* (Shetland), *South Hill of Craigo* (Angus), *Fore Hill of Glengap* (Kirkcudbrightshire). Neither has the diminutive *hillock* been included although there are also some examples of it in the formation under discussion.

The distribution of *Loch of* —, on the other hand, becomes quite unmappable on this scale, as 187 (or 87·4 per cent) out of the 214 names mentioned on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps occur in the Northern Isles and Caithness, 137 of these in Shetland alone. The rest are scattered over the usual counties in which we expect to find "of —" names on the Scottish mainland, numbers varying from 7 in Perthshire to 1 each in Banff-, Wigtown-, Kincardine- and Selkirkshire. The inclusion of the last county is perhaps a little surprising but the single example in question, *Loch of the Lowes*, probably owes nothing to the Gaelic substratum of the north-east or to the resulting new name pattern of the Lowland Scots of the area, anyhow, but is the kind of formation which could have been created quite independently anywhere within the region where Scottish English is, or was spoken.

From a semantic point of view, it becomes quite clear that here we have two groups of "secondary names", a term which implies that the explanatory element in these names—the one represented by the dash in the formula "Hill of —" and "Loch of —", is in practically all instances another, earlier, name and not an appellative. In the case of the mainland examples of "Hill of —", many of these earlier names are of Gaelic origin, as in *Hill of Achalone* CAI, *Hill of Balbae* ANG,

Hill of Dalnapot MOR, *Hill of Shenwall* ABD, etc., although others are definitely English emphasising the secondary relationship. In a number of the Gaelic names so used we are able to discover what appear to have been the primary names of the hills in question, as in *Hill of Ardiffery* and *Hill of Ardo* ABD, *Hill of Cairnby* BNF, *Hill of Candacraig* ABD, *Hill of Carlincraig* BNF, *Hill of Crimond* BNF, *Hill of Drumfergue* ABD, *Hill of Drumgray* LAN, *Hill of Knocknashalg* BNF, *Hill of Menduff* BNF, *Hill of Mondurran* ANG, *Hill of Mountblairy* BNF, *Hill of Tillylair* and *Hill of Tillymauld* KCD, *Hill of Tillymorgan* ABD, *Hill of Tornechole* MOR and *Hill of Turlundie* ABD. If no settlement bearing the original hill-name exists nearby, it may be assumed that the new name is a direct successor of the old one, but if such a settlement name does exist, the relationship may be more complex in so far as the name of the settlement may have supplied the explanatory element in our new name of the "Hill of —" pattern. When there is no Gaelic name involved which contains a word meaning "hill" or the like (like *Drum-*, *Knock-*, *Tilly-*, etc.) the secondary nature of our group of names becomes even more obvious. In extreme examples, the name providing the element after the preposition may refer to the direct opposite of a "hill", as in *Hill of Dalnapot* MOR, *Hill of Glenroads* BNF and *Hill of Strathbathie* ABD. In the majority of instances this arbitrariness is also apparent although not to such an extreme. For the few examples of "Loch of —" on the formerly Gaelic speaking mainland the picture is very similar.

As in the case of "Burn of —" and "Water of —", the geographical distribution of our mainland names, as well as their close association with other Gaelic names, demand that the explanation of our "Hill of —" and "Loch of —" pattern in the areas in which they occur lies in the linguistic contact between Gaelic and Lowland Scots, probably some time between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Where *allt* is translated by *burn*, and *abhainn* by *water*, there the Scots loanword *loch* stands for its Gaelic original, and *hill* may be the translation of a variety of Gaelic words, like *cnoc*, *druim*, *airde*, *tulach*, etc.

As far as the mainland evidence is concerned, the conclusions reached in the investigation of our two groups of names is consequently more or less identical with the results of our investigations in 1959 and 1960. How far can this also be said of the material provided by the Northern Isles and the

"Scandinavian" part of Caithness? Are we here in fact confronted, as Jakobsen assumed, with a similar translation of Norse words and the adaptation of an existing Norse morphological pattern of basic word plus explanatory element (or name) in the genitive? For the kind of example he lists—*Hill of the Waters* and *Hill of Dale*—this explanation is possibly the correct one, as the explanatory elements in these two names are, in fact, not other names but common nouns. There are, however, not very many names belonging to this category, and they form the exception rather than the rule. In the vast majority of instances, the explanatory element is, as on the mainland, another name, usually referring to a settlement, and practically always of Scandinavian origin, as is only to be expected. In *type* therefore our Northern "Hill of —", "Loch of —" and "Burn of —" names differ in no way from their counterparts in the north-east.

The arbitrariness of the new compound names shows itself most clearly in a number of Shetland names in which both "Hill of —", and "Loch of —" are combined with the same primary place-name. Examples of such duplicates are *Hill* and *Loch of Basta*, *Brindister*, *Burwick*, *Colvister*, *Garth*, *Girlsta*, *Grista*, *Haggrister*, *Houlland*, *Huxter*, *Kirkabister*, *Sandwick*, *Setter*, *Skellister*, *the Waters* (!), *Trondavoe*, *Ulsta*, *Windhouse*. Nor does this category in Shetland stop at duplication for in Yell we have *Hill*, *Wick*, *Head* and *Burns of Gutcher*. Unst, on the other hand, provides a pointer to the variety of basic elements involved in this kind of name pattern which is by no means confined to our three words, *hill*, *loch* and *burn*. Here we have, amongst others, *Wick of Collaster*, *Point of Coppister*, *Ness of Wadbister*, *Head of Mula*, *Taing of Noustigarth*, *Geo of Henken*, *Ward of Clugan*, *Keen of Hamar*, *Holm of Skaw*, *Lee of Saxavord*, *Breck of Newgarth*, many of these being coastal features. These are only a few examples of what, for the whole of Shetland, would be a long list; and the picture in Orkney is very similar.

There can be no doubt about it, therefore that the "x of y" type of name is a well-established pattern in the Northern Isles; but what are the origins of this pattern? To the best of the writer's knowledge there is no similarly constructed group of names in any of the Scandinavian languages which could have served as a prototype, and it looks unlikely now that Jakobsen's explanation of a **Vatnahul>Hill of the Waters* development could satisfactorily account for the vast majority

of the names in question and their obviously secondary status. There is nothing in the Norse background to these names which could have been responsible for their spontaneous creation all over the Northern Isles, quite apart from the fact that a development as Jakobsen sees it, presupposes an "x of y" type in the incoming, receiving, adapting language.

The age of this type is also difficult to establish although there are some hints in Storer Clouston's *Records of the Earldom of Orkney* which cover the years 1299-1614 (Clouston 1914). In this collection the first examples of our pattern appear in the last decade of the fifteenth century, in 1492, when we have *Nethirtown of Grenyng* (Marwick), *Bordland of Swarthmale* and *Bull of Rapness* (Westray), *Bull of Kerston* (Stromness) and *Bull of Hoye* (Hoy). In the last three cases, *Bull* represents Old Norse *bú* "farmstead, estate, etc.", and it is particularly this formula "Bu of —" which worried Clouston on another occasion (Marwick 1952:242), his explanation being the following: "This must have been a Scotch designation invented by the Scottish chamberlains or factors of the earldom estate (probably soon after 1379 when the Sinclairs became earls) in order to distinguish these large manorial farms. They found bu in use in Orkney as the regular term for such places, and they used it just as they would have said 'Mains of', 'Place of', etc. in Scotland." Dr. Marwick approved of this for he commented (*ibid.* 243): "Mr. Clouston's comparison with 'The Mains of' or 'The Manor of' is exactly to the point, though the latter is an over-pretentious term to use in regard to Orkney farms." He admitted, however, (*ibid.* 248): "We have really no data on which to determine exactly when the peculiar formula 'Bu of X' first came into use, though the farms so named had no doubt been settled from a much earlier point."

The present writer feels that Clouston and Marwick, those great Orkney scholars, are certainly correct in attributing this formula to Lowland Scottish influence; only it must be freed from the narrow "Bu of —"<"Mains of —" parallel, and from the restricted sphere of the Scottish chamberlains, for the "Bu of —" formula is part of a much larger and much more comprehensive invasion of this Scots name-type from those parts of Scotland where it had developed in linguistic contact with Gaelic. What we have in the Northern Isles is nothing but the exported result of this contact situation, and in this way the Gaelic original "Allt a' —" or "Loch a' —" or "Cnoc a' —" is ultimately, although indirectly, also responsible

for that plethora of "x of y" names in Shetland, Orkney and the eastern half of Caithness.

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B. COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

Goat-keeping in the Old Highland Economy—3

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to some aspects of goat-keeping which have not so far received much comment in the two earlier articles on the subject (Megaw 1963 and 1964), and to add to their general picture some particulars from Mid Argyll.

While it may well be true that goat-keeping provided the staple diet for the poorest members of a Highland community, there were three reasons for owning goats that were equally applicable to all strata of society. These were:

(*a*) the prophylactic property of goats' milk;
(*b*) the importance of goats as adjuncts to sheep management;
(*c*) the availability of goat-flesh in the "hungry-gap" months of spring.

The first aspect has already been touched on in these articles (Megaw 1963). It should perhaps be explained that it is very rare for a goat to contract tuberculosis when kept on

free range: goats' milk was thus the safest available, and it was doubtless noticed that children reared on it escaped bovine tuberculosis in all its forms. An extension of this observation led to the belief that goats' milk could cure tuberculosis, whence visits to the Highlands for the "goat-milk cure" are often mentioned in eighteenth-century documents. Bailie John Steuart of Inverness writes in 1730:

> "Donald McPherson, Merct. of this place . . . at present happens to be verie ill of a Decay . . ."
>
> "Donald McPherson I hear is on the way of recoverie as to his health, being gon to the Highlands to drink Goats Milk."
>
> ". . . I most [must] send to Badinoch, where the sd. Mr. McPherson has bean for some time past for the recoverie of his health; and I hear he is a deying . . ." (Steuart 1915:353, 355, 358).

A further extension of the idea was that the presence of a goat among cattle protected them from infection by a form of sympathetic magic; thus in the 1920's when my parents proposed keeping a milk-goat, the farm manager protested strenuously that if this were done everyone would think that our pedigree Highland herd (not used for milk) was suffering from tuberculosis and that the goat had been brought in to cure them. In deference to his feelings the idea was given up.

The second aspect is still a factor in Highland sheep management. Goats are placed on isolated grazings to eat down grass on dangerous cliffs, etc., where sheep might become trapped. For example there are feral goats on small islands in Loch Craignish to this day, and also on the islands in Small Isles Bay, Jura (one called Goat Island); the latter stock is, or was until very recently, regularly maintained by ferrying fresh breeding-stock trapped from the main Jura herds, of which there are several. The advantage of having goats grazing dangerous places must have been greater before the introduction of the Blackface, who is better able to negotiate such places than the older breeds were. However, no sheep, even a Blackface, will back out of a tight place or turn on a narrow ledge; and if a shepherd cannot visit his flock daily (as on an island), the goats were and are essential to prevent "clifting", as it is locally called.

The third aspect may be illustrated by entries in eighteenth-century rent-rolls. Kids were paid in to the laird's household

before Whitsunday, a time when lambing was most probably still in progress and when over-wintered cattle were unfit for slaughter even if they could be spared. Feral goats to-day kid in February or earlier, and a three-month-old milk-fed kid would be a welcome addition to a diet of salt meat and fish. It should also be noted that feral goats frequently rear twin kids where sheep would rear a single lamb at best; in fact until the introduction of antibiotics a 50 per cent survival crop (ewe:weaned lamb ratio) was locally considered satisfactory.

No evidence has yet been put forward in these pages for goat-keeping in Mid Argyll in the eighteenth century. I possess two sets of rent-rolls for the period, covering the estates of Kilberry in South Knapdale and Knockbuy (now Minard) in Glassary on Loch Fyne. Knockbuy was then owned by Archibald Campbell, 2nd of Knockbuy (1693-1790), one of the foremost improvers in Argyll, who has already made an appearance in *Scottish Studies* (Cregeen 1959). He married his second cousin, a Campbell of Kilberry whose elder sister conveyed Kilberry to another cousin. In this sister's widowhood Knockbuy was concerned with the management of the Kilberry farms and held tacks of some of them. His grandson eventually inherited both estates (and was the present writer's great-great-grandfather).

Knockbuy's own rent-rolls show his attention to enclosure and improvements; he imported "Yorkshire mares" and stallions, bulls, "Cunningham" (?Ayrshire) cows, and rams, and from the 1730's gave rent rebates to tenants undertaking dyke-building. From 1760 some tenants were charged in the rolls for "Dung"; presumably this was a payment exacted if they had not applied manure to their land in sufficient quantity during the year. One might expect him to wage war on goats—he was a tree-planter as well as a farmer—but on the contrary he required goats to be kept on some holdings, and supplied a stock to new tenants. The reason lies in the geography of these holdings. They can be seen to-day from the main Inveraray-Lochgilphead road near Minard; now almost all afforested, they run steeply upward from the coastal terraces to break into sheer crags on the skyline. Other farms where he insisted on goat-keeping lie on the high plateau above these crags. They can never have offered safe grazing for unherded sheep, and in spite of his employment of a fox-hunter there must have been many foxes in the dens of the cliffs.

