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# Scottish Studies

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# AN OLD HIGHLAND GENEALOGY AND THE EVOLUTION OF A SCOTTISH CLAN

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Alan G. Macpherson

A clan, in the original Gaelic sense of the term as used by Scottish Highlanders, is really an extended family, broadly based in the present in a great multitude of cousins, tapering to a few dimly-seen ancestors some generations back. Clan history, therefore, is mainly a matter of genealogy, and when individual clansmen are active in the events of their time, and heritable property and personal status are at stake, the clan historian must turn genealogist. Nor can he separate the story of the people from the story of the land. It is for these reasons that the Invereshie Book Genealogy, the subject of this article, is so important for any understanding of the evolution of Clan Macpherson, one of a score of clans that dominated the history of the Scottish Highlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Scottish clans were territorially based, being predominantly pastoral in their way of life. As in other traditional societies their language reflected the great importance of blood-relationships in a man's day-to-day life. The Gaelic language contained a special vocabulary to cover all events. In Gaelic a man's *sloinneadh* was his patronymic surname, which served to identify him among his fellows. Thus, among men of other clans a Macpherson was called *Mac a' Phearsain*, meaning a man of that group of people known to be descended from "the Parson", or *Mac Mhuirich*, meaning one of the descendants of *Muireach*.<sup>1</sup> This reference back to a remote ancestor, however, was not particularly useful in social intercourse within the clan. In this case a *sloinneadh* was used which referred a man to an ancestor four or five generations back from whom a known group of clansmen was descended. This smaller group of close cousins was also called *clann*: thus the Macphersons of Rothiemurchus were known around 1700

among other Macphersons as *Clann mhic Dhomhnaill mhic Nèill* (appearing as "Clan vic Coill vic Neill" in contemporary documents), the posterity of Donald, son of Neil. Similarly, the group of close cousins forming the Macphersons of Inver-tromie were known as late as 1893 (Macpherson 1893:315) as *Clann mhic Dhonnchaidh Ruaidh*, the posterity of Duncan Roy (red-haired) who lived in Invertromie about 1600. Yet a third way of giving a man a *sloinneadh* was simply to refer to his father and grandfather: *Muireach mac Iain Duibh mhic Dhomhnaill*, Murdoch son of John Dubh (black-haired), son of Donald. All these recent ancestors were understood to have some relationship to each other and to Muireach, the more remote ancestor.

Probably every family in the Highlands at one time had a *seanchaidh*, a man who could recite the descent of that particular family and state its relationship to other families in the larger clan. If we extend the term to include those men who have tried to collect the genealogy of the entire clan, the Clan Macpherson would seem to have been well-endowed with *seanchaidhean* throughout its history. Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie (1644-1705) was not the first *seanchaidh*, but he was the first of the clan to commit his information to paper. The critical eighteenth century was badly served, but in the nineteenth century Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie (1815-1901), his son, William Charles Macpherson of Blairgowrie (1855-1936), Provost Alexander "Banker" Macpherson of Kingussie and, more particularly, his brother James Macpherson of the Union Bank, Edinburgh, were all active and left records. The last *seanchaidh* was William G. D. L. Cheyne Macpherson, author of *The Chiefs of Clan Macpherson*, but his work is sometimes unreliable as compared with the earlier writers, all of whom were more intimately associated with Badenoch, the historic territory of the clan.

Before the time of Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie, and perhaps for a century afterwards, the recitation of genealogy was a part of the oral tradition of the clan, passed on to the children round the fireside. The Highlanders did not think of their descent in the form of a tree, but as the track of a wheel or the imprint of fingers in the dust. Intricate relationships were in all probability explained by making marks in the dust. Sir Aeneas Macpherson's sources were probably old *seanchaidhean* who could recite the *sinnsearachd*, the term used for the descent or genealogical track. Douglas of Glenbervie's *Baronage of Scotland*, published in 1798, provides a badly garbled genealogy

of some Macpherson families, the material dating from about 1766 and including some information from Sir Aeneas' genealogy. Glenbervie's reference to this is very instructive:

There is a curious MS account of this family, collected from the bards and senachies, who were faithful repeaters of the transactions of their chieftains and forefathers, which may be as much depended on as any other traditional history, as they were particularly careful and exact in their genealogies. This collection was put into order by the ingenious Sir Aeneas Macpherson, advocate in the reign of King Charles II, is looked upon as a most authentic account of this great clan, and is still preserved in the family.

Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie was active in the disturbed politics of the Highlands, and, indeed, of Britain, at the time of the Whig Revolution of 1689. He left many other writings, and these were edited by the Rev. Alexander D. Murdoch (at the suggestion of Provost Macpherson of Kingussie) for publication by the Scottish History Society in 1902, under the title, *The Loyall Dissuasive and other papers concerning the affairs of Clan Chattan, 1691-1705*. In a ferocious criticism of a Farquharson genealogy which he entitled "Vanitie Exposed", published in this volume, Sir Aeneas reveals the names of his informants:

. . . in my younger years I hade the honour to be a kind of disciple to one of the greatest Antiquaries in the whole Kingdom. And after his decease, having a strong desire to make a further progress in that useful and ingenious science, I made it a part of my business to court the conversation of the oldest and wisest, not only of my own, but of all our neighbours families, not without success too, as I hope to make appear in a larger tractat of more use and value, if God spare me life and health; and shall for the present content myself barely to name a few of those I hade at divers times the honour to discourse with of the rise and origine of most of the Highland families, as for instance, John Grant of Balindalloch, John Grant of Gartinmore, Grigor Grant of Achachiernach, and Sweine Grant of Gartinbeg, amongst the Grants. William McIntoshe of Kyllachie, Hector McIntosh of Connadge, and John McIntosh of Forter, amongst the McIntoshes. Alexander Fraser, alias McKutcher,<sup>2</sup> among the Frasers, and John McDonald (alias

Lame)<sup>3</sup> among the McDonalds, two of the greatest poets and genealogues in the Highlands. McPherson of Brecochie, Gillicallum McPherson of Phoyness, Thomas McPherson of Eterish, and James McPherson, grand-uncle to the deceast John McPherson of Invereshie, amongst the McPhersons. John Robertson of Inverchroskie (alias the barron Reid), John Robertson of Faules, Robertson of Fouet, amongst the Robertsons. Donald Shaw of Dalnafert, John Shaw of Geuslich, and Robert Shaw the Drover, amongst the Shaws. Robert Farquharson of Invercauld and Wardes,<sup>4</sup> William Farquharson of Inverey, and James Farquharson of Camdell, amongst the Farquharsons; all of them men of sense and reputation.

The Macphersons mentioned in this passage were all born before or around 1600, and were undoubtedly authorities on the *seanchas* of the clan during the seventeenth century.

In August 1962 Major J. E. Macpherson, of London, former editor of *Creag Dhubh*,<sup>5</sup> deposited a large hand-written ledger in the Clan Museum in Newtonmore. He called it *The Invereshie Book*, under which title he had already published a list of its contents in *Creag Dhubh* 12 (1960). At that time he noted that 104 pages were taken up with a genealogy of the clan to about 1704. Suspecting that this was Sir Aeneas' genealogy, the present writer had microfilms made which he carried back to America for detailed study.

The Invereshie Book carries a note of its own history, as Major Macpherson explained when he first introduced it to the readers of *Creag Dhubh*. He received it from Lord Macpherson of Drumochter, who had been given custody of it in 1946 by Alastair Macpherson-Grant of the Ballindalloch family. It was written about 1913 by Alastair's brother George Bertram Macpherson-Grant and their sister-in-law Mary, wife of Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Ballindalloch and Invereshie. Their book is a copy of about a third to a half of a manuscript collection which had belonged to Provost Alexander Macpherson of Kingussie, now believed to be lost. A cursory examination of the Invereshie Book leaves little doubt that the original was the basis for the Provost's wonderful volume *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands*, published in 1893, a veritable mine of information on Badenoch and Clan Macpherson history. The question remains, Where did the Provost get the genealogy included in the Invereshie copy?



The Rev. Alexander Murdoch supplies part of the answer in *The Loyall Dissuasive*. On page lxi he quotes a sentence from a "MS Genealogy of Cluny Macpherson, compiled by the late James Macpherson of the Union Bank." The sentence is also present in the Invereshie Book copy. On page xcv Murdoch comments that "The manuscript collections of the late Mr. James Macpherson are valuable, but skill, time and temper will be needed to arrange the materials, to verify the references, and supply the dates". From this it would appear that the Provost's collection contained a copy of his brother's manuscript genealogy.

Two more clues are available before we look at the genealogy itself. Provost Macpherson was factor of the Cluny Estates in Badenoch, and as such had full access to the documents in the Cluny Charter Chest. A century earlier Douglas of Glenbervie seems to have been indebted to the exiled chief, Col. Ewan Macpherson of Cluny, for access to Sir Aeneas Macpherson's manuscript. Putting these two facts together there seems to be a strong case for arguing that James Macpherson's collection was obtained from the original in the possession of the family of the Chief.

Within the genealogy itself, as it appears in the Invereshie Book, there is one piece of evidence that makes this conclusion all the more likely. The genealogy covers a period from about the middle of the fourteenth century till the end of the seventeenth century. Its last date is 1704, on the occasion of the marriage of Lachlan Macpherson of Nuide and Jean Cameron of Lochiel: no children are listed as a result of this marriage, although Ewan of Cluny was the firstborn in 1706. Sir Aeneas Macpherson died in 1705.

Mrs. Grant of Laggan, however, mentions that Ewan Macpherson of Cullachie, a younger son of the family of Uvie, about 1798 "set about to amuse his melancholy by publishing an old manuscript history in his possession, of Sir Aeneas Macpherson, the hero of his clan, but relinquish'd the design, justly fearing that the subject would not have sufficiently general interest" (Macphail 1896:278). If this "manuscript history" included the genealogy it seems likely, on Mrs. Grant of Laggan's evidence, that there may have been more than one copy circulating in the Central Highlands by the end of the eighteenth century.

Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie, who recognised the superiority of the genealogy over the *Baronage* version as early

as 1873, dated it correctly to 1704-5, but rather curiously failed to associate it with Sir Aeneas Macpherson. He refers to it as "a very lengthy MS, the original of which is believed to be in the possession of Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Inveressie, containing the History of the Clan Chattan from a very early period, and the Genealogy . . ." He admitted ignorance of the actual provenance of the copy in his own possession, expressed uncertainty as to the location of the "original" and implied that Ewan Macpherson of Cluny had no knowledge of the genealogy at that time.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the history of the genealogy had become ravelled by the late nineteenth century.

*The Genealogy: Structure and Evolution of the Clan*

The Invereshie Book Genealogy is a remarkable document. It contains so much information about the organisation of the Clan by blood descent, marriage and territorial holding that it is virtually a manual on the anatomy of Clan Macpherson. As such it is probably unique in Highland archives, and must be regarded as the principal document upon which any future history of the clan must be founded.

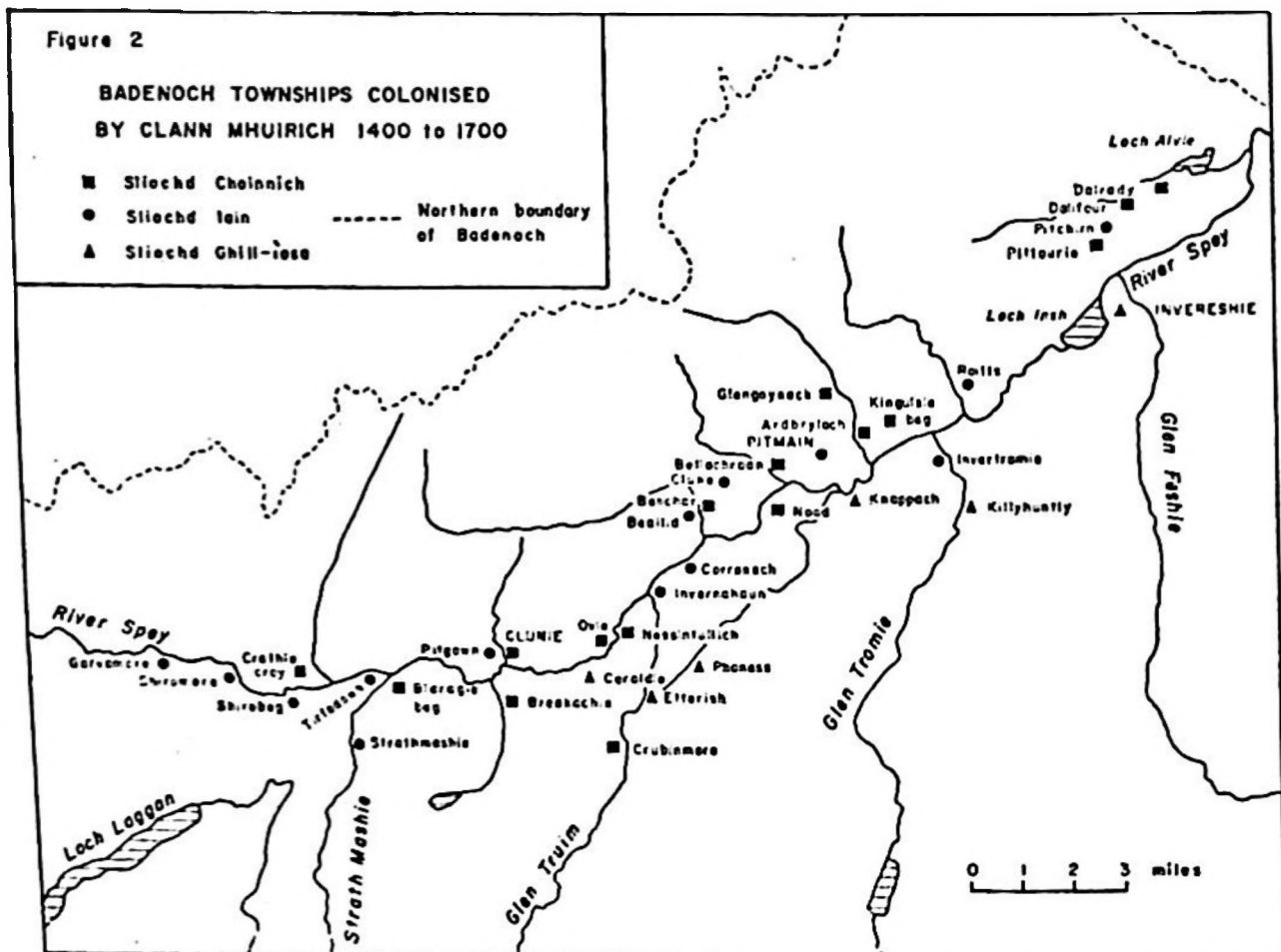
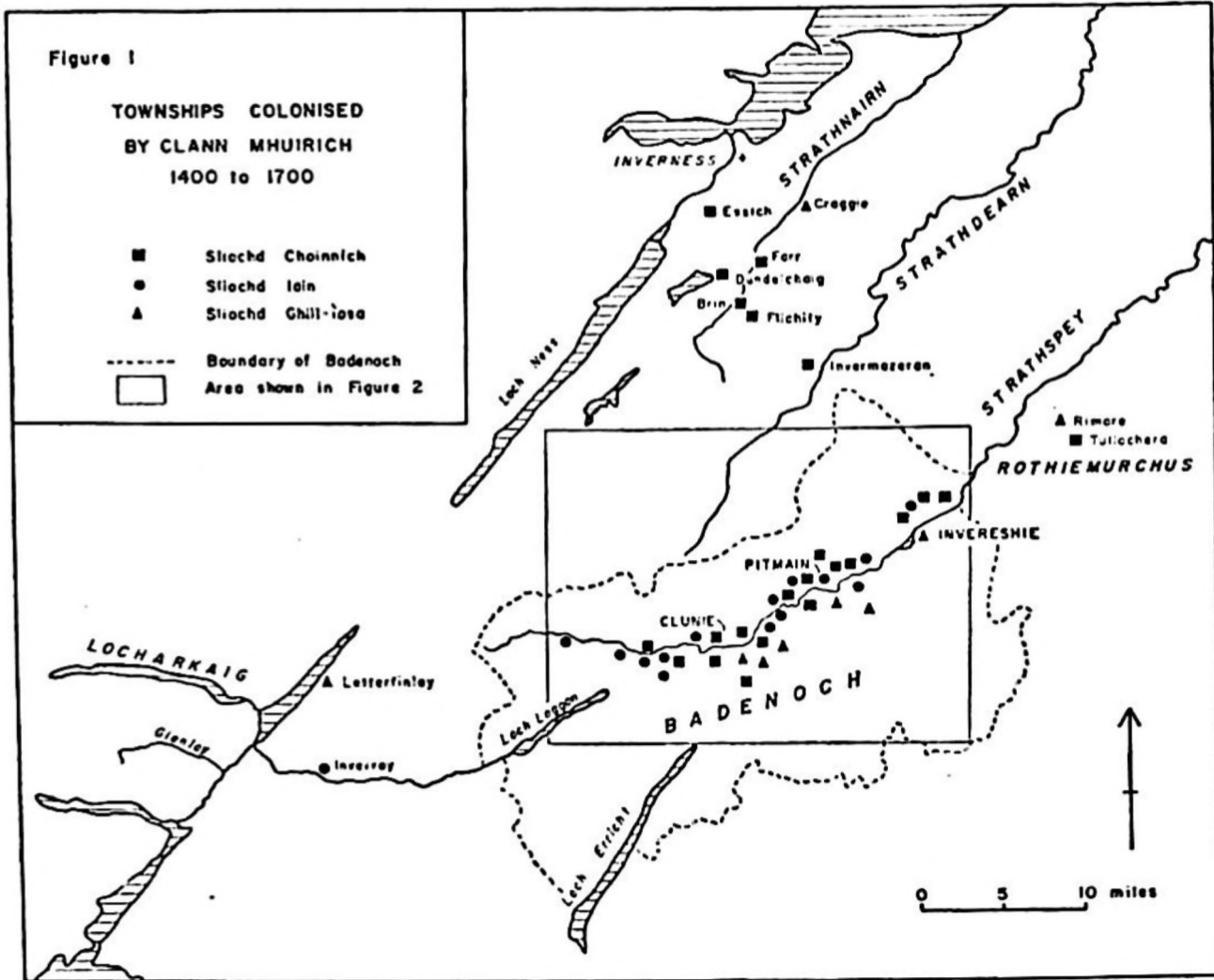
The document announces itself with the title, "The Genealogies of the McPhersons since the Three Bretherine from whom the family is called *Sliochd an triùir Bhràithrean*". It is organised in three parts, one for the descendants or *sliochd*<sup>7</sup> of each of the brothers, and each part extends through ten to twelve generations, from about 1350 when Ewan, father of the three brothers, was living, to about 1700. The procedure adopted in each part is to trace the senior family patrilineally, that is, from father to son, mentioning daughters and younger sons from whom branches of the family descended, and then to trace the descent of the branches from the oldest to the youngest in turn. Kenneth, the first of the three brothers, is introduced as "Keneth, eldest lawful son of Ewan Mcpherson of Cluny". His *sliochd* is then followed to Duncan of Cluny who died in 1722. The genealogist continues with the statement: "Having spoken of the posterity of Keneth Mcpherson in a direct line, now remains to speak of the severall branches descended lineally of the said Keneth, and I shall begin with them as they gradually descended of the said stock." The oldest branches of "Sliochd Kynich" (*Sliochd Choinnich*) were "Clan vic Ewan duy" (*Clann Mhic Eóghain Duibh*), "Clan vic Ewan taylor" (*Clann Mhic Eóghain Tàillear*), and the family of Brin: these he dismisses with the comment that he has "at present no particular

and gradual genealogie". He then proceeds to describe the detailed genealogies of the Macphersons of Essich, Crubenmore-Breakachie and Nessintullich, Pourie, Bellachroan, Ardbrylach and Glengoynack-Pitmain, Blaragie-beg, Crathie-Croy, Pit-tourie, Old Dalrady, Kingussie-beg-Laggan, Nood [Nuide] and Benchar. It was from Nood, the youngest and closest branch of *Sliochd Choinnich* that the present line of chiefs sprang in the eighteenth century.

The descent from John, the second of the three brothers, begins with an account of the Macphersons of Glenelg [sic? probably E. Linwilg] and Rothiemurchus, a family in Bealid, and another in "Strathern" [Strathdearn], representatives of which are mentioned as being contemporary with the genealogist. This is followed by full accounts of the Macphersons of Pitmean, Garvamore-Inverroy and Shiromore, Bealid, Coronach and Invernahaun [Invernahavon], Stramasie [Strathmashie] and Tirfodown, Invertromie, Pitchirn and Clune.

The descent from Gillès (Gillies), third of the three brothers, gives a detailed description of the Macphersons of Invereshie, New Dalrady and Killihuntly, Knappach, Phoyness [Phoness], Coraldie and Etterish. The three major divisions of the clan are listed as "*Sliochd Kynich*" (Kenneth), "*Sliochd Iain*" (John), and "*Sliochd Gilliosa*" (*Sliochd Ghill-Iosa*, Gillēs), and there is plenty of corroborating evidence in the records of the seventeenth century and in the manner in which the officer corps of Ewan of Cluny's regiment in the Jacobite Rising of 1745 was organised to show that these were indeed functional divisions. The patrilineal structure of *Sliochd an triùir Bhràithrean* is illustrated in the accompanying diagrams. It should be noted that the surname and territorial designation "Macpherson of Cluny", as applied to Ewan, the father of the three brothers, is being applied retroactively by the genealogist: the surname was not in use till the early fifteenth century, and Cluny was acquired even later. Both John and Gillēs are mentioned as sons of "Ewan Mcpherson, Chieftain of the Clanchattan", a title contested between the Macphersons of Cluny and the MacIntosh chiefs. Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie was a "grey eminence" behind Duncan of Cluny in one phase of this contest before the Whig Revolution sent him on his travels, but the tribal designation may have some validity.

In the absence of an absolute chronology the passage of the generations gives us a scale against which to place events.



Thus it is possible to see the growth of the clan in terms of manpower: counting Ewan as the first generation and the three brothers as the second, the succeeding generations grew slowly at first, but then "exploded". The series to the twelfth generation runs:

1—3—7—17—18—28—55—94—164—203—126—8

The low figures for the eleventh and twelfth generations reflect the incomplete nature of the information available to the genealogist on his younger contemporaries (Sir Aeneas was a member of the tenth generation), and also indicate perhaps that these generations had not yet finished growing. Even so, these figures do not represent the whole of *Sliochd an triùir Bhràithrean*, for the absence of complete genealogies for "Clan vic Ewan duy" and "Clan vic Ewan taylor", the Macphersons of Brin, and others unmentioned, deprives the contemporary clan of 1700 of perhaps a quarter of its numbers. On the other hand it is quite clear that Clan Macpherson, in its growth from 1350 to 1700, represented the emergence of a new leadership élite, a new aristocracy of the soil, in the south-eastern part of the new county of Inverness. It emerged, phoenix-like, from the embers of the Old Clanchattan tribe which had been broken by a century of struggle between the old autonomy of the northern parts of Gaeldom, centred on the Lordship of the Isles, and the new feudalism centred in Edinburgh in the Lowlands.

The genealogy hints at the origin of the three brothers, and shows us where they and their descendants first settled. It implies that Kenneth and John McEwan were located in Badenoch before Gillēs. Gillēs is reported to have "lived in Letterfinlay in Lochaber", where part of the Old Clanchattan was established. His son, Donald Bronich,<sup>8</sup> and six of his seven grandsons were "killed fighting with my Lord Marr against McDonald . . . at the battle of Inverlochy". This occurred in 1431. The surviving grandson, John, "not being able, or rather disdaining, for McDonald's cruelty to him in Letterfinlay, assigned the Dachs [*sic*, Duchas] and possessions thereof to Cameron who married his father's sister, which his posterity enjoy to this day". The "Duchas" (Gaelic *dùthchas*) was the right of ancient possession as understood throughout the Gaelic world, and the origin of the peculiar rights in land enjoyed nowadays by the Highland crofters. The Camerons of Letterfinlay were in fact the MacMartins, one of the "little clans" of Lochaber (the others being the MacGillonies of

Glenloy, and the MacMillans of Locharkaig) who had once been part of the Old Clanchattan (Lang 1898: 86-90, 166; Allardyce 1893:169). Here, then, was rooted the historic affinity between the Camerons and Macphersons which played such an important role in Central Highland history. The genealogy goes on to say that "after he left Letterfinlay John dwelt in Rimore". Rimore was a detached part of the old Lordship of Badenoch in the Forest of Rothiemurchus in eastern Inverness-shire. It will be recalled that it was here that part of the direct line of *Sliochd Iain* had settled. It was not until the seventh generation that *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* moved to Invereshie in Badenoch proper.

In the meantime the main part of *Sliochd Iain* had established itself, perhaps as early as the third generation, at three centres in Badenoch: Pitmean, Bealid and Garvamore. In *The Loyall Dissuasive*, which was addressed to the Laird of Cluny, Sir Aeneas described Garvamore as "one of the ancientest possessions of your name and family" (Murdoch 1902:28). From each of these junior branches hived off in succeeding generations to occupy adjacent farms; Strathmashie was established from Pitmean in the fourth generation and from there Tirfadown was established in the eighth generation; Invertromie and Pitchirn were established from Pitmean in the sixth generation, and Clune from Pitchirn in the seventh. Shiramore was established from Garvamore in the fourth generation, while part of the Garvamore family moved to Inverroy in the Braes of Lochaber in the seventh. Coronach and Invernahaun were established from Bealid in the eighth generation.

*Sliochd Choinnich*, the senior division of the clan, which centred in the Chief's township of Cluny, had the peculiarity of establishing its older branches outside Badenoch, its later ones in Badenoch: Brin in the fourth generation, Essich in the fifth, both near Inverness; Blaragie-beg and Crathie-Croy in the sixth, Pittourie, Dalrady and Kingussie-beg in the seventh, Nood in the eighth and Benchar in the ninth, all in Badenoch. Essich, in fact, acted as the centre of a separate development, part of which also became established in Badenoch: Dundelchag was an adjacent growth in the sixth generation, but Crubinmore and Ovie in the sixth, Bellachroan in the seventh, Ardbrylach in the eighth, all represent the continued growth of the clan in Badenoch. In a few instances feu charters were obtained from the feudal superiors, but in most instances the

families were already established on their townships, the head of the family being the principal tacksman or tenant on the farm.

When we remember that the population of the Highlands was fairly static throughout most of this period, it is obvious that the growth of the Clan Macpherson in Badenoch must have been taking place at the expense of other elements in the population. The genealogy indicates who some of these were, and suggests that marriage was one of the methods used. Donald More<sup>9</sup> of Cluny [*Sic.* See p. 6] set the example by marrying a "daughter to the Chieftain of McGillchynichs,<sup>10</sup> who were then a strong people in Badenoch". Three centuries later men of this name served in the 'Forty-Five under Colonel Ewan Macpherson of Cluny. In the fourth generation John of Bealid married a daughter of John McKay in Noodmore, almost certainly a survivor of one of the remnants of the Old Clanchattan. In the seventh generation James Macpherson of Bealid married a daughter of one Clerkmore<sup>11</sup> in Dalrady, while in the next generation Alexander Macpherson of Garvamore married a daughter of Clerkmore in Ralea. In the sixth generation Ferquhar, "Invertromie's predecessor", married a daughter of Donald MacIvir "then of Killihuntly". Alexander Macpherson of *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* in Rimore of Rothiemurchus, ancestor of the Macphersons of Phoyness, in the fifth generation married the daughter of "the Baron of Dunachtoun". This personage was probably one of the MacNivens or *Clann Mhic Gille Naoimh*, another remnant of the Old Clanchattan. The last heiress of MacNiven of Dunachtoun passed Dunachtoun on to her husband, William Mackintosh, chief of that clan, about 1500. But there is an old story, told by Capt. Lachlan Macpherson of Bealid, that Breakachie was an old township of the MacNiven chiefs, that all but eighteen were extirpated in one night by the Macphersons under the leadership of one Alaster Caint [*sic*],<sup>12</sup> and that Alaster effected a final massacre of the survivors at the Cave of Raits some time later (Macpherson 1893:408, 409). Marriage and skilful land and stock management, however, rather than massacre, were probably the main reasons for the rise of the Macphersons in Badenoch.

Until after 1600 the clansmen were tenants-at-will of feudal superiors or barons such as the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Moray, the Laird of Grant or the Laird of Mackintosh. They held their land for a year at a time, and were theoretically subject to removal or eviction at the end of every twelve-month

“tack” or lease. The “tacks” were unwritten. This purely feudal arrangement was modified rather peculiarly in the Highlands by the survival of certain elements from the older tribal system of landholding. The clan system, in fact, represented a vital compromise between feudalism and tribalism which greatly reduced the annual hazards of the renewal of the “tack”. Families who had maintained effective occupancy of a farm or township for three generations were said to have established a *dùthchas* or right of ancient possession which was generally recognised by the whole community and was therefore supposed to be inviolable. The tacksmen of such farms followed each other in the tenancy by patrilineal succession, and any attempt on the part of the superior to intrude another family would be resisted by the clan, even to the point of bloodshed. A clan chief, even if he himself was only tenant-at-will as Macpherson of Cluny was until 1680, would normally act as spokesman or arbitrator for a clansman threatened with removal from his ancestral farm, and his political power, cutting across the normal feudal structure of society, usually meant that his intervention was effective.

By the seventeenth century an important modification in the economic relationships of feudal superiors and tenants had appeared. Barons pressed for funds often “wadset” or mortgaged the rents of their farms to the tenant, the interest on the capital sum advanced as a loan by the tenant equalling the annual rent of the farm. Thus was born the wadset right. Essentially the tenant occupied the farm rent-free for an indefinite number of years until the wadset was redeemed by the repayment of the capital sum. Sometimes redemption was not to occur until a specified number of years had elapsed, or, rather significantly, until three generations had occupied the farm. This meant a new kind of security of tenure, and it is readily understood that a tenant with a wadset right, instead of depending upon a *dùthchas* or customary right of ancient possession, would come to rely more upon the legal efficacy of the document stating the terms of his wadset. This rise of the wadsetters from the ranks of the ordinary tacksmen, “ancient possessors”, and tenants-at-will, constituted the first rift in the lute for the clan system as a working compromise in land tenure.

The retention of rents by the wadsetters meant, of course, that capital accumulation centred in their hands at an accelerating rate. The entire usufruct of the soil in terms of cattle sales and the marketing of salted butter, cheese and other products



of the pastoral farms, no longer had to be shared with the landlord. As Highland proprietors continued to need extra funds many wadsetters were able to convert their wadset rights into feu rights by purchasing a feudal charter to their land outright from the superior, thus completing the evolution away from the clan system of land holding.

The Invereshie Book Genealogy is replete with examples which illustrate phases of this evolution. Many of the families are referred to as "possessors" of their ancestral lands, but the best statement on a family holding by *dùthchas* right is given for Ewan Oig<sup>13</sup> Macpherson who "lived in Garva and still he and his successors are in possession thereof". There are three instances given where the *dùthchas* was broken: Ferquhar<sup>14</sup> Macpherson, a younger brother of Dougall of Essich, "lived in Dundelchag, and of him the *late* possessors of Dundelchag are descended": they were living at Essich, Brinis, Inverness, Auldearn and Cluny when the genealogy was collected; Malcolm, a younger son of Donald Daul<sup>15</sup> of Cluny is spoken of as the ancestor of "the late possessors of Blaragie-beg"; and John, a bastard brother of Dougall of Essich, Gillicallum<sup>16</sup> of Crubinmore and Ferquhar of Dundelchag, is referred to as "predecessor to the late possessors of Ovie".

Only four wadsets are mentioned, none of which appears to have been critical to the acquisition of a feu right. Lachlan Macpherson of the *Sliochd Choinnich* Dalrady family "acquired a right to the lands of Dalifour"; Thomas Macpherson, an uncle of Sir Aeneas of Invereshie "acquired the lands of Killihuntly from the Tutor of Invereshie", that is, from Sir Aeneas himself; and William, a younger son of John of Ovie "lived in Culcaback and did wadset Tullochchrome". The best example is the case of Andrew Macpherson, a younger son of John of Nood, who "acquired the wadset right to the Davoch of Wester Raits". His eldest son John later "excambed [exchanged] his wadset right of Raits for ane wadset right of the lands of Benchar, an ancient possession of the Mackintoshes of Borlum". William Cheyne-Macpherson quotes the dates 1661 and 1678 for the wadsets of Wester Raits and Benchar respectively (1947:135).

According to the genealogy most of the feu rights were acquired in one step from customary *dùthchas* right, although the Gordon Papers and the Sasine Registers bear evidence that the feu charters to Nood, Invereshie and Bellachroan which were confirmed in 1638 were preceded by wadsets, in 1623 in

the case of Nood, and in 1626 in the other two cases. The wadsets of 1626 contained a clause ensuring nineteen-year tacks after redemption. The genealogy records that Angus Macpherson "feued the lands of Invereshie, Killihuntly and Inveruglas". James Macpherson, a younger son of James of Bealid, "lived in Invernahaun", but his son John "feued the lands of Invernahaun". Donald MacPherson of *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* "stayed in Phoyness", but his elder son Gillicallum "feued Phoyness", and his younger son Thomas Roy "acquired the feu rights of the lands of Etterish". Paul Oig Macpherson, the third generation of the *Sliochd Choinnich* family in Dalrady, "feued the lands of Dalrady". John Macpherson, a brother of William of Invereshie, later "feued the lands of Dalrady from Angus McPherson, then of Dalrady", a grandson of Paul Oig the original feuer. Another case of sale of a feu right, this time within the same family, is afforded by John Macpherson, a younger son of Dougall of Essich who "lived in Bellachroan". His eldest son Donald More "feued Bellachroan", while a younger son Gillicallum "feued the lands of Ardbrylach". Donald More's eldest son Dougall "sold the lands of Bellachroan to John Roy his brother and bought ane lairdship in the Shire of Angus called Pourie". Finally, a more interesting formula was followed by John, a younger brother of Andrew of Cluny, who "bought the feu rights of the lands of Nood and took the right in his eldest son Donald's name". The transfer of the Dalrady feu from *Sliochd Choinnich* to *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* occurred in 1668 (Cheyne-Macpherson 1947:176).

The vital importance of retaining possession of charter evidence of a feu right is shown by the experience of Ewan Oig Macpherson of Garvamore's elder brother Allan. "Allan of Inverroy went to Inverroy and got there a feu right thereof from McIntosh which thereafter was torn by McIntosh's successor when in trust he got it to be read." Inverroy was an outpost of the Clan Macpherson in the Braes of Lochaber, a district traditionally occupied by the MacDonalds of Keppoch, and Macpherson of Cluny was presumably unable to argue his clansman's case on the basis of the *dùthchas* right. Normally the grant of a newly acquired feu right was followed by the ceremony of sasine (the handing of earth and stone), which was then recorded in an Instrument of Sasine in the official Register of Sasines, and copies were made which could not be ignored without causing grave offence to several substantial witnesses in the community.

Before leaving the subject of the relationship of patrilineal descent to property holding, the case of the succession of a minor should be mentioned. The guardian or trustee who managed the farm or estate of a minor in Scotland was called a tutor: in the Highlands he was almost invariably the patrilineal uncle or cousin who was next in line to inherit the *dùthchas*, wadset or feu, should the minor fail to produce a male heir. The Genealogy mentions two instances of this. When Andrew of Cluny died about 1660 he was succeeded rapidly in turn by his two grandsons, Andrew and Duncan. Their great-uncle William is referred to as "Tutor of Cluny", and William's son Ewan is described as "Tutor to Duncan of Cluny". Sir Aeneas is referred to as "Tutor of Invereshie" for his nephew Elias.<sup>17</sup> It was only after the death of Elias that Sir Aeneas himself became "of Invereshie".

The Genealogy gives some evidence that status in the community adhered to certain occupations as well as to rights in land. No fewer than five parish ministers are mentioned, suggesting that Badenoch supplied its full quota to the Church. One of the Invertromie family is referred to as "Muriach the Merchant", and several men are mentioned as millers at the Mills of Benchar, Nood and Killihuntly. One position of considerable responsibility was held by Ewan Macpherson, identified as the third husband of Christian Macpherson of Crubinmore, and described as "sometime Captain of the Country Watch of Badenoch", a vigilante committee organised to circumvent *creachan*, the cattle rustling forays perpetrated by many of the western clans on other parts of the Highlands. Another man who held a post of some significance was Lachlan Macpherson of the Pitmean family who was "Clunie's grieve". The grieve was the farm manager, and Lachlan was no doubt skilled, not only in the traditional and ubiquitous raising of hill cattle and sheep, but also in the breeding of Highland garrons or hill ponies and the Scottish deerhounds for which the Macphersons of Cluny were famous throughout Scotland in the seventeenth century. It should be noted that the genealogist does not mention any pipers or bards as having status in the clan. Nor does he mention men of the law, although several appear in other records and it was his own profession. Duncan Couim [? or Corim]<sup>18</sup> of the Strathmashie family is distinguished as "a great genealoger", and was probably one of the principal sources of information for the compiler.

The genealogy contains almost a thousand Macphersons,

men and women, besides some two hundred non-Macpherson marriage partners. *Sliochd Choinnich* and *Sliochd Iain* are about equal in numbers, totalling just over and just under 400 respectively, while *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* numbered just over 160. Of the total number of Macphersons about 750 are males, just over 200 are females; and over 300 marriages are recorded. These figures reflect two peculiar features of the document: daughters were ignored or forgotten unless they made a politically useful marriage; and younger sons and their male descendants do not have their marriages recorded if they were not established on separate farms of their own. This shows the relationship between patrilineal descent, marriage, and property as seen by the genealogist. Thus the genealogy contains sections liberally sprinkled with daughters and wives, while other sections consist solely of men. This partiality in the amount of information offered by the genealogy must be borne in mind in examining the marriages within the clan. The figures are given in the following table:

TABLE

	<i>Sliochd Choinnich</i>	<i>Sliochd Iain</i>	<i>Sliochd Ghill-iosa</i>	<i>Clann Mhuirich</i>
Total number of clansmen:	415	376	163	954
men . . . . .	307	314	124	745
women . . . . .	108	62	39	209
Clansmen with no record of marriage . . . . .	192	248	77	517
Clansmen with marriage record . . . . .	223	128	86	437
Total number of marriages:	200	113	84	318
Exogamous marriages . . . . .	113	37	49	199
Endogamous marriages . . . . .	87	76	35	119
between <i>sliochdan</i> . . . . .	64	61	33	79
within the <i>sliochd</i> . . . . .	23	15	2	40
Marriages with <i>Sliochd   Choinnich</i> . . . . .		40	24	
men . . . . .		26	12	
women . . . . .		14	12	
Marriages with <i>Sliochd Iain</i>	40		9	
men . . . . .	14		4	
women . . . . .	26		5	
Marriages with <i>Sliochd   Ghill-Iosa</i> . . . . .	24	9		
men . . . . .	12	5		
women . . . . .	12	4		

Rather more than one-third of the recorded marriages were endogamous, that is, they took place within the clan, both

parties being Macphersons. More surprising perhaps, the genealogy reveals that marriage within the *sliochd* was permissible. Of the 119 endogamous marriages recorded in the clan, no fewer than 40 took place within one or other of the three major *sliochdan*. Geographical propinquity was doubtless a factor in the occurrence of some of these marriages, but a more potent force was probably the desire to prevent rights in moveable property, especially stock, and rights in land from passing out of the *sliochd*. The same argument is probably true for inter-*sliochd* marriages in the clan. One curious consequence of this, perhaps, was the existence of a custom of concubinage where the rules of the Church forbade marriage. The genealogy provides one possible example of this in the case of John Macpherson of Knappach who took the widow of his deceased uncle Thomas as "his concubine". The woman involved was Connie Macpherson, daughter of Donald Dow<sup>10</sup> Macpherson of Pitchirn and Connie Macpherson of Essich. She was, perhaps, following the example of her father, who, after the death of her mother, "took as his concubine" Eneir Cameron of Glennevis from whom the Macphersons of Clune descended. At any rate it is quite clear that the Highland clans and their major patrilineal divisions entertained no rules enforcing exogamy. Only the prevailing rules of the Church established the degrees of affinity within which marriage was forbidden.

*Sliochd Iain* apparently differed from the other two *sliochdan* in that a much higher proportion of its marriages were endogamous, both within the *sliochd* and within the clan. Despite the fact that the proportion of women recorded is far smaller than in the other two *sliochdan*, and that the proportion of unrecorded marriages is higher, its endogamous unions exceeded its exogamous unions by a ratio of 2:1, while exogamous marriages were preponderant in the other two *sliochdan*. Furthermore, while *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* exchanged equal numbers of men and women with both of the other *sliochdan*, it was the smallest of the three, and the major exchanges of marriage partners occurred between *Sliochd Choinnich* and *Sliochd Iain*. More women apparently passed from *Sliochd Choinnich* to *Sliochd Iain* than in the reverse direction in a ratio of 2:1, and *Sliochd Choinnich* made more marriages with each of the other two *sliochdan* than they did with each other. Almost equal numbers of men married women from the other two *sliochdan*. What these facts seem to add up to is that the solidarity and cohesion of Clan Macpherson depended largely upon the

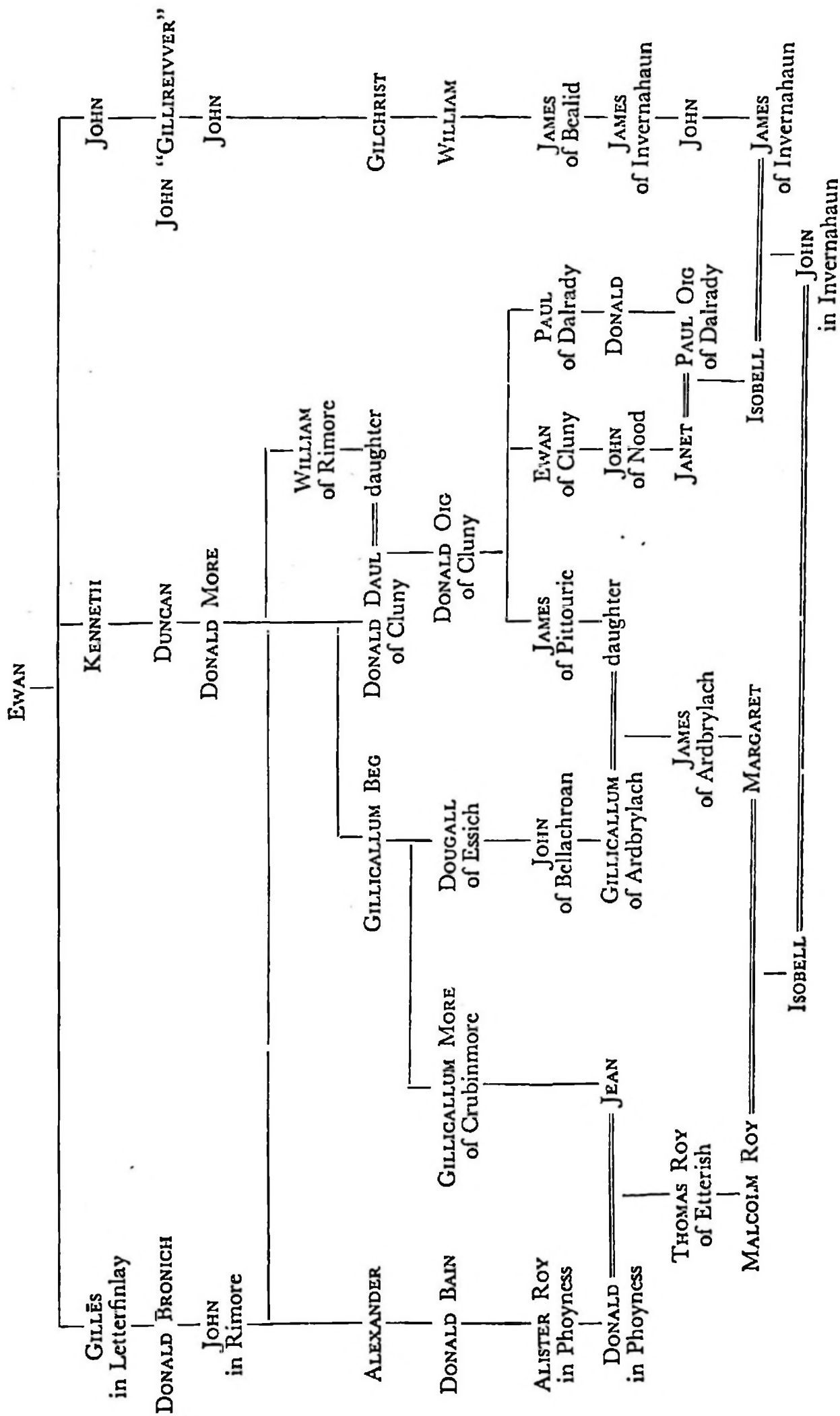
relationship between the two big *sliochdan*, and that *Sliochd Choinnich*, including the chief's family, tended to gather influence within the clan by reason of its greater contribution of women to the other *sliochdan*. When dutiful daughters became persuasive wives the advantage undoubtedly accrued to their fathers and brothers.

One curious result of repeated marriage within the clan was that cousin-ship was not a simple matter of two lines of patrilineal descent from a common forebear, but was exceedingly intricate. So complex, indeed, were the relationships established within the clan that many clansmen of the tenth and subsequent generations were able to trace their descent back to, not one, but all three of the original brothers, and often to one of them more than once. The set of relationships shown on the opposite page is a typical example of this.

Another common feature of the endogamous marriages revealed by the genealogy was the existence of a gap of one generation between husband and wife. There can be little doubt that there was a strong tendency for men to marry women considerably younger than themselves. There are some seven cases where a woman made a second marriage within the clan, and in most of these cases the second husband was a man of her own generation.

Turning to the exogamous marriages, it is to be expected naturally that these would preponderate in the earlier generations. This is amply borne out by the genealogy, even though the accuracy of some of the information may be somewhat suspect. None of it is in the least fanciful. It is noticeable, however, that the men of some of the oldest established families in each of the *sliochdan* (Cluny, Essich, Bellachroan, Garvamore and Invereshie) tended to marry outside the clan, while the women found marriage partners within the clan.

The chiefs' family is a case in point. Of eleven men, including nine chiefs, for whom there is information, only one married inside the clan. Donald Daul of Cluny in the fifth generation married a daughter of William of Rimore, leading man of the *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa*. Of seven women on record in the last four generations only one married outside the clan: two even contracted second marriages within the clan. None of nine men in the Essich family married inside the clan, and only two of nine in the Bellachroan family did so, including Archibald of Pourie who was second husband of Marjory, daughter of Ewan of Cluny. Yet only two of eight women in the Bellachroan



family married outside the clan. In seven generations the leading men of the Garvamore-Inverroy family contracted five marriages with MacDonalds, no less than three with MacDonalds of Glencoe. Of fourteen men in the immediate family of Invereshie only three married within the clan, including John of Invereshie, Sir Aeneas' older brother, who was the first husband of Marjory of Cluny. Of eight Invereshie women four married inside the clan.

It seems significant in view of what was observed above about the cohesive role of *Sliochd Iain* within the clan, with its high proportion of endogamous marriages, that Pitmean, its leading family, did not follow the pattern. The situation in the Garvamore-Inverroy family, one of its oldest branches, can be explained perhaps by its geographical exposure to the matrimonial advances of the MacDonald clans from the west. It would seem that an exogamous tradition had settled itself in the families of Cluny, Essich, Bellachroan and Invereshie so far as the men were concerned. These families, in fact, appear to have functioned on two fronts, the exogamous marriages of the men providing the clan with a sphere of influence and friends in neighbouring families and clans, while the endogamous marriages of the women maintained the influence of their fathers and brothers in the internal affairs of the clan. Members of these four families are known to have been the most outgoing of the clansmen, Ewan of Cluny, Sir Aeneas of Invereshie and Dougall of Pourie playing parts on the national scene.

The exogamous marriages were formed with influential families, almost exclusively of the Highlands, and it is interesting to note the geographical location of these. Many marriages were made with the family of the lairds of Mackintosh and its cadets, among the latter being several that lived among the Macphersons in Badenoch: notably the Mackintoshes of Crathiemore, Blargiemore, Gergask, Lynwilg, Strone, Borlum and Kinrara. To the eastward marriages were formed with the Farquharsons of the Bracs of Mar, especially by the Invereshie family; to the northward with Gordons, Grants, Frasers and members of the little clans confederated under Mackintosh such as the Shaws, MacQueens, MacBeans and MacGilvrays. Such distinguished families as Forbes of Culloden, Campbell of Calder, Munro of Foulis and Ross of Balnagown appear, as do Provost Robert Ross and Provost Cuthbert of Inverness. To the southward matches were made



with the various families of Stewarts, Robertsons and MacGregors in Atholl and Rannoch, while to the westward MacDonalds of Glencoe, Keppoch and Glengarry, and Camerons of Glennevis and Lochiel were wed. Unions were formed with the families of parish ministers: Mr. Alexander Cumming of Moy, Mr. Lachlan Grant of Kingussie and Mr. William Annand of Bellie. Going further afield, Angus Macpherson, a brother of Paul Oig of Dalrady, married a daughter of James Kinnimonth, "Chamberland to the King in Falkland in Fife". Sir Aeneas Macpherson married a daughter of Colonel Scrimgeour of the family of the King's hereditary standard bearer in Scotland; his daughter Mary married Sir John Maclean of Duart, one of Graham of Claverhouse's paladins and a hero of the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689; and his father's cousin, Mr. Thomas Macpherson, Minister of the Badenoch parishes of Laggan and Alvie, married a daughter of Maxwell, the Irish Bishop of Ross. Dougall of Pourie, however, made the most impressive series of marriages, marrying in turn the daughters of three Scottish lairds: Lyon of Murtle in Angus, Campbell of Glenlyon, and Guthrie of Auchmithie near Arbroath.

Finally, the genealogy yields some information on the impact of war and emigration. The casualties of war all fell in the Jacobite cause, fighting for the ousted dynasty of the Stuarts, although it is known that Dougall of Pourie, John of Dalrady and Angus of Killihuntly were all favourable to the Cromwellian Commonwealth and were active in the events leading up to the Whig revolution of 1689. Murdo of Clune's elder brother William "went to the Wars and was killed at the Fight of Worcester". Alexander Macpherson, a brother of John of Benchar, "went to the Wars with William McIntosh of Borlum". William Bain Macpherson, a half-brother of Sir Aeneas' father, was "killed at the Battle of Cromdell", during a disastrous passage of arms at the Haughs of Cromdale in Lower Strathspey in 1691 when the Jacobite forces under Major-General Thomas Buchan were surprised and beaten by Sir Thomas Livingstone. Sir Aeneas makes reference more than once to this in *The Loyall Dissuasive*, indicating that, of a force of two hundred clansmen representing virtually the full fighting strength of the clan at the end of the seventeenth century, no fewer than thirty-six men were killed (Murdoch 1902:197, 212).

Much of the emigration from Badenoch was quite local in

character: one of Murdo of Clune's nephews is reported as "living in the Strines" [Strathdearn], while another is "now in Ardsire" [Ardersier]; two members of the Invertromie family are described as "at present in Clasterinin in the Ensie"; and an unnamed nephew of Ewan Oig of Garvamore "went out of Shiromore to the Barron of Kilravock's house with Morechaum McIntosh, and being in good esteem with the Barron was called by the common people 'Kieule Varrain' ".<sup>20</sup> Two of his descendants are reported as living in Calder and Inverness, "and several others who live about Inverness, Nairn and pretty commonly known by the nickname 'Kieulich' ".<sup>21</sup> All of these places are to the north and north-east of Badenoch. Southward migration into the Lowlands is suggested by the fact that John, a bastard brother of Andrew of Cluny and John of Nood, "went to the South a boy", one of his grandsons being "now in Isla", one of the Inner Hebrides. The pull of the Scottish capital is reflected by the fact that James, second son of William of Nood, Donald, a brother of John of Ardbrylach, and John, eldest son of Dougall of Pourie, all "died at Edinburgh". Ewan, another brother of John of Ardbrylach, is described as "now living in London", perhaps the first of the clan to live in the rising British metropolis. John, a nephew of John of Invernahaun, is stated to be "married in England and has children there". One of Murdo of Clune's sons, Mr. Lachlan (the appellation denoting the possession of a university degree and the occupation of schoolmaster or parish minister), is reported as "now married in Ireland". Mr. John Macpherson, eldest son to Malcolm of Glengoynack, is described as "Minister of Strathnaver", a parish in the far north of Scotland. Two nephews of Paul Oig of Dalrady are vaguely described as having gone "abroad", probably to Europe, possibly to North America or the Caribbean. Finally, Sir Aeneas' nephew and ward, Elias Macpherson of Invereshie, "went to Flanders in the King's service, where it was his fortune to die without succession".

It is clear from these facts that the energies of the clan were already bursting beyond the limits imposed by the traditional society more than half a century before the Jacobite Rising of 1745. The genealogy has demonstrated how the clan emerged as a local élite during the period of three centuries from 1400 to 1700, tightly knit by an intricate web of endogamous marriages and protected by alliances with neighbouring families and clans. It has also revealed how, by acquiring feu

rights and escaping the rigorous obligations of the simple feudal system, leading men in the clan were led to abandon the concept of tribal rights in land. Finally, it sketches the widening of contacts with the world beyond the Highland Line and the first trickle of out-migration which, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, joined the flood of British emigration which engulfed five continents.

### *The Historical Reliability of the Genealogy*

Assuming that the Invereshie Book genealogy is, in fact, a reasonably accurate copy of Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie's original manuscript, the question now arises as to its trustworthiness as a historical document. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh described its compiler as "one Sir Eneas Macpherson, concocter of a fabulous history of the Macphersons" (*a* 1892:26), basing his opinion, unfortunately, upon the mistaken identification of Sir Aeneas' work with the badly garbled genealogy of the Macphersons which appears in Glenbervie's *Baronage of Scotland*. Fraser-Mackintosh's detailed criticisms of the line of Macpherson chiefs in the *Baronage* version go a long way, in fact, to restore the true genealogy, and it is unfortunate that he found it "not our business to penetrate this obscurity, and detail the correct pedigree" (*op. cit.*: 46). He implies that there was one, and that it was known to him. It is more unfortunate that Alexander Macpherson saw fit to republish the *Baronage* version in 1893, without a hint of criticism (Macpherson 1893:485-503).

It is true that whenever Sir Aeneas Macpherson wrote in his own right, as in *The Loyall Dissuasive*, he wrote imaginatively, in the style of a polemicist. The Invereshie Book genealogy, however, is couched in sober language, and with remarkably few anecdotal asides. A more general attack upon its authenticity, this time without the intrusion of the *Baronage*, came from Dr. Alexander MacBain who dismissed the list of names in the succession of the Macpherson chiefs as "purely traditional and utterly unreliable" (MacBain 1922:227-8). If this is taken to mean that traditional information is inherently so unreliable as to make it worthless, the findings of historians and anthropologists would tend to controvert this. MacBain, writing at a later date, described the same list as "their genuine genealogy" (Skene 1902:415), but his earlier opinion cannot be passed over lightly. The Invereshie genealogy can, in fact, be

verified effectively, both as to its own internal consistency and in the light of extraneous and contemporary documents.

As we have seen, endogamous marriages played a large part in the structure and evolution of the clan, and these provide a means of assessing the care with which the genealogy was compiled. They also make us aware of a cultural bias on the part of the compiler, and probably in the society which he was describing. Of 119 endogamous marriages 98 appear in the accounts of both families concerned—striking evidence of the self-consistency of the document. The twenty-one marriages which appear but once include eight involving individuals who cannot be identified elsewhere in the genealogy:

- John of Brin, whose daughter married Muriach of the Shiromore family;
- Ewan, "sometime captain of the Country Watch of Badenoch", third husband of Christian of Crubinmore;
- McPherson of Flichatie, whose daughter married Neil of the Shiromore family;
- Angus of Drummond, married to Isobel of Clune; and whose daughter was married to Neil of the Invernahavon family; and
- Mr. Donald McPherson of Calder, whose daughter Jean married Andrew of Wester Raits; and whose daughter Magdalen married John of the Clune family and Capt. George of the *Sliochd Choinnich* Dalrady family.

Two concern Dougall of the Nessintullich family, whose two marriages appear in the Crubinmore and Pittourie accounts but not in his own part of the genealogy. The remaining eleven concern women who are omitted from their own family accounts and who, in several instances, were either barren or produced only daughters. The indication is that the compiler was strongly influenced by the importance attached to male descent, and this agrees with the evidence of the extraneous sources with which the document can be compared.

The heads of families and leading men of the clan who are on record in the Macpherson of Cluny Collection<sup>22</sup> and *The Mackintosh Muniments* (Paton 1903) during the seventeenth century appear each in his appropriate place in the genealogy, as one would expect from the fact that they were the compiler's contemporaries. Further, the Cluny Collection contains documents relating to at least twenty-eight marriages, many of them in the form of actual contracts: twenty-six of them are

recorded correctly in the genealogy. The two exceptions, however, are instructive under criticism; they concern daughters of Paul Oig of Dalrady (*Sliochd Choinnich*):

Janet, according to the genealogy, was married to Angus Mackintosh of Tullochmagerry, son of Allan Mackintosh, while the Cluny document gives her husband as Alexander, son of William Mackintosh of Strone; Isobel, according to the Dalrady and Invernahavon accounts in the genealogy, was married to James of Invernahavon, whereas the Cluny papers show quite categorically that he was married to Isobel, daughter of Donald of Nuide.

In the latter case an endogamous marriage is involved, providing a ready explanation for the compiler's error. The Cluny papers, however, provide a more adequate explanation: they include two marriage contracts for Isobel of Nuide, one in 1656 to James of Invernahavon, a second in 1663 to John of Coronach; only the latter appears in the genealogy. It has already been observed that remarriage played a significant part in the marital affairs of the clan, and it may be argued that the Dalrady marriages recorded in the genealogy were not errors but represented one of two marriages involving one of the partners. There are also indications that the marriages recorded in the genealogy (Dalrady-Invernahavon and Nuide-Coronach) were fruitful, while extraneous evidence suggests that that omitted (Invernahavon-Nuide) was barren. As the compiler also omitted the old age marriage of Andrew of Cluny to Lillias Dunbar in 1639, of which there is record in the Cluny papers, the implication is clear. We can conclude that for those generations with which Sir Aeneas was personally acquainted the genealogy shows a high degree of accuracy, and the few conflicts with contemporary documents may be explained in terms of cultural bias.

References to *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons in documents of the sixteenth century are almost non-existent. The Red Book of Clanranald records that Alasdair Macdonald was joined in 1644 "by Clan Vurich of Badenoch, who were led by a captain and good chieftain of their own blood, *Eógain óg mc Andra mic Eóghain*" (Cameron 1894:179), that is, Ewan of Cluny, son of Andrew, son of Ewan, as in the genealogy. It was specifically with reference to this statement, which he accepted as historically reliable, that Macbain denounced "the Macpherson list previous to Ewan, father of Andrew [as]

purely traditional and utterly unreliable". The Laing Charters of 1606, however, mention "William McConil Oige McPherson in Kingussie" (Anderson 1899: No. 1493); he may be identified in the genealogy with the fourth son of Donald Oig of Cluny and the founder of "the family of Kinguisie-beag". According to the tradition of the clan in the late seventeenth century, Donald Oig was killed at the Battle of Corrichie in 1562 (Macpherson 1893:435). This identification would make him the first Macpherson of Cluny and Chief of *Clann Mhuirich* in contemporary records. Dougall of Essich,<sup>23</sup> on the other hand, appears on numerous occasions between 1548 and 1572 as witness and attorney for William and Lachlan Mackintosh, successive Lairds of Dunachton (Paton 1903: Nos. 62, 83, 88, 93, 99). He was assassinated near Dingwall in 1572 (*Kinrara MS*, Macfarlane 1900:240; Paton 1903: No. 103).<sup>24</sup> In the genealogy he appears as the founder of the Essich-Balachroan-Ardbrylach branch of *Sliochd Choinnich*, and as a full cousin of Donald Oig of Cluny. "Gyllecallum McFarchor McFarsoun", who appears on record in 1579, may be identified in the genealogy as Malcolm, a son of Dougall of Essich's brother Ferquhar who "lived in Dundelchag", that is, Dundelchaig in Strathnairn (Paton 1903: No. 119).

