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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 (*Ballernoeh* 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 souns 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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WEBB, SIDNEY AND BEATRICE

1920 *The History of Trade Unionism, 1666-1920*. London.

DAVID CRAIG

## LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

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

*Across the Tweed*, by Theodore Fontane. Phoenix House, London 1965. Pp. 220. 30s.

*Folk Tales of Norway*, edited by T. Christiansen. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London 1965. Pp. 284. 28s.

*Traditional Country Craftsmen*, by Geraint Jenkins. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London 1965. Pp. 236. 45s.

*Thomas Ruddiman, A Study in Scottish Scholarship of the Early Eighteenth Century*, by Douglas Duncan. Oliver & Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh 1965. Pp. 178. 42s.

*Witchcraft and Demonology in Scott's Fiction*, by Coleman Parsons. Oliver & Boyd Ltd., Edinburgh 1964. Pp. 363. 63s.

*Schottische Volksmärchen*, collected and edited by Hannah Aitken and Ruth Michaelis-Jena. Eugen Diederich's Verlag, Düsseldorf. Pp. 285. D.M. 15.80.

*The Old School House of Cramond, and Education in Cramond, 1653-1875*, by Joan Crowther. Moray House Publications, Edinburgh 1965. Pp. 49. 7s. 6d.

*Bàrdachd Mhgr Ailein*, The Gaelic Poems of Fr. Allan McDonald of Eriskay, edited by John Lorne Campbell. T. & A. Constable Ltd., Edinburgh 1965. Pp. 136. 18s.

*International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, Vol 2, "Folk Literature (Germanic)" by Laurits Bødker. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen 1965. Pp. 366. D.Kr. 84.00

*The Study of Folklore*, by Alan Dundes. Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1965. Pp. 481. 45s.

*Scottish History in Perspective*, by Basil Skinner. Board of Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1966. Pp. 36.

*Central and North Fife, its Landscape and Architecture (an Illustrated Survey)*, planned and the text written by Ronald G. Cant. Central and North Fife Preservation Society, Cupar 1965. Pp. 20.