Far from goats being owned by the poorest tenants, we find

the tenant of the estate mill of Knockbuy required to render a goat as part of his rent from the 1720's up to 1751-52. After 1753 kids no longer appear in the Knockbuy assessments, most farms having completed their enclosures; a result would be that the sheep could now be kept from the dangerous parts of the holdings.

There are no references to sub-tenants, except in a few cases where a widow was allowed to continue occupancy of a house as a nominal "cottar", paying at most the "casualities" (payments in kind) formerly charged; in some cases these occupancies were rent-free. There may have been sub-tenants on some holdings, but certain tenants were specifically barred from sub-letting.

The picture for Kilberry is rather different. Here there are larger areas of good arable on the raised beaches, and fewer stretches of dangerous cliff; though one farm where I would certainly have expected goats to be kept does not appear to have had any. Even to-day sheep, and occasionally cattle, are killed by cliff-falls there. There is no mention of kids or goats from Kilberry itself. There were, however, two outlying areas of hill ground, one on either side of the estate, and here it seems goats were kept, though not set in the rents as regular items. It appears that goats were accepted in lieu of wedders (though it is difficult to feel that two-year-old goat would eat as well as wedder-mutton); it may be that goats too were gelded, though I have not heard of this being done elsewhere.

The changing situation created by events in 1745 is too wide a subject to discuss here, but many adjustments had to be made. From the 1740's there had been a tendency to commute all kain rents of the outlying areas into a consolidated silver rent, though tenants continued to pay in kind or in cash. After 1757 goats finally disappear from the rentals.

It is suggested, then, that goat-keeping in this area at least was influenced by the value of healthy milk and early fresh meat as well as by the goats' usefulness in keeping sheep off dangerous grazings; that no local evidence is available for goat-keeping being confined to a sub-stratum of the community (if it existed here), and that there is a continuing belief in some kind of sympathetic magic attaching to goats. The keeping of goats ceased generally when the progress of enclosures simplified sheep management and gave a higher standard of food production generally. There is no evidence that goat-keeping was forbidden because of the risk of damage to trees,

although plantations had already been formed on both estates reviewed. In this last connection, one may refer again to Boswell (cited in Megaw 1963) who described a goat-keeper on Lochness being allowed a herd of sixty in return for looking after woodlands. His goats must have been herded away from his woods, and the same may have applied to Knockbuy and Kilberry.

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MARION CAMPBELL OF KILBERRY

Goat-Keeping in the Old Highland Economy—4

The information that has been gathered together in recent numbers of *Scottish Studies* (Megaw 1963 and 1964; Campbell 1965) is comprehensive enough to indicate that goat-keeping formed a much more significant part of the old Highland economy than previous commentators had supposed. Clearly historians will have to give the goat something like parity with sheep and cattle in accounts of the rural economy. Without wishing to add more detail to the picture that has emerged, I would like to make three points which may be of general interest.

Firstly, one of the reasons why goats have been insufficiently stressed in historical accounts of the Highlands is that they played a quite different part from cattle and sheep in the rent system. The latter were market animals whose meat and wool found acceptable sale throughout Scotland and even beyond her boundaries: because they were disposable outwith the estate, they formed the major part of the rents-in-kind paid to the landowners, and therefore were the principal support of landed income. The goat, on the other hand, was a subsistence animal kept primarily for its milk, and to a lesser extent for its

meat and skin: only the last item was disposable outwith the estate, and goats were not, therefore, paid over in rent except in very small numbers to satisfy the subsistence needs of the laird's own family. The Highland rentals (and likewise correspondence between landowners) will for this reason tend to give the impression of fewer goats on the ground than there actually were. The question of whether the goat was a shameful symbol of poverty hardly arises in this situation (Megaw 1963:207).

Secondly, though goat-meat and goat-milk were not saleable beyond the estate, the skin had some slight value for sale in the market. There are many descriptions of peasants trading in the hides and skins of various animals at local markets on the edge of the Highland line, and some specific statistics of the export of goat skins from Scotland in the seventeenth century. The contemporary Mar report on Scottish trade suggested that between 16,000 and 17,000 goat skins left the country annually between 1611 and 1614 (Mar and Kellie Report 1904:71). Most of these probably went to London: Professor Lythe gives an indication of the volumes on that route in his comment that "in peak years such as 1621-2 up to 8,000 goat and 16,500 kid-skins were sent" (Lythe 1959:220). By the end of the century this traffic had grown to an average of around 50,000 goat and kid skins a year, with a maximum in 1698 of 57,000 goat skins and 43,000 kid skins. No doubt this was inflated above normal by the need to slaughter large numbers of stock in the prevailing famine of that year, but the total of 100,000 skins is nevertheless quite remarkable (P.R.O. Customs).

Thirdly, although these trade figures can hardly be treated as proof that goat-keeping had expanded in the seventeenth-century Highlands, it is surely reasonable to suppose that the goat population expanded at least in proportion to the striking growth of the human population between the early sixteenth century and the late eighteenth. In this context, it is worth reconsidering the dilapidation of the Highland woodlands in the eighteenth century. The most commonly accepted view attributes the critical condition of the forests by 1800 to the activities of English lumber merchants and iron-masters after the Union, followed by the massive invasion of the Lowlanders' sheep whose indiscriminate grazing prevented natural regeneration (Fraser Darling 1955:5). This explanation is not easy to accept: lumbering was carried on only intermittently and locally in those few places where facilities were available

to float wood to the sea. The iron-masters were few and far between, and generally unsuccessful. In any case, it was in the interests of both these parties to preserve the woods for rotational cropping rather than to cut and destroy their business in one orgy of exploitation: had they been important in the Highland scene, one would have expected the forests to survive—indeed the Speyside forests did survive just where the lumbermen were most active over a long period, and in the south of Scotland the primaeval oakwoods in Nithsdale survived in a similar way due to the steady demand for bark and timber by local tanners and lead miners.

Dilapidation due to uncontrolled grazing by sheep is another matter: it was certainly a feature in the decline of the old forests in the nineteenth century, but had the Lowland sheep spread quickly enough, far enough and thickly enough to account for the widespread damage that was already becoming evident over a wide area before 1770? It is surely clear that the sheep were only replacing another and more destructive animal when they arrived, and it is significant that the recent scholars of our native pine-woods did in fact single out the goat from a list of grazing animals as particularly responsible for severe damage to the eighteenth-century forests, quoting specific instances in Glentanar, at Loch Arkaig and in the Black Wood of Rannoch (Steven and Carlisle 1959: 85, 96, 139, 165). Indeed, if goats were as common as the recent contributors to this journal are suggesting, and if their numbers had been increasing in proportion with the human population since 1500, the major blame for the incalculable damage done to the natural environment by erosion of the trees may have to be laid at the door of the native peasant rather than at the door of the intruding Englishman and the Lowlander. We still spice our history with enough emotion for this to be an unwelcome thought in some quarters.

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T. C. SMOUT

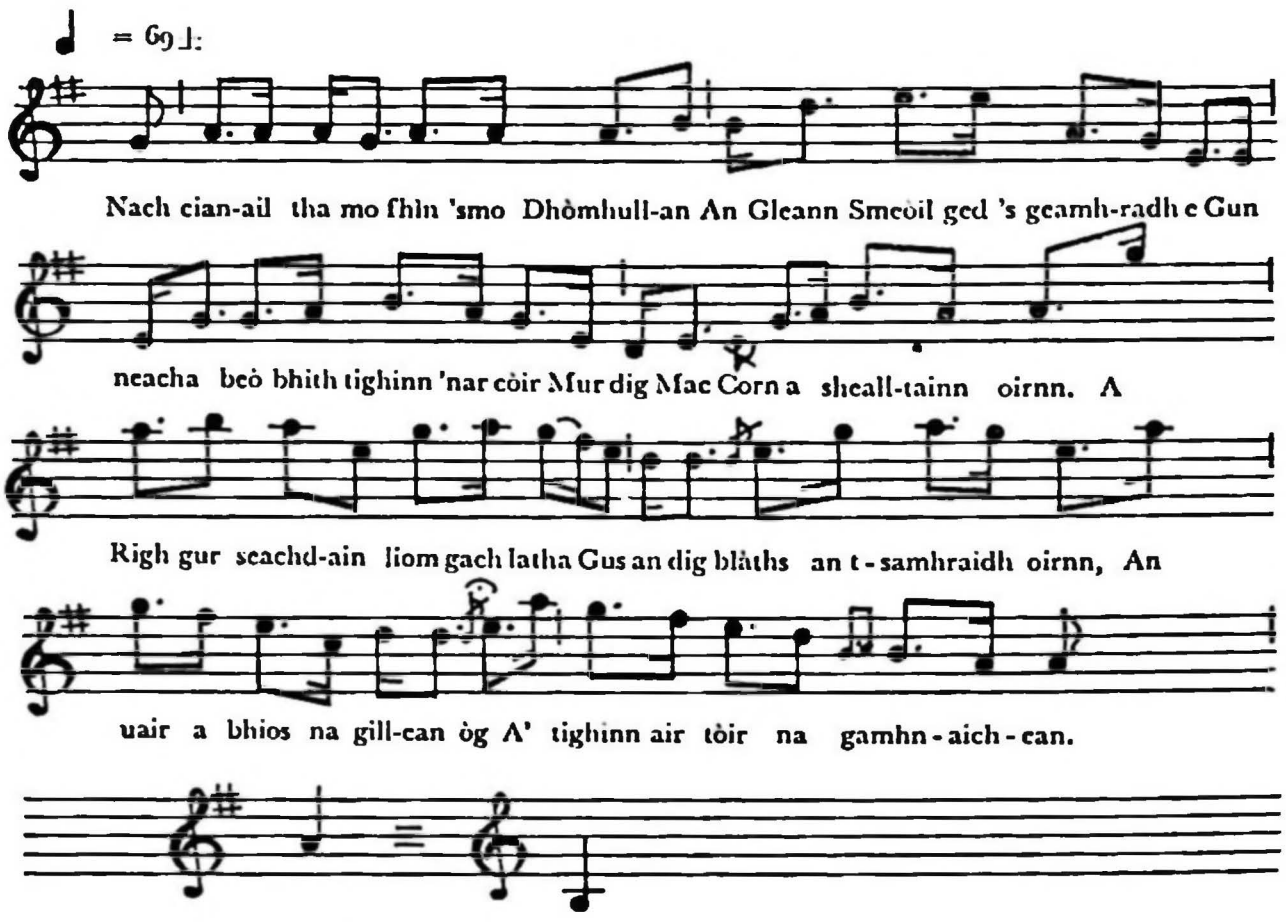
Oran nan Dròbhairean (The Drovers' Song)

I first heard *Oran nan Dròbhairean*, about 1943, from the late Donald S. MacKay, Durness, Sutherland, and that title is the one used by himself. In the spring of 1958, I made a number of recordings in the parish of Durness, among them four variants of this song. By 1958, however, Mr. MacKay's health had failed greatly and he was able to record only two stanzas. In the meantime Mr. James Ross had recorded the song from Mr. Hugh MacRae, Skirinish, Skye, who, as he himself explains, had learnt it from the same source. Similarly, the versions sung by Mr. Christopher M. Campbell and Mr. Andrew Stewart, both in Durness, were also learnt from D. S. MacKay; but the fifth variant, that known by the late Donald Stewart, Laid, comes from a different part of the parish (the west side of Loch Eriboll) and is to some degree independent of the others.

The opening stanza of each variant is printed below, with the melody, in the order in which the singers' names have just been mentioned.