*Sliochd Ghill-Iosa*, towards the end of the sixteenth century, was led by William of Invereshie, son of John of Rimore and grandson of William of Rimore, and by Donald, son of Alister Roy, founder of the Phoines family. Both appear as signatories of the Huntlie Band of 1591, using their patronymics but without their territorial designations: "William Mak ane vic William", and "Donald Makallester Roy" (Spalding Club 1849:246).<sup>25</sup> Both reappear in the Termett Band in 1609 as "William vic-Ian-vic-William in Invereshie", and "Donald vic-Allister-Roy in Phoines", making the identification quite certain (Fraser-Macintosh *a.* 1892:43-4; Macfarlane 1900:273). William was apparently elderly at the end of the century, and the patronymic reference to his grandfather, William (of Rimore), therefore validates this part of the genealogy at a date prior to 1500.

It is with respect to *Sliochd Iain*, however, that the most impressive evidence of the historical authenticity and accuracy of the Invereshie genealogy is to be found. Many of the leading men of this *sliochd* were involved in the legal affairs of the Mackintoshes of Dunachton during the sixteenth century, and appear frequently in the Mackintosh Muniments. We shall

present the evidence for five of the leading families in the order in which they appear in the genealogy:

*Pitmain.* "Thomas m<sup>c</sup>allester v<sup>c</sup> thomas", who appears in the Rental of Badenoch in 1603 as "tenent to the haille [of] Petmeane",<sup>26</sup> is undoubtedly Thomas, son of Alexander, son of Thomas in the genealogy. He appears again in 1609 as a signatory of the Termett Band, as "Thomas vic Allister vic Homas in Pitmean and taking full burden in and upon him of his kin and friends descended of that house" (Fraser-Macintosh *a* 1892:43-4).<sup>27</sup> The *Kinrara MS*, in mentioning the same event, designates him "of Pitmean" (Macfarlane 1900: 272).

*Invertromie.* "Alester Mor M<sup>c</sup>Farquhar M<sup>c</sup>Thomas, . . . Thomas M<sup>c</sup>Farquhar, . . . [and] Allester Oig M<sup>c</sup>Farquhar" followed the leading men of the Macphersons of Cluny, Breakachy, Pittourie, *Sliochd Choinnich* Dalrady, Phones, Invereshie and Strathmashie as signatories of the Huntlie Band of 1591 "at their command" (Spalding Club 1849:246). All three appear in the genealogy as sons of Ferquhar, "Invertromie's predecessor". Alexander More appears as a bastard, and it is perhaps significant as an indication of the way in which elder status tended to outweigh illegitimacy of birth that he signed before his legitimate younger brothers. Another implication of the document is that Strathmashie rather than Pitmain led *Sliochd Iain* at this particular time. "Alexander vic Farquhar vic Homas", who signed the Termett Band in 1609, can probably be identified with "Alester Mor" in the Huntlie Band. In both documents he signs by notary, whereas his brother "Allester Oig" could write, and was, in fact, his brothers' notary at Huntlie. It should be noted that Thomas, the first-generation patronymic of the Pitmain and Invertromie families, refers to one and the same individual according to the genealogy.

Ferquhar, "Invertromie's predecessor", appears on his own account in the Mackintosh Muniments as "Farquhard M<sup>c</sup>Thomas M<sup>c</sup>Alister in Kellzechontin" (Killiehuntly) in 1568-69 (Paton 1903: No. 96). These patronymics do not quite conform to the genealogy, which gives him as son of Thomas, son of John, son of Alexander, but there are two clues that make the identification reasonably certain: the genealogy records Ferquhar's wife as a daughter of one "Donald McIvir, then of Killiehuntly"; and, more conclusively, his brother Donald Dow, "of whom", according to the genealogy, "the

family of Pitchirn is descended", appears in the Muniments in 1595 as "Donald Dow McThomas McAne McAllistir in Pitmeane of Baendoch" (*op. cit.*: No. 169). Donald Dow evidently had interests in several adjacent farms in Badenoch between 1546 and 1595, before his family finally became associated with Pitchirn.<sup>28</sup> He is probably the man who appears in the *Kinrara MS* in 1572 as "Donald Du mac Hamish [*sic*, read Homish] vic Alister of Badenoch" (Macfarlane 1900:240), with the same patronymics as "Ferquhard in Kellzechontin". The omission of one generation in a patronymic designation was, in fact, not uncommon in cases where confusion was clearly improbable. Finally, it should be noted that Alister (Alexander), the first generation in these patronymics, carries the validation of the genealogy back to the third generation and to the first half of the fifteenth century.

*Strathmashie*. It has already been noted that the Macphersons of Strathmashie seemed to be the leading family of *Sliochd Iain* at the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, between 1567 and 1615 members of this family were prominent in the administration of the western parts of Mackintosh of Dunachton's estates. "John vic Iandhu vic Coil vic Neil in Strathmashie" was a signatory of the Termett Band in 1609, while his uncle "Kynache Makconald wic Nele" was the leading signatory for *Sliochd Iain* at Huntlie in 1591. The generations here correspond exactly to John, John Dow and his brother Kenneth, Donald Brack (*Breac*), and Neil in the genealogy, which records Neil's father as Paul, "Strathmasie's predecessor". Two younger brothers of John Dow and Kenneth who also appear in the genealogy can be identified with "Neill McConel McNeill in Kenloch" who was a witness for Mackintosh in 1620 (Paton 1903: No. 296), and "Donald McDonald McNeill" who was Mackintosh's attorney in Glenloy and Locharkaig in 1567 (*op. cit.*: No. 86), while their father, Donald Brack, appears as "Donald McNeill in Stromayshie" in 1564 (*op. cit.*: No. 80). That the connection with the Lochaber lands was maintained in the family is strongly suggested by the appearance of "Ewin Baine McMuriche McPhersone Vic Neil" as Mackintosh's attorney in Glenloy and Locharkaig in 1615 (*op. cit.*: No. 252), although neither Ewan nor his father appears in the genealogy.

*Shirabeg*. "Paul McAne McPhaill in Chyrebeg", who is on record in 1567 (*op. cit.*: No. 86), carries the genealogy's historical authenticity back to Paul, "Stramasie's predecessor", John, the first patronymic in the designation, being shown as a younger



brother of Neil of the Strathmashie family. In this connection it is worth noting that the genealogy terminates Paul in Shirobeg's family two generations later, and fails to record a granddaughter who appears as a marriage partner in the Shiromore account. Further, there is evidence that the *duthchas* of Shirobeg reverted to the Strathmashie family, and re-appeared in a junior branch of that family in the later seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup>

*Inverroy.* "Murioch McAllan vic Ewin in Innerroymoir", Mackintosh's chamberlain and officer in Lochaber prior to 1619 (Paton 1903: No. 285), can be identified with Muriach, son of Allan of Inverroy, son of Ewan of the Garvamore family.

On the evidence of contemporary documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, therefore, the Invereshie genealogy would appear to be a reliable statement of historical fact.

It would be unreasonable, of course, to test the validity of the genealogy by insisting on finding every individual on record elsewhere. Most of the men recorded without land, wives or daughters, were obscure members of the community and did not participate in public life on their own account. It would be equally unreasonable to expect the genealogy to be complete. The Mackintosh Muniments and the *Ardross MS*,<sup>30</sup> in fact, provide the names of a score of individuals who do not appear in it. Their omission, however, illuminates once more the cultural bias of the compiler, for in almost every instance it can be demonstrated that the man concerned left no progeny. The Mackintosh Muniments, for instance, refer to "Murioch McAllan Vic Ewin in Innerroymoir, assignee of Ewin McAllan his elder brother" (Paton 1903: No. 285); Muriach appears in the genealogy, but the elder brother does not. The *Ardross MS* refers to "Donald Bain", a son of Donald Oig of Cluny omitted from the genealogy, with the comment that he was "killed in Kingussie-beag by a vassal called MacKindoūe".

The most interesting example of a man without descent who was omitted from the genealogy, however, concerns Murriach, recorded in the *Ardross MS* as a brother of the "Three Brothers" who founded the *sliochdan* of the clan. The record reads: "Evan MacVuirrich had 4 sons: John, Murriach, Gillios and Kenneth. . . . Of Murriach macEwin's posterity there is no mention, only we find that Farq<sup>r</sup> more vic Vuirrich vic Ewin vic Vuirrich was killed in the feild of Drumylik".

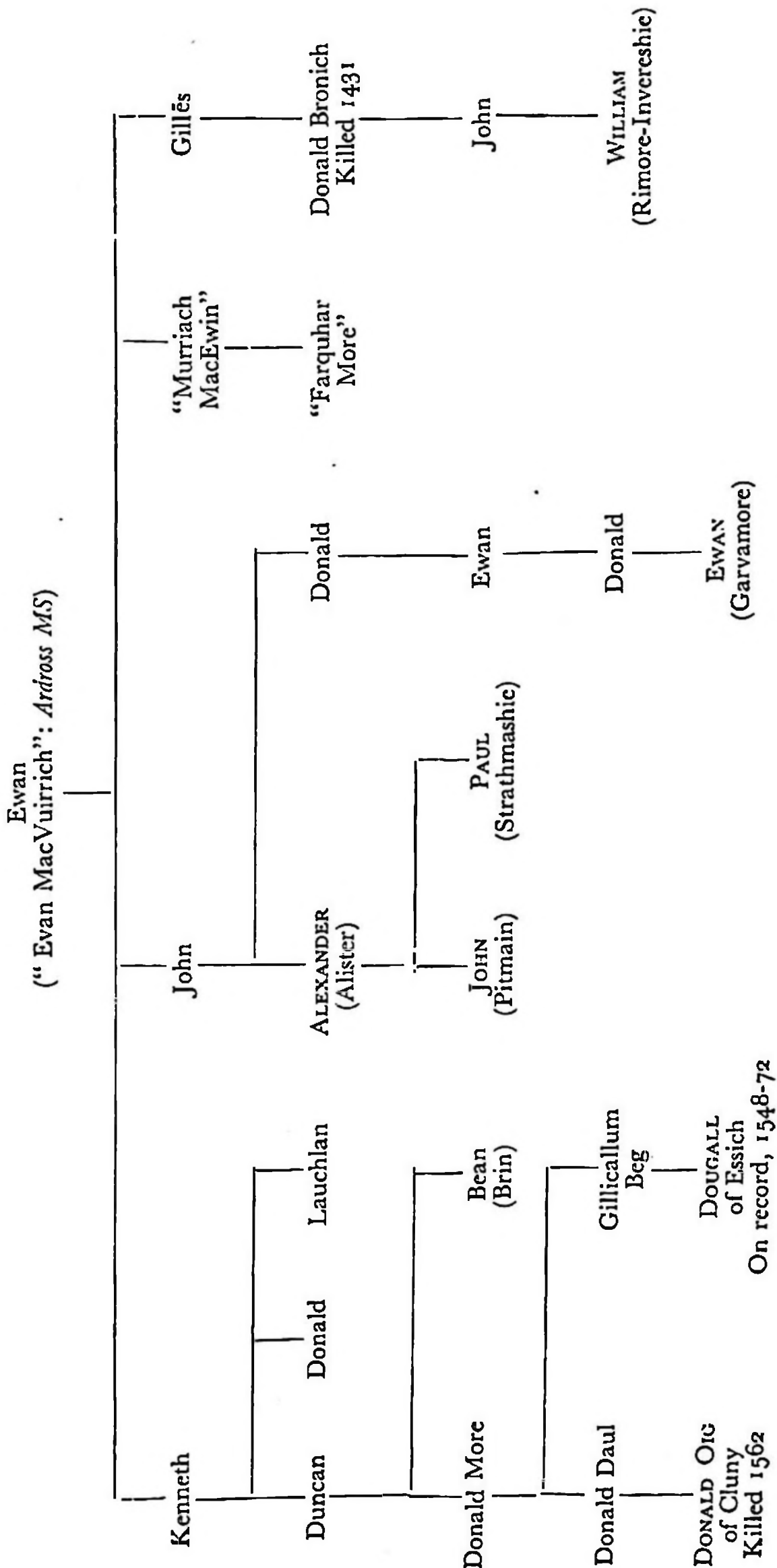
This battle is referred to elsewhere in the *Ardross MS* as an episode in the contest between William, Laird of Mackintosh, and the Clan Cameron, and is probably to be identified with the battle "in the hill of Drumgli" referred to in the *Kinrara MS* as occurring prior to 1370 (Macfarlane 1900:172, 176).

At this stage in the validation of the Invereshie Genealogy, where we have virtually reached the limit of contemporary documents, it will be useful to construct a tree (see page 31) showing the alleged relationships of the individuals (in capitals) whose historical existence has been established, including the information just quoted from the *Ardross MS*.

In the absence of contemporary documents, of course, it is impossible to validate the genealogy for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or prove the historical existence of these earlier individuals. Assuming, however, that they did exist, their alleged relationship one to another must remain a matter of some doubt. On the other hand, this part of the Invereshie genealogy can be corroborated by independent sources of information which were contemporary, or slightly earlier, in date. The *Kinrara MS*, which was written about 1680, is one of these; the other is the *Ardross MS* of 1687, just quoted.

Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara was an old adversary of Sir Aeneas of Invereshie (Murdoch 1902:31-5). Two of his daughters, on the other hand, married William Macpherson of Nuid and William Dow Macpherson, a younger brother of Sir Aeneas. The two writers were obviously not unaware of each other. The *Kinrara MS* ("Epitome of the Origin and Increase of the Mackintoshes"), however, while it deals with a number of individuals and events also found in the Invereshie genealogy, bears not the slightest textual resemblance to the latter. Nowhere does Sir Aeneas use a phrase found in the *Kinrara MS*, but, quite to the contrary, there are substantial differences of fact in the two documents. It seems fairly certain that the two writers were drawing upon a common tradition, but were relying on different sources of information. The point is important because it makes the one document more valuable in corroborating the other.

The *Kinrara MS* has, as one of its themes, the untrustworthiness of friends, among whom the Macphersons were particularly condemned. It is, therefore, singularly unhelpful in matters of early Macpherson history. Scattered and unconnected references to certain individuals, however, indicate that the writer was appealing to knowledge already in the



possession of his intended reader; tacit denigration, within the context of local politics in 1680—strictly comparable with the tone of Sir Aeneas' *Loyall Dissuasive* in 1701—is to be understood in the casual nature of these references, rather than deliberate deception of an ignorant reader.<sup>31</sup>

The *Kinrara MS* identifies the whole Clan Macpherson with "Clan Wurrich" (*Clann Mhuirich*), ". . . so the Macphersons were formerly called", and acknowledges that this clan "were held to be among the most ancient of the families of the Clanchattan" (Macfarlane 1900:254, 338, 342, 356). Curiously enough, Sir Aeneas never uses this old name for the clan in any of his writings. The *Kinrara MS*, however, corroborates the Invereshie genealogy in referring to the triple division of the clan: "Slighk Kynich vic Ewin" (*Ibid.*: 254), "Slighk ean vic Ewin", and "Slighk Gillies vic Ewin" (*Ibid.*: 343, 345, 356),<sup>32</sup> and the seniority of *Sliochd Choinnich* and the leadership of the Macphersons of Cluny are implied throughout. In this connection it is noteworthy that all three *sliochds* were invariably represented among the signatories to agreements which were undertaken by the clan as a whole: the Huntlie Band with the Earl of Huntlie in 1591, the Termett Band with Mackintosh in 1609, the Muchrache Band with the Laird of Grant in 1645 (Macpherson 1893:431; see also Fraser 1883: 3, 238-9), the Kincairne Band with Mackintosh in 1664 (Mackintosh 1903; Fraser-Mackintosh 1898), the Benchar Covenant against Campbell of Calder in 1689,<sup>33</sup> the Kingussie Nomination of Campbell of Cluness in 1699,<sup>34</sup> the protest against Borlum to the Duke of Gordon in 1699 (Spalding Club 1849:165-6; also in Macpherson 1893:387), the Clune Bond of 1722,<sup>35</sup> and the Bond of Friendship between the Frasers, Camerons and Macphersons in 1742 (Macpherson 1893:439-40). The list is formidable evidence of the solidarity of the clan during the century and a half of its ascendancy in Badenoch. Still within the context of the local politics of the seventeenth century, both the Laird of Mackintosh in 1665 (*op. cit.*: 432; Macfarlane 1900: 366), and the Earl of Aboyne, Tutor of Huntly, in 1674 (Macpherson 1893:433-4), recognised the seniority of the Macphersons of Cluny, Pitmain and Invereshie. The *Kinrara MS*'s first mention of *Sliochd Choinnich* refers to events in 1592-3 (Macfarlane 1900:251-4).

Sir Aeneas, in *The Loyall Dissuasive*, makes it clear that Cluny's responsibilities extended to all three *sliochds* and into Strathnairn: he mentions the disputed possession of Farr

(*Sliochd Choinnich*) and Craggie (*Sliochd Ghill-Iosa*), both in Strathnairn, and of Garvamore (*Sliochd Iain*) (Murdoch 1902:28). Kinrara corroborates the Farr dispute, and explains that Andrew of Cluny, in 1664, requested "that all lands which were ever formerly possessed by the Clan Vurrich . . . should be restored to the Clan Vurrich", and that "this half davach land of Farr was formerly possessed by a certain Angus Macpherson sprung from the Brin family, who having exhausted his means, and having no farther right to the place remaining to him but the mere possession of the land, sold his birthright of the place, commonly called Duchis . . ." (Macfarlane 1900:338, 353). In 1668 Duncan of Cluny obtained possession of the estate of Brin itself as "lawful heir of tailzie of the late Ewen McPherson of Brin his cousin" (A. M. Mackintosh 1903), a clear indication of Cluny's primacy in the clan, for the Brin family was one of the oldest families of *Sliochd Choinnich* and the cousinship, in this instance, was a very distant one.

The *Kinrara MS* takes us back to the roots of the tradition when it refers to "Kenneth Mak ewn, father of Parson from whom the Clanphersons are named. This Kenneth came from Lochaber into Badenoch, and dwelt first at Tullocher. He was a tenant and retainer of . . . Lauchlan, Laird of Makintosh. But his brothers John, Murriach and Gillies came thither long before that time" (Macfarlane 1900:179). Lauchlan was Laird of Mackintosh from 1368 to 1407 (*op. cit.*: 173, 179). The *Kinrara MS* also records that Isabel, daughter of Ferquhar, Laird of Mackintosh till 1409, was married to "Duncan Makkynich vic Eun, commonly designated Parson, and bore to him Bean Makpherson from whom the family of Brin took rise". It adds that "Duncan, firstborn of Ferquhard, contracted marriage with the daughter of Donald Makkynich vic Ewn" (*op. cit.*: 180). In this off-hand way, therefore, Kinrara corroborates Sir Aeneas in the names of the three brothers who founded the *sliochdan*, and that of their father, and confirms the early marriage relationships between *Sliochd Choinnich* and the old line of Mackintosh chiefs which terminated in 1409. Kinrara's hint that Ferquhar Mackintosh's abdication in that year in favour of a junior member of his clan was related to these marriages, may simply reflect the politics of 1680; on the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that all these early references to the Macphersons' progenitors were based upon a manuscript written between 1495 and 1513. If the latter is the case, then Kinrara's statement reflects the fact that the political

difficulties between Mackintosh and Cluny in 1680 indeed had roots reaching back to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The *Kinrara MS* differs from the Invereshie genealogy in a number of details: it asserts the Lochaber origin for all the brothers, whereas Sir Aeneas is only explicit in associating Gillēs with that district; it insists on Kenneth's early association with Tullocher in Rothiemurchus, which is significant in view of the Invereshie genealogy's similar association of *Sliochd Iain* and *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* with that district; it ascribes the designation "Parson" to Duncan, an ascription not found in any of Sir Aeneas' writings; it introduces Murriach, the fourth brother; and it omits mention of Donald More, the progenitor of Cluny, although it refers to his brother Bean. In none of these is there a real conflict of fact between the two versions. When *Kinrara* insists, however, that Gillēs came to Badenoch with his brothers, while the Invereshie genealogy is explicit in delaying the migration from Letterfinlay to Rimore till the time of Gillēs' grandson, John, we must rely on the latter; Sir Aeneas was a direct descendant of these men and one would presume that he at least knew the history of his own family.

Murdoch McKenzie of Ardross's manuscript, *The origin of the haill tribes of the Clan Chattan*, refers to an early work written by "F.M.T.", who can probably be identified with Ferquhard, Laird of Mackintosh, the chief who was incarcerated in the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar between 1495 and 1513. This is the more certain when some of the same detail emerges which appears in the *Kinrara MS*, and particularly when the *Ardross MS* makes it clear that "F.M.T.'s" manuscript made extensive reference to the origins of "Clan-vuirrich".

Corroboration of both the Invereshie genealogy and the *Kinrara MS* is impressive. The *Ardross MS* records "Evan MacVuirrich" and his four sons, "John, Murriach, Gillios, & Kenneth"; it refers to the three *sliochdan*, and ascribes twenty families by territorial designation, including Brin and Essich, to their respective *sliochdan*; and it follows the descent from Kenneth and Duncan the Parson, generation by generation, to Duncan of Cluny, Ardross's contemporary in 1687. It confirms the descent of "the clan Ewin Tailleur & the clan Ewin due" from Lauchlan, Kenneth's third son (second son in the Invereshie version), and the illegitimate origin of the Ovie family. It confirms Donald Daul's marriage to "his own cousin, nin William ic Ean<sup>36</sup> in Rimore"; Donald Oig's

marriage to "a daughter of James Gordon, tenant in Ard-brylach"; and all subsequent marriages by the Macphersons of Cluny. On the other hand, it agrees with the *Kinrara MS* that Kenneth came to Badenoch long after his brothers.

While the *Ardross MS* provides good corroboration of the Invereshie genealogy in general, it differs from it in some interesting particulars. In the first place, it projects the genealogy back for another three generations and reinforces the indications of an early association with Lochaber. Ewan, the first generation of the Invereshie genealogy, is referred to as "Evan MacVuirrich", eldest son of "Muirrach, Gillicattan's 5th son, [who] had his residence in Lochaber". Three of Murriach's brothers are given as "Dugall Daall MacGillichattan, [who] got the possession of Glenlinn [*sic*, Glenloy] & Locharkaig in Lochaber"; "Gillespick", whose son "Gillmiol" gave rise to "the clan vic Gillmioll" of Lochaber; and "Nevan MacGillichattan, the first of Gillicattan's race that came to Badenoch", whose grandson, John MacNiven, "acquired the haill right of the Barronie of Dunnaughtoun". Their father, "Gillicattan More MacGillespick, of whom the Clan-chattan have their denomination", allegedly came from Connaught in Ireland "and fixed his habitation in Lochaber in the year 1215". The *Kinrara MS*, quoting the same source as Ardross, refers to this eponym as "Gillicattan Makgellespick chlerich" (Macfarlane 1900:163), while *The Loyall Dissuasive* quotes a *Beannachadh bàird* (Blessing of the Bard) in which he is given as "Gillichattan chlerich" (Murdoch 1902:47, 48, 119). This explains a somewhat cryptic appendix to the genealogy, which has been omitted from mention so far, in which Sir Aeneas refers to a family of Macphersons in Benchar and Strone called "Clan-iri- Gillicattan". He recites six generations of this family, with the explanation that "Gillicattan had several sons, whereof one called . . . had a numerous succession". Moreover, a published extract from Sir Aeneas' manuscript history (of which the genealogy was a part) refers specifically to "Murriach Cattanach who was second son to Gillichattan, the undoubted and true chieftain of the Clanchattan".<sup>37</sup> It is undoubtedly with these individuals that the tradition, finally passes back into fable.

The explanation for the failure of Murriach MacEwan and his son, Farquhar More, to found a fourth *sliochd* has already been mentioned. In recording the four brothers, however, Ardross lists Kenneth after the others, and explains this odd

arrangement by stating: "Kenneth was the eldest, but a bastard, & the other three were lawfully begotten on Greadach nien duill mic Ean in Gaskmore, chieftain of the Clan vickilliniv". In the absence of the earlier manuscripts upon which Ardross based his work there is no way of ascertaining whether the charge of bastardy was an old one, or whether it reflected Ardross's partisan position in 1687. It is noteworthy that Kinrara does not take the opportunity to repeat the charge if it was an old one, derived from the same sources. It is also noteworthy, however, that an article in Collier's *Great Dictionary*, almost certainly from the pen of Sir Aeneas Macpherson, asserts that Kenneth and Gillies were the sons of "Evan Bane" by a daughter of "McLean", while John was the son of "another woman" (Collier 1701: s.v. McPherson). This is at variance with both the Invereshie genealogy and the *Ardross MS*, and might indicate that there was a good deal of confusion in the tradition by the end of the seventeenth century. It is equally possible that "McLean" is a mistranscription of the patronymic "McEan". It is curious that the Invereshie genealogy does not mention the mother (or mothers) of the three brothers, but does insist that Kenneth was Ewan's "eldest lawful son".

If there is some doubt about the provenance of the charge of bastardy, the name "Greadach nien duill mic Ean" (*Greudach nighean Dùghaill mhic Iain*) has all the appearance of authenticity. Her father, Dougall McEan in Gaskmore, was evidently a leading man of the *Clann Mhic Gille Naoimh* or MacNivens of Badenoch. It has already been noted that the Macphersons acquired Breakachie, and the Mackintoshes Dunachton, from this clan, and that Alexander Macpherson, progenitor of the Phoness family, married one of the Dunachton MacNivens. It should also be noted that William Mackintosh of Dunachton's father, Lauchlan of Badenoch, "married first a daughter of the chief of the Clan Makgilliniv who possessed Gaskmor in Badenoch" (Macfarlane 1900:194, Latin text).<sup>38</sup> It seems clear that both the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes, between 1350 and 1500, grew at the expense of the MacNivens, who, according to the *Ardross MS*, represented a branch of the Old Clanchattan senior to *Clann Mhuirich*.

The Invereshie genealogy gives Kenneth's wife as "a daughter of McLean", where the *Ardross MS* says she was "a daughter of Gill-patrick MacEwan"; no territorial or other designation is attached in either case. The Ardross version rings truer, and



implies perhaps that her father was well known by reputation to the reader. It is therefore interesting to find in the *Kinrara MS*, immediately preceding the reference to Kenneth and his brothers, a mention of "Gilpatrick mac Ean, commonly called Kean du mak Ean, from whom that family of Clanchattans called Clancheandui derives its origin" (*op. cit.*: 178). The patronymics, admittedly, are not identical, but the Ardross version may incorporate a mistranscription from an earlier manuscript. The Invereshie version, "McLean", as in the *Great Dictionary* reference just mentioned, may also be a mistranscription of "McEan". Mistranscription is, perhaps, a plausible argument for an archivist, less so for a historian. Nevertheless, in a remarkably detailed account of the Battle of Invernahavon (1370) the Sobieski Stuarts mention "a celebrated Ceann-tighe of the Macphersons called MacIain Ceann-dubh, the best bowman of that clan" (Sobieski Stuart 1848: 2, 472-81).<sup>39</sup> If their source involved literary transmission the odd descriptive name here should perhaps be the patronymic *'ic Iain Dubh*, in which case we may well have a reference to the same individual. The date is about right.

The *Ardross MS* agrees with *Kinrara* on the designation attached to Kenneth's son, Duncan, and gives an enlightening explanation: "Duncan McChynnich was commonlie called the Parson, because he had the collection of the parsonage, teinds & viccarage of the Parish of Laggan; and of him that familie of the Clann Vuirrich are commonlie surnamed Mcphersons". It goes on to insist that Duncan's sons, Donald More and Bean, "were the first of the Clan-vuirrich that were called Mcphersons, & their posteritie onlie should be so called, and none else of the Clan-vuirrich". The time is right for the introduction of surnames; the location is right for the future association with Cluny which is in the Parish of Laggan; and the office, appropriately, is a secular one, probably serving the feudal interests of the Bishopric of Moray.

"Duncan Parson", as *Kinrara* designates him, may well be the first leader of *Clann Mhuirich* in contemporary record, for the Scottish *Exchequer Rolls* contain a tantalising reference in 1430 to one "Duncan Persoun" who was one of four Highland chiefs imprisoned in Tantallon Castle with Alexander of the Isles (*Exchequer Rolls* 5:33; see also Skene 1880:297). The occasion followed Alexander's burning of Inverness in 1429, his retreat to Lochaber, his desertion by Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan—at the instigation of Malcolm Mackintosh,

according to Kinrara (Macfarlane 1900:187)—and his defeat at the first Battle of Inverlochy (Gregory 1881:36-7).<sup>40</sup> If the identification of the Lord of the Isles' fellow prisoner with the leader of *Clann Mhuirich* is correct, then some explanation is called for, and particularly so as an old lament for the defeat of the MacDonalds mentions *Clann Mhuirich* specifically as part of the desertion.

In 1431 Donald Balloch of the Glens, a cousin of Alexander of the Isles, defeated the King's forces at the second Battle of Inverlochy, and proceeded to ravish Lochaber. (It will be recalled that the Invereshie genealogy records Donald Bronich in Letterfinlay and six of his sons as slain in this battle.) Alexander of the Isles was released later in the same year, and was subsequently given the office of Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth. Donald Gregory has surmised that he used the office to "wreak his vengeance on the chief of the Clan Cameron, who had deserted him in 1429", and goes on to say of Malcolm Mackintosh and the Clanchattan that they "were more fortunate in making their peace with their offended superior, and most unaccountably succeeded in retaining the lands formerly possessed by Alexander of Lochaber", an uncle of the Lord of the Isles who was deprived of his lands for aiding Donald Balloch (*op. cit.*: 37-40).<sup>41</sup> It seems obvious that *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* at Letterfinlay suffered the fate of the Camerons. The *Ardross MS* makes this association more probable, for it refers to "Clan vic Gillmioll" (*Clann mhic Gille Mhaoil*), part of the Clanchattan resident in Lochaber, as having already been virtually incorporated into "Clan Cameron". It will be recalled that it was to a chieftain of this *clann* that John of Rimore assigned the *duthchas* of Letterfinlay when he migrated to Rothiemurchus. In the original 1521 Paris edition of John Major's *De Gestis Scotorum*, in fact, the deserting clans are called "Clankatā and Clankauel" (Clankavel), and there is no mention of the Camerons (Major 1892:358-9). However the case may be, the bare chronicle of events indicates that there was not a clear distinction between "Clanchattan" and "Clanchameron", and that there were confused loyalties and some strange reversals of fortune. *The Loyall Dissuasive* (Murdoch 1902:52) and the *Kinrara MS* (Macfarlane 1900:176-7) both report a strong tradition that the *Clann Mhuirich* in Badenoch was a dissident faction of the Clanchattan as early as 1370, at the Battle of Invernahavon, and Sir Aeneas insists in the former that it acted totally independently in 1411, and

fought against Donald of the Isles and Mackintosh with the rest of the Clanchattan at the Battle of Harlaw (Murdoch 1902:50-6; see also Macfarlane 1900:184). In all this tangled web there is, perhaps, some room to believe that "Duncan Parson" and those families of *Clann Mhuirich* and other elements of the Clanchattan that lived in Badenoch remained loyal to Alexander of the Isles after his retreat from Inverness to Lochaber in 1429, while the Lochabermen of the same clans deserted him. It may also explain, in part, the Palm Sunday massacre of 1430 between "the Clanchattans" and "the Camerons", which has always been a somewhat mysterious episode in the chronicles (Major 1892:358-9; Buchanan 1582:239-41; and Macfarlane 1900:187).

One of the few points where the *Ardross MS* is in direct conflict with the Invereshie genealogy is in its reference to Duncan the Parson's sons: it lists Bean, the progenitor of the Macphersons of Brin, as explicitly the older brother of Donald More. The same reservations may be made as in the case of the charge of bastardy against Kenneth, and it may be further observed that nothing appears in the subsequent relations of the two families that would cast doubt on Sir Aeneas' view that the Macphersons of Cluny were senior. On the other hand, the seniority of the Pitmain family in *Sliochd Iain* in Badenoch while *Clann mhic Dhomhnaill mhic Néill* in Rothiemurchus and *Clann mhic Dhomhnaill mhic Fhearchair* in Strathdearn are both acknowledged to be older in the genealogy, suggests that regional cohesiveness was a factor and lends some support to the *Ardross* account of the relationship between the families of Cluny and Brin.

Finally, the *Ardross MS* corroborates the Invereshie genealogy in the marriage of Donald More to "a daughter to the Chieftain of McGillchynichs, who were then a strong people in Badenoch", and in doing so confirms the relationship between marriage and acquisition of land. It reads: "Donald, the son of Duncan the Parson, commonlie called Donald More, married the onlie daughter of one Micgilchynich who dwelt in Clunie, and after MacGilchynich's decease took possession of Clunie, which his posteritie enjoy to this day". The date of the acquisition was probably about 1450.

Corroboration of one document by others contemporary with it is not the same thing as its validation by documents contemporary with the facts it contains. But enough has been advanced to show that the reputation of the Invereshie

genealogy, where it refers to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, stands or falls with the *Kinrara* and *Ardross MSS* where they deal with the same period. The tradition of "The Posterity of the Three Brothers" may simply represent the political cohesion of several originally distinct families which came from Lochaber and Rothiemurchus and which found themselves with common interests in consolidating newly acquired lands in Badenoch during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The writer is inclined to believe that they were, in fact, one original family. However the case may be, the indication is that the Invereshie genealogy is an authentic and historically reliable document, from which many insights into the growth and structure of a Highland clan can be obtained.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A name scotticised as Muriach or Murdoch, and anglicised sometimes as Maurice.
- <sup>2</sup> Evidently a mistranscription of "McKutchen" (i.e. *Mac Uisdein*).
- <sup>3</sup> A mistranscription of "Lome", the reference is to *Iain Lom*, the celebrated bard of Keppoch.
- <sup>4</sup> Sir Aeneas Macpherson's maternal grandfather.
- <sup>5</sup> Annual of the Clan Macpherson Association.
- <sup>6</sup> *Creag Dhubh* II (1959): 12.
- <sup>7</sup> A collective noun meaning "descendants", or "posterity".
- <sup>8</sup> *Bronnach*, portly. Gaelic proper and descriptive names will be footnoted throughout the article where an explanation is called for, but the seventeenth century designations will be retained in the text.
- <sup>9</sup> *Mór*, big.
- <sup>10</sup> *Clann Mhic Gille Choinnich*.
- <sup>11</sup> Gaelic presumably *An Clèireach Mór*, apparently the "style" of the chieftain of the Clerk sept of Clan Chattan.
- <sup>12</sup> Probably we should read "Goint", i.e. *Alasdair Goint'* (Alexander the Fey or Bewitched).
- <sup>13</sup> *Og*, young, or the younger.
- <sup>14</sup> *Fearchar*, Farquhar; sometimes rendered "Ferquhard".
- <sup>15</sup> *Dall*, blind.
- <sup>16</sup> Malcolm.
- <sup>17</sup> *Gill-Iosa* (Gillies).
- <sup>18</sup> *Gorm*, raven-haired.
- <sup>19</sup> *Dubh*, black-haired; sometimes rendered "Dhu".
- <sup>20</sup> *Gaol a' Bharain* (the Baron's Favourite). Sir Aeneas ascribes this individual to the eighth generation, which would place him in the early 17th century. Kinrara, on the other hand, says that William, Laird of MacIntosh between 1346 and 1368, had a daughter "Mora (who was blind of one eye) [whom] he married to Hugh Rose of Kilravock" (MacFarlane 1900 :I, 169, 170). This is obviously the same individual as Sir Aeneas' "Morechaum" (*Mór cham*, one-eyed

Mora). Kinrara is also confused, however, for the Genealogy of the Roses of Kilravock states that Hugh Rose who built the Tower of Kilravock in 1460 and died in 1494 "married Moir Mackintosh, daughter to Malcolm Beg Mackintosh, Captain of Clanhattan" (MacFarlane 1900:2, 487). This would seem to be correct, for "the young baron" who joined the rebellion of Alexander MacDonald of Lochalsh in 1491 was probably their son, and a cousin of "Farquhar Macintosh, son and heir of the Captain of the Clanchattan", who also joined Lochalsh (Gregory 1881:56, 57).

<sup>21</sup> *Gaolaich*.

<sup>22</sup> Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

<sup>23</sup> The *Kinrara MS.* confirms that he was married to Marjory Mackintosh, who is described as a bastard daughter of Lauchlan, brother and successor of Duncan Mackintosh of Dunachton.

<sup>24</sup> An account of 1774-83 refers to Dougal of Essich as Mackintosh's "special good friend and tennent, at that very time employed in the Laird's affairs in the neighbourhood of Dingwall" (Mackintosh 1892:52).

<sup>25</sup> Reprinted as "The Clan Farson's Band: Huntlic, 15th May, 1591" in Macpherson 1893:429.

<sup>26</sup> "The Rentall of the Lordshipe of Badzenoche at Vitsunday, 1603" (Macpherson 1893:505).

<sup>27</sup> Original document is preserved in the Scottish Record Office, and is recorded in the Books of Council and Session, 22nd June, 1762. See also Paton 1903: No. 218.

<sup>28</sup> Paton 1903: Nos. 80 ("in Westyrn Rayth", 1564), 92 ("in Petmeane", 1568), 96 ("in Puttury", 1569), and 169 (a wadset of "the third of the Half davoch lands of Schafin", 1592-5).

<sup>29</sup> Paton 1903: Nos. 415 (1651), 692 (1707, Tirlfodoun), and 699 (1714); Macpherson of Cluny Collection, 1682; and Invereshie Genealogy, Cluny and Tirlfodoun Families.

<sup>30</sup> "The origin of the haille tribes of the Clan Chattan, from a MS. written by Murdoch McKenzie of Ardrross, 1687" (Macpherson of Cluny Collection No. 965).

<sup>31</sup> The *Kinrara MS.* was probably written for Lauchlan, Laird of Mackintosh Kinrara's nephew, to whom he was "tutor" between 1660 and 1667 (Macfarlane 1900:323-5).

<sup>32</sup> See also Fraser-Mackintosh *a* 1892:21, for a different and fuller version of the *Kinrara MS.*

<sup>33</sup> Macpherson of Cluny Collection, No. 826.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 326.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 553; see also A. G. Macpherson 1953:25-7. A very defective version of the Bond was printed in Stewart 1860:216-18, and copied uncritically in A. Macpherson 1893:429-30.

<sup>36</sup> *Nighean Uilleim mhic Iain*.

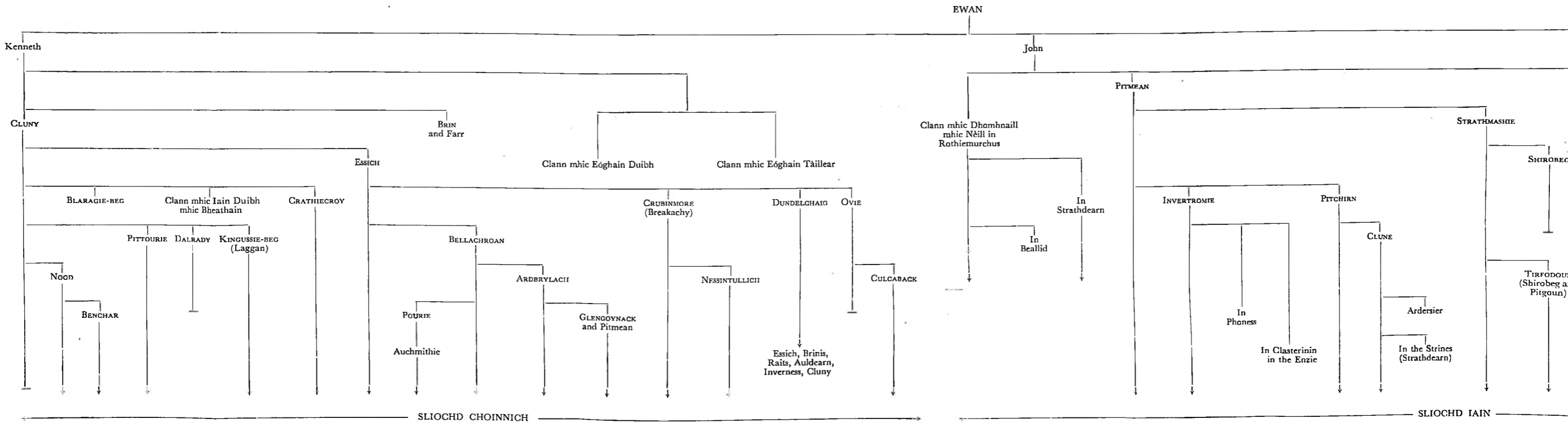
<sup>37</sup> *Creag Dhubh* XI (1959):[14-15.]

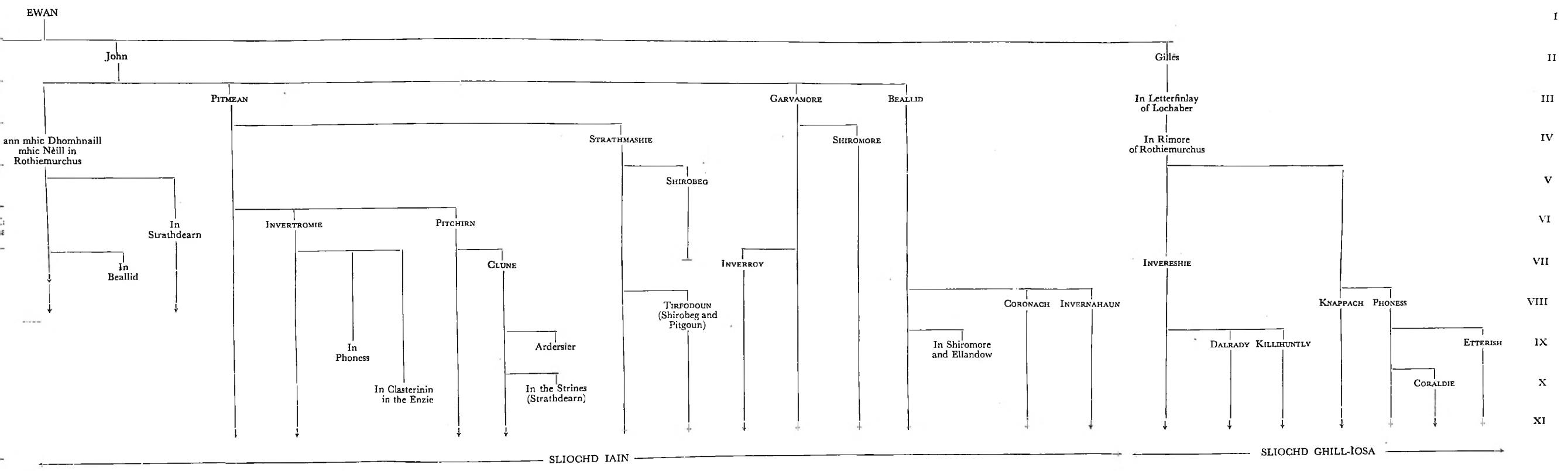
<sup>38</sup> C. Fraser-Mackintosh, using the English mistranslation, ascribed this marriage and the farm of Gaskmore to the *Sliochd Ghill-Iosa* (*a* 1892:4).

<sup>39</sup> Reprinted in A. Macpherson 1893:477.

<sup>40</sup> Following Bower à Hearne 4:1286.

<sup>41</sup> Following Bower à Hearne 4:1288.





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# *THE DESERTED HEBRIDES*

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H. A. Moisley

Islands, particularly small islands, appear to exercise a peculiar fascination. This is reflected, for example, in the public press wherein appear, from time to time, letters and articles lamenting the declining population of this or that island. Implied, if not specifically stated, is the thesis that depopulation reflects a failure to make best use of natural resources, expressed in emotional phrases such as "neglect of our National Heritage". The writers usually conclude with some plea for (unspecified) government action which, it is said, must be taken urgently "before it is too late". Too late for what? Does depopulation, particularly of islands, necessarily imply waste of resources?

In Britain this is particularly a Scottish problem. In the eighteenth century some seven or eight per cent of Scots lived on islands. Now the figure is less than two per cent. The recent establishment of a Development Board is official recognition that the Highlands and Islands are a major "under-developed" region of Britain. If, and there are good reasons, we include Bute as well as the Crofting Counties, islands account for about one-third of the population of this Highland region.

The problem, in essence, is the relationship between population density and economic development in restricted areas. It is seen in its most extreme form in the cases in which islands have become more or less completely depopulated. This paper is an attempt to assess the significance of these deserted islands, including a few which have been effectively deserted but which for one reason or another, recorded a small population, e.g. of seasonally resident shepherds at the 1961 Census.

## *Sources*

There is no single, convenient source of an account of the deserted islands. A valuable description and summary was published in 1958 by the Rev. T. M. Murchison; this contains material from most of the well-known topographical accounts,

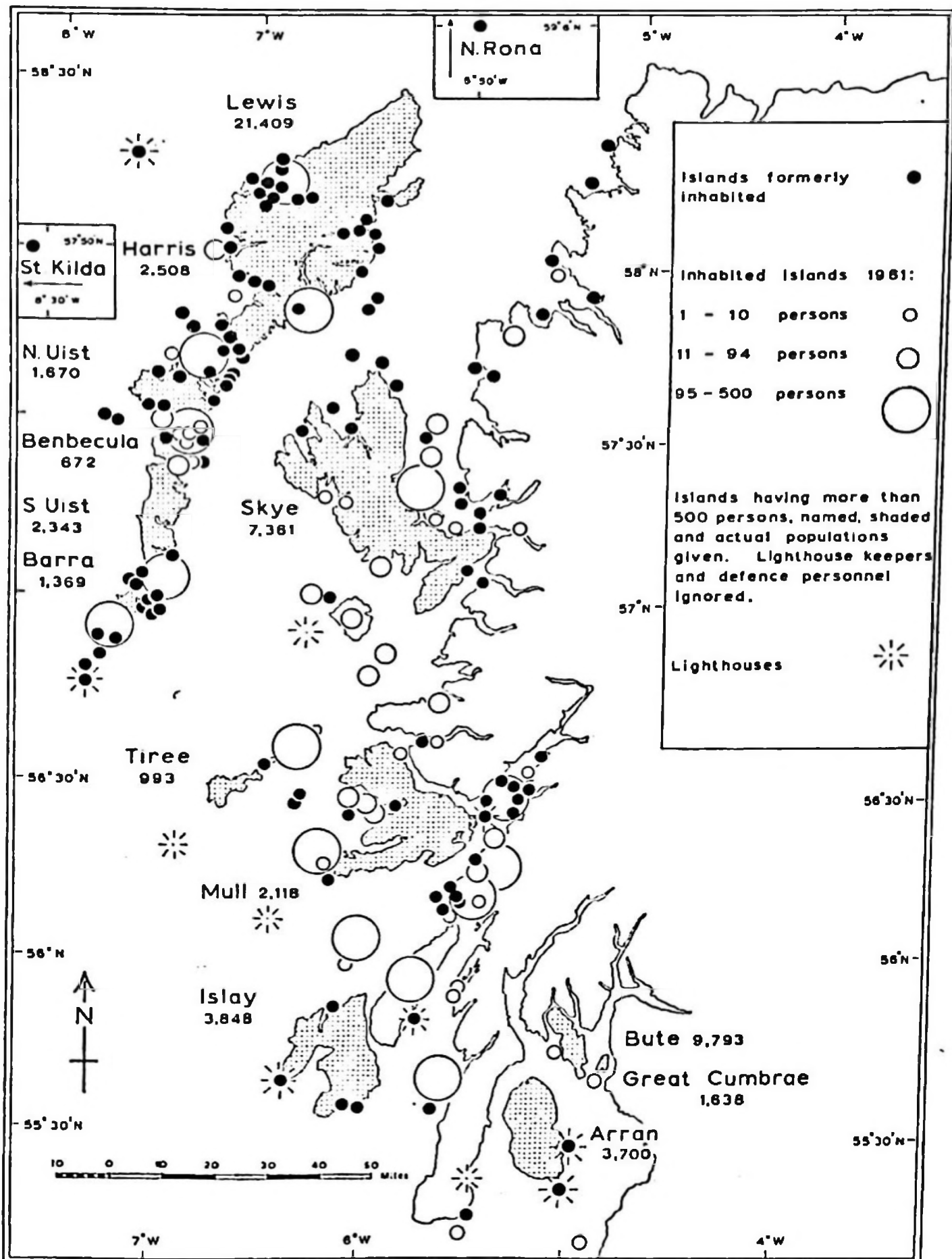


FIG. 1.—The deserted and the inhabited Hebrides, 1961. Note that, whilst in general this map is derived from 1961 Census data, certain small islands which were inhabited only seasonally are shown as deserted.

published Census Reports and some previously unpublished material (Murchison 1964:fig. 88). In 1962 O'Dell and Walton published a useful map (O'Dell and Walton 1962:298), showing some of the more important aspects of island depopulation. Their map, however, shows only a selection of the abandoned islands, and may be compared in this respect with a map prepared by the present writer (Fig. 1).

The principal sources for this new map are as follows:

- (i) Published Census Reports (not of much use for this purpose before 1851),
- (ii) Other published accounts, particularly for the period before 1851,
- (iii) Unpublished Census Enumeration books, particularly for 1841 and 1851,
- (iv) Personal enquiries in the field.

The Report of the 1851 Census was the first to make a particular tabulation of islands (Census, Gt. Britain, 1851: Appendix, table 43, cxxviii and cxxiv), arranged in three groups in anti-clockwise geographical order: the East Coast (Inchkeith, Inch-Colm etc.), the North Coast (Stroma, the Orkneys, Shetlands and Sutherland), and finally the West Coast (Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, Argyll and Bute); the islands of the west coast of Sutherland were included under the North Coast. Only total populations were given: the names of many uninhabited islands were included but the populations of inhabited islands were not necessarily stated and some were not even mentioned. Thus this tabulation can be most misleading. Great Bernera, Lewis, for example, with a population of 518 is not even named, whilst Luing (population 695), Seil (population 604) and many others are named but no population is stated.<sup>1</sup> Colonsay and Oronsay are given as one, whilst the stated population of Lismore (1,250) includes Kingairloch, which is not an island. Illeray, N. Uist, is given as a separate island from Baleshare whereas it is actually a township on Baleshare island.

Fortunately the 1851 tabulation can be checked and made more complete by examination of the manuscript Enumeration Books, preserved at Register House. This has been done; about thirty inhabited islands have been added in the Hebrides alone but, almost certainly, still others may have been missed because

it is not always simple, even with considerable local knowledge, to decide from the books the precise location of any particular family. The erratic incompleteness of the published tabulation is probably due to the same difficulty.

For the 1861 Census Report a more careful enumeration of Scottish islands was made, an island being defined as "any piece of solid land surrounded by water, which affords sufficient vegetation to support one or more sheep, or which is inhabited by man" (Census, Scotland, 1861:Report, xvii). For all Scotland, instead of the 386 islands separately indentified in 1851, 787 were found, of which 186 were inhabited (cf. 155 in 1851). For the Hebrides comparative figures are given in Table I.

TABLE I

	Islands named		Islands of which population stated	
	1851	1861	1851	1861
Sutherland . . . . .	15	61	1	3
Ross and Cromarty . . . . .	20	96	5	14
Inverness . . . . .	55	250	44	49
Argyll . . . . .	41	175	26	43
Bute . . . . .	7	7	7	7
Total (Hebrides) . . . . .	138	589	83	116

*Note*—Harris and Lewis counted in Ross and Cromarty and in Inverness but only once in total.

The tabulation for 1861 (Census, Scotland, 1861:Appendix, Table 5, xlv-xlvii) includes only the inhabited islands but gives more details than the 1851 tabulation including the numbers of:

- (i) Separate families;
- (ii) Houses: inhabited, uninhabited and building;
- (iii) Persons: male, female and total;
- (iv) Rooms with one or more windows.

The list is arranged in alphabetical order for the whole of Scotland and the parishes and counties are named for each island. It is thus a very useful permanent index of Scottish islands. Despite the obvious care with which it was done discrepancies may still be found, some of which have persisted to the present day. For example, several small islands in the North Ford were included with Grimsay, North Uist, and have continued to be so counted ever since. On the other hand, a number

of "islands", such as Ulva and Danna, Argyll, were counted as such even though they had been permanently attached to the mainland by reclaimed land or causeways.

After 1861 each Census Report contains a separate tabulation of island populations. The selection of islands for these tabulations appears to have been based on the 1861 definition and identification. Thus the Census Reports for 1861 and subsequent years, whilst much more useful than the earlier ones, must still be interpreted and adjusted in the light of local knowledge.

For the earlier years, before 1851, information is scattered and scanty. For 1841, as for 1851, the Enumeration Books are invaluable, but the identification of island households is not always easy because of the haphazard arrangement of entries for some areas; consequently small islands may easily be overlooked.

Before 1841 there are no Enumeration Books and the Census Reports give us only parishes and counties; the populations of particular islands are not given unless they happen to form a single parish, nor are the islands individually identified. The Old and New Statistical Accounts may contain details of particular small islands, as do some of the Reports to the Board of Agriculture. Histories and contemporary topographic accounts occasionally yield useful information, by far the best being that of Walker<sup>2</sup> for 1764, which gives the populations of each of 95 Hebridean islands. This is not, however, a complete list; it does not include Bernera, Lewis, for example, and several others which were certainly inhabited at that time.

Earlier, for 1755, Webster's Enumeration gives population by parishes, not islands, and therefore yields no information in respect of the smaller islands. For the seventeenth century many islands are mentioned in the papers of the Franciscan mission (Giblin 1964), and, for the sixteenth century there is Dean Donald Monro's orderly and detailed account for 1549, of which a hitherto unpublished manuscript has recently been edited and collated with other manuscripts by R. W. Munro (Munro 1961). Unfortunately the Dean does not give actual populations but many islands are described as "inhabit and manurit"; sometimes he leaves us to assume that an island is populated, confining himself to remarks such as "gude for corn store and fisching" or (even more illuminating) "is quiet for fostering thieves, ruggaris and reevaris"—the last applying to Ronay, Skye. For the purpose of this paper I have assumed that

THE DESERTED HEBRIDES

TABLE II—SCOTLAND

Hebrides: number of inhabited islands at various dates <sup>1</sup>

	1549	1764	1841	1861	1881	1901	1921	1931	1951	1961
ARGYLL										
S. Argyll	3	5+2	7	8	7	7	6	7	5	5
F. of Lorn	6	13	11	11	11	10	10	10	9	8
Loch Linnhe	12	5	4	5	6	6	4	4	4	3
Morvern	?	—+2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Islay Group	6	5	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5
Mull Group	8+3	6	5+1?	8	8	8	9	9	7	8
Tirce Group	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Small Isles <sup>2</sup>	4	4+1	5	5	5	4	4	6	6	5
INVERNESS										
Skye Group	9+3	11	8	10	9	8	9	9	8	8
Harris Group <sup>3</sup>	24+1	9	11	11	9	11	10	8	7	7 <sup>4</sup>
Ardnamurchan	?	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
N. Uist Group	2	9	10	10	12	11	10	10	8	5
S. Uist Group	1	3	6	6	7	6	5	5	7	6
Barra Group	15+1	8	9	9	8	7	5	5	3	3
ROSS AND CROMARTY										
Inshore	4+2	2+5	7	9	5	7	7	3	5	4
Lewis Group	17	4+3	5	5	4	4	3	3	3	3
SUTHERLAND	?	?	2	2	—	—	—	1	—	—
ARRAN AND BUTE	5	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
AYR	?	?	?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
GRAND TOTAL	119+10	91+18	105	118	111	108	101	99	90	83

Notes: <sup>1</sup> + indicates islands probably inhabited but not reported. <sup>2</sup> Including Hyskeir (Inverness) and Eigg (formerly Inverness). <sup>3</sup> Harris and Lewis counted separately under each county but only once in the grand total. <sup>4</sup> Excludes St. Kilda (defence personnel only, 1961).

if Monro mentions corn, or that an island was fertile, it was inhabited; if he mentions only grazing, or fishing, and not corn (or "beir") I have not assumed that it was populated unless there is other evidence, either in his account or elsewhere. Monro's account is remarkably complete, including many small uninhabited islands "not of meikle profit", nevertheless there are some astonishing omissions. For example, whilst Benbecula and North Uist are apparently included in "the great Isle of Uyist" ("Ulindbhadla" or "Buchagla" is probably Benbecula), neither Boreray nor Grimsay, North Uist, is mentioned at all although they were certainly inhabited (see for example Mackenzie 1946:2-6.). On the other hand, a few of the inhabited islands which he does name are quite unrecognisable.

From such sources, supplemented by personal enquiries, Table II has been prepared, showing the actual number of inhabited islands at various dates, and Appendix A, which enumerates all the now depopulated islands which the writer has been able to identify and which are shown on the map.

#### *The progress of desertion*

The number of inhabited islands in the Hebrides appears to have declined slowly from the time of the earliest records until the mid-eighteenth century and thereafter to have risen to a maximum, of about 120, in 1861. Since then about five islands have become deserted every ten years, so that by 1961 the number stood at 73 (82 if lighthouses be included).

Dean Monro's account for 1549 suggests that some islands had already been deserted before his time. These were mostly religious seats, such as monasteries or nunneries, or places of defence or of refuge. The demonstrable incompleteness of the records, particularly of that for 1764, means that the slow decline in the number of inhabited islands between 1549 and 1764 cannot be regarded as thoroughly authenticated. Nevertheless it is not improbable that such a decline did take place: almost all the islands which appear to have become deserted are either very small, or difficult of access, or both. They include the Treshnish Isles, several islands off the east and west coasts of Lewis, some of the smaller isles in the Sound of Harris and some around Barra.

Similarly, it does seem probable that between 1764 and 1841 people may have moved into hitherto empty islands. This was a period when increasing population was putting pressure on the available land, a pressure which was made greater by the



clearance of sub-tenants from some estates in order to make large farms. From the proprietor's point of view the settlement of islands by such people offered the possibilities of land improvement (which was unlikely to be carried out in any other way), and of the development of fishing and kelp manufacture. And all these meant increased rents. To the unfortunate displaced families migration to a nearby island, however bleak and inaccessible, may have seemed preferable to the long, hard, and almost certainly irreversible journey to unknown and remote places such as North America.

Unfortunately few written records of such movements exist, but in Barra, for example, it is said that people cleared from townships in South Uist settled on the small islands between Uist and Barra: some later moved into the east coast townships of Barra itself.<sup>3</sup> The presence of 108 persons in Hellisay in 1841 is probably a case in point; by 1851 it had been reduced to 7 and it is said that many of the people settled on Eriskay.<sup>4</sup> The settlement of Scalpay, Harris, by families displaced from North Harris and of persons evicted from Skye on Raasay and Soay, are other cases. Eriskay and Scalpay are large enough to have sustained communities to the present day; the circumstances of their settlement are therefore remembered and passed on from generation to generation. Many of the smaller islands, however, were but temporary refuges and of them little or no record remains unless they happened to be populated at the time of a census. That these shifts of population were not a complete reversal of the long-term trend is shown by the facts that at least seven islands, populated at the time of Walker's account (1764) had become deserted by 1841, and that, although the total number of inhabited islands continued to increase until 1861, a further 12 were deserted between 1841 and 1861.

In each inter-censal decade since 1861 the number of islands becoming deserted has exceeded the number newly settled or re-settled. Cases of genuine settlement, or re-settlement, of previously uninhabited islands are virtually non-existent after 1861. Table III summarises the progress of desertion and near-desertion. Whilst the rate of desertion has not varied significantly since 1841 there has, in recent years, been an increasing number of islands of which the populations have fallen to less than 10 per cent of their maxima. Many such islands have become effectively deserted, being occupied by essentially temporary residents, such as shepherds, the real homes of whom are elsewhere.

Of the 83 islands recorded as inhabited in 1961, nine were merely lighthouses; a further twenty or so were not effectively separate islands, being joined to other islands or to the mainland at all states of the tide by causeways or bridges.

TABLE III

*The progress of desertion*

Column A: Number of inhabited islands recorded at the beginning of each period.  
 Column B: Number of islands becoming deserted during each period.  
 Column C: Number of islands, populations of which fell during period to less than 10 per cent of maximum.

Period	A	B	C	Period	A	B	C
1549-1764	· c. 130	c. 30	?	1891-1901	· 108	2	—
1764-1841	· c. 110	c. 10	?	1901-1911	· 108	7	2
1841-1851	· 105	7	—	1911-1921	· 106	3	2
1851-1861	· 104	5	1	1921-1931	· 101	5	5
1861-1871	· 118	6	—	1931-1951	· 99	12	4
1871-1881	· 115	4	1	1951-1961	· 89	5	6
1881-1891	· 111	8	1	1961-	· 83		

North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist, together with several adjacent smaller islands, are all thus joined, as is Bernera to Lewis, Gometra to Ulva, Seil to the mainland, and Danna to Ulva and the mainland. A few others are inhabited only seasonally, e.g. by shepherds. After allowing for all such cases, and for a few islands not separately distinguished, it appears that in 1961 about 50 distinctly separate islands remained inhabited whilst more than 100, once inhabited, stood deserted.

*Which islands tend to become deserted?*

The outstanding feature of the now deserted islands is that the great majority are very small and never supported more than a few families. Very few are really remote or physically difficult of access and almost all such, e.g. North Rona and the Treshnish Isles, had already been deserted before 1841.<sup>5</sup> Although details are lacking, it is unlikely that many of the islands which became deserted between 1549 and 1841 could have supported more than two or three families. The diagram for 1841 (Fig. 2) shows that of 45 islands then having less than 40 people, all but 11 have subsequently become deserted. Many of them were close inshore, some even accessible by foot, or by horse and cart, at low tide.

In discussing the circumstances leading to depopulation of islands we should remember that, until well into the nineteenth

century, isolation was not a feature peculiar to insularity. In the absence of roads many small communities on the mainland and on the larger islands were equally, or even more, isolated than some of those on the small islands. Until the present century the sea provided the main means of access to many communities of southern Uig and of Lochs, Lewis, as it did to

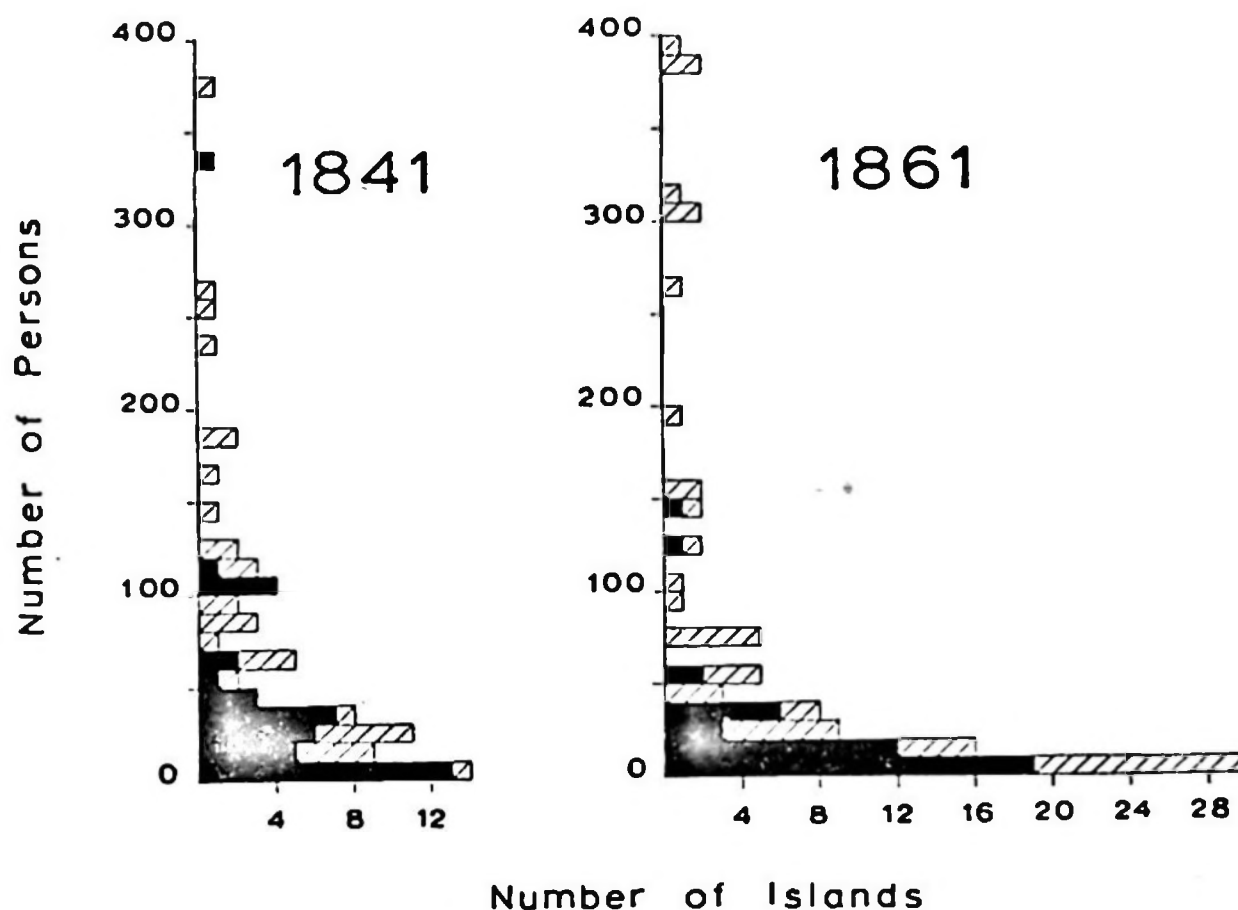


FIG. 2.—Size—distribution of islands having less than 400 inhabitants, 1841 and 1861. The heavily shaded parts of the bars indicate those islands which have since been deserted.

those of the Bays of Harris and at Applecross; the cattle from Valtos (Uig, Lewis), even went to the shieling by boat and the mail came that way until the late 1920's; at Tarbert, Harris, it was boats that brought many of the people to shop and to worship until the construction of the Bays road in the early 1950's. Many small islands were no more isolated than these places yet no less than 30 were deserted between 1841 and 1891.

The need to maintain a minimum number of able-bodied persons, to man a boat, and to pull it out of reach of storms, has been stressed by some writers as being critical.<sup>6</sup> In a few cases it may have been so and the provision of slipways and winches was one of the activities of the Congested Districts Board between 1897 and 1912.<sup>7</sup> But many of the now deserted small islands are in sheltered situations, close inshore, and the boats required cannot have been so large as to have been a

serious problem until the population was reduced to a very small number. Indeed, until well into the nineteenth century the need for communication was so seldom felt that some communities, even the most distant and isolated such as North Rona and St. Kilda, made no effort to provide their own link but relied on the seasonal visits of the factor (who was bound to collect the rents) and minister, and chance calls by fishing boats.

However, nineteenth century economic and social progress touched even the most isolated. More and more island families were no longer content with a sheer subsistence existence: at a pinch every man could be his own miller, blacksmith and tailor but it was not an economic existence, it left little time or energy to produce a saleable surplus, whether of stock, wool, tweed or fish, and an increasing saleable surplus was required in order to purchase imported food, clothes and other "shop" goods. The need for medical and educational facilities similar to those available on the larger islands and on the mainland was recognised and, just as today in Africa people are moving from the bush to settle beside the new roads and, in particular, in the vicinity of villages with dispensaries, schools and shops so, from the 1840's, Hebridean families began to leave the more isolated places, insular and mainland alike. In 1841 only 23 islands had less than 20 inhabitants; by 1861 there were more than 40. It was at that stage of decline that the inability to man a boat may have become critical; certainly almost all the islands which had less than 20 inhabitants in 1861 have since been deserted. Others have, of course, declined into that category and, in April 1961, there were 47 islands with less than 20 persons. Of these, ten were lighthouses, a few others were occupied only temporarily (e.g. by shepherds) and yet others are effectively joined to the mainland or a larger island, at least at low tide. Since it is now virtually impossible to bring up and educate children on such islands the inhabitants tend to be elderly or unmarried, or both, and in many cases they are merely paid employees who do not regard the islands as their permanent homes. Continuity of settlement has been lost.

Of the islands which ever recorded populations of more than 100 only nine have been deserted (Table IV). Of these Soay and Tanera have been re-settled. The demise of such relatively large island communities is worth particular attention. Although St. Kilda is best known, Pabbay, at its maximum, carried by far the largest population of all. In 1549 Monro described it as ". . . ane maist profitable Ile . . . maist

plentifull of beir, grising and fisching". In 1764 it had a population of 186 and the increase of 152 in the following 77 years was probably due in part to an influx of families cleared from the west or south of Harris. However, soon after 1841 Pabbay itself was cleared to make a farm. In 1851 only 25 people were recorded and by 1881 there were only 2 (at that time it was probably mainly used for shooting). It is an island of more

TABLE IV

*The large deserted islands*

Island	Maximum population		f. 1764
	No.	Date	
Pabbay, Harris . . . . .	338	1841	186
St. Kilda, Harris . . . . .	{ 180-200 151	1692-97 1835	92 95
Soay, Bracadale* . . . . .	158	1851	14
Mingulay, Barra . . . . .	150	1881	52
Belnahua, Jura . . . . .	150	1845	95
Heisker, N. Uist . . . . .	140	1891	70
Tanera, Lochbroom† . . . . .	119	1881	?
Hellisay, Barra . . . . .	108	1841	56‡
Oronsay, N. Uist . . . . .	102	1841	18

\* Soay was evacuated in 1953 but was later re-settled and recorded a population of 11 in 1961.

† Evacuated 1931. Re-settled 1938.

‡ Walker's list for 1764 does not mention Hellisay but gives a population of 56 for "Fuda", but by 1841 Hellisay had 108 whilst Fuday had only 5. It is possible that Walker's "Fuda" was Hellisay, since it was sometimes known in Gaelic as An t-Eilein Fuideach.<sup>9</sup>

than 2,000 acres, much of it in rich green pasture and former arable land. The bere produced on the sandy soil did not all find its way into barley bread; Pabbay people were famous for their whisky. Had Pabbay not been cleared it is likely that a substantial crofter population would have lingered into the present century. Landing is not as difficult as at St. Kilda or Mingulay; nevertheless it is certainly less readily accessible than nearby Berneray and this might have led to voluntary evacuation, such as took place from Boreray and Heisker. It carries a large stock of sheep and cattle; the farmer lives in South Harris; his shepherds stay on the island at lambing and other busy times.

The circumstances of the decline and eventual evacuation of St. Kilda are well-known and documented.<sup>9</sup> The singular isolation of the St. Kilda community was due not so much to sheer distance from the Outer Hebrides as to the difficulty of

effecting a safe landing, particularly in winter. An important result of this was that the sea played little part in the economic and social life of the St. Kildans. They could not fish to any extent, a difficulty which was rationalised by the belief that fish in the diet produced boils, and they always seem to have depended on boats from the mainland, rather than on their own efforts, for communication. It may be significant that the similarly small northern isles of Foula and Fair Isle, both still inhabited, maintain their own boat connection (though now assisted by the County Council), as do such small island communities as Watersay (Barra), Eriskay (S. Uist) and Bernera (N. Uist). Scalpay (Harris), for long maintained its own fishing boat ferry to and from Tarbert several times daily as well as a thrice weekly steamer. Now it has lost the latter but has a public ferry service instead.

Balnahua, Jura, "quhair thair is fair skailzie aneuch" according to Monro, in 1549, is also a special case. The community depended entirely on slate quarrying, it grew to about 150 (1835) and was prosperous until the 1870's. Then the slate began to meet competition from the cheaper Welsh product and from more easily worked Scottish slates. Water supply was always difficult—drinking water had to be fetched in barrels by boat and the laundry was taken to a near-by island. When slate quarrying ceased there was nothing to retain the population.

Mingulay was effectively evacuated in 1907 after the successful raiding of Watersay farm. A few people remained until about 1931. The Mingulay community was not as isolated as that of St. Kilda, though landing was often difficult. They were crofter-fishermen and maintained frequent communication with Castlebay by their own boats besides which the Northern Lighthouse tender made, as it still makes, regular calls at Barra Head. But the island of Watersay offered better land, including some machair, and was far more convenient to Castlebay. As a single farm it was virtually empty compared with overcrowded Mingulay (populations 13 and 135, respectively, in 1901). It is not surprising in the circumstances of the period, that the Mingulay crofters, as well as many landless families in Barra, coveted Watersay, nor is it surprising that the raid, whilst not judicially condoned, was in fact successful. Thus this particular evacuation was triggered off by the apparent availability of Watersay. Had they been more isolated the Mingulay people might well have remained content; the island provides good

grazing and is now used most successfully for sheep by a group of Barra crofters.

Until about 1823 Soay had contained only one or two herdsmen and their families; immigration of families cleared from Skye caused the population to rise to 158 in 1851. The immigrants eked out a precarious existence by fishing. About 1850 several East Coast boats worked the seasonal herring fishing from Soay and employed local men and women fishing and curing; in addition about half a dozen local boats were at work.<sup>10</sup> Even so the population dwindled rapidly to 60 by 1901; fishing became less and less profitable and by 1951 only nine families, 30 persons, were left. In 1953, at their own request, they were re-settled on Mull. Subsequently Soay has been reoccupied but not by the original inhabitants; eleven persons were recorded in 1961.

Heisker (the Monach Islands), North Uist, is little more than a group of machair-covered skerries, open to the full force of the Atlantic; unlike Pabbay, Harris, it has no hill to provide shelter. Nevertheless it has a long history of settlement. In pre-Reformation times it had a nunnery and Monro describes it as "Helsker na caillach, pertaining to the Nunnis of Colmkill, gude corn land not well fyrit"; in 1595 it could raise 20 men of military age, suggesting a total population of at least 100. In 1764 Walker records a population of 70 and about 1800 it was reputed to carry 1,000 cattle (Murchison 1953-9:309) although in 1794 the Rev. Allan MacQueen wrote "The soil is sandy, yields very little grass at anytime, and is only valuable on account of its kelp shores and a small quantity of grain it produces" (MacQueen 1794:303). About 1810, possibly due to over-grazing, erosion became serious, the population was almost entirely removed and sea-bent was planted; gradually the ground recovered. In 1841 there were two farmers with their families, a female weaver and a herd, a total population of 39; by 1861 this had grown to more than a hundred not including more than 20 visiting lobster fishermen from Ireland and Islay. In 1864 the Monach Lighthouse was erected on Shillay, the westernmost island of the group, and thereafter the population was augmented by the keepers and their families. The maximum recorded population, 140 in 1891, includes 12 keepers and their families and about a dozen visitors, mostly fishermen. Almost all the able-bodied men are described in the Enumeration Book as fishermen. The ten crofts shared 414 acres of runrig arable and 396 acres of pasture; they also had a share of the general

common of North Uist where they also held a common croft. From the agricultural point of view, as crofters they were well-off, although fuel, as in Monro's times, was a problem. Nevertheless, after 1900 the population declined rapidly; by 1931 it was only 33 and about 1937 the lighthouse was abandoned. In 1942 the two remaining families left. Since then the islands have been used for cattle and sheep grazing and as a temporary base for Grimsay lobster fishermen.

Hellisay, Barra, and Oronsay, North Uist, carried large populations only temporarily, as a result of evictions from nearby islands but, unlike Soay, Bracadale, they soon declined:

	1764	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Hellisay . . .	256	108	7	20	5	9	nil
Oronsay . . .	18	102	59	nil	nil	nil	nil

Tanera, Lochbroom, however, supported a large fishing population which reached a maximum of 119 in 1881; in Walker's account for 1764 it may be "Harura", with a population of nine. By 1784 there was a fishing station and by 1841 there was a population of 99. Its decline and eventual desertion in 1931 reflect changes in the life-pattern of the herring as well as changes in the economic pattern of the fishing industry. Its re-occupation in 1938 by Dr. F. Fraser Darling and his family, described in his books *Island Farm* and *Island Years*, may be regarded as an experiment which demonstrated the agricultural possibilities of such islands when not encumbered with an excessive population.

Not included in the nine large deserted islands (Table IV), is Boreray, North Uist, which deserves mention because it was the subject of a planned evacuation, in 1922-23, at the request of the 17 crofter-tenants. In the event one of the 17 decided to remain and thus obtained a croft of 87 acres, the remainder of the island being let as grazing to crofters of Berneray, Harris, This evacuation seems to have been singularly misconceived: the sixteen tenants obtained very unsatisfactory crofts, on the main islands of North Uist but without road access to the rest of the island, and with far less arable land. On Boreray they had an average of 24 acres of arable land, partly in fixed and partly in shifting runrig, which must have been a little inconvenient, it is true, and about 350 acres of common pasture including about 100 on nearby Lingay. Their peats had to be fetched from Lingay and their arable land had deteriorated



due to over-cultivation and failure to maintain the outfall from a loch; according to evidence given to the Napier Commission in 1883 they were not fallowing and were reaping only 10 bushels for every five sown (*Royal Commission*, 1884:804). Also after the tacksman left, about 1810, the pier had been allowed to fall into disrepair, making landing difficult. But, after allowing for all these (which could readily have been remedied) it is difficult to account for the evacuation except as a manifestation of the popularity of re-settlement schemes amongst crofters at that period. It is said that some of the families had become frightened by severe storms and that an absurd story, that the island would one day be swept away, had gained credence. Whatever the reason, the one who stayed behind certainly benefited more than any of those who left; he was able to carry at least four times as much stock as any of them and he and his family had still not been swept away in 1961!

Of these nine large islands which have been evacuated Tanera, Soay and Balnahua may be dismissed as special cases, their former large populations having depended mainly on fishing and slate quarrying. Their evacuations were probably inevitable as was that of St. Kilda, on account of its exceptional remoteness. Hellisay and Oronsay are also special cases, owing their large maxima to temporary settlement of refugees evicted from other, larger islands. The rest—Pabbay, Mingulay, Heisker and Boreray—are not particularly remote; their common feature seems to be the difficulty of ensuring a landing in the absence of an adequate slip or pier. The evacuations of Mingulay and Boreray were certainly triggered off by the possibility of re-settlement—on other islands, be it noted—rather than by poverty. In these large islands, as in the smaller, the ultimate, critical, factor leading to desertion has generally been social rather than economic.

### *The Significance of Desertion*

More than 100 Hebridean islands have been deserted since the time of Dean Monro, 1549. For about 20 of these there is no record of their populations but they are all small: in total it is unlikely to have exceeded 400 and may well have been less than half that figure. The former populations of the remainder, at their various maxima (mostly around 1841-1861), totalled about 2,500. These figures may be compared, for example, with declines of 14,000 in Skye and 5,200 in Mull between 1851 and 1961 and of 9,000 in rural Lewis between

1911 and 1961. Thus the desertion of islands is a relatively small factor, though perhaps a dramatic one, in the depopulation of the Hebrides.

Only 44 of the deserted islands appear ever to have supported more than 20 people; only nine of these ever recorded populations of more than 100 and in several cases this was due to special circumstances such as fishing, evictions or quarrying. Thus it is the very small islands which have become deserted. The same feature has been noted in Finland, for example, where in the Åland Islands, it is the one- and two-family islands in particular that have been deserted.<sup>11</sup> In many cases those who leave the small islands settle on a larger island rather than on the mainland; they are escaping from isolation rather than insularity. The tendency is to move to areas or centres with better social facilities and, perhaps, with alternative forms of employment; thus in Lewis, Stornoway is growing just as is Mariehamn in Åland and some of the larger fishing settlements of Northern Norway (Hallstein 1960:140; Jaatinen 1960:51). Outlying islands, too, have lost their value as fishing bases as larger motor boats have replaced small, often open, boats and fishing has tended to concentrate on fewer ports with better facilities.

Small islands offer a special kind of environment. The usefulness to man of their characteristic climates, soils and minerals is inevitably modified by the isolation imposed by the surrounding waters. Rarely, advantages may accrue: the sea may yield fish or seaweed; an island may be so placed that its people may profitably engage in trading or similar activities—in the past including smuggling and piracy. But, in general, difficulty of access reduces the effective value of the intrinsic resources. It is not merely a question of physical accessibility; access can always be maintained—at a cost, as in the case of the defence establishment on St. Kilda. But, if the cost is patently in excess of the value of production from the island, it cannot be indefinitely sustained.

This is particularly significant in the case of those islands carrying communities too small to support even a minimum of social services. Formerly they were self-sufficient and satisfied with occasional and irregular access to larger communities. Nowadays, if daily access to primary school and medical facilities cannot be assured, they are almost certainly doomed as normal, self-perpetuating communities. If, however, the community is large enough to support at least a District Nurse

and a one-teacher primary school then daily access is not essential and the effective cost of maintaining access is reduced. Paradoxically, the smaller the community the greater the accessibility costs.

Thus, under contemporary social and economic conditions, there is a minimum size for an island community; if it falls below that number then further decline, and perhaps desertion, is inevitable. The minimum size for viability will, however, vary according to circumstances. If daily access cannot be relied on, the minimum is that number required to justify provision of certain services. No rule can be laid down; in the end this will be a political as much as an economic decision. As social standards increase it is likely that the minimum population required to justify the provision of services will also increase. At the same time, if the general level of incomes continues to rise, islanders will expect a corresponding improvement in their condition; because the possibility of achieving greater incomes from the limited natural resources of most islands is slight there will be a continued tendency to emigrate. This may enable the limited resources to be re-allocated to give more satisfactory incomes to those who remain but, at the same time, it may lead to a critical situation as regards provision of social services.

From the social point of view island communities are part of the larger national community and, as such, are entitled to services and facilities comparable to those provided elsewhere by national and local authorities. Since the usual range of services cannot be provided on an island, particularly on a small island, it may be argued that abnormal expenditure (e.g. on special educational and medical facilities or on a ferry service) is justifiable. To counter that no one is *compelled* to live on an island is to ignore the fact that people *are* there, as, in most cases, were their ancestors. To force them to abandon their homes on purely economic grounds would be both harsh and unjust.

A much more serious consideration concerns the utilisation of the resources of such islands. Does depopulation imply failure to make best use of land and natural resources? In fact even the smallest uninhabited islands are usually used for grazing, seasonally if not perennially; crofting communities often find them useful, escape-proof, pastures for the township bull or tups out of season. In the past they were sometimes used for horses, too, and a few are still used for young cattle. As grazings islands may be particularly valuable. Their mild climates allow

stock to be out-wintered without feeding or other attention; protection from disease and disturbance is achieved without the expense of installing and maintaining fences. (Foreign fishing vessels have been known to help themselves to an occasional sheep but such losses are not great.) If the grazing is properly managed no cultivation and little surface dressing is required. For these reasons many deserted islands are singularly profitable.

The deserted islands are the extreme case of the Highland and Island population problem--matching population to resources. Desertion does not imply dereliction and there can be little doubt that some of the deserted and near-deserted islands are now more productive and profitable than when they were congested with people. Desertion is not, of course, a universal remedy but the experience of the deserted islands does show that a degree of depopulation is not only inevitable but also essential in some districts if a viable relationship is to be established between population and natural resources. Depopulation may be regretted but the opportunities which it releases should not be ignored.

## APPENDIX A

*Maximum, and last recorded, populations of islands formerly inhabited*

Lighthouse stations and purely military establishments are marked \*. Islands, the only record of habitation of which is Monro, 1549, are listed separately at the end.

Island	Max. pop. recorded (and date)	Last record
<b>SUTHERLAND</b>		
Chorrie . . . . .	1 (1931)	1 (1931)
Handa . . . . .	65 (1841)	8 (1871)
Oldney . . . . .	60 (1841)	4 (1881) <sup>a</sup>
( 3 islands)	126	—
<b>ROSS &amp; CROMARTY (Inshore)</b>		
Ba . . . . .	5 (1861)	5 (1861)
Ban . . . . .	*3 (1931)	*2 (1951)
Croulin . . . . .	40 (1841-51)	7 (1921)
Gillean . . . . .	*14 (1891)	*2 (1921)
Gruinard . . . . .	6 (1881)	6 (1881)
Horisdale . . . . .	46 (1901)	22 (1921)
(previous maximum . . . . .)	37 (1871)	
Kishorn . . . . .	6 (1861-71)	6 (1871)
Longo . . . . .	35 (1841)	35 (1841)
Martin . . . . .	54 (1851)	19 (1921)
Ristol . . . . .	27 (1871)	27 (1871)
Scalpay . . . . .	8 (1851)	8 (1851)
(11 islands)	244	—

Island	Max. pop. recorded (and date)	Last record
<b>INVERNESS (Inshore)</b>		
Shonaveg . . . . .	12 (1851)	12 (1851)
Rasay . . . . .	18 (1841)	13 (1851)
Ascrib . . . . .	37 (1861)	37 (1861)
Isay . . . . .	17 (1851)	17 (1851)
North Floda . . . . .	6 (1764)	6 (1764)
Ornsay . . . . .	47 (1881)	47 (1881)
(light only) . . . . .	—	*1 (1961)
Troda . . . . .	5 (1764)	5 (1764)
Wiay/Vuiay . . . . .	6 (1841-61)	4 (1881)
Tigh . . . . .	10 (1931)	10 (1931)
(9 islands) . . . . .	158	—
<b>ARGYLL—Morvern</b>		
Friel House . . . . .	3 (1871)	1 (1881)
Oronsay . . . . .	54 (1851)	17 (1871)
(2 islands) . . . . .	57	—
<b>ARGYLL—L. Linnhe</b>		
Sheep . . . . .	8 (1891)	6 (1901)
Musdale Lt. . . . .	21 (1861)	*3 (1961)
Berneria . . . . .	7 (1764)	7 (1764)
Balnagowan . . . . .	7 (1764)	7 (1764)
Eriska . . . . .	29 (1921)	20 (1951)
Duirnish . . . . .	24 (1881)	6 (1901)
(6 islands) . . . . .	96	—
<b>ARGYLL—F. of Lorne, etc.</b>		
Sheep . . . . .	4 (1851-71)	2 (1881)
Lunga . . . . .	40 (1764)	5 (1931)
Garvellachs (deserted 1881-1901) . . . . .	11 (1764)	2 (1911) <sup>b</sup>
Eluchanuir . . . . .	8 (1764)	8 (1764)
Balnahua . . . . .	151 (1835)	32 (1911)
Pladda . . . . .	16 (1861)	*2 (1951)
Fiolan Fiulta . . . . .	3 (1841)	3 (1841)
(7 islands) . . . . .	233	—
<b>ARGYLL—Mull, etc.</b>		
L. Colonsay . . . . .	33 (1851)	3 (1931)
Sanday, Canna . . . . .	171 (1841)	22 (1951) <sup>c</sup>
(2 islands) . . . . .	204	—
<b>ARGYLL—Islay and Jura</b>		
Texa . . . . .	8 (1764)	8 (1764)
Cara . . . . .	11 (1841)	3 (1931)
Skervuile . . . . .	*19 (1881)	*2 (1931)
(3 islands) . . . . .	38	—

Island	Max. pop. recorded (and date)	Last record
<b>INVERNESS—<i>Barra</i></b>		
Feala/Fiaray . . . . .	10 (1764)	10 (1764)
Fladda Flodday . . . . .	7 (1841)	7 (1861)
Fuday . . . . .	56 (1764) <sup>d</sup>	4 (1901)
Hellisay . . . . .	108 (1841)	9 (1881)
Pabbay . . . . .	26 (1881)	5 (1911)
Sanderay . . . . .	41 (1911)	20 (1931)
Mingulay . . . . .	150 (1851)	3 (1931)
Berneray . . . . .	57 (1881)	17 (1901)
(light only) . . . . .		*3 (1961)
(8 islands) . . . . .	455	—
<b>INVERNESS (OUTER HEBRIDES)—<i>North Uist</i></b>		
Hut . . . . .	10 (1881)	7 (1891)
Kirkibost . . . . .	28 (1764)	6 (1951)
Heisker . . . . .	135 (1891)	33 (1931)
Monach Lt. . . . .	*13 (1881)	*3 (1931)
Ronay . . . . .	9 (1841)	6 (1931)
Vallay . . . . .	59 (1841)	2 (1951)
Oronsay (deserted 1861-91) . . . . .	102 (1841)	7 (1921) <sup>e</sup>
Vorgay/Mhorgay . . . . .	9 (1851)	6 (1881)
(8 islands) . . . . .	365	—
<b>INVERNESS (OUTER HEBRIDES)—<i>South Uist</i></b>		
Calavay (deserted 1851-71) . . . . .	39 (1841)	6 (1881) <sup>f</sup>
Wiay . . . . .	10 (1891)	4 (1901)
Sunamul . . . . .	—	— (1951)
(3 islands) . . . . .	49	—
<b>ROSS &amp; CROMARTY (OUTER HEBRIDES)—<i>Lewis</i></b>		
Little Bernera . . . . .	8 (1841)	8 (1841)
Flannans . . . . .	14 (1764)	*3 (1961)
Mealasta . . . . .	25 (1841) <sup>g</sup>	7 (1861)
Oronsay . . . . .	2 (1891)	2 (1891)
Pabay . . . . .	17 (1861)	9 (1881)
N. Rona . . . . .	9 (1764)	9 (1764)
Shiants . . . . .	22 (1764)	8 (1901)
Vacsay . . . . .	9 (1861)	9 (1861)
Vuiavore . . . . .	46 (1841)	46 (1841)
(9 islands) . . . . .	152	—
<b>INVERNESS (OUTER HEBRIDES)—<i>Harris</i></b>		
Tay/Tahay . . . . .	36 (1841)	36 (1841)
Flodday . . . . .	16 (1861)	16 (1861)
Hermitray . . . . .	8 (1841)	8 (1841)
Killegray . . . . .	48 (1764)	5 (1931)
St. Kilda . . . . .	200 (1692)	73 (1921)
also . . . . .	110 (1851)	36 (1930)
also* . . . . .		*50 (1961)
Scotasay . . . . .	20 (1911)	19 (1921)
Soay . . . . .	16 (1901)	16 (1901)
islands) . . . . .	344	—

*Islands inhabited in 1549 (according to Monro) but no later record  
nor details of actual population*

ARGYLL—*probably near Lismore and Kerrera*

Ellan na Gaorach (L. Linnhe)  
Inchair  
Garbh Ellan  
Ellan Cloich  
Flada  
Greazay (? Creag)  
Ellan Moir (? E. nan Gamhna)  
Ransay (? E. Ramsay)

ARGYLL—*probably near Jura, Islay, etc.*

Ellan na Calrach (Caorach)  
Ellan Nefe (Nave)

ARGYLL—*probably near Mull, Coll or Tiree*

Ellan Challmain  
Eorsay  
Ellan na Monadh (Fladda, Treshnish)  
Lungay (Treshnish)  
Gunna

ARGYLL—*Skye*

Ellan Tuylmen  
Ellan Lindill

INVERNESS—*Barra*

Fladay  
Buya Moir  
Hay (? Heileim)  
Gigay  
Lingay (sheiling only, perhaps)

INVERNESS—*Harris*

Soa (? Shillay)  
Stroma  
Sagha Beg (Saghay B.)  
Sagha Moir  
Gillinsay (Gilsay)  
Ferelay  
Soya Beg  
Soya Moir  
Ellan Isay  
Seuna Moir  
Slegan (? Sleichan)  
Tucmen

ROSS & CROMARTY—*Lewis*

Kcallasay  
Kirtay (E. Kearstay)  
Bwya (Vuia) Beg  
Sigrm (Shiarain) Beg  
E. Huilmen (Holm)  
E. Viccowill  
Laxay  
Ere (? Keose)  
E. Chalmkle (E. Chaluim Chille)  
Turray  
Sencastell (may be off mainland shore)

## SUMMARY

	No. of deserted islands	Maximum population recorded
Sutherland . . . . .	3	126
Ross and Cromarty, inshore . . . . .	11	244
Outer Hebrides . . . . .	35 (+28)	1,365
Inverness, inshore . . . . .	9	158
Argyll . . . . .	20 (+17)	628
Arran, Bute and Ayr . . . . .	3	—
	81 (+45)	2,521

Islands of which precise populations are not recorded are noted in parentheses, thus (+3).

*Notes to Appendix A*

- Oldney: 1861,14; 1871,nil; 1881,4 (last record).
- Garvellachs: 1871,10; 1881 to 1901,nil; 1911,2 (last record).
- Sanday, omitted from the published report of the 1961 Census, in fact had a population of 7.
- Fuday: the population of 56 in 1764 may refer to Hellisay (see text).
- Oronsay: 1851,59; 1861 to 1891,nil; 1901,11; 1921,7 (last record).
- Calavay: 1851 to 1871,nil; 1881,6 (last record).
- Mealasta: the population stated may have been on the mainland of Lewis in 1841.

## APPENDIX B

*Islands retaining, in 1961, 10 per cent or less of their maximum populations*

Island	Max. pop. recorded (and date)	Population recorded in 1961	Notes
<b>ROSS AND CROMARTY</b>			
Tanera (i) . . . . .	99 (1841)	6	Deserted 1923-38
(ii) . . . . .	119 (1881)		
<b>INVERNESS—Skye</b>			
Rona (Portree) (i) . . . . .	165 (1841-51)	13	(Including 3 light keepers, 1961)
(ii) . . . . .	181 (1891)		
Scalpay (Strath) . . . . .	90 (1841)	2	Deserted 1953, later re-settled
Soay (Bracadale) . . . . .	158 (1851)	11	
<b>INVERNESS—Hebrides</b>			
Ensay . . . . .	60 (1764)	2	} Occupied only seasonally (shepherds), 1961
Pabbay . . . . .	338 (1841)	2	
Taransay (i) . . . . .	88 (1841)	5	} Evacuation planned for 1922 but one family remained
(ii) . . . . .	76 (1911)		
Boreray (i) . . . . .	181 (1841)	5	
(ii) . . . . .	156 (1861)		
Leiravay . . . . .	25 (1911)	2	



Island	Max. pop. recorded (and date)	Population recorded in 1961	Notes
ARGYLL			
Carna	60 (1841)	2	
Shuna	14 (1871)	1	
Muck	321 (1821)	29	
Canna	436 (1821)	24	
Rum (i)	443 (1795)	40	Minimum 1920: 20 persons
(ii)	394 (1821)		
Ulva	570 (1841)	28	Minimum 1951: 19 persons
Earraid	122 (1871)	1	Shepherd only, 1961
(cf. 1861, 9; the increase being due to the construction of Dubh Artach lighthouse)			
Easdale (i)	571 (1851)	16	Formerly slate quarrying
(ii)	504 (1871)		
Shuna	69 (1841)	3	
Scarba	60 (1764)	5	
Ulva	54 (1851)	5	} Now joined to mainland
Danna	142 (1841)	10	
Oronsay	48 (1871)	2	
22 islands	4,150 (maximum)	214 (1961)	

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The populations given here have been obtained by adding together the appropriate household figures extracted from the manuscript Enumeration Books. The writer is indebted to the Registrar-General for Scotland and his staff for access to the books.
- <sup>2</sup> Walker 1808:22-3. Dr. Walker visited the Hebrides in 1764 on behalf of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.
- <sup>3</sup> Verbal communication, Mr. Archibald Macdonald of Allasdale, Barra, to whom I am indebted.
- <sup>4</sup> Personal communication, Dr. J. L. Campbell of Canna, to whom I am indebted.
- <sup>6</sup> It is said, in Barvas, that there was a shepherd on North Rona until about 1844. Many years later two men went into voluntary exile there and were found dead in 1885.
- <sup>6</sup> For example, Darling (1955:283) suggests a minimum of four able-bodied men.
- <sup>7</sup> See the *Annual Reports of the Congested District Board*, 1897-1912, for examples.
- <sup>8</sup> Personal communication, Dr. J. L. Campbell of Canna, to whom I am indebted.
- <sup>9</sup> Summarised, for example, in O'Dell and Walton 1962:319-25.
- <sup>10</sup> Reports of the *Highland Destitution Relief Society*, 1849-1850, quoted in Murchison 1964:321.
- <sup>11</sup> For examples see Jaatinen 1960:46, and Moisley 1964:36.

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# *POPULATION TRENDS AND STRUCTURES ON THE ISLAND OF WESTRAY, ORKNEY*

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James R. Coull

Rural depopulation has been the counterpart of the growing dominance of cities and towns in the life of economically advanced countries for a century past; it is related to the growth of specialised commercial functions in agriculture and other activities, and the decline of domestic food production which had involved the great majority in society having a direct stake in the land. In Scotland, as elsewhere, rural depopulation tends to be most acute in marginal areas—especially in the Western Highlands, Hebrides and Northern Isles. Of these areas, the problem tends to be least acute in the Orkneys, because of its improved and progressive agriculture which contrasts with the retarded economic development elsewhere. But although Orkney is (at least in relative terms) economically buoyant, it still has its problems of falling levels of population, and ageing population structure; and the current rate of decline in islands like North Ronaldsay and Eday (for example) is as severe as anywhere in Britain. Westray, on the other hand, has the largest community in the North Isles of Orkney, and is generally agreed to have the strongest community spirit. It could prove a useful guide to the prospects of outlying islands of retaining a viable population in modern times, against the attraction of urban life and the problem of mounting freight rates which afflicts all the outlying communities. The object of this paper is to analyse the demographic trends in Westray, and to make an estimate of the optimum population for the island at modern standards of living.

## *Population Trends of the Last Two Centuries*

During the period of the Industrial Age of the last two centuries, the population of Westray shows the common

Highland trend of a rise from about 1750 (when it was about 1100) to a peak in the nineteenth century (Fig. 1), followed by a decline which is still unchecked. In Westray, the population rise from the mid-eighteenth century was fostered by the rise of the kelp industry in its initial phases, and in the nineteenth century by developments in commercial fishing and (more especially) improvements and reclamation in agriculture.<sup>1</sup> As

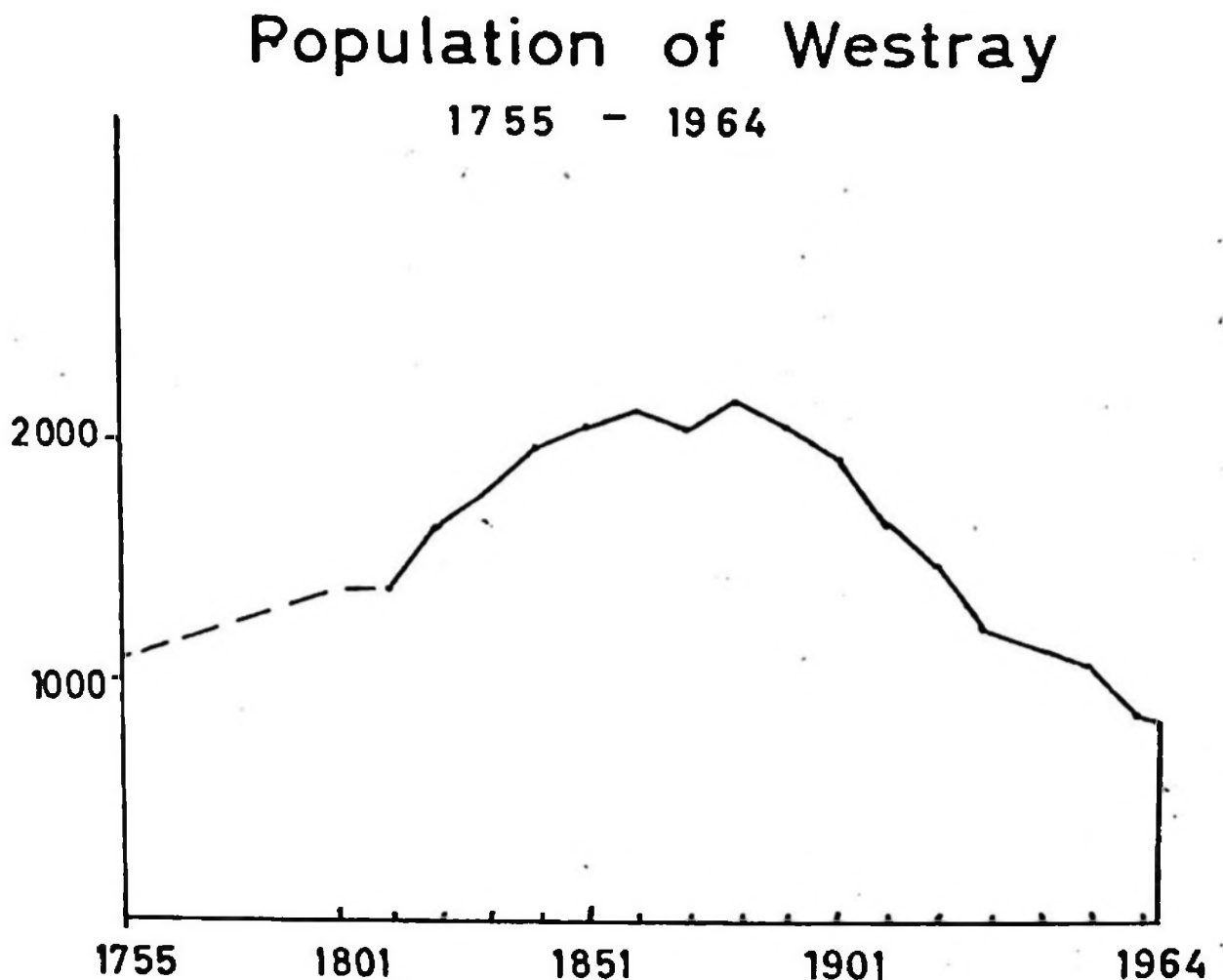


FIG. 1.

a result of the improvements in agriculture, the population rise in Westray was prolonged into the 1880's—the maximum recorded figure was 2,195 in 1881—in contrast to most of the West Highlands, where it began to fall after the catastrophe of the Potato Famine of the 1840's. In 1840 in Westray the resources were still able to support the people comfortably,<sup>2</sup> and there was little emigration, although there was some seasonal movement to the herring fishing centre of Stronsay in summer. By the later part of the century, however, increased contacts with the outside world, together with universal education was leading to a considerable emigration (of some 30 to 40 people per year) from an island tending to become over-populated. The oldest son got the family holding, but

most of the other members of the family were more or less obliged to seek their fortunes elsewhere: the tendency was for the young men to go abroad, and for the girls to go into domestic service on the mainland of Britain.

The emigration, together with the small family of modern times, led to a steep decrease in numbers from the end of last century. It was enhanced by the decline of fishing at the start of the century through the grounds being exploited by trawlers, and in the inter-war years and after through the decline in number of farm labourers through increased mechanisation of the farms.

### *Present Population of Westray*

While the present population position in Westray is not free from anxiety, the population and employment structures are relatively healthy by the standards of the seven crofting counties. The current trend on the island is still that of depopulation, largely due to the moving out of the younger age groups: the main reason for this is scarcity of employment. Agriculture continues to require fewer hands with increasing mechanisation, and with rising living standards and present farming trends the minimum size of holding required to provide a livelihood is increasing: since 1870 the number of holdings of less than 20 acres has decreased from 132 to 39, and the total number on the island from 204 to 142. Thus the agricultural labour force is tending to decrease, and in a predominantly farming community like that of Westray there are limited employment opportunities for women. However, prosperity is increasing, and it may be possible that the population level may stabilise at a level somewhat lower than the present.

At present on Westray, the birth and death rates are approximately equal, contrasting with a natural increase of about 12 per year at the start of the century. A count of population made in August 1964 showed a population total of 827, compared with the 1961 Census total of 872; this net loss is due to emigration at the rate of about a dozen people per year. The younger adults (15-44 age group) account for most of those moving out; they are mostly single people, but there is also a loss of young couples with families. The better retention of the male population (Table I) is due to the better opportunities for them in a farming community. There is a complementary increase in the proportions of the older age groups on the island.

TABLE I  
Total population, and farm-based and non-farm-based population

MALES														
Resident (total)														
Age structure					Occupations					Migration since 1946				
0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Full-time farmer	Crofter with other employment	Farm labourers	Non-farming	Students	Others	Periodically away	Permanently away	Emigration	Immigration
Total population	36	56	144	110	60	117	40	26	66	4	7	12	69	13
Farm-based	22	37	97	77	23	117	40	—	18	3	3	6	34	6
Non-farm-based	14	19	47	33	37	—	26	48	1	4	6	35	35	7

FEMALES														
Resident (total)														
Age structure					65 and over					Migration since 1946				
0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	In employment	Students	Others	Periodically away	Permanently away	Emigration	Immigration			
Total population	39	61	128	121	72	31	16	1	11	87	12			
Farm-based	16	33	74	72	26	18	12	1	9	42	4			
Non-farm-based	23	28	54	49	46	13	4	—	2	45	9			

Since 1945, there have been 156 emigrants from Westray, although the pattern of movement has changed from the turn of the century, and most of the post-war migrants (110 of them) have remained in Orkney. The main destination was the Orkney Mainland, to farms or farm service (63 people), while 35 went to employment in Kirkwall. Immigration in this period was on a much smaller scale: 25 people came into the island—mostly immigrants from elsewhere in Orkney marrying into the island. This type of imbalance between emigration and immigration is all too typical of island communities in post-war years.

*Farm-based and Non-farm-based Population*

Investigation showed that there is an important distinction in Westray between the farm-based and non-farm-based population. There has been less emigration from the farming

Population Structures of Farm and Non-Farm Population in Westray

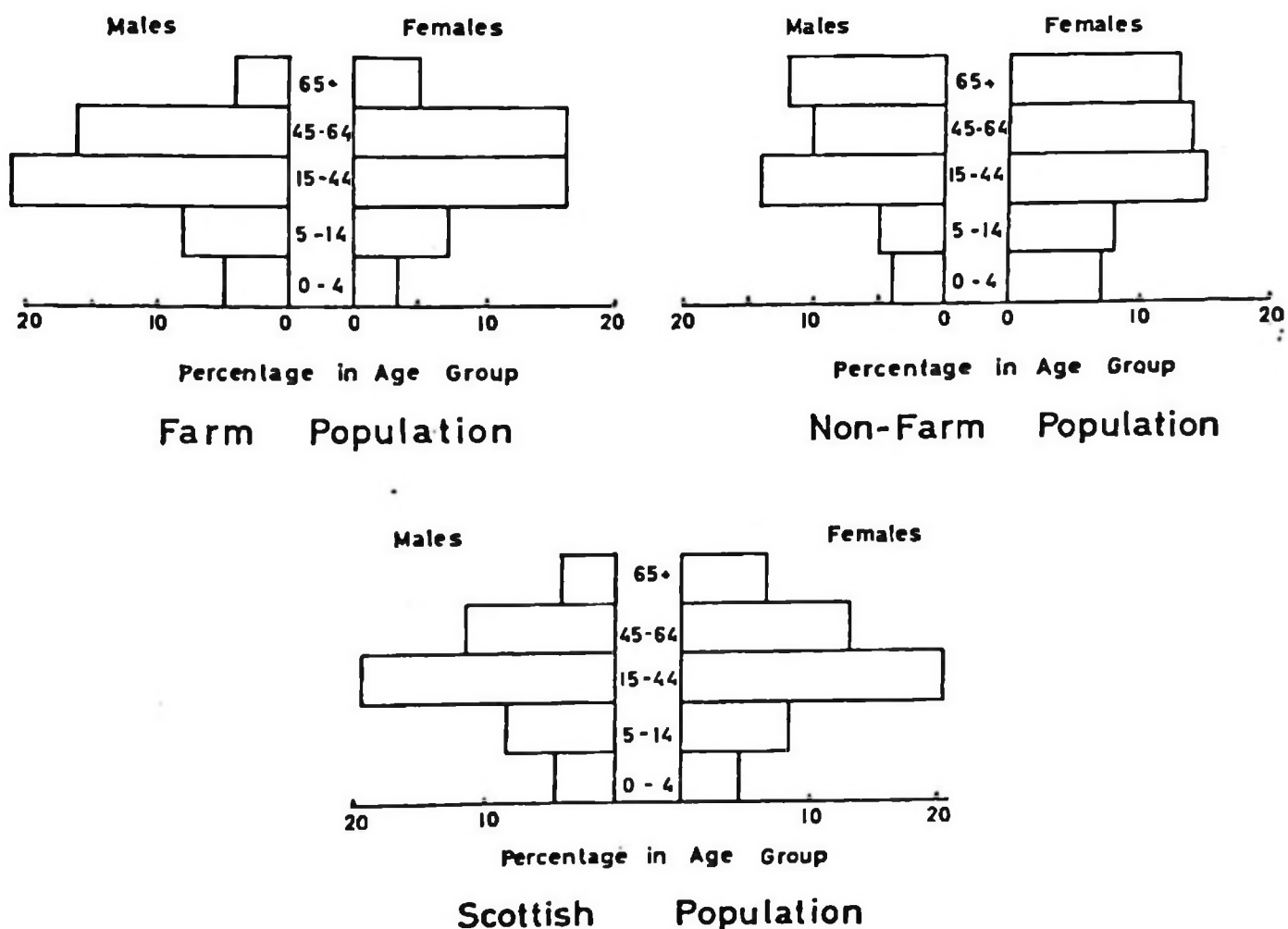


FIG. 2.

sector, and the structure of the non-farming sector is more top-heavy (Fig. 2); while the latter sector includes more retired people, this is also due to the scarcity of employment opportunities outside farming. Although the economy of Westray is so dominantly agricultural, it is noteworthy that 350 out of the 827 permanently resident (i.e. 43 per cent) are non-farm-based. This is accounted for by the large service population required by any community in modern Britain, and by the relatively high proportion of retired people. While there is a scatter of non-farm-based population throughout the island, about one-half are in Pierowall, the service centre of the island which has the steamer pier.

### *Occupations*

A very fortunate feature of Westray in the Highlands and Islands context in modern times is the low incidence of unemployment. In recent years the number has never risen higher than 5 (i.e. 2 per cent), compared with figures of 30 per cent or more which can be reached in the crofting communities. Apart from spells of bad weather which enforce inactivity on the lobster fishermen, and occasional laying-off of casual labourers, the labour force is permanently employed.

Agriculture is by far the main occupation, and of a total male labour force of 274, 146 are engaged in it full-time and 40 part-time. There are only 26 men employed full-time as farm-servants, showing that the holdings on Westray are still predominantly family farms. This labour force has decreased over two or three decades now, and is likely to decrease still further as farms are consolidated into fewer units.

The other primary occupation of lobster-fishing engages 8 men more or less full-time, with 18 regularly involved part-time, and some other men taking part occasionally. The remainder of the labour force is engaged in service occupations of various types, and there is in all a well balanced occupation structure, although there may be times when work for tradesmen and casual labourers is slack.

An irregular source of income is the gathering of seaweed (tangles), for shipment to the factory in South Uist, the modern successor of the once much greater kelp industry. The amount gathered and the numbers of people involved vary, mainly according to the weather: a stormy year drives ashore more seaweed. Only a handful of men are regularly involved, but there have been up to 70 gatherers on the island in recent years.



By the standards of the crofting counties, it is only a low proportion of people whose homes are on Westray who go to employment outside the island (19 men). Only five of these now serve in the Merchant Navy, compared with the considerably greater numbers doing so earlier this century.

TABLE II  
*Occupations in Westray*

	MALES		FEMALES	
	WESTRAY		WESTRAY	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
<i>Wholly resident</i>				
Farmers . . . . .	117*	40	Professional . . . . .	3
Farm servants . . . . .	26	—	Domestic service . . . . .	2
Fishermen . . . . .	8	18	Shop assistants . . . . .	7
Professional . . . . .	5	—	Farmer or farm work . . . . .	3
Business . . . . .	12	—	Business . . . . .	1
Tradesmen . . . . .	12	—	Casual workers . . . . .	—
Drivers . . . . .	8	4	Others . . . . .	1
Roadmen . . . . .	3	1		
Postmen . . . . .	2	—		
Shops . . . . .	1	1		
Casual labourers . . . . .	10	11		
Unemployed . . . . .	1	—		
Invalid . . . . .	5	—		
Others . . . . .	7	—		
<i>Periodically away</i>				
Secondary school . . . . .	4		Students—	
Others . . . . .	7		Secondary school . . . . .	12
			Higher education . . . . .	4
			Others . . . . .	1
<i>Permanently away</i>				
Professional . . . . .	3		Professional . . . . .	2
Merchant Navy . . . . .	5		Nursing . . . . .	2
Orkney farms . . . . .	2		Others . . . . .	6
Others . . . . .	2			

\* Including 11 men over 65 years.

Westray men have had a reputation for seafaring—a further five serve on the local shipping service.

Only 31 women are in paid employment on the island, mostly as domestic servants and shop assistants. There are also 9 women whose permanent homes are in Westray employed outside the island.

#### *Future Population of Westray*

While it is difficult to forecast population levels, it is possible

to examine present trends, and to make some estimate of the number of people which the island could support at acceptable living standards in modern times.

A disturbing fact is that of the 264 households at present on the island, nearly one-half (126) have no resident males of less than 45 years. Of the 142 farms, 46 have no males of this lower age group, and the same is true of 80 out of the 122 non-farm households. While it is possible that some of these households may in the future be occupied by women only or by retired people, it would appear certain that within the next 20 or 30 years there will be a considerable reduction in the number of households.

Also prejudicial to the future demographic stability of the island is the decline both in numbers and proportion of the younger adults. In the 15-44 age group, the number of males in Westray parish<sup>3</sup> fell from 233 in 1951 to 159 in 1964 (37 per cent of all males in both cases), while the number of females fell from 252 in 1951 (39 per cent of all females) to 139 in 1964 (29 per cent of all females). This rapid decline of the number of women in the reproductive age group is especially dangerous to population stability. In the present decade both birth and death rates have fluctuated around 13 per year, but there is a danger of the birth rate falling below the death rate.

The present trend of the elimination of small crofts and farms is fairly certain to continue, and the island could support about 100 viable farms: these may support households of between three and four people (the average size in Scotland), and farming could support directly about 350 people. The bigger farms will continue to employ labour, and at present levels this could provide for some 30 farm workers: with their families this could account for another 100. Lobster fishing seems unlikely to expand much as a full-time occupation: 12 fishermen and their families would account for another 40 people approximately. Service occupations will probably continue to employ about 50 people, or (with their households) perhaps 170 people. A number must be added for retired people, and for those whose home is on Westray, but who find work outside it: this may account for about 100 in all. The addition of all these categories gives a population total of around 750 which the island could support in the foreseeable future, with the important proviso that the present government policy of support for agriculture continues. Only the future can tell whether this will materialise; even if emigration were to cease,

the prolongation of other present trends would in fact lead to a continued fall in population.

The case of Westray illustrates the population trends of modern times in an island where the level of prosperity has been (and is) above average. It has, however, a somewhat uncertain economic future, as its prosperity depends on national policies of support for agriculture and of subsidising un-economic transport services to the islands. The analysis of the demographic situation highlights the great problem that such islands have in maintaining viable communities in circumstances which now include a close degree of familiarity with the outside world and educational opportunities for all.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *New Statistical Account of Scotland XV* (1845) p. 129.
- <sup>2</sup> See R. O. Pringle, "On the Agriculture of the Islands of Orkney", *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* (1874) pp. 35-7.
- <sup>3</sup> Westray parish also includes the small island of Papa Westray, which had a population of 184 in 1951 and 129 in 1964.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# NOTES AND COMMENTS

## A. SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

### 26. *Blackadder* and *Whiteadder*

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN .

In two previous Notes in this series we have already hinted that there appears to be an early stratum of Scottish river-names which for phonological, morphological and semantic reasons must be considered to be pre-Celtic but Indo-European. The names in this stratum not only link up with similar—or sometimes identical—types in the rest of Britain but also with a network of early river-names on the European Continent, particularly in Central and Western Europe. We called this stratum Old European, translating the German *alteuropäisch* which was proposed and used particularly by the late Hans Krahe whose special merit in the “discovery” of this stratum on the Continent cannot be overrated. The two names for which we claimed connection with this Old European group of river-names were *Shin* < \**sindh-nā*, identical with the German river-name *Sinn* and cognate with *Shannon* (Ireland), *Sinnius* (Italy) and *Senne* (Brabant) (Nicolaisen 1958:192); and *Tain* ros < \**Taniā*, identical with *Tean* (Staffordshire) and *Zenn* (Germany), and, as a member of a very large family of stream-names, cognate with, amongst others, *Tone* (Somerset) < *Tanā* (*Ibid.*:195). In the following, we want to examine whether another Scottish river-name might belong to this category of pre-Celtic Indo-European names in Scotland and the British Isles,<sup>1</sup> a name which forms the second part of the names of two of the most important rivers in S.E. Scotland, mainly in Berwickshire, the *Blackadder* and the *Whiteadder*, the former being a tributary of the latter. The documentary evidence for this element \**Adder* is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

*Blackadder* (river rising in the Lammermuirs and joining the Whiteadder near Allanton in the parish of Edrom BWK; length c. 20 miles):

*Edre* c. 1050 (12th cent.) Symeon of Durham (*Historia Sancti Cuthberti*) Hinde's edition.

*Edrae, ibid.*, Arnold's edition.

*Blackadder House* BWK (on the right bank of the river in the parish of Edrom):

*Blaccedre* 1095-1100 ESC.<sup>3</sup>

*Blakeder* 1296 CDS.

*Blacheder* 1325 Cold. Corr.

*Blakedre* 1330 *ibid.*

*Blacader* 1541 RMS.

*Blackadder* (surname of local origin, derived from the name of the estate and house):<sup>4</sup>

Adam of Blacathathir (1477), Charles Blakater (1486), Robert Blackader (end of 15th cent.), Rolland Blaykatter (1521) = (?) Roland Blacadyr (1524), Thomas Blacater (1557); also Blakadyr 1503, Blacader 1510, Blacadyr 1524, Blaketter 1542, Blakadir 1544, Blacadur 1550, Blakiter 1563, Blackattir 1575, Blekater 1595, Blaikader 1611, Blackatour 1615, Blackatter 1626, Blacketer 1697, Blackeder 1707.

*Whiteadder* (river rising in the parish of Whittinghame ELO, flowing into the Tweed not far from Berwick; length c. 34 miles):

*Withedre* 1165-1214 Melr. Lib.

*Witedre* 1214-49 *ibid.*

*Witeddre* 1231 *ibid.*

*Quhitewatter* 1542 HMC (Var. Coll. V).

*Edrington* BWK (the ruins of Edrington Castle are on the left bank of the Whiteadder about five miles from Berwick; Edrington House is on a small tributary of the same river):

*Hadryngton* 1095 (15th cent.) ESC.

*Hoedrinton* 1095-1100 (15th cent.) *ibid.*

*Edrington* 1309 Robertson, *Index*; 1328 ER.

*Ederington* 1330 ER.

*Edrom* BWK (village on the right bank of Whiteadder Water; also parish name):

*Edrem* 1095 (15th cent.) ESC.

*Ederham* 1095, 1095-1100, 1138 *ibid.*

*Edirham* 1248 Melr. Lib.

*Heddreham* 1248 APS.

*Hederham* 1263 Chron. Melrose.

In this list the estate name *Blackadder* is obviously a secondary development from the river-name, and the distinctive epithets *black* and *white* must have been previously added to an existing name applying to two water-courses joining each other to form one. This does not necessarily mean that the water of the Blackadder is indeed blacker than that of the Whiteadder as the usual reference to definite colours in these two adjectives may not be intended here. They simply serve as two opposing distinguishing marks as, for instance, also in *Black* and *White Cart* RNF, or *Black* and *White Esk* DMF; this kind of distinction may also be made when two rivers bearing the same name flow quite near each other, as in *Findhorn* and *Deveron* which contain as first elements the Gaelic colour adjectives *fionn* "white" and *dubh* "black" as later additions to identical original names. The surname *Blackadder* is even one stage further removed from the river-name as it is derived from the secondary estate name and not direct from the name of the river. Because of its detachment from the locality from which it stems, and its migrations, it is perhaps not admissible as the same type of evidence as the river and settlement names. Presumably the name Whiteadder never produced a surname because it never applied to a settlement.

*Edrom*, as most of the old forms testify, is a compound of the river-name and Old English *hām* "homestead", a word which became obsolete as a productive place-name element not long after the Angles first reached Scotland. It is therefore one of the earliest English place-names in Scotland and may be translated as "village on the [River] Adder" (see Nicolaisen 1964:162-3). In *Edrington* the river-name is compounded with Old English *-ingtūn*, a combination of the connective particle *-ing* with *tūn* "enclosure, enclosed place". Meaning "farm associated with [River] Adder", it is another very early English name in this area (Nicolaisen *ibid.*:161-2). Both these names must have been coined before the distinctive adjectives *black* and *white* were added to the river-name(s).

As far as etymologies so far advanced for the name of the water-course are concerned, we can dismiss Johnston's derivation from Gaelic *eadaradh* "a division" (1934:79; 1940:21) and Mackenzie's suggestion that it perhaps simply means English *water* (1931:90), as irrelevant. Not only would it be wrong to expect a Gaelic river-name of such importance in this region, but the word *eadaradh* is also phonologically and semantically unsuitable; and the equation of *Adder*, or the like, with *-water*

is a late-medieval invention as the *Quhitewater* for 1542 shows. The two derivations which must be taken seriously both take our river-name to be of English, i.e. Anglian, origin. Watson (1926:467) holds that the earliest form *Edre* is the same as OE. *ǣdre*, *ēdre*<sup>5</sup> "a vein, a water-course". Ekwall (1928:156) objects that this word is "not probable for a stream so relatively important as the Adder" and suggests himself that the name, if English, should be derived from an adjective found in Old High German *atar* "quick"—he erroneously has *atar*(!)—and in the adverbs OE *ǣdre*, Old Saxon *ādro*, Old Frisian *edre* "quickly, at once".<sup>6</sup> This would translate the river-name as meaning "the swift one", but the objection in both these cases must be that there is no justification for assuming an original English long vowel. The occasional *-dd-* spellings in the early forms, like *Whiteddre* and *Heddreham*, decisively point to a short stem-vowel as our point of departure. It is also most unlikely that our river-name is, in fact, of English origin, and we would rather suggest that it, like Tweed, Teviot, Yarrow, Lauder, Kale, Ale, Ettrick, Tyne, Almond, etc. (see Nicolaisen 1964:144), is pre-English and was adopted by the earliest Anglian settlers. It must have been one of the very first Scottish rivers whose native name they learnt and on whose banks they settled.