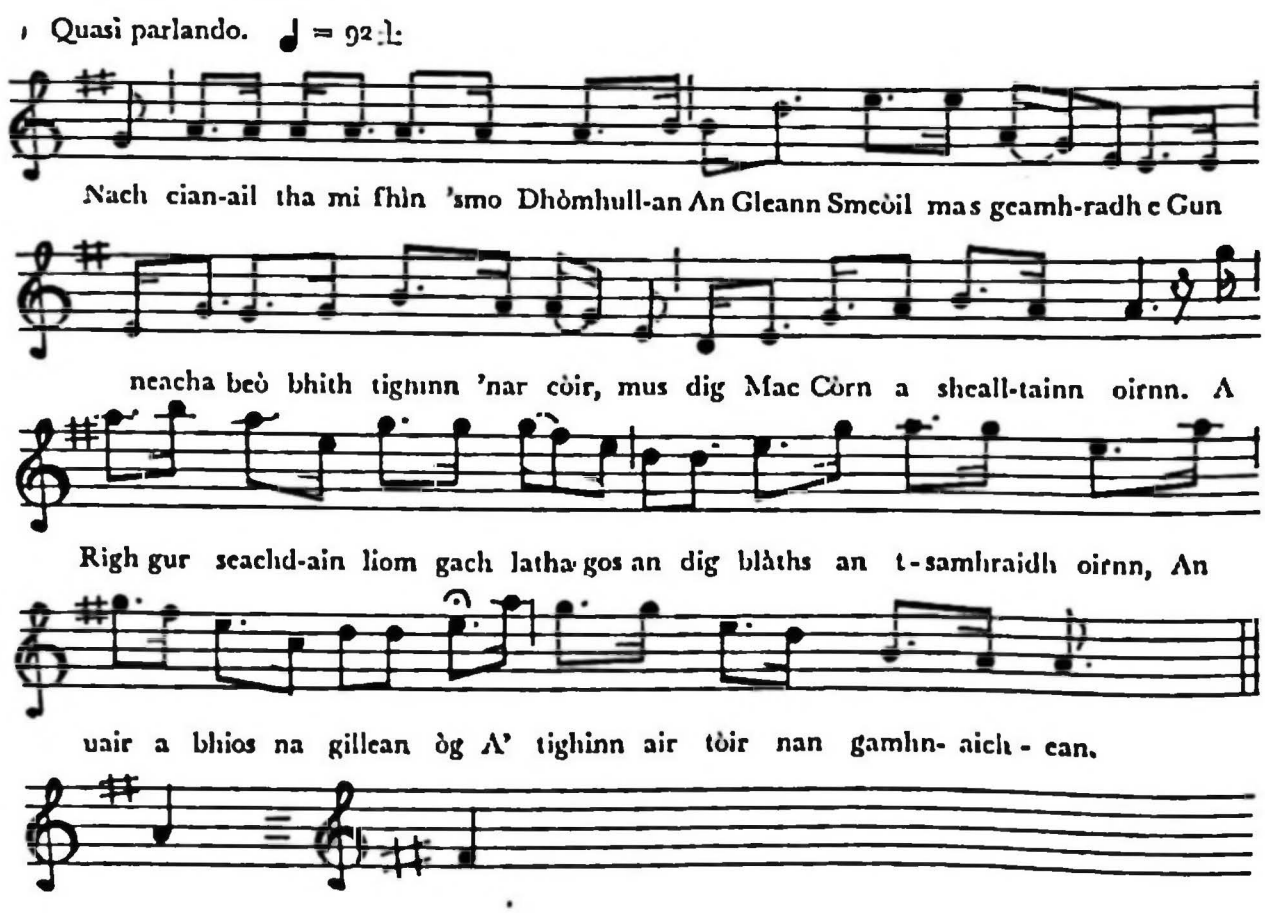
The MacKay, Campbell, and A. Stewart variants are all restricted to a couple of stanzas, viz. those that correspond with stanzas 1 and 2 of MacRae's version and with stanzas 1 and 4 of D. Stewart's version. All five singers have more or less identical texts in these: the slight variations that do appear are not at the moment relevant. I have therefore taken Hugh MacRae's text, as it is the fullest, to represent the variant known to D. S. MacKay and learnt from him by the three other singers; and in the translation of Donald Stewart's text I have omitted stanzas 1 and 4.

Donald S. MacKay. RL162(2)



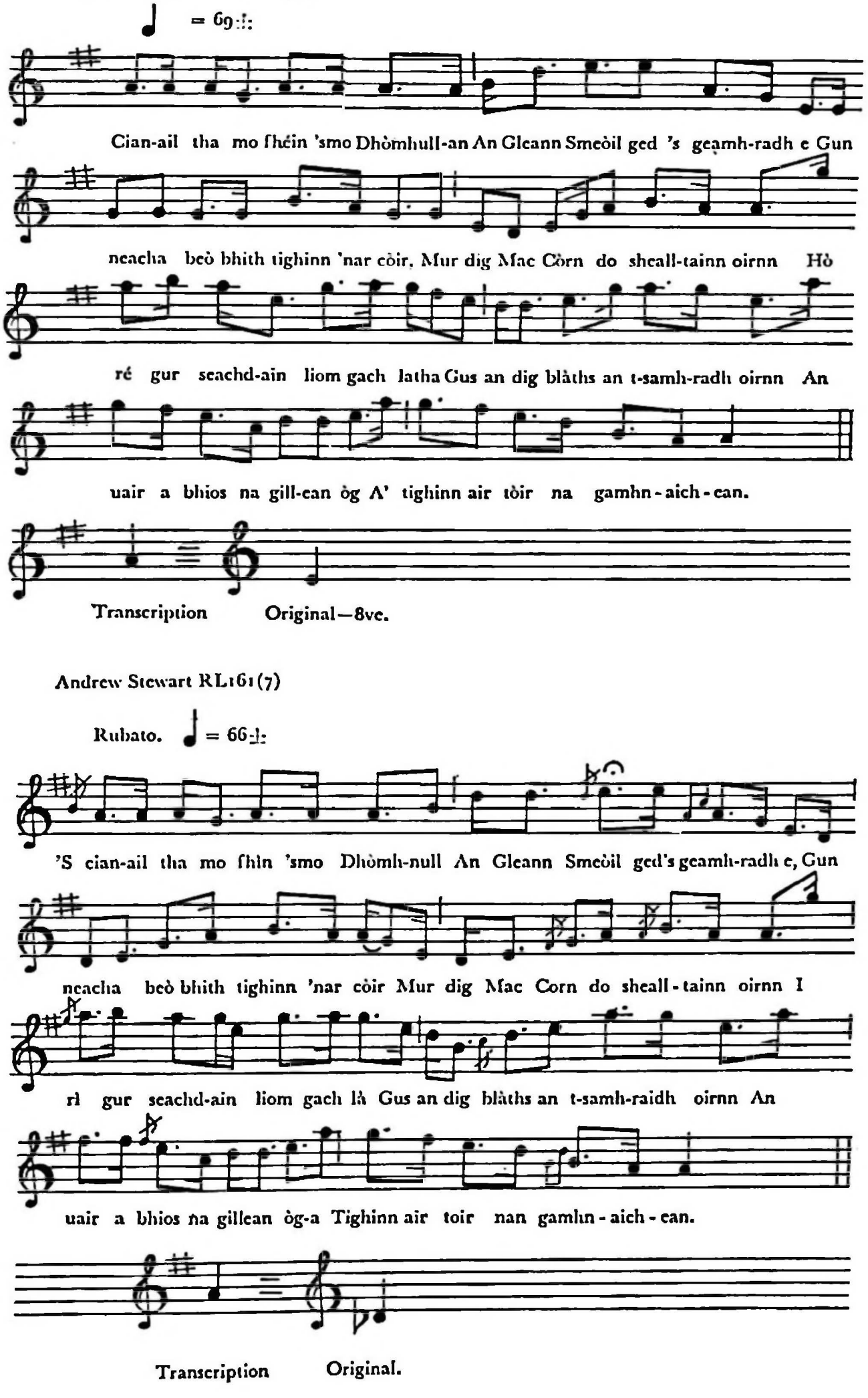
Transcription Original.

Hugh MacRae. RL358(2)



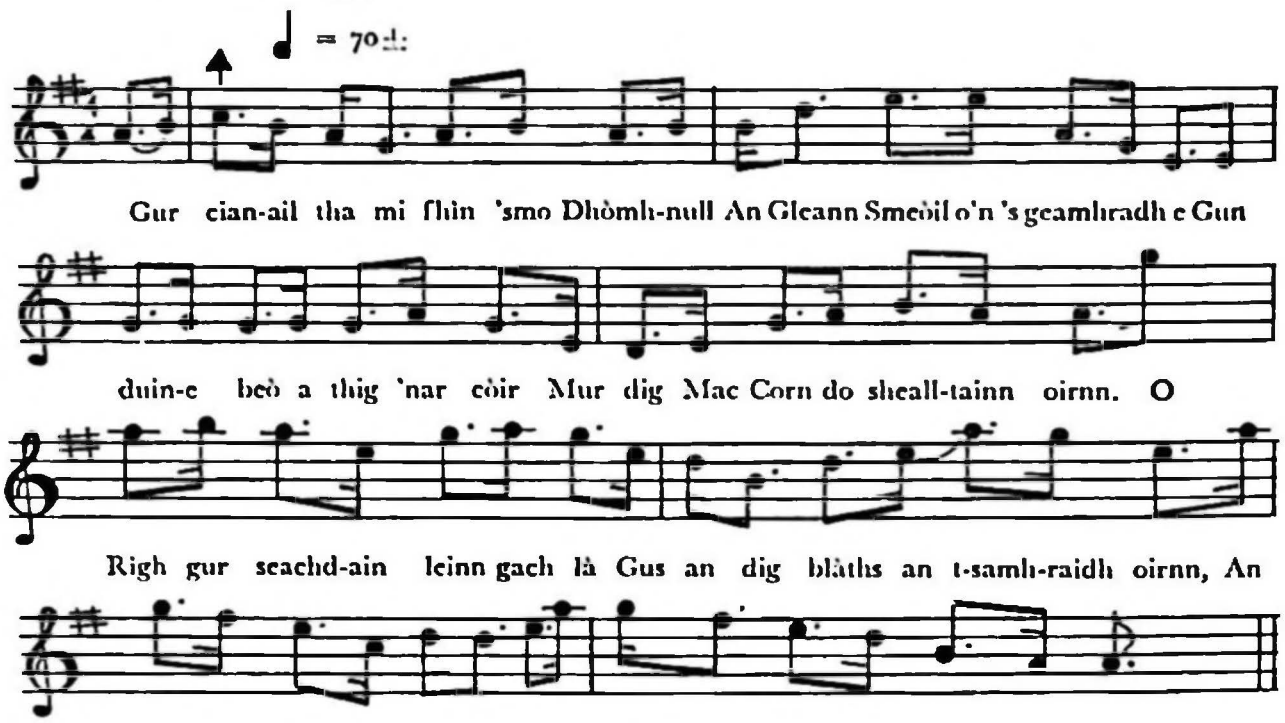
Transcription Original —8ve.

Christopher Campbell. RL164(2)

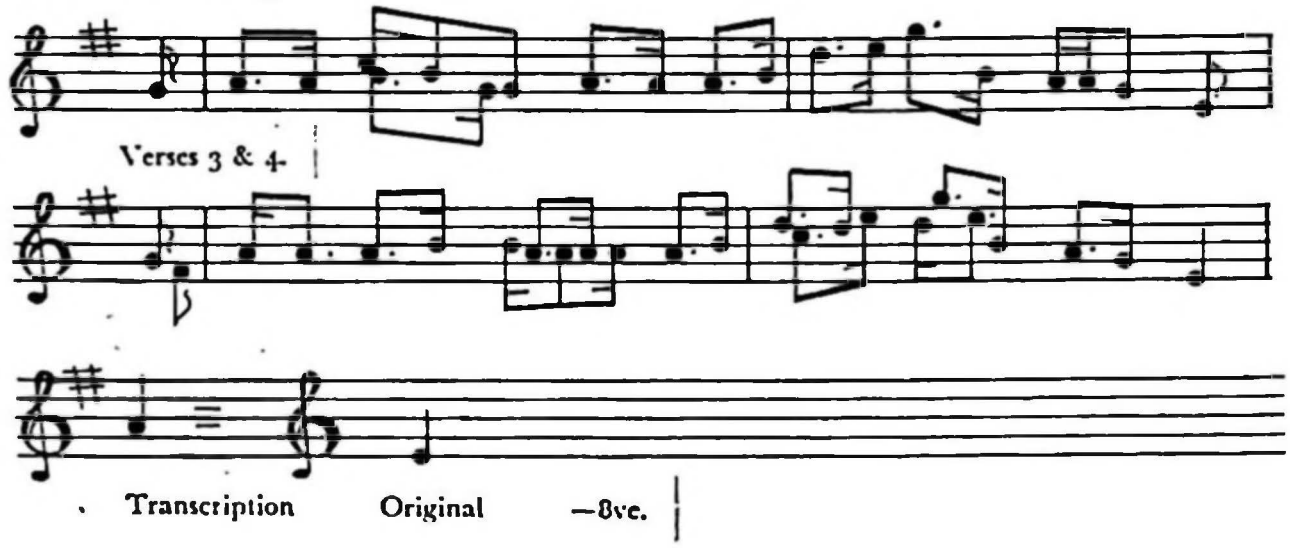


Andrew Stewart RL161(7)

Donald Stewart RL164(8)



Variations:



Hugh MacRae: Oran nan Dròbhairean

Seo òran a chuala mi bho . . . seann duine shuas ann an Dùthaich Mhic Aoidh bho chionn bliadhna na dhà air n-ais agus tha mi dol g'a ghabhail mar a chuala mi an duine fhéin 'ga ghabhail[1]—sin Maighistir Domhnull MacAoidh a Durness ann an Dùthaich 'ac Aoidh.