Assuming, then, that the name is pre-English, we must first deal with two further suggestions made by Watson and Ekwall. The latter mentions an alternative etymology in his discussion of the Cheshire stream-name *Etherow* (*loc. cit.*) which he tentatively equates with *\*Edder-* in the Cumberland names *Ederlangebeck* 1294, *Edderlanghalf* and *Edderlangtirn* 1322, and—even more tentatively—with our *Adder*, linking all three with a Gaulish *Edera*, apparently the older form of both the *Hyère* in Brittany and the *Eure* near Namur. Taking *\*Edder* to be the name-form underlying such spellings as *Edre*, *Edrae*, *-eddre*, *-eder*, *Edir-*, etc., this is a very plausible suggestion, even if the meaning of *Edera* is not known. Unfortunately, however, Holder, who gives *Ed-éra* for *Hyère* (1896:1407), does not mention any source for this form, and it is by no means impossible that this is simply his own conjectured etymology. If his reference is, on the other hand, to a form from documentary evidence, it is probably the eleventh-century *Edera* which Dauzat (1946:165) identifies with *L'Yères* or *Yerre*, a tributary of the Loire west of Chateaudun, and which (together with its other form *Era*) he sees as a development from

an earlier *\*Atūra* or *\*Atūrus*, a hypothesis borne out by the name of the main locality on this river, *Arrou* < *Aturavus*. Dauzat mentions another *Edera* < *Atūra* as the older name of *l'Yerre(s)*, a tributary of the Seine in Seine-et-Oise, but his third example, *Edera* 1235, for the river *Eder* in Hesse cannot be supported because the same name is *Adrana* in Tacitus, *Annales* I 56 (Krahe 1949-50:247-66; etc.). I have not been able to check Ekwall's second *Edera* > *Eure* near Namur; this reference is from Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, and if correct and original, would be the only continental parallel. We are therefore, unfortunately, not on very firm ground with regard to this suggestion, and apart from the absence of a suitable etymology, it is not clear whether *Edera* actually exists.

Dauzat's *\*Atūra* and *Aturavus* lead us to Watson's alternative derivation which is based mainly on the later and present forms of the name like *-ader*, *adder*, *-adir*, *-adyr*, *-adur*, *-ater*, *-atter*, *-attir*, and the like, comparing such names as *Atur*<sup>7</sup> (now *l'Adour*) in Gascony, *Aturavus* (now *l'Arroux*) a tributary of the Loire near Digoin, or, as Dauzat has it, "qui arrose le Morvan" (*loc. cit.*),<sup>8</sup> and *Aturia*, now the river *Oria* in Spain.<sup>9</sup> In addition to Dauzat's two *Edera* < *\*Atura*, we must consider in this context *Atyras*, a river in Thracia (Mela II 24), and a hill-name *Ἀτύριος λόφος* in Illyria (Cass. Dio fr. 49, 7). These, together with the source references, are both given by Krahe (1949-50: 254). When only the examples from southern France, Spain and the north of the Balkan peninsula were known, the root *\*Atur* was, because of its geographical distribution, thought to be "Iberian" (Gröhler 1913:62), but Krahe argues that these names cannot be ascribed to any ethnic group, especially in the absence of a suitable etymology. Similarly Dauzat, especially in the light of his two *\*Atura* > *Edera* further north within a 60-mile radius of Paris (if these are acceptable), speaks vaguely of "une racine préceltique et préibère". Indo-European connections are not envisaged by anybody which means that, if our *Adder* is cognate, we would reach a pre-Celtic, non-Indo-European stratum of river-names in Scotland.

Assuming that the Celts came across a name *\*Atur-* when they reached Berwickshire, it would follow that they gave it one of the two feminine endings which we also noticed on the Continent, and we might therefore start with something like *\*Aturā* or *\*Aturīa*. In the case of *\*Aturā* we would expect late British *ā*-affection (*\*Atorā*), lenition (*\*Adorā*) and loss of the final syllable (*\*Ador*), all in the fifth or early sixth century, and



therefore before the arrival of the Anglians in the same area (Jackson 1953:694-5). \**Ador* would be borrowed as such into English, under the strong initial stress the *-o-* of the second syllable would be weakened to *-e-* (\**Āder*) and, in the twelfth century, the initial short \**Ā-* would be lengthened to \**Ā-* in an open syllable in a bi-syllabic word (\**Āder*). Our eleventh-century reference *Edre* should therefore have been \**Āder*, everything later, \**Āder*. \**Aturiā*, on the other hand, would show late British lenition (\**Aduriā*), *i-* affection (\**Adiriā*), probably even "double affection" (Jackson *ibid.*:591) (\**Ediriā*), and loss of the final syllable (\**Edir*). In English this would become \**Ēder* and subsequently \**Ēder*, similarly as above. As in the cases of \**Āder*/*Adder*, the length of the initial \**Ē-* in \**Ēder* puts an obstacle in the way of equating it with the post-twelfth-century forms *-eddre*, *Heddre-*, etc., which, for the reasons given above (p. 81) are likely to have a short stem vowel.<sup>10</sup> The most likely explanation is that the form which became normalised is to be derived from an oblique case of the feminine declension, like the genitive, or a dative functioning as a locative, i.e. \**Ādre* or \**Ēdre*, in which lengthening of the stem vowel would not take place.<sup>11</sup> If this is acceptable, and if we really do have two different stem vowels, *Edre*, etc. could theoretically be from \**Aturiā*, and *Adder* from \**Aturā*. Does that mean that we have to reckon with a pre-Celtic, non-Indo-European, largely Mediterranean, stratum in Scotland and in Britain, a stratum for which we have no prior evidence so far?

The present writer prefers to connect our river-name(s) with a group of names for which we do have other examples in Britain, not only *Shin* and *Tain* but also a considerable number of others (Nicolaisen 1957:225-68) for which we have identical or near-identical equivalents in the "Indo-European" part of the Continent, i.e. the above mentioned Old European stratum of the second millennium B.C. The main strength of the argument lies in the fact that we do have a suitable Indo-European root to fall back on, i.e. \**ad(u)-*/*\*adro-* "water-course" (Pokorny 1959:4). As an appellative, the *u-*stem occurs as Avestan *adu* "water-course, stream, canal", and in onomastic usage in *Adua* (since Polyb. II 32, 2), now *Adda*, a tributary of the Po in Northern Italy; *Adula*, a tributary of the Tirza in Latvia, \**Adula*, now *Odla*, a river near Odelsk (Poland), and \**Adulia* (*Attula* 807), now *Attel*, a tributary of the Austrian *Inn*. The corresponding formation in *-ro-*—a parallel well known in Indo-European morphology—is only found in names, like *Adra* in *Attersee* and

*Attergau* (in *pago Adragaoe* 788) in Upper Austria; *Adrana* (Tacitus) and *Adrina* (800), now *Eder*, a tributary of the Fulda in Hesse (see above p. 83); \**Adrina*, later *Ederna*, *Ethrina*, a lost river-name near Gandersheim (Germany); \**Adara* (*Odera* 940, *Adora* 968), now the river *Oder* which flows into the Baltic on the German-Polish border (*Pokorny loc. cit.*; Krahe 1954a; *passim* 1964:41; for further related, although not necessarily Old-European, names see Krahe 1949-50:255).

As far as *Adder* is concerned the oldest form of the last mentioned name, the *Oder*, would provide the most suitable starting-point, for \**Adara* would presumably become known to the Anglian seventh-century invaders in its Primitive Cumbric form \**Aðar*, subsequently becoming Old English \**Ader* with initial *A*-remaining before the *a* of the following syllable, substitution of *-d-* for *-ð-* (Jackson 1959:76) and subsequent weakening of the—in English—unstressed vowel in the second syllable. Similarly a feminine *iā*- stem \**Adariā* would undergo lenition of the *-d-* (\**Aðariā*), show final *i*- affection (\**Aðerið*), loss of final syllable (\**Aðer*), and internal *i*- affection (\**Eðer*). As such it would be borrowed into the Anglian dialect in which substitution of *-d-* for *-ð-* would take place as in \**Aðer* > \**Ader*. From then onwards the story would be the same as that for \**Ader* < \**Aturā* and \**Eder* < \**Aturiā*, i.e. lengthening of the stem-vowel in open syllable in the nominative, and no lengthening in the oblique cases of the singular, resulting in \**Adre* and \**Edre*, from where the short initial vowel also spreads to the nominative, giving us \**Edder* and *Adder*. It would therefore be impossible to tell from the phonological history of the name whether the starting-point had been \**Atur-* or \**Adar-*, but the geographical distribution of cognate names on the Continent which, together with the plausible etymology based on an Indo-European word meaning “water-course”, the formation from well-known Indo-European morphological material, and the fact that other names belonging to this linguistic stratum have been found in Britain, seems to weigh heavily in favour of the latter, and the present writer, for one, would feel justified in regarding *Adder* as an identical equivalent of the name of one of Europe’s most important rivers, the *Oder*, both deriving from \**Adarā*. It is difficult to decide whether *Edre*, *Edder-*, etc. are the result of a parallel formation \**Adariā*—perhaps for the Whiteadder, whereas \**Adarā* originally meant the Blackadder,<sup>13</sup> or simply two slightly different formations for the same name—or whether the *E-* should or must be explained differently.<sup>14</sup>

Not all the problems concerning this name are therefore solved but perhaps this note has made a beginning by providing an acceptable etymology.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A comprehensive survey of this early group of river-names in the British Isles was presented by the author in his paper "Die alteuropäischen Gewässernamen der britischen Hauptinsel" in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 8 (1957) 209-68. Since then, however, more Continental evidence has come to light and Krahe's proposal has been examined and accepted by many scholars. A re-appraisal of the situation in the British Isles as a whole and a detailed study of each name involved has therefore become necessary. I intend to present the former in a different context in which the archaeological material will be examined in a parallel study; the latter, i.e. the interpretation of individual names, will be carried out, as far as the Scottish contribution is concerned, in a number of short articles in this series of Notes.
- <sup>2</sup> The writer is very much indebted to Dr. May G. Williamson's typescript Ph.D. thesis on *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties* (University of Edinburgh 1942), in which the early forms for Blackadder (apart from the personal name), Whiteadder, Edrom and Edrington have been reliably and conveniently collected (pp. 7, 14-15, 163-4).
- <sup>3</sup> The source abbreviations used are those recommended in the "List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560" (*Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963)). This list is also available as a separate reprint.
- <sup>4</sup> All the forms in question are found in Black 1946:78 to which reference should be made. Black only lists the sources for those names for which the Christian name of the bearer is also mentioned. Apart from the dateable spellings Black has *Blakytar* (Workman's MS.), *Blacatar*, *Blaikater*, *Blaiketter*, *Blakatar* and *Bleakader*.
- <sup>5</sup> Watson actually has *adre* and *édre* with a short vowel, or rather, indifferent vowel length. Perhaps this misunderstanding is at least partly responsible for his suggestion.
- <sup>6</sup> This is also accepted by Williamson (1942:164) who argues that the Old Northumbrian "form *ēdre* would give the persistent *e* of the early spellings. Later there was confusion with *adder* 'snake'".
- <sup>7</sup> According to Dauzat (1946:164, note 2) *Atūr* and *Atūrus* are the Latin forms and "*Ador*, avec accent sur l'*a* (et *o* fermé > *u*) en ancien gascon". Ptolemy has the genitive *Ἀτούριος ποταμοῦ* (see Krahe 1949-50:254).
- <sup>8</sup> See also Lebel (1956:348) who has collected the following older forms: *fl. Aturavum* 924; *Adro* 957; *Arrou* 1171, 1243, 1279; *Arroux* from fifteenth century onwards.
- <sup>9</sup> The information comes again from Holder (1896:79); the more precise location of the water-course in question appears to be in Guipúzcoa in the very north of Spain. Watson also lists the *Adur* in Sussex but in a footnote shows that he is aware of this being a late antiquarian creation. This name is irrelevant in this context.

- <sup>10</sup> *Hadryngton* 1095 and *Hoedrinton* 1095-1100 for *Edrington* are dubious (Williamson 1942:7) and can unfortunately not be used in determining the quality of the stem vowel.
- <sup>11</sup> This is also assumed by Ekwall for *Alen* and *Alne* from *Alaunā* (1928: 6-7), and a similar process has, of course, produced such Modern English words as *saddle* (ME. *sādel*).
- <sup>12</sup> Significantly enough, both Old High German *atar* "quick" and *adara* "vein, water-course" have also been suggested for the *Oder* but have had to be rejected for exactly the same reason as Old English *ædre* "quickly" and *ædre* "vein" for *Adder*, i.e. the long stem vowel (see Krahe 1954b:238-9).
- <sup>13</sup> If this was so, it might be argued that the adjectives *black* and *white* later fulfilled the same function, when the distinction between *ā*-stem and *iā*-stem had become blurred in its application to two different rivers.
- <sup>14</sup> It seems to be highly improbable to the present writer that the difference in the stem-vowel is merely due to later development and that it can be accounted for by association with the word *adder* alone. See note 6 above. Not far away *Lauderdale* with the river *Leader* poses a similar problem.

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## B. COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

### *Women Coal-Bearers in a Midlothian Mine* (A Contemporary Drawing of 1786)

B. R. S. MEGAW

Unusual only as the subject of an early drawing, the bearing system whereby coals were carried from the underground pits on the backs of women and girls continued in parts of Scotland up to the passing of Lord Ashley's Bill of 1843.

When Sir John Clerk of Penicuik informed the mining engineer of a Newcastle colliery in 1724 about the methods in use in his own

coal works at Lonhead . . . that part of them which related to the bringing up coales on men & womens backs surprised him much because no such custome is used in England. But as we discoursed about the strikes & dips of ye Newcastle coals & mine at Lonhead he began to be convinced that a Remedy would be very difficult . . . The coals of Lonhead lye all dipping exceedingly . . . so that it is not easy to command them by an Engine. (Clerk of Penicuik Muniments no. 2106, quoted in Atkinson 1965:531.)

Gangs of women were commonly employed in similar tasks in the Middle Ages (for example, the raising of the earthen

ramparts of Edward I's castles in Scotland), but the late survival of women bearers in the mines of Eastern Scotland seems to have been encouraged by this geological phenomenon. Matthias Dunn, a mine inspector who described the edge seams of Midlothian, in 1831, observed that the Loanhead collieries were still difficult to operate other than by the bearing system.

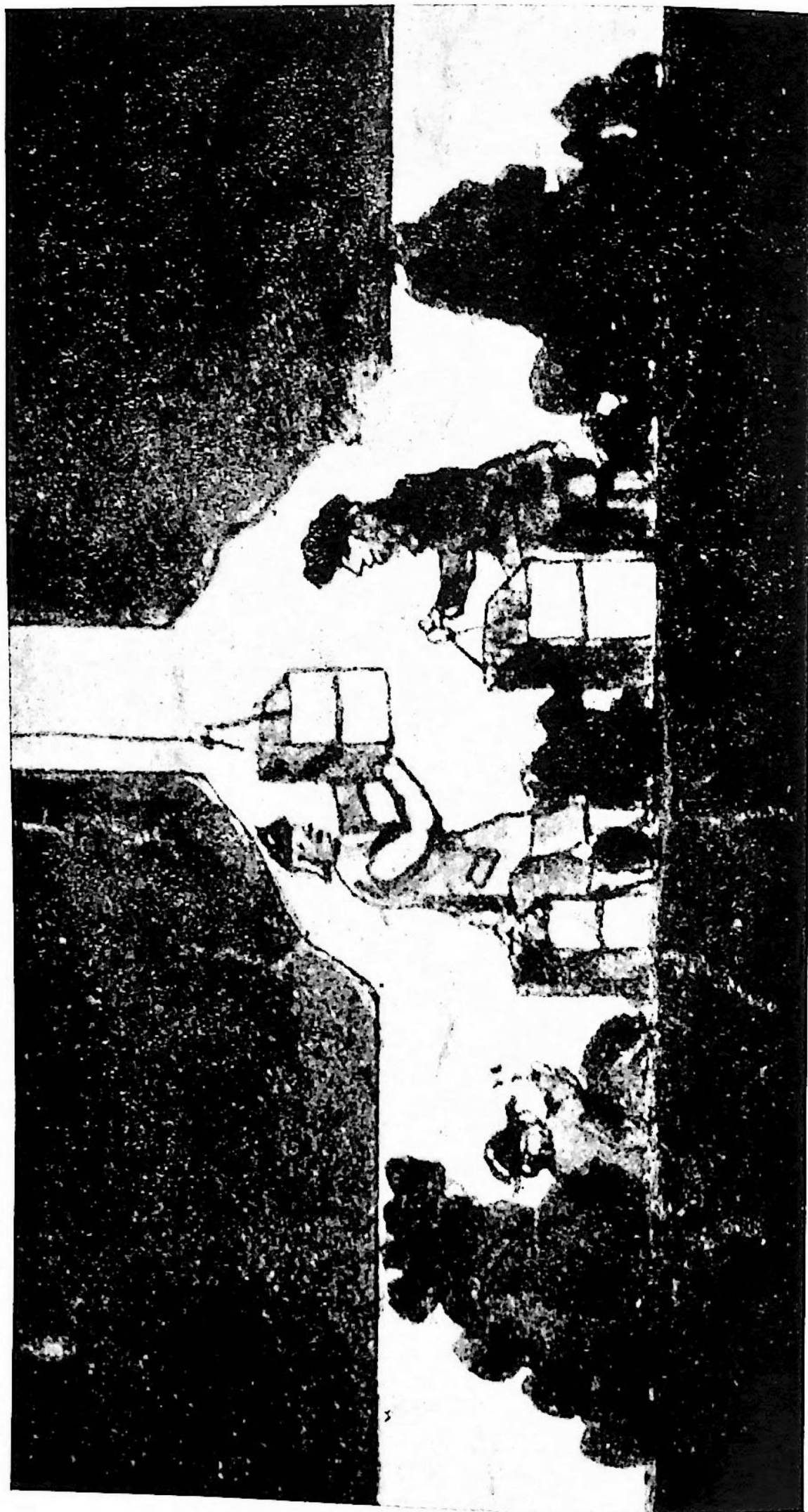
The bearing system so peculiar to the coal mining of Scotland seems to have originated in working the Edge seams; and when the difficulty of applying any other means comes to be considered, necessity would appear to plead strongly for such a practice, especially at a period when the means of sinking to the deep Flat coals was so imperfectly understood. But it is difficult to account for a system so replete with poverty, shame and demoralization, and moreover so destitute of real economy, being persisted in throughout the neighbouring flat collieries. (Dunn 1831, quoted in Atkinson 1965:431.)

The illustrations of colliery workings at Gilmerton, Midlothian (Plates I-III), reproduce an inset drawing on an unsigned plan of 1786. The inset is evidently schematic, not a scale drawing, but the diminutive figures of colliers, hewers and bearers with their loaded creels and unprotected lights (rush-lights or dip candles) are realistic enough to recall Hugh Miller's description of the collier woman of Niddry, survivors of old days of servitude, as "marked by a peculiar type of mouth, from which I learned to distinguish them from all other females of the country. It was wide open, thick lipped, projecting equal above and below, and exactly resembled that which we find in prints of savages in their lowest and most brutalised state."

In the evidence recorded in 1840 for the parliamentary commission of enquiry the type of creel employed is described as "a basket formed to the back, not unlike a cockle-shell, flattened towards the neck, so as to allow the lumps of coal to rest on the back of the neck and shoulders . . . it is frequently more than one man can do to lift the burden on her back. The tugs [bands] are then placed over the forehead . . . it not unfrequently happens that the tugs break, and the load falls upon those females who are following." (Report by R. H. Franks, 1840, quoted in McNeill 1883:30-31.) Drawings of women and girl coal-bearers employing the same type of creel are also reproduced in this work (McNeill 1883: facing 13, 28).

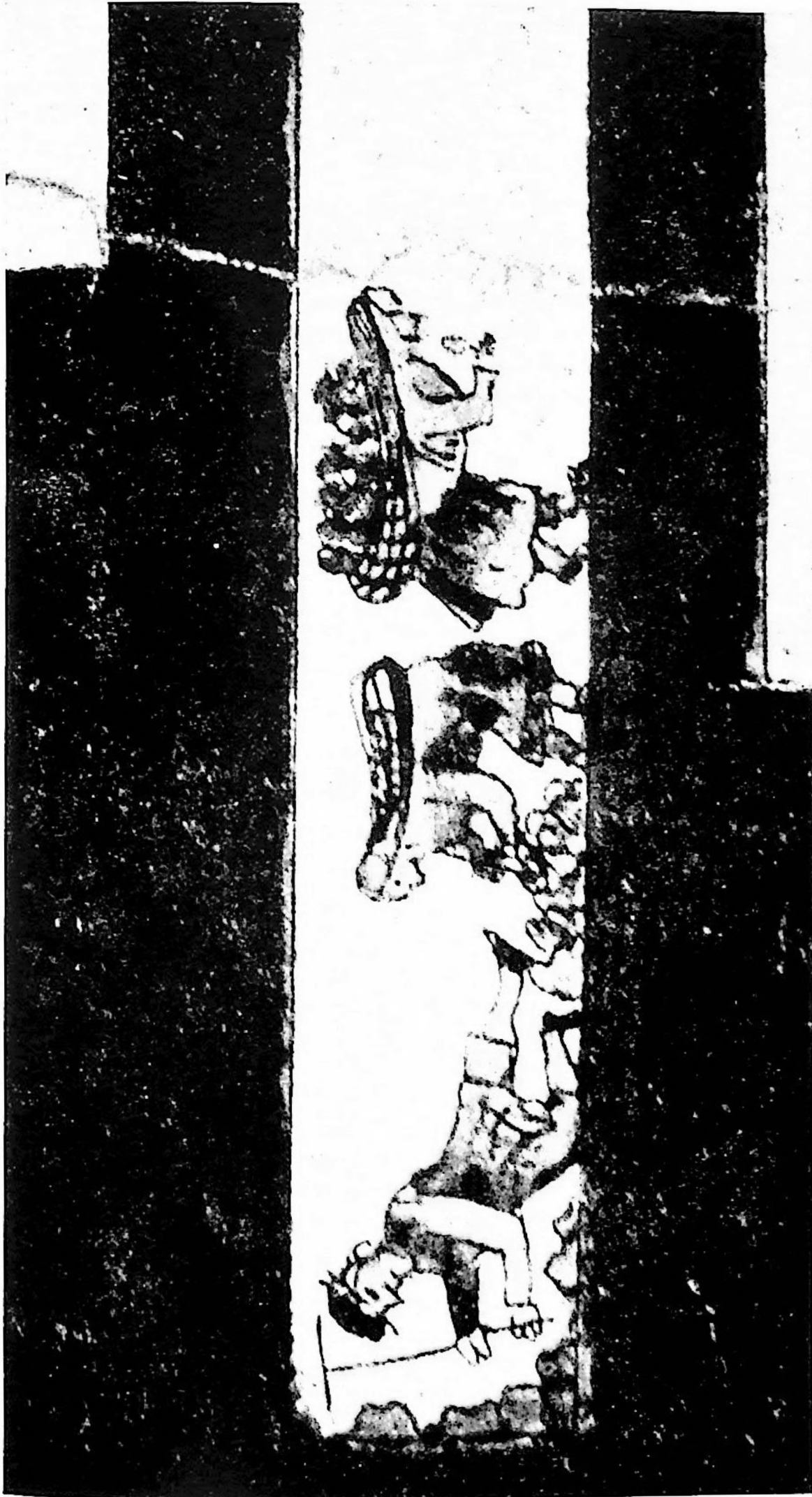


Gilmerton Colliery, Midlothian, 1786: schematic section showing women bearers and other details. See also Plates II-III.



Gilmerton Colliery, Midlothian, 1786; enlarged detail of contemporary drawing. See also Plates I and III.





Gilmerton Colliery, Midlothian, 1786: enlarged detail showing women bearers and a hewer. See also Plates I-II.

Creels of a different form, but similarly supported by bands from the forehead, are still occasionally used by Newhaven fishwives in the streets of Edinburgh.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Mr. John Imrie, Curator of Historical Records, H.M. Register House, for enabling the School to have photographs made of sections of the Gilmerton plan, which is the property of the National Coal Board.

Mr. Frank Atkinson drew my attention to his recent publication of parts of Sir John Clerk's journal not previously printed, and Mr. David Murison, Editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, referred me to the particulars reproduced in McNeill 1883.

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*The Humph at the Fuit o' the Glen and the Humph at  
the Heid o' the Glen*

HAMISH HENDERSON

Well, this is the story o' the Humph at the fuit o' the glen, an' the Humph at the heid o' the glen, this wis two men, an' they were very good friends. But the wan at the fuit o' the glen, he wis very humphy, he wis near doublet in two wi' the humph that wis on his back. The other one at the top o' the glen, he wisnae jist quite sae big in the humph, but he wis pretty bad too.

Well, Sunday about they cam' to visit one another, wan would travel up aboot three mile up to the top o' the glen, to spend the day wi' his friend, the Humph at the heid o' the glen. An' then the Humph at the heid o' the glen next Sunday would come down to the Humph at the fuit o' the glen an' spend the day.

So anyway, it wis the wan at the fuit o' the glen, he had to go to see the Humph at the heid o' the glen, it wis his Sunday

to walk up to the heid o' the glen to see his friend. Well, he had a wee bit o' a plantin' to pass, an' when he wis comin' past this plantin', he hears a lot o' singin' goin' on. He says: "Wheesht!"—an' a' the sang they had wis:

"Saturday, Sunday,  
Saturday, Sunday,  
Saturday, Sunday"

an' that's a' the length they could get.

"Gosh!" he says, "I could pit a bit tae that song." An' he goes:

"Saturday, Sunday,  
Monday, Tyooooosday!"

O, an' he heard the laughs an' the clappin' o' the hands.

"God bliss me," he says, "what can that be?"

But this wis three kind o' fairies that wis in the wood. An' the wan says to the other:

"Brither, what dae ye wish that man," he says, "for that nice part that he put tae our song?"

"Well," he says, "I wish him that the humph will drop an' melt off his back," he says, "that he'll be as straight as a rush. An' whit dae you wish him?"

"Well," he says, "I wish him to have the best of health," he says, "an' happiness. An' whit dae you wish him, brither?"

"Well," he says, "I wish him full an' plenty, that he'll always have plenty, tae he goes tae his grave."

"Very good!"

Och, this man wis walkin' up the glen, an' he feels hisself gettin lighter an' lighter, an' he straightens hissel' up, an' he's wonderin' what's come owre him. He didnae think it was hisself at all, that he could jist march up, like a soldier, up this glen.

So he raps at the door when he came tae his friend, the Humph at the heid o' the glen, an' when he cam' out, they askt him whit he wantet, they didnae know him.

"Oh," he says, "I want to see So-an'-So, my friend."

"But who are you?"

"Och," he says, "ye know," he says, "the humphy man that lives at the fuit o' the glen," he says, "I'm his friend, ye know me." An' told his name.

“Oh my!” he says, “whit whit whit happent tae ye, whit come owre ye?”

“Oh wheesht,” he says, “if you come down,” he says, “wi’ me, or when ye’re comin’ down next Sunday, listen,” he says, “at the wec plantin’ as ye’re goin’ doon the road, an’ ye’ll hear singin’.” An’ he told him that they only had “Saturday, Sunday, Saturday, Sunday,” but he says; “I pit a bit tae their song; I says ‘Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tyooooosday’, an’ I felt mysel’—everything disappearin’ from me.” An’ he says, “if you come down, you’ll be made as straight as whit I am.”

Anyway, this man’s aye wishin’ it wis next Sunday, an’ he’s comin’—when Sunday come—he’s comin’ marchin’ down the road, an’ jist at the wee plantin’ he hears them a’ singin’, this song, the bit that the ither humph pit oot tae it, ye know. They’re goin’:

“Saturday, Sunday,  
Monday, Tyooooosday!”

“Wheesht,” he says, “I’ll pit a bit tae that.” He goes:

“Saturday, Sunday,  
Monday, Tuesday,  
Wednesday, Thursday,  
Friday, Saturday,”

an’ then he waitet. Ah, an’ he got no clap.

He says, “Whit dae ye wish him, brither?” he says, “that man, for destroyin’ our lovely song?”

He says, “I wish him that if his humph wis big, that it’ll be a thousand times bigger: an’ whit dae you wish him?”

“I wish him,” he says, “to be the ugliest man that ever wis on the face o’ the earth, that nobody can look at him: an’ whit dae you wish him?”

“I wish him,” he says, “to be in torture an’ punishment tae he goes tae his grave.”

Well, he grew, an’ he grew tae he wis the size o’ Bennachie—a mountain! An’ he could hardly walk up, an’ when he come tae his house, he couldnae get in no way or another. Well, he had to lie outside, an’ it would have ta’en seventeen pair o’ blankets to cover him, to cover him up. An’ he’s lyin’ out winter an’ summer till he died an’ it ta’en twenty-four coffins to lhold him. So he’s buried at the top o’ the glen.

## NOTE

The above version of Aarne-Thompson Tale-type 503 ("The Gifts of the Little People") was recorded in July 1955 from Mrs. Bella Higgins, Blairgowrie, Perthshire. Although 503 is fairly common among Gaelic storytellers in both Scotland and Ireland, this is the first version in Lowland Scots to be recorded.

At the Aberdeen Folk Festival in November 1965, the folk-singer Norman Kennedy re-told in racy Aberdonian Scots a Gaelic version of 503, which he had heard told in English on Barra by the late Annie Johnston.

*Riobaidh agus Robaidh agus Brionnaidh*

DONALD A. MACDONALD

The text printed below is a good version<sup>1</sup> of its type, A.T. 1535,<sup>2</sup> and as such, well worthy of a place in this journal. I prefer, however, to publish it rather as a tribute to a fine story-teller, the late Neil Gillies (Niall Mhìcheil Nill) of Glen, Barra, from whom I recorded it<sup>3</sup> on the 30th of March 1965<sup>4</sup> (SA 1965/15.B.2).

Neil Gillies's qualities as a reciter of traditional tales have been noticed elsewhere by competent authorities (MacLean 1952:126, 1956:29; Jackson 1961:55). I should like to add only that the three afternoons which I spent with him and his sister last spring represent one of the highlights of my work as a collector in the Hebrides.

He was in his 79th year and, though he had been in failing health for some time, he was still very alert and responsive. When I returned to Barra in June, I was shocked to hear that he had died suddenly a month before. Niall Mhìcheil Nill was one of the last of his kind—an exponent of a narrative tradition which, at its best, is now on the point of extinction.

Bha dà bhantraich a' sìod reimhid agus bha dithis ghillean aig té dhiu agus bha aon ghill' aig an t' éile, agus 's e Riobaidh is Robaidh a bh'air an dithist agus Brionnaidh air an fhear nach robh aig a mhàthair ach e fhéin; agus bha cruit an t-aon aca agus bha mart an t-aon aca. Agus bha Brionnaidh cho math dha'n bhoin—bha e cho iasgaidh—ach Riobaidh is Robaidh, cha robh sgath ach gu robh 'bhó aca beò leis cho leasg 's a bha 'ad airson rud a dheanamh dhi. Agus an turus a bha seo-ach ghabh 'ad farmad ri Brionnaidh cho math 's a bha 'bhó bh'aige seach an té aca fhéin agus an oidhche bha seo-achd

chaidh 'ad dha'n bhàthaich agus dh'éirich 'ad air a' mhart—air a' bhoin aig Brionnaidh—gos na mharbh 'ad i 's 'n'air a mharbh 'ad i dh'fhàg 'ad a' siod i 's thug 'ad an taigh orra.

'N'air a dh'éirich Brionnaidh a' la'irne mhàireach 's a chaidh e mach dha'n bhàthaich bha 'bhó marbh. . . . Dh'ainich e taghta có rinn e: bha e cinndeach gur a h-èad a rinn e, ach, co-dhiù, cha robh arach air. Thug e mach a' bhó as a' bhàthaich a dh'ionnsaigh a' chnuic agus thòisich e ri feannadh na bà agus 'n'air a dh'fheann e i 's a ghlan e 'n t-seiche thòisich e air a pasgadh suas 's bha e 'cuir leth-chrun as a ch-uile *corner* a bh'air an t-seichidh mar a bha e 'ga pasgadh 's 'n'air a rinn e sin, chàirich e air a mhuin i 's rinn e air a' bhaile mhór.

Bha à-san a nist aig an taigh—Riobaidh is Robaidh—'ga *watch*-adh: 'ad a' coimhead a ch-uile car a bha e 'cuir dheth, ach chàirich esan air dha'n bhaile mhór leis an t-seichidh agus chaidh e go taigh na dhà a' sin-achd 's thuirt e riutha 'n ceannaicheadh 'ad seiche mairt 's nach robh uair 'sa bith a chrathadh 'ad i nach fhalbhadh na leth-chruin aisde. Co-dhiù, cha robh duine 'sin 'ga chreidsinn.

Thanaig e ma dheireadh go . . . dh'ionnsaigh an taigh-òsda agus thanaig fear an taigh-òsda mach dha'n dorust agus thuirt e ri fear an taigh-òsda e . . . 'n t-seiche cheannach agus nach robh uair 'sa bith a bhiodh e 'g iarraidh airgid gu fóghnadh dha 'n t-seiche . . . chrathadh 's bha na leth-chruin a' tuiteam aiste.

“Siuthad a nist,” ors esan—fear an taigh-òsda—ris, “crath a nist i,” ors esan, “fiach a faic sinn,” ors esan, “an dig 'ad aiste.”

Thug esan crathadh air an t-seichidh 's a mach na leth-chruin. “O,” ors esan, “ceannaichidh mi i gun teagamh,” os esan. “De bhios tu 'g iarraidh orra?”

“O,” ors esan, “bidh mi 'g iarraidh a leithid seo orr’,” os esan.

Co-dhiù, phàigh fear an taigh-òsda dha 'n t-seiche 's 'n'air a rinn e sin rinn e air an taigh le deannan math airgid airson na seiche, 's 'n'air a nochd e ris an taigh bha à-san aig an taigh 'ga *watch*-adh.

Phut Riobaidh Robaidh 's phut Robaidh Riobaidh. Siod an coinneamh Bhrionnaidh a ghabh 'ad 's chuir 'ad fàilt air Brionnaidh:

“Seadh a Bhrionnaidh, tha thu air tighinn.”

“Tha,” ors esan—Brionnaidh.

“‘S ciamar a chaidh dhut?”

“Chaidh,” ors esan, “glé mhath. Nach seall sibh na fhuair mi,” ors esan, “na fhuair mi,” ors esan, “do dh-airgiod airson . . . air an t-seichidh.”

“Tha gù dearbh fhéin,” os à-san. “Nach fhearr dhuinne nist,” os esan, “a’ bhó againn fhìn a mharbhadh,” os esan, “agus falbh leis an t-seichidh aice.”

“N dà gu dearbh fhéine ’s fhearr,” os esan—Brionnaidh.

Seo a’ rud a rinn ’ad. Ghabh ’ad ’n a’ bhàthaich. Dh’éirich ’ad air a’ bhoin gos na mharbh ’ad i ’s ’n’air a mharbh ’ad a’ bhó, thug ’ad a mach i’s dh’fheann ’ad i, ’s ’n’air a dh’fheann ’ad i ’s a phaisg ’ad suas i, chàirich ’ad orra ’na’ bhaile mhór a’ dol ’ga reic.

Co-dhiù, ’n’air a rànaig ’ad am baile mór, thoisich ’ad ri éigheach:

“Cò cheannaicheas seiche mairt?”

Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach cha robh duine beò ’gan ogh-naigeadh. Ma dheireadh mhaoidh na poilismein orra mar a clìreadh ’ad a mach as a’ bhaile gu rachadh an cur ’na’ phrìosan. Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach rinn ’ad air an taigh.

Bha nist fios aig Brionnaidh gu robh ’ad ann a’ rùn nan tuadh dha ’s gun deanadh ’ad rud ’sa’ bith air na faigheadh ’ad cothrom air. Cha robh ach an oidhche bha seo-achd, thuirt e ri mhàthair:

“S fhearr dhuibh-se, mhàthair,” os esan, “a nochd,” os esan, “a dhol dha’n rùm agam-s’,” os esan, “s theid mise dha’ rùm agaibh-s’,” os esan.

“Seadh,” . . . ors isc—’mhàthair.

Seo a’ rud a rinneadh. Chaidh esan a rùm a mhàthar ’s chaidh a mhàthair dha’ rùm aige fhéin a chadal.

’N’air a shaoil Riobaidh is Robaidh bha Brionnaidh ’na shuain, rinn ’ad air an taigh aige ’s chaidh ’ad a staigh ann ’s dh’éirich ’ad air màthair Bhrionnaidh gos na mharbh ’ad i ’s ’n’air a rinn ’ad seo-achd rinn ’ad air an dorust.

Dh’éirich Brionnaidh ’sa mhaduinn. Chaidh e sios a choimhead air a mhàthair: bha ’mhàthair marbh.

O *well*, cha robh àrach air. Bha fhios aige taghta cò rinn e.

Co-dhiù, ’n’air a chunnaig e sin dh’fhalbh e ’s chuir e ’mhàthair ’na . . . seasamh ’s chuir e orra ch-uile rioba b’fhearr a bh’aice agus dh’fhalbh e leatha air a mhuin dha’n bhaile mhór.

Rànaig e ’m baile mór agus . . . seadh, iomall a’ bhaile co-dhiù, agus thachair tobar mór ris ann a shin-achd agus lig e as a mhàthair agus chuir e ’na seasamh os cionn an tobair i

agus chuir e bata 'ga cumail 'na seasamh; 's bha taigh mór pios an taobh thall dha'n tobar 's chaidh e null dha'n taigh mhór agus bhual e 'n dorust agus thanaig bean an taighe dha'n dorust agus dh'fhoighneachd i dheth gu dé bha e 'g iarraidh.

"Well," os esan, "tha mi 'g iarraidh," os esan, "deoch," os esan. "Tha mi," os esan, "air tighinn," os esan, "air astar mór," os esan, "agus," os esan, "tha 'm pathadh orm."

"Seadh," os ise, "ghcibh thu sin," os ise. "Thig a staigh," os ise.

'S chuir i 'na (*sic*) suidh' aig a' bhòrd e 's chàiricheadh a ch-uile seòrsa bidhidh air a' bhòrd.

"Siuthad a nist," os ise, "gabhadh do bhiadh ann a shin," os ise.

"Well," os esan, "dh'fhàg mi mo mhàthair," os esan, "thall aig an tobar," os esan, "'s tha fhiosam," os esan, "gun gabhadh i fhéi' rud," os esan, "na faigheadh i e, agus 's fhearr dhomh-s'," os esan, "falbh 'ga h-iarraidh."

"Chan fhalbh thù," os ise. "Gabh thusa do bhiadh," os ise, "ach falbhaidh a' nighean," os ise.

"Well, ma dh'fhalbhas a' nighean," os esan, "tha i car bodhar. Nam biodh tu 'g éigheach dhi 's nach cluinnt i thu, feumaidh tu dhol suas agus crathadh beag thoirt orra."

Agus seo a' rud a . . . rinneadh. Dh'fhalbh a' nighean 's thòisich i ri éigheach 'na' chaillich 's i 'na seasamh os cionn an tobair, 's cha robh 'chailleach a' thoirt hó-ró orra. Co-dhiù, chaidh i suas agus chrath i 'chailleach 's siod a' chailleach an comhair a cinn dha'n tobar.

Och, thill a' nighean dhachaigh ann am breislich a bàis a dh'innse gun do thuit a' chailleach dha'n tobar an comhair a cinn:

"'S tha mi 'creidsinn," os ise, "g'eil i air a bàthadh."

Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach a mach bean an taighe 's a mach an duine fhéin a null 's a mach Brionnaidh. Cha robh ach:

"'S fhearr dhut gun ghuth thoirt air," os esan—an duin' uasal. 'Se duin' uasal a bh'ann, 's coltach.

"Tiodhlaigidh sinn," os esan, "do mhàthair," os esan, "on a thachair an gnothuch mar a thachair e," os esan, "agus," os esan, "theid alairidh mhór," os esan, "a dheanamh dhi," os esan, "agus," os esan, "ghcobh thu duais mhath," os esan, "a bharrachd air a sin," os esan, "gun ghuth thoirt air mar a thachair," ors esan.

"O, cha do bhair," ors esan—Brionnaidh.

Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach . . . chaidh a' chailleach a thoirt a null a thaigh an diùc, agus ciste 's anart a chuir orra agus



tiodhlaigeadh mór a dheanamh dhi agus 'n'air a rinn 'ad seo . . . thug an diùc—ma's e diùc a bh'ann: 'se duin' uasal a bh'ann co-dhiù—sineantas mór airgid do Bhrionnaidh agus gun ghuth thoirt air mar a thachair an gnothuch.

'S rinn Brionnaidh air an taigh, 's bha à-san aig an taigh 'ga *watch*-adh gos an dànaig e, 's 'n'air a mhuthaich 'ad dha 's a bha e 'tighinn goirid dha'n taigh, siod . . . phut Riobaidh Robaidh agus phut Robaidh Riobaidh agus siod an coinneamh Bhrionnaidh a ghabh 'ad.

“Seadh, a Bhrionnaidh, tha thu air tighinn.”

“Tha,” ors esan, Brionnaidh.

“'S de-mar a chaidh dhut?”

“Chaidh,” ors esan, “glé mhath,” os esan. “Reic mi mo màthair,” os esan, “'s fhuair mi,” os esan, “na bha sin a dh-airgiod orr’,” os esan, 's e coimhead a' phocain dhaibh.

“Seadh gu dearbh,” os à-san.

“Fhuair,” os esan.

“'S nach fhearr dhuinn' air màthair fhéin a mharbhadh agus falbh leath?”

“'N dà, gu dearbha, 's fhearr,” ors esan—Brionnaidh.

Seo a' rud a bh'ann. Ghabh 'ad dhachaigh. Dh'éirich 'ad air a màthair gos na mharbh 'ad i, 's 'n'air a rinn 'ad sin, chàirich 'ad orra 'na' bhaile mhór leatha. Agus 'n'air a rànaig 'ad am baile mór, bha 'ad ag éigheach:

“Cò cheannaicheas seann chailleach mharbh? Cò cheannaicheas seann chailleach mharbh?”

Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach siod na poilismein 'n am bad—'ad clìrcadh a mach as a' bhaile air neo gu rachadh an cur 'na phrìosan, nach fhaigheadh 'ad as ri maireann, . . . leis a chaillich.

Cha robh ach thill Riobaidh is Robaidh dhachaigh le 'màthair agus toilichte gun d'fhuair 'ad clìr, agus bha nist fios aig Brionnaidh gum biodh 'ad 'ga fheitheamh air n-ais—gu'n deanadh 'ad rud 'sa' bith air fiach an cuireadh 'ad crìoch air. Agus 'n'air a chunnaig Brionnaidh 'ad a' tighinn, rinn e air a' bheinn, agus siod à-san as a dheoghaidh—Riobaidh is Robaidh. Ach bha Brionnaidh na bu luaithe na à-san agus bha e 'deanamh a' ghnòthuich orra.

Co-dhiù, air dha dhol pios dha'n bheinn có . . . dé thachair ris ach cìobair agus grùnn chaorach aige agus cù. Ghabh e far a' robh 'n cìobair:

“'S fhearr dhut,” os esan, “t-aodach a chuir dhiot,” os esan, “agus gu'n cuir mis' orm e,” os esan, “agus cuiridh mise

dhiom m'aodach fhéin," os esan, "'s cuiridh tus' ort e," os esan, "agus chan eil mi 'g iarraidh ort seo a dhianamh," os esan, "ach son greiseag bheag," os esan, "agus gheobh thu," os esan, "am pocan airgid tha sin," ors esan, "ma nì thu e," ors esan—Brionnaidh.

"Seadh," os esan—an cìobair, "nì," ors esan.

'S rinn e sin: chuir an cìobair dheth an t-aodach 's chuir esan dheth an t-aodach aige fhéin, 's chuir an cìobair air aodach Bhrionnaidh 's chuir esan air aodach a' cìobair.

"Seadh a nist," os esan, "Cum a nist romhad," os esan, "mar a bha mi fhìn a' falbh," os esan, "'s gabhaidh mis'," os esan, "mar a bha sibhse 'gabhail," os esan, "leis na caoirich," os esan, "'s leis . . . a' chù," os esan.

Nochd à-san, Riobaidh is Robaidh 's lean 'ad Brionnaidh, ma b'fhior, gur e Brionnaidh a bh'ann. Dh'éirich 'ad air leis na clachan 's leis na cnuic (*sic*)<sup>5</sup> gos 'n do chuir 'ad a mach air loch mór a bh' ann a shin e, 's 'n'air a rinn 'ad sin, chaidh a . . . 'n duine bhàthadh as a' loch, 's thill 'ad dhachaigh. 'S chaidh Brionnaidh a' falach: cha robh sgial air Brionnaidh.

Co-dhiù, dh'fhalbh Brionnaidh agus rinn e air an taigh leis na caoirich agus leis a' chù agus deise 'chìobair air. Cha robh, a ghràidh, ach mhuthaich à-san dha a' tighinn.

"A Dhia beannaich m'anam, an dù tha seo, a Bhrionnaidh?"

"S mì," os esan, "tha mi air tighinn," os esan.

"Ach shaoil mi," os esan, "gu'n deach do bhàthadh a's a' locha."

"O, cha deachaidh," os esan. "N'air a ràna' mis'," os esan, "grùnn a' locha," os esan, "bha 'n duine còir ann a sheo," os esan, "romham," os esan, "'s dh'iarr e orm tilleadh," os esan, "cho luath 'sa rinn mi riamh," os esan, "agus gu'n doireadh e dhomh," os esan, "an cù agus na caoirich agus aodach cìobair: 's sin a' rud a rinn mi," os esan. ". . . Thug an cìobair dhomh," os esan, "aodach fhéin," os esan, "'s chuir mi orm e," os esan, "'s thug e dhomh na caoirich," os esan, "'s an cù."

"Ma-tha, nach fhearr dhusa sinne chuir a mach air a' locha gun fhios nach fhaigheamaid sinn fhìn e."

"N dà, gu dearbha 's fhearr," os esan—Brionnaidh.

Seo a' rud a bh'ann. Dh'fhalbh Brionnaidh as an deoghaidh, 's dh'éirich e orra leis na clachan 's leis na cnuip gos 'na chuir e mach air a loch 'ad. 'S 'n'air a rinn e sin, thill e dhachaigh, 's cha do chuir 'ad dragh tuilleadh air Brionnaidh.

Sin mar a chuala mise.<sup>6</sup>

*Riobaidh and Robaidh and Brionnaidh*

There were once two widows and one of them had two sons and the other had one son, and the two were called Riobaidh and Robaidh and the one who was his mother's only son was called Brionnaidh; and they had a croft each and a cow each. And Brionnaidh was so good to the cow—he was such a willing worker—but as for Riobaidh and Robaidh, their cow could scarcely keep alive because they were so lazy about providing for it. And they became envious of Brionnaidh because his cow was so much better than their own, and one night they went to the byre and set about the cow—about Brionnaidh's cow—until they had killed it and when they had killed it they left it there and took themselves off home.

When Brionnaidh rose next morning and went out to the byre, the cow was dead. He knew fine who had done it: he was certain that it was they who had done it, but anyway, there was nothing that could be done about it. He took the cow out of the byre, outside, and began to skin the cow, and when he had skinned it and cleaned the hide he began to fold it up, and he put a half-crown in every corner of the hide as he folded it, and when he had done that, he put it on his back and made for the city.

Now, *they* were at home—Riobaidh and Robaidh—watching him: they were watching every move he made, but he made off to the city with the hide and he went to one or two houses there and he asked them (i.e. the occupants) if they would buy a cow's hide which would give out half-crowns every time they shook it. Anyway, no one there believed him.

At last he came to the inn and the innkeeper came out to the door and he said to the innkeeper that he should buy the hide and that, any time he wanted money, all he had to do was shake the hide and half-crowns would fall out of it.

“Go on now,” said he, the innkeeper, to him, “shake it now,” said he, “till we see,” said he, “whether they come out of it.” He gave the hide a shake and out came the half-crowns

“O,” said he, “I'll certainly buy it,” said he. “How much will you want for it?”

“O,” said he, “I'll want such and such for it,” said he.

Anyway, the innkeeper paid him for the hide and when he had done that he set off for home with a good sum of money for the hide, and when he came in sight of the house, *they* were at home watching him.

Riobaidh nudged Robaidh and Robaidh nudged Riobaidh. Off they went to meet Brionnaidh and they greeted Brionnaidh:

“Well, Brionnaidh you’ve come.”

“Yes,” said he—Brionnaidh.

“And how did you get on?”

“I got on very well,” said he.

“See,” said he, “how much money I got for the hide.”

“Yes indeed,” said they. “Hadn’t we better,” said he (*sic*), “kill our own cow now,” said he (*sic*), “and go off with her hide.”

“Well indeed you had,” said he—Brionnaidh.

This is what they did. They made for the byre. They set about the cow until they had killed it and when they had killed the cow they took it out and skinned it, and when they had skinned it and folded it up (i.e. the hide) they set out for the city to sell it.

Anyway, when they reached the city they began to shout:

“Who will buy a cow hide?”

And, oh dear, not a soul would have anything to do with them. At last the police threatened them that unless they cleared out of the town they would be put in prison. Oh dear, there was nothing else for it; they made for home.

Brionnaidh now knew that they really hated him and that they would stop at nothing if they got a chance at him. So this night he said to his mother:

“You had better, mother,” said he, “to-night,” said he, “go to my room,” said he, “and I’ll go to your room,” said he.

“Yes,” said she—his mother.

This was what happened. He went to his mother’s room and his mother went to his room to sleep.

When Riobaidh and Robaidh thought Brionnaidh was asleep they made for his house and they went in and set about Brionnaidh’s mother till they had killed her, and when they had done this they made for the door.

Brionnaidh rose in the morning. He went down to see his mother: his mother was dead.

O well, it couldn’t be helped. He knew fine who had done it.

Anyway, when he saw this he went and set his mother standing up and dressed her in all the best clothes she had and set off with her on his back to the city.

He reached the city—well, the outskirts of the city anyway—and he came upon a big well there and he set her upright above the well and put a walking-stick to keep her upright; and there

was a big house a short distance beyond the well and he went over to the big house and knocked at the door and the lady of the house came to the door and asked him what he wanted.

"Well," said he, "I want a drink," said he. "I've come a long way," said he, "and I'm thirsty," said he.

"All right," said she, "you'll get that," said she. "Come in," said she.

And she set him down at the table and laid out all sorts of food on the table.

"Go on then," said she, "and take your food there," said she.

"Well," said he, "I left my mother," said he, "over at the well," said he, "and I know," said he, "that she'd take something too," said he, "if she could get it, and I'd better go for her," said he.

"You won't," said she. "You have your meal," said she, "but the girl will go," said she.

"Well, if the girl goes," said he, "she's rather deaf. If you shout at her and she can't hear you, you have to go up and shake her gently."

And this is what happened. The girl went and started shouting to the old woman who was standing over the well and the old woman paid no attention whatever. Anyway, she went up and shook the old woman and the old woman went head first into the well.

Och, the girl returned home in a mortal panic telling that the old woman had fallen head first into the well.

"And I believe," said she, "that she's been drowned."

And, oh dear, out rushed the lady of the house and over rushed the man himself and out rushed Brionnaidh. And then it was:

"You'd better not say a word about it," said he, the gentleman. He was a gentleman, it seems.

"We shall bury your mother," said he, "since things have happened as they have," said he, "and," said he, "a great wake will be held for her," said he, "and," said he, "you will get a good sum," said he, "over and above that," said he, "if you don't say a word about what has happened," said he.

"O, no, I won't," said he—Brionnaidh.

What happened then, my lad, was that the old woman was taken over to the Duke's house and a coffin and shroud provided

for her and a great funeral arranged for her, and when this was done, the duke—if he was a duke: he was a gentleman anyway—handed over a great sum of money to Brionnaidh, and not a word to be said about what had happened.

And Brionnaidh made for home and *they* were at their house watching for him till he came and when they saw him and he was getting near the house, then Riobaidh nudged Robaidh and Robaidh nudged Riobaidh and off they went to meet Brionnaidh.

“Well, Brionnaidh, you’ve come.”

“Yes,” said he—Brionnaidh.

“And how did you get on?”

“Very well,” said he. “I sold my mother,” said he, “and I got,” said he, “all that money for her,” said he—showing them the bag.

“Did you indeed,” said they.

“I did,” said he.

“And hadn’t *we* better kill our own mother and go off with her?”

“Yes, indeed, you had,” said he—Brionnaidh.

And so it was: they went off home. They set about their mother till they had killed her, and when they had done that, they set off for the city with her. And when they reached the city they were shouting:

“Who will buy an old dead woman? Who will buy an old dead woman?”

What happened, my lad, is that the police swooped upon them—they were to clear out of the city with the old woman or they would be put in prison and never get out as long as they lived.

There was nothing for it then but that Riobaidh and Robaidh went back home with their mother, relieved to have got away with it, and Brionnaidh now knew that they would be out to get him again—that they would do anything to him to finish him off. And when Brionnaidh saw them coming he made for the hills and off they went in pursuit—Riobaidh and Robaidh. But Brionnaidh was faster than them and was getting the better of them.

Anyway, when he had gone some distance into the hills, whom should he meet but a shepherd with a number of sheep and a dog. He made straight for the shepherd.

“You’d better,” said he, “take off your clothes,” said he, “so that I can put them on,” said he, “and I’ll take off my own

clothes," said he, "and you'll put them on," said he, "and I'm only asking you to do this," said he, "for a short time," said he, "and you'll get," said he, "that bag of money," said he, "if you'll do it," said he—Brionnaidh.

"Yes," said he—the shepherd. "I will," said he.

And he did that: the shepherd took off his clothes and he took off his own clothes and the shepherd put on Brionnaidh's clothes, and he put on the shepherd's clothes.

"Well, now," said he, "Carry on now," said he, "in the direction in which I was going," said he, "and I'll go," said he, "the way you were going," said he, "with the sheep," said he, "and with the dog," said he.

*They* appeared, Riobaidh and Robaidh and they followed Brionnaidh, thinking that it was Brionnaidh. They set upon him with stones and clods till they had driven him out into a big loch that was there and when they had done that the man was drowned in the loch and they returned home. And Brionnaidh had hidden; there was no sign of Brionnaidh.

Anyway, Brionnaidh went and made for home with the sheep and with the dog and wearing the shepherd's clothes. Well, my lad, they noticed him coming.

"God bless my soul, is this you, Brionnaidh?"

"Yes," said he, "I have come."

"But I thought," said he, "that you had been drowned in the loch."

"O, no, I wasn't," said he. "When I reached," said he, "the bottom of the loch," said he, "this good man," said he, "was there before me," said he, "and he told me to go back," said he, "as quickly as ever I could," said he, "and that he would give me," said he, "the dog and the sheep and a shepherd's clothes: and that was what I did," said he. "The shepherd gave me," said he, "his own clothes," said he, "and I put them on," said he, "and he gave me the sheep," said he, "and the dog."

"Well then, hadn't you better drive *us* out into the loch, and who knows but that we may find him too."

"Well indeed I had," said he—Brionnaidh.

This was what happened. Brionnaidh went after him and set upon them with stones and with clods till he had driven them out into the loch. And when he had done that he returned home and they never troubled Brionnaidh again.

That is how I heard it.<sup>6</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Other Scottish Gaelic versions of A.T. 1535:

The present text and the other one referred to in Note 4, below, from the same reciter, are the only full versions noted in the indices to the School of Scottish Studies Sound Recording Archive. The late Dr. Calum MacLean recorded a version in December 1959 (SA 1960/8.A.4) from John MacMillan, South Uist, which begins with the death of the mother and then proceeds along more or less similar lines. My colleague John MacInnes recorded a version in August 1953 (SA 1953/170.5) from Catriona MacPherson, Skye, which begins with the death of the first mother and ends with the failure of the attempt to sell the body of the second.

A version very similar to the present text was written down in March 1952 (L.S.N. 1. xxx.1:51-8) by Professor Kenneth Jackson from the late Miss Annie Johnston, Barra—see also Note 6 below. A version of A.T. 1539 taken down by Donald John MacDonald from Miss Mary Ann MacInnes, Stilligarry, South Uist (D.J.M. MSS. 41-2: 3881-907), incorporates the episodes of substitution for the shepherd and the death of the enemies by drowning.

John F. Campbell of Islay printed four versions of 1535 (Campbell 1890:232-52) from Barra, Ardnamurchan, Bernera-Harris, and “somewhere in Argyleshire”. Only in the case of the Barra version does Campbell give a Gaelic text.

<sup>2</sup> Distribution as noted by Thompson (1961: 440):

Finnish, Finnish-Swedish, Estonian, Livonian, Lithuanian, Lappish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Scottish, Irish, French, Spanish, Catalan, Dutch, Flemish, German, Italian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovenian, Serbocroatian, Russian, Greek, Turkish, Indonesian, India, Japanese, English-American, Spanish-American, Portuguese-American, West Indies, American Indian, African.

<sup>3</sup> I was accompanied by Miss Lisa Sinclair, formerly Archivist in the School of Scottish Studies, who introduced me to Mr. Gillies and whose help I gratefully acknowledge.<sup>4</sup> Another recording (SA 1953/268 A2-269 A1) of the same tale was made by the late Dr. Calum MacLean from Neil Gillies in 1953. The plots are identical but the story is rather better told in the present text.<sup>5</sup> For *enuip* (see last paragraph of text).<sup>6</sup> Neil said he could not remember from whom he had heard the story. He learned tales in his youth from a number of old men, including his father.

The close similarity between his text and that of his late neighbour Miss Annie Johnston (see Note 1 above) suggests a number of possibilities:

(a) That one of them may have learned it from the other.

(b) That they both knew the story and that one version may have influenced the other.

(c) That both texts stem from a common, not too distant source.

(d) A combination of (b) and (c) is possible.

Miss Johnston told Professor Jackson that she had learned the story from another neighbour of hers in Glen, Elizabeth Mackinnon.



In a note to a version of A.T. 506 (Johnston 1934:50) Miss Johnston says of Elizabeth Mackinnon (Ealasaid Eachainn) that she had been born in Vatersay 76 years before and had spent much of her early life in Sandray where her father was shepherd. Their house in Sandray had been a favourite haunt of fishermen from Mingulay, Pabbay and Castlebay and the evenings were whiled away with storytelling.

Now, Neil Gillies's parents were both from Mingulay. It is almost certain that Elizabeth Mackinnon's parents were also from that island, and, according to their daughter, their house in Sandray had been a haunt of Mingulay fishermen.

Thus it seems very likely that the present text represents a Mingulay version of A.T. 1535, though it is almost certainly impossible now to determine the exact provenance.

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*MacMhuirich and The Old Woman from Harris*

JOHN MACINNES

The following was recorded from the late Duncan MacDonald, Peninerine, South Uist, by the late Dr. Calum I. Maclean while employed by the Irish Folklore Commission prior to the establishment of the School of Scottish Studies, and is reproduced with the kind permission of Professor J. H. Delargy, Honorary Director of the Commission:

'Se Mac Mhuirich ann a Stadhlaigearraidh a bha a' cumail sgriobhadh agus eachdraidh suas air chuimhne air

gach nì a bhuineadh do Chlann Raghnaill agus bha a' chùis coltach gu robh e a' dèanamh a leithid eile air a chuile nì a bhuineadh do thighearnan eile a bha 'sa' Ghàidhealtachd agus bhiodh e a' dol man cuairt aig am sonruichte 'n a' bhliadhna a thogail aon chios a bha air a chuir a mach dha air son seo. Agus a nis bha MacLeòid na h-Earadh a' fàs sgìth dhe bhith a' pàigheadh cìseadh airson a bhith cumail suas eachdraidh a theaghlaich. Ach air a' làimh eile bha e glé mhór leis a dhol a ràdha facal 'sa' bith ann an aghaidh Mhic Mhuirich neo chailleadh e ainm na h-uaisle. Agus 'se a' rud a rinn e, dh' fhasdaidh e seana chailleach as na h-Earadh airson agus gum bitheadh i a staigh a' latha thigeadh Mac Mhuirich a dh'iarraidh na cìseadh agus gu labhradh i ris gu math tàmailteach air chor agus gu fògradh i e agus nach bitheadh e a' tilleadh tuilleadh. Fhuair e a' chailleach agus bha i a' feitheamh ann a siod gus an dànaig Mac Mhuirich. Agus thànaig e a seo agus nuair a nochd e a staigh a thaigh Mhic Leòid ris a' chaillich, labhair a' chailleach mar seo:

“Ad mhor,” ors i fhéin, “is leotha na an criathar,  
Air ceann liathghlas na bleideadh,  
A thànaig 'ugainn a Uibhist  
A thogail fuidheall gach seideadh.”

Sin nuair a labhair Mac Mhuirich:

“Tha buaidh,” ors e fhéin, “air Mac Leòid na h-Earadh  
Nach 'eil air uaislean Innsibh Gall  
Cailleach air dhath an Diabhail  
Gach uair ag iarraidh rud ann.  
Nam bitheadh tu ann an ceardach Bhulcain  
Anns a' ghleann am biodh an nimh  
Séideadh a' bhuilg aig a' ghobha  
Iorasglach odhar dhuibh thoir an dorus ort.”

Agus dh'fhalbh a' chailleach agus ann an ceann tiotan thàinig Mac Leòid a nuas far a robh Mac Mhuirich agus chuir e fàilte air agus cha do lig e air gu robh leithid na caillich riamh an aon taigh ris.

### *Translation*

It was MacMhuirich in Stilligarry who kept a written record of the history of all that pertained to the Clan Ranald. It would appear that he was doing the same for other Gaelic lords: at a particular time of the year he used to go around to collect certain dues that were apportioned to him for that work.

Now MacLeod of Harris was getting tired of paying dues to have his family history preserved. Yet, on the other hand, he was very loth to say anything to MacMhuirich's face, otherwise he would lose his noble reputation. What he did was this. He hired an old woman from Harris so that she might be in the house on the day that MacMhuirich came to collect the dues. She was to speak pretty cuttingly to MacMhuirich so that she would drive him away never to return. MacLeod got the woman, who waited until MacMhuirich arrived. MacMhuirich did arrive, and when he came inside and into the old woman's presence, she spoke like this:

"A big hat," says she, "wider than a riddle  
On the flattering hoary head  
Of him who has come to us from Uist  
To lift the sweepings of the shake-downs."

At that point MacMhuirich said:

"MacLeod of Harris possesses a property  
Alone of the nobles of the Isles—  
A hag of the Devil's hue  
In his house constantly begging.  
If only you were in Vulcan's smithy  
In the venomous glen  
Blowing the bellows in the smith's service—  
Swarthy black apparition, out of the door!"

The old woman disappeared and in a moment MacLeod came to MacMhuirich and greeted him and never as much as let on that anybody like the old woman had ever been in the same house as him.

Verse contests, of which the above is an example, are fairly common in Gaelic tradition. They are usually short and frequently coarse. The reference in the present text to Vulcan, who appears in medieval literary tradition,<sup>1</sup> is interesting in view of the MacMhuirich family's own role in Gaelic literature and society.

It is also interesting that Duncan MacDonald was aware of that; no doubt his information derived from oral tradition, but it may have been reinforced by reading. (He was, according to the late Dr. Calum MacLean, literate in English and Gaelic.<sup>2</sup>) In the current oral tradition of Uist, the MacMhuirichs, as has been pointed out by my colleague, Mr. D. A. MacDonald,

“are remembered as magicians and warriors rather than learned men.” (*Scottish Studies* 7:214.)

According to the late Anthony Currie,<sup>3</sup> Lochboisdale, South Uist, the author of the verse was Lachlainn Dubh mac Dhòmhaill 'ic Mhuirich,<sup>4</sup> of whom he says:

“A nise bha sgoil-dhubh aig MacMhuirich agus 'se Lachlainn Dubh a mhac, a' fear mu dheireadh dhe'n teaghlach a fhuair ionnsachadh ann an collaiste 'san Eadailte.” (Now, MacMhuirich possessed the black art and Black Lachlan was his son; he was the last of the family to have been educated at college in Italy.)

A variant of the verse contest was also known to Anthony Currie. It runs as follows:

Chaidh Lachlainn Dubh do na Hearadh a thogail cìs a' rìgh. Bha cailleach sgaiteach aig Mac Leòid na Hearadh agus thuirt [i]:

Seana cheann liath na bleide  
A thanaig thugainn a Uibhist  
A thogail fuidheall gach seide

[Thuirt Lachlainn Dubh:]

Tha dàimh aig Mac Leòid na Hearadh  
Chan ann ri uaislean Innse Ghall  
Ach cailleach bheag air dhath an Diabhail  
Is [a] h-uile gas liath 'na ceann  
Bidh thu 'sa' ghleann 'sam bi an nimh  
A séideadh nam balg aig an Deomhainn  
Iutharnach a' ghobhail dhuibh  
Thoir an dorus ort.

### *Translation*

Black Lachlan went to Harris to collect the King's taxes. MacLeod of Harris had a witty old woman who said:

Flattering old grey head  
Who has come to us from Uist  
To lift the sweepings of the shake-downs

[Black Lachlan said:]

MacLeod of Harris is kin  
Not to the nobles of the Isles  
But to a little old hag of the Devil's hue  
And every hair of her head is grey.  
You will be in the venomous glen  
Blowing the bellows in the Devil's service  
Black-crutched hellcat, out of the door!

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> E.g. in "Oidedh Con Culainn" (ed. A. G. van Hamel, *Combert Con Culainn and Other Stories*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series Vol. 3. Dublin 1956).
- Balcan Gobha also appears in "Eachdraidh Mhánuis" (ed. K. C. Craig, *Sgialachdan Dhunnchaidh*, Glasgow n.d.). The storyteller was the same Duncan MacDonald. *Eachdraidh Mhánuis* does not seem to be known outside South Uist: it may itself be a story preserved by the MacMhuirich family.
- <sup>2</sup> "Hebridean Traditions", *Gwerin* x (1956-7): 21-33.
- <sup>3</sup> Photocopy of MS. in the School of Scottish Studies. The name Currie, incidentally, is one of the anglicised forms of MacMhuirich.
- <sup>4</sup> A Lachlann mac Dhomhnaill is mentioned in the genealogy supplied by Lachlann MacMhuirich in 1800, v. W. J. Watson: *Rosg Gàidhlig*, Inverness 1915, p. 139. This Lachlann mac Dhomhnaill must have flourished in the sixteenth century.

### *A Simple Tape-Loop Repeating Device*

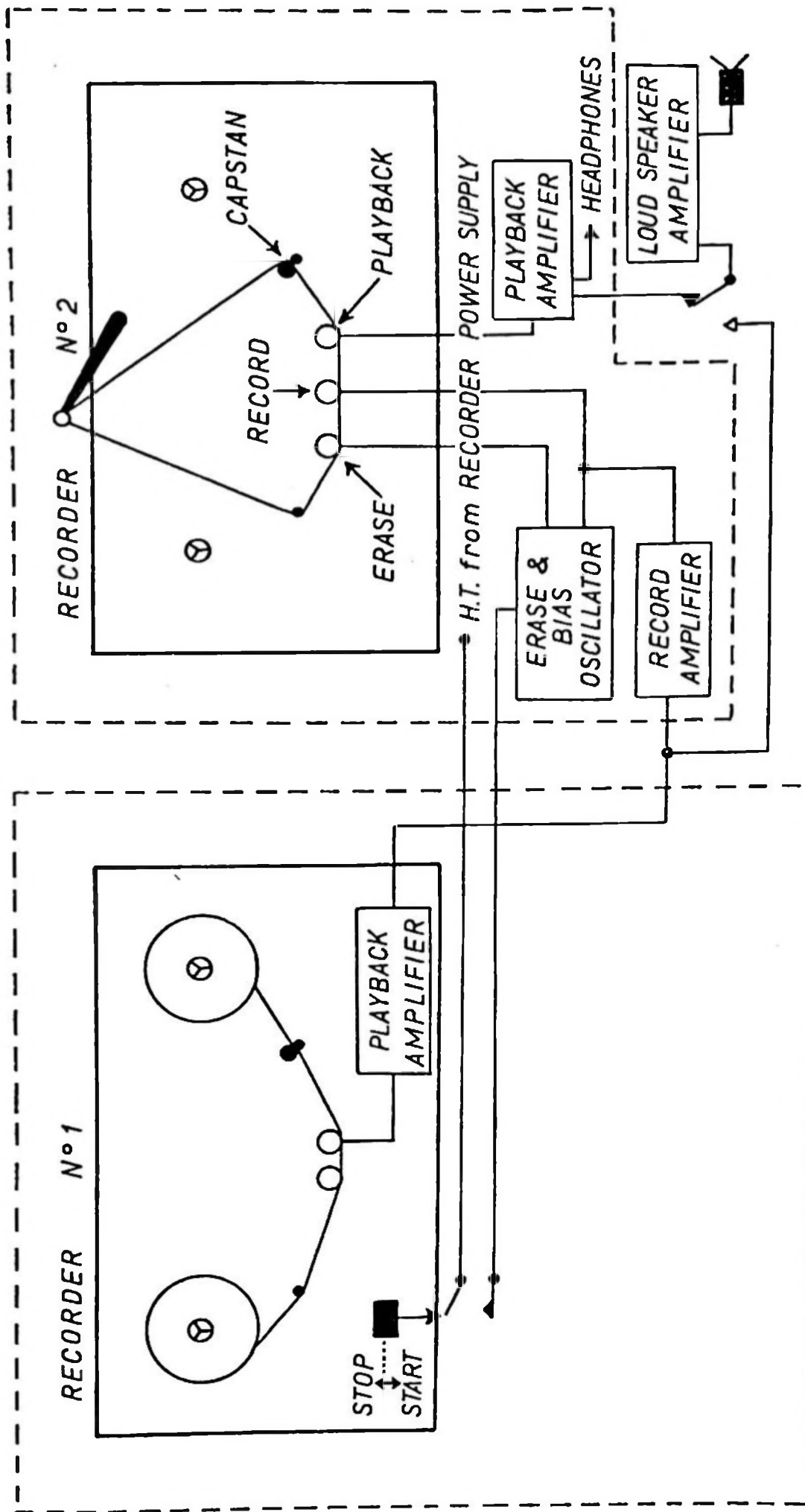
F. E. KENT

At the School of Scottish Studies it has been found that a tape-loop repeating device is an essential aid for accurate and convenient transcription of speech and music. Repeaters designed to be connected to existing tape machines as separate units<sup>1</sup> have been in use in the Phonetics Department of this University and the School for a number of years. It is possible to obtain the same facilities, however, with a separate conventional machine, and from the number of enquiries received it is clear that there is a need for a description of the modifications required. Technicalities will be kept to a minimum but of course the use of some technical terms will be unavoidable. These notes should be sufficient to enable a departmental technician or a competent radio service firm to modify commercially available equipment, i.e. two suitable tape recorders. These modifications can be employed without detracting from the normal functions of the recorders.

#### *Description*

Two recorders are required, one for playback and the second to act as a loop repeater. These machines will be referred to as "Recorder 1" and "Recorder 2" respectively.

*Recorder 1.* This can be any type of conventional recorder



provided it has the speeds and playback facilities required for the tapes to be transcribed.

The playback output from this recorder is fed into the appropriate socket in Recorder 2. The only modification to Recorder 1 will be described later.

*Recorder 2.* This recorder must be of a type which has separate record and playback heads and amplifiers. This is to enable the continuous monitoring of what has been recorded. The recorders are arranged as for normal tape-copying purposes with the following modifications (applying specifically to recorders with thermionic valve amplifiers although similar modifications could be made to transistorised tape recorders):

Instead of a continuous length of tape running from one spool to the other, a short loop is made of standard tape. The length of tape in the loop is arranged to suit the individual requirements of the user. Three or four feet (approximately 100-120 cm.) has been found to be sufficient at the School, and the playing time of this can of course be adjusted by using different tape speeds. The tape loop is fitted to the recorder in the same manner as a normal tape but should be supported by an adjustable arm with a roller tape-guide to hold the loop under slight tension to prevent it from becoming entangled in the recorder capstan. The tension should be very slight to avoid curling or stretching of the tape, and unnecessary wear to the heads. The loop should also be replaced frequently as it naturally wears out quite quickly.

If apart from the capstan motor, the recorder employs separate motors for forward and reverse spooling, an additional switch is needed to switch these off when the recorder is used with a loop, as the noise they make may be distracting. If the machine is of the single-motor type, i.e. one which employs belts, pulleys and clutches to drive the take-up and re-wind turntables, it is probably unnecessary to stop these, provided that the loop runs clear of them. If, on the other hand, they are to be stopped, it should be fairly easy to fit a lever which would disengage the drive to the clutches or turntables. It would not be advisable simply to apply a brake to the turntables as this would cause undue wear to parts of the mechanism.

The only other modification required to Recorder 2 is the interruption of the High Tension (H.T.) Voltage supply to the Bias Oscillator, so that the *erase* and *recording head bias* may be switched off during the repeating cycle, and on during the recording cycle.

Rather than merely removing the crase and bias voltages, it is more convenient to switch the Bias Oscillator H.T. supply off and on. The former method is liable to cause undesirable magnetisation of the record head, and since the switching is done by Recorder 1, it is not feasible to take the bias voltages to this machine and back to Recorder 2.

A convenient socket should be fitted to allow the Bias Oscillator H.T. to be fed to Recorder 1. In addition, either a switch to short circuit this socket, or a shorting link, should be fitted to Recorder 2, to enable it to be used as a normal tape-recorder independently of Recorder 1.

If the material recorded on the loop is to be monitored on a loudspeaker, a separate power amplifier is required if this is not already part of the recorder, but if headphones are sufficient these can be fed from the playback pre-amplifier.

*Recorder 1.* The only modification needed for Recorder 1 is the provision of a switch, which should be synchronised with the stop/start buttons or lever, so that, when the machine is stopped, the switch is open, and when the machine is restarted, the switch is closed. This switch should be connected to the Bias Oscillator H.T. supply via the socket on Recorder 2. To minimise electrical interference on recordings, this switch should be capable of high speed action (e.g. a micro-switch) and of handling 40 milli-amps or more at 300 volts D.C., depending on the type of recorder used. It should also be suppressed to minimise sparking, thus prolonging its life and avoiding recording clicks on the tape. A 0.1 microfarad 500 v. D.C. capacitor across the contacts of the switch should be sufficient for this purpose.

### *Method of Operation*

The tape is placed on Recorder 1 which is switched to the play-back function, and the item to be transcribed is selected. Recorder 2 is set to record and the loop is started. Recorder 1 is now started and this automatically switches the Bias H.T. supply to Recorder 2 on. Since Recorder 2 has separate record and playback heads, the material being recorded can be monitored immediately on headphones (or on a loudspeaker). When the loop is running, Recorder 2 is monitored, but for item location on the original tape and pre-transcription listening, Recorder 1 is monitored (and the loop may be stopped).

When the first phrase to be transcribed has been recorded on the loop, Recorder 1 is stopped, and, as this removes the



erase and bias voltages from Recorder 2, the loop will repeat this phrase as often as desired. As soon as Recorder 1 is re-started the loop is automatically erased and re-recorded. This process continues as long as Recorder 1 is running; therefore during the recording cycle the loop must not be allowed to make more than one revolution before Recorder 1 is switched off. With practice, an overlap can easily be arranged by starting Recorder 1 immediately the last word or note of the first phrase on the loop has been heard, and by stopping it before the loop has made one complete revolution. This leaves the last words or notes of the first phrase on the tape, and these are immediately followed by the first word or note of the succeeding phrase, etc. If Recorder 1 does not start instantaneously it may be necessary to move the tape being transcribed back slightly before re-starting it.

Brightly coloured splicing tape can make a convenient marker on the loop for estimating when to stop and start Recorder 1.

#### NOTE

- <sup>1</sup> J. Anthony, Magnetic Sound Recording Transcribing Apparatus. British Patent No. 730,664, 1953. For a short account of this see Peter Ladefoged, *A Phonetic Study of West African Languages*. West African Language Monographs I (Cambridge 1964) pp. xvi-xvii.

### C. OTHER NOTES

#### *Skirling Fair and the Painter James Howe*

B. C. SKINNER

Contemporary genre painting can provide a useful supplement to documentary sources in folk-life studies. An excellent example of this is provided by a series of three large oil-paintings by James Howe, one of which is here reproduced.<sup>1</sup> They illustrate the horse-and-cattle fairs formerly held at Skirling, Peeblesshire, in May, June and September each year.

The Skirling fairs date from the burgh-grant of 1592 and continued to be held until 1864 when the June and September meetings were transferred to Biggar.<sup>2</sup> The June fair was one of the more important livestock markets in the Scottish drover's



Horse-fair at Skirling, Peeblesshire. After an original oil-painting (36 x 45½) by James Howe, dated 1829, reproduced by permission of Mrs. Wheeler-Carmichael.

year with, to quote the *New Statistical Account*, "a large attendance of queys, cows and horses, and there is much business done". Skirling village still retains the open-square lay-out indicated in Howe's paintings, but its importance as a community and trading centre has lapsed and it does not now boast the two inns of Howe's day.

James Howe (1780-1836) shared with Carse and Geikie first place as painter of the Scottish domestic scene at this period, but his concern, unlike theirs, is primarily with the countryside and the delineation of farm-beasts rather than with human eccentricity. He was born at Skirling manse and seems all his life to have retained a sensitivity for the most intimate details of country living. Howe served apprenticeship to Walter Smeaton in Edinburgh, worked for a year in the south, painting the horses in King George III's stud, and visited the Battlefield of Waterloo in 1815, exhibiting in the British Institution of the following year a "Panorama of the Battle". Apart from these excursions, he lived and worked in Edinburgh and Peeblesshire, trying unsuccessfully in 1818 for the post of master in the Trustees Drawing Academy.

From 1808 onwards Howe exhibited animal studies and country scenes in the Edinburgh exhibitions and in 1811 was commissioned by the Board of Agriculture to paint the principal breeds of British cattle. He prepared other series of definitive pictures of breeds of horses and cattle for the Highland Society and for Sir John Sinclair and some of them were issued separately as plates, while some were used as illustrations in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Howe died on Townhead Farm, Skirling, and is buried in the parish church-yard.

Not very many of his paintings are recorded. Apart from the three Skirling Fair pictures, there are two large and detailed canvasses of All Hallows Fair, Edinburgh, which show the confusion of stalls and animals that annually assembled either in the Grassmarket, on the Burgh Muir, or on Calton Hill.<sup>3</sup> Two paintings of Musselburgh Races also exist,<sup>4</sup> and several versions of his well-known painting of Malcolm Fleming of Barrochan hawking for game. "Side-elevations" of prize bulls and stallions by Howe may still be found in farm-houses but apart from these and the other pictures listed here, Howe is known today only by his engraved plates and by series of quick pen-and-ink sketches that exist in the National Gallery of Scotland Department of Prints and Drawings and in various private collections. Some of these sketches, though slight, can

be of remarkable value in catching the movement of a moment and in providing contemporary documentation just as useful as in the case of Howe's paintings.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The three paintings are in the collection of Mrs. Wheeler-Carmichael of Skirling House who has kindly given permission for the present reproduction. They are:
  - (i) Cattle-fair at Skirling, canvas  $36\frac{1}{2} \times 48\frac{1}{2}$ , signed *Howe*, and showing the figures of Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael and his wife.
  - (ii) Stallion-fair at Skirling, canvas  $32 \times 47\frac{1}{2}$ .
  - (iii) Horse-fair at Skirling, smithy in background, canvas  $36 \times 45\frac{3}{4}$ , signed *How*, and dated 1829 (see Plate IV).
- <sup>2</sup> William Hunter: *Biggar and the House of Fleming* (1867) p. 348.
- <sup>3</sup> One (canvas  $36 \times 58$ , signed *Howe*) is in the collection of Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh; the other (canvas *c.*  $48 \times 96$ , signed *Howe*) is owned by Messrs. John Swan, Auctioneers, Gorgie Market.
- <sup>4</sup> In the collections at Musselburgh Town Buildings (canvas  $24 \times 37$ , dated 1835) and Prestonfield House (canvas  $42 \times 61\frac{1}{2}$ , signed "*J. Howe, Edin*"). One or two other oil paintings by Howe have been recorded in the Edinburgh salerooms, such as "The Opening of Granton Harbour", sold in 1960.

"*Evening in a Scots Cottage*"—a note on the stock-and-horn

J. V. S. MEGAW

The recent publication of a watercolour of about 1805-10 attributed to Alexander Carse and now in the National Gallery of Scotland (Megaw 1965:106) prompts me to add a few notes on the primitive reed-pipe or stock-and-horn as shown being played in the painting. In fact recent publications have been devoted not only to the stock-and-horn itself (Langwill 1952) but also to the general European family of hornpipes of which it is simply a regional member (Baines 1960, esp. 30-32); as Langwill demonstrates, David Allen's vignette criticised by Burns has a pretty close parallel in one of the two extant examples of the Scottish pipe, now in the Royal College of Music, London (Langwill 1952: Pl. XV, 2). From Wales, we have the *pibgorn* which has a horn chamber, matching the bell, over the reed, enabling the player to inhale through the nose and blow into the instrument at the same time. There are actually three examples (not two as quoted by Langwill and Baines) dated to the eighteenth century and now in the Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans—including one with

the actual wooden pipe square in section, as well as that in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries, London, of similar date; at the close of the century this type was apparently restricted to Anglesey (Jones 1794:116). No certain pendant for Burns's sheep-bone and cowhorn pipe exists though a possible hornpipe of deer-bone has been noted in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (Galpin 1910:172). The Anglo-Saxon *swegel horn* ("shin-bone and horn") is the ancestor of the *pibgorn*, and all these bone instruments must represent the simplest peasant products in their class in the same way as bone end-blown pipes may be compared with the more sophisticated recorder family (Megaw 1963).

Recently it has been suggested that parts at least of some of the simple Late Bronze Age Irish "horns" may have formed instruments of the reed-pipe class (Coles 1963:342); and a similar claim noted by Coles has been made for a Late-Bronze/Iron Age find from the Volga region (Gurina 1963:107), a comparison for which is the present-day Russian peasant hornpipe, the *jaleika*.

Two square-sectioned wooden fragments from the tenth/eleventh century Anglo-Danish levels of Hungate, York, published as a "flute" (Richardson 1961: 63, 85, and fig. 19, 20), could also be from a reed pipe though it would not strictly fit into our hornpipe class (Megaw 1961: 179, n. 17). However this may be, if Scotland's national poet may not exactly have had musicological right on his side he at least was blissfully ignorant of A. H. Frere's theory (quoted by Langwill 1952: 180, n. 2) of a significant link in the similar distribution of the hornpipe and megalithic tombs! And neither point detracts from the iconographic interest of Carse's picture of a humble cousin of Scotland's misnamed "national musical instrument", the bagpipes.

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#### D. BOOK REVIEWS

*Place Names of Northeast Angus*. By C. P. Will. Arbroath: The Herald Press. 1963. 68 pp. 6s.

The region between the Firth of Forth and the River Dee on the Scottish east coast has so far been largely neglected in published accounts and studies of Scottish place-names. Whereas Aberdeenshire in the north can boast the late Dr. Alexander's excellent Third Spalding Club publication, and the place-names of two counties to the south—West Lothian and Midlothian—have been treated in detail and with authority in two Edinburgh University Ph.D. theses of the 'forties, the counties of Kinross, Fife, Angus and Kincardine have never found the person who had the knowledge and the courage to investigate their place-names systematically on a regional basis. The reason for this lack of published data—and indeed of research into the subject—is not difficult to find: the four counties mentioned are probably the most taxing in the whole of Scotland with regard to the problems they present in their place-nomenclature. Pictish, Gaelic, Lowland Scots, these three languages appear to have followed each other comparatively quickly in this part of the country, and the distinction of Pictish from another (preceding?) branch of Celtic, British or Brittonic, is not always easy. The result is a multi-lingual mixture whose historical sequence and stratification it takes patience and a good knowledge both of the local conditions and the languages concerned, to unravel. The most important

obstacle to a successful attempt at a convincing explanation of the majority of names is probably provided by the fact that the spoken Gaelic of most of the region had disappeared before anybody ever thought of tackling the place-name problem. Here, as well as in the south-west, sound recordings or even written records of the local native Gaelic pronunciation of the names concerned would have been invaluable because the majority of names is clearly of Gaelic origin although we cannot always determine the exact derivation and meaning of an individual item.

It is therefore with gratitude and expectation that one turns to a slim volume recently published on the place-names of a small region within the region, north-east Angus or, as the subtitle explains, "of the Parishes of Edzell, Lethnot & Navar and Lochee". This expectation is not immediately followed by disappointment because even a first glance at once shows that the author, Mr. C. P. Will of Edzell, not only brings to the task what is probably unrivalled local knowledge, but is also well aware of the pitfalls of onomastic research and therefore attempts to employ the caution so necessary in all aspects of this particular field of study, especially in an area like the one tackled in the book under review. Two other features immediately gratify: A reasonable account of the fairly complex linguistic background story, and the fact that older forms are given whenever available, for all names discussed. Unfortunately only the date of each form is supplied whereas the sources in question are merely listed in the preface; but although this is certainly a drawback one at least gets an impression of the chronology of existing early spellings and of the time when the main documentation begins, which in most instances appears to be about the sixteenth century. The lay-out of the various chapters is also useful: "The Parishes" (pp. 9-11), "The Farms, Crofts, and other Homesteads" (pp. 13-40), "The Streams" (41-47), "The Hills, Mosses and Corries" (pp. 49-61), followed by three short appendices.

A critical appraisal must, however, of necessity point out that there are certain shortcomings which cannot be overlooked. The most obvious of these is, in this reviewer's opinion, due to a misunderstanding of the nature of Gaelic word-formation in the period in which Gaelic was spoken in Angus. On page 64 the author states that "there are various instances on our regional uplands of an unstressed general term in the form of a noun being suffixed. But, in addition, there is a group of names

of some standing in the district consisting of two nouns of which the qualifier is placed first, is accented accordingly and used like a prefixed adjective". This conclusion is reached on the basis of such suspect interpretations as Gaelic *Aod-dhal* or *Ead-dhal* "Braeface-lot, foreshore-position, aspect-share" for Edzell (*Edale* 1204-11, 1238, *Adall* 1267, *Adel* 1275) and *Cadal-theach* "rest-house, sleeping-house" for Kedloch (*Kaidlach* 1588, *Caidlauch* 1699, *Ketlo* 1640), with a similar formation featuring as the second part of the explanation given for Dalloanach, *dail lionn-theach* "alehouse meadow" where *lónach* "marshy" would have been a much more plausible suggestion, at least from the phonological point of view. For the kind of compound name claimed by Mr. Will in these and other instances there is unfortunately no support and interpretations based on such formations must therefore be rejected.

Similarly, a desire to provide an explanation at all cost sometimes leads to impossible, purely dictionary-based Gaelic compounds, like *Ard sealbhmhoraidh* "hill of wealthiness" for Arsallary (*Auchschallary* 1554, *Auschallary* 1588); *baile 'chumhangaidh* "township of the narrow land" for Balhangie; *coir' an escearain* ("esc, water, with cumulative [?] suffix -ar, -an") "Corrie of the place of waters or streams" for Cornescorn (*Cornskorne* 1511, *Corneskorne* 1554); *dail 'choimhpire* "haugh of the match" for Dalfouper; or *Cadha eadar da Dhun* "Brae-roadie between two Forts" for Caterthun. This wish to etymologise in all cases is the more regrettable since the author himself remarks (p. 66) that "there is a natural urge to find a meaning in a familiar place-name, so much so that, if this be not evident, a twist will be given to the designation to suit an imagined idea or a tale will be invented or adapted for the same purpose. The practice, *rare in the Angus glens* [reviewer's italics] is common in the more accessible regions. . . ." Our verdict has to be that the "Angus glens" are not completely free from it either.

In a number of instances, good parallels have been neglected as in Lethnot (*Lethnoth* 1275, *Lechnoch* 1329, *Lethnoth* 1384) which can hardly contain *nemet*, Gaelic *neimhead(h)*, and mean "half-churchland". Watson's explanation of the Banffshire Lethnot as *lethnocht* "naked-side place" would also seem to apply to the Angus name. Blairno (*Ballerno* 1463) which is said to be *baile earrannaiche* "sharer's township" looks very much like an identical equivalent of the Midlothian Balerno (*Balhernoch* 1280, *Balernauch* 1283, *Ballernache* 1375) for which Gaelic *Baile Airneach* "sloe-tree-stead" has been suggested as a perfectly



acceptable explanation. There are other examples of such narrow regionalism.

We would therefore see Mr. Will's study as a courageous attempt to throw light on a very dark subject, an attempt which has been only partly successful. His extensive local knowledge we admire, his enthusiasm we respect, the material he provides in such a reliable form we value very much, but his etymologies we approach with caution. A great deal of water will flow down the Esk before a definitive account of the place-names of Angus, or any part of that county, will be written.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

*Argyll Estate Instructions, Mull, Morvern, Tiree, 1771-1805.* Ed. E. R. Cregeen for the Scottish Historical Society (4th Series, Vol. I). Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable Ltd. 1964. Pp. xxxix +227. Two inset plans.

The aim of the Scottish History Society as expressed in its motto *colligite fragmenta ne pereant*, has been pursued through the years with remarkable assiduity. The volume under review is the 136th to appear, and the 9 further volumes now in preparation will, like their predecessors, add considerably to the assemblage of *fragmenta* that are continually throwing a clearer light on Scottish history at regional, national, and international levels.

The Argyll Estate Instructions provide a fascinating picture of regional change and development at the period when the communal run-rig system was being replaced by the system of individual crofts and farms with which we are now familiar, when housebuilding and roofing methods, cultivating implements, equipment and techniques for the drying and grinding of grain, the management and types of stock, marketing facilities, and indeed a whole social structure, were all being manipulated and altered by a great laird, through his chamberlains, resulting in considerable movements of population. This, too, was the period that saw a variety of attempts, some abortive or of short duration, to establish villages whose occupants would engage in spinning, weaving, and fishing and it is of interest to note that the Duke turned to Shetland to find a boat's crew, whom he provided with a boat and tackle, to settle at Creich on the S.W. tip of Mull to stimulate the fishing industry there in 1789. The cured fish produced here and elsewhere on the

estate were marketed in Liverpool, Glasgow, and Madeira. Though the fifth Duke of Argyll's Instructions to his chamberlains, and their Reports, appertain to two islands (Tiree, Mull) and one mainland area (Morvern) of Argyllshire, the regional patterns of change they reveal nevertheless conform to broadly contemporary developments in many parts of Europe, including Russia, so that the information in this volume has much more than merely local significance. It is, however, for its wealth of local detail that we must chiefly value it in the first instance.

The Tiree section brings out particularly well the clash between the imposed changes and the older economy and attitudes of the resident population. An attempt to plant trees was foiled by the natives, who pulled them up (p. 83); the tenants had a strong aversion to using carts and even improved ploughs (p. 91); a cask of whale-oil was "mobbed" and divided without reference to the factor (p. 84); they persisted in pulling barley by the roots, in cutting bent, and in making folds for cattle on sandy ground, in spite of the danger of sand blow and in direct opposition to the factor's instructions (p. 94); they opposed the introduction of "strange barley and great oats" (p. 69); great difficulty was experienced in regularising the cutting of mosses for fuel, and in preventing good meadow ground from being cut up for turf (p. 68 etc.). Rather more fundamental was their dislike of crofts (incidentally an early use of the term in 1802, in the sense familiarised by the First Crofters' Commission Report of 1884), so that the division of Scarinish into 29 crofts, Hianish into 18, and Ballimartin into 38, was accomplished only with much difficulty (p. 68). An age-old social order was being swept away, ultimately because of the demands of a new type of capitalistic economy, though it is doubtful if it could have survived much longer as natural resources like the mosses on which the people depended for fuel, the woods from which they got timber for building and for implements, became worn out, and as the native population increased beyond the limits where these resources, even in alliance with revenues from the kelp industry and with the nutritive value of the potato crop, could not support it. A strong feeling of the inexorability of change, of the need to exploit new resources, and to come into closer contact with the wider world, runs through the volume.

By the time of these Instructions, timber had become so scarce that the Duke had to regulate carefully the amount brought from his woods in the Mainland into Tiree for car-poles

(*travois*), roof timbers, ploughs, harrows, and spade shafts. Indeed he insisted that the native way of making houses, presumably of wooden beams with the spaces filled with wattle and clay, or turf, should be stopped, and that they should build stone and lime walls and buy the timber themselves to make them appreciate its value. In the Mull and Morvern Instructions, these woods are carefully described (p. 126 ff.) as a preliminary to assessing their value and to enclosing them with walls. They consisted mainly of birch, alder, oak, ash, and some hazel, and a good picture is provided of the appearance of the county before the days of deliberate planting. Their value is assessed in terms of their reduction to charcoal, and bark for tanning.

Another type of raw material that had a part to play in affecting social organisation and environment was seaweed, whose eighteenth century exploitation for making kelp is directly linked to the division of group holdings into crofts, and to the decline in importance of barley as a crop from which spirits were distilled in quantity (involving a high consumption of peat which in turn required a great deal of time and effort in cutting and drying). In Mull and Morvern, the kelp shores were regarded as pertinents attached to the land and passed to the tenant with possession of the farm. On the arable soils lying near the coast, seaweed had for centuries been used as a manure, and tenants had found themselves able to strike a balance by cutting more seaweed for manure in years when kelp prices were low, so that barley production could form a compensating factor in providing income for the payment of rents. The Duke found it very hard, indeed impossible, to take the management of the kelp out of the tenants' hands, as he wished, because of the way it had become integrated with their everyday life and economy. In this respect the laird did not have it all his own way, and the tenants' economy was shown to have a certain strength as long as the market for kelp held firm.

There is much else besides in this volume. There is matter of lexicographical interest, not only in the words listed in the glossary, but also in the use of words like *croft*, *mobbed*, etc. Place names occur in quantity, some retaining Gaelic forms that have since been anglicised by popular etymology, like *Greenhill*, formerly *Grianal*, in Tiree. There is information on types of land-division: the four-mail lands of Tiree, capable of maintaining up to 12 soums of 12 cows, or 12 horses, or 60 sheep, regarded as the ideal size to which the older units should be

reduced, and their rough equivalent in Mull and Morvern, the farthing lands. Details of enclosing, of dyke building, of the demarcation of marches by dykes or cairns are here in plenty. Indeed, the volume will amply repay careful reading on many scores.

Personalities stand out clearly. The fifth Duke appears as what Mr. Cregeen calls a "benevolent despot", who, though manipulating his tenants in the casual lift-of-a-finger fashion of any other laird of the period, still kept their interests in mind and did his best to re-settle the dispossessed by trying to establish industries and to develop fishing. In this, and in his efforts to encourage enterprise by offers of premiums, he showed himself as an excellent choice for first President of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, capable of putting into practice the enlightened ideals of the Society. He allowed his chamberlains a fairly free hand and one cannot fail to be particularly impressed with James Maxwell, chamberlain in Mull, whose reasoned understanding of the tenants' problems did much to influence the Duke's actions, even, in the case of kelp rights, against the Duke's own personal desires.

Minor corrections are the omission of *and* in note 4, page 22, and *ensuring* for *ensueing* on page 149. The correction in the bottom line of the note on the inset Tirce map might have been more tidily done.

Mr. Cregeen is to be congratulated on his careful editing of these Instructions, and the next volume, covering Central Argyll and Kintyre, will be eagerly awaited.

A. FENTON

#### *Queen Street Publications*

##### (i) The Scottish National Portrait Gallery:

###### Occasional booklets

*The Royal House of Stewart.* 64 pp. 1958. 2s. 6d. *Scott and his Circle.* 64 pp. 1964. 3s. 6d. *The Jacobite Rising of 1715.* 32 pp. 1965. 3s.

###### Exhibition Catalogues

*Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland, 1480-1650.* 52 pp. 1959. *George IV in Edinburgh 1822.* 36 pp. 1961. *Sport in Scotland.* 20 pp. Undated [1962]. *The Scottish Domestic Scene.* 14 pp. 1963.

## (ii) The National Museum of Antiquities:

Exhibition notes, 1960-5

*Ploughs and Ploughmen of Scotland*. Exhibition leaflet for the Royal Highland Show. 1965. *The Recording of Crofts and Houses*. A Guide Questionnaire, by A. Fenton. 18 pp. Undated [1962].

The regular picture books of the Portrait Gallery give the visitor, cheaply, something to take home, and remind the native of the Gallery's resources. It is a pity that two out of the three are on such banal topics as a Jacobite rebellion and the house of Stewart, particularly since these are made the opportunity for delivering some more than doubtful history. The fighting of the '15 is competently dealt with but the political background is inadequate. On the Stewarts the remark that the greater part of the reign of Charles I "was dominated by the King's attempt to force Episcopacy on a reluctant nation" simply will not do. The house of Stewart is taken as excluding William III, which is a pity as it misses the revealing little bust attributed to Lorenz Strauch of Nuremberg, but includes the heavily face-powdered Maria Clementina Sobieska. Of course there are the juvenile portraits of the Jacobite claimants with their advertising copy skin tones. The omission of the later portrait of James Edward is a disappointment, but there is the excellent study of Charles Edward in middle age. This picture raises a puzzle: can the photograph in the pamphlet really have been taken before the days of panchromatic film, and if not, why are the tone values of the reds in it all wrong?

*Scott and his Circle* is an altogether happier collection, using the novelist to bring together an otherwise scattered group of studies, and backed by detailed knowledge of the literary and social connections of the period. The photographs are adequate except that that of Lockhart has managed to obliterate the background in the portrait by a bad choice of contrast.

The temporary exhibitions on Scottish life and work have fortunately followed the level of enterprise of the Scott pamphlet, and anyone who saw the queue at the entry to Mr Fenton's exhibition on *Ploughs and Ploughmen* at the Highland Show will realise that there is a demand for information and displays of this kind, and will support his plea for a bigger permanent site for these. If we had a big enough base there might still be time to salvage a fair-sized remnant of the material evidence of the economy of the past, and there is every reason why the

public should have as good a chance to study the ploughs and cheese presses of the nineteenth century as the weapons of the Romans. One day there might even be room for the tools of the "Stone Age" of mechanised farming, and when that happens I would recommend for incorporation the splendid pair of monster steam ploughs lying derelict on Doon hill.

ROSALIND MITCHISON

*An Interim Bibliography of the Scottish Working Class Movement.* Ed. Ian MacDougall. Scottish Committee, Society for the Study of Labour History. Edinburgh. 1965. 142 pp.

More than ten years ago the historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote, in an article on "The Fight Against War in Britain's History", that at present "we know too little of the rank-and-file Jacobins, fighting in the heart of the weavers', frame-knitters' and croppers' struggles in those years—men like the Baineses of Halifax and the Mealmakers of Paisley". Since then much has been added to our knowledge of British radicalism at its grass roots, most notably by Edward Thompson's studies of northern England, e.g. "Homage to Tom Maguire" (*Essays in Labour History*, ed. Briggs and Saville, 1960) and chapters of his *Making of the English Working Class* (1963). The latter book sets a standard of what must now be done for Scotland. We have to create from contemporary sources (trade-union records, newspapers, pamphlets, early social surveys, industrial songs, etc.) as complete a picture as possible of those events which left no person untouched in bringing industry into being as the prime mover in our lives, and of the way in which the ideas and social aims of our people changed in response to industrialisation. This is the heart and backbone of our history, and the working-class movement was one of the most conscious, and active, agents in the process. Yet as W. H. Marwick says in his Foreword to this new Bibliography, the latest histories of Scotland give scant attention to that movement. The index to G. S. Pryde's *Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day* (1962) has no entry under either "trade union" or "radicalism" (thirteen under liberalism), and his account of how the Scottish Reform Act came about, while full of legalistic detail, barely mentions the tremendous social stir which helped hasten the passing of the Bill and (probably more important) awoke thousands to what their rights were and how they might be won.

This Bibliography, then, though only a cyclostyled trailer for a forthcoming complete one, should lead to a new awareness of our past. Its range is already comprehensive, although each section will no doubt expand after more research. Each main industry in the trade-union movement has a section to itself, as have those non-militant "unions", the friendly societies. "Political Organisations" has sub-sections on the main parties, and the other sections are on organisations which united workers from different trades (e.g. trades councils, the Owenite movement, the co-operatives) and on the chief types of printed source (periodicals, including strike bulletins, and biographies).

Before reviewing the above I should point out that the second half of the Bibliography is less satisfactory, and only half-belongs to the subject. It is in fact a check-list of materials on non-Scottish working-class movements of which there are copies in Scotland. This too is worth having, yet in its present form there are gaps, some of them in the areas where we would most want to compare the English experience with the Scottish. It is not much use learning that we can get a copy of Otto Bauer, *Austrian Democracy Under Fire* (London 1934, 51 pp.) in the National Library, when the whole section on agricultural trade unions consists of three items—one county TU history, one autobiography, and an incomplete run of leaflets. Surely it is not the case that the Scottish copyright libraries lack the main book sources for the rural labour movement, e.g. Joseph Arch, *The Story of his Life, Told by Himself* (1897), E. Selley, *Village Trade Unions in Two Centuries* (1919), F. E. Green, *The English Agricultural Labourer 1870-1920* (1920), George Edwards, *From Crow Scaring to Westminster* (1922), Reg Groves, *Sharpen the Sickle!* (1949), and *The Memoirs of Josiah Sage* (1951). I suspect that areas I know less well are as scantily covered (the section on the Woodworkers, for example, omits one of the few key items for that trade, Stanley Harrison's *Alex Gossip*, 1962). The entire labour movement outside Scotland is a vast field, and perhaps the Scottish Committee should make it the subject of a separate check-list, or at least of a companion-volume which was brought out only after the Scottish movement had been definitively covered.

Probably no one (except Mr. Marwick) could presume to review the Scottish section authoritatively, since it breaks largely untouched ground. A check against the obvious standard works shows that the Bibliography is thorough in its listing of, for example, periodicals hitherto drawn on only in passing by writers

of general histories. The major trade unions, especially in textiles, and other movements, especially the co-ops., are so fully covered that it looks as though their definitive history could now be worked out. It is very useful that each main trade is preceded by a brief account of how its unions came into being and grew, usually by amalgamation. Much of the material is, of course, raw—its significance will come out when it is written up; but even as it stands the Bibliography is revealing. One can gauge from it the false starts and later milestones in the life of the unions; and at purely bibliographical level it is worth knowing that, for example, so much of Robert Owen's work was published and current inside Scotland.

My remaining points all concern gaps, which seems the most constructive kind of criticism one can make of an interim and pioneering work. First: some key papers, already known to researchers, are not given, notably Keir Hardie's *Miner* (founded 1887), the *Weavers' Journal*, which strove to work out a scientific-socialist point of view as early as the 1830's, and the *Liberator*, a revolutionary Chartist paper in which the Cotton Spinners' Union invested £1,000 (Johnston 1920: 246 and n. 3, 307). Secondly: some key sources published outside Scotland are not given, notably government reports which include facts on working-class organisation as well as on social conditions, e.g. the two Reports of the Committee on the Petitions of the Cotton Weavers (1808, 1809), the Reports of the Committee on Artisans and Machinery (1824), and the Assistant Handloom Weavers' Commission Report (1839). The earlier of these have crucial material on the struggle of the artisans to keep up their livelihood, in face of factory competition, by invoking the old powers of the law to fix wage rates, as do some pamphlets mentioned by the Webbs as being in the Goldsmiths' Company Library at the University of London (Webb 1920: 58 n.). Thirdly: we do not get as full a coverage as we might of left-wing parties in the later nineteenth century. The main spear-head groups—Scottish Land and Labour League, Socialist League, and Social Democratic Federation—get only three entries, under the Aberdeen and Edinburgh branches. Yet manifestoes and annual reports of, for example, the Glasgow Socialist League have already been quoted by Edward Thompson, who drew on the Amsterdam International Institute of Social History and J. F. Horrabin's collection of socialist handbills (Thompson 1955: e.g. 514-5). Glasgow was one of the biggest branches in Britain. At one stage branches were



springing up all over eastern Scotland (*op. cit.* 528, 557). A passage from the 1887 Manifesto typifies the spirit and quality of these Scottish working-class records: "*When the Miners resolve to demand an advance, let it be understood that, should it not be conceded, every riveter would lay down his hammer, every joiner his plane, every mason his trowel. . . . One day, or at most two days, of this paralysis would bring the holders of capital and spoilers of labour to their senses and their knees.*" Finally: we must hope that the complete Bibliography will discover some sources on the militant farm workers. At present there is a gap in primary sources between 1816 and the twentieth century. Yet both Marx (Marx 1906: 278 n. 3) and Tom Johnston (Johnston 1920: 355-6) give glimpses of the stir in the countryside from the middle-nineteenth century onwards.

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DAVID CRAIG

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# Scottish Studies

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PART TWO

1966

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

# Scottish Studies

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University of Edinburgh*

**10**

PART TWO

**1966**

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# ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND\*

## II: EAST COAST FISHING

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J. Y. Mather

In this article I wish to set out some selected items from the results of a tentative and very incomplete lexical investigation which I was able to pursue, in the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, at the same time as my formal phonological fieldwork. Work on the Survey's phonological questionnaire, which aims at eliciting vowel and consonant systems by means of direct and personal contact with informants, can obviously be the occasion for the study of much else of dialectological interest; so that here, at least, the often vexed question of method (postal or personal) in linguistic geography does not necessarily arise. To have neglected the opportunity, and having in any case a certain predilection for the subject, would have been foolish and unnatural.

This is all the more cogent, because in the area in which the field-work was mainly concentrated—the coast and hinterland of eastern Scotland—it was still possible to find men in fishing communities who had followed their occupation within conventions uninfluenced by subsequent, and very radical, developments in their lifetime—like the rise of steam or motor power in place of sail, or the widespread and specialised use of the seine-net in place of lines, especially small-lines. This is not simply antiquarianism or even romanticism. It is, or at least it is considered to be, the conservative and stable background against which certain territorial distributions in vocabulary can be displayed. This point was also made in the first article in this series (Mather 1965:130).

Several observers of the contemporary scene on the east coast of Scotland at the beginning of last century found its conservatism both complete and depressing (Anon. 1842:296;

\* The first article in this series appeared in *Scottish Studies* 9: 129-44.



Anon. 1841:229; Miller 1844); but, significantly, Hugh Miller found a liberalising influence from an unexpected source: "Great, however, as is the *vis inertiae* of this portion of our population, there exist levers powerful enough to move them.... We mean the Herring Fishery" (Miller 1844:345). The herring fishery had "not been regularly plied on the East Coast of Scotland, if we except Caithness, beyond the commencement of the present century". But now, "there are few professions less mechanical than that of our herring-fishers; and its ceaseless, ever-varying demands on their ingenuity cannot be other than favourable in developing the intellect of a class, whose mental faculties, when engaged in the round of their ordinary labours, rust for want of exercise" (Miller 1844:348).

What Hugh Miller here terms "developing the intellect" appears, perhaps more reasonably in our contemporary idiom, simply as the abandonment of older conventions and the adoption of new. But, even in the size and style of fishing craft he believed that there was a concomitant development along with the "intellect" of its crew. This applied especially to the development of the herring-boat. "The herring-boat", he wrote, "is commonly a distinct concern from the white-fishing boat. The one may have undergone no change in its style of equipment for ages; it may have been stereotyped like its crew" (*op. cit.*: 346). In this reflection, I believe, Hugh Miller somewhat overstated his case; but since my own studies cover both small-line (white-fish) and drift-net (herring) fishings, it occurred to me that for a single, and limited, article I might concentrate on one or two features of the development of the boats and gear for the herring fishery only (bearing in mind, but not always explicitly criticising, what Hugh Miller said about it) as the nucleus of a much wider study. I am, in fact, at present engaged in formulating some of these wider aspects, with the idea of including other, correlative, studies in a general, but I hope new, descriptive essay for the east coast of Scotland.

The essay will also, I hope, supplement the larger lexical work at present being prepared for publication by the Linguistic Survey. One new development, within the British Isles, which has very recently been discussed, has been the possibility of devising a fishing questionnaire in order to elicit information from all round our coasts (Wright 1964:27). In such a development the Linguistic Survey of Scotland can be expected to put forward its own particular contribution. One major

difficulty, for a field as wide as the British Isles (or even the North Sea) is the problem of *comparable* material, or what Arnold Toynbee in another connection has called "an intelligible field of study". In this problem, it is probable that small-line fishing and drift-net fishing will offer a sound initial approach. It is of crucial importance at the outset to try to examine techniques—especially boats and gear—in order to abstract whatever constants appear to be useful, and to try to exploit these in a regular questionnaire. Otherwise, no unified study is likely to ensue, but only a mass of material which will be almost impossible to set out in any coherent form. Unfortunately, the material presented here is extremely incomplete, owing to the necessarily opportunist and unsystematic way in which it was gathered. Thus, the main concentration is from Avoch in Easter Ross to Eyemouth in Berwickshire, but even here there are wide gaps. Orkney and Shetland can be regarded as a special case—a noteworthy and significant reflection in itself. Caithness and East Sutherland I have not yet been able to study sufficiently satisfactorily for the present purpose. For a few places between Gourdon and Peterhead I have made use of some of William Grant's early notes which Mr. Murison of the Scottish National Dictionary has put at my disposal.

Although linguistic geography addresses itself to particular, limited, and often internal problems (it is even prepared to limit itself to one word at a time), some of its exponents have stressed its contribution to, and dependence on, other disciplines (McIntosh 1952:20ff; 1954:173; Weinreich 1954:388). Weinreich, for example, has spoken of "external dialectology" and has developed the notion that "even more impressive results are being obtained in correlating the borders, centres, and overall dynamics of language areas with 'culture areas' in a broader sense" (Weinreich 1954:397).

It is not the purpose of this article to consider this expressly and in detail, but in the wider task of working over the phonological material already collected for the east coast it will obviously be impossible to ignore completely the sort of correlations which Weinreich has suggested. His type of approach is not, of course, universally accepted. Stankiewicz, for instance (1957:46) has summed up the commonest objection—which in fact we have also touched on in stressing the need for a conservative background—in these words: "The use of extra-linguistic criteria, which are by no means better definable than the linguistic criteria, introduces new variables in the study of

dialects which are likely to obscure and to conflict with the results obtained by linguistic methods". Furthermore (this again was emphasised in the first article), it is not usually possible to present such complete and demonstrably integrated *structures* for words as it is for sounds. Eventually, in my more fully coordinated description, I hope that structural phonological schemata will be given, grouped and critically considered. But the crucial problem will not be the demonstration of, say, a 12-vowel system in Shetland *versus* a 9-vowel system in Berwickshire, but the relative value of these within a wider descriptive statement, and the relative value of whatever we can make of the lexical and cultural evidence. Can *this* also be structured? And if not can it be of equal, or comparable, value? "Ein wanderndes Wort" wrote Gauchat in an image celebrated in linguistic geography, "gleich dem Fremden, der sich irgendwo einnistet, wo es ihm gefällt; ein wandernder Laut klopft nur bei Verwandten an" (Gauchat 1903:377).

It is, of course, not quite impossible to discover a lexical structure. For example, the word "propellor" is, so far as one can judge, simply an *addition* to the particular vocabulary of a Scottish fisherman. It has been added as a new word (because of a new *thing*) and has displaced nothing in his technical vocabulary. It has called for no structural *adjustment*. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that where (as happened last century—see Dade 1934:206) a number of small Scottish east coast luggers were bought by Scarborough fishermen and called "keel-boats" to distinguish them from the native Yorkshire "cobles" (considered, but only implicitly, to be boats *without* keel), that this was not simply addition but structural alteration. For if Dade's assertion is true that the Scarborough men did particularly designate these imported boats, the trigger effect within the vocabulary was to make *explicit* a word for boat *without* keel ("coble") as well as a boat *with* keel ("keel-boat").

However, even if discussion of considerations such as these is to be waived for the present, it must at least be possible at this stage to set out some of the results of my lexical investigation with a minimum of critical apparatus, but on the clear understanding that they can be correlated in due course, and as critically as may be, with phonological or cultural data. On this present occasion also, we must waive all discussion on the nature of the relationship between "words" and "things". Hence, some endeavour will be made to try to describe

processes and apparatus rather than to attempt definitive interpretation, which in any case, because of its unevenness, the material is often not yet ready to bear.

Nevertheless, since even obvious and elementary discussion is always interpretation, there is one feature of the material presented here which might be anticipated. It is that we shall not always find diversity of territorial distribution, but sometimes uniformity. In the terminology in the rig of a sailing-drifter, for example, there seems to be no diverse distribution for the words "tie" and "burton". Yet, for a particular manoeuvre executed by shifting the tack of the foresail—to be described in due course—there is a considerable diversity of lexical usage. It may be that, in discussing and assessing the uniformity of "tie" and "burton" we can use this collected, synchronic, evidence in a *diachronic* interpretation, by noting the relative stage at which the thing, or the technique, makes its appearance. If so, we must see what extra-linguistic—in this case historical—evidence can be brought to bear. It can be argued, in any case, that not all parts of a boat—hull, sails, rigging—have grown together *equally*. It is very common, for instance, for an imported type of sail or rig to be used on an indigenous hull. This, I believe, is true of Orkney in the "firthie" (*sc.* "Moray Firth") rig. It is also true (LeBaron Bowen 1953:82) of the Arab lateen sail on Arab and Indian hulls in the Indian Ocean and on Egyptian, Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish and French hulls in the Mediterranean. Indeed, LeBaron Bowen affirms that "the sail is one of the most easily diffused cultural traits known to man".

Finally, the interpretation of diversity or uniformity might sometimes be shown to depend on the notion that neither has an "objective" existence, but is created by a point of view. Thus, in the nineteenth century a very professional observer like Holdsworth (he was Secretary to the Royal Sea Fisheries Commission) was able to observe, quite emphatically, that "In the general style and rig of the fishing boats used in Scotland there is a much greater uniformity than on the English coast" and to ascribe this to the fact that, in Scotland, there is a "general absence of deep-water harbours, and the consequent restriction in the size of the boats which can be conveniently employed" (Holdsworth 1874:276); yet he could also observe that although "there is little difference at first sight in the appearance above water of the general run of Scotch fishing boats—there are many distinctions below the water-line"

(*op. cit.*: 211) and, furthermore, "on part of the Banff line of coast a boat locally called the 'scaith' is in use. It is altogether unlike the rest of the Scotch fishing boats . . ." (*op. cit.*: 293). Very recently, the same sort of dualist viewpoint has been hinted at by P. F. Anson. Thus, in fisher dress, "even trousers had their local distinctions. In some communities the flap was square shaped; in others the sides were slightly rounded off" (Anson 1965:31). Yet, on the other hand, Mr. Anson has stressed a general *uniformity* in dress among fishermen; "clothes—regarded as symbolic standards of multitudes united together in the same calling" (*op. cit.*: 27; cf. Bertram 1873:299).

### *Boats*

I turn now to the examination of those aspects of boats and gear, and the techniques of sailing and fishing, together with the relevant words used on the east coast which form the bases of this study. I begin with the boats themselves.

The Norse provenance of east coast boats has been very generally asserted, and it is not part of the purpose of this article to discuss it in detail. But the conclusion of E. W. White in his Handbook of the Science Museum's collection of fishing-boat models, must be fairly stated: "Despite considerable research, it is not at present possible to trace development of the fishing craft of the mainland earlier than 1849 when, in that year, an elaborate report by Washington was presented to Parliament" (White 1952:I 44).

Holdsworth's views have already been noticed. To these can be added the positive statement of James Thomson, writing twenty years or so before him, that in the larger herring-boats, at least, there were two types: the "south built" and the "west built" (Thomson 1849:51). Thomson was Washington's contemporary—his book appeared in the same year as Washington's Report—and the two general types he gives can also be extracted from the evidence published by Washington. Buckie, Cullen, Portessie are "west", and Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Newhaven (especially) are "south". (To this day "east the coast" and "west the coast" are common directives and consciously held divisions, in the Moray Firth; and the "south firth" is the Firth of Forth.)

Now, Holdsworth's uniformity and Thomson's diversity might both be regarded as "true" if we suppose uniformity means fidelity to a generally Norse style, and diversity a concentration on a particular *stage* of its development. This

supposition would imply that the "west" type is considered to be conservative because it adheres more strictly to the Orkney North Isles Yole (full beam and raking stems)—although we can also suppose that this type is itself a liberal development from the archaic Shetland Ness Yole, or even more, the Fair Isle skiff; and the "south" type less conservative because of the development of particular features (finer lines for'ard and straight stems).

None of this, of course, solves precise problems in the origin, development, or differentiation of "south" or "west" types. H. C. Folkard, who wrote on the subject in the middle of last century, seemed to imply a solution on *racial* lines. The "south" type, he considered, was "always manned by a race of people descended from the Scandinavian colonies established in many parts along the eastern coast of Scotland". He even hinted at the main topic of our present study, for "the language spoken by these men quite confounds our south of England countrymen". On the other hand, the "west" type ("differing from the others both as to construction and rig") is manned by "a distinct race from the others, being exclusively Celts". And in fact, "the others would deem it a derogation of their creed to have a Celt among the crew in one of the first described luggers, whilst it would be equally so on the part of the Celts to carry a Scandinavian in their boats" (Folkard 1863:32).

This colourful point of view is possibly more reasonable and certainly more up to date than it appears. For there is no real argument against *any* descriptive marker, provided this can be reasonably sustained. We must treat of the *net* (to use Wittgenstein's rather appropriate figure) and not of what the net contains. The dichotomy which Folkard seems anxious to present may, also, have a dialectological basis; and we shall, in this present study, find several reasons for marking off a west-east division in the Moray Firth. Furthermore, a demographic study of the nature and composition of some of the deliberately introduced settlements of fishermen in particular places, and their linguistic correlates, will, I believe, prove to be rewarding, and I hope to conclude this series of articles by a study on these lines. At the moment, however, we must return to the specific facts presented to Washington at his public enquiry. Already, in the "south" types, like the Newhaven boat and the Fraserburgh boat, Washington had conceded, out of much that was extremely critical, that "rather less rounding" (i.e. as compared with the "Buckie boat") was a commendable

feature (Washington 1849). And by "Buckie boat" is meant the immediate descendant of Holdsworth's "scaith" which is so "altogether unlike the rest of the Scotch fishing boats" (*vid. ante*, Holdsworth 1874:293). It is the conservative "west" type.

All were, of course, open boats. This is important in considering their history, for it is most probable that they were developed for the herring fishing in point of size *only*, with all other features intact. This, certainly, is only conjectural history, but the consistent conservative argument against any form of deck, or even half-deck, which is revealed in the evidence from fishermen in Washington's Report makes it more than likely that other features were left unchanged too. In fact, even the development of size was hardly won. Mr. Kearney White of the Fraserburgh coastguard thought that boats ought to be bigger, decked, and cutter-rigged. (This last was revolutionary—east coast fishing-boats, of course, were, and remained, luggers.) Mr. Stephen, fisherman, replied: "We consider that the boats cannot be made any larger". Mr. White was then forced to remark: "Yes, but you thought so some years ago, when they were smaller than they are now, and when those who proposed to make them a few inches bigger were laughed at; and yet you in Fraserburgh were among the first to add two feet to your boats" (Washington 1849:46).

This development in size seems to have a direct linguistic reflex. We must notice presently some of the different names for the smaller boats, but the name "big boat" (or "boat", simply) is undifferentiated and universal. Of course, the names "Zulu" and "Fifie" appear for the corresponding "west" and "south" types (*i.e.* as developed in size mainly, although the "Zulu" has not *all* features of the traditional west type, but is a compromise). These names are chiefly used, however, in opposition to each other, and especially as territorial markers. (The territorial distribution is roughly the same as for the "west" and "south" types already given.) But, as a differentiation within the economy of a given fisherman—who, with the great expansion of the herring-fishery in the nineteenth century might possess, or share, both a "big" and a "small" boat—the name "big boat" applied universally to the herring boat.

It is not possible to maintain, however, that the use of the term is absolutely coincident with the gradual *specialisation* of east coast fishermen, culminating eventually in the undifferentiated herring fishing of the steam-drifter on the one

hand, and the modern seine-netter on the other. George Hutcheson (1887), referring to the internal economy of a crew at the beginning of the nineteenth century at Buckie, observed that the largest size of boat (which invariably belonged to the laird, not the crew) was for great-line fishing. The economy was, therefore, quite unspecialised, and a crew might have three sizes of boat at its disposal: a small type, probably of 15-20 feet keel for inshore fishing; a second type for haddock and herring fishing, of 28-32 feet keel; and the larger great-line boat.