Nach cianail tha mi fhìn 's mo Dhòmhullan
An Gleann Smeòil mas geamhradh e
Gun neacha beò bhith tighinn 'nar còir
Mus dig Mac Corn a shealltainn oirnn

A Righ! gur seachdain liom gach latha
Gos an dig blàths an t-samhraidh oirnn
An uair a bhios na gillean òg'
A tighinn air tòir nan gamhnaichean

Siod far a robh na seòid—
Na dròbhairean nuair ghluaiseadh iad
Na Bàideanaich bho sliabh gu tràigh
'S an Clàrca 'na dhuine-uasal orr'
Bha MacPhàrlain is Mac Mhaoilean
'S Mac an t-Saoir a Ruadhainn ann
'S ma sheasas iad aig tòir na prìs
Chan fhearr a' rìgh na 'n tuathanach

'S bha iomadh glòir ann an Gleann Smeòil
Nuair thigeadh oirnn a' samhradh ann
A' ghrian mar òr dol sìos fo sgleò
Is ceòl an crò nan gamhnaichean
Bhiodh iomadh spòrs aig sean is òg
'S bu shòlasach bha'n danns' aca
Bhiodh iasg is feòil ri dìosgail bhòrd
Bha sùgh an eòrna is branndaidh ann

Siod far a robh na balaich ghasda
Chridheil thapaidh sheannsgeulach
'S nuair thigeadh iad air tòir na mart
Cha bhiodh an achlais gann aca
'S O! bu toigh liom a' fear fialaidh
A bha riamh mar shamhl' orra
Le osan gearr is féileadh-beag
Is daor a chuir e Chaingeis orr'

Donald Stewart: Oran nan Dròbhairean

Gur cianail tha mi fhìn 's mo Dhomhnull
An Gleann Smeòil on 's geamhradh e
Gun duine beò a thig 'nar còir
Mur dig Mac Corn do shealltainn oirnn
O Righ, gur seachdain leinn gach là
Gus an dig blàths an t-samhraidh oirnn
An uair a bhios na gillean òga
Tighinn air thòir nan gamhnaichean

'S na gillean òg tha gleusda, gasd
Tha tapaidh, sgairteil, luathchoiseach [2]
Nuair thigeadh sibh air thòir na mart
Cha bhiodh bhur n-achlais gann agaibh

Bu ghasd sibh riamh air siubhal sliabh
Bu fearail, fialaidh, greannmhor sibh
Bu gheal ur bian bu ghasd ur fiamh
Air am bitheadh miann nam banntighearnan

'S cha b'i . . .[3] Ghalld' a chuireadh stad
Air lùths n-ur cas le banntaichean
Nuair thigeadh sibh air thòir nam mart
Mus digeadh tart an t-samhraidh orr'
Ach breacan ciatach nam ball fialaidh
A bha riamh mar shamhl' agaibh
An t-osan gearr 's an (*sic*) féileadh-beag
'S chan fhaic sibh caitheamh chaingeis aig

Ach siod an t-àit' am bi na séoid
Na dròbhairean nuair ghluaiseas iad
Na Bàideanaich bho sliabh gu tràigh
'S bidh 'n Clàrcach 'na dhuin-uasal ac'
Bidh Mac Phàrlain ann is Mac Maoilean (*sic*)
'S Mac an t-Saoir a Ruadhainn ann
'S ma leanas iad air tòir na prìs
Chan fhearr an rìgh na 'n tuathanach

Ach nuair thig oirnne tòs a' Mhàigh
'S an crodh air àird na fuarbheannan
Bidh laoigh gu leòr a' ruith m'an chrò
'S bidh maighdean òg 'gam buachailleachd
Bidh daoine fialaidh 'g inns' na sgeul
'S gun goirinn sè sheann sgiàlaichean [4]
Bidh mnathan fialaidh dèanamh maitheas
Gu luinneach, subhach, càirdeasach.

Hugh MacRae: The Drovers' Song

This is a song I heard a year or two ago from an old man in MacKay's country and I'm going to sing the song as I heard him sing it.[1] The man is Mr. Donald MacKay, Durness.

1. How sad are we, my little Donald and myself, in Gleann Smeòil when winter comes: not a living soul coming near us unless MacCorn should happen to visit us. God, every day seems to me like a week until the warmth of summer arrives, bringing the young men who come to gather the farrow cows.

2. What stout fellows the drovers were when they got on the move: the Badenoch men with herds from the moor to the sea's edge, and Clark a gentleman at their head. MacFarlane

was there and MacMillan, and Macintyre from Ruthven; if they stand firm for their price, the king himself is no better off than the farmer!

3. It was glorious in Gleann Smeòil when summer came to us there: the sun setting in a golden haze and music in the farrow cows' fold. Both young and old were amply entertained: how cheerfully they danced! Fish and flesh made the tables creak; there was barley bree and brandy.

4. Excellent, vigorous, lively lads they were, and full of ancient stories; and when they came to seek the cattle, they would not arrive empty-handed. Oh, we liked the generous man, with his kilt and short hose, who was typical of the best of the kind—he made it an expensive Whitsuntide for them!

Donald Stewart: The Drovers' Song

2. The fine, skilful young men who are brisk and strong and fleet of foot would not arrive empty-handed when they came to seek the cattle. You were ever expert at walking the moors; you were manly, generous, and cheerful; your skin was bright, your appearance was excellent, you who were the ladies' desire.

3. When you appeared to collect the cows, before the drought of summer had come upon them, you wore not the Lowland dress that curbs the vigour of the leg with its fastenings but the kilt and short hose and the splendid, ample plaid that was ever your emblem; nor would you exchange it for any other habit.

5. At the beginning of May, when the cattle are on the high ground of the cold mountains, calves in plenty will run about the fold, with young girls herding them. Generous men will be there telling stories—I could call on half a dozen reciters of ancient tales[4]—generous women will be there doing good, happily, jovially and affectionately.

The "Drovers' Song" is the only Gaelic composition I know that expressly celebrates the drover's trade in Highland cattle which, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century, played a major part in the economic life of Scotland. The song commemorates the hardy and open-handed men who brought the droves to the trysts of the south, notably the Falkirk Tryst, *Féill na h-Eaglaise Brice*, still remembered and often alluded to in Gaelic oral tradition.

The five variants printed above all derive from the oral tradition of one parish in the north of Sutherland; if the song

is known in any other part of the Highlands, it has not so far come to light. Apart from the fact that "Little Donald" was supposed to be the poet's dog, which I was told by Mr. D. S. MacKay, I have no traditional information about the personal names, nor do I know who the author was. The lonely Gleann Smeòil, where he found winter long and tedious, was said by Mr. Donald Stewart to be somewhere in Sutherland, but I have failed to locate it in that county. My colleague Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen informs me that no glen of this name appears anywhere in the School of Scottish Studies index of place-names.[5]

But it does occur in at least two other songs,[6] both of which are ascribed to natives of Wester Ross. If Gleann Smeòil is therefore a real place-name, and not merely a romantic appelative, *Oran nan Dròbhairean* may provisionally be regarded, in the absence of other evidence, as being of Ross-shire provenance.[7]

At all events, the song itself is a composition of a conventional kind and tells us little about the actual circumstances of the drovers' life. It is still possible to recover this kind of information from oral tradition, although, naturally enough, first hand accounts of droving are now rarely to be heard.[8]

The following is a brief example, recorded in 1952 by the late Calum I. MacLean of the School of Scottish Studies from Donald MacDonald of Laggan, Badenoch, who was then in his seventy-fifth year.[9]

"Bha féilltean gu leòr 's an àite bho chionn trì fichead bliadhna air ais. Bha iad a' tighinn le crodh. Cha robh caoraich ann ach crodh. Bha féill an Cinn-Ghiùthsaich, féill aig Drochaid Charra, féill an uras aig Allt na Frìthe a chuile rathad gu Féill na Manachainn. 'Se féill mhór a bh'ann a Féill na Manachainn. Bha m'athair a' ceannach air Féill na Manachainn. Bha féill an Allt na Frìthe—Freeburn—féill aig Drochaid Charra, féill an Cinn-Ghiùthsaich is Féill an t-Sléibh. Bha mise air Féill an t-Sléibh. Cha robh auctioneers ann—a chuile duine a' reic is a' ceannach an cuid fhéin. 'N uair a dhèanadh iad baragan bha iad a toirt sgailc air làimh a chéile gun robh am baragan dèante.[10] 'N uair nach dèanadh iad baragan, bha iad a' falbh is theagamh gun digeadh iad air ais an ceann fichead mineid. Bha mi air Féill Dúin is Féill na h-Eaglais Bhreac. Agus bha an t-aon rud a' dol air adhart

an sin cuideachd, an t-àon chòrdadh. Bha iad a mach air stance aig an Eaglais Bhreac.

Choisich mi fhìn le spréidh dh'an Eaglais Bhreac, 'n uair nach robh mi ach mu cheithir bliadhn diag. Bha sinn a' dol a mach ri Gàdhaig agus a' tighinn a staigh aig Struthan dar a rachainn ri Gàdhaig. Dar a bha sinn a' dol ri Druim Uachdar bha sinn a' gearradh dheth aig Dail na Ceardaich[11] a mach ris a' mhonadh. Cha robh sinn a' tighinn a staigh tuillidh gus an robh sinn a null faisg air Abar-Pheallaidh. Bha sinn a rithist a' gearradh cros ri Sliabh an t-Siorra dar a bha sinn a' dol dh'an Eaglais Bhreac—Sheriffmuir—tha mi air call cuimhne air na h-ainmeannan a bha air na h-àitean. 'S ann air na seann rathaidean a bha sinn a' dol fhad's a b'urra dhuinn an leantainn. Bha sin an còmhnuidh a' dol air na seann rathaid agus a' gearradh thar a' mhonaidh. Air a' rathad bha sinn a' tighinn a staigh air taighean a mach ri Gàdhaig. Bhiodh sinn an oidhch' an àite ris an abair iad Coire Bhran. Well bha geamair a' fuireach urad a sin is bhiodh sinn a' fuireach 's an taigh aige-san. An ath latha bha sinn a' tighinn a staigh aig àite ris an abair iad Bruar, far an robh geamair eile. Is bha sinn a' dol a staigh an sin agus a' fuireach an oidhch' ann. Dar a thigeadh sinn a mhàn gu Struthan a rithist bha stance féill ann, stance cruidh is bha sinn a' cur a' chruidh a staigh an sin agus a' fuireach an sin an oidhche. An uair sin bha sinn a' gearradh a mach a null ri Taigh na Fùr.[12] Bhiodh sinn an oidhche sin an Taigh na Fùr. Bhiodh sinn oidhche eile ann an Drochaid—c'ainm seo a theireadh iad rithe?—Drochaid Chonasad a theireadh iad rithe, cha 'reid mi—Tummel Bridge.[13] Is bha sinn a rithist a' dol air adhart gu Abar-Pheallaidh is a' dol tro' Abar-Pheallaidh is a mach fos a chionn is a' dol air adhart gu rathad Sliabh an t-Siorra. Chan' eil cuimhne agam air na h-ainmeannan an déidh sin a' dol chun an Eaglais Bhreac. Dar a bhiodh sinn a' dol gu Féill Dùin a rithist bha sinn a' cumail a staigh ro' Dùn-Blàn is a rithist a' tionndadh air ais air a' rathad a tha a' dol air ais ris an Oban is ri na h-àitean sin gus an digeadh sinn gu Dùn. Chan' eil Dùn ach mu cheithir mìle air ais o Dùn-Blàn. Bha sinn a' fuireach a sin.

Bha sinn a' coiseachd fad a' latha leis a' chrodh. Bha cù againn. Bha cù aig a chuile duine. Bheireadh e tuilleadh is còig lathaidhean a' dol 'un an Eaglais Bhreac. Bhitheadh—tha mi cinnteach sia fichead mìle ann co dhiubh na tuillidh. Chan' eil an Eaglais Bhreac thar còig mìle diag na fichead

mìle a Glasachu. Cha chreid mi nach biodh sinn seachd na ochd lathaidhean air an rathad. Cha robh sinn a' dèanamh fichead mìle 'sa latha. Cha robh leis a' chrodh uair 's am bith. Cha dèanadh sinn ach theagamh dusan mìle 'san latha na ceithir mìle diag air a' char a b' fhaide. Cha rachadh sinn fos cionn sin. Tha mi a' creidsinn nach robh sinn a' dèanamh sin fhéin.

'N uair a bha an fhéill seachad, bha sinn a' tilleadh dhachaidh. Chan' eil beachd agam riamh air a' chrodh a thoirt air ais a siod gun an creic. Bhiodh e tuillidh is cosdail an toirt air ais. 'S ann air an train a bhiodh iad a' tighinn air ais ri mo latha-sa an còmhnuidh.

Bha m'athair—'se dròbhair a bh'ann. 'S ann ris an dròbhaireachd a bha eisean. Bha e a' coiseachd dhachaidh dar a bha e na b'òige. Bha neart dhiubh a' coiseachd dhachaidh. Mhaireadh an fhéill aig an Eaglais Bhreac dhà na trì lathachan. An uair ma dheireadh a choisich misc ann, bha sinn a' fuireach an taigh tuathanach. . . . Sin an t-àite a's an robh sinn a' fuireach. Bha an crodh air an fheirm. Bha mi ochd bliadhn diag dar a bha mi ma dheireadh ann. Chan' eil fhios 'm nach robh mi naodh bliadhn diag.

Bha dà fhéill Dùn ann có-dhiùbh. Chan' eil cuimhne 'm. Cha robh mise ach aig aon Eaglais Bhreac anns a' bhliadhn có-dhiùbh. Bha mi aig dà Fhéill Dùn ann an aon bhliadhna. 'Se féill mhór a bha ann a Féill Dùn. Bha móran cruidh is eich ann."

Translation

"Sixty years ago there were lots of trysts in this place and people used to come with cattle—no sheep, only cattle. There was a tryst in Kingussie, a tryst at Carrbridge, a tryst up at Freeburn—all the roads leading to the Beauly Tryst. My father used to buy at the Beauly Tryst. There was a tryst . . . on the Sliabh: I was there myself.

There were no auctioneers: every man buying and selling his own. When they struck a bargain they would shake hands with a slap, signifying that the contract was sealed.[10] When they failed to agree they would separate and probably return in twenty minutes' time.