In nomenclature, Hutcheson's division is simply into "boats" and "yawls". This may be a somewhat normalised division, or it may refer to a situation outside the experience and the memory of my informants, but I did not myself find the term "yawl" *consistently* remembered in a specialised professional way, from Kincardineshire to Morayshire. It was, however, given for Pennan, and for the *smallest* type at St. Combs, and these may be special, and perhaps defining, cases in that the fishing is there wholly decayed. Boddam gave "winter yole" as a secondary definition for "sma' boat". Aberdeenshire and the East Neuk of Fife gave "baldie"; Buckie and Cullen "halflin' boatie"; Cairnbulg, Inverallochy and St. Combs "sma' boat"/sma bet/;<sup>1</sup> Kincardineshire, Angus, Morayshire, Easter Ross, "yole" or "yolie".

The information from St. Combs is obviously interesting, for it seems to reflect the same situation as Hutcheson's three types at Buckie. This situation may, in fact, have been fairly widespread in the Moray Firth, but I have not yet sufficient information, either linguistic or material to define its limits. Sixty years or so ago, my informant at St. Combs told me, there was a three-man boat (the "yole"), a six-man boat (the "sma' boat"/sma bet/) and the "big boat"/big bet/. All existed contemporaneously—the older men generally preferred to go in the "yoles" to a less arduous type of fishing. Boddam, too, told me of this pattern. My informants at Cairnbulg, however, said they did not use the term "yole"; and at Gamrie the 24 feet haddock boat was called a "skift". White (1952:II 33) confirms this for the whole of Banffshire: "Boats or Yawls employed for small-line fishing—in Aberdeenshire—were called 'Baldies' and in Banffshire 'skiffs'." Further west—Lossiemouth, Hopeman, Burghead, Avoch, Cromarty—I found the division was simply, and it seemed quite unequivocally, "Yole" (or "Yolie")/"Big Boat".



The "halflin' boat" of Buckie and Cullen corresponds to the "baldie" elsewhere. There seems little doubt that the "baldie" is a development of a boat of intermediate size, partially decked, and often carvel built, from the "south" type of open boat— itself, as we have noticed, a particular development from a Norse original. This category of *intermediate* size, therefore, appears to fit in with the name and category "sma' bet" of Cairnbulg, St. Combs, Inverallochy, Boddam. The "baldie", it is to be observed, is the immediate ancestor of the "big", fully developed "Fifie". The name does not appear in "west built" (subsequent "Zulu") territory. As we have just seen, the name "halflin' boatie" is used at least in Buckie and Cullen.

There is one fairly simple and clear-cut marker within the terminology for parts of boats which can be conveniently introduced at this point. This is the word for "fo'castle". For our present purpose (considering an open "scaffie" of approximately one hundred years ago as a datum) this will be understood to refer to a very small space for'ard which is decked over to provide both shelter and stowage. This can be variously called "bunk" (Arbroath, Cullen, Buckie, St. Monance); "den" (Avoch, Hopeman, Burghead); "housie" (Findochty) and "huddock" (Crawton). The western corner of the Moray Firth is thus clearly marked off with the word "den". "Housie" at Findochty (which also very commonly simply says "fo'castle") is rather noteworthy, in that there are one or two other instances there of this "non-dialect" type of word. Indeed, my informant (*aet.* 84) was very conscious of this and emphasised it as a defining characteristic. Thus in the collocation (corresponding to a particular sailing technique) "take the tack to the hook", it is *this*, which seems to be its simplest form, which is the Findochty version of a variety of much more recondite substitutes for the last word, "hook". (These words will be given in due course.) And similarly for a particular operation in small-line fishing, Findochty uses the common English word "grapple" for other varieties like "creep" or "graid".

It seems that to qualify for any of the designations "bunk", "den" etc., the thing itself must necessarily be for'ard. In the later "Fifies" and "Zulus", for example, when living accommodation was arranged aft, these words seem to have been abandoned as the word "cabin" came into use. But if this description by position is accepted, the word "huddock" for the Crawton is possibly a little strange. In this form the word was very commonly used for the cabin of a Tyne keel, which

was certainly aft (see R. O. Hislop in Wright: 1898 *s.v.* "huddock": and Viall 1942:160). Jakobsen (1928) gives both "hoddek" and "horek" for the stern compartment of a boat. (Phonetically, it is entirely feasible that these two forms should occur.) In the form "horek" the most obvious usage is the aftermost of the commonly-named parts of a Shetland sixareen (beginning from for'ard)—fore-head, fore-room, mid-room, ouse-room, shott and hurrock (sometimes, kannie). In *Patience*, Jonah is represented as going, for fear of the storm

In-to þe boþem of þe bot, & on a brede lyggede,  
Onhelde by þe hurrok . . .

and Gollancz, commenting on this, thinks that "hurrock" may be "some detachable portion of the vessel, not an integral part of it" (Gollancz 1924:40; but see also Bateson 1918:26). I am not sure that this detachable portion has ever been satisfactorily explained, but at least there was within living memory a detachable thwart aft on open boats, often called the "slip thaft" (in Orkney the "lin") which had the advantage of making more room in this, the *working* part of the boat. The history of this ought certainly to be examined. It is also worth noticing here that my information from Arbroath gave: "He's sitting in the thurrock" as the formal collocation to designate the duty of the man whose turn it is to take the fish from the hooks, in the general division of labour in the boat. Gamrie gave "he's sitting in the thaftie" (for the form "thurrock" see Gollancz *op. cit.*:41).

However, "huddock" in whatever position need cause no real concern, for there is a parallel situation where merchant seamen, at least, continued to speak of "fo'castle" long after its traditional position was transferred aft, and, indeed, until the whole idea of *common* living quarters for seamen fell into desuetude.

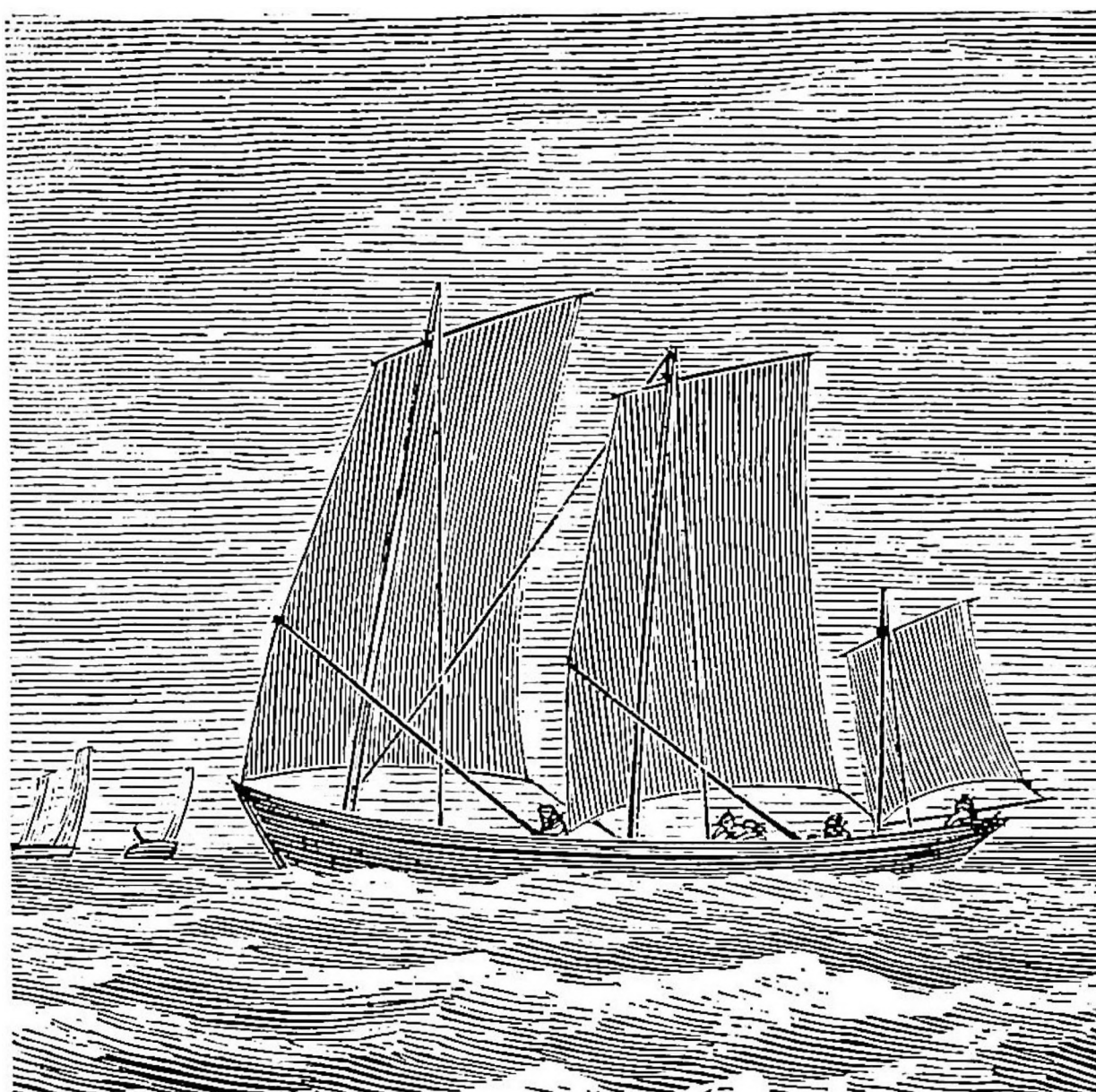
On fishing vessels, especially those engaged in small-line fishing with obviously specialised duties which resulted, as we have just seen, in formal and almost ritual collocations, the various named portions of the boat were very widely and functionally used in actual working. Such usages exist to-day only very vestigially. Grant's notes of fifty years ago show a general understanding of the common designations for the position of oarsmen, as "forinfit-air", "esterinfit-air" etc. Nowadays, informants know nothing of this. Even the working words for "starboard" and "port" ("forin" and "esterin") are

hardly remembered. Of these traditional working words I found "foreroom" at St. Monance for the space immediately abaft the "fo'castle"; and "fore-hole" at Gamrie.

### *Rig*

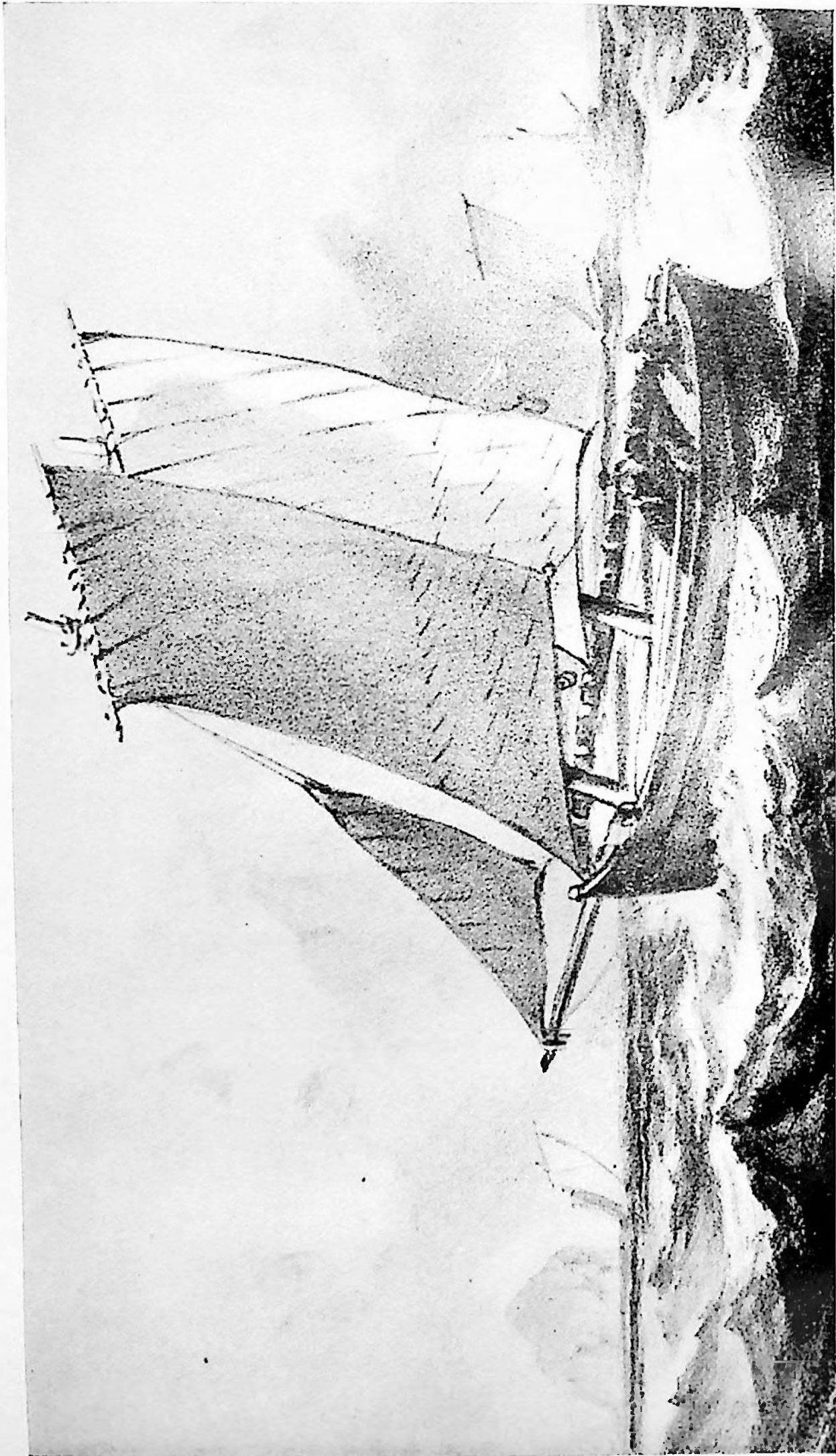
I turn now to some features of rig. The dipping-lug was, and remained until the final disappearance of sail altogether, the characteristic rig for fishing vessels on the Scottish east coast. Occasionally in the nineteenth century, some experiments were made with smack-rig (i.e. with gaff instead of yard), often with an appeal to handiness and even safety, but these experiments made no steady advance and left no decided influence on vocabulary. Yet, in spite of this general uniformity in rig there was one broad division which old sail-boat men may yet be heard to speak about, viz., the high-peaked sails of the Moray Firth and the noticeably squarer sails of the coast from Peterhead southwards. (This, of course, is roughly the "west/south" or "Zulu/Fifie" division.) The descent of this north country type of sail is undoubtedly from the "Scaffie" (Holdsworth's "Scaith") which, with its shorter keel, required a considerable breadth in the foot of the sail, with a higher peak to balance, in order to keep the boat to the wind.

Folkard who, as we have seen, had positive views about the manning of east coast vessels also had positive views about their rig. In the "south" type, which is rigged with two masts, "the longest or main-mast is placed forward and within a foot or two of the stem, and raking slightly aft: on this mast the main lug-sail is set. The mizzen-mast and sail are small in comparison with the wide spread of canvas forward" (Folkard 1864:32). But the "west" boats "carry larger sails than the others, which are placed exactly the reverse—the small sail being placed forward and the large or main-lug aft". For the "west" type, at least, this is confirmed in a lengthy note on boats and fishing in the First Statistical Account for Avoch (1795), where after mentioning the "immense oblong sail" on the mainmast, the writer adds that there is "a foresail besides, on a pole at the boat stem, of the same oblong form, but only a tenth part of the size of the other". This is certainly not what Holdsworth saw (but he was writing twenty years after Folkard and eighty after the Statistical Account) and he adds his Plate XIII to his text, so that there can be no doubt. What he *does* say is that his "scaith" has three masts: "She carries a mizzen in addition to the fore and main lugs; and with poles



A Moray Firth "Scaith" of c. 1870  
Detail of engraving, Holdsworth, *Deep-Sea Fishing and Fishing Boats*  
(See page 141)

PLATE VI



“Newhaven Deeked Fishing Boat off the Bass”, c. 1864  
Lithograph from J. M. Mitchell, *The Herring—its Natural History and National Importance*  
(See page 141)

rigged up to act as bow-lines, she has the quaint appearance represented by the distant boat in Plate XIII" (Holdsworth 1874:294. See Plate V, which shows the boat he refers to). Yet, however quaint, it is obvious that the fore and main lugs are not at all as Folkard described them. Hugh Miller, writing ten years before Folkard, declared that he had already seen the disappearance of the small foresail: "When two lug-sails have been used for centuries, as in the Moray Firth the one of small size on a short foremast, the other large and unwieldy, on a mainmast nearly thrice as tall, the foresail is seen gradually to become larger, the mainsail smaller, until in about ten or

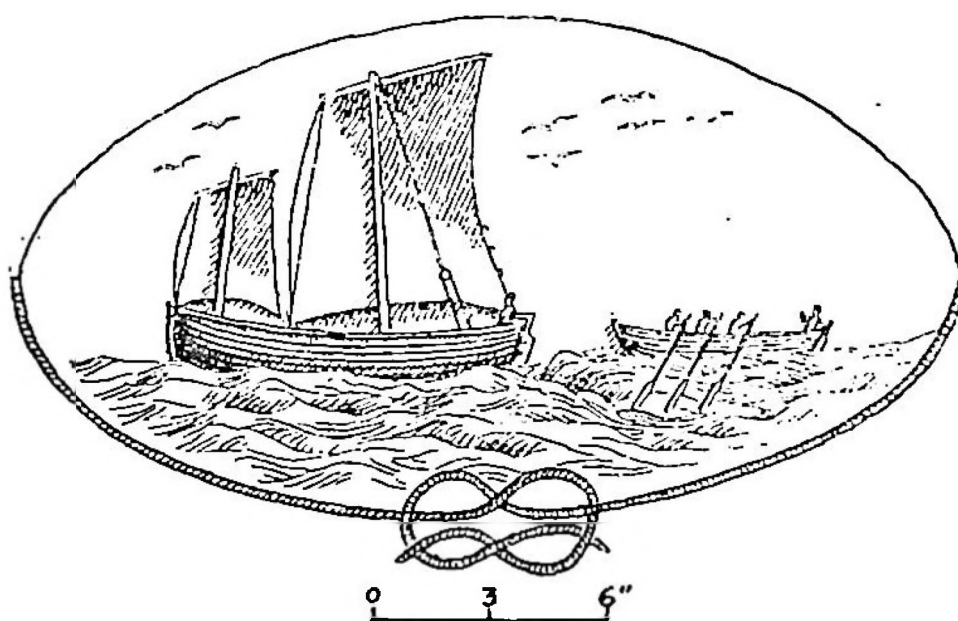


FIG. 1.

fifteen years the two masts and sails come to be of nearly equal size and there is a third sail added on a sort of outrigger astern" (Miller 1844:347). Now, there is a kirkyard monument, dated 1811 (thirty years before Miller wrote) at Bervie (Kincardineshire) to Andrew Watt, "some time white fisher in Gourdon", which shows a boat with a very small foresail and a large mainsail (Fig. 1). If this is really a true, and local, representation rather than a generalised artistic conception, the type of boat is either well out of the area in which Folkard said it ought to appear, or he is writing too late to have remembered an *earlier* "south" type. By 1864 there was undoubtedly a developed "south" type, for in this year John M. Mitchell's book on the herring fisheries appeared which included a lithographed drawing by J. R. Prentice showing a "Newhaven Decked Fishing Boat off the Bass", with two lug-sails and jib (Plate VI). The main-mast is stepped very obviously amidships and there is no striking difference between the foresail and mainsail,

although close inspection shows that the foot of the former is somewhat longer (Mitchell 1864:297).

The main interest in all this for our present purpose, is that there is some correlative *linguistic* evidence to support the proposition that both "south" and "west" types must have had some form of small foresail at some point in their development. Folkard said of the "south" type that "the longest, or main-mast is placed far forward. . . ." But it was never—and is never—so *called*. Even though its size shows that it is obviously the "main" mast, it was always called the *foremast* and carried the *foresail*. And this usage continued, quite uniformly I believe, in the area I investigated. In fact, the name "mainsail" disappears and we are left with "foresail" and "mizzen"—which is the linguistic reflex of the situation which Holdsworth observed where there were *three* masts, "fore", "main" and "mizzen".

Now let us consider what, in general nautical parlance, is called the *traveller*. This is a strop of rope, or a hinged ring of iron, encircling the mast, to which the yard is attached. (If the strop is of rope, it is usually protected against chafe by a series of *lignum vitae* balls. On the Shetland sixareen, it is very often a cow's horn.) The purpose of the traveller is to keep the yard close to the mast and yet permit free movement up and down. (See March 1952:p. 21, fig. 6. Also, what appears to be a rather primitive type is to be seen in Plate VI of this present article.) In my investigation, I found it was variously called "rack", "parrel" or "parley", "cranse", "grommet", "sweel" and "traveller".

In order both to understand these variations and to comment on their distribution, it is necessary to describe the process of lowering and dipping the yard which an east coast fishing vessel (by definition, a *dipping* lugger) must necessarily do when going about. Briefly, in going from one tack to the other the yard must be lowered and re-hoisted on the opposite side of the mast (i.e. the new lee side). There are two ways of doing this—either to lower the yard completely and pull it aft, so that its fore end can come clear of the mast and so pass to the other side; or to push the yard for'ard—at the same time peaking it up considerably, which in common sea-language is called "cock billing"—so that its after end comes clear. It is necessary in the first method (and, of course possible, for the yard is lowered) to unhook the yard from the traveller; in the second method, this is unnecessary provided the strop and hook

are swivelled. And in any case the yard is not lowered to the deck.

E. J. March (March 1952:20) has described three ways of going about with a dipping lug. His addition is a variation of the first method I have described. The yard is not lowered, but the halliards are slacked off sufficiently to allow the yard to swing round to the other side—but still round the *after* side of the mast. I have simply made a division—i.e. yard comes round the after side or fore side, of the mast. It is interesting, however, that March describes the fore side of the mast technique as “that adopted by West Cornishmen and the Royal Navy for boat work”. This method I have called “cock-billing”. To set a yard “a-cock-bill” is certainly “big ship” language—on a sailing vessel, in port, it was necessary to peak up the yards in this way to keep them clear of the holds, and this was also occasionally done, formally, as a sign of mourning—and the word is also very usually applied, by transference, to something not quite straight. In my investigation I found the *word* used in two places—Gamrie and Boddam—although the *technique* was understood universally. But if understood, it was not necessarily *practised* universally—or at least not practised within the memory of my informants.

This unequal memory-span (which could, of course, apply to the word as well as the technique) may be the clue to a fuller understanding of some of the complexities which this brief examination has revealed. Let us look at this more closely.

One of the concomitant problems in the increase in the size of fishing vessels was the increase in the weight of the yard, and this, in practice, meant that only the first of the two methods could be used (yard lowered and pulled aft). March (*ante*) noted that the other method was used for *boat* work, that is, with a light yard. The first method, in fact, was eventually made much easier when steam capstans came into use, which could be rigged with a handy tackle for the purpose. There was, in any case, a further complication—a heavy yard required a sixfold purchase which, unless the yard was lowered and the traveller unhooked, got a turn in it when passing from one side of the mast to the other. Apparently, about the same time as this increase in the size and weight of the yard, Buckie adopted the use of the *lignum vitae* balls on the strop. My informants on the Moray Firth, and especially at Buckie, regarded this as a characteristic “north” development, not to be found on “south firth” boats; and, certainly, an examination of the models of



east coast craft in the Royal Scottish Museum will show that the Newhaven boats shown there (dated *c.* 1880) have *not* the balls but the iron traveller. But there is no reason to suppose that Buckie *never* practised the “cock-billing” technique, even though it and the iron type of traveller are now, to my informants, generally associated with the “south firth”. In Buckie, it may have been discontinued relatively early because, as we have just observed, of the simple fact of increased size and weight. My East Neuk informants in Fife declared that eventually—early in this century perhaps—the balls *did* make their appearance in the Firth of Forth. For instance, my information from Crail is that the iron traveller itself is called the “parrel”/pərəl/ but the addition of balls makes it a “Buckie parrel”/bʌke pərəl/. St. Monance gave /pərəl/, simply, for this but “cranse” for the iron ring type. Information from William Grant’s notes gives “cranse”, “parrel” and “grommet” at Stonehaven (all presumably equivalent, but the types are not, unfortunately, specified precisely), but with “rack” given as “the oldest”. For Johnshaven, Grant noted “parrel” in common use (again, however, the note is not specific), with “rack not now used”. This type of information—“not now used”—obviously makes exact assessment very difficult for it, too, is contingent on memory span. We do not know, for instance, if “rack” was ever used in the Firth of Forth *just* because it is not remembered by an informant—and *a fortiori* because the thing *itself* has been replaced by something different. It is perhaps worth recollecting here that this is the same sort of difficulty which occurred in the first article in this series, where the Statistical Accounts were seen to be unreliable as evidence for the occurrence of the chaffinch, because writers were not *specifically* required to take note of it. This sort of difficulty is crucial for our assessment of: rope grommet, rope plus balls, iron plus swivel, cow’s horn.

My informants in Buckie and Lossiemouth gave no other possibility than “parrel”, or “parley”/parle/ as it is usually rendered. This was the strop with balls, and other forms of the *thing* (especially the iron ring) were understood to belong to other places—to the “south firth”, for instance, as we have already noticed. Boddam and Gamrie (who both spoke of “cock-billing”) both gave “parrel” *only*, as referring either to the iron ring or the balls. Only one place—Arbroath—gave a word which seemed to imply the necessity for a swivel in the “cock-billing” technique. This was the word “sweel”/swil/, as

applied to the iron ring, with the word "parrel" reserved for the "Buckie" type on the bigger boats—indeed on the "big boats" properly so called. At the Downies I found the word "traveller", and Grant's notes, incidentally, confirmed this. "Rack" or "rackie" (*cf.* O.N. "raki") is commonly used in Shetland and I found it also at Avoch, Hopeman, Cairnbulg, Ferryden and Portlethan for the rope strop with wooden balls. In these places "parrel" appears for the *iron* apparatus. This rather gives the impression that the rope grommet—the simplest and presumably the oldest form—has been furnished with balls and the name "rack" retained, and that the iron ring is newer or at least differentiated.

### *Uniformity and Diversity*

All this, however difficult its analysis, shows considerable diversity. We can turn at this point to consider the two important, and connected, items in east coast lug-rig which have already been mentioned (the "burton" and the "tie") and which, so far as I am aware, show only uniformity. The first is a form of backstay for the foremast and comprises a long pendant from the mast-head to which a luff-tackle (usually) is attached, for purchase. The second is part of the fore-halliards system and also comprises a long pendant (the "tie") which is rove through a sheave at the mast-head and thereafter is attached to the yard. The other end is attached to a six-fold purchase, which forms the halliards. It must be remembered that the vessels we are considering have no *standing* rigging and the burton and the halliards are deliberately used to stay the mast since they are made fast to the weather side on each tack. Hence, when going about, both have to be shifted to the new weather side. In the manoeuvre the mast stands momentarily with no stay whatever. The burton, incidentally, is brought into service, at this point, to support the yard when it is lowered, in the first of the methods we have already described, while the tie is unhooked.

I have said that my findings, at least so far, show that these words have no territorial variation. If it is argued that this uniformity is due to a relatively late borrowing both of word and thing from mercantile or naval usage, then it is worth pointing out something of their history in this connection. Carr Laughton (Laughton 1914:60) has argued that although the lug-sail itself may be fairly modern yet "the tie and halliard arrangement . . . is not peculiar to it, but, with unessential

differences, has been in use for square sails since at any rate the fourteenth century and probably much earlier. Also the tie when first met with was called the 'tie' or 'up tie'. Burton is undoubtedly a variant of Breton. Breton tackles . . . occur in many early inventories. "The original meaning of the term has for long been so far forgotten that such a variant as 'Spanish burton' has become possible." R. Morton Nance is of the same opinion (*op. cit.*: 93), but adds (from the evidence of the inventories of the *Regent*, 1487, and the *Sovereign*, 1495) that "brytton takles" were distinct from swifting tackles (to swift, is to set up taut, as for example, standing rigging with a tackle), and were almost invariably preventer shrouds. Hence—and we have already noted the use of the burton as a preventer backstay—"the fisherman . . . is probably nearer to the original meaning and is using the name applied by his ancestors to the backstays of their square rigged craft, for in Spanish *burda* still means a backstay, and in Dutch *perdoen* has the same meaning". However this may be, the immediate problem for us is to discover whether or not these words (and also words like "cock-billing") are borrowings into east coast fishing vocabulary. In any case some research into the rig, and the terminology of the rig, is clearly necessary.

The next item I wish to examine is a particular technique used only with a dipping lug. It is far from uniform and shows considerable local variation in its designation. The technique consists of taking the tack of the sail from the stem-head—where in a dipping lug it performs most efficiently, unless, for some purposes, it is taken to the weather bow—to a point considerably further aft, where it performs less efficiently, but efficiently enough for a particular and convenient purpose. It is convenient, for example, when beating up a narrow channel which calls for constant lowering and dipping, to limit this labour by converting the dipping lug into a temporary *standing* lug. This is done by the aforesaid technique of making the tack fast at a point somewhere between the foremast and the stem-head—usually just before the foremast. In East Anglia—where it is extensively practised because of narrow channels between sandbanks—it is called "setting the foresail a-monk". On the east coast of Scotland it is described by some final variation in the conventional formula: "take the tack to the. . . ." The final word can here be "stellum", "kratch", "breast", "fore-sheet brodd", "back o' the balk", "hook", "step", "grips", or simply "take the tack aft".

Most of these words refer ultimately to the structural arrangements of the open boat before decking. It may be, in fact, that closer study both of the words and their distributions will add to our knowledge of the evolution of some structural details, but in one word at least—the word “stellum”—I have not yet been able to arrive at a precise definition. I found it at the Crawton, Skateraw, the Downies, Ferryden, Crail and Cellardyke. At two places—Ferryden and the Crawton—my informants made it clear that the word referred to the hook *itself*, and not to the balk or thwart on which it was placed. The balk was, of course, of prime importance in strengthening and stiffening the boat in the way of the mast. Even after decking it was retained—*above* the deck, not below it. At the Crawton I elicited the expression “she took a stellum board” /ʃi tuk ə steləm berd/, meaning, “the boat missed stays”, but was unable to analyse it further. At Arbroath, an old informant (*aet.* 85) spoke of a “stellum board” /steləm berd/, as a fore-and-aft shifting board (as it would be called in the merchant service) about three feet high, which ran along the top of the keelson to prevent the catch of herring moving about in a seaway.

The taking of the tack to the balk, with no particular reference to a possible hook, is reflected in the expression “tack to the balk” /tek tə ðə ba:k/ which I was given at St. Combs, Avoch, and Hopeman; and “tack to the back o’ the balk” at Buckie and Lossiemouth. Findochty, as we have already particularly noticed, simply gave “tack to the hook”.

At one place only—Pittenweem—I was given the expression “tack to the fore-sheet brodd” /tek tə ðə fɔr ʃit brɔd/ and this peculiarity was noticed, and in fact pointed out to me, by other informants in the East Neuk of Fife—Crail, Anstruther, etc.—who themselves used “tack to the stellum”. It appears that in the oldest type of open boats remembered by my informants, there was a kind of small platform, raised up some six inches from the floor-boards, *for’ard*, and this was known as the /fɔr ʃit brɔd/. It seems that it might have been particularly useful in tending the fore sheet in a type of vessel with the mast stepped well for’ard. Can it be, then, a vestige of the *small* foresail, which as we have already seen, is historically attested? Further—at St. Monance the equivalent expression is “tack to the stap”, i.e. the mast-step, which is, by definition, at the foot of the mast and on the keel or, keelson, and at any rate *somewhere* near the same place as the “fore-sheet brodd”. In short, in an open boat, are we to understand that the technique we are

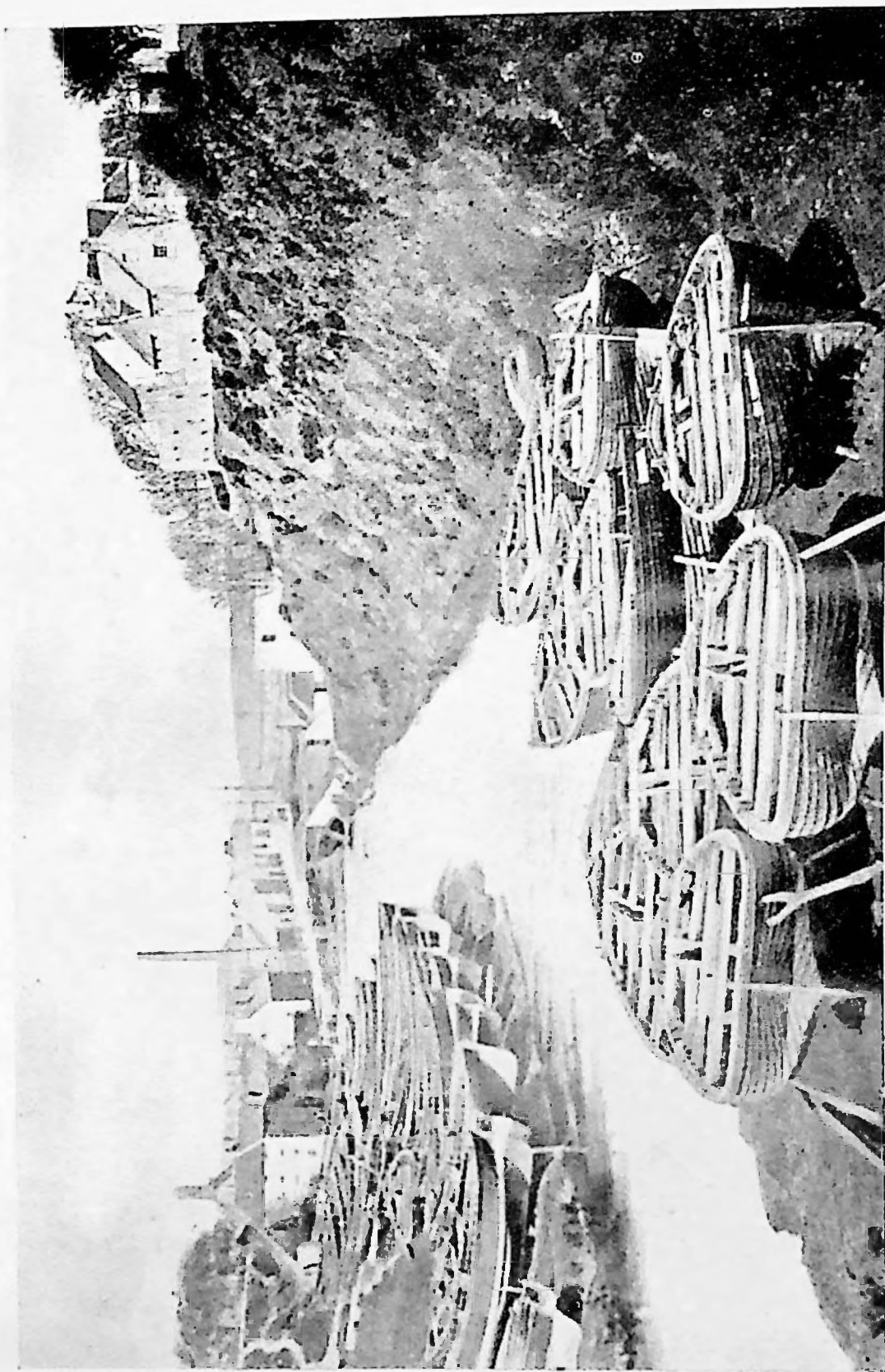
discussing involved making the tack fast at a point at least rather lower than a thwart?

### *Local Phonetic Development*

I have already suggested that all of these words can refer to particular structural features of the open boat; and that they were retained after decking. Thus, a word like "kratch", by its use in the expression "take the tack to the kratch hook", may be identified as a structural feature of this kind. It seems, on linguistic evidence alone, that this must be somewhere close to the foot of the foremast, and perhaps structurally associated with it. I now therefore wish to examine some details of construction of the point where the mast either enters the deck of a decked vessel, or meets the balk of an open vessel, together with the associated words. In both cases it is the means of achieving rigidity in the mast which is under consideration.

On very small open boats it is not usually necessary to keep the mast rigid by any means other than a clamp or wedge (or both) in the way of the balk at the point where the mast is supported by it. In the rather larger vessels with which we are concerned there is likewise no standing rigging. There is only, as we have seen, the burton and the halliards. Even *prima facie*, therefore, there is some necessity for a strengthening structural feature, and this, in fact, is to be found in open boats, in baldies, and skiffs, and in the fully developed "Fifies" and "Zulus". It takes the form of a close-fitting box which surrounds the mast from the deck (or balk) downwards to the keelson. The mast is, of course, free to move within the box if required—as in raising or lowering it for example—and the whole arrangement is usually freely lubricated with grease or soft-soap. It is known variously on the east coast as /pɛdləs/, /pɛtlədʒ/, /pɛrtlɔnz/, "skegs", "box", "fishings", "cheeks", "back skratch", "spails" and "staple". Plate VII is an early photograph (c. 1860) from McIver's *An Old Time Fishing Town: Eyemouth*. All the boats in the foreground show the top of the "box" very clearly.

In general nautical parlance the entire arrangement is usually spoken of as "the mast partners". Thus, Admiral Smyth's "Sailor's Word Book" (1867: *s.v.* Partners) defines it as: "A framework of thick plank, fitted round the several scuttles or holes in a ship's decks, through which the masts, capstans, etc. pass; but particularly to support it when the mast leans against it." The word /pɛrtlɔnz/ which I found was



Fishing vessels drawn up at Eyemouth, Berwickshire, c. 1860  
From Daniel McIver, *An Old Time Fishing Town: Eyemouth*  
(See page 148)

used in Lossiemouth is probably a version of "partners", /pɛrtnərz/. So also, very probably, /pɛdləs/ which is from Hopeman and Burghead, and /pɛtlədʒ/ which is from Avoch—although these are obviously somewhat more remote. From Burghead I obtained the additional information that /pɛdləs/ could be further qualified by the words "side" or "back" (or perhaps "balk"?)—thus /sɛɪd pɛdləs/ or /bɑ:k pɛdləs/, referring to the sides or the fore part of the box-like arrangement. This rather tends to confirm the supposition that /pɛdləs/ is, in fact, "partners", for the N.E.D. quotes Thearle *Naval Architecture* (1874) as saying (*s.v.* Partners): "The mast holes of a ship with wood beams are framed with a series of carlings termed fore and aft partners, cross partners . . .".

It is interesting to note that whatever *phonetic* explanation is given for /pɛdləs/, /pɛtlədʒ/, or /pɛrtlənz/ as a version of /pɛrtnərz/—e.g. the homorganic substitution of one alveolar consonant for another as [d] or [t] for [r], or [l] for [n]—these changes can be observed in a particular distribution, viz., Hopeman, Burghead, Avoch, Lossiemouth; and also that each version is institutionalised, in its own way, within a particular fishing community. Outside the western corner of the Moray Firth the words do not seem to be found, but this corner is precisely where a good deal of deliberate planting of Highland population, for the express purpose of prosecuting the fishing, took place. It is, therefore, another example of a distinctive usage for this area.

East of Lossiemouth none of the varieties of "partners" is to be found. Buckie and Findochty, for instance, gave "cheeks" (with the alternative "side balks" at Findochty). Cairnbulg gave "side skratch" or "back (balk?) skratch"; Boddam and Ferryden gave "box"; the Crawton, Gourdon and the Downies "side spails"; Arbroath, "fishings"; the East Neuk, "skegs"; but Cromarty, "staple".

It is perhaps worth remarking that "partners", in whatever version, may be a mercantile or naval borrowing in the same way as "cock-billing", "burton" and "parrel". If this is considered to be so, one outstanding problem is to determine which words, in general, are thus borrowed; and, in particular, at what stage in the development of east coast craft this took place. Was it only when the vessels became larger and the yard and mast became heavier? Or are the borrowings directly traceable to the annual East Anglian fishing? Or is the influence from the outside, for instance from the exploitation of the

fisheries by companies like the Northumberland Fishing Company, or Messrs. Falls of Dunbar? There is some account of the activities of these companies in Avoch in the First Statistical Account (Vol. XV, p. 627 n.); and in Buckie, with Selby and Co. of London also, in George Hutcheson (*op. cit.*).

One further marker will give another positive indication of the rather distinct area in the west of the Moray Firth which has already been noticed once or twice. This is the use of the word "corse" as referring to the top part of the sail after all possible reefs have been taken in. The citation in the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, dated 1614, is: "For XXV dussoun of canues to be cors and bonet of ane main sail . . .". This refers to two parts of a sail, with a detachable "bonet" for shortening sail. In the Scottish National Dictionary there is a citation from Banff, 1937, which says: "A fite squall cam' doon the Firth, an' we ran afor't wi' only the corse o' the sail". My information from Banffshire would certainly confirm this—Gamrie, for example, gave "doon tae the hinmost corse"—but west of Buckie the word seems not to be used. Indeed, it was considered to be a word used "east the coast". Thus, Hopeman, Burghead, Lossiemouth and Avoch spoke of "doon til the bowlin' ring", although Nairn gave the information that "corse" was very much used there. I have, at present, no further information for the use of this word from Fraserburgh southwards, but I have some cognate information on the words "reefs", "rings", "heads", as used in the technique of shortening sail. Shetland, it may be worth remembering, does not use the word "reef" in this connection. Hibbert's celebrated account of a voyage to the Haaf from a Feideland fisherman spoke of weather impossible to row in, so that it was necessary to "fit da mast and swift da sail" (Hibbert 1822:224). But, in another account of high endeavour at sea, which has now passed into the folk-literature of the Moray Firth, we read that on the sailboat *Glide* of Lossiemouth, "after the first shock, and when in a measure we had become somewhat accustomed to the darkness, the snow, the wind, and the sea, with great difficulty we gave our vessel two rings of the foresail". And later, "the sail was raised just the least degree possible—the 'eemost ring'" (J. Campbell 1893). It will be noticed first of all that—as coming from Lossiemouth—there is no mention of "down to the corse" here. The "rings" refer to the reef cringles, which are eyes worked into the luff and leech of the sail, which is then reefed down, as necessary, to any given pair. Sometimes the word



“heads” rather than “rings” is used, and although there are some places where either word seems to be acceptable (I noted the Crawton, the Downies, and Arbroath in particular) yet the western area of the Moray Firth seems quite positive with “heads” only, although the special collocation “doon til the bowlin’ ring” is used in the particular sense we have already noticed. Nairn, which seemed to be anomalous in the area in its use of “corse”, is nevertheless, in line with Hopeman, Burghead, Lossiemouth and Avoch for “heads”.

There is, finally, the category “reefs” instead of either “rings” or “heads”. Probably sufficient has already been said in other connections to make such a “non-dialect” category a reasonable expectation. Gourdon seems only to have “reefs” (together with expressions like “close-reefed”, etc.) and Grant’s notes confirm this. Cairnbulg gave “reefs” (but, “doon tae the bowlin’ ring”). So did Gamrie (but, “doon tae the hinmost corse”). Ferryden gave both “reefs” and “rings”.

This is as far as I propose to take the discussion at the moment. I have tried to state, rather than solve problems, and it may be that enough has already emerged out of the somewhat scattered material I have presented, to make this clear. I would stress my main general conclusion, which is that the inequality of development of craft and rig makes necessary very considerable refinement of method. Thus, to think like Hugh Miller of a great loosening of the bands of custom which emancipated men and boats together is much too simple. Yet, all we can ever say will, inevitably, be too simple. This is the judgment on all observation and interpretation. If we cannot escape it we can at least busy ourselves with multiplying such entities as seem most fitting—words, speech-sounds, artefacts, techniques, customs—and, even more important, try to erect these into some sort of seemly structure. It will be impermanent, but it is worth the attempt.

## NOTE

- <sup>1</sup> Type within oblique brackets signifies a phonemic transcription of the preceding orthographic rendering.

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# *DISTRIBUTION OF SURNAMES IN THE ISLE OF LEWIS*

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John L. Blake

Although the study of place-names has for many years provided valuable information on matters relating to the origin and growth of human settlements, comparatively little research has yet been carried out in respect of personal names. This is rather surprising because, despite their great variety, their overall frequency and distribution can often provide a useful indication of the extent and direction of past population movements. This is particularly so in areas where—as throughout most of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland—surnames have long had significant local connotations.

It would, of course, be dangerous to carry the analogy too far. In most cases the surnames in their present English form bear little or no historical relationship to the original Gaelic ones, each name often having been adopted by or conferred upon various minor tribes with widely varying Gaelic titles. With very few exceptions, such surnames have been stabilised in their present anglicised form only since parish ministers began to keep registers of baptisms and marriages towards the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, whereas a study of the distribution of place-names can shed light on matters such as, say, the extent of Norse penetration and settlement nearly one thousand years ago, any conclusions based upon the present distribution of personal names can only be valid for comparatively recent times.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, an analysis of the overall frequency and distribution of surnames can still produce interesting results. In the Isle of Lewis, for example, certain names are known to have been established in the island for several centuries, and in some cases it is even possible to trace their approximate time of arrival and subsequent distribution. By studying the present pattern in the context of this historical background it becomes possible to assess more clearly just how

mobile (or immobile) the population has been during the last hundred and fifty years or so.

### *The Historical Background*

Following the withdrawal of Norse sovereignty in 1266, three families or clans gradually established themselves in a dominant position in Lewis. In the north there were the Morisons, in whom was vested the hereditary Brieveship of Lewis and whose base was at Habost, Ness. In the south-west there were the Macaulays, whose territory covered much of the present parish of Uig. On the eastern side of Lewis, with their headquarters at Stornoway, there were the Macleods (Siol Torquil). All three owed allegiance to the Lords of the Isles (Macdonalds), who took possession of the island in 1335 and continued to own it until their fall in 1493.

Other names which were present in Lewis at that time probably included the Nicolsons (or Macnicols), who are reputed to be one of the oldest families in the island and to have built Stornoway Castle, together with the Macritchies, an ancient Lewis sept closely connected with the Nicolsons. According to tradition, Torquil, the son of Leod, gained the districts now known as Stornoway and Lochs by killing the male members of a family of Nicolsons who controlled them, and marrying the heiress (Grant 1959:32). Also present may have been the Macaskills, who are said to have been the lieutenants of Macleod of Dunvegan, and the Martins, who were also closely associated with the Tormod Macleods. In view of the links between the two branches of the clan, it is reasonable to assume that the Macaskills and Martins were similarly associated with the Macleods of Lewis.

At the turn of the sixteenth century the Fife Adventurers made three attempts to colonise "the hitherto most barbarous Isle of Lewis", but on each occasion the expedition ended in failure. Following their failure to retain control of the island, in 1610 King James VI of Scotland granted Lewis to Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, who immediately landed a strong contingent of his clansmen in Stornoway and soon brought the whole island under his control—though for a year or two Neil, the last of the Macleods of Lewis, managed to hold out on the little isle of Berisay in Loch Roag. Among the mainland supporters whom Lord Mackenzie took with him to Lewis were the Macivers, Mathesons, Maclennans and Rosses. The island remained in the ownership of the Mackenzies until 1843.

In 1890-91 a return was made of the surnames of the schoolchildren in three of the parishes of Lewis. The Macleods headed the list in each parish, the Morisons being second in Barvas, the Mackenzies in Lochs and the Macdonalds in Uig. No return was made for the burgh or parish of Stornoway. Total figures exceeding 100 were as follows: Macleod 585, Macdonald 364, Morison 239, Mackenzie 184, Mackay 166, Maclean 155, Smith 132, Maciver 127 and Macaulay 106 (Mackenzie 1903:64-5).

### *The Present Situation*

The above account is necessarily brief and perhaps somewhat over-simplified, but it provides a general background against which to consider the facts of the present. These can most easily be obtained through an examination of the Electoral Register for the Isle of Lewis, and the following analysis is based upon a detailed study of the Register compiled in October 1961.

Altogether, in 1961 the 16,207 electors in the island (comprising 74.6 per cent of the total population enumerated in the 1961 Census) shared a total of 489 different surnames—a ratio of one surname to every 33 electors. However, these figures conceal an even more striking homogeneity, for 88.8 per cent of the electors shared only 34 surnames and 66.8 per cent shared as few as 10 surnames.

As in 1890-91, the Macleods headed the list, nearly one elector in five (19.6 per cent) having this name. The Macdonalds were still second, comprising nearly one-eighth (12.2 per cent) of all electors. Next in order of numerical superiority came the Morisons and Mackenzies (5.7 per cent), the Macivers (5.0 per cent), the Macleans (4.3 per cent), the Smiths and Mackays (3.8 per cent), the Murrays (3.7 per cent), the Campbells (3.0 per cent) and the Macaulays (2.1 per cent). These figures show a close similarity to those of the 1890-91 survey, and where differences do occur they are more likely to be due to the exclusion of the burgh and parish of Stornoway from the earlier survey than to any marked change in the relative frequency of these surnames over the past seventy years.

More important than their overall frequency, however, is their actual distribution within the island. The accompanying Table gives details of the distribution of the 23 surnames which occurred most frequently in 1961, and from this it is clearly

DISTRIBUTION OF SURNAMES IN THE ISLE OF LEWIS, 1961

*Number of electors by electoral districts*

Surname	Barvas		Uig		Lochs		Stornoway			Burgh of Stornoway	Isle of Lewis
	South	North	East	West	Lochs	Park	Back	Point	Central		
Macloed		251	268	70	364	158	340	421	331	609	3,174
Maddonald	195	269	86	210	126	37	194	290	269	301	1,977
Morison	125	302	42	56	49	24	61	11	107	148	925
Mackenzie	9	88	34	29	169	32	52	168	122	221	924
Maciver	66	24	84	48	28	—	238	100	106	117	811
Maclean	142	100	69	26	58	6	49	27	94	119	690
Smith	117	103	27	31	59	15	52	40	69	108	621
Mackay	90	65	53	42	47	22	73	92	52	75	611
Murray	67	193	2	1	7	—	151	56	66	58	601
Campbell	80	79	5	—	4	29	89	93	26	89	494
Macaulay	41	—	50	42	49	5	9	58	39	50	343
Nicolson	5	27	3	3	36	44	12	26	43	58	254
Graham	10	64	1	—	—	—	73	35	21	34	238
MacIennan	17	2	28	48	19	12	32	2	16	54	230
Matheson	32	13	—	50	3	28	7	10	23	56	222
Macarthur	9	2	70	—	19	14	4	7	11	62	198
Macmillan	9	3	—	—	17	55	25	31	13	35	188
Macrae	2	3	3	—	25	10	10	34	39	50	176
Mackinnon	6	2	1	3	65	28	11	3	22	22	163
Macritchie	12	64	7	20	—	6	16	4	19	12	160
Martin	20	8	3	5	40	—	14	22	21	23	156
Montgomery	—	—	—	2	39	23	—	19	16	44	143
Macaskill	7	6	13	2	3	20	15	25	12	39	142
Others	166	197	91	105	122	94	266	180	450	1,095	2,766
<b>Total Electors</b>	<b>1,589</b>	<b>1,865</b>	<b>937</b>	<b>793</b>	<b>1,348</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>1,793</b>	<b>1,754</b>	<b>1,987</b>	<b>3,479</b>	<b>16,207</b>
<b>Total Names</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>489</b>

apparent that many of them were still highly localised. For example, nearly one-third of all the Morisons in Lewis lived in the electoral district of North Barvas, where they outnumbered all other surnames, and though the name was not uncommon in most other parts of the island it was almost completely absent from the electoral district of Point (the Eye Peninsula). Of the 601 Murrays listed in the Electoral Register, nearly a half lived in the electoral districts of North and South Barvas, and a further quarter lived in the electoral district of Back, but only 10 Murrays were listed in the entire parishes of Lochs and Uig. Similarly, the 238 Grahams were concentrated primarily in the electoral districts of Back and North Barvas, the name appearing only once in the parishes of Lochs and Uig. Other names which showed particularly marked geographical concentrations were the Macivers (Back), the Macritchies (North Barvas), the Macarthurs (East Uig), and the Montgomerys and Mackinnons (Lochs parish). Among the names not listed in the accompanying Table there were also the Macphails (79 out of 117 in South Barvas and East Uig), the Gillies's (75 out of 98 in Barvas parish), the Kennedys (52 out of 89 in Lochs parish—none in the parishes of Uig and Barvas), the Gunns (37 out of 63 in North Barvas—none in South Barvas or the parishes of Lochs and Uig) and the Munros (88 out of 92 in the burgh and parish of Stornoway).

Even within electoral districts it is possible to find marked concentrations of this kind. For example, 74 of the 80 Campbells listed in South Barvas lived in the townships of Arnol and Bragar, none living in Barvas itself and only three in Shawbost. In North Barvas 43 of the 64 Grahams lived at Borge, and in Lochs district 52 of the 58 Macleans lived at Leurbost. In West Uig only 8 of the 106 Mathesons and Morisons lived on the island of Bernera, where at least two electors out of every five were named Macdonald. The most striking contrast of all occurred in the electoral district of Point, where 53 Macivers were listed in Lower Bayble and none in the contiguous township of Upper Bayble.

### *The Legacy of the Past*

Such marked concentrations are obviously indicative of a general lack of population mobility in the past. This is evident in the fact that whereas in 1961 the eastern side of Lewis (i.e. the parish of Lochs and the parish and burgh of Stornoway) contained 67.4 per cent of all the electors in Lewis, they still



held 86·2 per cent of the Nicolsons, 82·7 per cent of the Mackenzies, 80·3 per cent of the Macaskills and 76·9 per cent of the Martins. It is also evident in the continued numerical superiority of the Morisons in North Barvas, their ancient "homeland". This latter feature is not altogether surprising when it is remembered that as late as 1818 it was written of the people of Ness that "they are strikingly dissimilar to the general population of the islands, preserving their unmixed Danish blood in as great purity at least as the inhabitants of Shetland. . . . They constitute even now an independent colony among their neighbours, who still consider them as a distinct people and almost view them in the light of foreigners" (Macculloch 1819:179).

However, as the fate of the Macaulays shows, the history of Lewis has not been one of uninterrupted stability. The Macaulays represent one of the oldest clans in the island, and as late as 1750 it was recorded that "the common inhabitants of Lewis are the Morisons, McAulays and MacKivers, but when they go from home all who live under Seaforth call themselves MacKenzies" (Macgregor 1949:40). Yet by 1961 the Macaulays comprised a mere 2·1 per cent of all the electors in the island, and although more numerous in the parish of Uig than elsewhere they were even there outnumbered by the Macivers, Morisons, Mackays and Macleans, as well as by the Macleods and Macdonalds. The decline of the Macaulays must clearly have been related primarily to the widespread clearances which took place within Uig parish in the mid-nineteenth century, for though many of the cleared areas were subsequently resettled they were rarely re-occupied by their former inhabitants. Moreover, this is the area which has subsequently experienced the highest rate of depopulation in Lewis.

The bulk of the people who were cleared from their homes in Uig left Lewis altogether, many of them emigrating to North America. However, some were sent to other parts of the island, and it is interesting to observe that the present distribution of Macaulays in Lewis still reflects these involuntary population movements of a hundred years ago. Excluding the burgh of Stornoway and its environs, nearly all the Macaulays who now live outside Uig parish are to be found in the electoral districts of Lochs, Point and South Barvas. In 1961 more than four-fifths of the 148 Macaulays listed in these three districts lived in the townships of Balallan, Crossbost and Keose (Lochs),

Bayble, Sheshader and Shulishader (Point), and Brue and Shawbost (South Barvas)—all of which were enlarged in the mid-nineteenth century to accommodate people who had been removed from their homes elsewhere in the island. For example, in North Shawbost the two roads leading to the coast from the main Carloway-Barvas road were specially laid out by the Estates Officers in 1851 for the benefit of people who had been evacuated from Uig parish, which may well account for the fact that 110 years later the township of Shawbost contained 32 of the 41 Macaulays listed in South Barvas (Geddes 1936:301).

A fairly reliable guide to the extent of population mobility in the past is the ratio of surnames per 100 electors. In the burgh of Stornoway, which has some of the cosmopolitan characteristics of an island capital and seaport, the 1961 figure was 9.7. In the electoral district of Stornoway Central, which contains the town's growing outskirts, it was 7.4. In West Uig, which suffered from extensive clearances in the mid-nineteenth century, there was an average of 6.1 names per 100 electors. In the Park district of Lochs parish, where large areas were cleared between 1818-42 and have since remained mostly unoccupied, the figure was 4.4. In East Uig the ratio was 4.1, and in the district of Lochs and the districts of Back and Point in Stornoway parish it was 3.9. The lowest ratios were 3.2 in North Barvas and 3.0 in South Barvas, historically the most stable parts of the island.

The picture which emerges is therefore one of a general lack of population mobility in Lewis over the last hundred and fifty years. There would seem to have been little movement between different parts of the island except at the time of the Clearances, when the bulk of the movement took the form of emigration rather than internal migration, and except for the general movement of population from the rural areas into the growing town of Stornoway. There would also appear to have been relatively little movement into the island, and such as has occurred has tended to be confined mainly to Stornoway, the island's commercial and administrative centre.

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## TWO MORE STORIES FROM ATHOLL

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Alan Bruford

The following stories are Nos. 207 and 208 in Lady Evelyn Stewart-Murray's MS. collection of Atholl traditions.\* They were taken down from Mrs. Campbell at Foss Post-Office on 4th June 1891, the day after the story printed in *Scottish Studies* 9:153 was collected in Strathtay. It seems that Lady Evelyn took down 14 stories of different lengths, over 3000 words in all, from four tellers in Foss that day: we can admire her industry as much as we envy her opportunities.

I know no other version of either of these tales in Scottish Gaelic. The first seems to be a variant of AT 570, "The Rabbit-Herd". Though very worn-down, it looks as if it may originally have conformed to the summary given in the AT type-index, where the hero's magic whistle which summons wild animals is the means by which he wins the princess's hand. In this version, however, neither the means by which the whistle was acquired—it is not even stated to be a magic one—nor its use to win the princess is narrated; in fact it is implied that the hero married the princess just because his master was a good cooper! In other languages the winning of the princess often contains improper details, and the episode may have been deliberately omitted by the teller or her source for this reason. According to the list in AT the story is commonest in Scandinavia, Germany and France, and for Ireland Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen (1963:126) list 21 versions. The formal style in which the rabbit-herding episode is told here suggests that the story had been established in Scottish Gaelic for some time.

The second story is possibly a more recent importation: the formula-phrase used by Lady Evelyn as title may be translated from English (see note 6). It belongs to the Bluebeard type AT 955, "The Robber Bridegroom", and is close to the well-known English story of "Mr. Fox".<sup>1</sup> The form *pàrrad* (*sic* MS.) for "parrot" might suggest a Scots origin. On the other hand an Irish version (Ó Duilearga 1948:53) gives a parallel to the

\* *Scottish Studies* 9:153

curious murder of the bride by bleeding. The story is again popular in Scandinavia and Germany, and Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen (1963:189-90) list 47 Irish versions.

As before I have left the text as it stands in the MS., apart from adding accents, apostrophes and punctuations to clarify the sense and standardising one or two spellings which do not affect the pronunciation, such as *adhart* for *aghart*. Lady Evelyn's earliest transcriptions give many words in their local forms with the standard spelling in brackets; later, however, she seems in general only to have given the dialect form, though occasionally standard forms occur such as *daibh* alongside *dau* or *aca* instead of the characteristic Perthshire *ac'* with the final open syllable dropped. In case this might represent a real variation in the speaker's pronunciation I have let these stand, as also variants such as *gobhair: gobhar* in the plural. In most of the doubtful cases the endings are actually pencilled into the ink MS., suggesting a conflict in the writer's mind between what she heard and what she thought correct, and similarly where *na gobhar* appears instead of more grammatical *nan . . .*, a pencil stroke after *na* indicates the doubt.

The translation is based on a rough version prepared by Mr. Sorley Maclean for the late Duke of Atholl (Lord James Murray) about 1955.

### *An Giullan Maol Carrach*

Bha muime 'ghiullain mhaol, charrach ro olc dha, 's chum i anmoch e 'dol shir' na gamhainn da'n mhon'. Ach chunnaic e rionnag sholuis far an robh e. Ciod bha 'n sin ach tigh cùbair agus a bhean. Cha robh nì aca ach gràinnein ghobhar. Bha e sir' fuireach cuide riu, 's gu'n gleidheadh e iad. Cha robh iad ro thoileach an toiseach, ach dh' aontaich iad ri 'ghleidh', agus bha e buachailleachd na gobhar dhau. Dar thàin' 'n oidhche, bha feadag aiges', 's sheinn e oirre. Agus gu dé thàinig ach maigheach mhór cuide ris na gobhar.<sup>2</sup> Choinnich e null i, 's choinnich e nall i, 's chuir e stigh cuide ris na gobhar i. Dar chaidh 'bhean bleoghann na gobhar, ghlaodh i ris an duine aice:

"Dhuine, dhuine, bì nuas le d' thuadh 's le d' thàl; tha beothach biorach, biorach, sgeunach, sgeunach<sup>3</sup> an so."

Thàinig an duine le 'thuadh, 's le 'thàl, 's mharbh e 'mhaigheach, 's dh'ith iad i. Bha iad cunnt' gu'n d'fhuair iad rud anabharrach (*sic*) math anns a' ghiullan mhaol, charrach.

Chaidh e mach 'n ath latha, 's bhuachaillich e na gobhair

gus an d'thàinig 'n oidhche, 's ghobh e 'n fheadag, 's sheinn e oirre, 's thàinig an sin earb tarsuing. Choinnich e null i, 's choinnich e nall i, 's chuir e stigh cuide ris na gobhar i. Dar chaidh 'bhean bleoghann na gobhar, ghlaodh i ris an duine:

“Dhuine, dhuine, bì nuas le d' thuadh, 's le d' thàl; tha beothach biorach, biorach, biorach, sgeunach, sgeunach, sgeunach an so.”

Thàinig an duine le 'thuadh, 's le 'thàl, 's mharbh 'n earb. Bha an so na b' fhearr aca 'n oidhche so.

Chaidh e mach 'n ath latha rithist leis na gobhair. Dar thàin' e fagus da'n oidhche rithist, sheinn e 'n fheadag mar rinn e roimhe, agus thàinig fiadh feadh nan gobhar. Choinnich e null e, 's choinnich e nall e,<sup>4</sup> 's chuir e stigh cuide ris na gobhar e. Chaidh 'bhean bleoghann na gobhar, mar chaidh i roimhe, 's dar chunnaic i am fiadh, ghlaodh i:

“Dhuine, dhuine, bì nuas le d' thuadh, 's le do thàl; tha beothach biorach, biorach, biorach, biorach, sgeunach, sgeunach, sgeunach an so.”

Thàinig an duine le 'thuadh, 's le 'thàl, 's mharbh e 'm fiadh, 's dh'ith iad e.

Thuir an giullan maol, carrach ris a' chùbair:

“Théid sinn gu srath, thun 'mhargad, 'chreic nan soithichean”<sup>5</sup>—agus thug iad leo uiread 's b'urrainn daibh dhiu. Chreic iad iad, 's fhuair iad *lot* sgillinn agus bunnachan sé orra. Bha 'n cùbair 's a bhean ro thoilichte, 's cha'n fhac' iad riamh uiread sin dh' airgid ac' fhé'.

Chaidh iad ann 'chiad latha faidhreach rithist leis na b'urrainn dau ghiùlan da na soithichean. Dar chunnaic an sluagh na soithichean math' bh' aca, thug iad móran airgid dhau an tarruing so. Bha 'n cùbair 's a bhean anabarrach toilichte gu'n d'thug iad fasgadh do'n ghiullan, 's am math rinn e dhau.

Chaidh iad an treas tarruing rithistich dar thàinig margad eile. Leis cho math 's bha cliù nan soithichean cinntinn, fhuair iad òr an tarruing so, 's thàinig an rìgh fhé' 'cheannach gràinn dhiu. Agus thug iad an so an cùbair 's a bhean as a' mhonadh, chionn gu'n robh iad deanamh obair cho math. 'S fhuair an giullan maol, carrach nighean an rìgh ri phòs'.

### *The Cropped Scabby Laddie*

The stepmother of the cropped scabby laddie was very hard on him, and she kept him late going to look for the stirks on the moor. But he saw a twinkle of light there. What was that but

the house of a cooper and his wife. They had nothing but a handful of goats. He was asking to stay with them and look after the goats. At first they were not very willing, but they agreed to keep him, and he herded the goats for them. When night came, he had a whistle, and he blew it. And what should come with the goats but a big hare.<sup>2</sup> He met her here and he met her there and he put her in with the goats. When the woman went to milk the goats, she called out to her husband:

“Man, man, come down with your axe and your adze; there’s a sharp, sharp, scary, scary beastie here.”

The man came with his axe and his adze and killed the hare, and they ate it. They reckoned that they had got a remarkably good thing in the cropped scabby laddie.

He went out next day and herded the goats until night came, and he took the whistle and blew it, and along came a roe. He met her here and he met her there and he put her in with the goats. When the woman went to milk the goats, she called out to her husband:

“Man, man, come down with your axe and your adze; there’s a sharp, sharp, sharp, scary, scary, scary beastie here.”

The man came with his axe and his adze and killed the roe. With that they did even better that night.

Next day again he went out with the goats. When it came near night again, he blew the whistle as he had done before, and a deer came among the goats. He met it here and he met it there and he put it in with the goats. The woman went to milk the goats as she did before, and when she saw the deer, she called out:

“Man, man, come down with your axe and your adze. There’s a sharp, sharp, sharp, sharp, scary, scary, scary, scary beastie here.”

The man came with his axe and his adze and killed the deer, and they ate it.

The cropped scabby laddie said to the cooper:

“We’ll go down to the lowlands to the market, to sell the cogs”<sup>5</sup>—and they took with them as many as they could of them. They sold them, and they got a lot of pennies and half-pennies for them. The cooper and his wife were very pleased, and they had never seen so much money in their own hands.

They went there the first fair day after with all the cogs they could carry. When people saw the good cogs they had they gave them a lot of silver this time. The cooper and his

wife were wonderfully pleased that they had given shelter to the laddie, with all the good he had done them.

They went again, for the third time, when there was another market. The cogs were getting such a good name that they got gold this time, and the king himself came to buy some of them. And then they brought the cooper and his wife away from the moor because they were making such good stuff. And the cropped scabby laddie got the king's daughter to marry.

*Theirig dòn', a bhaintighearn', 's na teirig dòn',  
a bhaintighearn'*

Bha suiriche tighinn shir' baintighearn', 's bha e ro bhriagh, bha dà ghill' dheug aige, agus bha na càirdean aice ro thoileach gu'm pòsadh i e, ach cha robh i fhé' toileach 'ghobhail gus am faiceadh i beagan. Dh'fholbh i latha, agus chaidh i air adhart gus an d'ràinig i coill. Chaidh i stigh da na choill, agus chaidh i air adhairt gus an d'ràinig i tigh briagh. Agus ciod a bha 'n sin ach pàrrad ann an *cage* an croch' aig cliathach an tighe. Agus thuirt a' phàrrad rithe:

"Theirig dòn', a bhaintighearn', 's na teirig dòn', a bhaintighearn'."6

Chaidh i stigh, agus 'chiad seamar 's an d'thàinig i, bha criathrachan arain-coirc' 's càise. Thug i leatha gràinnean dheth 'na puirse. Chaidh i da rùm eile, agus bha e làn gùintean grinn, agus dh'fhosgail i dràr agus fhuair i fàinneachan agus màinneachan,<sup>7</sup> agus chaidh i da rùm eile, agus fhuair i baintighearnan air an croch' air am falt. Agus chual' i 'n so fuaim tighinn. Theich i agus chaidh i an cùl clòsaid nan con, agus thug i dhau beagan arain 's càise. Cò thàinig an so ach an suiriche agus an dà fhear dheug cuide ris, agus cò bh' aca ach nighean bràthair h-athar. Agus thuirt an suiriche:

"S fheairrd' baintighearnan òg' taom fala thoirt asda"— agus chuir e casan nighean bràthair h-athar an tuba bùirn blàth, 's shìor-theireadh e rithe:

"S fheairrd' baintighearnan òg' taom fala thoirt asda."<sup>8</sup>

Ma dheireadh thuirt i gu'n robh i faicinn an tigh cinntinn dubh, agus thuirt fear da'n dà fhear dheug: "Gu'n glacadh Dia h-anam," 's bha ise marbh. Thòisich iad air thoirt dhi 'n fhàinne, agus cha b' urrainn dau, agus dh' fholbh iad, agus thug iad an làmh uile dhi, 's thilg iad thun na con i.<sup>9</sup> Bheir ise oirre, agus thug i mìr 's càise da na coin g'am breug'. Chaidh



iads' croch' nighean bràthair h-athar air 'falt cuide ris na baintighearnan eile bha 'san t-seamar.

Fhuair ise teicheachd,<sup>10</sup> agus theich i dhachaidh. Cha robh fhios aige (*sic*) gin air so ach i fhé'. Thàinig an suiriche rithistich 'ga sir' mar bha e roimhe, e fhé' 's a dhà fhear dheug. Thuirt i gu'n deanadh i còrdadh co-dhiu, ach gu'n robh i toileach gu'm biodh bràthair h-athar 's a dhà mhac aig a' chòrdadh, agus gu'm faigheadh ise 'na suidhe eadar dà mhac bràthair h-athar, agus bràthair h-athar fhé' 'na (*sic*) coinneamh. Dar fhuair i 'n so 'n òrdugh, agus i eadar dà mhac bràthair h-athar, 's bràthair h-athar mu coinneamh, thuirt i:

"Tha mise dol dh'innse brudair dhuibh. Cha'n 'eil ann," thuirt i, "ach brudair. Thoiribh sibhse 'n aire orms', mhic bhràthair m' athar." Dh'innis i dhau na h-uile nì mar thachair, agus bha i 'g ràdh an dràs' 's rithist:

"Thoiribh 'n aire orm, 's na gobhaidh ach mar bhruadair e."<sup>11</sup>

Bha es' ro thoileach air faotainn air folbh, 's e ro luaineach. Thàin' i air adhart leis an naigheachd uile, gus an d'thàinig i thun na làimhe; dar thàinig i thun na làimhe, thug i mach á puidse i, 's thuirt i:

"Mur creid sibh mise, fhaicibh sin an làmh."<sup>12</sup>

Agus chaidh an glac' an so, 's chaidh e fhé' 's aon deug chroch', ach am fear ghuidh air son nighean bràthair h-athar dar bha i faicinn an tigh dubh, fhuair es' as.<sup>13</sup>

### *Go boldly, lady, and don't go boldly, lady*

A suitor was coming to woo a lady, and he was very handsome, he had twelve attendants, and her kin were very willing that she should marry him, but she herself was not willing to have him until she had looked around a little. She set off one day, and she went on until she came to a wood. She went into the wood, and kept on until she reached a fine house. And what was there but a parrot in a cage hanging on the side of the house. The parrot said to her:

"Go boldly, lady, and don't go boldly, lady."<sup>6</sup>

She went in, and the first room she came to, there were riddles full of oatcake and cheese. She took some of it with her in her pocket. She went to another room, and it was full of lovely gowns, and she opened a drawer and found rings and earrings, and she went to another room and found ladies hanging by their hair. Then she heard a noise coming. She ran away and went into the back of the dog kennel, and she

gave them a little bread and cheese. Who should arrive now but her suitor and the twelve men along with him, and who had they with them but her father's brother's daughter. And the suitor said:

"Young ladies are the better for having a drop of their blood drawn"—and he put her cousin's feet in a tub of warm water, and kept on saying to her:

"Young ladies are the better for having a drop of their blood drawn."<sup>8</sup>

At last she said that she saw the house growing black, and one of the twelve men said: "May God receive her soul," and she died. They began to take the ring off her, and they could not, and they went and cut off the whole hand, and threw it to the dogs.<sup>9</sup> The lady got hold of it, and she gave the dogs a piece with cheese to quiet them. They went off to hang her cousin by the hair with the other ladies in the room.

The lady managed to escape and ran away home. Nobody knew about this but herself. The suitor came again to woo her as before, himself and his twelve men. She said she would get engaged anyway, but she wanted her father's brother and his two sons to be at the betrothal, and that she should be allowed to sit between her uncle's two sons with her uncle himself opposite her. When she had this arranged, herself between her uncle's two sons and her uncle opposite, she said:

"I am going to tell you a dream. It is nothing but a dream," said she. "You mark me well, my uncle's sons." She told them everything as it had happened, saying every now and then:

"Mark me well, but take it only as a dream."<sup>11</sup>

The man was very anxious to get away; he was very uneasy. She went on with the whole story, until she came to the hand; when she came to the hand, she took it out of her pocket, and said:

"If you don't believe me, look, here is the hand."<sup>12</sup>

And they were seized then and the suitor and eleven of them were hanged, but the man who had prayed for her cousin when she saw the house grow black was allowed to go free.<sup>13</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> First printed in Malone's *Shakspeare* (1821) 7:163, to explain a passage in *Much Ado about Nothing*: it was contributed by Blakeway, who had heard it from a great-aunt when he was a boy. The many reprints include Jacobs 1890:148 and Hartland 1890:25; my quotations and the information above are from the latter. There is a discussion of

- English versions of this and a related type in Briggs and Tongue 1965: xxiii, xxvi and 90, but this deals principally with the variant type, also called "Mr. Fox", of which a version is printed *op. cit.* p. 90. In this the girl hides in a tree and sees her wooer dig a grave for her; she later reveals this in riddles. Baughman proposes the type-number AT 955C for "Mr. Fox", meaning no doubt this variant, but Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen (1963:191) list it under AT 956C; the 956C of the latest AT type-index is a different story again. There is a rich confusion here which is overdue to be cleared up.
- <sup>2</sup> The whistle is evidently meant to summon the goats, but it also manages to bring in the wild animal. It seems reasonable to assume that in an earlier form of the story it was explicitly a magic whistle as in the international tale.
  - <sup>3</sup> The MS. has *sgeannach* in pencil each time this formula occurs. At its first appearance the translation "impudent" is pencilled above this, and the alternative spelling *sgiarmach* (perhaps a badly written *sgiannach*) below. It seems that Lady Evelyn, and possibly the teller if "impudent" is from her, took the word to be *sgeannach*, "staring, big-eyed"; but in the context *sgeunach* (pronounced *sgianach*) "easily scared, apt to run away" seems the most likely meaning, and in view of the doubt about the spelling and on the advice of my colleague Mr. D. A. MacDonald I have adopted it.
  - <sup>4</sup> MS.: "Chonnich (*sic*) e null e, 's choinnich e, 's choinnich e nall e . . ."
  - <sup>5</sup> *Thun 'mhargad*, "to the market", written (in ink) above the line: it may be an alternative to *gu srath*, "to the lowlands". *Soithichean* is difficult to translate here, when it applies to wooden vessels which might be of any size from cups to great vats; at the risk of obscurity I have used the Scots *cogs*, which covers all the stave-and-hoop vessels likely to be made by a Highland cooper except actual barrels.
  - <sup>6</sup> In *Mr. Fox* the corresponding words, "Be bold, be bold, but not too bold," are inscribed over successive doors through which the heroine passes; over the last is written:

"Be bold, be bold, but not too bold  
Lest that your heart's blood should run cold."

- This sort of rhymed or rhythmical speech seems typical of the remaining examples of English *märchen*-telling. The parrot's speech in the Gaelic story is very similar to the English phrase and could be a translation of something like it (*dàna* in Gaelic can mean either "bold" or "rash"), and the parrot himself, though he is not in the surviving English version, suggests an origin outside the Highlands. In Grimm it is a bird which gives the warning.
- <sup>7</sup> Lady Evelyn glosses *màinneachan* as "ear-rings". Dwelly gives a word *màilleag* with this meaning, a diminutive of *màille* (from French *maille*), "chain mail", or "link or ring of mail", and by extension any ring. The form here may be a mishearing or may be due to the constant tendency of folk-tale tellers to make any formula of words into a rhyming jingle.
  - <sup>8</sup> As it stands this incident is somewhat obscure, but evidently the lady was bled in the medical manner, with her feet in warm water to stimulate the flow of blood, until she died. The same method of murder is more explicitly shown in Seán Ó Conaill's version from Kerry

(Ó Duilearga 1948:55) though the other details of the story are rather different. I translate:

“The night she arrived, he said she needed a drop of blood drawn from her (*go dteastódh bhuaithe braon fola a bhuint aisti*), that she was weak and tired after the journey. She told him to do it. He got a lancet and opened one of her veins and left her there bleeding until she dropped.”

- The details of this incident seem rather different from the other versions. In *Mr. Fox* the lady's hand is cut off while she is still alive and clinging to the banisters with it: there is a bracelet on it which later helps to prove the story. In the Kerry version (Ó Duilearga 1948:56-8) the hand is cut off for an unexplained reason; the heroine catches it and keeps only a ring which is on it to identify the victim, as here a relative (her sister), when she tells her story over a week later. This probably represents the basic form of the incident—the ring is essential to identify the victim, who is known to the hearers of the heroine's story. In our version, however, the ring appears as the motive for cutting off the hand, and this is prepared by the mention of a room full of rings; but it is presumably already off when the heroine gets the hand—unless we suppose that the hand was thrown to the dogs so that they should eat away the flesh and leave the ring, as no other means would get it off!
- <sup>10</sup> Or *teich' ac'*, “to escape from them”—“aca?” is written above *-achd* in the MS.
- <sup>11</sup> I have omitted *'S cha'n 'eil ann ach bruadair*, which is repeated here in the MS. but bracketed in pencil: possibly an alternative. Compare with this the formula in *Mr. Fox*, where the story is similarly told as a dream: “It is not so, nor it was not so.”
- <sup>12</sup> *Mr. Fox*: “But it is so, and it was so,  
And here the hand I have to show!”
- <sup>13</sup> The twelve servants, of whom only one has any pity for the victim, are closer to the continental versions where the bridegroom is leader of a robber band than to *Mr. Fox*. In the Kerry tale there is a single servant who helps and finally marries the heroine, but the details are quite different.

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# NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

## 27. *Thurso*

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

At the Fifth Viking Congress held at Tórshavn (Faroe Islands) in July 1965, Professor Per Thorson, of the University of Bergen, read a paper entitled "Ancient Thurso, a Religious and Judicial Centre". Although this has not yet appeared in print, Professor Thorson kindly sent the present writer a copy of his typescript, and the following is a comment on that part of the paper which deals with the derivation of the name *Thurso*; for Professor Thorson asks us to reconsider the etymology to which we have been accustomed.

The argument for Professor Thorson's interesting new suggestion may be summarised like this:

In the *Orkneyinga Saga* (about A.D. 1210) and in other early Norse literature the settlement-name Thurso appears as *þórsá*, "the river of Thor the god", a name which also occurs as a river-name in North and West Iceland. Professor Thorson is of the opinion that the Icelandic river-name (he only mentions one of the two) "was named under very special circumstances, which are not to be reckoned with in the case of Thurso in Scotland". Basing his argument on three thirteenth-century forms of the name found in Latin sources—*Thurseha* in Roger of Hoveden (about 1200), *Turishau* (1275) and *Thorsan* (1276) printed in the *Diplomatarium Katanense et Sutherlandense* (Johnston 1909-14)—he comes to the conclusion that *-ha*, *-hau*, and *-au* (for *-an* in the text) cannot represent Norse *á* "river" but rather point to Norse *haugr* "elevation, natural or artificial mound", as we find it, for instance, in the Caithness name *How* (parish of Wick). The original *þórshaugr* "Thor's mound", for which he cites as a parallel the Norwegian *Torshaug* in the Trondheim area, Professor Thorson is inclined to identify with "a conical mound" in front of Thurso Castle on which the so-called Ulbster Stone has been placed. Since, from 1527 onwards, the second component is never *-hau* or *-au*, but our modern *-o*, the old termination appears to have been replaced, as in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, by the word for "river". The older name of the river itself Professor Thorson sees in the place-name *Skinnet*, recorded in the thirteenth century as *Scynend* or *Scynand*, seemingly from Norse *Skínandi* "the shining one".

At first sight, this new proposition is an attractive one, especially if the identification of "Thor's mound" is correct. However, everything hinges on the linguistic implications of the three spellings *Thurseha*, *Turishau* and *Thorsau* (or *-an*) in thirteenth-century Latin documents. It is their provenance and reliability, therefore, which we must check. If we take the spelling from Roger of Hoveden first, we find that it is part of the phrase *ad Turseham, villam praedicti Haroldi* (IV:10). This is probably intended to be a Latinised accusative of a nominative \**Turseha* as Professor Thorson assumes, following the third edition of *Johnston's Place-Names of Scotland* (Johnston 1934), although the initial consonant is there given—and the original supports this—as *T-*, not *Th-*. It is, however, just possible that it is not an accusative but has been mistaken for a place-name in Early English *-ham* "village, homestead". For this there would be a parallel in the same author's enumeration "quinque civitates, Lindicolniam, Snotingham, Deorbeiam, Leogereceastriam, et Stanfordiam" (the five cities, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Stamford), in which *Snotingham* is the odd one out because its ending is only superficially identical with those of the other four. However, even if we accept \**Turseha* as the nominative of the name Roger of Hoveden had in mind, there are still difficulties. Not only are we dealing with a writer who, for example, perpetrates such spellings as *Ilvernarran* and *Dilvernarran* for *Invernarran* (Nairn) but the number of "superfluous" *h*'s in his place-name forms is considerable (*Haia* and *Heya* for Eye, Suffolk; *Haxiholm* for Axholm, Lincolnshire; *Heli* for Ely; *Herkelou* for Arklow, Ireland; but also internally *Barhud*, *Barhut* for Beirut, Syria; and many others). The *-ha(m)* in this isolated reference to Thurso may therefore be for *-a(m)*; it certainly cannot be trusted as it stands.

*Turishau* and *Thorsan*, quoted by Professor Thorson from the *Diplomatarium*, both occur in the so-called Bagimond's Roll of 1275 and 1276 (Dunlop 1939:51 and 68), concerned with the collection of teinds for the Crusades. This document, which is in the Vatican Archives in Rome, "is a transcript made by Roman clerks" who had obvious trouble with unfamiliar names rendered in Gothic script (*op. cit.*: 21). *Thorsan* for \**Thorsau* is a typical error, as are *Clatmanan* for *Clacmanan* (Clackmannan), or *Lynlichtu* for *Lynlithcu* (Linlithgow). "Superfluous" *h*'s also abound, as in *Huckermukedy* and *Hughtermukedy* for Auchtermuchty, *Huchtermunsi* for Auchtermunsie, *Halaham* for Aldhame, *Hughterardor* for Auchterarder, *Hupsetlingtoun* for Upsetlington,

and *Herihot* for Herriot. The contrast *Turishau*—*Thorsau* also shows that the *-h-* in *Turseham* is probably not generic.

This demonstrates quite clearly that neither Roger of Hoveden nor Bagimond's Roll can be trusted, as far as place-name spellings in general are concerned, and that they are particularly unreliable with regard to the distinction between radical and intrusive *h*'s (in *Keth Undeby* for Keith Humbie an initial *H-* is omitted!). One therefore wonders whether a name *\*þorshaugr* really has any support in the evidence which has survived from the Middle Ages; there appears to be no reason whatever why the second element should not have been *á* from the beginning, the implication being that the name as a whole was an original river-name (see also Gaelic *Inbhir Thòrsa* and Norse *þórsdalr* below).

When rejecting *haugr* and accepting *-ā* as a second element, we automatically also question the interpretation of the original first part of the compound name. Professor Thorson recognises the difficulty of having the name of a water-course involving the name of the God *Thor* (see p. 171 above), hence his attempt to explain the *second* element differently. If, however, we regard the name as being of hydronymic origin, we must somehow solve the problem of the *first* element. Personally, I am still inclined to think that, because of Ptolemy's *Tarvedu(nu)m* < Early Celtic *\*Tarvo-dūnon* "bull-fort" for one of the headlands near Thurso, the original river-name was *\*þjórsá* "bull's river" (the identical Icelandic river-name was possibly named after it); this has been assumed by such scholars as MacBain (1894:276; and 1922:6-7), Henderson (1910:155), Watson (1926:36), Brøgger (1929:97), Johnston (1934:310) and others (although there have been some who would prefer *þórsá* as the original). It would indeed reasonably account for some kind of human contact between the existing Celtic population and the Scandinavian incomers. In fact, this is probably the only explanation required, and two further factors which have sometimes been taken as proof for this derivation, in this writer's opinion, rather weaken than strengthen the case.

Henderson in particular (1910:27 and 155) claims that the Gaelic name for Thurso is something like *Inbhir-Thiōrsa* "Thursomouth", but whereas this name does give support to the opinion that we are here dealing with an original river name,<sup>1</sup> the palatal quality of the initial consonant in *\*Thiōrsa* is not borne out by field-work. The correct transcription is therefore not *Inbhir-Thiōrsa* or *Inbhir Theòrsa*, as Thorson has it,

but *Inbhir Thòrsa*. The local Gaelic pronunciation of this name in Sutherland does not preserve for us any trace of the original \**þjórsá*<sup>2</sup> but is rather based on the later re-interpretation *þórsá*<sup>3</sup> which is the usual spelling in the Orkneyinga Saga. Only once does the spelling *þjórsá* (Guðmundsson 1965:119 n4) occur, but this is by no means a survival of the original spelling because it is found in a manuscript (325) which, according to Taylor (1939:10) "has many slips of the pen, and proper names are frequently misspelt, so that, although it is an early MS., it is of limited textual value". Its position in the genealogy of manuscripts of the Orkneyinga Saga (*op. cit.*: 11) also does not allow any claim as to greater originality than all other versions. Thorson is therefore quite right in commenting that "the saga writer must have used *þjórsá*<sup>4</sup> by chance, with the well-known Icelandic river-name *þjórsá* unconsciously in mind".

Neither the modern Gaelic pronunciation of the place-name nor the isolated spelling *þjórsá* may consequently be used as evidence for an earlier *þjórsá*, but despite this we still prefer this form as the original name. One only has to remember the large number of names of animals, birds, fishes, insects, etc. which enter into our Scottish river-nomenclature in all linguistic strata in order to understand this preference (see Nicolaisen 1957:226-7, and the table on pp. 234-5). The various Gaelic river-names based on *tarbh* "bull" are particularly instructive parallels.

We would suggest a sequence starting with a Celtic river-name related to \**Tarvodunon*, perhaps \**Tarvo-dubron* "bull's water" or simply *Tarvos* "bull". This was translated into Norse \**þjórsá* "bull's water" which, in turn, was before sagatimes re-interpreted as *þórsá* "Thor's river" (producing also *þórsdalr* for the valley of the river, which we interpret as a shortened form of \**þórsardalr* "Thurso-dale").<sup>5</sup> *þórsá* had before the writing of the Orkneyinga Saga become the name of the settlement at the mouth of the river to which it originally applied, but Gaelic *Inbhir Thòrsa* "Thurso-mouth" shows that its primary function was still well known, if not the exclusive one, when Gaelic speakers adopted it. It later passed into English, possibly at least partly through Gaelic mouths, as Professor Thorson deduces from the various "spellings with final -a in the seventeenth century".<sup>6</sup>

Does this simply mean that we are back where we started? Not at all. Perhaps the most important contribution of this part of Professor Thorson's paper is the realisation that the



“old faithfuls” amongst our place-name derivations must not be copied uncritically—each generation of scholars has to accept or reject them anew in the light of all the evidence.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Similarly, Invernairn and Inverayr are now Nairn and Ayr, respectively.
- <sup>2</sup> That all is not well, however, concerning the background to the spelling of our name in this particular instance (chapter 55), is shown by the fact that another manuscript has the equally singular *þórsey* “Thor’s island” instead (Guðmundsson 1965:199 *na*). Names in *-ey*, of course, abound in the text, and the copyist may have been influenced by these. It is difficult to believe that he really thought of the place as an island.
- <sup>3</sup> Another case of Scandinavian re-interpretation would be, for instance, the consistent *Beru-vík* of the Orkneyinga Saga for (North) Berwick (Vigfusson 1887:30). A re-interpretation of *þjórsá* as *þórsá* would not be difficult as the phonetic difference between the two would not be very great, and as the element *þjórs-* is rare in place-names whereas names with *þórs-* are quite numerous. The fact that our name is a fairly important local one, close to the Norse-Gaelic boundary, may have added to the uncertainty and confusion. It is quite possible that both names existed side by side for a considerable time.
- <sup>4</sup> Thorson’s spelling *þjórsó* indicates that he, too, considers Old Norse *á*, as a feminine *ō*-stem, to have been “rounded” in Caithness pronunciation. This we must assume for all spellings in *-á*.
- <sup>5</sup> The valley-name may, of course, have arisen earlier, at a time when the river-name was still *\*þjórsá*. We would then have to imagine a parallel development *\*þjórsá > þórsá* and *\*þjórsardalr > þórs(ar)dalr*. The end result would be the same.
- <sup>6</sup> If *Skinnet* < Norse *Skinandi* “the shining one”, is also a name of the River Thurso, it may have been an alternative name or it may have referred to a certain stretch of the river only. Both possibilities are by no means unknown in the naming of water-courses. My colleague, Mr. S. H. Pálsson, who very kindly read the typescript of this note, much to its benefit, tells me that in Iceland river-names in *-andi* usually refer to fast flowing rivers or to the faster upper stretches of water-courses.

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# NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

## *A Preliminary Study for Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair"*

KEITH ANDREWS

The National Gallery of Scotland has recently been able to acquire, in quick succession, two drawings which are not merely connected with each other, as paper, medium and style show, but which must have come from the same "sketch-book", if such it can be called, for there are no traces of any binding marks in either of the sheets. The first (D.4893) is a large black-chalk drawing (Plate VIII), depicting in bare outlines an irregular street of a small village, flanked by small houses and cottages, and empty of any animation. It is unlikely, at first sight, to set a connoisseur's heart alight with excitement, until it is realised that what is represented on this double-sheet is in fact a preliminary study for the architectural background of *Pitlessie Fair*, David Wilkie's earliest surviving painting (Plate IX, National Gallery of Scotland), signed and dated 1804, when the artist was 19 years old. This date may however be somewhat misleading, for it would appear from a letter, recently come to light (National Library of Scotland, Acc.MS. 4000) that he was still working on the picture at the end of December 1804.

The second sheet, also drawn on both sides (D.4904) in broad black chalk, on the same kind of paper, and showing an identical central fold as the sheet described above (though apparently cut along the two shorter margins) also has preliminary studies for *Pitlessie Fair*; in this case of some of the figures and several of the animals which occur in the final composition. On the reverse side there is a full composition-sketch of the group around the table on the left.

As far as is known, no other authenticated drawings or studies connected with this apprentice-piece have survived, and so both sheets are of exceptional interest for this reason alone. However, for students of the Scottish scene at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sketch of the architectural background may prove to be of greater interest.

In the finished painting most of the geography of the place is rather obscured by the throng of people, animals, stalls and other accessories, so that the drawing shows much more clearly what the little village, near which the artist was born, must have looked like. We know from Allan Cunningham's *Life of Sir David Wilkie* (1843:58) that with regard to the preparations for *Pitlessie Fair* "He had, with that diligence for which he was ever remarkable, already visited Pitlessie, and made what may be called a working sketch of the place—house, and street, and stream." It would be tempting to see in this a reference to the *recto* of our drawing.

That it was in fact taken on the spot, is confirmed by the marginal notes on the materials of walls and roofs of the houses, which the artist jotted down in the upper right-hand corner: 1. *harld wall*; 2. *whinstone do.*; 3. *tile roof*; 4. *thack roof*; 5. *old do.*; 6. *brick*. Apart from its interest as the artist's *aide-mémoire*, this information incidentally is clearer and therefore more useful for the history of vernacular architecture than a study of the finished picture. On the whole the architectural framework containing the crowded staffage has been faithfully adhered to in the painting, except on the right-hand side, where, probably for reasons of balance and composition, the artist has allowed himself some poetic licence.

## NOTE

This note has been adapted from a longer article (dealing also with the other studies on this sheet) which appeared in *Scottish Art Review*, 1966 (Andrews 1966:6-28).

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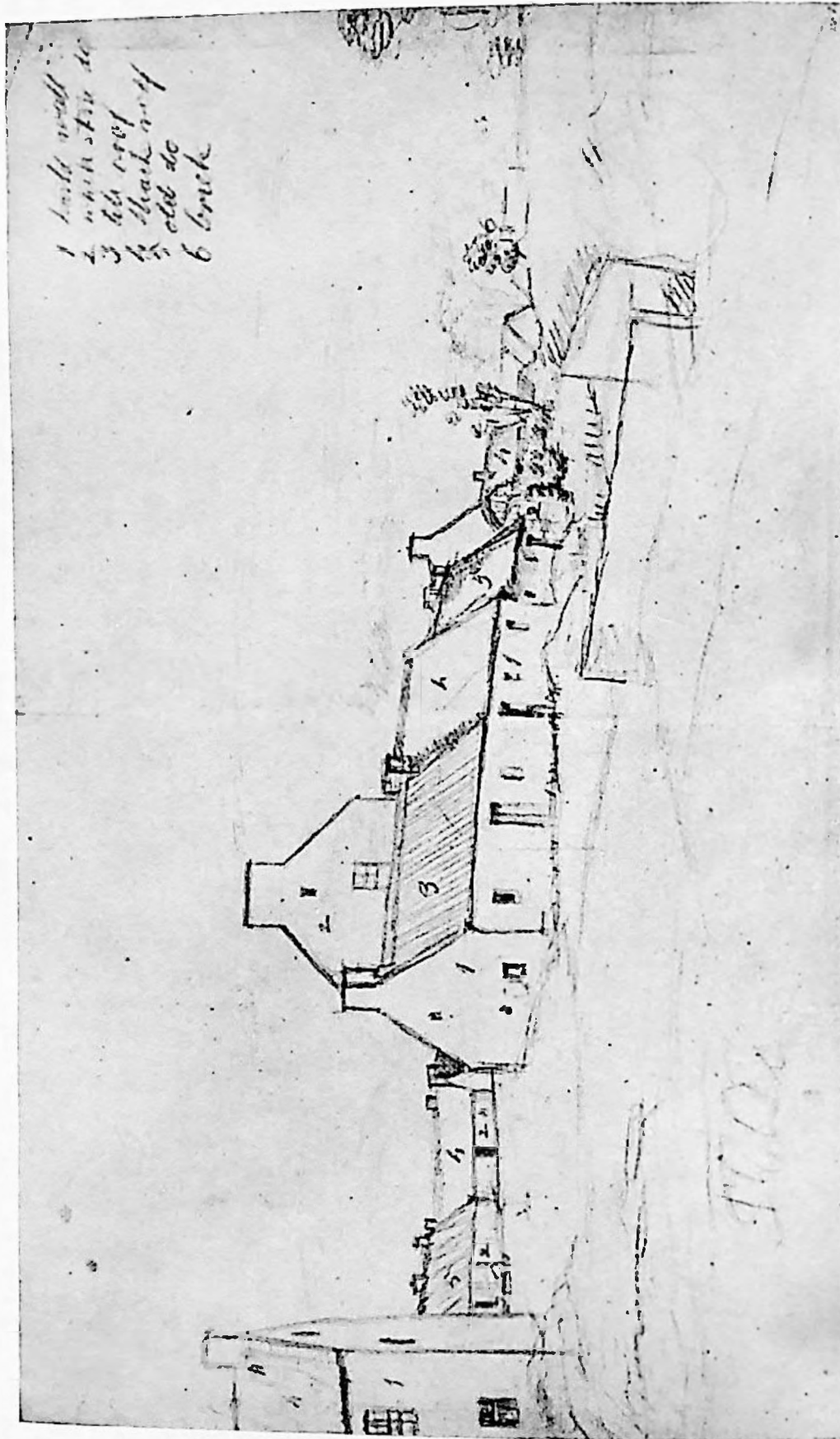
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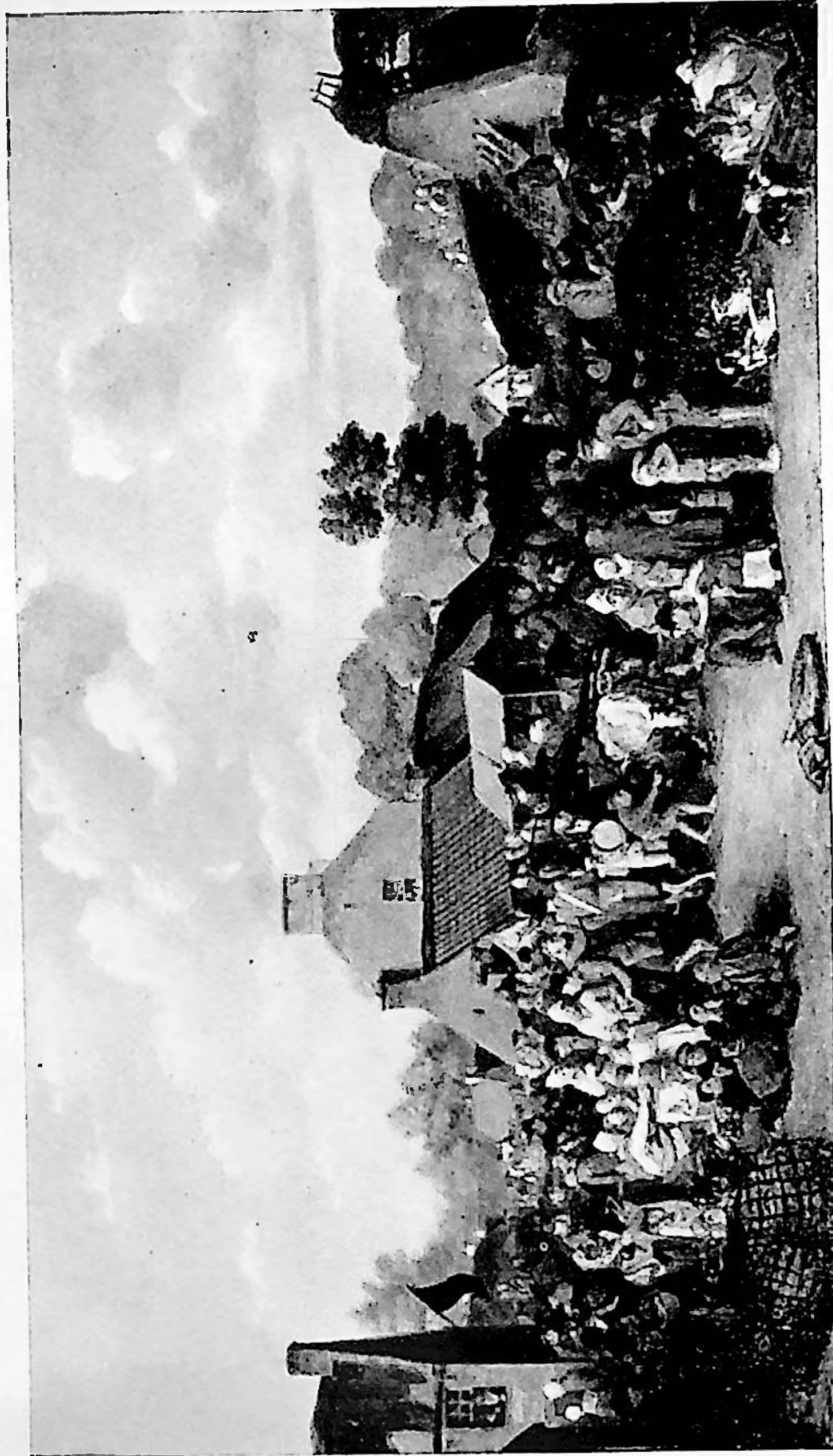
### *The Topography of "Pitlessie Fair"*

B. R. S. MEGAW

The fairground was not, as might be thought to-day, the triangular green at the south end of the village adjoining the road to Cupar. Improbable though it now seems, the drawing shows that the fair was held in the middle of the village where the road crosses obliquely a narrow tributary of the Eden (Plate X).



Sir David Wilkie, background for *Pittessie Fair*  
Black chalk, 13½ x 22½ in. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland  
Block by courtesy of the *Scottish Art Review*  
(See page 177)



Sir David Wilkie, *Pittlesse Fair*  
Oil on canvas, 23 x 42 in. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland  
Block by courtesy of the *Scottish Art Review*  
(See page 177)

PLATE X



The scene of Wilkie's *Pitlessie Fair* to-day  
Photograph by W. S. Megaw, May 1966  
(See page 178)

The two-storey house whose gable-end dominates the centre of the drawing, now known as "Burnbrae", is remembered to have been "a licensed house", and was marked "P.H." by the Ordnance surveyors in 1857 (Fig. 1). The picturesque row of

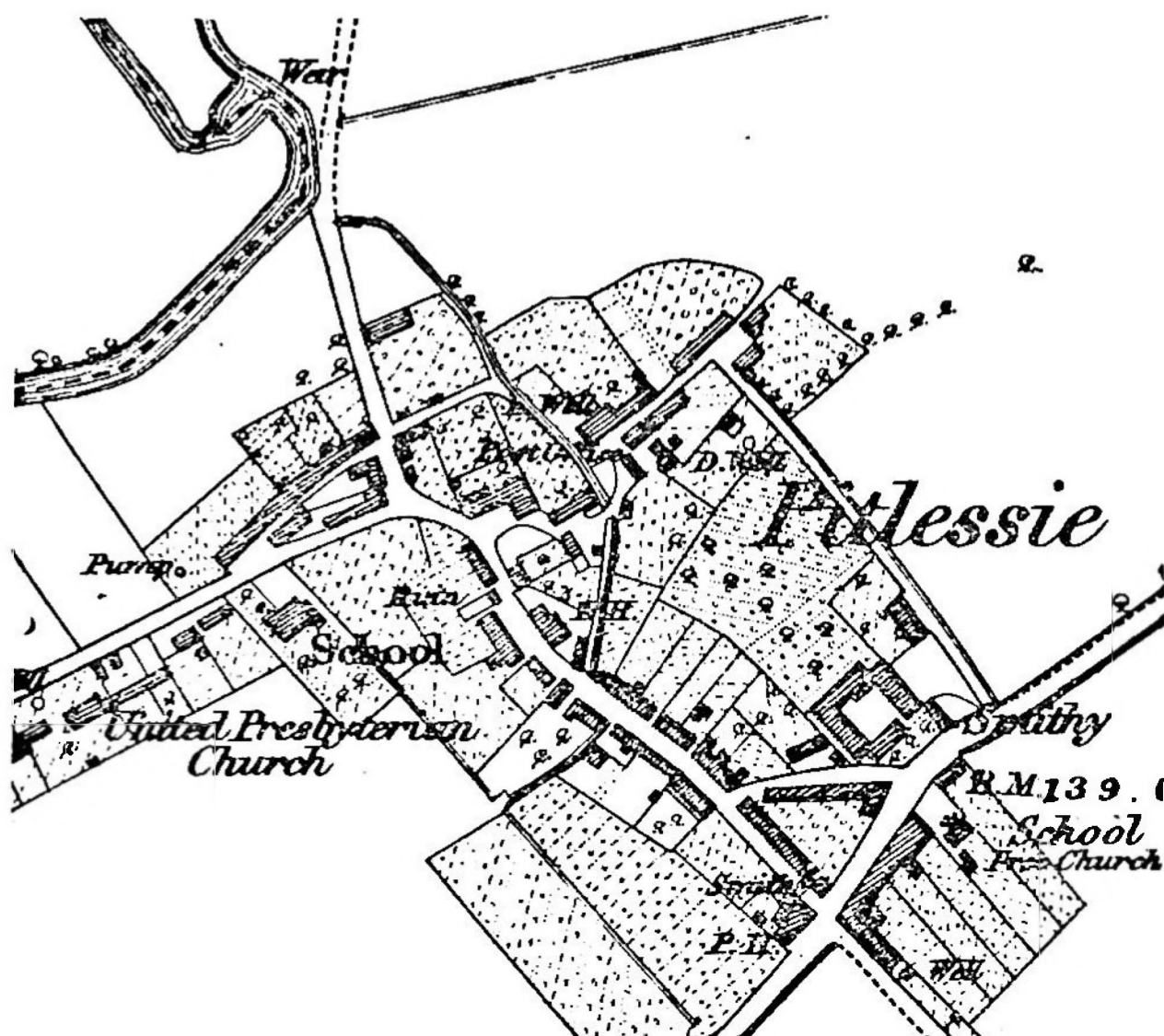


FIG. 1.—Pitlessie village: enlarged detail from survey of 1857 (O.S. 6 inch to 1 mile, first edition). Wilkie's view was taken looking north-west from the point where the burn passed obliquely beneath the village street.

tiled and thatched cottages flanking the burn in 1804 was demolished some sixty years ago, but their façades survive as part of the garden wall: even their doorways and built-up windows can still be discerned there, though road-widening has removed a gable end. On the left of the drawing, the thatched house of two storeys with gable built out into the roadway opposite the row of cottages has also been demolished, so that the space formerly available as "fairground" was even more restricted than would now appear.

"There were formerly," wrote the minister of Cults about 1838, "two annual fairs in Pitlessie, for the sale of agricultural stock, chiefly cattle, the one held on the second Tuesday of May, old style, and the other on the third Wednesday of



October, old style. The latter has for some years been discontinued; the former is still kept, and . . . is one of the best attended fairs in the county of Fife" (N.S.A. 1845:576). As Wilkie was already at work on the painting of *The Country Fair* in August 1804, following his preliminary studies, it was clearly the May fair that inspired this "portrait of a village with its people".

These, the then minister maintained some thirty years later, included "portraits of Wilkie himself, his father, brothers and sisters, and of many other characters well known in parish and neighbourhood" (N.S.A. 1845:567). Allan Cunningham, who gives a lively account of the scene depicted, tells us that "his father [the Rev. David Wilkie], who is represented standing conversing with a publican, looked grave at this till someone suggested that he seemed in the act of warning the other to keep a decorous house" (Cunningham 1843:62).

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*The Soldier's Bible*

HAMISH HENDERSON

The following version of A.T. 1613 was written down in 1954 by Mr. John Elliot, Hangingshaws, Yarrow. It is part of a manuscript book entitled "Short Stories of the Borders, with Robbers, Gosts and Fairyies". Spelling and punctuation have been retained:

on one occasion A soldier of the name of Robert Marshal was caught playing cards during A church sermon, he had the cards spread befor him in A pew when asked by the sergent to put them away, he refused and he was taken befor his commanding Officer The Colonel asked what charge was being brought against the soldier, for playing cards in church sir was the reply. well said the Colonel turning to the prisoner what have you got to say for yourself. I am A private soldier

sir replied the prisoner and I neather have bible or pray book. the only thing is A pack of cards, and I hope to satisfay you sir of my purity of my intensions. when I see the two it reminds me of the father and son. when I see the ace it reminds me there is only one God when I see the three it reminds me of the holey Trinity, when I see the four it reminds me of the four evangelists mathew mark luke. John. when I see the five it reminds me of the virgins who trimmed there lamps. five were wise and five were folish and were shut out, when I see the six it reminds me in six days the lord made heaven and earth, when I see the seventh it reminds me that God rested on the seventh, when I see the eight it reminds me of the eight persons who were saved when god destroyed the world namely noah and his wife his three sons and their wives, when I see the King it reminds me of our great King and lord god almighty. when I see the queen it reminds me of the queen of sheba who was as wise as King solomona.

very good said the Colonel every card in the pack except one. which is that sir the knave well sir I will gave A defination of that to if you will promise not to be angry with me, I will not be angary said the Colonal if you do not term me the knave. well sir the greatest knave I know is the sergent who brought me here I do not know said the Colonel if he is the greatest knave, but he was probably acting as he thought was his duety, when I count the spots on A pack of cards continued the soldier I find there are 365 which reminds me of the days in the year, there are 52 cards in A pack which reminds me of the number of weeks in A year, there are 13 cards in each suits which reminds me of the weeks in A quarter, there are four suits which reminds me of the four seasons so you see sir that A pack of cards serves for A bible and an almanack go said the Colonel for you are more larned then I am

## NOTE

A.T. 1613 ("Playing-Cards are My Calendar and Prayerbook") is a widely diffused international tale; it has been reported all over Europe, as well as in the U.S.A. and Spanish America. An Anglo-Irish version recorded in Newcastle, Co. Wicklow, by Professor Séamus Ó Duilearga was published in *Béaloides* (Vol. 15, 1945, pp. 261-3). In a note on this version, Professor Ó Duilearga states: "There is a letter headed 'Christian Cards' in the *Sunday Times*, 31 Dec. 1933, in which a version of the tale is reprinted from an undated almanack, entitled *Perpetual Almanack, or Gentleman Soldier's Prayer Book*."

Printed versions may have helped to keep the tale in circulation,

but it also had widespread oral currency among soldiers and farm-servants. It was still quite common British Army folk-lore in World War II, especially among Scottish regular soldiers, and I heard versions very similar to Mr. Elliot's from a Pioneer Corps sergeant in Sussex (1940) and from a private in the 5th Camerons at Enfidaville, Tunisia (1943).

### *An Tailleir agus a Bhean*

DONALD A. MACDONALD

A.T. 1351, *The Silence Wager*, is well enough attested in Scotland in ballad form, *The Barring of the Door* (Child 275) being widely known. As a prose tale, however, despite its international distribution,<sup>1</sup> it seems to be distinctly rare in modern Scottish oral tradition. Indeed the only sources known to me are the late Angus John MacLellan, Hacleit, Benbecula, and his neighbour, Peter MacCormick, who learnt it from him.<sup>2</sup>

The following text (S.A. 1953/273 A 12) is, on balance, the best of three tellings recorded from Angus John MacLellan. The recording was made by the late Dr. Calum Maclean in Benbecula on 3rd January 1954. The two others were made in 1949<sup>3</sup> when Mr. MacLellan, who was then aged 66, told Dr. Maclean that he had learnt the story from his father, Donald MacLellan, also of Hacleit, some 30 years before.

Bha siod ann tàilleir agus bha e air a chumail uamhasach trang. Cha robh duine 'cumail taighe ris ach . . . a bhean: cha robh teaghlach ann. Bhiodh esan a' tàilleireachd daonnan 's bhiodh a bhean ag obair a' snìomh mar a bhiodh na seann chailleachan o shean daonnan. A neist, a feasgar a bha seo, gu mi fhortanach, dé ach 'n'air a bha ch-uile sian seachad, thug a bhean an aire nach robh diar uisge 'staigh: "S fhearr dhut," ors ise, "dhol dha'n tobar."<sup>4</sup>

"Cha déid", ors esan. "S mise nach déid sin," ors esan. "Rinn mi barrachd ort fhéin a dh-obair an diugh, ach theirg thus ann, no fan as."

"Cha déid mi ann," ors ise, "ach theid thus ann." 'S thòisich an còmhdach.

"Well," ors ise, "a chiad dhuin' againn a chanas facal brìdhneadh, 'sè theid dha'n tobar."

Bha seo . . . math gu leòr. Thug an tàilleir 'ige 'n tàilleireachd—briogais na seacaid (? na 'b'r'ith de) bha e 'dianamh

's thòisich e air tàilleireachd agus dh'fhalbh a bhean agus thug i 'ic a' chuibheall agus thòisich i air snìomh.

Neist, thòisich an tàilleir air gabhail a' phuirt:<sup>5</sup>

“Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili how ri idili  
How ri idili àrum,”

ors am bodach.

“Dan di ridili dow ri idili  
Dan di ridili hàrum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili hàrum,”<sup>6</sup>

ors a' chailleach.

*Well*, a nist, bha iad a' sealltainn air a chéile agus cha robh 'n còrr ann.

Ach dé ach thachair gu robh fear . . . cuideigin a' tighinn a' rathad, agus far a' robh 'n taigh aca-san aig crois na ròidean ann a shin—mar tha taigh . . . a staigh aig Lianacleit—cha robh fios aig an duine bhochd có rathad a ghabhadh e, agus chunnaig e an taigh a bh'ann a sheo agus solus as. Thuirt e ris fhéin gu rachadh e chon an taighe agus gun innseadh iad dha a' rathad dòigheil, far a robh e dol.

Dh'fhalbh e agus bhuail e as an dorust agus sheall an tàilleir air a bhean agus sheall a bhean air an tàilleir agus cha robh 'n còrr air ach:

“Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili hàrum,”

ors am bodach.

“Dan ti ridili dow ri hidili  
How ri hidili hàrum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
Dow ri didili hàrum,”

ors a' chailleach.

Agus bha 'n duine bochd an sheasamh a staigh.

“N innseadh sibh dhomh,” ors esan, “a' rathad,” ors esan, “go leithid seo a dh-àite?”

Thòisich am bodach air ais air a phort, 's thòisich a' chailleach. Bha e 'coimhead orra.

"M biodh sibh cho math," ors esan, "agus gun innseadh sibh dhomh," ors esan, "a' rathad go leithid seo a dh-àite?"

"Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili àrum,"

ors am bodach.

"Dan ti ridili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili hàrum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
Dow ri didili hàrum,"

ors a' chailleach.

"Hó, chlann an Fhir Ad, cha bhi mise fada toirt bridhinn asaibh."

Agus ghearr e leum chon na caillich agus sgioblaich e leis i, cruinn, cothrom, còmhlaidh go miadhain an ùrlair agus chuir i dìreach car-a-mhoiltein dhith air an ùrlar 's bha 'm bodach ag obair air . . . tàilleireachd:

"Dow ri idili àrum  
Dow ri idili àrum . . .

"A Mhic an Fhir Ad," ors esan, "gu dé tha thu dol a dhianamh ma choinneamh mo dha shùil."

"Dha'n tobar thu, dha'n tobar thu," ors ise.

### *The Tailor and the Wife*

There was once a tailor and he was kept very busy. He had no-one living with him except his wife: there was no family. He was always working away at tailoring and his wife worked at spinning, as the old wives always used to do in the old days. Now, this evening, unfortunately, what should happen after everything was done, but that his wife noticed that there was not a drop of water in the house:

"You'd better," said she, "go to the well."<sup>4</sup>

"I will not," said he. "I will do no such thing," said he. "I have done more work to-day than you have, but you go or stay as you like."

"I will not go," said she, "but you shall." And the argument started.

"Well," said she, "the first one of us who says a word will be the one who goes to the well."

This was fine. The tailor took up his tailoring, a pair of trousers or a jacket (? or whatever) he was doing and he began to sew and his wife went and got out the spinning wheel and began to spin.

Now the tailor started to sing a *port*:<sup>5</sup>

"Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili how ri idili  
How ri idili arum,"

went the old man.

"Dan di ridili dow ri idili  
Dan di ridili harum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili harum,"<sup>6</sup>

went the old woman.

Well, now, they were looking at each other, and that was all there was to it.

But what should happen but that someone was passing that way, and where their house stood, at the crossroads there—like the house . . . in at Lianacleit—the poor man did not know which road he ought to take, and he saw this house with a light showing. He said to himself that he would go to the house and that they would tell him the right way to the place where he was going.

He went and knocked at the door, and the tailor looked at his wife and the wife looked at the tailor and it was nothing but:

"Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili harum,"

went the old man.

"Dan ti ridili dow ri hidili  
How ri hidili harum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
Dow ri didili harum,"

went the old woman.

And the poor man was standing inside the door.

“Would you tell me,” said he “the way,” said he, “to such-and-such a place?”

The old man started up again on the *port* and the old woman started up. He was watching them.

“Would you be so good,” said he, “as to tell me,” said he, “the way to such-and-such a place?”

“Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili arum,”

went the old man.

“Dan ti ridili how ri hidili  
How ri hidili harum  
Dow ri hidili how ri hidili  
Dow ri didili harum,”

went the old woman.

“Ho, you children of Yon One, I won’t be long getting speech out of you!”

And he leaped towards the old woman and bundled her with him holus bolus to the middle of the floor and she went head-over-heels on the floor, and the old man was going on with his tailoring:

“Dow ri idili arum  
Dow ri idili arum . . .

You son of Yon One,” said he, “what are you going to do in front of my very eyes.”

“To the well with you; to the well with you,” cried she.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> International distribution as noted by Thompson (1961:400): Finnish, Lithuanian, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Scottish, Irish, English, French, Catalan, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovenian, Russian, Greek, Turkish, Iran, Palestine, India, Chinese, Spanish American, Portuguese American, West Indies, French-Canadian.
- <sup>2</sup> Peter MacCormick is himself a good story-teller. I recorded his version in *Hàclait* last year (SA 1965/84 B 1). It is very similar to Angus John MacLellan’s version and Mr. MacCormick told me that he had in fact learnt the story from Mr. MacLellan.
- <sup>3</sup> These are:
  - (a) I.F.C. MS. 1156:161-5. Manuscript text of recording made by Dr. Calum Maclean for the Irish Folklore Commission from

Angus John MacLellan at Hàcleit, 22.6.49. The School of Scottish Studies has a microfilm copy.

(b) Log 353-4. Recorded from Angus John MacLellan at Carnan Inn 28.7.49 by Professor Derick Thomson and J. Anthony on disc. Now in the School of Scottish Studies Archives.

- 4 The quarrel in other versions of A.T. 1351 is more usually about barring a door, but it may also be about who is to have a particular delicacy, who is to do the housework, make the bed, return a borrowed pan, etc.
- 5 The song, consisting of meaningless vocables, would not count as speech. The first of the 1949 texts (see Note 3 above) explains that the tailor and his wife always hummed a song as they worked. Incidentally, these vocables cannot be properly rendered in traditional Gaelic orthography.
- 6 My colleague Miss Morag MacLeod has kindly supplied the following transcription of the tune:

Dow ri i dil i à rum Dow ri i dil i à rum

Dow ri i dil i how ri i dil i How ri i dil i à rum

Dan di ri di li dow ri i di li Dan di ri di li hà rum

Dow ri hi di li how ri hi di li How ri hi di li hà rum.

Because there are variations in the tune each time it is sung, I give only an approximation to the basic melody.—M. M.

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- SA School of Scottish Studies Sound Recording Archive.
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1961 *The Types of the Folktale*. Helsinki.



*The Heugh Mills at Dunfermline*

BASIL SKINNER

Detailed contemporary illustration of Scottish water-driven grain-mills is sufficiently uncommon to make a newly recorded painting of the Heugh Mills at Dunfermline worth a brief notice. Mills feature as picturesque elements in the landscape work of the Nasmyths and their contemporaries, but inevitably artistic rather than factual considerations weigh most. In the painting now reported<sup>1</sup> the design, appearance and exterior arrangements of an interesting series of mills can be clearly seen.

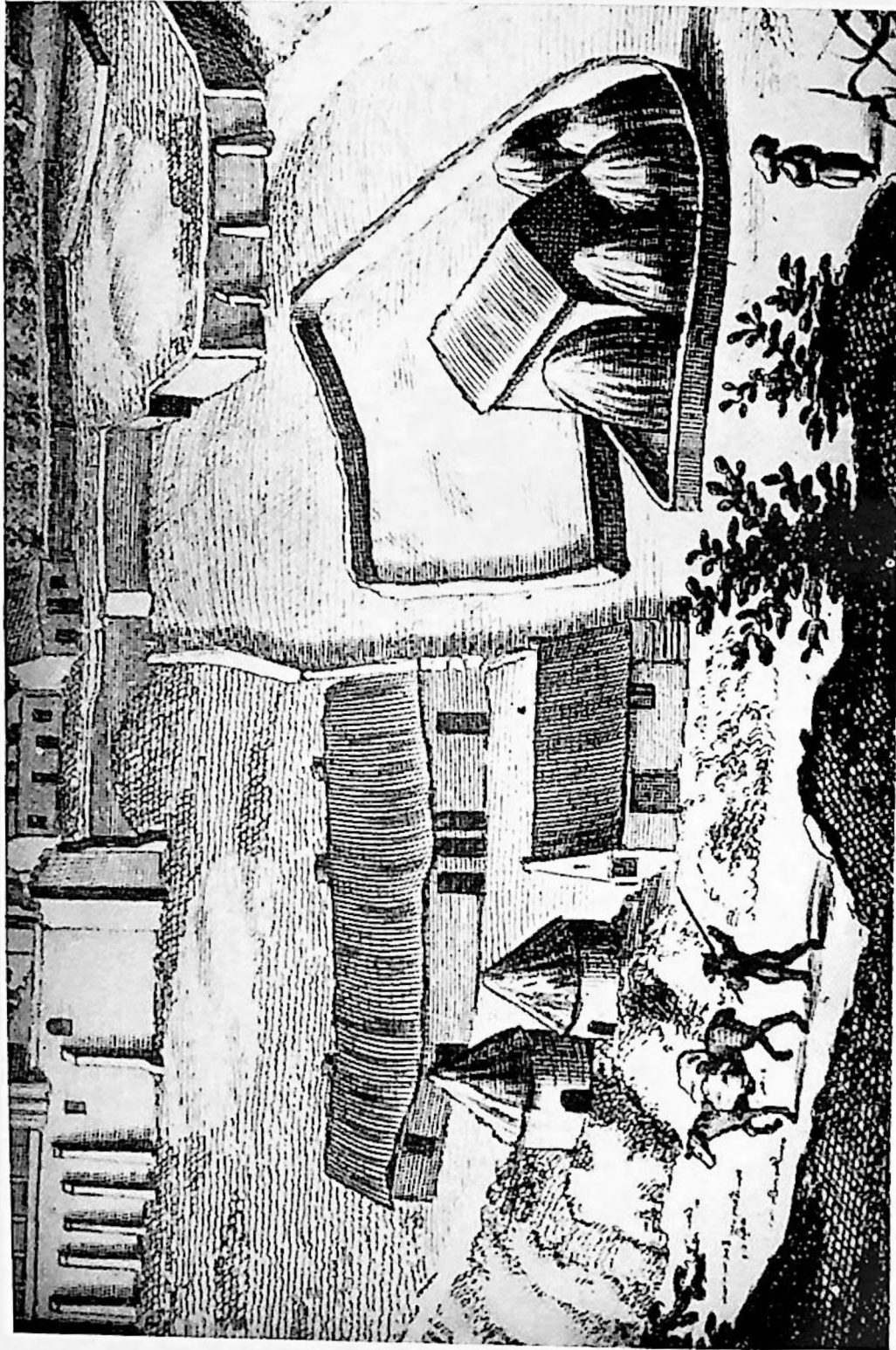
The Heugh Mills were situated immediately below the Frater of Dunfermline Abbey, lying on the steep hillside between the present Monastery Street and the river in Pittencrieff Glen. Peter Chalmers in his classic history of the town (Chalmers 1859:81) describes three mills—a flour mill, a meal mill and a snuff-mill—but the first of these was evidently the most important and is more specifically treated by him in *New Statistical Account* (1844:891).