I was at the Doune Tryst and at the Falkirk Tryst. The same business went on there too—the same kind of bargaining procedure. At the Falkirk Tryst they were on an open stance.

I myself have walked to Falkirk with cattle when I was only about fourteen years old. We used to go out by Gaick and if we went that way we would turn inland at Struan. When we took the Drumochtar road we would cut across country at Dalnacardoch[11] and follow the open moor without turning inland any more until we were approaching Aberfeldy. Then we'd take a short cut down towards Sheriffmuir on the way to Falkirk: I've forgotten the names of the places. We always took the old roads, as far as we could follow them. We took the old roads and cut across the moor.

On the way, out by Gaick, we would meet some houses and we'd spend the night in a place called Coire Bhran. There was a gamekeeper living there in whose house we used to stay.

The following day we came to a place called Bruar where another gamekeeper lived. We'd go in there and spend the night there. Then when we came to Struan there was a tryst stance there—a cattle stance—and we put the cattle in there and spent that night there. After that we cut across to Trinafour[12] and we'd be another night in Drochaid—what did they call it again?—Drochaid Chonasad, I think they called it—Tummel Bridge.[13]

Then we went on to Aberfeldy, through Aberfeldy, and out again on the high ground, heading for the Sheriffmuir road. After that, I don't remember the place-names on to Falkirk.

Then, again, when we used to go to the Doune Tryst we kept on through Dunblane, turning west later on the road that heads back towards Oban and these places, until we came to Doune. Doune is only about four miles away from Dunblane. We stayed at Doune.

We used to walk all day long with the cattle. We had a dog—everyone had a dog. It took more than five days to go to Falkirk: it was a journey of, I suppose, at any rate a hundred and twenty miles or more. Falkirk is no more than fifteen or twenty miles from Glasgow. I think we'd be seven or eight days on the way—we didn't do twenty miles a day. No, never with the cattle: we'd do twelve miles perhaps, or fourteen at the most; but we wouldn't exceed that. I believe we didn't do even that.

When the tryst was over, we returned home. I don't remember ever having brought the cattle back unsold: it would be too expensive to bring them back. In my day it was always by train they came back.

My father was a drover, a professional drover, and when he

was a younger man he used to walk home—lots of them did that.

The Falkirk Tryst lasted two or three days. The last time I went to it we stayed at a farmer's house . . . The cattle were on that farm. I was eighteen years of age, or perhaps I was nineteen, when I went there for the last time.

There were at least two trysts at Doune. I don't really remember but I was only at one "Falkirk" in a single year and I was at two Doune Trysts.

Doune Tryst was a big tryst: there were lots of horses and cattle there."

Despite the formal panegyric aspect of the Drovers' Song, it is interesting to note that one or two details can be linked with evidence drawn from written sources.

The time of year at which the drovers appeared in Gleann Smeòil, for instance, and the kind of cattle that they collected, finds an echo in a statement such as this, made by James Robertson in his *General View of the Agriculture of Inverness-shire*, of 1813 (Haldane 1952:28). "The manner of disposing of their dry cows or young bullocks is somewhat curious. When the drovers from the South and interior of Scotland make their appearance in the Highlands, which always happens during the latter end of April or the beginning of May. . ."

Another point is that of the drovers' dress. In both variants, the kilt is mentioned; Donald Stewart's version of the song in fact gives the impression that the Highland dress was the insignia of the drover's trade. This, as we shall see, may be of considerable significance.

Before all forms of Highland dress were proscribed by the Disarming Act of 1746, drovers would not, of course, be dressed differently from the rest of the commonalty; nor after 1746, were any special concessions made to them as a class.[14] But though the Disarming Act was at first rigorously enforced, it appears that by 1760 the ban had been relaxed greatly. I have no direct evidence that drovers took special advantage[15] of whatever lenience was shown by the authorities in this respect, nor that in 1782 they responded more enthusiastically than others to the repeal of the act. Nevertheless, to my mind, such an attitude would be perfectly natural in their situation. For as a number of Gaelic poets complain, the author of the Drovers' Song among them, Lowland dress was a severe encumbrance to freedom of movement. And the same complaint

was expressed by others. Duncan Forbes of Culloden indeed goes so far as to say "that as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me, an utter Impossibility, without the advantage of this Dress, for the Inhabitants to tend their Cattle, and to go through the other parts of their Business, without which they could not subsist . . ." (Dunbar 1962:5).

Thus the statement in Donald Stewart's text, concerning the drovers' devotion to the kilt, seems to me to bear the complexion of truth. The drovers' trade, entailing as it did a great deal of walking, often over difficult country, could in the circumstances be said to demand such a garb.

But the significance may be wider than that. After the repeal of the Disarming Act the kilt was never again universally worn in the Highlands, but its appeal as a symbol of the old order remained. The celebratory references in a large number of songs to the "lads of the kilt", the soldiers of the Highland regiments, who were exempted from the general prohibition in the Act of 1746, shows this clearly enough. Now, if the drovers did in fact favour Highland dress, they would naturally enough evoke a comparable, though doubtless less romantic, response. Moreover, the very nature of the drovers' free, wandering life must have had an appeal for a people who for centuries regarded cattle-raiding as an aristocratic pursuit. As Haldane (1952:21) points out: "To a Highlander of the eighteenth century, divided at the most by one generation from such a way of life and possessing beyond a long lineage of cattle-reiving ancestors, it was but a short step to a more legitimate and only slightly less adventurous form of cattle driving." And the same point is implied by Sir Walter Scott in *The Two Drovers*. "The Highlanders in particular," Scott says, "are masters of this difficult trade of driving, which seems to suit them as well as the trade of war." Such an attitude surely helps to explain why the drover is worth commemorating in song.

All this assumes, of course, that the Drovers' Song was composed after 1746. Now the existence of two quite distinct textual variants indicates a fairly long process of oral tradition, possibly stretching back to a point before that date. But here again the description of dress is relevant. According to a letter written in 1768 by Ivan Baillie of Aberiachan (*sic*), the *féileadh-beag* (the *little* kilt, as opposed to the *breacan* or belted plaid) appears to have been unknown before 1725-30 (McClintock 1950:46 ff.).

If this is so, and Baillie's evidence can be corroborated from other sources (McClintock *loc. cit.*), the case for assigning the song to the first half of the eighteenth century is somewhat weakened. It is certainly noteworthy that a description of the dress and appearance of drovers at the Crieff Tryst in 1723 makes no mention of the *féileadh-beag*. "The Highland gentlemen were mighty civil, dressed in their slashed waistcoats, a trousing (which is breeches and stocking of one piece of striped stuff) with a plaid for a cloak and a blue bonnet. . . . Their attendance was very numerous all in belted plaids, girt, like women's petticoats down to the knee; their thighs and half of the leg all bare." (Haldane 1952: 24.)

In the light of such evidence as exists, then, I would take *Oran nan Dròbhairean* to be a composition of the late eighteenth century.

It is interesting that the drovers are mentioned as reciters of "ancient stories". Travelling craftsmen are well known to have been important agents in the spread of oral tradition; in this respect the opportunities offered to drovers cannot have been fewer. Angus MacColl of Mull tells (in a recording in the School of Scottish Studies; SA 1953/97) how the Mull drovers used to spend the whole night listening to stories in the little inn at Rubha an Fheurain (Grass Point). This was in a Gaelic context, but the same kind of entertainment, involving similar exchange of news and songs and tales, must have been available to them further afield. The trysts were always important social occasions, involving many more people than just those who came to buy and sell cattle. In a description of the Falkirk Tryst in 1849 (Haldane 1952:241) when the "uncouth Cumberland jargon" could be heard amid "the prevailing Gaelic", the tents on Stenhousemuir were "constantly filled and surrounded with a mixed multitude of cattle dealers, fishers, drovers, auctioneers, pedlars, jugglers, gamblers, itinerant fruit merchants, ballad singers and beggars".

Although this description applies to the tryst at a later date than the one suggested for the composition of the Drovers' Song, we may assume that earlier trysts also attracted the same motley crew. The allusion to ballad singers serves to remind us that Lowland melodies, which have been known in the Highlands from at least as early as the seventeenth century, may well have passed from Lowlander to Gael in surroundings just like these.

It may be no more than a coincidence that the Drovers'

Song itself is sung to a variant[16] of the Lowland "Wat ye wha I met yestreen", but it is just possible that the poet chose a melody of a kind which he realised was popular with the men he was celebrating.

Finally, the tune too has a link, albeit a tenuous one, with the west of Ross-shire. It is given in Stewart's Collection (1804:I, 158) as the melody to which William Ross's *Buaidhean an t-Samhraidh* is to be sung. Now, William Ross's maternal grandfather came from Wester Ross, and he himself taught school in Gairloch from 1786 to 1790. Admittedly Ross's songs were greatly admired and spread quickly to other parts of the Highlands, so that even if the author of the Drovers' Song borrowed his tune from William Ross's composition, it does not follow that he must have heard it in Ross-shire. But in the absence of other variants, which might throw a glimmer of light on these speculations, the possibility of such a connection seems worth mentioning.

NOTES

[1] Mr. MacRae sings stanza 1 as a refrain. Mr. MacKay, curiously, sang *mo fhìn*; as did also Mr. Campbell and Mr. Andrew Stewart.

[2] The rhyme here suggests that this couplet may have been the opening lines of another stanza.

[3] The singer seems to have gone wrong: the third syllable [ju:], is unintelligible, but the general sense of the stanza is clear.

[4] The last three words are poorly articulated. The transcription and translation are very tentative.

[5] This index at present contains information from the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland only. It also appears, however, that Gleann Smeòil has never been discussed by any of the many authors who have dealt with Scottish place-names in the past.

[6] The two songs are both known as *Màiri Laghach*. According to John MacKenzie in *Sar Obair nam Bard Gaelach* the older song was composed by Murdoch MacKenzie of Loch Broom to his own daughter, and the second by John MacDonald of Scoraig.

According to oral tradition MacDonald composed his song to a Lewis girl who later became his wife. If this story is accurate, the reference to Gleann Smeòil is not to be taken literally. But since MacDonald seems to have borrowed the refrain from MacKenzie's song, he may also have borrowed the place-name and used it romantically. MacKenzie, incidentally, seems to have been a drover himself: he was known in Gaelic as Murchadh Ruadh nam Bó, "Red haired Murdoch of the Droves".

[7] Since writing the above, I have been informed by Mr. Hugh MacRae that a grandson of John MacDonald, author of *Màiri Laghach*, told him that Gleann Smeòil was in Strathcanard in Ross-shire. But, he adds, someone else informed him that it was in Strathbran, which is also in Ross-shire.

[8] For an example of a longer and more detailed account, see *Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover* by Eric Cregeen in *Scottish Studies* 3(2):143-62.

[9] This account is printed as transcribed by Dr. Calum Maclean, except that the use of accents, apostrophes, etc., has been regularised. Since the recording was destroyed after transcription, apparent inconsistencies in morphology, e.g. *Dùin/Dùn* as genitive of Dùn, and in the realisation of certain forms such as *'san latha/'sa' latha*, have been allowed to stand.

[10] I remember hearing in my boyhood that when the old drovers shook hands they said, *Siod eadar—iomlaid!* (lit. "That is mutual exchange", i.e. "It's a deal!").

[11] The late Mr. Alexander MacDonald, Trinafour, Perthshire, told me that several generations of Kennedys, originally from Lianachan, Lochaber, were blacksmiths at Dalnacardoch and used to shoe cattle for the drovers (RL 2195/B5).

[12] So in Dr. Maclean's transcript. But the name is obviously Trinafour, in Gaelic Trian a' Phùir.

[13] But Tummel Bridge is Drochaid Teimheil. I have not located Drochaid Chonasad.

[14] "Drovers were exempt from the Disarming Acts of 1716 and 1748," Haldane (1952:25). Drovers, however, are not specifically mentioned in any of the relevant acts.

[15] Haldane (1952:24) quotes from the New Statistical Account for Monzie, Perthshire, a description of the drovers at Crieff Tryst, which recollects that they were "bare-kneed". This might suggest that before the repeal of the act—Crieff Tryst came to an end in 1770—drovers were wearing Highland dress. But the phrase in the New Statistical Account is "barefooted". (*The New Statistical Account of Scotland* 10:270.)

[16] I owe this observation to the Rev. William Matheson, lecturer in Celtic, Edinburgh University. Mr. Matheson however holds that these Lowland song titles in Gaelic anthologies do not necessarily refer to melodies imported direct from the Lowlands of Scotland, but to variants of tunes current over a wider area of Europe. The Lowland titles, according to this view, were merely used as a convenient way of identifying the melodies.

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JOHN MACINNES

Hallowe'en at Fortingall, Perthshire

The celebration of Hallowe'en (*Samhuin*) on 31st October constituted one of the two most significant calendar festivals

of the Celts. The other great feast, that of *Beltane*,. took place on 1st May. Traditions of these ancient festivals are still current in the Scottish Highlands, and in most areas, vestigial rites of some kind or another are still carried out by the younger people. The celebration of Hallowe'en as a communal festival, accompanied by activities which show a direct link with earlier superstitious ritual, continued in Fortingall until well into the present century. Here the festival of *Beltane* was observed by lighting the fires under the ancient yew tree in the churchyard until this was stopped due to damage done to the tree (Stewart 1928:37). And, bearing in mind the earlier Celtic association of Hallowe'en with the dead, and with the inhabitants of the otherworld, it is perhaps noteworthy that the great communal bonfire at Fortingall was built on the mound known as *Carn nam Marbh* "The Mound of the Dead". It is believed that under this mound are buried the bodies of victims of a plague, brought there by an old woman, in a cart pulled by a white horse, or according to some versions of the story, on a sledge (*Ibid.*: 36). Whether the mound, now surmounted by a stone bearing an inscription and known as *Clach a' Phlàigh*, "The Stone of the Plague" is in fact a burial cairn or a clearance cairn has not yet been established, but the significant factor is that it is locally *believed* to contain human remains. Although people living a few miles from Fortingall knew of the annual festivities, only the local populace seems to have actually taken part in them. The other villages had the usual bonfires (*samhnagan*) which were built by the children.

The following information is taken from a conversation, recorded on 28th April 1965, with Duncan MacGregor, J.P., of Balnald, Fortingall, aged 68, who actually took part in the Hallowe'en celebrations as a boy. Now a joiner, he is the fifth generation of a family of cartwrights who have lived in the same house in which he now lives, and practised their trade at Balnald.

Hallowe'en was held at Fortingall on 11th November.[1] All the members of the village, young and old, took part in it. For months before the actual celebration, the young people gathered and stored great quantities of whin from the hill and the brae face, where it was once very plentiful, and night after night the boys would carry it down the hill. Then it was made into a huge pile, with the addition of any wood shavings available, and empty tar barrels. The older men from the farm and other members of the community, including the coachmen

from Fortingall Hotel would then construct the bonfire on the top of the mound, *Carn nam Marbh*. When it was blazing, everyone joined hands and danced round the mound, clockwise and anti-clockwise. The whole village gathered to take part in the ceremony. Then, as the fire went down, some of the younger boys took burning faggots from the flames and ran throughout the field with them, finally throwing them into the air and dancing over them as they lay on the ground. Later still, when the last embers were glowing, the boys would leap over the fire, marking who should leap furthest. When the bonfire was finished, the young people went home and ducked for apples while the older people went to the Hotel and had a dance there. There was no guising apparently on Hallowe'en as the huge bonfire occupied everyone's attention during the evening.

The last great bonfire was lit in Fortingall about 1924. The festival died out there, not because of lack of interest on the part of the people, but because it was stopped by the keeper who claimed that the large-scale stripping of whin from the hill deprived the game of cover.

NOTE

[1] Duncan MacGregor dates the big Fortingall market *Féill Ceit* to this date also, and thinks there may be a link between the date of the market and that of the celebration of Hallowe'en. Stewart (1928:187), however, gives the date of *Féill Ceit* as being December 6th and 7th. The ground outside the gates of Fortingall Church is still a market stance and the public have the right to park their cars there to this day.

REFERENCE

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ANNE ROSS

C. BOOK REVIEWS

The Dewar Manuscripts, Volume One. Scottish West Highland Folk Tales collected originally in Gaelic by John Dewar. Edited with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. John Mackechnie. Glasgow: William Maclellan. 1964. Pp. 400; 35 photographs; genealogical tables. 63s.

When J. F. Campbell of Islay was publishing his West Highland Tales, John Dewar, a woodman on the Argyll estates, was encouraged by him and the 8th Duke to gather

Gaelic folktales in Argyll, Dunbartonshire and Lochaber. He began this in 1859, but most of the collection was made between 1863 and 1871. Many of his original Gaelic field copies, and duplicates, are now in the National Library of Scotland, but Dewar made fair copies, consisting of five volumes which, with two notebooks, are now at Inveraray Castle. At the request of Campbell of Islay these were translated into English by Hector Maclean the Islay schoolmaster in 1880-81; and his translation, in nineteen volumes, is also at Inveraray. It is this English version that the Rev. J. Mackechnie is now in the process of editing; the original Gaelic is unfortunately not included. The book is most expensively and handsomely produced (though the binding of this reviewer's copy will obviously not stand hard wear); and the excellent photographs, particularly the sketches and portraits of Campbell of Islay and the pages from the Dewar MSS., are of much interest. It is regrettable that works of scholarship cannot hope to be published in this lavish manner.

The book contains some fifty stories, varying from less than a page to over twenty. With the exception of one Fenian story they are all "clan" or "historical" tales, i.e. they are traditions of historical or supposedly historical events, seen as the personal adventures of more or less famous clansmen. In the circumstances they are naturally concerned chiefly with the Campbells or clans having close connections with them; and they refer to the period between the late sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The question how far these traditions are, or can be, really "historical" is one that is of little primary interest to the folklorist *qua* folklorist, since he is mainly concerned with them as expressions of oral traditions, but it will be the first asked by historians. Campbell of Islay's own views are quoted on p. 25; he regarded them as "the popular view of great events looked at from below . . . microscopic and accurate for details, but hazy, vague, distorted, and mythical, for all that is beyond the people." It must be remembered, à propos of the many traditions here printed belonging to the period of the '45 and afterwards, that in theory Dewar could have heard them from men who got them at first hand from people who themselves actually witnessed the events described. Unfortunately the editor has not thought proper to give what Campbell of Islay himself generally scrupulously recorded in his notes; the names, ages and places of residence of the tellers and any details available about the sources from whom they got their

tales. This, the indispensable and universal modern practice, may go a long way towards answering questions of this kind. It is to be hoped that this unexpected omission will be rectified in a future volume.

The fact is that a great opportunity has been missed here. Some of the events, such as the Appin Murder, are well known and fully documented from true historical written sources, and it would have been extremely useful to have set out, in systematic if summary fashion, the exact points where the oral tradition differs from the written, where it agrees with it and where it amplifies it, pointing out not only cases where the former is evidently not authentic but also any instances where it has a probable air of greater authenticity; and also investigating the question whether printed sources (e.g. for the Appin Murder) can have influenced the oral tradition. It is true that a good deal of material taken from historical sources is quoted in illustration in the enormous learned-looking *Notes* (said on p. 16 to have been "cut down as much as possible"), but the problems in question are not seriously dealt with. Large parts of the Notes could well have been dispensed with to make room for this. But one should not ask too much; perhaps this too will be handled in some other volume.

The actual content is of course of immense interest. There are old favourites here, such as a version of "Atholl's Sheep and Lochiel's Wolves" (no. 11), or "Little John MacAndrew" (no. 44), but there is a great deal that is new or far less familiar, and all is full of fascination. A story of Rob Roy; traditions of Prestonpans; Culloden and the escapes of some of the participants, particularly the adventures of Charles Stewart of Ardshiel told at great length; and the Appin Murder; not to mention many stories of earlier times; are told in the usual terse, "nervous" Gaelic style. According to the version given, the murderer of Colin of Glenure was Donald Stewart, nephew of Stewart of Ballachulish, and his confederate in the ambush was Stewart of Fasnacloich; and Alan Breck was bribed to leave the country and "confess" to the murder by letter from abroad, a device which of course failed to save James of the Glen.

We must all be grateful to the editor for the painstaking labours which have gone to make available this impressive and tremendously interesting body of Highland oral tradition, and the volumes yet to come are eagerly awaited. Maclean's translation seems to have been printed on the whole much as it stands, though certain words of the editor's about making it

"attractive to the modern reader" (p. 14), about "departures . . . to achieve a more readable version" (p. 16), and about modernisations of the text to avoid wearying the reader (p. 50 f.), hardly inspire confidence. *Modernisation* is scarcely the word that could be applied to such a principle, in editing at all events, but it does not appear to amount to very much. One trusts it will be abandoned in the next volume, though the exact reverse is unfortunately indicated on p. 51.

Speaking of other collectors of Scottish folklore since Dewar, the editor appears to regard Kenneth Macleod as the last (p. 47). This is less than generous to numerous people, notably to that distinguished Campbell and doyen of collectors at the present time Dr. John Lorne Campbell (not to mention the members of the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh). The attitude towards the Campbells expressed in various places will not awaken an answering echo in every Scottish heart. The ascription of the portrait facing p. 80 to "J. Y. Hurleston" should read "F. Y. Hurlstone" (vide the DNB.). It would be tempting to wax even further critical over certain aspects of the presentation, edition and annotation, but the reviewer will resist this temptation. One may end by remarking the curious error into which the writer of the blurb has fallen in saying that the editor "for a period held the Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh University".

KENNETH JACKSON

The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727. By P. W. J. Riley. The Athlone Press. 1964. xiv+326 pp. 50s.

Scotsmen in 1707 reacted to the Union with deep and conflicting emotions. George, first Earl of Cromarty, had sought to encourage the work of uniting the kingdoms by expressing the wish: "May we be Brittains, and down go the old ignominious names of Scotland (and) of England." But Iain Lom, bard of Keppoch, was firmly of the opinion that Scotland had been sold by her nobles, as is shown in his comment on the Duke of Hamilton:

"Iarla Bhrathainn bhiodh mar ris,
Cha bhiodh mealladh 'sa' chùis ac',
Toirt a' chrùin uainn le ceannach
An ceart fhradharc ar sùilean."

It is not at all unnatural that Scots continue to strike emotional attitudes for or against the Union. An examination of the ways the Union has figured in folklore, newspaper editorials, and general public opinion from 1707 to the present would be a valuable exercise in the field of Scottish Studies. So far, however, historians too have usually preferred to strike attitudes rather than examine them. Not every writer on the Union seems to want to know what really happened. This makes Dr. William Ferguson's article in the *Scottish Historical Review* of October 1964, and Dr. Riley's present book, especially welcome. Dr. Ferguson's article looks at the antecedents of the Union: *English Ministers* is a detailed examination of its immediate results.

Dr. Riley's theme is a dual one. Firstly, he shows how aspects of the Scottish administration—the customs, the excise, the Court of Exchequer—were modernised and anglicised after 1707, and how administrative problems arising from the Union, such as the disbursement of the Equivalent, were tackled. Secondly, he traces the interaction of political developments and administrative ones. A statesman of the time, like Robert Harley or James, Earl of Seafield, saw all this as just one theme. Nowadays, when the propriety of a Sunday newspaper's writing on the opinions and influence of top civil servants as if they were politicians has been called in question, we are bound to see the political and the administrative as two separate themes. The ability to combine them meaningfully and readably is pretty rare in historians, and the way Dr. Riley fuses them constitutes the peculiar excellence of his book.

The mainly political chapters of the book are very detailed. Dr. Riley does more than simply describe what Scots politicians were up to at Westminster, and sketch in enough English background to give the reader his general chronological bearings. Events in Scotland are inexplicable without some understanding of the inner workings of English politics. As Dr. Riley says, Anne's ministers were "concerned with Scotland as a field of tactical manoeuvre in which success could improve their respective positions at Westminster". This concern was intensified by the Union, but began long before 1707.

The more purely administrative chapters are noteworthy for the amount of virgin soil they upturn. In recent years scholars such as Athol Murray have done fresh work on the administrative records of the period, and Dr. Riley has utilised this where possible; but for much of the time he is pioneering.

He brings out clearly the importance of Baron John Scrope of the Court of Exchequer, as co-ordinator of government business in Scotland, and liaison between Scotland and London. Scrope's expertise stands out against a background of chaos in several aspects of the new administration. Some myths are put in perspective too. The Porteous Riot and Burns's "The Deil's Awa Wi' Th' Exciseman" remind us of the unpopularity of the revenue service in eighteenth-century Scotland. The traditional picture of the customs officers is of "Inglish ignorant forners" (and sabbath-breakers). Dr. Riley shows that in fact Englishmen were in a minority in the customs establishment of 1707. He demonstrates that the nationalist element in the protests against the customs men was contemporary and not a later invention, but then proceeds to describe the more prosaic, and more real, causes of friction—the intrigues of Sir Alexander Rigby in the customs commission, disparities between English and Scottish measures, and the natural dislike of taxes and duties, especially increased ones.

Where Dr. Riley's material is most complex, his handling of it is at its best, as in the chapter on "The Equivalent and the Revenue". The tangled affair of the monetary Equivalent "for such parts of the English debts as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay, by reason of the Union", has never before been so authoritatively described. Dr. Riley's conclusion, that, in disbursing the Equivalent, the commissioners' "proceedings seem to have been marked by adherence to the law", stands in striking contrast to Dr. Ferguson's picture of widespread secret payments to friends of the ministry before the Union. But there is no essential contradiction here, and Dr. Riley wisely stresses the aura of publicity in which the commission worked, rather than any exceptional public morality of the commissioners. "They had to keep within the law because they were accountable for the money, and carefully watched by hostile eyes."

From the point of view of the artistic shape and unity of the book, the final chapter "Walpole and the Scots" is probably a mistake. It takes the development of Scottish politics from 1714 to the dismissal of the Duke of Roxburgh from the third Secretaryship in 1725, and, in barest outline, some considerable way beyond. This period has its own problems, being, in its lack of clear-cut ideological issues, in some ways even more complex than Anne's reign. Very occasionally, in this chapter, Dr. Riley oversimplifies the tangled skein of political alliances

in the interests of brevity. It is going too far to describe the Lord Advocate Sir David Dalrymple as "an Argyll man" in politics, even though the Argathelian faction on occasion worked with him. Dalrymples in politics usually walked alone, and Sir David, though one of the most likeable members of the family, seems also to have been one of the most unwilling for long-term compromise with other political groups.