That mills existed on this site for some centuries is evident not only from references in the records of Dunfermline Abbey (Innes 1842) but also in Slezer's view of the Abbey in 1693<sup>2</sup> which shows two mill buildings and two kilns beside the mill-lade (Plate XI). Again Thomas Pennant records in 1772:

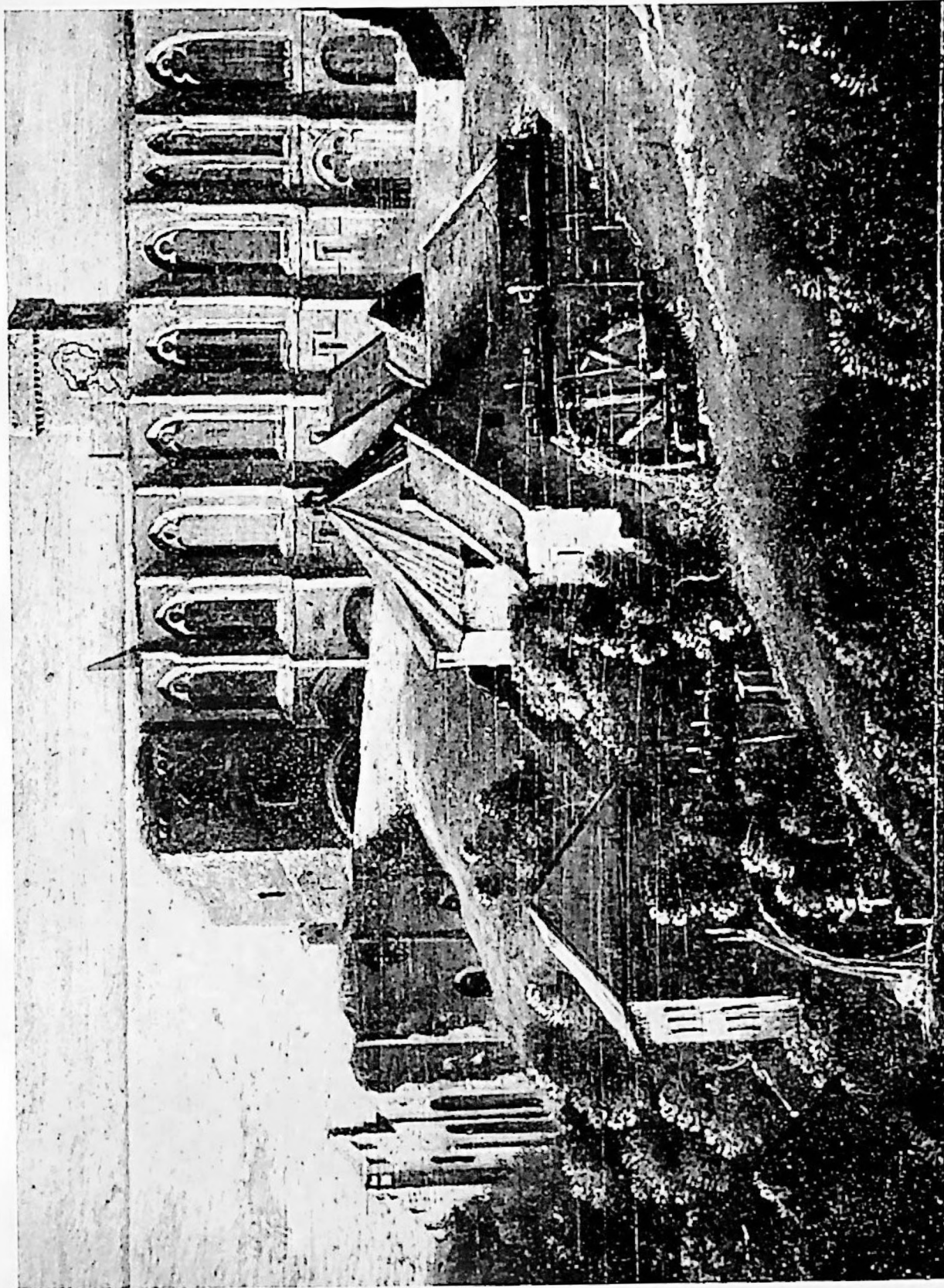
The town wants the advantage of a river but has a small stream for economic uses which is conducted through the street in a flagged channel. At its discharge it joins another rivulet then, arriving at a fall into a wooded dell of a hundred feet in depth, becomes again useful in turning five mills, placed one below the other with room for as many more. Three of the mills are for corn; the fourth for flax, the fifth for beating iron.<sup>3</sup>

The building described in the *New Statistical Account* and illustrated in the painting was erected in 1784 or 1787 and constituted the only flour-mill (as against several grain-mills) in Dunfermline at the period. In 1819 the water-power proving inadequate in summer, a steam engine was installed and at that time the average annual manufacture was 7194 bolls.

The painting by Andrew Wilson (Plate XII) is dated 1793. The three mills are shown against the background of the conventual buildings of the Abbey, while to the right linen is



The Heugh Mills at Dunfermline, 1693  
Detail from Slezci's "View of Dunfermline Abbey," in his *Theatrum Scotiae*  
(See page 188)



The Heugh Mills at Dumfermline, 1793  
Detail of painting entitled *View of Dumfermline*. Oil on wood 24½ × 44 in. Signed Andrew  
Wilson 1793. In the collection of R. H. A. Hunt, Esq., of Logic House, Dumfermline  
(See page 188)

put out to bleach or dry on open ground nearby. Behind the uppermost mill can be seen a large octagonal kiln for drying grain, just such as accompanied the mills in the Water of Leith village at Edinburgh. The arrangement of the three mills is made possible only by the fall of the ground. The mill-lade is carried in wooden troughs to over-shoot first the wheel of the top mill, then—the water collected and conducted through further troughs—to provide over-shot drive for the second mill. The method of drive adopted in the third and lowest mill cannot be seen but could well have been either over-shot or under-shot. Each of the two wheels shown must have measured about 15 ft. in diameter. All this can be seen equally plainly in plan in Wood's map of Dunfermline of 1823 (Wood 1828).

To-day quite substantial remains of the mills survive although much overgrown by trees, and they can be seen from the War Memorial in Monastery Street or inspected more closely after a precipitous climb from the footpath below. The outer walls of the mill buildings stand to a height of 18 or 20 feet, the lower courses showing masonry of two different periods, although no sign could be seen of the date-stone "1733" recorded by Ebenezer Henderson as at the foundation-level of one of the buildings (Henderson 1879:428). On the east wall of the top-most mill, wheelscrapes of three different radii indicate that the position or size of the millwheel there was altered. At the very top the stone-built tunnel of substantial size designed to carry the lade forward under Monastery Street can clearly be seen.

The Andrew Wilson who signed this painting may be identifiable with the landscape painter of that name who was born in Edinburgh in 1780 and studied with Alexander Nasmyth before going to London in 1797; if so this picture is the talented work of a boy of 13. Otherwise the signature may be that of a hitherto unrecorded local man.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *View of Dunfermline*: oil on wood 24½ × 44, signed *A'w Wilson pinxit 1793*: collection of R.H.A. Hunt, Esq., of Logie House, Dunfermline. Sincere thanks are due to Mr. Hunt for his permission to publish this painting.
- <sup>2</sup> John Slezer: *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693.
- <sup>3</sup> Thomas Pennant: *A Tour in Scotland in 1772* (London 1776) 3:212. A water-colour drawing of the Mills by Moses Griffith is in the Thomas Pennant collection in the National Library of Wales. My thanks are due to Mr. Basil Megaw for bringing this to my attention.

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Vol. 1. Edinburgh.1844 "Parish of Dunfermline." *New Statistical Account* 9:821-912.  
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1879 *Annals of Dunfermline*. Glasgow.

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1842 *Registrum de Dunfermlyn* (Bannatyne Club). Edinburgh.

WOOD, JOHN

1828 *Town Atlas*. Edinburgh.*Some Eighteenth-Century Shetland Wool*

M. L. RYDER

The purpose of this note is to describe some pieces of cloth in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. The first of these (NA325) has some raw wool with it, both being associated with Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835) although there is no evidence that the raw wool and the cloth have any connection. The catalogue records this cloth as a small portion of Sir John Sinclair's superfine brown cloth made from Scots wool, enclosed in a letter dated 25th April 1792 from Lord Fife in London to Mr. W. Rose his factor at Montcoffer House near Banff. The letter reads: "Inclosed you have a bit of Sir John Sinclair's superfine Clooth all made of Scots wool. I sposs you had rather I had sent a coat but indeed I sent you all I got, it is really very fine." The letter appears to be from the Fife papers, and was given to the museum in 1896 by Dr. W. Cramond who, according to Tayler and Tayler (1925), had access to these. The wool staple is pinned to a separate sheet of similar paper, on which is written the following, in apparently similar handwriting to that of the address on the letter: "Shetland wool from Sir John Sinclair, 1792". This wool is clearly contemporary with the cloth, but it is not recorded in the catalogue, and so may have no connection at all with the cloth.

The cloth is a fine, soft-handling, milled fabric that has been raised to give an appreciable nap. The yarns have become so close together in the milling that the weave structure is obscured. One system of yarns has an S twist, and the other a Z twist, and as this is more tightly spun it is probably the warp.

The second group of specimens comprise some clothes found during peat-cutting on the croft of Kurkiegarth, Voe, about 1926. They were not associated with a skeleton, being in a bundle three feet deep. Most of the clothes are in a poor state of preservation, the most recognisable item being a green jacket apparently of the eighteenth century. The other cloths are of brown colour, being apparently peat-stained or naturally pigmented. They include plain, 2/2 twill, and herringbone

TABLE

*Wool fibre measurements*

Source	Length (mm.)	Fibre diameter range (microns)*	Mean diameter	Most frequent diameter	Diameter distribution	
<i>Voe</i>						
brown yarn	(a)	—	14-54 1 at 86	27	20	skewed-to-fine (hairy medium)
	(b)	—	16-62	35	22	skewed-to-fine (hairy medium)
green yarn	(a)	—	12-60 1 at 70	27	22	skewed-to-fine (hairy medium)
	(b)	—	14-70 1 at 102	30	20	skewed-to-fine (hairy medium)
<i>Sinclair</i>						
cloth	(a)	—	16-40	24	26	skewed-to-fine (generalised medium)
	(b)	—	16-40	24	22	
staple	75	10-30	20	20	symmetrical (fine)	
<i>Modern Shetland</i>						
white	110	16-34	23	22	almost symmetrical	
white	140	16-46	27	20	skewed-to-fine	
moorit	100	12-46 1 at 54 and 60	24	18	skewed-to-fine	

\* One micron = 0.001 mm.

weaves. The green cloth has a weave that is a combination of plain weave and 2/2 twill. Both systems of yarns are S-spun. One has 24 yarns to the inch and the other 30. Microscopic examination of the brown 2/2 twill showed that only the coarse fibres are naturally pigmented, the fine fibres have a blue-green dye. The green cloth, too, has pigmented, coarse fibres, and the fine fibres show the bilateral effect common in fine wool in which one side of the fibre has a natural pigment, and the other takes up the dye. The diameters of the fibres in each yarn have a primitive skewed-to-fine distribution together with a few hairy fibres or kemps (see Table). They were thus of a type described as "hairy medium wool" found in Norse textiles from Scotland (Ryder 1964).

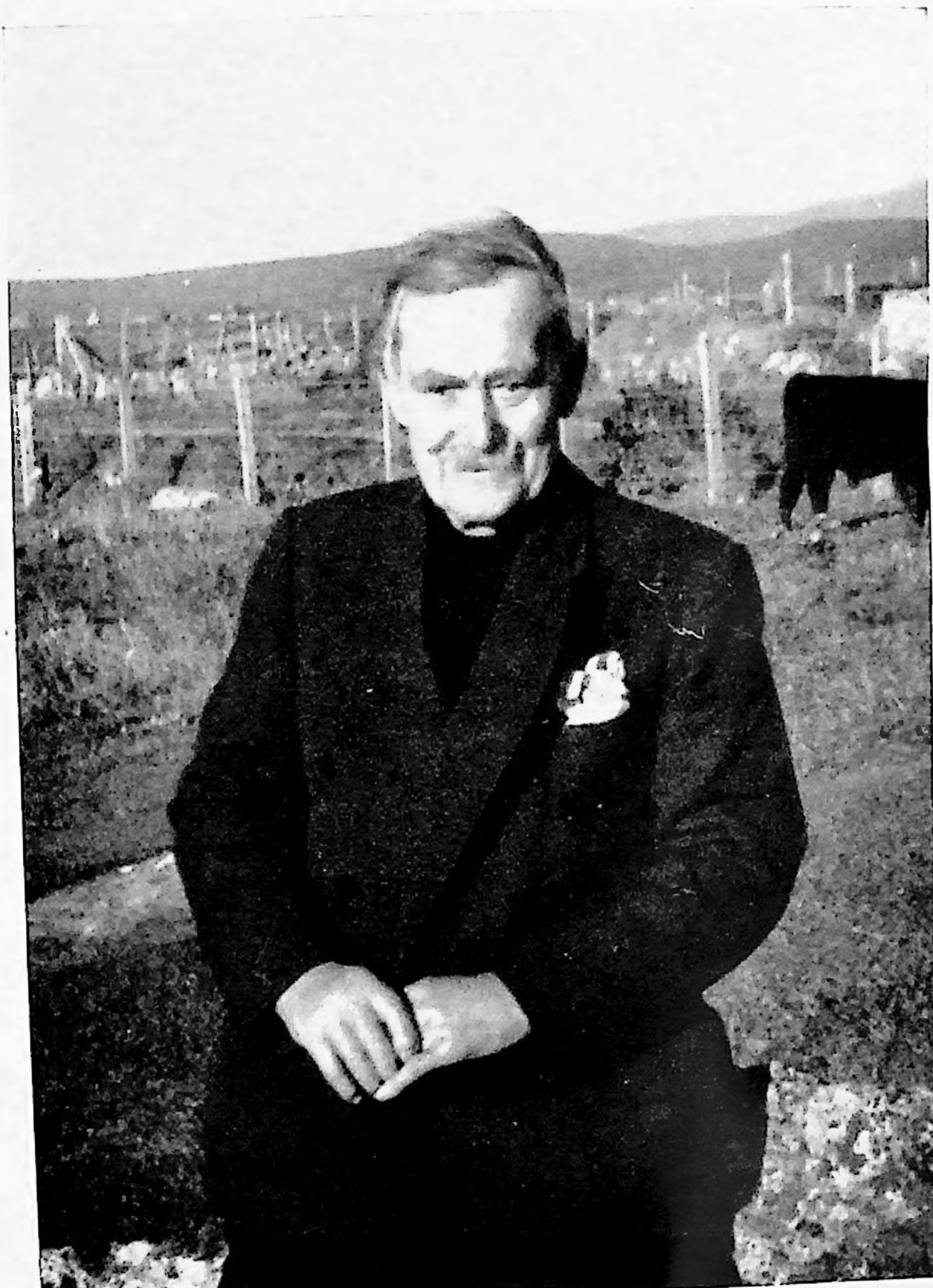
Although one cannot rule out the possibility that this was not a native Shetland product, the fleece type certainly corresponds to the "beaver" variety of Shetland described by the Highland Society Committee (1790) as having long hairs projecting beyond the wool.

The wool in Sinclair's cloth has the fibre diameter range, and skewed-to-fine distribution, characteristic of a native Scottish short wool such as the Shetland (see Table). Many of the fibres have a sparse distribution of granules internally, which could be pigment granules. The wool could therefore have been pale brown, or grey, before it was dyed.

The staple specimen, however, has the characteristic length, diameter and crimp of Merino wool (Ryder 1963). There are about 12 tight, regular crimps per inch, which corresponds to 60's quality Merino (or at least "Comeback", which is a  $\frac{3}{4}$  Merino cross-bred). Modern Shetland wool is longer, and coarser (see Table), and the diameter has a primitive skewed-to-fine distribution as opposed to the symmetrical distribution around the most frequent value found in this specimen and in the Merino.

It is unlikely that this specimen does in fact contain any Merino influence because Sinclair was at this time advocating Shetland sheep to provide a substitute for Spanish Merino wool (Mitchison 1962), and in any case the first Merinos did not arrive in Edinburgh for his British Wool Society until 1791 (Carter 1964) only a year before the date on the staple. One is therefore led to the conclusion that it is wool from the "kindly" variety of Shetland sheep which produced finer, more uniform wool than the others (Highland Society 1790). This staple therefore provides support for the claim in this report that Shetland wool in the past could indeed be very fine and uniform. There is evidence for the existence of a true fine wool in Roman specimens from the continent (Ryder, unpublished measurements), and a Roman specimen (FR483) from Falkirk, which could possibly have been imported, had a symmetrical distribution, with a mean fibre diameter as low as 17 microns. The two yarns in some medieval cloth from Loch Treig (HT170) were of the same type of wool and had mean diameters of 18 and 20 microns respectively (Ryder 1964). Sir Joseph Banks, who regarded the Shetland sheep as too primitive to grow fine wool (Mitchison 1962) was clearly wrong if he assumed that all Shetland sheep were of the hairy "beaver" type.

PLATE XIII



ANGUS MACLELLAN, M.B.E. (“Aonghus Beag”)  
1869-1966

At Frobost, South Uist, 1962  
Photographed by Dr J. L. Campbell  
(See page 193)



I am grateful to Miss A. S. Henshall and her colleagues at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland for providing the samples, the descriptions of the cloth and the information given in the introduction.

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1925 *Lord Fife and His Factor, 1729-1809*. London.

*Angus MacLellan M.B.E. ("Aonghus Beag")*

1869-1966

J. L. CAMPBELL

With the death of Angus MacLellan last March at Frobost in South Uist in the ninety-seventh year of his age, one of the last of the great Gaelic storytellers of the Hebrides recorded by the School of Scottish Studies has gone from us. "Aonghus Beag" was one of the comparatively small number of Gaelic storytellers who survived, fortunately, into the days of the tape recorder. I shall not attempt to compare him with others whom I have known, such as Duncan MacDonald, Seonaidh Caimbeul ("Seonaidh mac Dhomhnaill 'ic Iain Bhàin"), James MacKinnon in Barra ("Seumas Iain Ghunnairigh") or Neil Gillies ("Niall Mìhcheil Nill") all of whom, alas, have also passed away. It is enough to say here that all of them were strong and interesting personalities, the like of whom can hardly long survive the disappearance of monoglot Gaelic speakers; but Angus MacLellan was particularly interesting, and particularly valuable to the School of Scottish Studies, owing to the enormous amount of material which he preserved with a memory which was unclouded up to the time of his death at a very advanced age, and to the very

vivid and lively way in which his stories were told. He is a person to whom the folklorist and the social historian of the future are going to be greatly indebted.

My personal acquaintance with "Aonghus Beag" went back to the winter of 1948-49, when he was living in the house of his nephew the well-known piper Mr. Angus Campbell, and I was taken there by the late Rev. Fr. Alec MacKellaig, parish priest of Bornish, to meet Angus MacLellan and hear some of his stories. At that time, no recording machine was available. In November of 1949 I returned to South Uist with an American machine, the Webster wire recorder, on an expense grant given by the Leverhulme Foundation.<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Calum MacLean was then working in Benbecula with Angus MacMillan ("Aonghus Barrach") and other reciters; as he had not time to reach Angus MacLellan himself, he suggested that I should undertake the recording of some of his stories, although at the time the principal purpose of my visits to Uist was to record songs, particularly waulking songs.

In those days there was no electricity in South Uist apart from the Lochboisdale Hotel, Daliburgh Hospital and one or two private houses. To the Lochboisdale Hotel Angus MacLellan very kindly came on 23rd November 1949 for a first session, and recorded three ballads and two stories, the Ballads of the Sea-Hag (*Muilgheartach*), of the Smithy, and of Kismul,<sup>2</sup> and the stories of the Widow's Revenge on Clanranald and the Reason why the Sea is Salt. During the next two years (when I was also working with many other reciters) he recorded a further thirteen stories for me on wire. All this material was copied on to tape for the School of Scottish Studies, and probably all of it has been recorded from him directly on to tape again since 1957.

So vigorous was Angus MacLellan both physically and mentally that in 1949 I had the impression that he must be a man of about 65 years of age at the most. I was astonished to learn years later that by November 1949 he had passed his eightieth birthday. Even then, and for some years later, it was his habit to spend several weeks alone every summer in the thatched house beside Loch Eynort in which he had been born on the 4th of July 1869, in order to look after his sheep; he had the reputation in Uist of being a first-class handler of sheep.

By late 1951 it was apparent that even such a good wire

recorder as the Webster was going to be superseded by tape, and it was also clear that when the proposed installation of electricity by the Hydro Board in South Uist took place, recording was going to be very much easier to do there. It was resumed in the winter of 1957-58 with a Grundig, my machine being at times used by the Rev. Fr. John MacLean, parish priest of Bornish, and from the spring of 1958 many more visits were made to Uist with the main object of recording Angus MacLellan and his sister Mrs. Campbell, in view of their age, the vividness of their memories, the immense amount of traditional material which they knew, and their eagerness to record it. Between this time and his death in March 1966 Angus was also recorded for the School of Scottish Studies by the late Dr. Calum Maclean (from 1958 to 1960, 111 items), then by Mr. D. A. MacDonald (1963 to 1965, 80 items) and by Dr. Alan Bruford in November 1965 (6 items). Fr. MacLean recorded 18 items in 1957-58, and the writer over 200 items (of which about 90 were autobiographical) between April 1958 and August 1965.

As a precise catalogue of all this material would take up a considerable amount of space, and would also necessitate the checking of recordings both in the School of Scottish Studies and the Canna archives, it is not attempted here. It is sufficient to say that Angus MacLellan's stock of tales included all kinds of things, Fingalian stories and ballads, international folk-tales, ghost stories (not that he himself believed in ghosts), fairy stories, local history, and many personal reminiscences. Also, every now and again he would break into song, singing with a remarkably strong and true voice such things as songs made by the Bard of Laisgeir which I have certainly never heard sung by anyone else. He had a most interesting version of the air of *Oran na Comhachaig*, "The Owl of Strone", which has been transcribed and printed by Mr. Francis Collinson in his *Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London, 1966, p. 60); this kind of air may have been used for the chanting of bardic verse. Evenings spent at Frobost in recording songs and stories from Angus MacLellan and his sister (now in her hundredth year) passed very quickly and often lasted into the small hours of the morning. All folklorists who have visited them have been much indebted to the help, kindness and hospitality of Angus MacLellan's niece and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick MacPhee.

Some of the stories and ballads Angus MacLellan used to

recite are among the classics of traditional oral Gaelic literature, and it is exceptionally fortunate that most of these were recorded more than once from him by different persons. Such stories were the Youthful Exploits of Fionn MacCumhail,<sup>3</sup> How the Fingalians Lost their Hunting, the Rowan Mansion, the Death of Diarmaid, the story of Conall Gulbann,<sup>4</sup> the story of the Donn Ghualainn,<sup>5</sup> An Gadaiche Greugach ("The Old Robber relates three adventures to free the sons of the King of Ireland"), Bobban the Carpenter, and others. In many cases too, Angus MacLellan could remember the names of the persons from whom he had originally learnt the stories, a matter of some interest in connection with the transmission of such traditional material.

All these and many other songs and stories, and Angus MacLellan's many personal reminiscences—he was reliving the first thirty years of his life, including the years he spent working on mainland farms, with great vividness while I was working with him in 1960 and 1961—were told with great verve and vigour and with particularly effective dialogue, the more so since Angus MacLellan possessed to a remarkable degree the capacity for acting the different characters in his stories, and could imitate their Gaelic dialects when doing so, as listeners who heard some of his shorter tales broadcast by the BBC will remember.

In the 1965 New Year's Honours list, Angus MacLellan received the award of the M.B.E. for his extensive contribution to the preservation of Gaelic oral literature, an award which gave the greatest pleasure to his many friends, not only for personal reasons, but because of the honour that it reflected on Gaelic storytellers as a class and the recognition of the value of the oral Gaelic tradition that it implied. This honour was celebrated by a very well attended céilidh held in Bornish parish hall on 13th May 1965, where Angus MacLellan himself recited a ballad, and not a word of English was used throughout the proceedings. His sister was unable to come to this céilidh, but a tape recording of most of it was played to her afterwards.

In the same year Angus MacLellan was elected a chieftain of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. It was then the fervent hope of his friends that he would live to reach his hundred years, and record still more traditional songs and stories while doing so. This, however, was not to be. In the severe winter of 1965-66 there were signs that his vitality was beginning to

lessen, and on 16th March 1966 he passed away after a brief spell of illness. He had lived a long life and had faced the hardships of poverty in South Uist and ill-paid hard work on mainland farms with good humour, courage and integrity sustained by his religion, circumstances common in the old Gaelic world; in old age he had achieved well-deserved honour and comfort. He leaves behind him recordings of Gaelic folktales and folklore on which scholars may work for many years to come, and an account of Scottish rural life in the 1890s from the ploughman's point of view which should be of permanent interest to the social historians. He must have been one of the greatest contributors to the archives of the School of Scottish Studies. These things are his memorial.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Apart from this, official encouragement took the form of the impounding of this wire recorder by the British Customs for six months after arrival from America. Wire recorders are usually denigrated, but the Webster was a good machine and must have been the best of them.
- <sup>2</sup> See Donald MacLeod, *Orain Nuadh Ghaeleach* (Inverness 1811). The ballad is not in praise of Kismul Castle as is sometimes supposed, but in praise of a house built by a Ruairi MacNeil at Steinn in Skye which is likened to Kismul Castle. There is a wood-cut of the house at the end of the poem, p. 176.
- <sup>3</sup> Compare the version taken down by Fr. Allan McDonald from Alasdair Johnston on Eriskay and printed by the Rev. Dr. George Henderson in the *Celtic Review*, Vols. II and III.
- <sup>4</sup> See Alan Bruford's important article on *Eachtra Chonail Gulban* in Vol. XXXI of *Béaloides* (1963) 1-50. A transcription of the recording of *Conall Gulban* made by Angus MacLellan will be printed in the next volume of the *Transactions of The Gaelic Society of Inverness*.
- <sup>5</sup> A version of the Táin Bó Cuailgne story. This was printed by Dr. Calum Maclean in *Arv* 15 (1959) 160-80.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
CELTIC STUDIES

The Third International Congress of Celtic Studies will be held in Edinburgh from 23rd-29th July 1967. The Organising Committee, under the presidency of Professor Jackson, has arranged for five plenary sessions, thirty-two sectional meetings in sixteen parallel sessions, one full-day and one half-day excursion to places of particular interest to Celtic studies. There will be a number of receptions for members of the Congress.

Organising Secretary is Dr. W. F. H. Nicolaisen, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh 8, to whom all enquiries should be addressed.

EDITOR

## BOOK REVIEWS

*A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.* Ed. A. J. Aitken. Chicago: Part XIX, Law-Levetenand, 1961; Part XX, Levetenand-General—Lokfast, 1962; Part XXI, Lokhol(e)—Lyv(e)tennandry, 1964.

These are the three concluding parts of Volume III of DOST, covering the letters H-L. Part XXI includes a Preface to Volume III, a Combined Register of Works Quoted, a list of Additions and Corrections for H-L, and an Index of Variant Spellings.

The Combined Register, covering 20 double column pages, certainly comprises the fullest convenient bibliography of Scottish literature and records, both printed and manuscript, that has so far appeared for the period before 1700, and will become an indispensable instrument of historical and literary research. It may be seriously suggested that the Scottish Dictionaries Joint Council should consider reprinting this list for sale in booklet form. It would undoubtedly be widely welcomed.

Normally, a dictionary is understood to be a source for finding the meanings of obscure words, but DOST is far more than this. It is providing a full record of the Scottish language before 1700, and by so doing ranges over every aspect of the nation's life and work. The three parts under review, for example, contain the following numbers of entries to, inter alia, these subjects: agricultural implements, 10; apprenticeship, 3; arms and armour, 16; boats, 12; buildings and parts of buildings, 30; clothes and cloth, 70; crafts, 20; fishing, 18; folklore, 24; food, 10; furnishings, 7; games, 5; harness, 5; harvest and treatment of grain, 21; hunting and fowling, 6; land use, 33; mills, 9; mining, 8; numismatics, 16; peat, 4; rope making, 6; servants, 14; stock, 29; transport, 9. Reference must also be made in particular to the detailed entries under *law* and *lord* that must be amongst the fullest treatments given to these subjects in the dictionaries of any country. In this respect, DOST (in conjunction with the Scottish National Dictionary for the period following 1700) is amply fulfilling the intention of its founder, Sir William Craigie, who contemplated, about

1919, a series of "period dictionaries"<sup>1</sup> that would supplement and partly supersede the great Oxford Dictionary and eventually provide a full and detailed historical record of the English tongue wherever and in whatever variety spoken. A comparison of the entries for *law*, *lord*, and similarly substantial words in DOST and SND with those in the Oxford Dictionary shows how amply the two period dictionaries are succeeding in this aim.

The method of DOST, is, briefly, to give for each entry, the head form followed by its variant spellings, its etymology, including the earliest dates of occurrence in the parent language or dialect, and a breakdown of its various senses and shades of meaning. Each sense is illustrated by a quotation from the earliest known printed or manuscript source and thereafter by a representative chronologically arranged series of quotations, each chosen to illuminate a fresh aspect of the sense. In this way the words can be seen at work syntactically, and the dated quotations make easy the study of semantic developments, and of changes in pronunciation (through spelling), over a period of time. The content of the quotations may also suggest how innovations in material culture or new fashions in clothes or weapons, for example, go hand in hand with changes in terminology. Indeed, when the Dictionary is finished, one of the ready-made theses its pages will provide will be a study of terms relating to clothes and the variations in fashion and social stratification that they represent. The 70 terms in these three parts constitute over 50 per cent more entries than for any other subject, and random sampling of earlier parts suggests that the number of entries on clothes is high throughout. Original places of manufacture and sources of trade are frequently indicated by the names of particular articles like *Leith-wynd-hois*, made from 1619 in Edinburgh, *Lemistar-blak*, a high quality cloth for hose made from the expensive wool of Leominster in Herefordshire, being bought for Scotland's highest dignitaries from 1512, *Lewyn*, a kind of linen cloth from Louvain, referred to in the Exchequer Rolls in 1372 and, as a name at least, apparently localised in Scotland and the northern districts of England, and *Londo(u)ne*, applied attributively to a whole variety of types of cloth. Similar comments apply, of course, to other subjects, such as weapons, which include here the *Leith ax*, the *Lochaber axe* (an important entry), and the *Jeddart* (Jedburgh) *Staf*, or gardening, which includes *Lidingtown*, a kind of apple possibly named from Ledington or Lethington in East Lothian, and

*Longavil*, a kind of pear grown in Scotland from the 17th-19th centuries, possibly named after Longueville in France.

A feature of considerable interest is what might be called regionalism, marked by terms reflecting a particular occupation layer in a particular area. Thus in Shetland and Orkney and to a lesser extent in Caithness, there is a variety of terms going back to the Norse occupation of the area. Prominent in these three parts are legal terms: *lawman*, *lawricht-ayth*, *lawrichtman* and its Orkney variant *lawrikman* (with 17th century developments in sense), *lawting*, *leanger*. The name *lokman*, occurring in south Scotland and Orkney in the specialised sense of "hangman", no doubt reflects the Lowland Scots legal tradition that superseded the Norse one. Common names in this category are *lire*, "Manx shearwater", and *heavie*, "basket . . . of plaited straw". A list of such words taken from the whole Dictionary, with their earliest and latest dates, classified, for instance, in the way that has been done for the Caithness Norn by Per Thorson,<sup>2</sup> would undoubtedly help to interpret the material culture, institutions, habits, thoughts, and customs of the early Norse settlers and show their persistence and adaptation under later Scottish domination.

Allied to these is a group of words of geographical and onomastic interest that throw light on the appearance, character and settlement patterns of the country and its parts. Geographical terms are *lawland*, for Southern and Eastern Scotland; *les* = Latin *minor*, as in *les Scotland* (Scotland) as opposed to *mair Scotland* (Ireland); *ile* (isle) in *The Ilis*, the Western Isles of Scotland, *The North Ilis*, the Northern Hebrides, including Skye and the Outer Isles, *The South* or *West Ilis*, the Argyllshire islands; *incuntre*, *inland*, *inshyre*, used of the Lowlands, as it were the "home" counties; *infall*, a river estuary; *likarstane*, applied in Eastern Scotland to a conspicuous stone or a heap of stones; *linkis*, stretch of sandy ground near the seashore, commonly so called from the fifteenth century in the East Coast from Dunbar to Shetland, but rarely on the West Coast. Place-names and place-name elements include *law*, a hill, recorded especially in S. E. Lowland Scotland from the 12th century; *le*, the Anglo-Norman definite article, used first with appellative vernacular place-names and surnames in Latin contexts, from the 12th century, surviving until the 19th in certain legal forms; *ley*, a meadow, this sense having developed from that of a wood, then a clearing in a wood for pasture or arable purposes, found mainly as a second element of place-names



from the 12th century; *low*, a form of *loch*, surviving after c. 1550 only in place-names like the *Lowis*, = the sea-lochs of the West Coast; *Lukkin-buthis*, used as a place-name for those parts of the North Row, Peebles, and the High Street, Edinburgh, which contained booths or covered stalls that could be locked up; *hope*, a small bay or haven. These enshrine and perpetuate a great deal of cultural and linguistic history.

A partly overlapping phenomenon, which links up with the breakdown of the Scottish language into a group of dialects, may be described as localisation. It may involve a Middle English word like *lof* "praise, honour, glory", apparently found only in Scots after the fourteenth century, or words confined to particular localities. Examples are *liberal*, used in the sense of "legitimate" chiefly in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire; *licht*, "candle-wax", in Galloway; *leit*, used of a stack of peats of a particular size in North-East Scotland, and of a quantity of peas in the South East; *ligat*, "a self-closing gate, to prevent cattle from straying", in Dumfries and Galloway (and still confined to these regions in the modern dialect); *lynstar*, "an official appointed to measure out and so fix the boundaries of holdings within the burgh", in Elgin and Kirkcudbright, the term *linar* being generally used elsewhere; *half-manure*, an interesting form of land-holding in Galloway, in which "the landlord gave half of the seed and the tenant farmed the land and harvested the crop, half of which he delivered to the landlord as his rent". The reasons for such localisation may only be solved by extra-lexicographical research involving local history and economics, but DOST, with its chronological lists of quotations under the relevant terms, will also provide a ready-made guide to the likely sources of further information on these topics.

Although Norse and Scots mixed well, the same cannot be said for Gaelic and Scots, though a percentage of Gaelic terms has crept into the vocabulary of Scots. Those in DOST have the virtue of being uninfluenced by the terminology of the novels of Sir Walter Scott. They include, as would be expected, names of natural features like *lane*, "swampy piece of ground" (mainly Galloway), *lin*, "pool below a waterfall", *loch*, and its diminutive *lochan*. There is also a miscellany of names like *lumfad*, "West Highland galley", *lone*, "provisions for a campaign", *locht*, "boat load", *longart*, "temporary shelter or . . . hunting-lodge", *lunschoch*, "heavy great-coat", *lurg-dog*,

“bloodhound”, all with a strong flavour of male or military activities; *legavrik*, applied to one of the eight annual fairs in Inverness, possibly from Gael *leth-gheamh-radh*, the winter half of the year, and if so likely to be the fair held on the 1st February; *lochmabaleis*, an obscurely-derived name for certain counterfeit coins, possibly from some such Gaelic compound as \**luchd-meabhail* < *luchd*, folk, people, and Irish and (?obs.) Sc. Gael. *meabhal*, fraud, deceit but perhaps more likely to be a corruption of the place-name Lochmaben, where half merk pieces were being forged about 1572 (see E. Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1887, 2:355); *lek-stain*, “an oven slab”, here put into Holyrood House in 1626; *logie*, the fire-place of a corn-drying kiln, of uncertain origin but perhaps related to Gael. *logan*, *lagan*, a hollow or pit, which is by no means unlikely since in Mainland Scotland there is evidence for kilns being commonly dug into hillsides; and *lomeing*, applied in Galloway to a method of dehusking corn by treading with the bare feet after it has been kiln-dried, from Gael. *lom*, to unhusk. This latter process is also recorded for other areas in North and West Scotland. *Lomeing* exemplifies how DOST can throw a historical light on obsolete or obsolescent processes, by providing early sources and etymologies, not only for words referring to things, but to techniques and methods as well.

On the less material side, there are a number of entries relating to custom and belief, largely recovered from Kirk Session records and records of criminal trials. Witches were hunted by the *jobber*, a man whose task was to try presumed witches by “jobin” or pricking for the devil’s mark. The devil himself was euphemistically known in North-East Scotland as *halie* (holy) *man*, and a corner of land that was dedicated to him and went unploughed was the *halie man’s ley*. Healing charms used by witches were *libs*, and one method of charming or of curing sickness was to put a cat or diseased chickens through the *links of the cruik*. Plough oxen could be prevented from running away by dipping the plough-irons in *lax watter* or salmon water, a curious instance of how a fish which, in later times at least, was taboo to deep-sea fishermen who refused even to name it, was regarded as having a beneficial influence on land.

Social customs or pastimes include the *lawing*, the financial contribution given by those attending a penny wedding. Kirk Sessions frequently attempted to limit this contribution so that the festivities would not become too riotous. The term, recorded

only in or near the Forth-Clyde basin, in Ayrshire, Dunbartonshire, Stirling, and West Fife, again exemplifies localisation. On Yule Day 1650 in St. Andrews, several persons were arraigned for playing *jollie at the goose*, a game of which, unfortunately, no description survives. The women had their *kimmering*, or entertaining of their women friends which, in the manuscript Newton Community Book (Ayr), was frowned upon and associated with drinking on the Sabbath. In later times the word was applied to a feast of women celebrating a birth. Further opportunities for social intercourse, again frowned upon, came on the occasion of the *Hallow-fire* on Hallowe'en, and at *Hogmanay*, of which three 17th-century forms are given in the Additions and Corrections. As a contribution to the somewhat meagre information on pre-Reformation medieval plays in Scotland, there are the 16th-century mock titles of the *lord of Bonaccord*,—*of obedience* or *inobedience*,—*of rason* or *unrason*, entertainers of the slapstick variety, little beloved of the urban authorities. Less noisily, at the last scene of all, come the *hoodies*, the hooded mutes at a funeral, twenty-four of whom followed the coffin of the Marquis of Huntly in 1636.

Chronological perspective is a *sine qua non* in contemporary local historical research if the processes and changes that have contributed to an existing situation are to be properly understood. In spite of the work of individuals and in particular of publishing societies like the Scottish History Society, vast quantities of manuscript material remain unpublished or scarcely explored. Very often, until such sources are printed, they are inaccessible to the local enthusiast, and his perspectives are, therefore, less clear. This applies equally, of course, to linguistic and to historical studies. It needs to be more widely recognised that DOST does help enormously in supplying the deficiency. It includes, for instance, words and quotations from the large mass of manuscript testamentary records in the Scottish Record Office, dating from before 1600 for some parts of the country. Professor Donaldson has pointed out the value of these for agrarian history.<sup>3</sup> The same sources could equally well be used for the study of domestic furnishings and equipment, on the lines of, say, F. W. Steer's *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635-1749*, thereby throwing light on problems like social standing, the state of local craftsmanship, the spread of fashion, comparative costs, and so on. Thus the Edinburgh Testaments (80 vols.) have *lukiing glasis* at 8s. apiece in 1581, black ones at 26s. in 1592, a gilt one at 40s. in 1642. The

Brechin Testaments (8 vols.) refer to them in 1612. A *long sadle bed* occurs in the Brechin Testaments for 1682. This sort of information could quite well be collected in the first instance from the Dictionary, classified, and then followed up in the original sources so that the background information (which DOST must omit for reasons of space) can be added. The results would be well worth while even without consultation of the sources.

A glance through the Combined Register of Titles will show exactly how much MS material besides the Testamentary Records has been explored in the compilation of the Dictionary—burgh records, kirk sessions records, estate papers, and many more. In view of the present paucity of printed records with an emphasis on *local* source material, the Dictionary is performing a service whose value can scarcely be overestimated in making such sources known and indeed in making them usable.

DOST is a dictionary of a language that was still national, and it embodies much of the national culture before 1700. Language and culture cannot, of course, be equated, but one is a clear index to the other, and DOST is specially useful in this respect, for as one goes back in time the number and variety of sources open to historians decreases rapidly and greater dependence has to be laid on the clues that language, whether as words or place-names, can provide. Even for the present day there are spheres comparatively unexplored by the conventional historian because documentation scarcely exists—i.e. the local history of the common folk, their material culture, and so on, much of which has to be pieced together by local "fieldwork". Here again, language, in the form of dialect, comes into its own as a primary research instrument, and high quality dictionaries like DOST and SND (whose conjoint use can provide a researcher with a quick view of the geographical distribution and historical range of a word and the object, etc. to which it relates) become indispensable as a means of interpretation of much more than senses. In the opinion of the reviewer, an hour or so of the curriculum in several university departments might well be devoted to teaching students the uses of dictionaries of this type as part of the standard methodology of research.

A final word of praise must be given to the meticulous standard of editing and proof-correcting maintained by Mr. Aitken and his staff. In the 409 pages under review, the only points noted were a few trivial printer's errors such as in the

definition of *lof*. This is no mean achievement, and is an indication of the confidence with which one can use the material presented in the Dictionary.

A. FENTON

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For details, see A. J. Aitken, "Completing the Record of Scots", in *Scottish Studies* 8(1964), 131.
- <sup>2</sup> P. Thorson, "The Third Norse Dialect—That of Caithness", in *The Viking Congress*, ed. W. D. Simpson, Edinburgh and London, pp. 230-8.
- <sup>3</sup> G. Donaldson, "Sources for Scottish Agrarian History", in *The Agricultural History Review* 8(1960), 84-5.

*Traditional Country Craftsmen*. By J. G. Jenkins. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. 1965. 236 pp. 45s.

In this readable book, Mr. Jenkins has assembled a comprehensive body of material on the crafts traditional to the English and Welsh countryside. He deals first with woodland craftsmen, who spend their lives at work in the woods themselves, cutting and shaping parts of chairs, blocking out clog soles, trimming wattles for hurdle-making, preparing hoops for the cooper, burning charcoal, and so on. It is of considerable interest to note that though the charcoal burner may be held responsible for doing a great deal to change the appearance of the countryside by demolition of trees, most of the other craftsmen were able to conserve and even improve the woodlands by selective use. The chair bodgers of the Chilterns, for instance, bought their stands of beech, and cut the trees that best suited their purpose, leaving the smaller ones to grow. Gaps left were soon filled by seedlings falling from the surrounding trees, that grew and were harvested in due course. The work of these men was largely seasonal. They had to fit the rhythm of their working lives to the rhythm of growth of the material with which they worked—an interaction between nature and man that is the mark of a truly traditional craftsman working within the limits of a fairly narrow community and often of a subsistence economy. In Scotland and Ireland there is no strict equivalent to this group, partly for climatic reasons, but mainly because the accessible woodlands of these areas had been fairly well used up by mediaeval times. In fact one of the most striking points that emerges from this book as a whole is the range of the differences between England and Wales on the one hand,

and Scotland and Ireland on the other. For the latter two places, the book speaks hardly at all.

This consideration is further emphasised by the sections on village woodcrafts and on metal and straw crafts. There is a whole range of specialists or semi-specialists—the makers of osier baskets, spale baskets, and trugs, the turners of bowls, the carvers of spoons, the makers of rakes, gate hurdles and chairs, the builders of coracles, the coopers, the wheelwrights, the “broom squires” of the Hampshire-Berkshire borders, making besoms and birch brooms, the smiths, the farriers, the thatchers, the straw-plaiters. Though many of these crafts, including even coracle building, are or were known in Scotland and Ireland, the same degree of specialisation was rarely achieved. The blacksmith was also the farrier and on occasion the dentist. The joiner was also the wheelwright, and on his lathe driven by a treadle or by a large wooden wheel he turned not only wheel naves but the legs of chairs and tables and parts of spinning wheels as well. In the rural communities of these further-flung parts, where villages were almost non-existent until well through the eighteenth century, the smith and joiner were the two main general purpose craftsmen, and most other crafts, like basket-making, shoe-making, thatching, spinning and to a lesser extent weaving, were treated as part-time or spare-time occupations. In certain well-wooded areas like Speyside and Deeside, craftsmen did exist—such as turners or white coopers, making brose-caups, trenchers, and dairy utensils—who approached the southern degree of specialisation, though of these the bucket-maker at Fingzean in Aberdeenshire survives as an exception.

Most of the other crafts dealt with by Mr. Jenkins, in his two remaining sections on stone and clay crafts, and textile and leather crafts, are, with the exception of dry stone walling, scarcely rural crafts at all in Scottish or Irish terms. Again, a time factor has to be considered. Some of these crafts were rural up to the time of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions in the sense that a number of them, like spinning and weaving and knitting (formerly in North-East Scotland and still in Shetland), were carried on as home industries though often in the form of a dispersed industrial organisation in which the makers lived and worked at home instead of prosecuting their activities within the walls of a factory. The bundles of woven tweed lying outside many of the crofts in Lewis at the present time, waiting to be collected in a lorry and taken to the

Stornoway factory, show that this form of organisation is not dead, though its continuance must be reckoned as a comment on the insufficiently viable nature of thecrofting economy there. In general, however, the crafts dealt with in this book—those of the brick-maker, potter, stone-mason, slater, tanner, currier, saddler, etc.—are and have been associated in Scotland with towns rather than the country proper, except in so far as they were carried on by country folk on a jack-of-all-trades or part-time basis.

These comments are intended to emphasise regional variation, a feature that does not appear prominently in the book. Indeed when Mr. Jenkins strays on to territory where he has not himself carried out field work he makes an occasional factual error—e.g. on page 142, it is not the *caisie* but the *büdie* that is made of dried dock stalks. The author would certainly himself agree that this is not a definitive work leaving no room for future regional studies. It is, however, a study to which all those engaged in examining and recording the crafts of their own regions should turn with gratitude and profit, and this includes the regions of England and Wales. For example, in the coopering section, the exposition of techniques and tools in the order of their use, with their standard names, forms an excellent gauge against which local differences can be measured. Mr. Jenkins's information deals essentially with coopering as a craft linked with brewing and distilling. In the fishing towns, however, coopering also flourished in relation to herring-curing, involving varying techniques, woods, tools, and names, and these have yet to be studied for the light they can throw on the development of the herring industry. In Scotland the similarity between technical terms in the coopering trade, vis-à-vis the barrelling of fish, from Lerwick to Berwick and Stranraer, is a clear sign that this is not a craft of high antiquity, but one that spread quickly from the main centres for economic reasons.

Although Mr. Jenkins has not given us much on the background economics and history of the crafts he describes, this is not a reason for criticising the book. It is simply a matter that needs to be followed up by himself and other writers at a later date. What we have here is an example of field surveying, of establishing what exists at the present time in the way of traditional crafts with their particular tools and processes that have persisted in the face of mechanisation and dispersal of goods and equipment from centralised establishments. These crafts as they survive and as they change under the influences of

such external factors are part of the history of the regions of Britain, and in this book we get what might be called the basic technical facts of history at a level that has rarely before got into the textbooks. Mr. Jenkins has provided a basis on which other researchers can build.

*Traditional Country Crafts* is illustrated by 54 diagrammatic drawings of groups of craft tools, and by 185 photographs. The thick paper that the publisher has chosen to use does not do full justice to the diagrams, nor do they give the impression of having been drawn by an artist in sympathy with his subject. The photographs have been carefully chosen to show the techniques of use of the various tools, with emphasis mainly on the movements of the craftsmen's hands; they also give in their illustrations of craftsmen's faces with their flamboyance, humour, and concentration, something of the very spirit of craftsmanship. The book is completed by a good bibliography and index, and Mr. Jenkins is to be congratulated on this welcome addition to the as yet scanty body of sources available for folk life research.

A. FENTON

*Thomas Ruddiman: A Study in Scottish Scholarship of the Early Eighteenth Century.* By Douglas Duncan. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London. 1965. 178 pp. 42s.

Thomas Ruddiman lived from 1674 to 1757. Dr. Duncan sees his death "as symbolising the decline of Latinity, and of the old humanist disciplines associated with it, as a dominant force in Scottish culture" (p. vii). The elegiac note recurs: Ruddiman "was plainly out of sympathy with the new *mystique* of textual criticism" (p. 103); "in history, as in literary criticism, he followed the fashions of an earlier epoch" (p. 141). The book ends with Joseph Scaliger's couplet addressed to George Buchanan:

Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes;  
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.

The tone is not wholly unjustified, but Dr. Duncan is melancholy to an extent greater than either his fascinating subject or his well-written book deserves. Ruddiman was not a mere survivor; indeed, Dr. Duncan's book succeeds in demonstrating the surprising extent to which he anticipated some flourishing aspects of Scottish studies at the present day. As



editor and publisher he brought much important Scottish literature to general notice, as for instance in his contributions to Watson's edition of Drummond of Hawthornden (1711), and his publication of Allan Ramsay's original poetry (*Poems*, 1721; *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1725) and anthologies (*The Tea-Table Miscellany* and *The Ever-Green*, 1724). He was concerned with archaeology, publishing David Malcolme's *Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (1738) and Sir John Clerk's *Dissertatio de Monumentis quibusdam Romanis, in boreali Magnae Britanniae parte detectis anno MDCCXXI* (1750). (One should perhaps note Clerk's comment in his *Memoirs*: "The copies of this dissertation were never sold, but some were given away to my particular friends.") Ruddiman too was very much concerned with the achievement of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Renaissance in Scotland, a concern not limited to his favourite author, George Buchanan, whose *Opera Omnia* were edited by him and published by Freebairn in 1715, but extending to the *De Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus* (1707) of Florence Wilson (Florentius Volusenus), Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid* (1710), and the epistles of the humanist Secretaries of James IV, James V and Mary I, edited in his *Epistolae Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti et Mariae, Regum Scottorum* (2 vols., 1722-24). These in turn lead to his historical work, documentary and analytical, best illustrated by the introduction and notes which he provided for James Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus* (1729), and by his own *Dissertation Concerning the Competition for the crown of Scotland, betwixt Lord Robert Bruce and Lord John Baliol, in the year 1291* (1748). In a very real sense the glossary to Ruddiman's edition of Douglas's *Aeneid* laid the foundation of Scots lexicography. And, of course, he contributed greatly to the development and efficiency of the Advocates' Library.

Ruddiman, in other words, was an excellent Latinist, but he is not memorable merely as a Latinist. One's only substantial reservation about Dr. Duncan's approach is that he tends to underestimate the importance, both of Ruddiman himself and of the period in which he lived. Thus it is at least an exaggeration to say (p. 154), "By choosing to write in Scots, Ramsay contracted out of serious literature as it was understood in his day." Dr. Duncan notes that, in contrast to Ruddiman, Robertson and Hume were historians "who followed the example of Bolingbroke and Voltaire in dissociating themselves from the race of antiquaries, despising them for their lack of

polish and for their interest in a period of history which had nothing to teach civilized men" (p. 140). He should have added (with all possible deference, in particular to David Hume) that the modern student of history will find much more of value in Ruddiman's collections than in the more "polite" histories—indeed for some purposes Ruddiman remains indispensable. To no small extent Scottish studies have maintained the pattern which he established. Dr. Duncan has performed an important service in redirecting attention towards him.

I should add in conclusion that Messrs. Oliver and Boyd have left themselves open to none of the strictures which Dr. Duncan directs at Ruddiman as an exponent of the art, as opposed to the trade, of printing. The book is handsomely produced.

JOHN MACQUEEN

*Schottische Volksmärchen*. Edited by Hannah Aitken and Ruth Michaelis-Jena. Die Märchen der Weltliteratur—Neue Folge. Eugen Diederichs, Dusseldorf. 1965. 380 pp. DM 15.80.

Although several similar projects are at present in preparation, the volume of Scottish folk-tales recently published in that long established and highly successful series *Märchen der Weltliteratur*, is to our knowledge not only the first collection published this century, exclusively devoted to the Scottish traditional tale, but also the first ever to bring together stories in Gaelic and English, from both printed sources and manuscripts based on field-work within the last two decades. That such an important book which is a "first" in so many respects should appear in Germany, with both texts and commentary in German, is perhaps regrettable but does by no means detract from the achievement. Especially since the formation of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, the world of the folk-tale has become considerably smaller, and exchange of information within Europe and from Continent to Continent, very often based on personal contact, is now one of the routine features in this field of research. It is therefore to be welcomed that at least a selection of what Scotland has to offer in this genre should be made widely known in a country which, particularly through people like the late Walter Anderson and Kurt Ranke, has done so much for the advancement of our understanding of this aspect of oral tradition. Any review must therefore begin by congratulating both the general editor,

Friedrich von der Leyen, and the two ladies in charge of this volume on the addition of a Scottish collection to an already long list of volumes from many countries.

Any selection from printed sources of Gaelic material necessarily has to lean heavily on J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, and it is therefore not surprising that twenty-one out of the thirty-eight stories from Gaelic speaking areas are German renderings of the English translations of the original Gaelic texts in Campbell's three volumes. Apart from one story from Mrs. Grant of Laggan's *Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1811), these are the earliest contributions from the Gaelic speaking areas (1860-62), whereas at the other end of the period covered stand a couple of tales from MacDougall and Calder's *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore in Gaelic and English* (1910). The time-span for the twenty-four items from Scottish English tradition is very similar, ranging from Robert Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806) to the Folklore Society's *County Folklore* Vol. VII (1914). Here Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* has been the main source with ten tales. The selection of material is therefore largely based on nineteenth-century printed sources, and heavily weighted in favour of material from the Gaelic speaking areas, particularly if one adds to this the eight items from the unpublished collections of the School of Scottish Studies which bring the total of Gaelic items up to 46, as against 24 English tales. There is no unpublished example amongst the latter.

The picture conveyed is therefore by and large one appropriate to the last century, and this is reinforced by a lengthy quotation (pp. 353-4) from the Introduction to Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, describing the atmosphere of a *ceilidh*, a description which even seventy years ago would be noted for its romantic overtones. One might be prepared to make allowances for this if it was in fact made clear that much of what the volume contains has to be seen against a nineteenth-century backcloth. However, not only is this omitted but the key sentence in the short account of the Scottish story-telling tradition which follows the main part of the book, quite categorically states in the present tense that "Scotland—Highlands and Lowlands—is full of old stories and traditional tales" (p. 352). As this is the day and age of "projected images", the German reader, or any other reader for that matter, is consequently left with the impression that it is still quite common, particularly in the Hebrides, to hear stories of the

type collected in the last century and told under conditions as described by Carmichael. Such an impression would, of course, be quite erroneous, when the trained modern collector has to search very hard indeed in order to find a storyteller with a variant of an international tale-type, and when quite often his search is by no means successful.

Stronger reliance on unpublished material would probably have helped to correct the "image". It is, of course, to be welcomed that at least one-tenth of the total collection has been gleaned from comparatively recent field-work. On this side of the North Sea, these items must be regarded as the really new contribution the volume under review is making to our knowledge of the Scottish traditional tale. Again, the account given of the nature of these eight tales and the circumstances under which they were collected and found their way into the book is to a certain extent misleading. They are described as "manuscript translations into English after tape-recordings in Gaelic", when in fact the English versions, from which the German translations were made, are based on microfilms held by the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh, of manuscript transcriptions of the original Gaelic recordings (not tape-recordings!) made in the Hebrides by the late Dr. Calum I. Maclean for the Irish Folklore Commission in the years 1946-7, before the School existed. The original recordings unfortunately no longer exist. Valuable as these examples from mid-twentieth century Gaelic oral tradition may be, they should have been balanced by similar items from the Scots or English tradition of the same period. Notably, some of the many excellent instances of tinker story-telling or of Bruce Henderson's very craftsmanlike tales might have been included, even if only to demonstrate that the tradition was still as two-stream as a hundred years ago.

To the scholar, as distinct from the purely naïve reader of folktales, the commentary of a work of this kind is, of course, of the greatest interest. On pp. 362-82, the editors have supplied detailed notes for all seventy stories, giving the provenance and source of each item, and frequently also lists of motifs and of parallels in the traditions of other countries. Cross-references are normally either to Grimm's Fairy Tales themselves and/or to Friedrich von der Leyen's *Das deutsche Märchen und die Brüder Grimm* (in the same series as the volume under review). From a German point of view, this may be useful; it may even do many of the tales more justice as tales than mere reference

to a tale-type index, but one would nevertheless have wished for more frequent categorisation according to the widely accepted classification in Aarne's and Thompson's *Types of the Folktale* although this is by no means always satisfactory from the point of view of Celtic tradition. Failing this, Christiansen's and Ó Súilleabháin's *Types of the Irish Folktale* (FFC.188) should certainly have been consulted in order to establish the position of at least the Scottish Gaelic tales within the framework of Gaelic story-telling as a whole.

While praising the achievement as such and adding favourable comment on the very fine way in which this volume has been produced by the publishers, we must draw attention to a certain imbalance which favours the nineteenth-century printed story and neglects recent oral tradition. One can only hope that such publications of Scottish folktales as are planned for such series as *The Folktales of the World* and *Fabula Series A* will remedy this omission and draw heavily on unpublished material, much of it collected when time had begun to run out fast for the collector.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

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Some of these books may subsequently be reviewed in *Scottish Studies*.

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*The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, by Francis Collinson. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1966. Pp. xvii+294. 63s.

*Aspects of Antiquity*, by Elise M. Wilson. Abertay Historical Society Publication No. 11, Dundee 1966.

*Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems*, by Tom Scott. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh 1966. Pp. 360. 50s.

*University of Glasgow Social and Economic Studies, Occasional Papers No. 5: Industrial Movement and the Regional Problem*, by G. C. Cameron and R. D. Clark. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh 1966, for the University of Glasgow. 220 pp. 21s.

*A Guide to Glenesk Folk Museum [Tarfside, Angus]*, by Colin Gibson. pp. 24.

*Scots in Italy in the 18th Century*, by Basil Skinner. Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1966. pp. 44.

*The Historical Architecture of Scotland*, by John G. Dunbar. Batsford, London 1966. pp. 268. 5 gns.

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# INDEX

VOLUMES I (1957) — 10 (1966)

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

This Index is based on the several indices for individual volumes, prepared by the present compiler since 1957. The system of cross-referencing and of grouping of related items has, however, been expanded and the number of items for earlier volumes increased.

Items in bold type denote titles of contributions, the names of contributors appear in small capitals, and abbreviations of Scottish county-names are those used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey. Reference is to volume and page numbers.

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Vol. **I** (1957), **2** (1958), **3** (1959), **4** (1960), **5** (1961), **6** (1962), **7** (1963), **8** (1964), **9** (1965), **10** (1966).

(b) Check list for abbreviations of Scottish county-names:

ABD	Aberdeenshire	LAN	Lanarkshire
ANG	Angus	MLO	Midlothian
ARG	Argyllshire	MOR	Morayshire
AYR	Ayrshire	NAI	Nairnshire
BNF	Banffshire	ORK	Orkney
BTE	Bute	PEB	Peeblesshire
BWK	Berwickshire	PER	Perthshire
CAI	Caithness	RNF	Renfrewshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire	ROS	Ross-shire
DMF	Dumfriesshire	ROX	Roxburghshire
DNB	Dunbartonshire	SH	Shetland
ELO	East Lothian	SLK	Selkirkshire
FIF	Fife	STL	Stirlingshire
INV	Inverness-shire	SUT	Sutherland
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	WIG	Wigtownshire
KCD	Kincardineshire	WLO	West Lothian
KNR	Kinross-shire		

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