There is a rather more important point of controversy. Dr. Riley is on sure ground when he says that eighteenth-century ministers disliked a patronage manager who sought to use his control of Scots patronage to make himself independent of his colleagues: this was why the Scottish Secretaryship was allowed to lapse. But Dr. Riley overstresses this point when he argues that the exercise of Scottish patronage in the second half of the eighteenth century by James Stuart Mackenzie and Henry Dundas was "due to special circumstances rather than being part of the normal pattern". The "special circumstance" of the Dundas ascendancy lasted three decades, and it is hard to believe that he was ruling a patronage empire such as had never existed before. And in fact Archibald, Earl of Islay, later third Duke of Argyll, had had a directly comparable role under Walpole and the Pelhams. It would be wrong to overestimate the capacity of even the indefatigable Newcastle to manage Scotland from London, or to underemphasise the real power of Islay, despite his cheerful preparedness to write obsequious letters to his political bosses.

Nevertheless, it is good to have Dr. Riley's insights into the later period set down for us, however briefly. In a vignette such as that on the Commission of Police, he can materially advance our knowledge and understanding. Some history books by their title suggest a narrow and specialised theme, and yet by their contents not only carry out the task proposed by the title, but also cast a broad illuminating light both before and behind. This is such a book.

JOHN M. SIMPSON

Ulster Dialects—An Introductory Symposium. Ulster Folk Museum. 1964. xiv and 201 pp., 10 maps. 20s.

This is the first publication of the recently established Ulster Folk Museum, which now has in its care the dialect material collected from 1951 onwards by the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. It is also the latest publication in dialectology

within the British Isles. On both counts it ought to be something of an event. But what is most conspicuously lacking is what might have been most eagerly looked for in a venture of this kind—especially one which emphasises that it is an *introductory* volume—namely, the presentation of a theoretical and methodological background. This unfortunately is not to be found. There is nothing here like Hans Kurath's *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* or Angus McIntosh's Ann Arbor lecture "On Planning a Dialect Survey" or his subsequent "Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects" which launched the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. Over in Ulster the libations have been offered, the corded bales have been ready for ten years, but no one seems to have had an eye on the *sea*.

This is not to say, however, that flotation has not been attempted. Mr. G. B. Thompson, Director of the Museum, draws attention in his Preface to "material and non-material evidence in all periods of human history". So that, "oral tradition is as much a part of our work as material culture . . . often the name of an object is a dialect word". These words, of course, belong to one type of linguistic piety ("ohne Sachforschung, keine Wortforschung mehr") and a whole theory of linguistics and linguistic geography lies concealed within them, which we might have expected the rest of the book to uncover or discuss. But nothing of the sort happens.

There is, certainly, something which comes out not so much as a theory, more a way of life which has touched Ulster very closely—the advance of English on an Irish substratum, often resulting in a form of Anglo-Irish which Dr. Henry has elsewhere spoken of as "the outcome of adaptation rather than a relic of adoption". This perennial and self-conscious interest is one facet of what Franz Boas called that "secondary reasoning and re-interpretation", which, in the area in which he worked he was unable to observe for *language*, but which field-workers in Ulster and Scotland can hardly ever hope to avoid. One or two of the contributors, especially Dr. Henry, have considered it in other places, but here it is touched on quite lightly although Professor Gregg gives it a complete if rather short section. It alone justifies the inclusion of Mr. Adams's second contribution, a careful study of recent language censuses (with maps) and it must also justify Dr. Henry's contention (p. 147) that "dialect boundaries may be predictable and follow older divisions. The spread of a new dialect . . . may be almost like pouring new

matter into an old mould". If we are going to have controversial matters like predictable dialect divisions and substratum theories, there is no doubt, as Ernst Pulgram pointed out some years ago (*Language* 25: 243, *cf.* Martinet *Rom. Ling.* 5: 155) that we will require non-linguistic as well as linguistic evidence, and if it is *this* which is making the Dialect Archive tick within the general workings of the Folk Museum, then surely we are entitled to have it clearly and cogently stated and discussed; and all the more so since Dr. Henry wants us to push our studies very far back indeed, because "the mould was fixed in ancient times and modern developments continue ancient associations". But, surely, there is a question of priorities here. From the point of view of linguistic *theory*, we ought to begin with the linguistic evidence and with nothing else whatever. We can push our way along the area where the isoglosses bunch and notice with detached curiosity that there is a vague coincidence with whatever we know (and this, of course, has its own problems) of an ancient political or racial boundary. But when we observe a salient, this is *not*, as Dr. Henry says, a "minor detail"; it involves a major reconnaissance and is of the very stuff of linguistic geography. It is a pity that Dr. Henry has allowed himself the image of a "fixed mould"; his thought was freer, when (*Lochlann* 1: 58) he wrote: "A linguistic survey . . . is a fact-finding quest depending for its success on the susceptibility of the investigator to impression and on his freedom from preconception".

We seem, at one point, to be nicely on the way to a unified theory when Mr. Adams, in his Editorial, writes: "We have tried to include papers which survey in all its aspects the whole field which the archive is intended to cover, and . . . the papers are so arranged as to lead readers to whom the study of dialects is new from a general view of the subject towards some of its more technical intricacies." But a "general view" turns out to be Mr. Braidwood's article on "Ulster and Elizabethan English", done on the conventional historical lines which have served Germanic Philology for the past hundred years, and which, it must be confessed, are a little dated for a modern linguistic survey. And the "technical intricacies" turn out to be Professor Gregg's descriptive piece for Larne (another, more modern, theory). There is no reason at all why one should be more or less general, or more or less intricate than the other. Dr. Henry comes nearest to giving us a discussion on the relative values of the phonological and lexical approaches in

linguistic geography, but—perhaps because his article was originally given as a talk to The Field Naturalists' Club—this is not developed.

Finally, since no coherent theory is forthcoming, we are left with a certain solid satisfaction at having learned a good deal about Ulster dialects, yet at the same time with that uncertain feeling that someone has missed out something vital, somewhere. What can it be? Undoubtedly, it is a point of view—*le point de vue qui crée l'objet.*

It may be, of course, that to ask for a theoretical background is asking too much, since the book is a symposium and not all the contributions were written specially for it—although this is not true of those of Mr. Braidwood and Professor Gregg. The editor, in fact, has had to point out that it has not been found possible to achieve a unity even in a comparatively trivial detail like phonetic transcription. If this is unimportant —although there seems to be no good reason why it should not have been done—then, to say the least of it, it is rather messy to have to fiddle between article and article with what sailors call Irish pendants, as when, for instance, after a good deal of phonetic erudition in the section on Phonetic Symbols, which includes exemplifications from ten languages for a simple matter like a voiced velar fricative, we are told in the next article (p. 3) that in Belfast dialect "*mail* becomes *meeal* and *bad* becomes *bawad*, as near as it can be expressed without recourse to phonetic script". Scotsmen—and others—will want to know what they are paying for. Or again, when Mr. Braidwood takes the trouble to caution us (p. 48) against jumping to the conclusion that Ulster forms like *han'* (= hand), *spinnel* (= spindle), *fowk* (= folk) are necessarily of Scots origin, we are alarmed to notice that Mr. Adams is already in at the deep end (p. 1): "The north-eastern dialect . . . spoken in most of Co. Antrim . . . is an off-shoot of the Central Scots dialect as spoken in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and still preserves the marks of its Scottish ancestry in most of the area in which it is spoken. Such features are: . . . the loss of *b*, *d*, *g* in words like *thimmle*, *hannle*, *single*, *finger* (rhymes with *singer*); the loss of final *d* after *n*, *l*:—*han'*, *owl'* for *old*, and of *l* after short vowels: *wa'* for *wall* . . ." But these features are common in Scotland (and Northern England) over a much wider area than Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire. It is not, perhaps, that Mr. Adams does not understand this—he is more precise, for example, when (p. 2) he notices *old*, *cold*, etc.

which come out as *owl, cowl*, instead of the expected *auld, cauld*—it is simply that in his article he has tried to characterise Ulster dialects eclectically and non-systemically by phonic criteria, neglecting phonemic and distributional, and neglecting in any case Kurath's advice about the *unequal* value of each of these in assessing speech areas. Phonically, as Mr. Adams must know, anything and everything can happen between Rattray Head and Bloody Foreland. It is precisely here that a theoretical background would have been of service.

In a book entitled *Ulster Dialects*, we ought to be made quite clear about the difference between "dialect" and "a distinctive form of the standard language". Both of these are used on p. 1, and on p. 163 Professor Gregg's article, "Scotch-Irish Urban speech in Ulster" is sub-titled "A Phonological study of the regional standard English of Larne, County Antrim". On p. 164 Professor Gregg states that "the links will . . . be traced between Larne speech and its linguistic background—the neighbouring Scotch-Irish *rural* dialect" (his italics). On p. 177 he writes: "It would indeed be true to say that what might be called the 'non-standard' speech of certain suburbs [of Larne] is an almost unaltered version of the country dialects belonging to the immediate vicinity". On p. 9 Mr. Braidwood speaks of "the high proportion of rural to urban population, encouraging the survival of country speech or dialect". Is the dichotomy, then, between urban "forms of the standard language" and rural "dialects" (which also includes "non-standard" urban forms)? If so, this, however unsatisfactory, is as near as we get to an explicit definition and disentanglement throughout the book. If, however, the two have been tacitly defined in some such way as has been developed, for example, by David Abercrombie, it should have been stated explicitly and, if necessary, discussed.

Certainly, Professor Gregg begins his article with a paragraph of theoretical discussion, but unfortunately this does not take us very far, for as he himself says it is a theoretical description of the origin and development of dialects and not a methodological discussion. In any case, it is as old as Henry Sweet. No mention is made of contemporary theory—Weinreich, Moulton, Pulgram, Trevor Hill. But, as it stands, Professor Gregg's article is a careful synchronic statement, giving us manipulable and comparable structural material, and also touching on the notion of levels in a linguistic hierarchy. And, most important, he has obviously done a considerable amount of fieldwork.

Mr. Braidwood in his essay on "Ulster and Elizabethan English" (which is by far the longest in the book) finds it necessary early on (p. 46) to damp down one or two of those brave emotional outbreaks which occur in Ulster in a dry season, namely, the claim that over there they speak pure Elizabethan English, the tongue that Shakespeare spake. He has no difficulty in doing this. Nevertheless, he himself emerges from the fray with the smell of fire on him, not only in his concern, stated several times (pp. 10 and 22, for instance) to "establish links between Ulster dialect and Jacobean English", but more precisely in the statement (p. 50) of what procedures he proposes in the treatment of the major sounds of Elizabethan English—"the procedure followed . . . is to say something first of Elizabethan pronunciation and then to adduce Ulster (sometimes Anglo-Irish) parallels".

This he does, although the order of the doing seems strange. He leans heavily on Adams, and heavily on the negative evidence of hypercritical (not to mention just plain *dead*) orthoepists like David Patterson (1860), "One who Listens" (1897) and on P. W. Joyce (1910) for Anglo-Irish, *et al.* But will it do? Merely to cast round like this for exemplificatory material from this or that source without regard to the checks and balances of the actual *systems*, will not do. To set up a coherent but conjectural Elizabethan system is one thing; it is another to spot ("adduce Ulster parallels") from Adams, Patterson, Joyce, "One who Listens", Mr. Braidwood's own schooldays, or what have you, to the neglect of particular systems, or the territorial and lexical distributions of the phenomena.

Professor Gregg in another place (*Orbis* **8**), while not minimising the value of a historical approach, insisted that present day word-forms ought to be our starting point, as a question of *priority*, for "from the dialectologist's point of view, the focus of interest should always be on the dialect itself rather than on . . . the hypothetical ancestors". But since such a proposition is nowhere discussed in this book we dither from one point of view to another. One good section on what dialects are considered to be, and what linguistic geography is about would have saved us much. And it is all the more annoying because Mr. Braidwood sometimes does get his priorities right: "Whatever the historical facts, dialect boundaries can be drawn only on linguistic evidence and criteria . . . the historical evidence will . . . give us a place to start and an idea of what to

look for" (p. 10). Probably about the same time as Mr. Braidwood completed his essay, Professor Gregg completed his "Boundaries of the Scotch-Irish Dialect" (Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University Library) which is a full-scale piece of research made by actually travelling along a vaguely defined boundary and attempting to give it greater definition.

Mr. Braidwood's "Historical Introduction—The Planters" is a most useful interpretation with illuminating demographic evidence clearly set out and he does well to remind us that the weight of a smallish number of undertakers is of less importance for Ulster speech than a far larger number of tenants. He is careful to show us, too, how we can be misled by census statistics. For example (p. 25), in Fermanagh the Presbyterians formed only 1·8 per cent of the population by 1861, although the *historical* evidence suggests that the original Scots planters (not, however, the servitors) were almost equal to the English. Yet in general (p. 9) Mr. Braidwood has stressed the importance of the Presbyterian Church in keeping alive Scottish forms of speech. This is fascinating to us, for we cherish our own examples on this side of the North Channel. There was Samuel Rutherford, for example, or Alexander Peden: "In our speech our Scripture and old Scots names are gone out of request; . . . training children to speak nonsense and what they do not understand. These are . . . causes of God's wrath."

Finally, there is appended to the book a useful Register of Phonological Research on Ulster Dialects; and this makes it at length impossible to deny that the entire undertaking is good, hard, substantial work. Nevertheless (to go back to launching) it never really becomes sea-borne. Neither unfortunately do I, for I am aware that my attitude to *Ulster Dialects* is perverse and bucolic in the extreme. In complaining that there is no unified theory I see that the game is up and that I am finally unmasked as that very yokel who, when asked the way, replied: "If I was you, zur, I wouldn't start from here." Well, no matter—I wouldn't.

J. Y. MATHER

The Scottish Highlands: A Short History (*c.* 300-1746). By W. R. Kermack. W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W. Bacon Ltd., Edina Works, Edinburgh and London. 1957. 160 pp. 9s. 6d.

The firm of W. & A. K. Johnston have been known over a long period as the publishers, in many successive editions, of a useful booklet on the Highland clans complete with all their panoply; and one half expected this history to be a celebration

of past glories and lost causes with the usual colourful embellishments. But not so. Here is a sober, well-informed and skilfully articulated narrative, necessarily compressed, yet with a due balance between particular and general—the best all-round work on the subject, despite the modest format; and, as for embellishments, it might be considered matter for regret that there are in fact no illustrations apart from those on the dust-cover. There are, however, five maps.

It is not easy to bring the disparate elements in Highland history into one unified perspective, the more so because of the patchiness of the source material, much of it reflecting ignorance of the Gael at close quarters and a disposition to notice him only when he disturbed the peace. On the latter account the story of Gaeldom has often been told in terms of what were merely its external, and rather unedifying, relations with the Scottish Crown. In this book attention is fixed on certain focal points within the Highland area which generated considerable power of their own—the Lordship of the Isles, followed, on its demise, by the build-up of Campbell hegemony in Argyll; the equally significant growth of Gordon influence in the north-east; and the remarkable rise of the MacKenzies to a position of ascendancy among the northern clans. There are also perceptive chapters on "Clanship under Feudalism", "The Highland Economy", "Highland War" and "The Decline of Clanship". All of which represents a well-rounded piece of work, except for the rather arbitrary and misleading omission of a chapter or chapters on the period between Culloden and the present day.

The author is obviously well read in his subject, much more so than the amount of documentation would suggest. One sign of this is the aptness with which he illustrates even minor points, drawing upon a great variety of sources. Also noteworthy is the succinctness of the writing, which must be the result, not merely of wide reading, but of prolonged reflection. There is, for instance, the frequently asked question, "What were the Highland clans?" One may side-step this question by suggesting that "clan" could at no time be classed as a technical term, and is therefore incapable of precise definition. But, if the attempt must be made, it will be hard to improve upon the short description of them here (p. 63) as "small groups, each of whom, because of kinship, feudal dependence or some other reason for their allegiance, adhered to a local chief".

It may be that Highland history, especially in its social aspect, has still to be given an extra dimension that must be lacking until the Gaelic sources are fully laid under contribution. In the present work some rewarding incursions are made into this field, on the whole with commendable good judgment and accuracy. It may be useful, however, to draw attention to some errors. *Conveth* (p. 31) cannot possibly be connected with *cuid oidhche*; it stands for *coinmheadh*, "quartering, billeting". The word *dùthchas* (often misspelled *duchus*) is wrong in the context in which it occurs (p. 102), where *dùthaich* is required. The latter is the term for the "country" occupied by a clan: whereas *dùthchas*, the corresponding abstract noun, denotes their right, established by use and wont, to occupy it.

The following further points may also be made. It is unsafe to say (p. 123) that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a good many of the more obscure families had no surname. The usual Highland surname simply identified the bearer as the descendant of an ancestor more or less remote. At a time when communal and individual memories were long it must have been possible for almost anyone so to identify himself; though no doubt occasion for doing so, at least in a situation requiring the use of an anglicised form in writing, arose only for the few. William, Earl of Seaforth, did not live abroad during the last twenty-five years of his life (p. 149). He was pardoned in 1726, returned to the Highlands, and died in Lewis on 8th January 1740. The Clan MacKenzie, of which he was chief, have propagated several fictions about their own early history, one of which is that, as stated here (pp. 104-5), their chiefs lived in Kintail until the fifteenth century.

There are some other matters which might call for fuller comment if space permitted. Only a query can be inserted as to whether the parallel between the Highland clan and the Irish *tuath* is not overdrawn (pp. 32, 63-4). It must also suffice to note in one sentence that most of the so-called "modern" metres (p. 154), first met with in Gaelic verse of the seventeenth century, show signs of being in fact very old, and form part of the evidence for the existence, alongside the poetic tradition whose vehicle was the literary language, of another tradition, depending wholly upon oral transmission in the vernacular, and leaving few traces from earlier times because it was ignored, perhaps even despised, by the class of literary men who inscribed verse in manuscripts.

These are points of detail which might possibly be attended to in another edition—for it may be anticipated that there will be a demand for such. The book is sound value in small bulk, and certainly deserves to be in circulation for a long time.

W. MATHESON

Living with Ballads. By Willa Muir. The Hogarth Press. 260 pp. 30s.

A sub-title to this stimulating and important book might be "A Psycho-Analytical Study of the Scottish Peasantry, on the Evidence of their Ballads". The making of Ballads has come to an end in Scotland. The simplest explanation for this is that the Scottish peasantry have ended their Sunset Song. Now we have capitalist farmers and agricultural labourers, none of whom makes Ballads any more, though some have inherited them.

Mrs. Muir does not follow this economic hare. It darts across p. 77, where she quotes doubtfully "that the farming people of North-Eastern Scotland were led out of the Middle Ages as late as 1713, when Alexander Grant of Monymusk introduced from Holland the use of turnips as a field crop for feeding cattle". Mrs. Muir chooses the psychological approach.

She begins with autobiography. As a girl she played singing games and recognises the connection with Ballads: they are both sung. She also knows that these singing games are nearly all in English, not Scots. They are sung by girls while the boys play football. They are sung in Primary Schools, but not by older girls in Academies. She is able, from experience, to go on to the Ballads which countrymen sometimes sing, but not town workers. She knows the printed work of Gavin Greig, and the Ballads of Jeannie Robertson from recordings.

Her first introduction to a traditional Ballad was at an early age in north-east Scotland, when the countryman Harry sang to her "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" in the impersonal style of the true Ballad singer, a style that contrasted with Sandy's very personal "Come all ye . . ." Harry proved himself an authentic folk singer, and demonstrated that "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" is an artistic production. As T. S. Eliot wrote: "Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion; it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality. . . . The emotion of art is impersonal."

The book has many flashes of insight that illuminate the

background. But may I put a question mark beside the following:

> "Ballads need not be sung unaccompanied by an instrument; after all, very many years ago, Achilles, when Patroclus came to find him in his tent, was singing a Ballad to the Phorminx."

Our Scottish traditional Ballad has come down to us unaccompanied:

> "Harping, he said, ken I non,
> For tong is chefe of mynstralcie".

Oral poetry, Mrs. Muir continues, is unlettered and emotional, and to be understood through one's feelings. This is true within limits. The emotion must not be expressed directly by the Ballad maker, but through Eliot's "objective correlative"—in this case the *dramatic* Ballad. In a sense, a Ballad may be falsely romantic in a lyrical style, attempting to express emotion directly—a tendency shown by later Ballads.

To explain Ballads, there is a chapter on the Sumerian *Gilgamesh* of the third millennium B.C., followed by Homer and Norse Sagas. I wish *Beowulf*, in the same language, had been included.

That Ballads date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggests a time-link with Chaucer and Dunbar, also in the same culture, but instead there is a more general psychological study of the Christian Middle Ages. It is a Christianity that has absorbed paganism, and it was a pagan rather than a Christian Muse that inspired the Ballads. Mrs. Muir narrows to Ballads what Rémy de Gourmont wrote of all art:

> "There is no Christian art; the two words are contradictory."

This Frenchman attacks St. Paul and Mrs. Muir attacks Calvin, but fundamentally they are saying the same thing. This becomes important when dates are put to stages in the psychological development of the Scottish peasant.

Calvinism, learning to distrust the world of imagination, is consciously cerebral, in contrast to the Aberdeenshire countryside which remained deep in a world of archaic feeling, out of which came the Ballads. Under the influence of Calvinism, respectable Scotsmen shied away from the arts and went in for law, logic, philosophy or theology. But Mrs. Muir has lived in Rome, and surely she will not deny that the same thing has

happened in Catholic Italy, from economic not religious causes. Gerard Manley Hopkins studied most of these subjects —and wrote greater poetry for it.

She continues. After Calvinism, romantic true love began to come into the foreground, along with subjective emotional states beyond the scope of earlier Ballads. The author equates this sign of decadence in the Ballad tradition with a parallel development in the psyche of the Scottish peasant.

The nature of Ballads prevented Calvinism from being embodied in good Ballads. But, remembering de Gourmont's statement, we recognise that in good Ballads there is very little Catholicism.

Seeing began to predominate over feeling as self-awareness strengthened. Calvinism, in attacking Catholicism, attacked paganism, and suppressed the underworld of imagination out of which Ballads arose. Another fertile idea is dropped casually, when Mrs. Muir writes of these Scottish peasants as

> "a relatively unsophisticated people unused, like the Ballads themselves, to the practice of systematic conceptual thinking, a passionate and highly imaginative people accustomed to live mainly in the underworld of feeling. People of this kind are, I am convinced, peculiarly vulnerable to the attack of systematized power-structure, especially under the guise of religion, and Calvinism directed just such an attack upon them."

Of course, Catholicism was also such a systematised power-structure, modelled on the Roman Empire, but the general validity of the theory is in its application to other systematised power-structures, like Communism. A comparison between the Russian Ballad-singing peasants and the Scottish countrymen who made the Scottish Ballads would be enlightening.

But between Catholicism and Calvinism there are resemblances that Mrs. Muir does not mention. For example, the new scrutinising eye of Calvinism cannot have been as new as all that. It must have been present in Catholicism. For confession began in the sixth century, and must have strengthened self-awareness long before Calvin. Also, in Catholicism there must have been a very similar scrutinising eye that clearly saw heresy and witchcraft, long before the scrutinising eye of Calvinism looked at the paganism within Catholicism. There must have been a Catholic fear of social and ecclesiastical disapproval long before Calvinists felt that fear.

But why did this aspect of Calvinism have such a profound effect on the Ballads, when the same aspect of Catholicism did not? This suggests that the burning of heretics and witches was less destructive of artistic creation than the systematic disapproval of Calvinism. Why did Calvinism fail to destroy the artist in Robert Burns?

In analysing Peter Buchan's version of "The Laird of Wariston", Mrs. Muir notes that the Northerners were unwilling to condemn the girl in the Ballad, because they were in the first throes of becoming self-conscious. They were inexperienced in applying systematic moral concepts, with little or no sense of personal guilt (despite centuries of confession!), driven by forces beyond themselves and not looking inside themselves for motives.

This evasion of personal responsibility may lead to sentimentality, like the sentimental glamour of the Highlands. The scrutinising eye of self-awareness turned inward, and brought out metaphors.

It may be that figurative language is lyrical. The wrong Muse? Mrs. Muir suggests this, for "an early Ballad cannot get outside an action to mirror it in an image". To do this, Ballads "would have to become lyrics or stage plays". They did become lyrics in the Jacobite songs, which might have been Ballads, and in the songs of Robert Burns, but the stage plays were strangled—by Calvinism of course.

Science at last destroyed the magic of the Ballads, advancing self-awareness released comedy along with sentimentality. "The appearance of a public who pay to be entertained was bound sooner or later to put an end to Ballads . . ."

But Ballads have not been put an end to. Maybe the creation of, but not the singing of Ballads nor the enjoyment of Ballads. They are still a part of our culture and look like becoming a more vital part of that culture. It is possible to imagine the Ballads and the authentic folksongs of Scotland replacing in time much of the imitation folksongs of Robert Burns, and other imitations.

Mrs. Muir's *Living with Ballads* takes its place naturally in this process of revaluation. The reshaping of a popular culture, hoped for in the last sentence, will take place. The discussion is about something more than just Ballads. Human nature is the subject of this book and it is of the nature of art to provide satisfaction for a human need.

WM. MONTGOMERIE

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Folk Life Conference, Edinburgh, September, 1965

The first conference in Scotland of the Society for Folk Life Studies was held in Edinburgh from September 17th-19th, 1965. Founded in London in 1961 for the purpose of furthering the study of traditional and changing ways of life in Great Britain and Ireland, the Society provides a common meeting place for the many people and institutions engaged in the various aspects of folk life study; so far conferences have been held at University College London (1961), the University of Reading (1962), the University of Leeds (1963), and the Welsh Folk Museum, Cardiff (1964). The hosts this year were the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and the School of Scottish Studies in the University of Edinburgh.

The Programme included the following papers: *Material Culture in Scotland* (Alexander Fenton), *The Ideal Village in Scotland 1740-1840* (C. T. Smout), *John Francis Campbell of Islay* (D. A. MacDonald), *Scottish Folk Song* (Hamish Henderson), *Clothes and Society* (R. E. Hutchison), and *Politics and Community Life* (H. J. Hanham). EDITOR

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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.